

# **Socio-Psychological factors of Karo Kari in Baloach Community**

**(A Case Study of Village Drighri, District Rajan pur.)**

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in Anthropology



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## Dedicated To:

In the name of Allah; the most Beneficent, the more Merciful

**To my  
Father (late), a Precious Soul**



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## Chapter No.1

### 1.0. Statement of the Problem

Each society has a structure made by certain institutions that work together to sustain the equilibrium level of the society. There is interdependency among these institutions, a change in one institution affects the other. These institutions are, in fact, governed by certain norms, values and laws, which are the product of that society. This point of view about the society is not new; many social scientists have talked about it. This research studies the society with special reference to *kala kali* (honor killing).

The major objective of the research was to study the society with reference to tradition of “Karo-Kari”. The tradition of honor killing was widely spread in the tribal areas, rural localities and in some of the urban settings of Pakistan. The tradition of honor killing exists in different forms with multi-label systems as “*Tor-Tora*” in the N.W.F.P. “*Siah-Kari*” in Baluchistan, “*Karo-Kari*” in Sindh and “*Kala-Kali*” in Punjab.

In this regard Muddassir Rizvi argues:

“This tradition, seen in rural areas for centuries, is becoming more & more visible in urban centers and among educated & liberal families”.<sup>1</sup>

Under the strong hold of traditions and customs, by imposing an accusation of *Bad-Kari* or Debauchery, man and woman were apprehensible and were not

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<sup>1</sup> Muddassir Rizvi "Honour Killing" Rise in Pakistan despite state & religious opposition, , 11,28,2000([www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org))



only punished, but also killed by the apprehender. The term *Kala Kali* (honor killing) has been derived from Sindhi Language, suggesting the meaning as *Kala* (adulterer man) and *Kali* (adulterer woman), while explaining the term *Kala Kali* in her book “Dark side of honor”, Rabia Ali says:

“Karo-Kari refers to honor killing in Sindh where the victims are accused of illicit relationship, (Karo being man; Kari being woman).”<sup>2</sup>

Any social issue in a society is a multi-dimensional phenomenon as cultural system is a set of inter-related traits. Behavioral patterns are also made up of several elements, and none of them can be analyzed in terms of its functionality, patterning and perpetuation (honor killing) without studying its whole structure or configuration. This also enables a researcher to further peep into the element’s functionality, modus operandi and legitimization from the ideologies of the people who practice the particular norm in general or specific.

By studying, documenting and analyzing the factors of honor killing in a practicing community, the researcher noted the most effective triggering mechanism behind the tradition acting as the push factors responsible for its perpetuation over generations. That provides the basis for the new vistas of further logical debates concerning the particular tradition.

## **1.2. Theoretical frame of reference**

The researcher has combined various viewpoints of the general anthropological approach, in structural functionalist’s approach following the

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<sup>2</sup> Rabia Ali, “The dark side of 'Honor'” published by Shirkat Gah, Women's Resource Center, 2001. P.4

views of Malinowski and Durkheim to study honor killing as an institution, and adopted certain basic assumptions from the culture and personality school of thought. In combining these various elements, the researcher has used structural approach in defining, analyzing and discussing social issue of honor killing and its inter-relationship and integration with the whole web of social structures in Baloach community.

The fundamental query in this research is similar to the question asked by most modern structuralists: what are the underlying principles or laws which govern the structure or form of social system (honor killing) and thereby produce and maintain order, patterning and perpetuation through the generations.

Here the structuralism approach differs considerably from that of Lévi-Strauss and his adherents. The difference is in the first level of abstraction, the present research is an attempt to study the underlying principles of social issue in the particular social structure, which help in seeking morphology of concrete, ongoing social systems rather than the realistically hope to formulate any underlying principles which might govern the over all structures.

### **1.3. Objectives**

The main objectives of the study were to:

- study the socio-psychological factors responsible for honor killing
- document the configuration of honor killing within the Baloach community

- study the concept of “*Ghairat*” in the *Baloch* community
- make the exotic familiar and familiar as exotic

#### **1.4 Research methodology**

Every scientific discipline possesses certain methods, which have to be followed by a researcher if any worthwhile research is to be conducted. The aim of research methodology lies in seeking true and useful information about the particular phenomenon being studied. Anthropological research usually calls for employment of more than one techniques owing to which it is called a “multi-instrumental” research.

The anthropological tools and techniques may be divided into primary and secondary sources that were used during the research study. The data collected through key informants, participant observation, interviews, group discussions and census survey were included in the primary sources of data collection. Secondary source of data collection during the field work was the source from which anthropologists take help in their research that include the research works of other anthropologists, print and electronic media and books etc. Methods like participant observation and field study were indigenous to anthropology. Some other tools were also employed to the research work to improve the quality and quantity of data. The researcher used the following research techniques for data collection:

- i. Participant observation
- ii. Non-participant observation

- iii. Key informant
- iv. Sampling
- v. Socio-economic and census survey form
- vi. In-depth interviews
- vii. Group discussion
- viii. Case study method
- ix. Mapping

#### **1.4.1 Participant observation**

The method of participant observation differentiates anthropology from other disciplines giving it prominent place in social sciences. Malinowski (1964) states:

“The anthropological fieldworker should totally immerse himself in the lives of the people; and that can only be done through months of residence in the local community. Residence in the research community ensures that the fieldworker observes details of daily life and activity enacted by people who have relatively indifferent to and unabashed by the presence of a foreigner.”<sup>3</sup>

The substantial data was collected by observing the local community engaged in their daily routine matters. Direct observation enabled me to analyze what generally was behind the scenes. Mostly, direct observation of the local people was made when they were busy in daily routine work or interacting at household level or sitting in *KATH* (gathering of people) of the community. Sometimes in

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1) <sup>3</sup> Layton, Robert. “An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology, page-6, University of Durham, and Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge in 1997, reprinted in 1998.)

cases of domestic conflicts, I participated as a reconciliatory and played my role effectively.

#### **1.4.2 Non-participant Observation**

At some places, the presence of a field researcher is felt awkward, and thus, he becomes unable to behave as a participant, on such occasions, the researcher acted as non-participant observer.

Although most of the research was conducted as a participant observer, yet at times, the researcher had to behave as a non-participant observer that happened while talking to the women who had more or less any links with “*Kala* or *Kali*” and the elderly people of the community. As already stated, observational method is a primary technique for collecting data through non-verbal behavior. Participant and non-participant observation was not confined to non-verbal act; that was effectively used in addition to conversation, informants, and structured questionnaire and interview guide for gathering reliable data from the local people.

#### **1.4.3. Key informants**

Key informant method was another important anthropological tool for collecting extensive information about the local people, cultural beliefs, and environment. Moreover, selection of key informants was also not a simple and easy process, but the researcher selected seven key informants belonging to different ethnic groups from the Baloach community with the help of local people who were very helpful throughout the research process and assisted in

cross-checking the collected information. Several detailed discussions and informal interviews with the key informants were held which helped to get the desired information.

#### **1.4.4. Sampling**

Talking about the sampling technique, Russel Bernard is of the view that,

“Given that your measurements are credible, how much of the world do they represent? How far can you generalize the results of your research?”<sup>4</sup>

In anthropology, we use sampling method to take reasonable amount of representative of any community. The technique was used during the research as visiting the marked households and the samples were on two levels for data collection.

#### **Socio-economic census survey Sampling**

There were 154 household in the village, 56 were selected for stratified random sampling for filling the survey forms for base line data. The strata were built according to castes in the village. The following table indicates the sample of the study from the community.

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<sup>4</sup> “Research methods in Anthropology” fourth edition, Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, by H. Russell Bernard, page 146, published in 2006 by Altamira Press, A division of Rowman & Littlefield Publisher. Inc. New York.

Table showing the No. of households taken as sample

Sr. no.	Caste	No. of Household	Sample taken	%age
1	Jiani Baluch	43	22	27.92%
2	Lashari Baluch	29	10	18.83%
3	Dasti	11	3	7.14%
4	Syed	12	4	7.79%
5	Thahim	8	2	5.19%
6	Machhi	20	4	12.98%
7	Metla	15	5	9.74%
8	Nai	7	2	4.54%
9	Daya	1	1	0.64%
10	Chahoti	3	1	1.94%
11	Chhena	2	1	1.35%
12	Morya	3	1	1.94%
13	Total	154	56	100%

Source: field data and socio-economic census survey form.

The method of stratified random sampling was used to cover all caste groups of the village because their social positions were based on the caste basis. Caste was an important unit of social organization and village's stratification, therefore, each caste was taken into consideration according to their strength.

#### **1.4.4.2 Sampling for in-depth interviews**

After getting the socio-economic survey forms filled, 38 in-depth interviews were conducted to know the realities of *Kala-Kali* in *Baloach* community; purposive sampling method was used for the data collection from the households which were directly affected by "*Kala kali*" (honor killing). A



total number of 24 *kala-kali* cases that had taken place in different times were explored through the in-depth interviews.

### **1.5 In-depth interviews**

Overall Thirty eight in-depth interviews were conducted. For the purpose, an interview guide was prepared that had different kinds of open and closed ended questions related to the research. How does *baloachki* contribute in coalition formation and its functioning among inter-*biraderi* and intra-*biraderi* organization? Moreover, the questions concerning the functions of “*Kala Kali*” within the community were also included in it. The trends and attitudes of the people were also measured about the local traditions.

#### **1.5.1 Interview guide**

An interview guide was prepared to use during the interviews.

The views of Goode and Hatt (1988) were:

Interview guide uses a great proportion of unstructured or open ended questions so it allows a wide variety of responses.”<sup>5</sup>

Detailed interviews were essential to get in-depth information about the phenomenon under study. The topics of interview guide were about the local concept of “Ideal honor” “punishments”, other factors behind the honor killing, the whole structure of the institution of honor killing, and the rules and traditions governing it. Moreover, the entire configuration of honor killing in the *Baloch* culture and its related issues were studied deeply though using in-depth

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<sup>5</sup> Good, Williams. J and Hatt, Paul. K, (1988) “Methods in social research”, McGraw Hill Book Company : New Delhi.

interviews. The researcher conducted 38 interviews using interview guide. These interviews were conducted from the selected strata of married, unmarried and people from different age groups from *Baloach* castes. The interview guide methodology also helped in clarifying and checking the validity of the data obtained from other tools.

### **1.5.2 Case study method**

A case study contributes uniquely to the knowledge of individuals, organizational, social and political organizations. Yin (1984) was of the view:

“In brief the case study allows an investigation to retain holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events.”<sup>6</sup>

Five case studies of *Kala-kali* were documented, though there were lots of cases, just to avoid the repetition and the case study method was used that proved to be a tool for the in depth study of honor killing.

### **1.6 Locale and its Justification**

Locale was a basic necessity to conduct any fieldwork, because it was the community that provides first hand data about an issue. A researcher carefully selects locale that could provide information according to the research topic. For better understanding of *Kala-Kali*, village Drighri in Rajanpur district was selected as the locale for conducting research. The intention was to study the phenomenon of honor killing and its socio-psychological factors in the Baloach community. This particular village was selected as locale because the

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<sup>6</sup> Yin, Robert, K. (1984) “case study research design and methods” Sage Publications: London.

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people had a strong belief in “*Baloachki*”, which triggers the honor killing in that area. The natives practice the tradition of *Kala-Kali* without any hesitation rather as a mark of honor according to their traditions and norms.

### **1.7 Problems encountered**

As the topic of the research was sensitive and it was not easy for the researcher to collect data from the respondents because of different reasons. Most of the respondents felt shy while some other, turned angry at times while speaking on the issue. Being a woman, the researcher had to face much difficulty for the collection of information or gathering data from the concerned male members of the community.

To overcome the problem, a trustworthy and meaningful rapport was established with informants who not only provided valuable information but also accompanied the researcher during different visits to the different areas and meetings with different people at varied given time.

## Chapter No.2

### 2.0 Review of literature

A community is not the mere summation of its individual members; rather it is a system formed by people's associations as members of the society based on specific realities with its own characteristics. Culture is a complex whole which has different kinds of elements, characteristics, patterned behavior, norms, values, and institutions etc in "Ideal" abstract terms. The community which performs the social actions is in "real" terms.

Each society has a structure built upon certain institutions that act collectively to maintain the equilibrium level of the society. There is interdependency among these institutions, if one undergoes changes, others are also affected by it. These institutions are, in fact, governed by certain norms, values and laws, which are the product of the society fulfilling the needs of the people. As Malinowski argued:

"Culture consists in a more efficient and better founded way of satisfying the social, psychological and biological desires of man".<sup>1</sup>

The people, who form the practices of these institutions, feel a sense of possession, for the institutions and this very factor can be responsible for the

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<sup>1</sup> An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology by Robert Layton, page-33, University of Durham, and Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge in 1997, reprinted in 1998.

patterning, functioning and perpetuation of any particular institution over generations.

The individual and its action is a unit in the community and different individuals collectively form the social actions which further determine the direction for the particular community to move on. In this respect, the community trains its members to perform social actions according to the set rules and norms through the interconnected process of socialization and enculturation. As Mead is of the view:

The process of socialization and enculturation are interconnected processes.<sup>2</sup>

There could be many agencies of socialization, such as school, family, peer group, community, means of socialization etc., so the focus is on socio-psychological aspects for building the concepts.

In this discourse, it is important to mention the basic assumptions of “culture and personality” school of thought by seeking the relation of a person with its culture that determines the way of behaving in a given setup in connection with the factors behind its personality.

According to Victor Barnouw (1973):

“The culture of a society provides a number of ready-made answers to the problems of life. The child learns these as he grows up and comes to see the world through the particular spectacles of his culture.....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ingold, Tim. “Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology” pg-831 in 1994 simultaneously published by Routledge, London. And USA & Canada by Routledge.

<sup>3</sup> Barnouw, Victor. “Culture and Personality” first published in 1963 then revised edition in 1973 by The Dorsey Press, Irwin Dorsey International London, England.

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In this way the personalities of people of any particular community are further shaped, reshaped and transformed according to their generally accepted principles, best suited to their environment performing the socially accepted patterned social actions governed by rules and laws i.e. institutions.

These principles, rules and laws, collectively train the individuals and make up their cognition. Acts are meaningless without their context e.g. here are array of different acts which are meaningless in their aloneness. If we study one act in given point of time, which can be meaningless or highly contextual to understand the honor killing by itself a murder, facilitates nothing or stands meaningless unless its whole connection with the inter-connected web of social actions, motivation and structure is required to make a series of jointed different acts to make this single phenomenon as a meaningful act. When we see logical connections behind cognition of these acts, this becomes an individual action. Likewise, it constitutes the unit acts. These kinds of different unit acts collectively form total individual behavior. The individual behaviors further form group action that further leads towards the social behavior. The term cognition is derived from Latin word "*cognoscere*" which means to know refers to the multi-interpretive term e.g. its interpretation is given in different disciplines. In psychology, it refers to an information processing view of an individual's psychological functions. However, Roy D'Andrad is of the view about anthropologist studying "Cognition" that:

"The cognitive anthropologist study the relation between human society and human thought.....they also study that how people in

social group conceive of and think about the objects and events which make up their words-including every thing from physical objects like wild plants to abstract events like social justice.....”<sup>4</sup>

Durkheim regarded social systems as inherently stable and normally existent in a stable condition. He later identified the process of negative feedback, such as punishment for deviance from social norms, which tended to restore equilibrium. When the groups of people execute and support the same phenomenon again and again, it becomes their patterned behavior which is described by Durkheim as Collective consciousness:

“The set of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a single society, which form a determinate system that has its own life”<sup>5</sup>

In the whole web of different interconnected institutions, the present study is concerned with the institution of “Kala Kali”. The phenomenon of *Kala-Kali* is very significant in the *Baloach* community that operates within it like other socio-cultural institutions. *Kala-Kali* is a very old tradition which has changed some of its implications with the passage of time, though it retained its fundamental behavior.

According to the previous discussion about the honor killing as a situational act, within a kind of hierarchic grouping and social setup, one may set

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<sup>4</sup> D’Andrade, Roy. “The Development of Cognitive Anthropology” p-1, first published in 1995, re-printed in 1996, 1997. in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge.

<sup>5</sup> Layton, Robert. “An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology, page-6, University of Durham, and Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge in 1997, reprinted in 1998.)



its personality according to its environment. In this regard, a statement about personality given by the authors of "The authoritarian Personality" that:

"..... Personality is a more or less enduring organization of forces with in the individual. These persisting forces of personality help to determine response in various situations.....personality lies behind behavior and within the individual. The forces of personality are not responses but readiness for responses."<sup>6</sup>

In this research, the focus of the study was on the socio-psychological factors of honor killing and to investigate how the *Baloach* community links honor killing with the concept of honor and *Ghairat*. Moreover, the study also inquires how the community perceives the deviant behavior of its members who follow the *Baloachi* code of honor" and how the deviant behavior is punished by the "organic society". All the concerning issues lead the phenomenon of honor killing towards an institution and confirms it as an institution by the implication of proper rules and regulations set by the individuals (its configuration) and perpetuation by transmitting from one generation to another.

The secondary data available on the topic was quite difficult to be found because national or international publications were not available for the reference. But the researcher toiled hard to go every possible nook and corner to make a clear frame of reference regarding the study.

The literature which is being discussed here is touching on different aspects of "*Kala-Kali*" in the contextual complexity of this institution.

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<sup>6</sup> T. W. Andorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, "The Authoritarian Personality" New York: Harper, 1950 , p-5,

Here is Thomas Holdich's account of his twenty-year career as a military officer and surveyor on the western frontier. According to Holdich:

"The Baluch is easier to deal with and to control than the Pathan, owing to his tribal organization, and his freedom from bigoted fanaticism or blind allegiance to his priest. He respects and honors the chief of his clan, who possesses far greater authority in the tribal councils. He is warlike and predatory, but his methods of fighting differ essentially, even when engaged in inter-tribal warfare. The Baluch fights openly, and faces the enemy boldly. There is a rough form of chivalry amongst the Baluch warriors,"<sup>7</sup>

Further discussing the honor killing in Baloach community, and its great concern for honor, Paul Titus is of the view:

"An aphorism occasionally heard today purportedly summarizes the approach the British took to govern the parts of the empire that now constitute Pakistan. Their formula, it says, was 'Rule the Punjabis, intimidate the Sindhis, buy the Pushtun, and honor the Baloach'.<sup>8</sup>

This great concern for their honor constitutes their very character which is bounded with the honor code of *Baloachki*. *Baloachs* form their character which is said to be the representative of the whole. So they must abide by the honor code, which constitute their "Character" i.e. his preference for "honor", Rivalry, hospitality and so on, serve as the elements of the character. Holdich's statement also represents as it focuses on "Character" with its "Natural" locus in tribes,

"Many ethnographers have studied the Baloachs they portray Baloach social organization as oligarchic and Baloach as forthright

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<sup>7</sup> Honor the Baloch, Buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, Social Organization and History in Western Pakistan Author(s): Paul Titus page no-663 Source: Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Jul., 1998), pp. 657-687 Published by: Cambridge University Press

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

and especially concerned with honor. Baloch as having strong tribal values and concern for honor.”<sup>9</sup>

He further discusses the “Baloach Character” on the whole as Spooner (1987:63) suggests that

“Nomadism 'is still thought of as the genuine Baluch life, which embodies the authentic Baluch virtues of honesty, loyalty, faith, hospitality, asylum for refugees, and so on”.<sup>10</sup>

While talking about the “Honor” in “Character” Robert Paine, is of the view:

“Honor provides a nexus between the ideals of a society and their reproduction in the individual through the aspiration to personify them”<sup>11</sup>

The attainment of honor appears to rest upon a straight line of meritorious conduct; that is, one which does not deviate from the ideals of society. This strength of character is studied by most of the ethnographers. What is being quoted here is much likely to be related with that of *Baloach* under study, as:

“The reputed traits of Baloach “character” are those frequently associated with nomads. These extend from ecological and cultural factors which encourage men of action, movement, and force” (Spooner 1973:36-7)<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Honor the Baloch, Buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, Social Organization and History in Western Pakistan Author(s): Paul Titus Source: Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Jul., 1998), pp. 657-687 Published by: Cambridge University Press

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Paine, Robert. High-Wire Culture: Comparing Two Agonistic Systems of Self-Esteem Source: Man, New Series, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Dec., 1989), pp. 657-672 Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland).

<sup>12</sup> Honor the Baloch, Buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, Social Organization and History in Western Pakistan Author(s): Paul Titus Source: Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Jul., 1998), pp. 657-687 Published by: Cambridge University Press

Given that cohesive kinship units often function as the core of Baloach community and allegiance to Sardars provides a route to tribal membership, the configuration of honor in Baloach society places an emphasis on displaying loyalty and keeping one's word. The eclectic, relatively fluid nature of Baloach tribes contributes, perhaps, to the fact that, like many other nomadic groups in the Middle East, Baloach do not equate being Muslim with strict observance of the practices and rituals prescribed by the *Shari'a* (ibid.:39;).

*Baloachs* have hierarchic grouping, hierarchy of status and authority in Baloach groupings which culminates in the *Wisakh* or *Dera* of the *Sardar*. Kapferer argues that:

“In hierarchical societies, individuals and groups are seen to be incorporated within and determined by holistic principles. In those societies political (not religious) authority is the encompassing, unifying force which subsumes, orders, and makes whole, otherwise weak or destructive individuals and groups (1988:211).<sup>13</sup>

While talking about the numerous hierarchic grouping in Baloachs, Pastner is of the view:

“The Baloach are clustered into numerous named tribes or *kom*, each of which can theoretically boast a distinctive agnatically phrased pedigree. Most Baloach, however, seem to be unaware of their genealogies beyond three or four generations and, in general, these 'tribes' have little actual corporate role in Makrani social life. Instead, place of residence, economic interests, and allegiance to particular Hakims or their local representatives (headmen, usually Baloach, known as *Motaber* or *Gauda*) have traditionally determined the main political and economic demarcations in Makran and have

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

crosscut, or even superseded, ties of kin, particularly in the case of Baluch villagers<sup>14</sup> (Pastner and Pastner 1972a).

There is the manipulation of different term, *Khandan*, *Biraderi*, caste and tribe. So before starting the discussion based on these concepts, the review of the definitions of concepts is important for clarity.

The definition of caste has been given in the Macmillan dictionary of anthropology as:

“Castes are corporate social units which are ranked and generally defined by Descent, marriage and occupation.”<sup>15</sup>

In Macmillan dictionary tribe is discussed as:

“The Roman word *tribus* meant a political unit, and was used to refer to social groups defined by the territory they occupied.”<sup>16</sup>

Hasting Donnan differentiates between *Biraderi* and caste as:

“Dhund conceive of their *Qaum* as divided up into a number of named patrilineal descent categories which they refer to by the terms *kunba* and *biradari*. Both of these terms carry implications of agnatic relationship and both are used to refer to descent categories of varying genealogical depth.”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Lords of the Desert Border: Frontier Feudalism in Southern Baluchistan and Eastern Ethiopia: by Stephen L. Pastner Source: International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Feb., 1979), pp. 93-106 Published by: Cambridge University Press)

<sup>15</sup> Seymour-Smith, Charlotte, “Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology” p-32 first published in 1986, by THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD. London and Basingstoke.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p-281

<sup>17</sup> Donnan, Hasting. “Marriage Among Muslims” preference and choice in Northern Pakistan. P-68 Published by Hindustan Publishing Corporation Delhi. India in 1988.

The *Baloachs* in their social organization have a great involvement of the “*Biraderi*” that also has the authority of decision making.

The *Biraderi* involvement is much more important phenomenon in “honor killing”. The *Biraderi*-men maintain a high level of communication and involvement, and also support in all spheres of life. Layton elucidates this phenomenon:

“A system is made up of a set of components which are inter-related in such a way that the properties of the whole are different to those which the components exhibit in isolation. The whole has a degree of internal coherence and a recognizable boundary so that it tends to persist as a system rather than break down and merge with its environment”<sup>18</sup>

Rousseau similarly regarded society, not as a natural thing but a sum of forces which can only arise when several persons come together’.

“If any individual rights remained, this would perpetuate the state of nature. Each associate must give himself up, not to an individual sovereign, but to the collectivity or association by obeying “the supreme direction of the general will”<sup>19</sup>

In the *Biraderi* setup, there is a Local Judicial system called Jirga or Kath. Speaking about the functionality of Kath, one may say that, the relationship among members of a community are based on equality; with no speaker or leader

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<sup>18</sup>Buckley 1967, *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology* by Robert Layton, page-6, University of Durham, and Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge in 1997, reprinted in 1998

<sup>19</sup>Rousseau J.J 1963 (1762) “*the social contract and discourses*”, ed. G.D.H. Cole London: Dent and quoted from, *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology* by Robert Layton, page-6, University of Durham, and Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge in 1997, reprinted in 1998.)

(the additional value rests with the chief); the equality is emphasized by circular seating on the ground and the equal right of all to speak. A body could not finalize its decisions, but through the vote, discussion and negotiations. The unanimous decision is binding on each participant.

It allows groups of men to arrive at joint decisions without compromising any participant's independence; it produces binding corporate decisions about concerted action without dissembling the structure of egalitarian balanced segments through the introduction of any one's right to give commands. Though eligibility for membership of the *jirga* varies between regions, at minimum, it requires patrilineal descent within a *Baloch* tribe.

In the *Baloch* community under study, the honor killing serves as an inborn characteristic, as Suzanne Ruggi has a point of view about the mechanism and functionality of this institution:

“An “inherited mechanism” deters and eliminates deviation from the honor code, in order to perpetuate the traditional clusters of patriarchal family power”.<sup>20</sup>

By summing up the discourse, the focus of study was to dig out and maintain connection with the factors which are by the social and psychological motivations behind the institution of honor killing. The focus of the study was to seek that in what situations people socialize them to get rid of the social problems regarding honor, politics, or other social issues.

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<sup>20</sup> Commodifying Honor in Female Sexuality: Honor Killings in Palestine Author(s): Suzanne Ruggi Source: Middle East Report, No. 206, Power and Sexuality in the Middle East, (Spring, 1998), pp. 12-15 Published by: Middle East Research and Information Project)



## Chapter No. 3

### Area Profile

#### 3.0 Locale

The research was conducted in Drighri village, tehsile jampur, District Rajanpur, in the southern part of the Punjab province. According to the census report of 1981, the total area of Rajanpur District is 12,318 square kilometers with a population of 11, 03,618. The District is bordering with Baluchistan and the NWFP provinces.

In the west of the village, there are *Koh-e-Suleman* ranges, while in the east, *Khichhi* canal is flowing at a distance of 35 kms from the village. In the north, there is a fort calle *Qala-e-Harrand* at the distance of 20kms. In the south, there is *Kot Rum* army base-camp at the distance of 20kms. Administratively, Rajanpur District has two tehsils, Rajanpur and Jampur. The Village Drighri falls under *Wah Lashari* union council of Jampur Tehsil.

#### 3.1 Historical Background

The village history can be orally narrated by the villagers. However, some of the natives asserted that the area had an old and traditional historical background. The elderly people were capable to recount some historical facts about the village. They claimed that the village existed before the partition of India in 1947. As far as the name of the village is concerned, it was named on a group called Drighs the first settlers of the village.

According to the key informants, the village came into existence some three hundred years ago. The old inhabitants of the village were from the *Drigh* Caste, however, the *Drighs* are extinct now. At the time of the partition of the sub-continent, both Hindus and Sikhs migrated from the village to different parts of India by leaving the impact of their material as well as non-material culture.

According to the villagers, Hindus had a big market there, and owing to this market, it was a well known village in the area. The shops of goldsmiths and cloths carried special importance in the market. The people of other villages used to visit there for shopping. After the partition, the market, which was the property of Hindus, was closed because of the migration. Another factor that contributed to the migration was underground astringent drinking water. The climatic conditions, low rate of rainfall also played a vital role in the migration of the locals. Thus the village population could not increase with the pace as it should have been naturally.

### 3.3 Caste System

The dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations (1988), defines caste as, the group of people having the following three characteristics:

- Endogamy, a compulsory marriage within the groups.
- Ascriptive, membership by birth and for life, and, hence hereditary status;
- Ranking: of the hierarchy in relation to other such group.

The members of a caste do not differ to each other to a greater extent with regard to certain cultural characteristics. They have had their own language and religion as well as certain distinctive customs. The people of “Drighri” were

living in different identifiable groups which could be called as castes. The social position of each caste was determined by the size, caste, political status or affiliation with the political parties and the land they own that determines a clear hierarchy among different castes in the village. “*Drighri*” is a multi-caste village consisting of *Jiani Baloach*, *Lashari Baloach* and *Syeds*, *Syeds* are superior castes in the village whereas *Dasti*, *Lashari*, *Thahim*, *Machhi*, *Metla*, *Nai*, *Dayya*, *Chahoti*, and *Chhena* are regarded as lower castes in status. Among them *Machhi*, *Nai*, and *Dayya* were the *kammi* castes having lowest social status in the village.

**Table showing the caste wise strength of the village**

Sr. no.	Caste	No. of Household	%age
1	Jiani Baloach	43	27.92%
2	Lishari Baloch	29	18.83%
3	Dasti	11	7.14%
4	Syed	12	7.79%
5	Thahim	8	5.19%
6	Machhi	20	12.98%
7	Metla	15	9.74%
8	Nai	7	4.54%
9	Daya	1	0.64%
10	Chahoti	3	1.94%
11	Chhena	2	1.35%
12	Morya	3	1.94%
13	Total	154	100%

Source: field data and socio-economic census survey form

Not all but some castes were also be categorized on the basis of their occupation such as *Nai* (barber). The castes were further divided into *Sharik* (sub-lineage) and *Khandans* (extended families).

### 3.3.1. Jiani and Lashari Baloach

“*Jiani and Lashari Baloachs*” were not the original inhabitants of the village, while the forefathers of the present generation came from Iran to “*Kech Makran*” (Baluchistan) and after that settled in “*Drighri*” village.

Jiani was a *Baloach* caste, following a distinct code of honor called *Baloachki*. It provides a line of action to the members of *Baloach* castes. Every *Baloach* was proud to be a “*Baloach*”. In functionality of “*Baloachki*”, one can draw a distinct difference between the superior and the inferior castes i.e. the *Baloach* castes and the *kammi* castes respectively. The *kammi* castes don’t follow the *Baloachki* code of behavior, because of this reason they are considered at low rank in social hierarchy, although their conflict resolution is done by the *Baloch Sardars* (the head men in the tribe), according to the requirements of *baloachki* code of honor. And the *kammi* also feel proud as their conflict is been settled according to the *Baloachki* code of honor.

The *Balochs* draw their lineage from two brothers *Mir Chakar Khan*, a *Rind Baloch* and *Mir Gohram Khan*, from *Lashari* caste, thus two different castes were emerged:

- 1) *Rind Baloach* caste (descendants of *Mir Chakar Khan*)
- 2) *Lashar* caste (descendants of *Mir Gohram Khan*)

In the village, there were the descendants of *Mir Gohram Khan*, further divided into sub-castes. The emphasis of research was on *Lashar* caste that was further divided into fourteen sub-castes:

- *Jiani Baloach.*
- *Lashari Baloach*
- *Jalalani Baloach.*
- *Bunglani Baloach.*
- *Jumbrani Baloach.*
- *Badlani Baloach.*
- *Phujlani Baloach.*
- *Haqdadani Baloach.*
- *Mordani Baloach.*
- *Sandlani Baloach.*
- *Nehalani Baloach.*
- *Gishkori Baloach.*
- *Gorkhani Baloach.*
- *Fojlani Baloach.*

Among these fourteen sub-castes, the village had two sub-castes i.e. *Lashari baloach* and *Jiani baloach* .An aged key-informant said that they manipulate the word caste (Qaum) for the recognition of any tribe in the area, the natives also use the term Qaum for their recognition, but their social structure was of tribal nature. All the tribes and sub-tribes possessed a localized segmentary social structure, where tribal identity was probably unknown prior to the advent of British rule.

All the sub-castes or tribes were headed by their respective Sardars (chief).<sup>1</sup> Among these sub-tribes, “Jiani Baloach” was a *Muqqadam* tribe having “*Tumun*” (power of decision making) “*Jiani Baloach*” sub-tribe attained the same status in hierarchy by mutual understanding with other sub-tribes and lower castes of the village to work for their benefits. *Sardars* of all sub-tribes mutually decided to maintain “*Jiani*” *Baloach* status as dominant (*Muqaddim*) among them for settlement of conflict and decision making.

The dominance of *Jiani* tribe and *Lashari* influence was the source of protecting the rights of other sub-tribes in socio-political and economic spheres, as both of the tribes were the main land owners in the village “Drighri”, about 50% of the total land of the village was their property. They enjoy a great influence in the area but in exercising political power, they were next to the *Drishak* caste.

### 3.3.2. *Drishak*

*Drishak* was the 2<sup>nd</sup> main land owning caste of the village, holding 40% of the village land, but there was not a single member of the caste living in the village. The respondents told that *Drishaks* were not the actual owners of the land, but the *Syeds. Makhdoom* Sahib tied the knot of his daughter to a person in *Drishak* family by giving her that land in dowry. So, now *Drishaks* own the

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<sup>1</sup> (Sardar who has the authority over the other members and are selected on the basis of genealogy as well as political influence i.e. perpetual Sardari system which is shifted to the elder son of the Sardar, after his death “PAG” of the father is placed on the head of the elder son and the authority is shifted automatically. This ritual is called “**Dastar Bandi**”. They speak Baloachi and Seraiki languages and follow the same culture and religion.

land. For their political role in the area and land ownership, they have been placed on a high social status among other castes of the village. They were truly enjoying the status of a dominant caste group.

### **3.3.3. Syeds**

*Syed* was a respectable caste of the area owing 2% of village land and were 7.79 % of the total population living in 12 households. The Syeds were also known for giving amulets for all purposes.

In *Baloachki*, in case of a murder and mediators were *Syeds*, they resolve the issue by visiting victim's family in the first hand. As Syeds were respected in the area (for sharing the Holy lineage of the Prophet (PBUH)), the victim's family usually forgives the murderer just because of their visit to their home.

### **3.3.4. Other Castes**

There were 7 households of *Nai* caste in the village, out of total 7 households, 3 were involved in traditional relationship of providing their services to the *Sardars'* and other influential households of the village. All the members of *Nai* households serve other families on an annual payment basis. They cut hair, cook food on special occasions like marriages and death, play the role of messengers, and offering their special services on marriages and death ceremonies.

Their wives also offer their services on marriages and deaths, but not paid for each task at that time, however, when the occasion ends, they receive

goods (rice, grains, money, clothes etc). Besides their rendering services, they perform their original profession of hair dressing in the village on cash payment.

“*Machhi*” was another caste of the village, owning the valuable area of the village. However, they have a low rank in the social stratification. The social mobility from one caste to another caste was impossible, while migration was the only way to ensure social mobility. An interesting feature of the village was that *Kammis* do not live close to the houses of Jiani Sardars. They live in the same village but separately as a different community. Most of Kammi serve at the *Sardar’s* houses. In the past, Blacksmiths, *Mochies* (cobblers), *Sunars* (Goldsmiths) were also residing in the village, but on shifting of the market from the village, they migrated to the nearby villages and towns to earn their livelihood.

### **3.3.5. *Ilaqa Deh***

A large part of the village land was *Ilaqa Deh* area under the control of provincial government. As the land was not claimed or cultivated since long that was automatically went under the provincial government’s control. About 5% of the total village land was *Ilaqa Deh*.



### 3.4. Housing Pattern

In the village, people belongs to *Jiani and Lashari* castes were residing, next to them were the houses of *Nai* and *Chhena*, while people from other castes including *Syeds, Cobbler* etc, were living at the other side of the village.

There was old dried well in the center of the village; while village dwellings have been surrounded with sand dunes.

### 3.5. Types of Houses

The construction and designs of the houses were the symbol of lifestyle and culture of the people. There were two types of houses in the village-*Kacha houses* (mud houses) and semi *Pakka houses*. Only the houses of *Sardars* of *Jiani* and *Lashari Baloachs* were built in semi-*Pakka* style. Almost all other houses in the village were *kacha*, the height of walls of *Jiani's* houses was nearly 10-11 feet, while of other caste's the walls were lower in height than that of *Jiani's* houses.

Topographically, the houses of the village were not in semi-scattered form. There were many streets contacting each and every house, while the houses were not heavily decorated. There were wind-gauzes installed at the doors to minimize the suffocation in the summer.

### 3.6. Dress and Ornaments

The dress pattern of the village was traditional, old men wear *Dhoti* and *Chola*, young usually wear *Shalwar* and *Qameez* or *Lacha* and *Kurta*. The *Safa*

was a typical turban used by young men as a sign of nobility, that piece of cloth usually kept on the shoulders.

Women wear *Shalwar Qamees* with *dupatta* as a sign of “izzat”, “*Burqa*” (mostly white tent shaped) was used to cover all the body while going out of the house. Old women, however, use *Shawal* while going outside the house. Children usually wear *Shalwar Qameez* with a cap on their heads.

There were three types of ornaments used by the woman in the village, gold and copper ornaments, used on special occasions, like *Tikka* (ornament for forehead), *Kantay* (ear rings), *Koka* (nose pin), *Mahlan* (necklace), *Katmala* (short necklace), *Hassi* (heavy necklace), *Wangan* (bangles), *Chooriyan* (thick bangles), and *Punjeh* (foot ring). There were also some ornaments used in day to day life such as *Wallian* (small ear rings), *Popa* (nose pin), *Patri* (crown of neck) and *Wongan* (bangles made of glass).

### **3.7. Eating Habits**

The people of *Drighri* ate meal two times a day at fixed timings, breakfast in the morning and dinner at night. Usually, the people take *Roti* (bread made of flour) or *Jawar* (Indian corn), with *Salan* (curry) prepared by vegetables, meat etc. Mutton and beef (meat) was cooked occasionally on the occasion or festivals. Pulses were also the part of their food. Vermicelli and rice milk (*Kharni*) were cooked as a sweet dish.

Though sugar was available easily in the village, *Gur* and *Shakkar* was commonly used. *Lassi* and milk were popular drinks in the village. In the

summer, *Lassi* prepared from fresh curd by a household was taken by nearly all the people. They rear buffaloes, cows, goats, and sheep for getting milk. Moreover, in each household, there were approximately two goats kept for milk and some hens for poultry.

### **3.8. Language**

The mother tongue of the residents of *Drighri* was *Saraiki*, some of them speak *Baloachi* also. They respect their languages.

### **3.9. Graveyard**

There was a big graveyard, divided theoretically on the basis of different castes. Most of the graves were made of mud and plastered with mud. There was no boundary wall around the graveyard; thorny bushes were used to save it from jungle animals.

### **3.10. *Cha'oki* (the fort)**

“*Cha'oki*” was a traditional fort established by the Britishers during the colonial period. Before their arrival in the area, Muslims and Hindus lived peacefully. But during that era, there was a great change in the whole administration of the country. The area was also affected by the prevalent situation. So Britishers appointed *Nambardars* in different areas including that one to remain updated of the situation in the locality. The *Nambardar* gathers information about the area and affairs of the village collects tax and also looks after the interests of the government. *Sardar Azam Khan* was the first

*Nambardar* of *choki*, while the selection of the *Nambardar* was made in a mutual decision of Revenue Department and Tehsildar.

### 3.11. Population

According to the data collected from *Wah Lashari* union council, the total population of the village was 1093 people with 154 households. The total population of the village has been shown in the table below:

**Table showing the Total population of the village**

Sex	No. of people	Percentage
Adult male	298	27.26%
Adult female	413	37.79%
Children	382	34.95%
Total	1093	100%

(Source; Data collected from Union Council *Wah Lashari*)

### 3.12 Weather

The summer season is dry and hot, especially the days are too hot, but the nights are comparatively cool, due to moisture. The temperature goes high in day time but as soon as the sun sets, the soil and sand become cool and temperature comes down. May and June were the hottest months when the temperature goes to 51°F, while July and August were also hot but the Monsoon winds start blowing till September. The occasional rains also bring the temperature down. The maximum and minimum temperature in summer was 105°F; and 83°F; where as in winter it was 73°F; and 51°F; respectively.

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March was the month of spring, while the rate of annual rainfall was very low. The area receives rains from June to September. Winter rain was also very rare. Like other parts of southern Punjab, winter brings coldness from October to the mid of the March.

### **3.13. Shrines**

There were three famous shrines in the village:

- 1) The shrine of *Pir Nizam-ud-din Shah*.
- 2) The shrine of *Pir Masoom Shah*.
- 3) The shrine of *Pir Dhamalay Shah*.

All the shrines in the village were largely attended by the devotees not only from the village but from far flung areas also, but most famous shrine was of *Pir Nizam-ud-din Shah*. People have strong beliefs on shrines. Many rituals were performed there to win the blessings of the *Pir's*.

### **3.14. Mosque**

There was one main mosque in the village that belongs to the *Sunni* sect. There were few people who offer prayer on regular basis, however, in *Juma and Eid* prayers, many people participate.

### **3.15. Shops**

There was no well organized market in the village, in the past; there was a market that was moved out from the village at the time of partition. Since then, the village does not have any proper market, however; there were some shops in different areas of the village, providing basic commodities including soaps,

pulses, ghee, etc. The people have to buy other necessities of life like clothes, fresh vegetables, shoes, medicines, fruits etc. from nearby villages, but were facing difficulties due to non-availability of proper road network and the transport.

### **3.16. Facilities**

As far as the educational facilities were concerned, there was one primary boys and primary girls school in the village. People do not send their children to schools for different reasons such as lack of awareness and economic conditions that were the main factors playing their role behind the phenomenon. Moreover, the people want to keep their children with them for *Fasal Chunwai*, when the crops were ripe, people take their children for cultivation of crops and picking of cotton, that was called *Fasal Chunwai* in the village.

As far as medical facilities were concerned, there was a Basic Health Unit (BHU) established by the government in the village “Drighri” which possess very limited medical facilities. It was very difficult for the villagers to take benefits of medical facilities; usually people have to go to nearby villages and towns for having medical care.

Transport facility was also not available in the village “Drighri”, road was about 6 km away from the village, therefore the people were not mobile and usually use their own vehicles for transportation which includes, horse, horse-carts, bull-carts, and camel-carts. The village was surrounded by sandy area, so motor vehicles could not be driven easily.

### 3.17. Water supply system

There was a lack of indigenous developed resources for water because the under ground water level was very low due to the sandy area; it was hard to dig out the water easily. To minimize the problems, water supply was provided by the local Government. The water supply system includes 2 water tanks; receive water from another supply system in nearby town Lundi Saidan (6 km away). The water supply from both the tanks was not adequate that was looked after by six employees. According to my key informants, it rarely provides water in the village; the people have to use water from natural resources. *Tobas* was a natural water reservoir located at a distance of ½ km from the village. Men and women fetch water for their daily use on the horses, asses and heads. It was stated by the villagers that the *Tobbas* were the result of a blessing from a “*Pir*” called “*Pir Sair Wala*”.

Another water resource was in the form of a hand pump installed by the Saudi king, people of the village usually use the water of the pump.

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## Chapter N0. 4

### Social Organization

#### The background:

When we converse about the phenomenon of social organization, we indicate the prototype of communication amongst the members of an assemblage. We presuppose that there is some sort of structure to this personal interaction within a society and in analyzing that structure we assign behavior to certain categories and divide society into various groups.

“Social structure or social organization often means a series of problem centering on kinship in a broad sense, but social structure is not simple a matter of kinship alone, it rather includes all modes of organizing social group that bind men together and make ordered social life possible.”

(Kessing: 1966:148)

In the Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology, the phenomenon of Social organization has been defined as:

“Social organization on the other hand refers to the dynamic, situational and decision-making or strategic, aspect of social relations”.<sup>1</sup>

Social organization is a sort of social system comprising groups and social relations, viewed as interlocking positions and roles. The social organization of “Drighri” village has been discussed as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> Seymour-Smith, Charlotte, “Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology” first published in 1986, by THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD. London and Basingstoke.



#### 4.1. Family

The family was most important element of social organization in the community under study. Murdock (1949:1) has said:

“Family is social group characterized by common residence, economic corporation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of them maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually co-habiting adults.

Family was an elementary institution of social organization minimally consisting of a married couple and their children in the village.

The cluster of relation that emerges as a result of marriage further constitutes the role and status within the network of a family. “Drighri” village consists of four main ethnic groups each was endogamous in nature. The endogamous groups were called *Qaums*. The members of one ethnic group constitute a *biraderi*, which was also the highest unit of their social organization.

As stated earlier, descent was traced back from father, as the name and property were inherited from father’s side. Traditionally, female members do not inherit from the lineage of their father; females’ however’ have a legal right for it. Generally females do not exercise the right of property. Traditional expectations attached with daughters/sisters suggest that they have to surrender property rights in favor of brothers. But that was not an absolute rule; it depends on the relationship between married sisters and brothers.

Following the patrilineal rule of inheritance, the residence pattern in “Drighri” is patriarchal where the male members are the breadwinners and taking care of all important decisions. Father is the head of the family and in his absence; the eldest son is the decision maker. The head man has maximum authority to make decision directly proportional to the common interests. Women generally have limited role in decision making, they remained to kitchen and children. The family size depends on two main factors-undivided land property and internal organic solidarity of the family. It was ideally accepted by the community that family should not get divided until the death of father. It was considered a great blessing for family that children after their marriage live with their parents.

#### **4.1.1 Types of family**

People having jobs in cities have been settled there with their family in a nuclear family system. Such type of shift finally leads to emergence of a nuclear family. First of all, out-going members live outside but remain the part of extended family of their parents, but after the property division, when all the children were married; old father and mother decide to live with the youngest son. If there was no property to consolidate the family together, then such type of shift was obvious.

Two types of families could be distinguished in the village that was extended and joint families. The quantitative data of household composition shows that the average size of a family was of 7 persons. There were 33

extended families out of 56 or 58.93% of total families, 11 were joint families forming the ratio of 19.64%, while the rest of 12 families were nuclear. A household may have joint family i.e. two or more brothers along with their nuclear families or an extended family three generations of kinsmen including ageing parents, with one or more married or unmarried children. While the polygamy means when husbands can have more than one wife, monogamy refers to the concept when husbands have one wife.<sup>2</sup> Vertically, the extended family was three generations old, while, horizontally, it was extended over the father's children, ego's children and ego's brother's children. The people who were living in extended families, believe that they signify unity, enhance mutual love and affection, and provide greater manpower. Difficult matters could also be accomplished easily. But such families were very few in numbers.

Table showing number of family types in village

Serial no.	Family type	No.of households	Percentage %
1	Extended family	33	58.93%
2	Joint family	11	19.64%
3	Nuclear family	5	8.93%
4	Polygamous family	7	12.5%
Total	Families	56	100%

(Source: socio-Economic Census survey forms)

Nuclear families don't have a complex structure of roles and status. Similarly they do not enjoy a good position in socio-cultural status. Nuclear

<sup>2</sup> The tapestry of Culture, An Introduction to cultural Anthropology. By Abraham Roseman, Paula, G. Rubel. And Maxine Weisgrau. Page no. 104, Published by Altamira press, United States of America, in 2009.

families observed in the village were not totally self-sufficient. About 30% of the families were living within the dwelling of their parents. Such types of families depend on their parents for the spouse selection of their children and economic help.

The greatest wish of a married person is to become a father of a male child. Wishes for male children stem from the fact that male members could inherit property of their parents. The name of a *khandan* (family) was transmitted through male children. Moreover, people need male children for security and *izzat* (honor), while agricultural activities also require a large manpower. It was observed that people often perform polygyny (having two or more wives) to get male inheritor.

The most important cultural and traditional character of a family was to provide security to elderly persons by obeying their orders. A person who does not care for the elders was considered as inauspicious. Parents have unquestioned authority over all other members of the family. It was believed that one who does not bow his head to them was unlucky, and will ultimately bear the fruit.

### **4.3. Kinship**

According to Hoebal:

Some societies are closely knitted in kinship grouping. Apparently, kinship terminology is the set of names applied to various statuses in a kinship system<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Hoebel, E. Adamson. "Anthropology; the Study of Man" Published in 1958, by McGraw Hill Book Company, New York.

But the set of names provide an accurate reflection of status and role which were symbolized in various ways.

Theoretically speaking, the kinship system of “*Drighri*” village was similar to the “Sudanese kinship system”, where nearly all terms were elaborative. In the Sudanese classification, parental generation was bifurcate collateral and in the ego’s own generation, it was of “figurative” one.

In “*Drighri*”, the behavior of these groups shows strong kinship ties among them. The social organization based on kinship takes form of “*Biraderis*”. They feel honored in describing dignity and history of their “*Biraderis*”. *Biraderi* helps in organizing ceremonies, functions, and also in settlement of disputes. The people of one *biraderi* get united forming a group.

Analysis of such type of kinship system leads us to conclude that role and status in this system were quite specified. Slight variation and change through marriage and affinity could merge two types of relations, and ultimately create a new one.

#### **4.4. Beliefs and rituals**

Birth, puberty, marriage and death are the events of crises in man’s journey through life at the appointed time the ritual ceremonies, which were called as “*Rites de passage*”.

The life of any individual in any society is a series of different stages. The researcher observed many rituals in “*Drighri*” village as a participant observer during the fieldwork. All inhabitants of the village were Muslims. They

participate in different religious rituals and practices. Ideally they view that each and every aspect of life should be framed according to Islam. But whatever they practically perform was not equated entirely with the interpretation of Islam. The theoretical belief, however, could be observed in different kinds of rituals.

Besides birth and death rituals, there were festivals of *Eid-ul-Fitr*, *Eid-ul-Azha*, *Eid Milad-un-Nabi* and many more, and many other rituals which were celebrated and observed by the villagers accordingly. But the villagers believe in “*Pir Faqir*” (saints) considering them religious and spiritual leaders. They take a “*Pir*” as an authority on religion as well as a source of blessings for being a highly virtuous person. During their life they, thus visit, the “*Pir*”, seeking his favor in their problems. They also pay “*Nazro Niaz*” to the *Pirs*. By offering such types of “*Nazro Niaz*”, they think that shortcomings in performing religious practices would be compensated in the life and in the hereafter. Those affiliations with “*Pir*” have given them leadership in socio-political affairs of the people.

In “*Baloachki*” (The Code of honor), it was considered and practiced that sometimes in the conflict (which is sever in its nature (conflict based on murder.), if a person from Syed family acts as a mediator between two parties and goes to the house of victim’s family, they honor his arrival and forgive the murderer. But the notable point was that “*Pir*” never calls upon a person to solve disputes. Both the parties visit the “*Pir*” to seek his favor, and then

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ultimately “*Pir*” visits the house of a victim’s family (if the conflict is of serious nature) to resolve the dispute.

Two other religious functionaries were important in the religious lives of the people. One was “*Imam*” and the other was “*Maulvi*” or “*Hafiz Sahib*”. They were the inhabitants of the village.

#### **4.5 Perception of honor and honor killing in *baloachki***

The general features of an ideology of honor and shame are relevant to a broad range of societies, but here it has been discussed particularly in the case of a community in district Rajan Pur. “Honor” and shame relate to concepts of correct conduct, especially the sexual conduct of women which was seen to reflect upon the status of male relatives. The ideology has much to do with the overall functioning of society and not just the nature of relationships between man and woman. The responsibility of males to control the “shame” and defend the honor of their women was in keeping with the male centrism of authority and the need for agnatic solidarity. However, while the notions of shame and personal and family honor were involved, the widest limits of kinship, with the absence of strong lineage organization, the concepts relate more to the personal realm of honor and shame, particularly with regard to female sexual honor. Notions of honor and shame, as they have existed both in the past and present, were similar to those in other regions of Pakistan. Honor (*izzat*) and shame or modesty (*Lajj*), as conceived by men relate to the behavior of women which was seen to reflect upon the latter's male kinsmen-husbands,



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fathers and brothers in particular. The stress on the physical modesty of women reflects the highly sexual connotation of the values. Two of the major methods of preventing the breach of modesty lie in limitations on the physical mobility of women beyond the home and the establishment of sexual "invisibility" through clothing as the "*burkah*" (veil).

Sharif Kanaana (n.d), professor of anthropology at Birzeit University states that honor killing is a complicated issue that cuts deep into the history of Arab society...What the men of the family, clan, or tribe seek control of in a patrilineal society is reproductive power. Women of the tribe are considered a factory for making men. The honor killing is not a means to control sexual power or behavior. What's behind it is the issue of fertility, or reproductive power.

The Amnesty International statement adds: The mere perception that a woman has contravened the code of sexual behavior damages honor. The regime of honor is unforgiving: women on whom suspicion has fallen are not given an opportunity to defend themselves, and family members have no socially acceptable alternative but to remove the stain on their honor by attacking the woman.

In *Baloach* tribes "*Baloachki*" was a code of honor, which shapes their behavior, their functioning etc. Some important elements (which were to some extent alike in Pushtuns suggested by Fredrick Barth in his study of swat *Pathans*) are as under:



1. Por (Revenge)
2. Ghairat (Honor)
3. Bravery
4. Blood feud
5. Baithak
6. Hospitality
7. faithfulness
8. Preferred Coalition formation

In Baloachs, the concept of “*Ghairat*” was directly proportional to the notion of “Honor” as Paul Titus narrates about *Baloach*:

“Baloach themselves often identify the high value placed on honor as characteristically Baloach.”<sup>4</sup>

A person was called as “*Ghairat-mand*” (honorable) who obeys and fulfills all the demands of “Ghairat”. Ghairat (Honor) was closely linked with “izzat”, respect and high status in the society. “*Izzat*” was based on possessions, wealth and property. A man's property and wealth were the part of his honor as well as his Biraderi etc.

The notion of honor of man and Biraderi was also directly proportional to the virginity and piousness of household women. The concept of “izzat” with respect to woman could be studied in the web of multi-dimensional setting of

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<sup>4</sup>Titus, Paul “Honor the Baloach, Buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, Social Organization and History in Western Pakistan” page 665 in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Jul., 1998), pp. 657-687 Published by: Cambridge University Press.

social setup. Moreover it was generally believed that woman was the representative of her family and biraderi, as discussed by D.G. Mandelbaum:

“Izzat can be a corporate or a personal attribute, or both since the women's behavior is a reflection of the traits of her group and it can not be judged in isolation.”<sup>5</sup>

The man to whom a woman belongs, whether a wife, sister or daughter has to kill her to restore his honor if she has committed any misconduct regarding her chastity. Consequently he was the distressed person with whom the sympathies with the tribal setting recline, not the possibly women he killed. A man whose honor has been harmed was required to publicly demonstrate his supremacy to regain it by killing the one who committed this sin. According to several Baloach informants, no *Baloach* woman (*Baloachni*) would ever dishonor herself by working as a prostitute, even if she was destitute. That was the process by which the tradition of honor killing was being perpetuated over generations.

It was vital to mention here that not only man but the woman could also demonstrate her sentiments of “Ghairat” and could kill the culprits.

#### **4.6. Social Stratification**

Segments of groups were found more hierarchical of social organization prevailed among different groups. According to Macmillan dictionary of Anthropology:

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<sup>5</sup> Mandelbaum, D.G, "Purdah izzat and variation" women's seclusion and men's honor, 1988, University of Arizona Press, USA, P: 20-21

“Social stratification is a form of organization that systematically ranks social groups into categories according to the difference of wealth, prestige, and political power”.<sup>6</sup>

Social stratification, divides people into different strata such as castes, and classes based on social economic or occupational ranking. *Baloachs* have hierarchic grouping, hierarchy of status and authority in Baloach groupings culminates in “Wisakh” or “Dera” of the Sardar. Kapferer argues that:

In hierarchical societies individuals and groups are seen to be incorporated within and determined by holistic principles. In those societies political (not religious) authority is the encompassing, unifying force which subsumes, orders, and makes whole, otherwise weak or destructive individuals and groups.<sup>7</sup>

Kapferer argues:

The individual precedes society and is the fundamental element of it. The danger to egalitarian individuals is that they will be absorbed and homogenized by more inclusive orders such as the state.<sup>8</sup>

As stated earlier, in “Drighri”, there were many castes of the people but the leading ones were of *Jiani* and *Lashari Baloach* Sardars. However, all the people belonging to those castes do not enjoy high status. Only those who have land were given high status in the village. They were also involved in local politics. They also have strong historical background in the village. *Syeds* also

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<sup>6</sup> Seymour-Smith, Charlotte, “Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology” p.269 first published in 1986, by THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD. London and Basingstoke.

<sup>7</sup> Honor the Baloach, Buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, Social Organization and History in Western Pakistan Author(s): Paul Titus page 665 published in: Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Jul., 1998), pp. 657-687 Published by: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

have a high hierarchical position in the village, other castes having a low social position were *Dasti*, *Thahim*, *Machhi*, *Metla*, *Nai* (Barber), *Dayya*, *Chahoti*, and *Chhena*.

#### **4.7. Intra Group Organization**

The villagers of Drighri have relatively better relationship within their own groups, inter-*biraderi*. They were closely bounded in kinship bonds. Biraderi endogamous marriages were more common. The members of the same “*Qaum*” (caste) protect their collective interests. On marriage and death occasions, the members of the same *Qaum* were seen together, supporting the needy.

#### **3.8. Inter Group Organization**

In the village, interaction among different “*Qaums*” takes place at certain occasions like rite de passage. They take care of each other’s interests and co-operate with each other. Exchange of goods and services also takes place among them.

#### **4.9. Political Organization**

It was quite natural for a group to try to live in terms of order to satisfy needs of individual, as well as groups.

“Authority pattern provides the guide for the individual to the definition of behavioral norms for acceptable conduct, the allocation of force and authority, the settlement of disputes and the redefinition of norms for conduct.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Hoebble, E. Adamson. “Anthropology; the Study of Man” p: 453 Published in 1958, by McGraw Hill Book Company, New York.

To provide basis for structure of political organization, Hoebler suggests three principle units.

- i. genealogical or kinship units
- ii. geographical or territorial units
- iii. Associational units.

The community of “Drighri” derives its basis for political organization from the first two principles. Being four distinguished caste groups, they have organized themselves on the basis of *biraderiism*. In this way, the organizing principle of each group stems from its respective kinship sphere where elderly person of each group was accepted as *Sardar* who always has *Pag* (turban) on his head. It was right of the elder son to have the *Pag* on his head on the death of his father. *Jiani* and *Lashari* being the dominant groups, have two types of advantages-numerical strength and sound economic condition. The power of each caste group generally rests on the kinship principle. However, the leadership in the Drighri community has more cohesiveness in it due to the qualities of leadership. The headman had died, he had four sons, and they have more property than others. Due to clear superiority, the *Jiani Lashari* castes groups were enjoying the dominance over all other groups.

Disputes were resolved in *Kath* (gathering of influential). Each caste group constitutes *biraderi* of its own group. It was notable that when disputes emerge in *Jiani* and *Lashari* castes group, it was solved by them or with the help of other castes group like *Gorchani* tribe, However, conflicts in other non-

Baloach castes, were solved collectively with the help of *Jianis* and "*Lasharis* advice.

#### **4.10 Economic organization**

Economy characterizes relationship between a community and production, trade, and supply of money in a particular country or region. The Oxford English dictionary (1967) defines economy as:

*"the wealth resources of a community, especially in the terms of the production and consumption of food and services".<sup>10</sup>*

According to the Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology, economic organization means:

*"The way in which man and societies seek to satisfy their material needs and desires".<sup>11</sup>*

Anthropologists believe that all parts of any system are considered as sub-systems of a social system and are not autonomous but inter-dependent. Especially, in peasant societies, when the people engage in economic exchange, they perform an economic task and simultaneously involve in political, ceremonial or social tasks. All these things help us understand the behavior of a group and reciprocal relationship that determines the mutual roles and status of the people. Agriculture and animal herding was the backbone of the peasant economy of the *Seraiki* village.

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<sup>10</sup> Oxford English Dictionary published in 1976, 11th Edition, published by Oxford Press. England.

<sup>11</sup> Seymour-Smith, Charlotte, "Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology" first published in 1986, by THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD. London and Basingstoke.

#### **4.10. Animal herding and agriculture**

The ratio of the families engaged in agricultural activities and animal herding in the village was very high as compared to other economic activities.

##### **4.10.1 Animal Herding**

All the castes mentioned earlier, were engaged in agriculture and animal herding to meet their economic needs and to sustain their lives in a worse atmospheric conditions of the area. However, a small number of people from some families have some other occupations. Agriculture and animal grazing hold pivotal position in the economy of nuclear and extended families of the village.

According to respondents people gain above 60% of their production (income) out of animal domestication, almost 30 % from agricultural works, and the rest of the 10% gains were made of other economic activities. Thus it could be easily assessed that animal domestication was playing a main role in the economy of the village.

Different types of animals were domesticated, according to the climate of the area. The domesticated animals include sheep, goats, cows, hen, bulls, buffalos, and horses. The camels were also domesticated as the climate suits to their domestication. Sheep and goats were herded to get economic and domestic benefit out of them. They drink milk of sheep and goats, while the use of wool of sheep was used for making threads to be used for various purposes like

making mats and woven bags. These herded animals were sold in the market on the occasion of *Eid-ul-Azha*, at a good price.

#### **4.10.2 Agriculture**

A large proportion of the village economy was based on agriculture and animal herding. The land was *Rod Koh* (land irrigated by water flowing through canals from mountains). As the researcher illustrated earlier that a range of mountains called "*Koh-e-Suleman*" was located near the village, so the water coming from Koh-e-Suleman through a canal called *Rodh chhachar* that irrigates this land.

#### **4.11 Types of land**

The total land of the village was about 3750 acres owned by different castes. Major portion of the land remain uncultivable due to non-availability of water resources and low rate of rainfall. Land under cultivation could be categorized as follow:

##### **4.11.1. *Raitli***

The land having sandy soil was called raitli land. Such type of land was considered of average quality. The land situated near canal constitutes such type of land, which gives two crops in a year if there was ample water in the canal or heavy rainfall. That type of land was situated in the way of a hill torrent area in the barren mountains



#### 4.11.2 *Gassil*

The land consisting of soft soil was called *gassil* land of a good quality capable of producing bumper crops. The land also contains rich percentage of minerals coming from the mountains of *Koh-e- Suleman*. The land does not need manure for enhancing its production. Rather a high rate of production could be yielded without using any artificial fertilizers. The main crops sown were *Jawar* (barley), *Bajra* (Barley) and *Sarson* (Mustard).

#### 4.11.3 *Shurakil*

A small portion of village land falls under the category, which was being affected by salinity. The land was placed in the lowest category. Cultivation was possible on the land but it does not produce a good crop.

Most of the village land was occupied by *Jiani Baloach's* which was about 1600 acres. The second big landholders' of the area was *Dareshaks* having almost 1250 acres. The third big portion of the land falls under *Elaqa Deh* (land under the control of the government). Some other castes also own small portions of land in the village.

The *Jiani* ethnic group mostly owns the cultivable land, while the land owned by *Dareshaks* was not cultivated because they were not the residents of the village. The *Elaqa Deh* was cultivated by some of the people of the village without permission of the government.

The big landlords cultivate some land by themselves, while the rest was cultivated through "*Mazara Geeri*"(tenancy) and *Batai*.

#### **4.12. Land tenure system**

People of each ethnic group live in the village hierarchically, divided into two groups, khans and *kammis*. They take the land from the landlords, and the owned land and the leased land is jointly cultivated by them.

Most of the people also have their cultivated land outside the village. Small land owners give land to the tenants:

1. Tenants of “*Mustajari*’
2. Tenants of “*Wand*’

##### **4.12.1. Tenants by *mustajari* (share cropping)**

*Mustajari* was a contract between land owner and tenant where in a specific amount of crops or money was fixed. The local rate was determined according to the quality of the land and means of irrigation etc. Some amount of the money was paid to the land owner before cultivating the crops, while the rest of the amount for “*Mustajari*” or “*Mutta*” was paid after harvesting and selling product in the market. After paying the agreed amount of “*Mustajari*” or “*Mutta*” to the land owner, the rest of the production goes to the tenant. Sometimes when tenants have low production due to bad climatic conditions or shortage of water, they request the land owner to reduce the fixed price for “*Mustajari*” or “*Mutta*” which was usually accepted.

##### **4.12.2 Tenants by *Wand* (Division)**

It was the method of renting land in which no specific amount was fixed. But crops were distributed after harvesting between the landlord and the tenant

at the ratio of 2:3 or 1:1 as per mutual understanding. If expenses were borne by the land lord, the crop would be divided between the land owner and the tenant at the ratio of 2:3, however, if the expenses were met by the tenant, the crop would be divided at the ratio of 1:1.

It was generally observed that in the process of “Wand” (division) both the parties bear a loss due to lack of cooperation. Tenants, who work in the fields, do not care for the land properly, thinking that the production will be divided and a big part of it will go to the land-owner. As a result, there could not get good production and after harvesting, at the time of “Wand” both the *Mazara* and the Landowner were present to avoid any confusion and misunderstanding during distribution.

#### **4.13 Means of irrigation**

Two methods were used for irrigation in the village:

1. Irrigation by *Rain fall*
2. Irrigation by *Nain (Garro Lishari Wah)*

##### **4.13.1 Irrigation by rain fall**

The method of irrigation depends on the ratio of rain water, otherwise no cultivation could take place. The people use different methods and ways to store and utilize rain-water for the purpose of cultivation.

Land was divided into many parts and each division was separated by a boundary which was locally called “*Lath*”. The whole field was locally called as

“*Bannah*”. A “*Bannah*” could be of one acre to several acres. When there was a proper rain fall, each *Bannah* was filled with water and cultivation was possible.

#### **4.13.2 Irrigation by *Nain* (*Garó Lishari Wah*)**

The method of irrigation was used to irrigate fields through a “*Nain*” (i.e. Canal) called “*Rodh Chachar*”. The water accumulated from rain, passes through plain arid area in the form of “*Rod Chachar*”. The water of the Rod Chachar was used for irrigation of plain areas and if the water was more than the actual need of irrigation, it overflows towards the nearby plains and some times falls into the *Sindh* River causing destruction to the land and area through floods. If water was available in substantial quantity, cultivation was possible. That was locally called as (*gandha bharej gia hay tay fasal hay*). Some times, the *Rod Chachar* turns into flood causing heavy destruction to the area. The crops of *jawar* and *Bajra* were cultivated in June and July and harvested in November and December. On the availability of water in the month of August and September, the crop of *Sarson* was cultivated in the month of April.

#### **4.14. Other occupations**

The main livelihood means of the people were agriculture and animal domestication, there were few families engaged in other occupations such as hawkers, shopkeepers, barbers, *bori* makers, cart driver (*gari ban*), carpenters, and government servants.

Many people of the village have migrated to the nearby villages where they have sufficient water for cultivation called “*Nehri Elaqa*” (canal area).

Some others have also gone to the cities where they perform different economic activities, while few of them were permanently settled in the cities. Some of them maintain their links with village and visit their birth places off and on and take part in different events like "*khushi ghami*"(birth, death and marriages, *Eidain*) etc.

#### **4.15. Women's role in economy**

The lives of a Pakistani rural woman have a complete range of socio-economic activities. They were responsible for household tasks, child-care and maintenance of the house. Women' job can be seen not only within the boundaries of the house and her work in productive economy but also outside of the boundaries of households. In order to understand women's position in the process of production and economic contributions, her complete set of responsibilities have to be seen. In the households of the village, the entire members share in the household activities but most of the work was done by women at home.

The socially recognized job of a rural woman was not only house-keeping, which includes rearing of children, looking after the whole household such as cleanliness, cutting of vegetables or supervising the works of elder children but also some other income generating activities can be seen in this category which is discussed later on. But all the activities were not considered as economically productive, because productive work has been defined as income generating or moneymaking. The domestic duties were unpaid and as such were

not perceived in monetary terms. As a matter of fact, all domestic activities consume time and labor. Hence by performing domestic activities, women still participate in the household economy but indirectly.

#### **4.15 Direct productive activities**

The direct productive activities were to generate income or make money. Women of the “*Drighri*” village directly participate in the household economy through occupations like agriculture, animal husbandry, teaching, and also by home based monetary jobs.

##### **4.15.1. Agriculture**

Besides the household work, agriculture was one of the main occupations of the village in which women were involved. Their participation helps a lot to their men in accomplishing their intensive work in the fields.

##### **4.15.2 Weeding**

Weeding was an important agriculture task in which unwanted plants and bushes were removed for better growth of crops.

The females along with their male members usually do this work on payment basis and a woman could earn Rs. 80/- to Rs.100/- PKR per day.

##### **4.15.3 Sowing**

Women help their men in sowing seeds, men plough in the fields while women shower seeds and fertilizers in the fields. Women were paid for the task if they work for the landlords. However, they were not paid for the same task

when the land belongs to their husband or father-in-law. They get Rs. 25/ to 40/- PKR for sowing one kanal of land that takes 3 to 4 hours.

#### **4.15.4 Harvesting**

In harvesting season, women fully participate in all the activities of harvesting from seeding to cutting and gathering of crops. Women were not paid at the wage rate of men.

#### **4.15.5 Winnowing**

After cutting and the gathering of crops, grains have to be separated from husks for storage as well as consumption purpose. Household women mainly that belong to the *kammi* castes, often perform these directly productive agricultural activities. It takes about one and a half hour to winnow one maund (about 37.4 Kg) of grains, while a woman was paid Rs. 10/- to Rs15/- PKR for the job.

#### **4.16 Animal husbandry**

Livestock keeping, poultry rearing, making cow dung cakes and milking the cows and goats were the activities which have immense economic values in a subsistence household economy. In the community under study, income generating activities and housekeeping roles were integrated into the daily life of rural women.

Animal husbandry involves many tasks such as:

#### **4.16.1 Poultry Rearing**

In almost every household, women tend to have poultry birds, kept in “*Chhappar*” made of mud and wood during winters, while in summer; they were kept under “*Tokkaras*” usually made of wood in round shape.

The household women clean the poultry “*Chhappars*” regularly being a daily practice of every household woman and to feed them and make them go out in the morning and just before dark were brought back to their “*Chhappar*”.

#### **4.16.2 Fodder making**

Women prepare fodder for cattle that are kept in the houses and feed them along with water and clear their places every day even twice a day.

#### **4.16.3 Selling of milk**

Though in most of the households, men sell milk but milking was usually done by the household women. The elder lady of the household does milking often early in the morning and in the evening. The milk was used for their own needs, but women belonging to poverty stricken household e.g. “*Chahoti*” also sell it and earn money. They sell the milk for Rs.30 per Kg. Women also extract butter from milk and piled up for over a weeks or a month to process it to get *Desi ghee* that was sold for Rs. 250 per Kg.

In “*Drighri*” village, there is a woman SB, with her 12 years old son. She has a cow, two goats and six hens. She sells milk, *Desi ghee* as well as eggs for earnings to support her family.



#### **4.17 Other occupations**

Besides agricultural and livestock activities, women of “Drighri” village were also engaged in the following occupations.

##### **4.17.1 Tailoring**

Many women were engaged in tailoring, stitching the clothes for ladies and children for earning a handsome money for their household. They take Rs.50/- for a lady suit and they can stitch a suit in approximately three to four consecutive days. By tailoring, they earn approximately Rs. 750/- to Rs. 800/- PKR per month. Their monthly income depends on their labor and time they could afford. However the average monthly income of a woman can be calculated as Rs. 2500/- to 3000/- PKR by manipulating different kinds of income generating strategies.

##### **4.17.2 Embroidery work**

Many women and young girls of the village do embroidery work as a profession. *Bakhtawar Bibi* and *Bahar Bibi* were two professionals in the village,. *Kausar Bibi* was also another women, she was a widow having four children. She earns 70/- rupees per suit. These women make *Kam Walay Galay* (embroidered suits). They buy the required material like colored threads, small round shaped mirrors, pearls and beads from the nearby town *Lundi Syyedan* required for preparing the lady suits to make beautiful and attractive designs. They sell the embroidered “*Galay*” “*Kurtas*” and “*Dupatas*” at expensive prices in the markets of the near by town.

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Some females also have their shops at household level. They sell buttons, threads, needles, thread rolls and bangles etc.

## Chapter No. 5

### Configuration of honor killing “Kala Kali”

#### 5.0 Honor Killing (*Kala Kali*)

By going through all the data collected from the locale, the researcher is of the opinion that the native people constitute the meaning and functionality of honor killing as “the act through which the culprit pair, who violates the norms of family honor, is punished and the lost honor of the family is restored”. As for as the functionality of *kala kali* institution is concerned, is highly questionable as we can see in the forthcoming chapter.

In order to observe and analyze the human behavior by using a structural frame of reference, it is indispensable to identify some part or particle of behavior which can be manipulated as a foundation of a structural concept. These parts can then be described in terms of their relationship to each other and their factors with mode of functions to build a structural model of behavior. In the following two chapters, an attempt has been made to understand human behavior as a social act governed by some particular rules, giving it a status of an institution.

In “*Baloachki*” code of honor, there were three kinds of “*kala kali*” (honor killing). That process was governed by some rules and laws, which constitute its configuration in most effective way and bestow it as the status of institution. Before discussing its whole structure, it was indeed imperative to

divulge the institution's modus operandi in various ways. The detailed description of different types of *Kala-Kali* have been given as under:

- *Shakk* (killing on the basis of suspicion)
- *Pakk* (killing on the basis of confirmation)
- *Aghwa* (kidnapping)

Before going into the detailed of its various methods, it was important to understand the institution of *Kala-Kali* in situational nature, situational in the sense that the reaction of the family was based on the extent of action (the extent of illegal relation) for instance, if the act was of extreme level then the punishment would be relatively hard such as killing, and if the act or sin was of lower level, then the family members act accordingly. So the act or sin of the accused persons indicates or determines the extent of punishment given by the family or lineage. Thus in the light of situational crime, there were three different inter-connected types of performing *Kala-Kali* which were:

### **5.1. Shakk Ki Bunyad ( Suspicion)**

It means killing of the accused pair on the basis of suspicion, the way of performing the act of *Kala-Kali* needs further evidences against the accused pair. If a women and a man from any lineage were seen exchanging slang signals, engaged in gossips, having eye-contact with one another, smiling or sharing some signals using eye-brows (up and down), eye-winking etc, they were suspected of having illicit relationship. If any member of the family from

the lineage of the female (he could be her father, brother, son, husband, brother-in-law, grand-father, mother's brother, father's brother, nephew, etc or any other person belonging to the same caste or lineage group) witnesses the involved pair in the afore-mentioned activities, they have the authority to punish them or kill them. Such murders were usually witnessed by the female family (not by the male's family) to restore *izzat* (honor) of their *Khandan* (extended family).

The process of killing on the basis of suspicion was performed in a systematic order:

If the apprehender (a young from the female's family) after witnessing the suspected pair indulged in slang signals, hurriedly rushes to the elder members of the family of women to take further action. The father calls his brothers for help because in such situations the brothers were not considered as "*sharik*" as they were not supposed to expose them before the *biradari* members. The female's family, in the first step, hides the entire matter from the *Biradari* for fearing disgrace.

(a) For the settlement of issue

(b) Performing the coercive act by declaring the accused, particular the woman as *Kali* (adulterer woman) and her co-partner respectively as *Kala* (adulterer man).

If the father was not alive then the elder member of the family who has the right of giving verdict, takes the initiative to declare both the persons involved in suspicious act as *kala kali*.

It needs to be clarified that the members of the family do not take decision at their own, but it proceeds with *Salah Mashwara* (consultations) with the brothers and other *Biraderi-men* (people from the same lineage), and finally the decision was made with majority consensus. *Biraderi* takes two types of decisions.

(a) *Tanbeeh* (Castigation)

(b) *Qatal* (Murder)

Both types of cases were discussed or dealt with to arrive at a decision:

### **5.1.1 *Tanbeeh* (Castigation)**

In *Shakk* (suspicion), when any person (apprehender) from female's family sees any stranger passing slang signals to the female of apprehender's family, he along with other male family members and *Biraderi-men* hold mutually strong and in depth consultation. After that, they issue *Tanbeeh* (Castigation) to the suspect not to commit the same act again. There was a formal method to give *Tanbeeh* to the suspect and his family.

In the process of *Tanbeeh* (Castigation), after *salah-mashwara* (consultation) with the members of the same "Biraderi" (at the house of the women), the female's male family members along with some other influentials from the village, go to the suspected male's "*Wisakh*" (the place where the people sit and have gossip on every topic about every aspects of life) and warn them that their son would be killed by declaring him as "*KALA*", if seen again in suspicious activities with the female of their family.

In the case, the mere presence of a stranger near the residential area of the other caste or tribe was taken in suspicious sense. Thus, the mere presence without any purpose, acts as effective stimuli behind “*Tanbeeh*”. If the male could not refrain indulging in such suspected activities even after the admonition, the female’s family attempt to kill him on the spot without giving further warning just to restore their own prestige by declaring and killing him as “*Kala*”.

In many cases, a suspected pair was set free (apparently), giving the chance to commit the mistake but with keeping a vigilant eyes on them by the families or *biradari*. On committing any mistake, the pair would be caught red-handed. Some cases were reported as under:

- As and when a male was killed in such a case, his family by considering him innocent register a FIR with the B.M.P. (Boarder military Police). In case the innocence was proved in an autopsy report, the male’s side, behaves accordingly:
- In case of innocence, in the autopsy report, his family members turn furious, chanting the slogan “*Qatal de Badlay Qatal*” (Blood for Blood), and want to kill a person from female’s family in return. Thus a series of killings from both the sides starts until the intermediaries or *Salis* make Thahi (settlement). *Syed, Sardar, Wadera*, play this role.
- In another case, when a woman and man were declared as *Kali* and *Kala*, by any *biraderi*-man from female, the immediate family members like

father, brother or husband (any one available) do not accept it stating that their woman was innocent, *Biraderi*-men give them tough time while calling them *Be-Ghairat* (dis-honored). Serious actions were taken against them including social boycott and other social and physical punishments. For the better understanding of the situation, a case study that was documented during the field work is given:

#### 5.1.1.1 Case Study - 1

Name .....AB

Sex .....Ma

Caste.....*Lashari Baloach*

Age.....32 years

AB was a member of Lashari Baloach caste. He earns his living from herding animals and agriculture. Thirty five years old BC got married about a year before the case under study. AB's relative EF (male) had a lingering dispute with another person named AC from another caste. One day, EF was accused by BC of being *Kali* with AC. AB rejected the allegation and the matter was taken to "*Kath*" (assembly of influentials), where it was decided that BC was *Kali* with AC. BC was sent to the house of *Sardar* to be soled to another *Sardar* of any area. Moreover, for conflict resolution, the *Chatti* of rupees one hundred and fifty thousand was imposed by the *Sardar* to be paid to the relatives



of BC. AB wanted to have police assistance to get back his wife but he could not approach it due to lack of economic resources.

When AB reached the village, his biraderi-men drove him out of his house and scolded him while taunting him as “*Be-Ghairat*” and broke all kinds of cogitateness with him. He went to other Biraderi-headman who was purchasing BC. AB sworn on the Qura’an (the Holy book) that BC was his wife and he also asked for the help of Biraderi-headman in forbidding his *biraderi*-men from buying his wife. But both the *Sardars* rejected AB’s plea who had been continuously trying to get his wife back.

### **5.1.2. Qatal (killing)**

In “*shakk*” when objectionable female’s family sees the suspected pair indulged in ambiguous actions then the majority of biraderi agrees that this pair should be killed.

While discussing the honor killing a process going on in the systematic order, there were three situations in which decisions were made:

#### **5.1.2.1 First Situation**

If a woman was killed on the spot by the members of her family, it was perceived that the man (accused) must also be killed and was immediately declared *Kala* (the sinner man).

The man was declared *Kala* in front of an assemblage by firing a gunshot in the air announcing, “*O asada Kala ay tay asan enda Por Ghinson*” (the “*Kalwan*” (calumny) was attached by him and he was a culprit and must be

killed). As their woman was killed by a man (*Kali*) so “*Kalwan*” was to be killed to restore the damaged honor of the female family. After that declaration, several attempts were likely to be made to kill the culprit who usually flees from the scene. All the proceedings were made with the support of *Biraderi*.

#### **5.1.2.2 Second situation**

If a pair was seen involved in suspicious activities, and the apprehender was unable to kill the wrongdoer at the spot due to any immediate reason, then the culprits get the chance to escape from the venue and survived. In such a case, the female family takes any of the actions:

- To kill the “*Kali*” through poison, pistol, axe or any other lethal weapon
- The sale of woman
- Sending to *Sardar*’s house

They keep the whole situation secret from other people of the community and also from the “*Biraderi*” because they think that before the community gets the news of their disgrace, the declared “*Kala*” should be killed. So before becoming dishonor in the community, they must restore their honor.

#### **5.1.2.3 Third situation**

In the third situation, when a man was killed at the “*Mauqa*” (spot), the woman seeks shelter at *Sardar*’s house, as the further process was much more complicated. The family of the man turns furious on killing of their male member of the family. So a conflict between the two families cropped up that was to be resolved by *Sardars*.

## 5.2 PAKK (Confirmation)

In many cases the phase of “*Shakk*” (suspicion) was being followed by “*Pakk*” (confirmation). The female’s family members observe their routine without warning them. And when the pair provides the chance and someone catches them red-handedly in *qabil-e-aitraz halat* (having close bodily contact), the family kills them at once or the situation varies according to the circumstances. At that stage it was said that “*Kalwan*” (calumny) was confirmed and there remain no justification to leave them alive.

Three such cases were found during the field work in the locale:

### 5.2.1 Both man and woman killed

In a same case, both male and female were killed at the spot, it does not matter where they were killed but the only “*Saboot*” (testimony) that matters was the presence of family members there. Some issues relating to law-suit were important to be discussed:

- (a) People from either family do not indulge in any lawsuit in such cases.

They believe that killing of the culprits could only bring the lost respect and honor back. It was said “*Kutti Kuttay kon mar ditay say*” (both the dogs have been killed). In such killings, burial rituals were not performed such as *Kafan* (clothing dead-body), *Ghussal* (bathing dead bodies), and *Namaz-i-Janaza* (the funeral prayer) were not practiced. Moreover, they were not buried in their family’s grave-yards; their dead bodies were buried away from their ancestral graveyard.

### 5.2.1.1 Case study- 2

Name.....Bb

Sex.....female

Caste.....Baloach

Age.....22 years

The narrator of the story was a closed kin of “*Kali*”. According to Aa, her daughter Bb of age 22 was unmarried. Bb used to go to the fields for cutting grass for animal fodder. One day, she went as per routine but after a long time, she didn’t return home. His brother went to see her, saying that cutting of grass doesn’t take so much time. When he reached at “*Bannay*” (fields), he saw that her sister was sitting with a stranger; he killed his sister with a spiky stone and the *Kala* the next day by firing pistol bullets.

The dead body of Bb was not given the funeral rituals; even body was touched by her family members due to her act of shame. After a year, the dispute was resolved and the man was forgiven who killed both *Kali* and *Kala*. Some of the features of killing phenomenon were:

(b) If a close relative of *Kala* (predecessor or successor) becomes his “*saeen*” (protector) pretending that the person who was killed was not a “*La-Waris*” (mudlark), and follows a law-suit to prove his innocence and gets the help of law enforcing agencies or the court of law, the *Kala*’s family was boycotted natively termed as *Choorha Karna*. The terms of the boycott were:

- Socio-economic boycott: owing to the family's consultation to the law suit, whole the family of male or female was imposed sanctions including the family was banned to participate in social gatherings like marriages, deaths, gift exchanges and other annual celebrations etc.
- Political boycott: The particular family was not politically supported in case of problems rather they have to face the hardships created by the political leaders who keep up their relations with the opponent group. The deserted family's own biraderi was also criticizing their role and break their relationships with them.

The punishments proved to be a great threat for the families concerned. So, they avoid consulting the police or the court. Secondly, if they do so, they have to migrate from the locality for their survival or have to make the efforts to get back to their previous position by "*Aam Maafi*" (seeking clemency). The boycott ends when the conflicts were settled. Clemency was availed by following the formal method of going to the concerned mediator, the *Sardar* (tribal chief), or *Syed*. For clemency "*Aiwaz*" or "*Vani*" (giving of female) was offered to the opponent group alongwith withdrawal of the law-suit by prevarication of the previous statement given to the police. After the fulfillment of the conditions, the arbitrator scolds the family head and gives them clemency, but the litigation process varies in different cases:

#### **5.2.1.2 Honor killing within *biradari***

All afore-mentioned ways and methods were being adopted both the culprits belong to different "*Biraderis*". However, if the issue of honor killing emerges in one *Biraderi* then:

- If both were killed, no one would become their "*Saeen*" and no one would go for the legal proceedings as discussed earlier. All the people stay silent and were satisfied with the restoration of the family's honor.
- If one of them was killed and the other survives, then the survived female was soled out, while the survived man was to be killed.

#### **5.2.2 Woman survived, man killed**

In *Pakk*, if woman survived, and the man was killed, the woman takes sanctuary in the house of *Sardar* of any caste, while male's family attempts to resolve the dispute.

#### **5.2.3. Man survived, woman killed**

After "*Pakk*" (confirmation) of *Kala* and *Kali*, both are likely to be killed. However, if incidentally *Kali* is killed, and taking the chance of this situation, *Kala* escapes from the situation, the female's family chases the *Kala* secretly. Whole the task is kept secret. Whenever, and wherever *Kala* is seen by any member of the female's family, he is killed. However, meanwhile, when the female's family members remain in search of *Kala* keep on making efforts to get the conflict resolved through any mediatory process.

#### 5.2.4. Both man and woman survived

In such a situation, the woman takes refuge at some *sardar's* house, while the man *Kala* and his family make efforts at a fast pace to get the conflict resolved.

### 5.3 Abduction

The abduction was of two kinds:

- *Hasb-e-mansha Aghwa* (elopement)
- *Zabardasti Agwha* (abduction)

#### .3.1 *Hasb-e-mansha Aghwa* (Elopement)

If a couple runs away from their home, the parents of the girl get a FIR registered at the police station against the person with whom the girl eloped as well as against his parents as well. The FIR was registered with border military police (BMP). They (the party from the female side) also try kill both the persons or to bring back the fled girl. Moreover, they also try to engross an intermediary who may be able to bring back their fled woman.

There were different cases in which one could draw the prolific consequences resulted by the efforts of both the families involved (from both the families of "*Kala*" and *Kali*"). As it has been observed during the interviews from the locals that, in most of the cases different methodologies were used:

### **5.3.2 Bringing back the woman (*Kali Wapas walwana*)**

The eloped woman was brought back and punished according to the decision of the biraderi. In some cases the girl was sold out because of the intermediary's effective participation on the issue. So, owing to an active participation of the arbitrator, the woman was not usually killed but soled out.

If the girl was brought back by the girl's own family's efforts, the entire authority for decision making rests with her family that was free to take any decision in the case. However, if there was an involvement of an arbitrator (who could be *Sardar* or *Muqqaddim*) from any tribe involved after the call for help from the affected woman's family, and by bringing back the particular woman, makes her family to be obliged and it was a natively perceived phenomenon that in such situations, the authority of decision making rests with the arbitrator.

On the other hand, the family of "*Kala*" (the indicted person) also seeks for help from the arbitrator so that they may be able to hold reconciliation. If the reconciliation process was postponed due to any reason then the threat of killing the accused was amplified.

### **5.3.3 *Zabardasti Aghwa* (Abduction)**

*Zabardasti Aghwa* (abduction) was committed in the circumstances when there was any motive for it:

- Retaliation by any reason, because of affront of group A to group B, or for the reprisal of the old animosity, the people from within the Biraderi



or the person from another *Biraderi*, abduct the woman of a particular *Biraderi* with whom they have animosity.

- They forcefully make the abducted woman as their wife or give her to Sardar or *Wadera* (chief or influentials of the area).

The convict was declared as “*Kala*” liable to be killed. In the case, the particular woman was also declared “*Kali*”. If the woman was brought back by her family, then she was killed to restore the honor of their family. It was perceived that she has lost her virginity and thus she was therefore *Wajib-ul-Qatal* (liable to be killed). In the process, an announcement was made from the female’s side that if the convict or any other person from convict’s family or “*Biraderi*” if seen at any place, he will be killed. At this stage, not only the convict was taken as archenemy but his entire “*Biraderi*” was also the target. When they succeed in killing any person from the opposite *Biraderi*, then the family of the killed also kills a person from other’s side and in this way a series of killing commences which tends to continue over years.

In case the girl was brought back with the involvement of the solicitor, then he makes a covenant, according to which the girl was not killed but sold out. The agreement was made before the return of women that was implemented on her recovery. However, the male culprit was not forgiven in any case and he has to be killed.

In the case of *Zabardasti Aghwa* (abduction), both the *Biraderis* were

taken as two different units where incidents like threatening, warning, dacoity, etc; continue to take place between the two *Biraderis*. In other words, the situation could be natively described as “*Qaomi Jang*” (Collision of castes), as it indicates a wide range of carnage. The series of killings ends with the effective involvement of a group of intermediaries called by the village men to halt the atrocities.

## Chapter No.6

### Conflict resolution in Honor killing

#### The background:

Conflict resolution is concerned with process of removing tensions among the involved parties or maintaining them at levels consistent with continued peaceful pursuit by arbitration to meet their goals (individual or collective). A full description of the processes of conflict resolution within a community would entail a description of the numerous and complex kinds and degrees of the divisive and common concerns among its members. Decisions are often deeply relevant to the conflict, but such decisions are only part of the context and content of a conflict and its resolution. The configuration that has been discussed in the previous chapter, its respective conflict resolution is be discussed in the following chapter which shows that the decisions making is highly contextual and complex in nature concerning the traditional honor killing.

There were different ways of conflict resolution operating within the community under discussion regarding the phenomenon of *Kala-Kali*. In the process of conflict resolution, the role of an arbitrator who could be a *Sardar*, a *Syed* or any other influential political personality of high importance. It was mandatory for the arbitrator to be uncontroversial and unbiased, otherwise his decision was not considered impartial and one of the parties may not agree to his words. It was learnt through interviews and observation that the qualities of an

arbitrator were of ideal nature and it was hardly possible for any arbitrator to be neutral.

Methods of conflict resolution have been explained as follows:

## **6.2. *Shakk da faisla* (Conflict resolution of suspicion)**

In *Shakk da faisla*, there were usually two decisions, *Tanbeeh* and *Qatal*, which are described as under:

A. Conflict resolution of *Tanbeeh* (castigation)

B. Conflict Resolution of *Qatal* (Killing)

### **6.2.1 Conflict resolution of *Tanbeeh* (castigation)**

In such cases of *Shakk*, the family of the woman was already suspicious about the odd acts of the man involved, warns the man and his family about it, telling them that if the practice is not stopped, the right of taking action lies with them, which could lead towards killing. If the man's family succeeds to prove innocence of the person, which was called *Shak Di Patt* (clarification of innocence), the man was considered as blameless.

However, if the person was found involved in objectionable activities, he was considered *Wajib-ul-Qatal* (Ought to be killed). In that situation, the family of the woman declares the man as *Kala* and announces that they will kill him. They also take action against their woman including her murder, selling out or mere warning; the man remains *Kala* as well as woman as *Kali*. The family of

the man contacts an arbitrator for reconciliation so that they may not face the loss of their family member.

In such as case, the family of the male contacts any arbitrator or *Muqqadam* from their *biradari* or outside, who meets the family of the woman for the reconciliation. If, the arbitrator was judicious enough to decide the matter in a fair way, the family of the woman trusts him, and the proceedings take further development, otherwise, the family of the woman refuses to accept the decision and chooses an arbitrator of its own choice and asks the family of the man to get decision from the arbitrator selected by them. The family of the man then, contacts that arbitrator for a decision.

On the day of decision, both the families sit together with arbitrator while the decision was announced, which was usually of giving a girl of the man's family as "*Vanni*" or "*Aiwaz*"(woman in exchange) or giving considerable amount of money as "*Chatti*" (compensation money) or both of them to the female family. It depends on the consent of the arbitrator to give the punishment of "*vanni*" or "*Chatti*" or both. Thus the conflict created on the basis of suspicion and continued odd acts even after warning, was resolved.

#### **6.2.2. *Shak di patt* (Clarification of innocence)**

There were some ways through which innocence of a person, declared *Kala* could be proved:

- a. *Quran Pe Qassam* (Swear on the Holy Quran)

- b. *Aas* (Clarification based on fire)
- c. *Aaf* (Clarification based on water)

### **6.2.3 *Quran pe Qassam* (Swear on the Holy Quran)**

When a person was blamed as *Kala*, he has to prove his innocence through a way acceptable to the community if the family of the co-accused woman declares their intention to kill the accused man. In order to be safe from killing, the man has to either prove his innocence or to resolve the conflict with the family of the woman through a decision by arbitrator. *Shak di Patt* was the only workable solution acceptable to the family of the woman and shows its satisfaction over the “*Patt*” (clarification).

For the purpose, a trustworthy person from the family of the *Kala* was asked to swear on *Quran* in a mosque after ablution. So, he states *Asada Banda Begunah ay* (our man is not guilty) keeping the *Quran* on his head in presence of both parties as well as other village people. Thus the innocence was accepted by the female’s family.

### **6.2.4 *Aas* (Clarification based on fire)**

In *Bloachi* language the word *Aas* was used for fire, while in Seraiki language, the word was interpreted as “*Bha*”. Both the words were used by the natives for the particular process. Under the procedure or ritual, decisions in the

cases ranging from theft to killing were made. In fact, the ritual was used as a way to prove innocence in any allegation.

In the ritual, a 7 to 8 ft-long ditch was dug out and was filled with embers. Before the start of the ritual, some verses from the Holy Quran were recited by a *Maulvi* (A religious person). The presence of The Holy Quran was taken as testimony, used to filter the accused man as either criminal or innocent.

Abjuration of the Holy Quran was given to the fire that if the accused was innocent, no harm should be made to him, and vice versa. All the men gathered there alongwith the *Maulvi* and pray to God and ask Him to help them to take a right decision. Before the start of the ritual, the feet of the man were observed to find out a bruise or any injury or any medicine applied to avoid burns, after being satisfied, the accused man was asked to walk barefooted on the ditch filled with embers. After going through the ritual, the feet of the accused were observed again and if there were no signs of burns, the accused was considered as innocent and the people standing around him congratulate him. And if there was even a little burn found, the accused was believed to be a co-partner in the sin or crime, and if the fire burns his feet to a large extent then he was considered as the real culprit. Mostly the culprits do not agree to give proof of their innocence through the ritual of "*Aas*" because they know that the fire will burn their feet.

For the traditional method, the fire was lit for many hours before the ritual and when the woods burning in that particular place, take the shape of embers, the ritual was started. The *Maulvi*, who was called for religious performances, receives *Nazrana* (money in acknowledgement of his service) of more or less ten thousand rupees. The Sardar receives the money from both the parties before the ritual and pays to the *maulvi* out of the money received from the accused family, while the same amount of money taken from the other party was returned.

#### 6.2.4.1 Case study- 3

Name .....A

Sex.....Female

Marital status.....Married

Caste.....*Shaklani Baloach*

Age.....26 years

A was married to N, six years ago. She had 3 daughters. One day, her “*ninan*” (Sister-in-law) and “*Sass*” (mother-in-law) declared her *Kali* with N’s cousin B, but A rejected the accusation. B too refused to own the blame. N became furious. He declared A *Kali* with B and wanted to kill any one of them. Meanwhile, A hurriedly rushed to her relative’s house to take refuge. While B offered to give his clarification with the help of fire (*Aas*), the arrangements were made to prove his innocence. After recitation from the Holy Qura’an, he



walked through the ditch filled with embers. When his feet were examined, there was not a mere scratch or burn on them, so he was declared as innocent. But A had to bear the taunts from her in-laws' for the rest of his life.

### **6.3 Aaf (Clarification based on water)**

The ritual was natively named as *Aaf* and “*Dhand Gir*”. *Aaf* was a word from *Baloachi* language, meaning water and “*Dhand*” from *Seraiki* language means a brook. In the ritual, water was used for testimony of the accused. Abjuration of The Holy Qura'an was given to the water by a *Maulvi* as the ritual was performed on accumulation of water from “*chashma*” (Brook). With the help of a long stick, the accused was dipped down into the deep water and as long as he remains in the water, his two reliable assessors run from the point near the water and get back to it. If the accused comes out of the water to take breathe before his assessors get to the decided point, he was considered the culprit otherwise he was proved as innocent. The natives' point of view regarding the ritual was that the water pushes the culprit out of it while allows the innocent to be in it. The method was not functional anymore as it was hardly possible to find any “*Dhand*” (Brook) of water in the area.

#### **6.3.1 Conflict resolution of *Qatal* (killing)**

The concerned (guilty) party takes *Mairh* or *Sath* (group of influentials) to the other to resolve the dispute. A *Sardar* or Syed was selected as an arbitrator. The arbitrator asks both the groups to choose their assessors which

were usually four in numbers, two from both sides. The arbitrator asks the assessors of both the sides to fix a date of decision according to their convenience. The guilty party gathers the influential persons of its *Biradari* along with a Syed and a leader of the party, a Sardar. All the persons congregate to make a gathering which was called *Mairh* or *Sath*. On the decided date, both the parties gather at predefined place which could be a *Wisakh* of a *Sardar* or at any other suitable place. Both the parties have their *Sardars* with them.

The parties exchange *Hal Ehwal* (Greetings) and the process of greetings was itself a very complicated and traditional. It includes two *Sardars* who greet one another. First Sardar from *Kala's* side asks the other *Sardar* "*Haal di meharbani saeen*" (please greet with me), then the other Sardar replies, "*kheer khand nal peo saeen*" (we are in good state) and then the series of events from their last meeting (in any setting) were narrated in details, that was called the process of "*Haal Ehwal*".

Then both the parties speak on their turn and narrate the whole series of events. After listening to them, the assessors of both the parties discuss the matter in isolation and decide on their behalf. Then they inform the "*arbitrator*" about their decision. If the decision was appropriate, and acceptable to both the parties, the mediator gives the consent; otherwise he asks them to rethink and reformulate the decision with changes favoring both the parties, on arriving to a acceptable decision, the same was announced by the arbitrator. In different

cases of *Qatal* which have been discussed in detail in previous chapters, the decision was different for each situation according to the context and intensity of the case:

#### **6.3.1.1 First situation**

If a woman was killed on the spot and the man survived by running away, the family of the woman wants to kill the man even if the reason behind the intended act was just suspicious because a woman was killed. The killing of the woman was a solid reason behind the desire to treat the man in the same way.

The decision for the situation would be different. With the killing of the woman, the man was declared *Kala* and most likely to be killed by any person who shares the lineage of the woman because the killing of the woman proves the man a culprit, the conflict resolution of the situational case would be complex in its nature.

In some cases, if *Kala* claims his innocence, he was given the chance to clarify his position of *Shak di Patt* through any of afore-discussed method (by fire or water). If he was not hurt in any of the processes, he was proved innocent, otherwise declared *Kala*. The whole situation of the process was again placed before the arbitrator by the female family.

The arbitrator after listening to both the parties, decides *Chatti*, a considerable amount according to the intensity of the situation, to be paid by the

family of the man who is declared *Kala* by the opposite group. Its volume varies from two to five *lakh* rupees. In addition to that, the arbitrator was also given some amount of money ranging from thirty to sixty thousand rupees according to his socio-economic status in the community. The money was paid to him as *Nazrana* or gift.

The punishment could also be in the form of *Vanni* (exchanged woman). Some conditions were also applied regarding *Vanni* where a woman in exchange must be a *Kunwara Bazu* (A virgin girl) and the desired woman (who can be a sister, daughter or any close relative of *Kala*) could be claimed by the plaintiff family.

#### **6.3.1.2 Second situation**

If the woman and man involved in suspicious activities survived due to any reason, the situation differs to some extent. Both were declared as *Kala-Kali*, the declaration means a continual threat to the life of both man and the woman. Due to the reason, the man and his family contact an arbitrator to resolve the conflict so that the threat to life would be tackled. In such a situation, “*Shak di Patt*” (clarification of innocence) was given. If the man succeeds in proving himself innocent by the particular methods of “*Shak di Patt*”, the conflict was resolved and both man and the woman were proved innocent. But if woman was sold out after declaration as *Kali*, then the family of the accused man must bring *Mairh* or *Sath* and pay *Chatti* which could be of any form

including land, cattle, gold, silver, or "*Vanni*". After paying *Chatti*, *Kalwan* (Calumny) was withdrawn.

It is important to mention that the compensated or transacted money after selling of the "*Kali*" was given to her guardian, in case she was married, the transacted money was given to her husband, while in case of un-married woman residing with her parents, the transacted money was paid to her father. If her father was not alive and she resides with her brother or a relative, the compensation was given to them.

#### **6.1.3.1 Third situation**

In case the accused man was killed and the woman survives on the basis of suspicion, the plaintiff group would be of man's family as man has been killed on suspicion. The family of the man becomes furious, as it was a natural phenomenon to be enraged over killing of a family member. Being infuriated, the family of the killed man plans to kill any person of the killer family, in that case animosity continues. The family of the man goes to an arbitrator who could be a *Sardar*, *Muqaddam*, or *Syed* to resolve the conflict. They hold the stance of innocence of their man and ask the arbitrator to get them paid *Chatti* (compensation money) from the family of the woman otherwise they would kill a person belonging to the family of opposite group. But the statement depends on the political backing of the plaintiff family.

At that stage, the conflict resolution becomes complex. The survival of the co-accused woman adds fuel to the fire and makes the conflict resolution more intricate. They argue that:

- Their man has been killed but the accused woman is safe and living peacefully.
- But if the accused woman is sold out or is sent to any “*Sardar’s*” house then the family of the killed man does not pursue their stance of killing family member of the accused woman. They keep quite and try to resolve the conflict. In the situation, the arbitrator was designated from both the sides and the conflict was resolved without the imposition of any *Chatti*.

However, if the woman gets survived and continues living at her house, the family of the man sticks to its stance of killing a family member of the accused woman as they consider their man who has been killed as innocent. If they fail to kill any one from the family of the woman for one reason or the other, they contact an arbitrator for justice. The co-accused woman was sent to the “*Sardar’s*” house. The phenomenon was natively termed as “*Kali Bilhawan*”.

For the reason, the context was imperative to be discussed that the “*Sardar*” to whose house the *Kali* stays must be of some other *Biradari*. For the purpose, the *Sardar* of the own *Biradari* was not chosen as he could kill the girl

at any time because the woman has caused disgrace to the whole *Biradari*. In such situation, decision was made by the arbitrator in favor of *Kala's* family. The family of the man was paid *Chatti* by the group of the woman or any woman of *Kali's* family was given in exchanged as *Vanni*.

It was a important point to mention that the woman given as “Vanni” must be a virgin, called “*Kunwara Bazu*”. The date of “*Nikkah*” was decided by the arbitrator. On that day, all the people gather there and “*Nikkah*” ceremony was performed. The “*Vanni*” woman was departed without any dowry, the usual marriage rituals were also not performed. The “*Vani*” woman was departed in just common clothes called “*trey kapry wich*”. If the girl to be given in “*Vanni*” was minor, she could be given when she gets the age of puberty.

### **6.2. *Pakk Da faisla* (conflict resolution of confirmed blame)**

The conflict resolution due to confirmed blame or “*Pakk Da Faisla*” was of four kinds:

- Conflict resolution when both man and woman were killed
- Conflict resolution when man survives but woman was killed
- Conflict resolution when woman survives but man was killed
- Conflict resolution when both man and woman survive

### **6.3 Conflict resolution when both were killed**

If both man and the woman were killed on the spot while involving in illicit act of sexual behavior, then the conflict was resolved in two contexts.



- a. Intra-Biradari conflict resolution
- b. Inter-Biraderi Conflict Resolution

### **6.3.1 Intra-biraderi conflict resolution**

In case of killing of both *Kala* and *Kali* of the same biraderi, then no one follows their murder. No one becomes plaintiff to get the FIR registered; therefore there was no need of an arbitrator to resolve the conflict because there remains no conflict between the two families of the same *biradari*. However, in some cases, to avoid legal complexities a member of the *biradari* becomes plaintiff and gets the FIR registered against a person of the same *Biradari* but after pursuing the case for some time, he forgives the accused and the law intricacies were circumvented.

### **6.3.2 Inter-biraderi conflict resolution**

In case, both female and male were killed by declaring them *Kala* and *Kali* and both belongs to different *biradaries* then the *biradari* of both the families insist them not to follow the case because the murder was considered as *Jaiz Qatal* (legitimate murder). In that case, the family of the man gets a FIR registered as a formality and tries to resolve the conflict mutually. They take *Mairh* or *Sath* to the family of the woman and the process of conflict resolution takes place as it has been discussed earlier. But the condition of the conflict resolution was none other than the *Vanni*. The notion which acts behind it was "*Izzat dy Badly Izzat*" (honor in exchange of honor). In that type, usually more



than one woman was given in *Vanni* according to the will of the arbitrator. In case, if there was no woman in that family to be given as *Vanni* then a considerable share of land, money or cattle was given.

### **6.3.3 Conflict resolution when woman was killed man survives**

If the woman was killed on the spot and man survived in case of "*Pakk*" then the family of the woman tries to kill the man, while the family of man tries to resolve the conflict. They take the "*Mairh*" or "*Sath*" (council of influentials) to the family of the woman for the purpose and inform the family of the woman before their arrival. Then the negotiations were started and the process of conflict resolution continues as it has been discussed earlier. But, if the decision was not made through the negotiation, the *Mairh* was sent back by the family of the woman, but the family of man tries again to resolve the conflict by engaging another influential "*Sardar*" and increase the number of "*Syeds*" because the "*Syeds*" were honored much being "*Aal-e-Rasool*" (from the lineage of the Holy Prophet PBUH). The "*Mairh*" was taken to the family of the woman until the decision was made and the conflict resolved on "*Chatti*" or "*Vanni*". The process follows the "*Dua-r-Khair*" (pray to God) which was offered at the end of the procession by the "*Syed*" as an indication of dispute settlement. The decision remained valid either the event was of intra-*biradari* or inter-*biradari*.

#### **6.3.4. Conflict resolution-man was killed and woman survives**

In that type of the conflict resolution on the basis of “*Pakk*”, the woman who was not killed and takes refuge at the house of the “*Sardar*” of any other caste. If married, she was divorced at once by her husband and she spends the time span of *Iddat* in *Sardar’s* house and after that she was sold out by the “*Sardar*” and the price money was given to the husband or father or any other guardian of the woman. The family of the man tries to solve the dispute with the proper proceedings of conflict resolution. Then the traditional method of “*Mairh*” was adopted and circumstantial decision was made by the arbitrator.

#### **4.3.5 Conflict resolution when both man and woman survive**

When both the man and woman survive, the woman takes refuge at the *Sardar’s* house and the family of the man tries to resolve the conflict. The decision was taken on three or four women to be given as *Vanni* along with a considerable amount of money as *Chatti*. It depends on the arbitrator who usually takes a strict decision in such situations.

#### **6.4. Conflict resolution of abduction**

There were two points to be discussed under the heading:

1. Conflict resolution of *Hasb-e-Mansha Aghwa*  
(Elopement)
2. Conflict resolution of *Zabardasti Aghwa* (abduction)

Both the cases have been elaborated in detail in the previous chapter; the conflict resolution caused by the situations has been discussed here.

#### **6.4.1 Conflict resolution of *Hasb-e-Mansha Aghwa* (Elopement)**

When a woman elopes with a man and marries him, both of them were called "*Kali* and *Kala*" respectively in "*Balauchki* code of honor". The family of the woman tries to find them out and kill both of them in the name of honor so that their lost honor is restored. First of all, the attempts were made to bring the eloped woman back. Bringing the abducted or eloped woman back was itself a very significant in nature and honorable for the family of the woman.

The family of the man tries to resolve the conflict by appealing the *Sardar* of the area to act as arbitrator to settle the dispute by agreeing to pay *Chatti* to the eloped woman's family, because it was perceived by the locals that the eloped woman has committed crime of lower level than that of the man because he has persuaded the woman to take the bold step. Any how, both were convicted and considered liable to be killed.

In that situation, the arbitrator contacts the family of the eloped woman and requests them to exonerate the man and his family. He also asks them that the family of the man would pay as much "*Chatti*" as they demand. If the family of the woman shows positive response then they give the arbitrator a convenient date for *Mairh*, with their demands. In the situation like that, the demands were deliberately increased as to make it difficult to be fulfilled by the opponent

group. The arbitrator makes the family of the man aware about the claim of the opponent party. If the demands of the family of the woman were affordable by the other family, the “*Mairh*” or “*Sath*” was taken to the eloped woman’s family and the process of conflict resolution continues in accordance with the previous discussions. The decision differs according to situation as the decision was pre-defined and announced accordingly. In that way, the disputed was settled.

#### **6.4.2 Conflict resolution of *Zabardasti Aghwa* (Abduction)**

In case of a girl’s abducted on the basis of animosity or any other reason only to disgrace a family or *Biradari*, irrespective of intra-*biradari* or inter-*biradari*, even then the particular girl was considered “*Kali*” likely to be killed or sold out if she was brought back. In return, it was most likely that the family of abducted woman would kill a person belonging to the abductor’s family. In that way, a series of killing starts termed as “*Qaumi Jang*”. After too much bloodshed, the “*Sardars*”, “*Syeds*” or other influential persons realize sensitivity of the situation and try to settle the dispute between two groups. The influentials meet the representatives of both the parties and make them aware of the losses of their animosity and persuade them for the conflict resolution.

If both the parties agree on a particular arbitrator, the process of blood-feud settlement gets accelerated. The *Biradari* which have killed more people was considered guilty and was held responsible for taking the “*Mairh*” to the other “*Biraderi*”. The process of conflict resolution was followed on the same

lines as have been discussed previously, thus the conflict was resolved. In the situation, the value of "*Chatti*" was considerably greater than any other form of conflict resolution in honor killing as the animosity was prevailed over a long period of time and has claimed many lives.

## Chapter No. 7

### Socio-psychological factors of *Kala Kali*

#### The background:

The standards of honor and nobility are not uniformly practical for both men and women though the honor code is equally applicable theoretically. The researcher has dug out the following socio-psychological factors of *Kala-Kali* in the *Baloach* community under study. The clear distinction cannot be drawn among social as well as psychological boundaries of the factors due to their interdependency as well as interconnectedness. In this chapter, some acts of misuse of honor killing have also been discussed. “Mis-use” in the sense that some motives behind the acts are not considered as the part of “*Baloachki*-code of honor and do not relate with its legitimate course of action. But the acts are also protected through the institution of honor killing as an important function that the institution performs:

- Fulfillment of basic needs
- Socialization
- Preservation and perpetuation of cultural patterns
- Establishment of social control
- Solution to ongoing problems of community

In order to maintain the tradition of honor killing intact and perpetuated over the generation, there was also a room kept for the misuse of “Concept of *Ghairat*”.

The socio-psychological factors behind the institution of *Kala-Kali* were divided into primary and secondary ones due to their functionality in the community under study.

The dichotomy was related to socio-psychological factors as the most prominent factors acting as triggering mechanism behind the honor killing. The dichotomy was discussed in detail and case studies have been given where needed for the further elaboration of the situation.

### **7.1. Primary Factors**

The primary factors such as social, psychological, economical as well as political that have been working behind the institution of “*Kala Kali*” were:

#### **7.1. Concept of honor**

The concept of honor in the community under study was very much fundamental. Woman was considered a symbol of *Ghairat* (audacity) and *Izzat*. She represents *Izzat* (honor) symbolically of the family to whom she belongs. And if any one tries to harm any woman in any way or she herself gets involved in illicit relations with someone, it was taken as unforgivable conduct that leads to killing. In the discussion, debauchery was important to mention.

#### **7.2 Debauchery**

Debauchery (or *Bad Kari*) also falls under the category of concept of honor, proves to be the most effective triggering mechanism behind the functionality of honor killing. When a man was seen with female at some hidden place or in seclusion, sitting together, involved in obscene act both of them were

declared as *Kala* and *Kali*. Those acts were taken as *Bad-Kari* and were treated according to the traditions and customs of the society. For women, its punishments vary from selling, killing or incarceration for the whole life, while for men, the punishment for breaking the honor code ranges from killing, physical and psychological torture (like in the rituals *Aas* and *Aaf*) and heavy fine (in the form of currency, land or cattle) as ransom. One of the native was of the view that “*Zann da masla Hassas ay*” (the matter of “woman” is sensitive.) It means that the notion of honor which was directly linked to the purity and chastity of women was too sensitive.

In majority of the cases, debauchery has been proved as a basic reason for honor killing. The element of suspicion (*Shakk*) plays a vital role which develops an environment of fickleness about the chastity of woman which brings death sentence for her.

Those were the reasons which create an overall social setup where the “*Kala-Kali*” becomes legitimate and individuals involved in it consider it as a savior of their “*Izzat*” and “*Ghairat*” by fulfilling their psychological strands about the concept of “*Izzat*” and “*Ghairat*” that becomes unavoidable for them.

### **7.3 Socio-economic imbalance**

Every one desires to have social and economic status in the society and should be considered as a valuable person for his social and economic conditions. If society does not give him his due right, he retaliates and tries to get his desires fulfilled through fair or unfair means.



The community under study was also an imbalanced one where have-nots try to achieve the wealth in order to pursue their dreams, they use the institution of *Kala-Kali*. They declare their women "*Kali*" with some one and take money from him for settlement of the dispute.

In the same way, a woman who was not given her due social status by her husband falls prey to the one who promises her demands and then she becomes *Kali*. When a husband scolds or beats his wife, he does not take care of her sentiments or does not give her any money to spend on herself and does not give her an acceptable social status, she would try to find someone else to take care of her and materialize her dreams. When she commits any crime, the husband tries to kill her by declaring her *Kali*.

While talking about the economic imbalance in the community, one could observe a clear dichotomy of "haves" and "haves not". So to cover the gulf, one adopts wrong methods. Greed was a primary factor leading towards honor killing. Many people declare their wives or mothers as "*Kali*" because of their hunger for land, money, gold, silver, cattle etc. A man declares his wife "*Kali*" to get a heavy amount of money (as ransom), cattle, land, or any other precious things such as gold or silver, from the alleged man with whom he suspects his wife to be "*Kali*". A man, who was blamed, faces a continuous threat to his as well as his family's life from the opponent group and in order to resolve the conflict, he pays a substantial amount of money called "*Chatti*" (compensation money). In that

way, one who accuses some one for illegitimate relations with his wife could get a huge amount of capital and gets his hunger reduced.

In the absence of father, sometimes son accuses his mother of being *Kali* to get her share in property. He threatens his mother to give the property or money to him otherwise he will accuse her as *Kali*, through which he would get the license to kill her. That kind of thinking could be seen working behind the honor-killing.

#### **7.4. Socialization and perpetuation through patterned behavior**

Socialization is a process that starts from the birth of an individual and continues until his death. During this whole time, he passes through different stages of socialization and re-socialization (when a woman marries, she has to adjust in a new environment and re-socialize herself to various social behaviors.). The individual learns from his environment how to talk, how to wear, how to behave and, how to eat in different situations. So, an individual learns all the social behaviors from his environment from his birth. Individual's biology also plays a significant role in formulating his overall behavior. His genetic characteristics mould his personality but the effect of environment is most important which can change any kind of attitude according to its prevailing circumstances. Here it is most important to discuss the society under study that has different parameters for male and female child at their very stages of early socialization. This gives rise to our concern towards the gender socialization theories. Three types of theories explain gender socialization: "psychoanalytic",

“social learning” and “cognitive developmental”. In the present research the researcher was directly considering the theory of “social learning.”

Social learning theories are behaviorist theories that rely on reinforcement and modeling explanations of behavior—the environment makes people do things. This is an important approach to understand “early childhood gender socialization”.

Bem has identified three key “gender lenses” (hidden assumptions): gender polarization (men and women are different and these differences constitute a central organizing principle of social life), androcentrism (males are superior to females; male experience is the normative standard); and biological essentialism (the first two lenses are due to biological differences between the sexes). She recommends substituting an “individual differences” lens that emphasizes “the remarkable variability of individuals within groups.” A social constructionist approach (advocated by Bem & Coltrane) views gender acquisition as a self-fulfilling prophecy. The most important insight from research on gender socialization is that because boys and girls are treated differently and put into different learning environments, they develop different needs, wants, desires, skills, and Temperaments; in short they become different types of people, men and women, who hardly question why they are different or how they ended up that way. The basic underlying model is that of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Because people think boys and girls are supposed to be different, they treat them differently and give them different opportunities for development. This

differential treatment promotes certain behaviors and self-images that recreate the preconceived cultural stereotypes about gender. The process repeats itself over and over in an unending spiral across the generations, so that although gender stereotypes are being constantly re-created and modified, they seem natural and impervious to change.

Children learn about gender and how to “do gender” because it is central to the way we organize society. Children “learn culturally appropriate ways of thinking and being as they follow routine rituals and respond to the everyday demands of the world in which they live to be considered competent members of society, they must learn how to fit in as appropriately gendered individuals. Gender socialization turns children into “cultural natives,” who know their culture’s reality without realizing that other realities are possible.

In the community under study, the social setup was of tribal in nature. An individual born in the community has same biological characteristics as that of his near relatives and gets also socialized in the same environment, where he learns tribal attitudes and behaviors such as violence, concept of *Izzat* and *Ghairat* etc, and on the basis of his social learning, he responds to different situations accordingly. The individuals remain in groups, as a man alone could not survive. So, the individual’s behavior was actually group’s behavior, and groups collectively form community’s behavior. The institution of *Kala-Kali* was also a learned behavior of the tribal community and the individuals show their responses

to it in different ways as authorized by the laws which operate within the community.

### **7.5. *Sardari* system as a political factor**

*Sardari* system comes under the umbrella of “Political factor”. In the Baloch community, *sardari* system was very much active. There was a distinct social stratification and the community was divided broadly into *sardars* and *kammi* (people of low castes). In the cases of *Kala-Kali*, the *sardars* were involved in decision making process for conflict resolution between the two parties of man and woman involved in *Kala-Kali*.

The *sardars* receive a considerable amount of money from both the conflicting parties as *Nazrana* (Gift) for their active involvement in conflict resolution and thus the incidents were the sources of regular income of *sardars*. In some cases, *sardars* also play their role in declaring a couple *Kala-Kali* mostly of their own lineage and try to make someone suspect about his mother, sister or daughter for their own gains such as money, power, political favor animosity or a particular woman. When a woman was declared *Kali*, she was sent to stay at *sardar*'s house until a decision was made for her future. If a woman was sold out after being declared *Kali*, *sardar* gets a reasonable amount out of her price. In that way, *sardars* use the people of low caste to fulfill their evil desires by exploiting the institution of *Kala-Kali*.

In political factors and *sardari* system, the phenomenon of “Coalition formation” was also very important and could not be neglected while studying the factors behind the honor killing.

In the community under study, the phenomenon of “Coalition formation” could be studied as individual’s logical preferences for seeking the desired ends.. The phenomenon also serves as the factor behind the functioning and perpetuation of honor killing as the coalitions on the basis of politics serves them to get rid of the law suits or the charges of murders against them. Because of the coalitions with the political influentials serve them to save their lives even after committing murders in *Kala kali*.

## **7.6 Lack of awareness**

Lack of awareness was an imperative factor behind the institution of *Kala-Kali*. The people in the community under study were mostly illiterate and not aware of the country laws, “*Shariah Laws*”, their rights and duties towards others and the rights and duties of others towards them. They think killing in “*Kala-Kali*” as an unavoidable thing even if it was based on suspicion. They do not know the “*Sharia Laws*” regarding the killing but think it as a rightful act. They were actually socialized in an environment where many forces occupy their rationale and they become helpless to do in contrary to the social settings. Killing in “*Kala-Kali*” was a crime according to the country law as well as in the “*Sharia Laws*” as, in *Sharia*, it was mandatory to bring four testimonies to prove the illicit relations. A mind was most likely to be converted into a criminal mind due to lack

of awareness. So, the lack of awareness was an important reason behind the act of killing in "*Kala-Kali*".

There were also some secondary factors that originate primary factors and lead to honor killing. The basis of the secondary reasons was the general behavior of the community under study.

### **Secondary factors**

The secondary factors involved in the process of honor killing in the area of research were:

#### **7.7. Parallel judicial system**

Provision of justice is a necessary thing for development of a peaceful society. It is obligatory to consider the have and the have not equally and their duties and responsibilities towards the society should be of equal contextually. Lack of justice threatens peace and equality. He who has money can mould the law to his welfare without having even a little consideration about other people.

This phenomenon leads to the spread of institutions like *Kala-Kali* in the locale. According to many key informants, when the people contact the courts for seeking justice, they have to pass through a long and difficult judicial procedure and delay involved in getting the verdict of the court of law, keeping in view the difficulties, people contact *Kath* or *Jirgas* for the resolution of their disputes without any delay and cost. The decisions of *Kath* or *Jirga* were usually announced at the spot by declaring the accused as *Kala-Kali*. Thus, lack of speedy



formal judicial system leads to extension and strengthening the institutions like *Jirga* or *Kath*.

### **7.7.2 Animosity**

Human is a social animal and he maintains different kinds of behaviors in the society. Animosity is one of the human social behaviors that operate within society. An individual shows varying responses to different situations in his life by sharing cultural patterns.

Animosity is an important factor that leads to honor killing. During research, it was learnt that honor killing has been misused in many ways, and animosity was one of them. When a man kills his enemy in rivalry, in order to conceal the real situation, he kills his wife or mother as well declaring both of them *Kala-Kali*. In this way, he gets rid of his enemy by using a female of his own family and also gets a reasonable amount of money, land, or cattle as “*Chatti*” from the family of the deceased or in some situations, he demands *Bazzu* (a virgin) from the family of the killed. Some people have more than one wife; they use any of their wives to kill their enemy.

### **7.8 Woman**

Under the heading two kinds of cases were observed in the locale while surveying the area:

- Getting rid of un-wanted woman
- To get desired woman



Mostly, the woman has been the victim of honor-killing, but she has been a significant reason behind the phenomenon. Usually man avoids such circumstances (killing) by paying “*Chatti*” to the opponent party and women being the prey to honor-killing or sold.

Another factor was that when a man wants to get rid of his existing wife due to any reason, the best way was kill her by declaring her “*Kali*”. In that way, the man who kills his wife could also have a reasonable amount of money or “*Bazu*” (another woman in exchange) from the accused.

There has been another phenomenon that if a married man likes a woman other than his wife, he deliberately kills his wife by declaring her “*Kali*” and accuses the brother or father of the woman whom he likes, thus he creates a conflict and tries to settle the dispute by demanding that particular women whom he likes in return.

That kind of discrimination against woman was started directly with wish of male inheritor to be served food first, and that was perpetuated through the whole process of socialization.

### **7.9 Forced exchange marriages**

Forced exchange marriage was another social reason behind the array of killing where two or three parties exchange their women for marriage. According to many informants, people not only try to get rid of their un-wanted wives and to get a woman of their choice. They deliberately kill their wives and declare them

*Kali* with a person from the family they want to get the woman of their own choice in *Vani* during conflict resolution.

The phenomenon could be best understood through the following case study.

#### **7.9.1 Case study**

Name.....R

Ethnic group.....*Lashari Baloach*

Sex.....Female

Marital status.....married

Seventeen years old R was married to A in exchange marriage by following the local rules; she was to live with her husband's family. Her husband used to live in the city because he worked there. A didn't like R one day he came back to home on leave, he declared his wife "*Kali*" with D, a person from another Biraderi, and killed her. After that the family of D tried to resolve the conflict and brought "*Mairh*" to A. Before that *Kath*, A imposed a condition of exchange of D's sister named N. According to the key informants from different Biraderis, the entire village knew that, A had an old desire to marry N. However, in forced exchange marriage, he had to marry R. While exploiting honor killing, he was able to get the woman of his own choice at last.

#### **7.10 Social pressure**

A human being cannot survive without living in groups because he is not self-sufficient. Groups constitute to make a community, that have some defined

and shared social laws, norms and folkways through which it regulates individual's behavior in a patterned way, which is accepted as social behavior. Any one who violates norms of the society faces a criticism by the society, which urges him to act according to the set pattern. This is called social pressure, which is exercised on individuals by the society.

The community under study was a tribal *Baloach* community in which the honor-killing was also a set pattern. If a woman was found guilty of illicit relations with someone or she elopes with some one or if an element of suspicion about such relationship, the family of the accused was bound to take action against her according to the set pattern of the *Baloach* community. Otherwise, the society criticizes them severely and taunts them while saying *tusada pura Khandan Be-Ghairat ay* (your whole family is dishonored). Even in some cases, social boycott was announced with that particular family and even the members of the same lineage do not maintain social relations with them. The criticism of the society was natively called *Taany* or *Mehrain* (taunt). So, in order to avoid such situations, the people practice honor-killing that could be better understood in the light of the following case studies:

#### **7.10.1 Case study**

Name.....S

Caste group.....*Lashari Baloach*

Sex.....Male

Marital status.....Un-married

Two years ago, S's sister T eloped with her village man named F. After four months, with the endeavors made by her family, T was brought back to her home on the condition of swearing on the Holy Qura'an that T would not be killed in any case. The family kept her at the house of local *sardar*. She was residing there for two and a half months and waiting for future proceedings.

One day, in "*Wisakh*" a person from the village taunted S calling him *Be-Ghairat* as their *Kali* was still alive. S turned furious and hurriedly went to the *Sardar's* house and killed her sister and was treated as "Honor Hero" and was placed at the high esteem. Thus, according to him, he saved himself and his family from taunt, to becoming "Be-Ghairat" (dis-honored).

## Chapter No. 8

### Summary

The research was conducted at *Drighri* village, Rajanpur District of southern Punjab. The first chapter gives an insight into the issue under study. The relevant objectives and theoretical frame of reference along with methodology have been explained for better understanding of the Honor Killing.

In the second chapter, the relevant literature has been reviewed, though there were few numbers of national and international publications on the subject; however an adequate literature on the topic was acquired from different sources to give a description of the issue. To proceed further, important methodologies were developed to discuss the particular social issue of the society on theoretical grounds for its highly interchangeable social and psychological reasons.

The third chapter gives a true picture of the local society that was possible by knowing the whereabouts and its physical structure for the better understanding of the culture prevailing there.

The village's social organization was mainly based on kinship and family structures and *Biradari* system. Different ethnic groups live there; each of them constitutes a *Biraderi* having different identification locally called as "*Qaum*". Although the *Biradari* system rests upon kinship system based on genealogical units but *Biradaris* govern their mutual affairs through "*Kath*" (assembly of influentials). There was a typical extended family system wherein two to three generations live together. The residence rule was patrilocal; in which women

move from their parents' house to the husband house. The authority pattern in the village was patriarchal; where the elder male member of the family enjoys the authority of decision making, similarly, the inheritance practices were patrilineal where name and property was inherited from father to the son. *Baloachki*, the code of honor was also discussed by mentioning some of its important elements that provide the basis for social organization in the community.

The whole configuration of the institution of honor killing has been discussed in detail with governing laws that guide the natives how to act in particular situations. In *Baloachki* code of behavior, there were three main reasons to kill a persons indulged in misconduct (a) suspicion, (b) confirmation and (c) abduction.

### **8.1 Conclusion**

By using the case of a desolated society of Rajan pur district, an attempt was made to unravel the structural and psychological reasons for the elaboration of a traditional ideology based on the concepts of honor and shame used by the institution of "honor killing". By tracing the social organizational and cultural prerequisites for its patterning and perpetuation, it was made possible to explain the reasons for the adoption of "honor killing" and its interrelationships with ideology and social structure.

Society at any given time passing through occurings and unfolding the complicated events; like actions of its individual participants. It is constantly fading into the past and unfolding into the future. Likewise, in the whole

discussion, the researcher has tried to “Untangling the Knots” of the whole complicated web of social actions regarding “factors of honor killing”.

The tradition of honor killing widely exists in Muslim tribal areas, rural areas and also in some of the urban settings highlighted by the media to the international level.

In different regions of the world, especially Middle East and South Asia and some areas of Europe etc, the tradition of honor killing exists in different forms with multi-label systems depending on “cultural stock of knowledge” of a particular society. A report submitted to the UNHRC narrates:

“Honor killings have occurred in Bangladesh, Great Britain, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Pakistan, Morocco, Sweden, Turkey & Uganda.”<sup>1</sup>

The three main routes for mobilization and motivation of honor killing were political, economic and psychological that engenders great solidarity among the practices and practioners of the honor killing.

In some cases, the individuals who commit honor killing were revered by their community and fellows as “honor heroes”, that was a dementedly skewed status they carry with them for the rest of their lives. But the attitude could be reversed if any man or family does not kill their man and woman declared “*Kala* or *Kali*”. The locals assert social pressure on the coward persons by taunting and

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<sup>1</sup> Hillary Mayell, Thousands of women killed for family "Honor" national geographic news February 12, 2002, (www.papillonsartpalace.com)

by social boycott to force even those who do not want to act upon the tradition of “Honor killing”.

Moreover, the tradition of honor killing reflects a parallel judicial system that further institutionalizes violence and discrimination against women. What would be worse than losing a daughter, a sister a brother or a father? Even worst was to surrender daughters or sisters in penalty in tribal feuds, forcing the poor innocent girls to face an eternal life of humiliation. Such tradition was practiced by the men who were not the part of an alien culture, but were the people of the same area and were the custodians of the tradition of honor killing.

For attempting to discuss about making the familiar exotic on the basis of observations and interviews of the community, it was concluded that the institution of honor killing has nothing to do with the religion but was the part of cultural and tribal practices backed by the psychological phenomenon that has acted as triggering mechanism behind the institution of honor killing.

In the end, proposing some **recommendations** for the removal of misguided beliefs and distorted views that constitutes a family’s dishonor were as important as legislation. The *Sardars*, *Chaudharies* and other influential in decision making process who decide the cases, religious scholars who advocate the implementation of Islamic provisions could play an important role to condemn the evil values. In this regard associations, media groups, government institutions, local government bodies, human rights organizations and activists’ could play a



key role in creating awareness among people against the institution of honor killing.

## Glossary

➤ Aiwaz or Vani	Giving of female for clemency
➤ Aam Maafi	Seeking clemency
➤ Aal-e-Rasool	From the lineage of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)
➤ Aqiqa	Charity for the safety of life
➤ Aaf	Water
➤ Baridari	The caste group in the village
➤ Baloachki”	Code of honor for the Baloach.
➤ Bha	Native name of fire
➤ Chaliha	forty day’s mourning period
➤ Choorha Krna	Socio-economic and political boycott of the family
➤ Chatti	compensation money
➤ Day Ghin	Gift exchange
➤ Dastar Bandi	the ritual of placing the turban on the elder son the father who has deceased
➤ Drigh	the founders and original inhabitants of the Locale “Drighri”
➤ Dua-e-Khair	A Pray to God for declaration of dispute settlement

➤ Fasal Chunwai	harvesting the crops when ripened
➤ Ghutti	licking of saliva to the new born baby to obtain the habits of that relative who's saliva is licked
➤ Ghussal	Ritual of giving Bath to dead-body
➤ Ghairat	Honor
➤ Hasbe mansha Aghwa	Elopement
➤ Ilaqa Deh	The area of the land is either under the central or provincial government control.
➤ izzat	honor
➤ Jhand	Ritual of Shaving the hair of new born baby at his 7 <sup>th</sup> day of birth
➤ Jirga	council of elders.
➤ Kacha	made up of mud.
➤ khichhi canal	A name of the Canal near the area
➤ kammi	the lower caste groups in the hierarchy of social setup
➤ Kalwan	calumny
➤ Kandha	invitation
➤ Khandans	Extended family
➤ Kala	the adulterer man

➤ Kali	the adulterer woman
➤ Kali Wechi Wendi ay	the adulterer woman is sold out
➤ Mubarkhi	congratulation
➤ Mairh or Sath	council of influentials for decision making process for dispute settlement
➤ Maulvi	The Muslim cleric
➤ Hafiz sahib	The Muslim cleric
➤ Muqqaddim	the esteemed rank in the Baloach Tribes who owns the title of “Tumun”
➤ Nazrana	the money in acknowledgement of the service
➤ Pakka houses	The houses made up of bricks
➤ Pattals	Reeds
➤ Pakk	killing on basis of eye witness
➤ Por	Revenge
➤ Pir	Ordained Spiritual leader
➤ Qaums	Caste group
➤ Qaomi Jang	A series of killing between the “Qaums”
➤ Qatal	Murder
➤ Qatal de Badlay Qatal	Blood feud
➤ Roti	the flat bread
➤ Salun	Prepared curry of vegetables, meat

➤ Semi-Pakka house	Houses made up of mud and bricks
➤ Sharik	Sub-lineage
➤ Salah Mashwara	Consultation
➤ Sardar	An influential person of the area
➤ Salis	Arbitrator
➤ Shakk	Killing on the basis of suspicion
➤ Shak Di Patt	Clarification of innocence
➤ Sulah	Conflict resolution
➤ Toba	Naturally occurring water reservoir
➤ Tanbeeh	Castigation
➤ Thai or Sulah	Settlement of blood feud
➤ Wajib-ul-Qatal	Likely to be killed
➤ Wadera	Influential person of area
➤ Wapas walwana	Forcefully bringing back the eloped women
➤ Zabardasti Agwha	Abduction

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