



Honour Killings in Haryana State, India: A Content Analysis

Satnam Singh Deol¹

Guru Nanak Dev University, India

Abstract

The study has been conducted through observational-analytical approach and while applying the documented case study as well as content analysis methods. The study depicts that intolerance of the family members to the pre-marital relationships and matrimonial choices of their daughters especially towards inter-caste and Inter-religious marriages results into the honour based violence. The study further observes that a noticeable number of honour killings are executed as crimes of passion aroused by sudden provocation when the couples are caught in compromising situations by the family members of the girls. Besides fathers and brothers of the girls, there are direct involvements of their mothers, paternal and/or maternal uncles, family friends and even contract killers into the murders. It has been observed that the centuries old conformist mind set prevailing in the patriarchal society does not accept the girls to establish pre-marital relations or to find males of their own choices to marry with. The patronage of the community and the leniency of the law have made the honour killings frequent trend which possesses socio-cultural legitimacy as well. Therefore, besides constituting rigorous laws and rigid punishments to counter the problem, it is immediately required to change the mindset of the bigoted patriarchal societies to become tolerant towards matrimonial choices of their daughters especially towards inter-caste and inter-religious marriages.

Keywords: Honour killings, Patriarchy, Caste, Sexual relationships.

Introduction

Man is affiliated to the society not only socially but psychologically as well. The norms of the society are acknowledged and accepted by the man not as unavoidable social bindings but as acceptable moral obligations. Reasonably, the socio-cultural customs dominantly control the psychological behaviour of the man. The notions of good and evil, sacred and profane, moral and immoral, permissible and forbidden, honour and dishonour are transferred to the mindset of the man by the process of socialisation through the socio-cultural phenomena in which he subsists. Thus man perceives the social behaviour, status and role of his own and others within the milieu of his socio-cultural values. In every society, there are certain aspects of social behaviour, patterned according to the status and role of various members of the society which are considered by the society as forbidden and if executed, are acknowledged as defiance and dishonour. The punishments in these

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Punjab, India. Email: sdeol.sdeol@gmail.com

cases obviously vary from society to society as per the nature and extent of the defiance and dishonour. The phenomenon of honour killings is the outcome of that socio-psychic milieu of typical societies where certain patterns of the behaviour of human beings, particularly the females, are recognised as bringing dishonour to their families and communities and the lost honour is reimbursed by killings them.

Conceptualising Honour Killings

Honour killing is a global phenomenon (Warriach, 2005, p. 77) and has been widely reported in countries such as Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, Bangladesh, Algeria, Brazil, Ecuador, Morocco, Israel, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, the Balkans, Sweden, Holland, Germany, Italy, Yemen, India and many more countries (Ali, 2008, p. 9). It is estimated by the United Nations Population Fund that as many as 5,000 women and girls are murdered by family members each year in so-called 'honor killings' around the world (UNIFEM, 2007, p. 4). However, Kiener (2011, p. 185) claims that the number of 5,000 is thought to be gross under count and the figure is closer to 20,000 per year worldwide.

There exist various views of experts regarding the precise meaning and nature of the term honour killing. Brandon and Hafez (2008) in their study based on honour based crimes divulge that honour is a fluid concept which has been widely interpreted by different societies, cultures and classes throughout history to promote behaviour which is seen as beneficial to the community. At various times honour has been equated with attributes as diverse as bravery or cunning, strength or wisdom, vengefulness or mercy. In all societies, honour has both a private and a public aspect. On one hand it describes an individual's 'self-respect'; how a person sees himself and his relative value in society. But at the same time, measures of honour also dictate the extent to which society accepts a person's self-worth and help determine the level of status and material benefits which it accords him as a result (Brandon & Hafez, 2008, p. 1). Brandon and Hafez (2008) further remark the attributes of 'honour' in honour based violence (including honour killings) as sexual honour. The form of honour, in the cases of the killings of females by their own family members arises from ideas that the reputation and social standing of an individual, a family or a community is based on the behaviour and morality of its female members. Like other forms of honour, this concept does not exist in a vacuum but rather as a central part of a complex social structure which governs relationships between different families, genders and social units within a given society (Brandon & Hafez, 2008, p. 2).

The Oxford Dictionary of Law Enforcement defines Honour killing as "the purposeful pre-planned murder, generally of a woman, by or at the command of members of her family stimulated by a perception that she has brought shame on the family" (Oxford Dictionary of Law Enforcement, 2007).

Human Rights Watch (2004) describes that "honour crimes are acts of violence, usually murder, committed by male family members against female family members, who are perceived to have brought dishonour upon the family. A woman can be targeted by (individuals within) her family for a variety of reasons, including: refusing to enter into an arranged marriage, being the victim of a sexual assault, seeking a divorce — even from an abusive husband — or (allegedly) committing adultery. The mere perception that a woman has behaved in a specific way to "dishonour" her family is sufficient to trigger an attack."

Amnesty International observes that “honour killing of a woman by a male relative is not an individual act of violence, but one which is collective, planned, sociologically predictable, and socially approved by both men and women in the family and community concerned” (Amnesty International, 2011, p. 3).

The Law Commission of India views that the words ‘honour killings’ and ‘honour crimes’ are being used loosely as convenient expressions to describe the incidents of violence and harassment caused to the young couple intending to marry or having married against the wishes of the community or family members. They are used more as catch phrases and not as apt and accurate expressions (The Law Commission of India, 2012).

Girija Vyas, then Chairperson of the National Commission for Women, while preparing the draft of ‘The Prevention of Crimes in the Name of ‘Honour’ & Tradition Bill, 2010’, had regarded honour killings as violation of certain fundamental rights in the Constitution of India, including the right to life, and liberty which, if broadly interpreted, includes the right to bodily integrity, and the right to choose whom to associate with. The actions of the parents of the girls to stop her from exercising her choice also result in curtailment of her freedom to movement and expression. A valid consent to a Marriage is also an essential prerequisite under the law (The PCNH&T Bill, 2010).

Rout (2012) describes that honour Killing is the homicide of the female member of a family or her paramour or both of them by the family members of the girl, due to the belief of the perpetrators that the deceased had brought dishonour upon the family or community. Honour killing are directed mostly against women and girls, but have been extended to men (Rout, 2012, p. 18).

Further, the experts consider the problem of honour killings as outcome of various causes. The major causes acknowledged in various studies include i.e. Inter-caste or inter-religious marriages, opposition to pre-marital and extra-marital relationship between male and female, restriction of females to select the spouse of their own choice. Haile (2007) while revealing the causes of honour killings perceive them as a practice whereby male members kill a female relative who is perceived as having damaged family honour. Honour killing can be triggered by a woman or girl talking with an unrelated male, consenting to sexual relations outside marriage, being the victim of rape, or refusing to marry a man chosen by the family. Even a suspicion of the woman’s committing any of these transgressions can be sufficient to trigger this action (Haile, 2007, p. ii). Kumar (2012) divulges that there is much probability of brutal and barbaric death to a female of the family if she is willing to marry the person of her own choice against the wishes of the parents, having extra-marital or pre-marital relations, entering into a wedlock within the same caste or outside one’s caste or with a close relation from a different caste in the belief that it has brought a dishonour upon the family, class or community (Kumar, 2012, p. 33).

The scholars describe honour killings as more specifically gender-specific crimes. Bernard (2013) observes that honour Crimes are aggravated by the various behavioural actions of women which may include defying the proposed dress code, meeting men not related to her, defying father or brother (Bernard, 2013, p. 9). However, the deeds that become more certain causes of honour killing comprise the girl being involved in pre-marital or extra-marital sexual activity whether consensual or non-consensual. Hence, even rape victims are perceived as have brought disgrace to the honour of the family and the community (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010, p. 3). Kurkiala (2003) reveals the causes of the honour killings as “...if a woman refused to comply with the rules set down by her cultural community, her ‘immoral behaviour’ contaminated the whole family. If other

strategies to make the women comply failed, the only remedy for her male relatives was to kill her in order to protect the family honour. Thus, the murders were culturally sanctioned and designed to uphold a specific moral order” (Kurkiala, 2003, p. 6). In this context, such killings relate to a practice in which women are murdered by their male relatives to restore the honour they lose when ‘their’ women defile it. Women may hurt the honour of men in numerous ways (Wasti, 2010, p. 361). Since socio-culturally it is the honour of men and they comprehend their understanding of ‘honour’, men possess the right of declaring any act dishonourable. Although the studies conducted in Muslim societies held that women severely injure their men’s honour when they fail to guard their virginity and chastity (Campbell, 1964, pp. 268-69).

Honour Killings should not be considered as a self-directed phenomenon. While observed thoroughly, it is the worst constituent of various aspects of honour-based violence. The honour based violence generally includes forced marriages, domestic violence and eventually, the honour killings (Brandon & Hafez, 2008, p. 1). In the circumstances, where the girls are willing for inter-caste or inter-religious marriages, they are forcefully married to the persons of the choice of families. Resistance of the girls to the forced marriages causes domestic violence against them. If the girls elope away and/or get married with the persons of their own choice, the risk of their honour killings obviously aggravates.

Honour Killings in India

In India, honour based violence and particularly the practice of honour killings is an olden phenomenon prevalent since centuries (Welchman & Hossain, 2006, p. 3). There are reports of cases in almost all parts of India but the states of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Western Uttar Pradesh are the regions where these incidents occur more frequently (Vishwanath & Palakonda, 2011, p. 387). As far as the magnitude of the incidents has been concerned, there is no accurate data available with any of the governmental or non-governmental agency. However, the studies conducted by various civil society organisations reveal that India stands into the category of worst affected nations. It is estimated that approximately 1000 people (both females & males) are killed every year in India owing to alleged honour killings.² In India, due to its complex socio-cultural patterns, there are variant causes which result into the honour killings. Various scholars divulge the intolerance of Indian upper castes to inter-caste matrimonial/pre-marital relationship of females as the prime causes of honour killings (Samata, 1991, p. 37; Pauline, 1982, pp. 175-177). Even marriages into same *gotra* (same descendants and same lineage, clan) have emerged as the causes of honour killings in the northern parts of India particularly in the state of Haryana (Vasanth & Kannabiran, 1991, pp. 35-37). Besides these Inter-caste or Intra-caste factors, inter-religious marriages have also ascertained as reason behind people killing their daughters for allegedly restoring their lost honour (Baxi, Rai, & Ali, 2006, p. 1241).

It is an evident fact that honour based violence including honour killings own socio-cultural acceptance in all those communities where these are frequently practiced. In India, honour killings majorly occur in strongly patriarchal societies often referred to as ‘honour-based’ societies i.e. *Jat-sikhs* of Punjab, *Jats* of Haryana and *Rajputs* of Rajasthan. In traditional patriarchal societies inheritance is patri-lineal. Moreover, the family or kin

² The Times of India July 04, 2010.

group, and not the individual, is the basic social, economic and political unit. Therefore, in all such types of societies, the role of community members, community elders and particularly the community councils (such as *Khap Panchayats* in Haryana) can be observed as patronising the honour killings and protecting the killers. These traditional patriarchal societies surprisingly denounce the role of state and the law to prevent honour killings by considering it as an unacceptable interference into their socio-cultural values and familial patterns.

Besides the socio-cultural patronage, the practice of honour killings has established largely in India due to legal clemency also. A century old legal tradition patronised by the British, during their rule over India, which dealt such killings with leniency, not only strengthened this socio-cultural norm but also transformed this norm into a legal defence. (Wasti, 2010, p. 361) This social norm was dealt with leniency under the plea of grave and sudden provocation under exception I of the section 300 of the Penal Code 1860. Exception 1 of the section 300 Penal Code of 1860 says that 'Culpable homicide is not murder if the offender, whilst deprived of the power of self-control by grave and sudden provocation, causes the death of the person who gave the provocation or causes the death of any other person by mistake or accident'. During 1835 -1837, while drafting the penal law for India, the members of the first law commission, constituted by the British Government, had also dwelt upon the issue of honour killings. They considered the issue carefully and favourably under the provision of the grave and sudden provocation. Without going much into the details and definitions of honour, they sympathised with the men whose honour was violated if someone had sex with his wife or sister. Section 295 of the original draft of the Indian Penal Code drafted in 1837 depicts that 'if a man finds someone having sexual intercourse with his wife, daughter or sister and kills the man, or women or both, such killing should not be termed as murder, but should be reduced to manslaughter only. For the framers of the Indian Penal Code, honour killing was not a cultural issue related to the Indian subcontinent, nor a socio-religious matter that belonged to a particular community or communities living in a particular geographical area but, a universally practiced phenomenon wherein men kill the men who commit adultery with their wives or daughters (Wasti, 2010, p. 364).

Constitutional and Legislative Provisions in India

Honour killings are also violation of Articles 14, 15 (1) & (3), 17, 18, 19 and 21 of the Constitution of India. The Article 21 under the chapter of Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution guarantees the Right to Life and Liberty to all persons irrespective of their citizenship. Through various relevant judgments of the Supreme Court of India, the existing provisions in constitution are sufficient to protect various human rights including the right to life. The landmark judgments interpreting the rights to life conclude that the right to life means the right to live with dignity³ and it also includes the right to livelihood⁴, right to education⁵ and right to health⁶ and so on. However, the interpretations through judgments do not particularly comprise the right to marry the girl

³ Francis vs. Union Territory (AIR 1981 SC 746).

⁴ Chandrabhan vs. Union of India (AIR 1983 SC 803) and People's Union vs. Union of India (AIR 1989 SC 2043).

⁵ Mohini vs. State of Karnataka (AIR 1992 SC 1858).

⁶ Vincent vs. Union of India (AIR 1987 SC 990).

or boy of one's own choice but it is implied that the right to live with dignity corroborates the same.

Honour Killings are cases of homicide which are brutal crimes under the IPC (Indian Penal Code). Section 299 and 301 of the IPC, deals with culpable homicide not amounting to murder while Section 300, deals with murder. Honour killing amounts to homicide and murder because the acts are done with the intention of murdering the victims as they have purportedly brought dishonour upon the family. The perpetrators can be punished as per Section 302 of the IPC. The members of the family as well as members of the community can also be prosecuted under Section 302 of IPC for planning, provoking or concealing the murder/s or unlawfully hiding the murderers. There are various relevant sections of the IPC which allow the prosecution of the family members as well as the members of the community under the section 302. The murder/s planned and executed by four or less than four persons, (including by the family members) is an offence under the section 302 of the IPC as per the section 34 of the IPC while in case of the involvement of five or more than five persons, the members of the community can be prosecuted under charges of murder/s as per the section 145 the IPC. Furthermore, section 120(b) and 202 of the IPC allow the prosecution of the members of the community under section 302 of the IPC, who are suspected as deliberately concealing the information about the planning of the murder/s and/or execution of the murder/s.

Methodology

The main thrust of the study is to conduct the comprehensive analysis of various dimensions and attributes of honour killings in Haryana. The present Study has been conducted through observational-analytical approach. Historical-analytical approach has been applied to obtain the precise observation of the concept, nature and prevalence of honour killings worldwide with main focus on India. The primary part of the study has been carried out by employing content analysis technique along with documented case study method. As honour killing is perceptibly a sensitive, bigoted and introvert issue attached to the honour and the social status of the concerned families, people belonging to both sides (the deceased girls or the boys) are not willing to disclose anything to anybody especially who is alien and irrelevant to the cases. Therefore, to be acquainted with the most methodical analysis, the content analysis method along with documented case study method has been applied. The use of content analysis method further facilitates the study by providing an appropriate access to the cases of honour killings within a certain time period. Therefore, 100 sample cases of honour killings occurred in the state of Haryana from 2005 to 2013 and documented by *The Tribune* (English Daily Newspaper) have been taken into consideration. The data obtained after an in-depth examination and systematic analysis of 100 sample cases has been expressed out with the help of relevant tables and charts which has been interpreted through an objective analysis. Furthermore, the eminent socio-political personalities of the regions, social activists, the police personnel and the persons related to the field of criminal justice system are consulted and interviewed to acquire their viewpoints on the issue.

Results

Haryana is one of the states where there is very frequent occurrence of the incidents of honour killings. The socio-cultural subsistence of Haryana comprises the patterns of semi-tribal and patriarchal society, i.e. most of the population residing in rural areas and

pursuing agrarian-based occupations; patronage to social traditionalism and cultural conformism in spite of rapid economic and infrastructural development. In the region, honour based violence, and honour killings are not a new phenomenon. A thorough observation of the socio-cultural mind set of the major communities, especially the martial communities (mainly Jats) reveals that the term 'honour' owns much significance among certain communities. The word honour depicts very comprehensive connotations in Haryana and it is considered as a very significant constituent of socio-cultural values. The connotation of honour and honour based killings related to women is multi-dimensional in the region. One aspect is that if the woman of the family is disrespected, teased, harassed or exploited sexually by other man, it is considered as attack on the honour of male family members and it probably causes violence against the accused which may result into his killing as well. The other part relates to those circumstances in which the married woman establishes extra-marital relations with other man and it is considered as assassination of his honour by her husband.

Another form of honour related violence, also resulting into honour killings, is the girl establishing pre-marital romantic or sexual relationship with any boy and/or willing to marry with the boy of her own choice. The pre-marital romantic or sexual relationship of the girl is also considered as infringement of honour by the male family members of the girl and hence not tolerated. Even if the girl is willing to marry with the boy of her own choice, she is acknowledged as hurting the honour of the family. The situation gets more aggravated when the boy with whom the girl has established relationship and/or is willing to marry belongs to the inferior caste, or the other religion. There are obvious probabilities of honour based violence against the girl which usually results into the killing of the girl, the boy or of both. The present study deals specifically with this particular form of honour killings in the Haryana state.

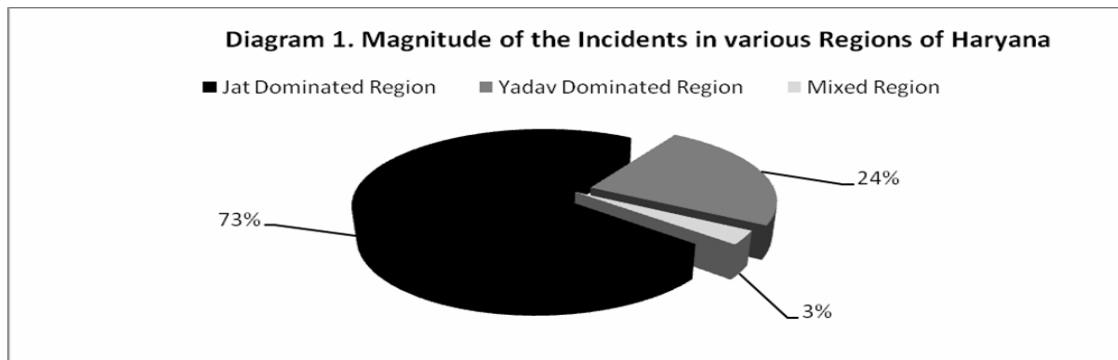
As mentioned earlier, Haryana possesses numerous similarities to the state of Punjab in the socio-cultural patterns. The concern of honour killings is one of the most alarming in Haryana. Due to its agrarian fertility and rapid industrialisation, Haryana has been considered as one of the most developed states. But quite similar to Punjab, Haryana still depicts the attributes of tribal or semi-tribal region as far as the socio-cultural mindset and social behaviour of the rural masses has been concerned. Resistance to love-marriages and particularly intolerance towards inter-caste, inter-religious marriages quite often results into the honour killings in Haryana. This part of the study focuses on examining various aspects relating to the incidents of honour killings in Haryana. The initial issue is to analyse the extent of honour killings in various regions of the state.

Magnitude of the Incidents in various Regions

In Haryana, there is no existence of any firm and formally acknowledged partition of the region on socio-cultural basis. Therefore, to reveal methodically the variations of the magnitude of the incidents in various regions, all districts of Haryana have been demographically categorised into three regions on the bases of the dense population and dominance of particular communities in the region i.e. Jat⁷ dominated region, Yadav dominated region, region with mixed population. The Jat dominated region includes ten districts (Sirsa, Fatehabad, Hisar, Bhiwani, Jind, Rohtak, Sonapat, Karnal, Panipat, Kaithal) where there is more dense and dominant population of Jats; *Yadav* dominated region

⁷ The term Jat is a racial-ethnic phenomenon.

comprises four districts (Narnauli, Mahendragarh, Rewari, Jhajjar) with more dense population and influence of Yadavs; the region with mixed population encompasses four districts (Panchkula, Ambala, Yamunanagar, Kurukshetra) which contain mixed population and there is no socio-cultural dominance of any particular community. The study depicts that 74 per cent of the honour killings transpire only in the Jat dominated region. There is occurrence of 23 per cent incidents in the Yadav dominated region; while only 3 per cent incidents of honour killings take place in the region with mixed population.



The data exposes very noticeable concern that more than two-third incidents of honour killings are practiced in the region in which there is majority population of Jats and the Jat community dominates the socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political spheres of the region. It establishes that very similar to Punjab, the trends of executing honour killings are very frequent among Jats in Haryana. Reasonably, the Jats of Haryana also belong to similar genetical, racial and ethnic derivations as possessed by the Jats of Punjab. The tribal and patriarchal tendencies present in their ethno-racial patterns along with extra possessiveness towards honour makes them more frequent offenders of executing honour killings. There are trends of perpetrating honour killings among Yadavs also, but these are positively much less frequent in comparison to Jats. Reasonably, the Jats reportedly acknowledge themselves as most superior in the caste hierarchy, and connect their socio-political historical background with various dynasties of great Rajput rulers.

Hence, they are traditionally intolerant towards the matrimonial relationships of their children, especially the females, with the persons/families belonging to allegedly lower castes and inferior social standings. The Yadavs also acknowledge themselves as belonging to the dynasty of Yadav rulers, but they do not possess the status of superior most class in the regions and societies of India they reside in, quite particularly in Haryana. Thus up to the extent, they are comparatively more tolerant towards the inter-caste, inter-religious marriages. Moreover, the literacy rate is comparatively lower among Jats of Haryana especially residing in the rural areas. The dearth of connectivity to the process of socio-cultural modernisation based on the Western model has persuaded them to pursue the past traditions and conventions. Positively, the districts with mixed population are much tolerant towards love-marriages, including the inter-caste, inter-religious marriages and marriages in same gotra. Occurrence of only 3 per cent incidents of honour killings in these districts confirms the fact. These districts are more urbanized, reasonably connected to the major cities and even Union territories, i.e. Panchkula, Ambala, Yamunanagar,

Faridabad and Gurgaon. These districts comprise comparatively more urban population, the literacy rate here is much higher and more people are engaged in organized public and private sector professions. Thus, the attributes of the socio-cultural modernization have reasonably modified their psychological mind set and in general. The literate and urbanised people of these districts have adopted the process of abandoning the local conservative value system and have started adapting themselves to the modernized, westernized universal value system.

Proportion of the Killings of Girls and Boys

In Haryana also, honour based killings emerge out as more gender-specific crime as envisaged in the society generally. The analysis of the 100 sample cases discloses that the girl alone is killed in 52 per cent cases while the boy alone is killed in 10 per cent cases. In 38 per cent cases, both the girl and the boy are killed.

Table 1. Proportion of the Killings of Girls and Boys

Gender	%
Killing of Girl only	52
Killing of Boy only	10
Killing of Girl & Boy Both	38

It establishes that the girls are murdered in 90 per cent incidents of honour killings. It is not an exclusive crime against females only but in 48 per cent cases, the boy involved to the girl is also murdered. Noticeable fact arises here is that the girls are not murdered in all cases. In 10 per cent cases, their paramours are murdered but girls are exempted by their family members. It has been observed while studying the cases thoroughly that these 10 per cent cases comprise majority of those circumstances in which the romantic relationship of the girl (particularly inter-caste, inter-religious, same *gotra*) comes into the knowledge of family members and there is no happening of any elopement or covert and unaccepted marriage. In these cases the girls' family members inculcate, warn and threaten the girl not to further pursue the relationships with the boys.

In case of the continuance of the relationship, the girl's family members decide to end the unacceptable relationship by killing the boy involved and forcefully marrying the girl to the boy of their choice. The incidents in which only the girl is killed include majority of those cases where the family members of the girl, when knowing the girl maintaining objectionable relationship with the boy decide to close the matter by executing the cold-blooded murder of the girl. The family members in these cases assume that by murdering the girl secretly, they would be able to conceal the relationship of the girl with any boy and hence the honour of the family will not be profaned. Further, the cases involving the killing of both the girl as well as the boy are those in which the couple gets eloped or get married to each other ignoring the objections and warnings of the girl's family members. Both the girl and the boy are murdered in those cases also in which the couple is caught in compromising condition by the family member/s of the girl.

Age Variables of Girls killed for Honour

To examine the most probable age of girls killed for honour in Haryana, two categories of the age groups have been taken into consideration, i.e. 14-19 and 20-25. These age groups are formed after observing from the sample cases the minimum age and the maximum age of the girls, killed for honour in Haryana. Examination of the sample cases discloses that 14 years is the minimum age of the girls, victims of honour killings in Haryana. On the other hand, the age of 25 years has been found as maximum age. In 46 per cent cases, the girls killed for honour belong to the age group of 14-19 years, while in 54 per cent cases the deceased girls belong to the age group of 20-25 years.

Table 2. Age of Deceased Girls

Age Group (in years)	%
14-19	46
20- 25	54

Majority of the deceased girls belonging to the age group of 14-19 have been killed not because they are willing to marry any boy of their own choice against the will of the family. But they are killed merely when their relationship with the males comes into the light. The study exposes that even the girls of 14-19 years of age who are physically as well as psychologically in the process of parting their childhood are not pardoned by their own family members. The girls belonging to this age group, due to the natural psychological transformation during this time period, get emotionally or physically involved to the males. However, in Haryana, where the practice of child marriage has been still practiced by numerous rural masses and advocated and patronized by the social, political and economic elites of the region, the teenage girls are not considered as psychologically immature but are considered as subordinate, inferior and irrelevant member of the family who can be usually killed for pursuing relationships with the males. Majority of the girls belonging to the age group of 20-25 years are murdered by their family members as they get married, get eloped or radically insist on marrying the males of their own choices, against will of their families.

Age Variables of Boys killed for Honour

The age variables of deceased boys have been categorized into three age groups, i.e., 17-19 years, 20-25 years and 26-30 years. It has been observed while examining 100 sample cases that 17 years is the minimum age and 30 years is the maximum age of boys/males killed by the girls/females families in the incidents of honour killings. Among total number of cases of the killing of boys, 20 per cent belong to the age group of 17-19; worryingly, 65 per cent belong to the age group of 20-25, while the remaining 15 per cent belong to the age group of 26-30 years.

Table 3. Age Variables of Boys Killed for Honour

Age Group (in years)	%
17-19	20
20-25	65
26-30	15

Intolerance towards the male/female relationships exists to the extent of brutality in Haryana. The previous finding has exposed that in 46 per cent cases, the girls of 14 to 19 years of age are murdered. The finding regarding age of boys murdered in cases of honour killings reveals that in every fifth case, the teenage boy belonging to the age group of 17 to 19 years has been murdered by the family members of the girl. The deceased boys belonging to this age group are those who established relationships with the girls belonging to the age group of 14-19 years. It corroborates that in Haryana, the intimate relationships developed by the boys with the girls, classmates in schools, their companions in their village or neighbourhood are not taken as casual conduct during this age group but these acts by the immature boys are considered as non-compensable dishonour to the girls' families. The males belonging to the most vulnerable age group of 20-25 years and the least vulnerable age group of 26-30 years majorly comprise of those who get the girls eloped, get married to the girls rebelling against the girls' families or insist on marrying the girls at any cost ignoring hostility and warnings from the girls' families.

Affiliation of the Killers

It is an obvious reality that honour killings are executed by the family members of the girls. But the relevant query is to know the exact affiliation of the killers with the deceased girls. The study depicts that in 73 per cent cases father of the girl is personally involved in murdering his daughter or probably even her paramour or husband. In 53 per cent cases the brothers of the deceased girls are directly involved in honour killings. Tragically, in 3 per cent cases, the mothers are also involved in murdering their own daughters. In 47 per cent cases, the paternal or maternal uncles are also involved in the murders. In 10 per cent cases other associates such as family friends, friends of the brothers of deceased girls are involved in the killings. The professional contract killers are also found to be engaged in 3 per cent cases.

The study reveals that whole family as well as relatives and even family friends are unanimously and passionately involved in killings the targeted girls or the couples. The male members of the family including father and brothers are the main culprits of honour killings. Noticeably, the paternal and maternal uncles also consider the elopement or unsolicited marriage of the girl within the inferior caste or different religion as a massive social embarrassment for them also and hence participate in the execution of honour killings. Even the mothers, however in minimal cases, are personally involved in killing their daughters. It has been observed that in the planned and organised incidents of honour killings, there is assistance of relatives, family friends or professional contract killers. But the cases in which the girl and the boy are killed immediately on the spot after finding them in compromising condition, the killings are practiced probably by the father

and/or the brothers of the girl, in a few cases (3 per cent) with the assistance of mothers also.

Table 4. Affiliation of the Killers with the Girl

Relationship	%
Involvement of Father	73
Involvement of Brother/s	53
Involvement of Mother	03
Involvement of Paternal/Maternal Uncle/s	47
Involvement of other Associates*	10
Involvement of Contract Killers	03

*'Involvement of other Associates' here means involvement of family accomplices, friends of girls' brothers.

Causes of Honour Killings

The study divulges five main causes of the incidents of honour killings in Haryana. In 47 cases, the inter-caste affair prevails as the dominant cause, while relationship of girls with the boy of same *gotra* (same descendants and same lineage, clan) results into the honour killings in 17 per cent cases. Again there are 17 per cent cases where the girl's family members are just irritant and intolerant towards the relationship of their girl with any boy, irrespective of his caste, religion or social standings. In other 13 per cent cases the relationship of the girl with the boy of same village becomes the reason for honour killings. Further, there are 6 per cent cases in which inter-religious or inter-sect relationships are prohibited to the level that these relationships, if established, turn out to be the causes of honour killings.

Table 5. Causes of Honour Killings

Alleged Cause	%
Inter-Caste Relationship	47
Relationship in Same Gotra	17
Family intolerant to Relationship	17
Relationship of Girl with boy of Same Village	13
Inter-Religious/Inter-Sect Relationship	06

It has been established as an evident fact that quite similar to other parts of India, inter-caste matrimonial relationships are firmly forbidden in Haryana especially among its rural masses and particularly among Jats of Haryana. The caste and *gotra* based stratification of the society is very common and rigid in the State. The caste and *gotra* based Khaps (Caste

councils) have been patronising the endogamic relationships among castes and gotras since centuries. In these scenarios, when the girls and boys establish inter-caste relationships and insist to marry each other, their wishes are rejected, and when the couples rebel against these bigot social conventions, they are brutally murdered. In the same manner, intimate relationships and matrimonial relationships among same gotras are strictly restricted. Thus, when the girls and boys develop relationships among same gotra and remain adamant to establish matrimonial relationships, their persistence results into the honour killings. Brutal intolerance towards male-female relationships can be witnessed as the extent of socio-cultural prohibitions towards male-female relationships. This is a common and typical Indian mind-set to disregard, oppose and refuse the relationships among girls and boys. But so-called supreme castes in Haryana, especially the Jats, consider it as a huge dishonour to the family and the clan. The possible threat of reprove by the community excites the barbaric and culturally crude people to murder the girl, the boy or both. Again, in almost all parts of India, the inter-religious marriages are not accepted. But in Haryana, the act of inter-religious relationships among girls and boys and their desires to get married may also result into the killings of girls. And if the couple performs inter-religious or inter-sect marriage secretly in resistance to the girl's family, it may possibly result into their killings.

Dimensions of Relationship between the Girl and the Boy

The previous finding exposing the causes of honour killings in the region had disclosed inter-caste or inter-religious relationships, relationships within same gotra or same village and intolerance to intimate relationships as three main causes of honour killings in the region. Furthermore, it is also inevitable from the viewpoint of a comprehensive study, to examine the extent and various dimensions of relationships between girls and boys that irritates and hostiles the family members of the girls to the extent that they decide to execute the vicious crime of honour killings. In 37 per cent cases, honour killings are committed by the girls' families after the elopement of their girl and in other 37 per cent cases, the girl or the couple has been murdered after they get married to each other without the consent of the girls' families. In 26 per cent cases, the couple is murdered on the spot when the girl is caught in compromising condition with the boy by her family member/s.

Table 6. Dimensions of Relationship

Nature and Extent	%
Eloped	37
Married without the Consent of Girl's Family	37
Caught in Compromising Condition	26

The girl certainly elopes or gets secretly married to the boy of her own wish when her family member do not permit the marriage due to the inferior caste, different religion of the boy, or the girl and the boy belonging to the same gotra or the same village. The elopement of the girl and afterwards in several cases her getting married and living with the boy belonging to the inferior caste, different religion or belonging to same gotra or same village has been considered as matter of huge embarrassment in the community. And

since centuries, the community has established the practice of killing the girl or the couple to reimburse the dishonour to the family. Further, the noticeable concern is those 26 per cent cases in which the couple has been found in compromising condition by the member/s of the girl's family. The killings executed after the elopement or unsolicited marriages of the couples are the planned and organized crimes. However, these 26 per cent cases are to be considered more as crimes of passion rather than the organized crimes.

Conclusion

The study concludes that honour killings have been practiced in Haryana majorly in the regions which are dominated by the Jats in numerical as well as social, economic and political terms. The problem of honour killings results into comparatively more casualties of females but it is not exclusively a gender-specific problem. Noticeably, forty per cent of the girls murdered for honour are adolescents belonging to the age group of 14 to 19 years and the rest sixty per cent comprise the age group of 20 to 25 years. Further, huge majority of males killed for honour, belong to the age group of 20-25 years, however, there are approximately twenty per cent of deceased males who comprise the teenage group of 17-19 years. In almost all the cases, there is direct involvement of the fathers and/or brothers of the girls. The noticeable concern is that there is direct involvement of mothers as well in 3 per cent incidents of honour killings. Furthermore, the direct involvement of the paternal and/or maternal uncles into the murder of girls has been found quite frequent in the state. Additionally, the involvement of the family friends into the murders of the girls is also found.

The study confirms that in Haryana the practice of honour killings possesses more acceptability and patronage from the family, relatives and the community. In very less number of cases, the involvement of the contract killers has also been observed. It establishes that people of Haryana tackle the incidents of honour killings very brutally by executing the killings with their hands. Furthermore, Inter-caste or inter-religious marriages as well as marriages in same gotras obviously result into the honour based violence but actually the magnitude, extent and dimensions of these causes including elopements, unaccepted secret marriages and instant disclosure of sexual relationships further aggravates the problem which results into the murders of the girls, the boys or the couples. In more than twenty five per cent cases the honour killings are committed as crimes of passions aroused by sudden provocation where the girls are found in compromising conditions with their paramours, by their family member/s.

The problem, if observed in the socio-historical context, does not appear merely as gender-specific phenomenon arising as a form of violence against women and not only a caste-specific trend occurring just as the outcome of the conflicts among caste hierarchies in Haryana. Considering honour killings only as form of violence against women or as a consequence of caste egotism is more or less oversimplified interpretation of the causes of honour killings. To be acquainted with the exact causes of the evil of honour killings, the problem should be observed and analysed from the socio-historical perspective. The study divulges that honour killings are majorly executed by the Jats in Haryana. Similar to various other north-Indian ethno-racial communities, the Jats belong to the social stratum which remained tribal for centuries. Whereas, numerous Indian ethno-racial communities have adapted more or less to the process of social and psychological modernization through literacy and urbanization, the Jats, majorly living in rural segments and vastly illiterate, still pursue their semi-tribal ethno-community based socio-cultural value system.

The causes of community-support to the pursuance of honour killings can also be observed from this perspective.

Loyalty and legitimacy of Haryanvi folks, especially the Jats, more towards their community based value system and their community elites (such as khap panchayats) in comparison to the law of the state can be attributed as a symbol of the lag in social, psychological and legal-political modernization. Again, patriarchy and intra-caste matrimonial alliances are other dominant features of that ethno-community based value system. Thus, caste, community and gender based egalitarianism has not yet been accepted as part of the socio-cultural phenomenon. Since centuries, males have been dominating the familial, social, economic and political processes and women have been sidelined in their society to the subordinate status. Therefore, being socio-culturally a tribal society, intra-caste matrimonial relationships have been still practiced and selecting spouses is very much a collective familial and communal activity rather than an individual decision. Reasonably, whenever anybody attempts to act against their ethno-community based value system, he or she has been seen as bringing dishonour to the family and the community.

Honour killings, similar to various other social evils in Indian society, had been possessing the social and legal acceptance formally or in latent manner until Indian society had become familiar to the Western liberal universal value system through the process of socio-psychic and legal-political modernization since the British era in India. Historically, the leniency of the Indian law and silence of socio-religious reformers towards honour killings and the identical intention of community elites to justify the honour killings approves the same viewpoint. Thus, the practice of honour killings in India in general and in Haryana in particular should be observed as one of the consequences of the lag of social, psychological and legal-political modernization among various Indian communities which, due to illiteracy, rural settings, pastoral economy could not adopt the liberal and secular universal value system and still maintain the bigoted conservatism as per their community based values system. Though, the civil society and the government has become more concerned during recent years due to the emergence of feminist movements, exploration by the media and the transformation of India from traditional prejudiced society to a legal and rational society and from rigidly patriarchal to egalitarian society. But the socio-culturally tribal communities, untouched to the process of social, psychological and legal-political modernization, still pursue the evil of honour killings as an accepted and even prestigious socio-cultural tendency.

Another concern of the study is that more than twenty five per cent of honour killings are executed in Haryana as the consequences of the sudden provocation where the couple has been witnessed by the family member/s of the girls in the compromising situations. That particular pattern of honour killings as crime under abrupt passion cannot be observed merely as a gender-specific or sociological phenomenon. Rather, it should be analysed more as a psychological instinct which is installed into the mindset of the males through the socio-cultural value system that they are extremely intolerant to observe the sexual course of the females associated to them through any relationship with any unfamiliar males.

Therefore, besides constituting rigorous laws and rigid punishments, it is immediately required to change the mindset of the bigoted patriarchal societies to become tolerant to matrimonial choices of their daughters especially towards inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. However, it is really a challenging task for the civil society, government and the

judiciary to transform the socio-cultural psyche of the people who are much more possessive and committed to their ethno-community based socio-cultural patterns in comparison to the society, state and the law.

References

- Ali, Y. (2008). *Honor, The State, and its Implications: An Examination of Honor Killing in Jordan and the Efforts of Local Activists-* (A Thesis). Auburn, Alabama, University of Auburn.
- Amnesty International. (2001). *A Report on Broken Bodies, Shattered Minds: Torture and ill Treatment of Women*. London: Author.
- Baxi, P., Rai, S. M., & Ali, S. S. (2006). Legacies of Common Law: 'crimes of honour' in India and Pakistan. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(7), 1241.
- Bernard, S. (2013). *Combating Honour Crimes in Europe*. (SURGIR Foundation Publication 9) Geneva.
- Brandon, J., & Hafez, S. (2008). *Crimes of the Community-Honour Based Violence in the UK* (A Project). Centre for Social Cohesion, 1.
- Campbell, J. K. (1964). *Honour and Family Patronage*. London: Clarendon Press.
- Fusk, R. (2010). The Crime Wave that Shames the World. *The Independent*, 9 (7), 17.
- Kannabiran, V., & Kannabiran, K. (1991). Caste and Gender: Understanding Dynamics of Power and Violence. *Economic and Political Weekly*, XXVI(37), 35-37.
- Kiener, R. (2011). Honour Killings: Can Murders of Women and Girls be Stopped. *Global Researcher*, 5(8), 185.
- Kolenda, P. (1982). Widowhood among 'Untouchable' Chuhras. In A. Oster, L. Fruzzetti, S. Barnett (Eds.), *Concepts of Persons: Kinship, Caste and Marriage in India* (pp. 172-220). London: Harvard University Press.
- Korteweg, A. C., & Yurdakul, G. (2010). *Religion, Culture and the Politicization of Honour-Related Violence*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Kumar, A. (2012). Public Policy Imperatives for Curbing Honour Killings in India. *Journal of Politics & Governance*, 1(1), 33-37.
- Mikael, K. (2003). Interpreting Honour Killings: The Story of Fadime Shindal (1975-2002). *Anthropology Today*, 19(1), 6-7.
- PCNH&T Bill (The Prevention of Crimes in the Name of 'Honour' & Tradition Bill), 2010.
- Rout, C. (2012). Honour Killing: Descend and Dimensions. *International Journal of Political Science, Law and International Relations*, 2(1), 18.
- Sanghtana, S. (1991). Upper Caste Violence: Study of Chundurur Carnage. *Economic and Political Weekly*, XXVI(36), 27-28.
- The Law Commission of India, Prevention of Interference with the Freedom of Matrimonial Alliances (in the name of Honour and Tradition): A Suggested Legal Framework, Report No. 242, Government of India, August 2012.
- The Oxford Dictionary of Law Enforcement. (2007). Honour Killing. London: Oxford University Press.
- UNIFEM. (2007). *Fact and Figures on Harmful Traditional Practices*. Geneva: UNIFEM Publication.
- United Nations General Assembly. (2002). *Working towards the elimination of crimes against women committed in the name of honour*. Geneva: United Nations Publication.

- Vishwanath, J., & Palakonda, S. C. (2011). Patriarchal Ideology of Honour and Honour Crimes in India. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, 6(1&2), 387.
- Warraich, S. A. (2005). 'Honour Killings' and the Law in Pakistan. In L. Welchman & S. Hossain (Eds.), *'Honour': Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence against Women* (p. 77). London: Zed Books.
- Wasti, T. H. (2010). The Law on Honour Killing: A British Innovation in the Criminal Law of the Indian Subcontinent and its Subsequent Metamorphosis under Pakistan Penal Code. *South Asian Studies*, 25(2), 261-311.
- Welchman, L. & Hossain, S. (2006). 'Honour', Rights and Wrongs. In L. Welchman & S. Hossain (Eds.), *'Honour': Crimes, Paradigms and Violence against Women* (pp. 1-21). New Delhi: Orient.
- Welden, B. A. (2010). Restoring Lost 'Honor'-Retrieving Face and Identity, Removing Shame, and Controlling the Familial Cultural Environment through 'Honor' Murder. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 2(1), 381.