

Decoding Honour Killing

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to develop the conceptual frame for understanding the hidden process behind honour killing focusing on the patriarchy and caste - gender relations shown through this process. A Marathi movie Sairat was released in 2016 in which a young couple was brutally killed for their inter-caste marriage in the name of family pride and socially it was justified in the name of honour killing. This movie triggers a discourse in society. Haryana state is famous for its Khap panchayats and honour killing but after some search it was found that it is not only in India and in Hindus but it is in other countries, where Hindus and south Asian Muslim are part of the society, honour killing is in practice. This paper is an attempt to find out the answers of some questions like, what honour killing is all about? What is its traditional base? Who, how, when, whom and why the killing? Is it a first or final expression of aggression? And to find out the facts about honour killing? In short, this paper is about Sociology of Honour Killing.

Keywords - Love marriage, honour killing, caste, patriarchy etc.

Killing enemy brings honour to soldiers family and community is a simple statement shows that killing is not bad when it is related with enemy of the family, community or nation. Such kind of acts not only brings honour to killers but shows the mightiness of community and intolerance related with any anti-social activity committed by any family member, especially female against social sanctions. In traditional India inter-caste, inter-religious, cross-cultural, love-marriage, inter-community marriage, marriage within village, marriage in neighbourhood, marriage in taboo relations, illicit (?) sex relations of married or unmarried female - adultery, marriage in different sects, marriage with person whose socio-economic status is low as compared to female's family etc. are socially prohibited and if someone especially female found in such kind of act, it is socially believed that this dishonoured family, kinship and community. To regain its honour family members punished their disrespectful daughter and her partner. Sometimes this punishment is so savour that they kill both.

Fear of social boycott, missing support from parental family, exclusion from parental property, fear of physical torture and even killing - lynching are the live practises which restricts young Indian in selecting mate beyond caste boundary and without

parental concern maintain the traditional caste society. Hardly 5 percent youngsters prefer love marriage. 74 percent Indians still prefer arrange marriage. 48 percentage women in South Asia forced to marry before eighteen years of age. Risk of marriage itself, instability in marriage, challenges posed by family and society, cultural difference, risk of property, increasing uncertainty in life and tension are all parts of love marriage, especially inter-caste and inter-religion. These all fears and risks are a part of the processes of socialisation, imitation, sanskritisation, genderisation and in Hindu society it is a part of Hinduisation with an inbuilt blend of caste, casteism and caste supremacy. Mahatma Gandhi, B. R. Ambedkar, Arya Samaj, Narayan Guru were among those who promotes and proliferates inter caste marriage for making new India and egalitarian Hindu society who stand on values of liberty, equality and fraternity. It shows the importance of inter caste and inter religious marriage and social control over it.

Blend of caste and patriarchy is vital part of Hindu social order. Even in the process of modernisation and globalisation control over female sexuality and reproduction maintained the patriarchy and caste based traditional social order. Honour killing is also a part of exclusion, social discriminations and boundary maintenance. National Commission for women released a report stating that it had documented 327 cases of honour killing in five major states, they are UP-141, Delhi-71, Maharashtra-40, MP-38 and Haryana-37 in 2017. These are the reported cases of only five state, shows that the national figure of Honour killing is much more than the reported one. Just think about it, in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu states you see strong social reform movements led by Ambedkar and Narayan Guru but still you find strong social discrimination against Dalits, than what about the other states?

Human right watch defines honour killing as, 'Honour killings are acts of vengeance, usually death, committed by male family members, who are held to have brought dishonour upon the family. A woman can be targeted by (individuals within) her family for a verity of reasons, including: refusing to enter into an arranged marriage, being the victim of a sexual assault, seeking a divorce – or (allegedly) committing adultery. The mere perception that a woman has behaved in a way that "dishonours" her family is sufficient to trigger an attack on her

life.'(HRW). Srivastava defined it as, 'An honour killing is the homicide of a member of a family or social group by other members, due to the belief the victim has brought dishonour upon the family or community. The death of the victim is viewed to restore the reputation and honour of the family'.

Theoretical grounding

Traditional Indian society based on the web of family, kinship and marriage. Marriage gives membership of family for the young couple and the relatives of these two parties are kinship groups. In South Asian countries and societies like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh where Hindu and Islam are dominant religions, marriage is must for each and every individual in normal condition – it is a customary law each one has to follow and especially women have no escape. Those who refute this institution are abnormal, categorised as sage, mentally retarded or physically challenged. For young unmarried female marriage is must. Marriage give a family to a young woman, her own family and family means the web of kinship, a basic club of ascribed membership related with sub-caste. The bundle of few sub-castes related with similar kind of traditional occupations and observes similar kind of laws, beliefs and practises related with purity and pollution rites in specific geographical area and in specific language are identified as castes. Each sub-caste and caste follows endogamous marriage practises. Exogamous marriages are prohibited.

Membership of caste is available by marriage or by birth. Membership of caste can female who follow Anulom marriage, means girl or woman allowed to get married within her own caste or in the upper caste. In this system, a man can get married within his own caste or with lower caste female. Pratilom marriage is a taboo one, in which a girl get married with lower caste man or a man get married with higher caste female. There are some other laws regulating marriages in caste system, these are Gotra and Kula exogamy. Each sub-caste is a bundle of Kulas or Gotras. All the members of each Kulas or Gotras are brother or sisters, they never allowed to get married within Kulas, Gotras or within village. Along with that, cross cousin marriage is favourable one; village brotherhood is maintained - that means no one allowed to get married within village. These are the laws through which Hindu marriage system is driven and caste system is maintained. The dictatorship of marriage system is strongly related with traditional caste council, village council, dominant caste of that locality and Patriarchy system. Collectively, they regulate female sexuality and maintain caste system.

It is unfortunate that in 21st century patriarchy and marriage laws playing important role in maintaining caste system in India and in Hindu

society throughout the world. Exchange of women in sub-caste or within caste is called endogamous marriage, restricting women to get married with the man outside the caste is a part of it. Exogamy is a reverse process of endogamy. It simply means controlling exogamy in favour of endogamy, maintains the statuesque of caste system (Sinha, 27). For maintaining this statuesque controlling woman, her mind and her body is a necessary act. The process of socialisation and social practises doesn't allow her to think even for love, love-marriage and mate selection. Killing couples, who involved in such practises create fear in the society. It threatened them for their daring. The message is very clear, 'Don't dare!'. It is nothing but

HONOUR KILLING!

It is quite natural for a young – adolescents to get attract normally towards opposite sex, especially within same age group. It is a socio-psychological process and when these attractions get converted into mutually accepted relations between these two, it is love. It happened in closer ones, who are in frequent contact with each other – it is neighbourhood love, quite natural, quite normal. For restricting these love affairs of young, Hindu society manage to marry them in their childhood or even early childhood. It affects entire life of female and eventually she is become slave of her own caste.

In contemporary society age of female and male marriage is increasing. As per government of India the age of marriage for girl is 18 years and for boy it is 21 years. Child marriage is a punishable act but still around 50 percent of girls getting married before 18 years' age and as early as 11 years of age. Because of law, social and educational demand the age of marriage for female is increasing in Indians. Increasing age of marriage and social contact with people other than family members increases the chances of love and affection with the person who is not belong to their caste, status, race, religion or culture.

Neighbourhood is the place in which most of the love cases found and therefore it is important to find out neighbourhood love phenomenon. Neighbourhood consists of locality in which people live, interact, play, meet, etc. along with this some facilities are also available in it are, banks, ATMs, post office, market, bus stop and/or metro station, police station, primary and secondary school, recreational centres, etc. Due to all these things in a locality people in locality came in frequent contact with each other. This frequent contact build verbal and non-verbal interaction between people. This is the place where every young individual find someone whom they like. If allowed it will soon get converted into affection and close relationship bond. Frequent contact and interaction is essential for building strong bonds. Neighbourhood, education centres, work

places are some places where we find high frequency of love and affection. Age is the most important factor in love and affectionate relationship. It was found that in most of the cases person as young as fourteen years to 25-30 years is more prone for such affectionate relations. People from this age group sometimes broke the socio-ethnic boundaries and come closer. In past to restrict such relations many societies put their women in close door, restrict them in burkha, pardha or ghungat and child marriage – as of the young ones as young as a new born child. As the age grows person is more calculating and so does his behaviour change, in such condition love and affection are secondary things. Because of this in most of the love marriages, love affairs and in the cases of honour killing the age of couple is not more than 25 years.

Some stories

This study begins with *Sairat*, a Marathi commercial movie who break all records of earning of Marathi cinema and win almost all awards of 2017, Jio Film Fare awards Marathi. Nagnath P. Manjulle is the writer and director of this movie who received best non- feature film award and golden lotus award in National Film Festival has directed and written an award-winning film '*Sairat*'. He was actor and director of '*Findry*', a non-feature film and transforms that story to '*Sairat*'.

In *Sairat* a couple was brutally killed by girl's brother after 4-5 years of their love followed by court marriage, when they have a small kid, who is hardly one year old. It is a case of honour killing as she run away from her village with a lower caste ex-untouchable boy. Through this incidence, she dishonoured her father's family, who belongs to not only a dominant Maratha caste but also a wealthiest one. The girl Archana and the boy Parsha learning in same class and in same college.

It is a story of neighbourhood love as both belongs to same village, learning in same class and in same college. Their age is hardly twenty years, director manage to show them innocent. First time when her father caught this couple in the car at the occasions of birth day of Prince - her brother. Prince, her father and their strong men beat Parsha and threatened his family for leaving the village next day and Patil decided to marry Archana within next few days. That time Salem (Muslim friend of Parsha) hint Parsha about his daring and told him that Patil family will kill them. Archana and Parsha ran away at this occasion, where Archana took the lead. Patil search them everywhere with his men, this time Prince took the lead.

They hate this love affair in such a way that they burn the farm land of standing crop of

sugarcane for searching them, when this lover couple ran from the village.

She remembered her father's family many times. Parsha's family left home and village, according to the will of Jati Panchayat, at this occasion Parsha's father request Jati Panchayat for mercy and assured them for not keeping any relation with Parsha but they refused his request. Patil destroyed Archana's memories from his home. Parsha and Archana start working. Harshness of life create tension between them, in one incidence Archana left home but soon they came together. After that they get married, legally. Akash is the son of this young couple. Archana made a contact with her mother when her child is odd one year old. Soon her brother reach her home with three strong men and after that the dead body of Archana and Parsha was seen by Akash, their son.

Some real-life cases of honour killing

Case 1.

'In a horrific case of "honour killing" in a capital, a 21-year old final year student of Sri Venkateshwara, a leading college in Delhi University's south campus, was allegedly murdered by her family because she had married a boy from another caste and region.' (SVI, 1)

Case 2.

'When a 'court' in West Bengal ordered the gang-rape of a young woman ... for the 'crime' of having a liaison with a married man from another community and village, it, obviously and understandably, sent shock-waves across the country. But what few know is that such kangaroo courts, known as 'shalishi adalats' operates in vast swathes of Bengal, especially in rural hinterland, and have even been known to hand out death sentences...'

Shalishi, a Bengali word of Persian origin, means mediation or arbitration. Shalishi adalats are usually executed in almost secrecy and whole village takes on 'omerta' or oath of silence. By order from such an adalat a twenty year old tribal woman was gang raped by a dozen men as punishment for alleged immoral conduct. (SVI, 3-5)

Case 3.

'Nobody even winced, let alone come forward to save the couple from the hands of rage-driven Narendra, alias Billu, who executed the cold-blooded murders in his courtyard. He dismembered the bodies of his own daughter Nidhi and her beau Dharmender of the most 'heinous' of all crimes – falling in love. Their audacity was more pronounced since the two belonged to the same village and shared same 'gotra' of the Jat community. They had put their love before family honour, which was, of course, unpardonable.' (SVI, 7)

Case 4.

‘Manoj and Babli from Karora village in Kaithal district were murdered by the latter’s relatives in June 2007 on the diktats of a Khap Panchayat for marring within the same ‘gotra’. They were killed near a toll plaza. In March 2010, a Karnal district court had awarded death sentence to Babli’s brother, uncle and cousin from killing the couple. A leader of the Banwala Khap was awarded life sentence for hatching the plot.’ (SVI, 9)

A film was made on this story, Izzat Nagri Ki Ashbhya Batiyan (The Immoral Daughters of the Land of Honour, 2012). A book written on this story was Contentious marriages, Elioping Couples: Gender, caste and Patrarchy in Northern India by Prem Chowdhery and published by OUP.

Case 5.

‘Monika (18 years) of Neemdiwala village and Pradeep (19 years) of Monheru village, Bhiwani district, were found hanging from a tree in June 2010. The couple was killed and then hanged to give an impression of suicide. They were planning to marry but their parents were against the alliance. A case of murder was registered against six persons, including Monika’s parents, two brothers, uncle and aunts.’ (SVI, 9)

Case 6.

‘The decompose bodies of Inder Pal(age 22), a farmhand, and Maya(age 18) were recovered from the fields of Phoolkan village, Sirsa, in September 2010. The couple were neighbours and wanted to marry. They were killed by the boy’s family. Inder was forcibly married two months before the couple was killed.’ (SVI, 9)

Case 7.

‘A mob lynched Vedpal Mor of Matour village Jind, when he accompanied a court’s warrant officers to get his wife Sonia of Singhwal village, Narwana, in July 2010. They had married to court against their parents’ wishes. Sonia had returned to her village and Vadpal had filed a petition in the High Court. A case was registered against Sonia’s family.’ (SVI, 9)

Case 8.

‘Shankar, a Dalit, and Kausalya, who are from the OBC Thevar community, married eight months ago, in defiance of her family’s objections. Kausalya’s family had disappointed of their marriage. To protect caste honour, a gang sent by Kausalya’s father to killed Shankar. And attack was confirmed as an “honour” killing a day later when her father surrendered. In a television interview, Kaysalya said she and her husband had been receiving threats from her family even after marriage.’ This murder was recorded on CCTV (Santhanam). On 13th Dec. 2017, a special court of Triupur, Tamil Nadu completed the

trial in less than two years under SC & ST prevention of atrocity act and found eight out of 11 accused guilty and awarded the death sentence to six of them (Indian Express, 2017).

Case 9.

This is the case of West Champaran district, Bihar (Singh S.). A sixteen year young, 9th standard, Hindu, private school going boy - Mukesh Kumar and a seventeen-year-old 10th standard, Muslim, government school going girl – Noorjehan Khatun were killed by her brother and two uncles only because they love each other. Noorjehan family ‘allegedly lured Mukesh to their village, beat him and “forced him to drink pesticide in a bid to make the death resemble a suicide”. Noorjehan was “later strangled and poisoned”’. For Bihar Police this is the first case of ‘honour killing’. It was a planned murder. The meeting place of both were either her way to school.

Bihar police reported its first case as honour killing!

Case 10.

A labour from West Bengal was killed in Rajsamand district of Rajasthan. ‘Police however, were considering a ‘Love Jihad’ angle after Shambulal alleged that Afrazul had an affair with his niece and brought her once to his house in Malda. He was brutally murdered and then set on fire on 6th Dec. 2017. The criminal also recorded his act and circulate on social media. ‘In another video the accused Shambulal purportedly claimed that he will punish all those who are engaged in ‘Love Jihad’ a term made popular by right wing Hindu groups’ (Das).

Case 11.

“Siddharth was in love with Aruna but killed her because she got married to another man, the police quoted him as saying. Meanwhile, the police recovered Aruna’s body in partially decomposed state and sent it to hospital for a post-mortem Tuesday. Between 10 pm and midnight, an angry mob attacked the Dalit settlement in Chinchner Vandan, allegedly to avenge Aruna’s murder. The mob initially cut power supply and then torched several private vehicles and damaged about 50 houses. ..., the police arrested 31 people under section of Indian penal Code (IPC) and the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act. ...”

Here in this case the boy from SC committed double crime, his first crime was love with upper caste girl and the other was her murder, when she got married with other person, who belongs to her own caste. Maybe it is a case of forced marriage also.

Atrocity against lower caste is a part of punishment in Pratilom marriage or sexual contact

between upper caste female and lower caste male. (Indian Express, 2016)

Methods applied

Very few sociological studies of honour killing are published, researcher refers one such study (Chowdhery). Social exclusion, sanskritization, reference group, development, modernisation, urbanisation, equality, human rights, structural violence, boundary maintenance, stigmatisation, relative deprivation, identity, ethnicity, dominant caste are some of the concepts useful for explaining and theorising honour killing. To limit the length of this study, researcher focus directly on caste and gender relationship.

Very few primary information is used, which is related with Sairat movie. Researcher himself benefited when he organised a student's – teachers group interaction on Sairat movie. In another incidence, he interacted on the same topic with a formal group of teachers who are participants in a refresher course. He already wrote one paper on it. This paper is the offshoot of the previous one. Here researcher used information and cases already published in various forms.

Interpretation Sairat is an inter-caste love story and marriage, in which the story ends with their cold blooded murder by the girls brother Prince and his three strong servants at her home, far away from her parents' home. They were killed because of her only mistake that she run away and get married with a boy, who was not belongs to her father's caste and status. Parsha belongs to an ex-untouchable caste. This incidence insult and hurt her father and brother honour, pride and status. An untouchable boy (– a pratilom - exogamous marriage –) get married or involved with a higher dominant caste Patel's girl; not only involvement but she run away with him, get married, procure children and inform mother of her progress, that means she shows her relation with father's family add more insult and dis-honour to Patil's condition.

Her brother is criminal and involved in various criminal activities, but he is boy and his criminal activities are ignored and sometimes awarded by his father. Archana is also dominant in nature, the personality she drawn from her father. She used to drive a big motorcycle of his brother, tractor, motor scooter; she usually came to meet Parsha – her boyfriend at his home; she fires bullet and escape from the hands of police and the strongmen of his father. The only character in the movie which doesn't show her existence is Archana's mother.

This is aslow going commercial movie, whose end is different than all other popular love stories, where at last parents accept their love and /or marriage. But in this movie her mother shows affinity

with her daughter and her boy. In second last scene her brother was the prime suspect of Archana and Parsha's killing at their own home. At last scene director showed foot marks of their boy on the ground. These footmarks denote series of question marks, Why?

The highest pick of the movie is the last shoot, when the child saw dead bodies of his parents lying on the kitchen floor with blood bath. This is the shot which change the mood of the picture and make it socially relevant, clearly gave the message, don't break the laws of caste and marriage, they bring you down like this, especially, maintain the distance of caste boundaries, keep ex-untouchables away from you etc.

One can find feminist angle in this move when a girl decided to get involve with the person whom she likes, for him she fought with the society and family and get married with him, with some hardship they lead to happy and prosperous married life but one fine day both get murdered. Here super-structure wins over feminism.

The story of Sairat provides many clues of caste dominance, social relation between dominant caste members and others especially ex-untouchables, the way they hate ex-untouchables, how forced marriage used as an instrument for controlling women? how the girl's parents and family behave in such a situation? The role of panchayat in social boycott, how revenge is important for them? etc.

Honour killing are common in higher castes of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Delhi, UP and invisible in many parts of India and due to documentaries and pictures, honour killing shows its strong presence in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Despite the killing, the fact that boys and girls are falling in love and standing by each other even in death is a sign that the influence of such moral and their traditional organisations are challenged and waning. The identity of caste and other organisations are being challenged from various quarters like, constitutional morality, modernisation, urbanism, Dalit movement, women's movement and law.

'In Haryana, honour is synonymous with expression of choice. The moment a youth decides to execute choice of marriage, the family honour takes a hit. This honour, however, gets away unblemished when the same family faces trial for dowry death, rape charges or even domestic violence. So, the question of honour of a family boils down only to the issues of picking a life partner.' (SVI, 7). Inter-caste or marriage in same gotra (exogamy in reference to caste and endogamy in reference gotra or clan) not only seem as a stigma on the family, but also entire village and caste – community unite against it as viewed in various cases of honour killing in Haryana.

Egalitarian democratic thinking is not allowed, tabooed.

Youth grow up believing that all boys and girls of a village are brother and sister, falling in love is a crime, nobody can marry to same 'gotra', and they cannot marry in the neighbouring village because it is determined to 'village brotherhood' (SVI, 7).

"They generally target lower castes or the financially weak while the upper caste gets away with everything. They may or may not directly involved in honour killings, But the truth is that they exert much pressure" (SVI, 7). This is the practice of anulom and pratilommarriage. In anulom marriage the girl can get married with the man of higher caste, it means the man can get marry with lower caste girl. Where as in pratilom marriage the upper caste girl married with lower caste man or lower caste man married with higher caste girl or women is a prohibited form of marriage in Hindu or Muslim communities. If they allowed to do so than what happened? Khap Panchayat or gotra system or traditional Jati Panchayat or Caste system cannot survived. The exogamous and endogamous rules of marriage, marriage practises and local customs helps maintaining these age old practises.

When honour killing took place?

When a young girl or woman crosses her cultural boundaries, and involve in illicit sexual act or in love with lower caste especially ex-untouchable (Pratiloma) man or in love with same gotra (Sapanda) man or crosses the borders of village brotherhood or engage with socially low ranked male than her family and community feels that it is shameful for them. Many times her family successfully control the situation by hook or by cook but in very few cases when they found that situation is going out of their hands and because of that they become shameful (dishonour) or already lost honour in kinship group, caste and community in such condition her family and/or close relatives and/or caste - community members took extreme stapes and punish (lynch) the man who involved with their girl and if they found that their girl resisting or now burden/stigma no them then she also gets killed to show how determined they are in protecting their family and community respect and pride.

Age of victims:

Inter-nationally two age groups of victims found, they are, 'one group as an average age of seventeen; the other group's average age is thirty-six.' (Chesler, 3-11). In India, the age of the victims is in between 15 to 30 years.

Who are these victim's?

Honour killing is primarily a crime against young women. Half of these victims were daughters and sisters; about a quarter were wives and girlfriends of the perpetrators and the remaining includes mothers, aunts, nieces, cousins or relatives. More than one victim in many murder cases other than the young women. Additional victims included the dead woman's children, boyfriend, fiancé, husband, etc. Those who broke the laws of marriage and choose tabooed ways are the victims, belongs to Hindu, Muslim or tribal. Those who disobey the rules of Varna, caste, sects, Gotra, Kula, and social and economic class related with marriage are also the victim's in honour killing.

Who involved in killing?

Honour killings are family collaborations. Two-thirds of the victims were killed by their families of origin. Father, brother, husband and other male relatives played an active role in the honour killing. Apart of father, brother and husband, mother, neighbourhood and caste/tribe members also found involved in killing.

Ways of killing?

Half of the victims were tortured i.e., they didn't die instantly but on agony (Chesler). Torturous death includes; being raped or gang-raped before being killing; being strangled or bludgeoned to death; being stabbed many times; being beheaded, or having one's throat slashed.

Whom they dishonour?

The victim was convicted as dishonouring the family pride, status of community, status of traditional Panchayat or caste Panchayat or ethnic pride.

How they Dishonour?

Girl dishonour her family through engage in socially tabooed relations via breaking cultural codes. Affirming **superiority of caste** is the basis of most 'honour' killings in the country. In some cases, it is affirming **religious intolerance** and status maintenance.

In some cases, husband is involved in killing his wife because he thinks that his wife engaged in illicit relationship, sometimes suspiciousness is the cause of such brutality.

Some relevant findings

According to a survey (Coffey, 9), 'Nearly 50 per cent of non-scheduled caste respondents in Delhi and 70 per cent in Uttar Pradesh said that they would oppose a child or close relative marrying a Dalit. There was even greater opposition to inter-religious marriage'. They even favour the laws which should stop marriages between upper and lower caste.

Because of such mind set B. R. Ambedkar (pg. 9) pointed out, the social ban on inter-caste marriage is the most fundamental idea on which the whole fabric of caste is built up.

This survey also shows that 60 to 75 percent Hindus opposed marriage with Muslims; a similar fraction of Muslims would oppose a child or relative marrying a Hindu. 'The survey asked respondents whether they thought there should be laws to stop marriages between upper castes and lower castes. About 40 percent respondents in Delhi and more than 60 percent in rural Uttar Pradesh said that such laws should exist.'

'In a society that is so divided in caste lines, inter-caste or inter-religious marriages can make a person an out caste among his family and neighbours. He may even be barred from family inheritance. Even when families are not adamantly opposed to inter-caste marriage, there is a strong belief that it is more convenient to settle down with a socially and culturally familiar person.' Because of this 'India Human Development Survey found that only 5 percent of marriages are inter-caste'. (Coffey)

Santhanam and Yamunan observes that, 'Affirming superiority of caste is the basis of most 'honour' killings in the country. (In some cases it is affirming religious intolerance – one of the reason for Muzaffarnagar clashes in 2013 in Uttar Pradesh was the killing of Muslim youth for 'eye-teasing' a Hindu Jat girl.) in North India, knaps, anachronistic institutions with no legal sanctions, should have disappeared after the framing of the Constitution. Instead, because of inter-related issues such as keeping property within the community and maintaining purity of caste, they exercise control by excommunicating members of a community for refusing to toe the line, sometimes even ordering the rape of women. They are mostly known now for opposing inter-gotra and inter-caste marriage.'

Honour killing in Tamil Folks

As per the news report (Kolappan), A. K. Perumal collected many stories of 'honour killing' in Tamil nation. Who found that, 'Tamil folklore is replete with several such incidents. 'The victims have become folk heroes with stories of their love and loss, are the part of Tamil folk Kaniyan Koothu and Villupattu performance. Dr. Perumal collected as much as 50 such stories; most of them belong to 16th century. Folk literature describes their murder as Theetu Sadangu Kolai (Murder of untouchability ritual). Special meetings were held to plan the murder of those who married outside their caste. The stories of such folklores reflect the overall trend and society's approach to inter-caste marriage'. He also points out that irrespective of their caste hierarchy, those who get married outside their community, were

victims of honour killing. He added, maintaining purity of each caste is the basic cause behind such killing. (Santhanam, 11)

Gujarat with special provisions

When there is a problem, there is a solution and especially if the problem is related with wealthy, upper caste or class, a solution is almost there. And it is related with wealthy, upper caste or class male the society almost provides a solution. In traditional society Anulome Marriage was legal and in favour of Dominant upper caste or Varna male. By law they were allowed to keep a woman other than wife from same caste or lower caste, with or without marriage with her. Maitri Karar in Gujarat is such an arrangement allowed dominant male to keep other women in the name of friendship agreement.

Researcher found a case of real life in which a couple are in love from last six years, her family strongly opposed her affair with a Muslim boy as they belong to Hindu. After continuous torture and violence she and her boyfriend managed to make an arrangement between both of them. In Gujarat, the upper caste Hindu man made a legal provision for his extra marital relationship called *Maitri Karar* (friendship agreement). In which the upper caste Hindu male wants to maintain his relationship with women other than his wife. This legal agreement helped the above said young couple and on 25th November 2016, "the high court upheld the Maitri Karar, adding that the girl had the right 'to exercise her free choice of movement and personal liberty and to go where ever she desires Our society puts considerable stress on the institution of marriage and its sanctity, Despite this, we must recognise our legal limitations in forcing an adult person of sound mind to stay at a place she don't want'." (Sharma). At the time of this order that girl was 19 years old and boy was twenty years old. The court instructed the boy /man to get married with her as soon as he turns to twenty-one years old. The boy's Muslim family accepted this relationship and allowed her to stay with them. After marriage, they decided to shift to Ahmadabad where no one knows them.

This case clearly shows that in Gujarat, male and caste dominance legalised the extra marital relationship in the name of Maitri Karar and because of this legal help the Muslim boy and his family managed to save the Hindu girl.

In India and in Hindu Society Pratilom or inter-religious Marriage is not tolerated and in such cases killing of young aspirant couple or woman by her own family or caste involved, that is a part of revenge justified in the name of honour killing. If the boy belongs to lower caste than most of the time the revenge was taken from the lower caste community through killing of their members or

destroying their property. But keeping one or many 'keeps' is the social right and tradition of Hindu society. A high caste Hindu man can do such act in which all his keeps belongs to his own caste or from lower caste.

Summery

Maintaining anulom (Marriage with lower caste female) marriage system and prohibiting pratilom (Marriage with upper caste female) marriage not only maintains caste system but it is an important mechanism of maintaining untouchability. Women is a part of property and pride so looting others property (lower caste) or keeping lower caste female as keep are similar and so it is part of pride, prestige, honour and dominance over excluded or untouchables whereas controlling a high caste female for marrying with lower caste male is also a question of losing social status, pride and honour in community. If suppose a high caste female get married with lower caste male that means her father, brother, blood relatives (Sapinda) and caste members are not able to control her and so if it happened it is a part of shame for all relatives. And the solution is to regain their status via eliminating her from this world. To do so they must kill her but killing her is a punishment for their own blood and what about the person who is responsible for this shame? How an untouchable lower caste male dare to get a woman from upper caste? Dominants must have contained them via saviour punishment, so it is not a simple killing of a man but to taught the lesson to that caste also. Because of this type of thinking the upper castes members collectively kill that man in front of their own community, before their own girl and many times they destroy the settlements of untouchable community. After killing man many times, they also kill their own girl because she is stigma and useless for them. It is an act of maintaining caste system, untouchability and caste boundary. In Hindu society patriarchy and gender relations are determined by caste system, so caste came first and other came latter and honour killing in upper caste Hindu is functional for caste maintenance, it is a means of caste maintenance. Because of this we found honour killing all over India and outside India, where ever Hindu lives they practice caste system so honour killing.

Sapinda is a term used for extended blood relatives. Those we think brothers and sisters are blood relatives. It is a big wed of blood relatives, within them marriage is prohibited. But in contemporary society it is quite difficult to identify this relation. By mistake if a young couple belongs to sapinda that means their union is in between brother and sister. Taboo one and so punishable, part of honour killing.

Sagotra is a term used for group of relatives who show their common hypothetical ancestry and so

they are also sapinda relatives. So the punishment of taboo relation is same.

Inter-religious marriage is another issue. It is as same as marriage with untouchables and unequal's. Politics of hate, religious superiority, community tension all come together against inter-religious marriage.

In short Indians are observing civilizational values and at the same time refuse constitutional morality a term used by Ambedkar for rejecting societal morality. The efficiency of constitutional provisions and human right are entirely dependent on the government machinery. An effective protection of individuals, in this case women, Dalits and Muslims from violence and socio-economic exclusion. Zero intolerance, strong law and order condition and social awareness from government side improves the condition otherwise 'Bihar' police declare first honourkilling case in 2017 proudly!

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