

**THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATED ECONOMIC FACTORS IN DENIAL OF
FEMALE RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE IN PAKHTUN SOCIETY**

Fariha Bibi

M.Phil Scholar, Department of Sociology and Gender Studies
Bacha Khan University Charsadda

&

Dr. Arshad Khan Bangash

Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Gender Studies
Bacha Khan University Charsadda

Corresponding Author (arshad.dwhh@gmail.com)

ABSTRACT

This study was based on positivistic methodology and it aimed to ascertain the role of various associated economic factors in the denial of female right of inheritance in 'Pakhtun' Society. The study was conducted in three Union Councils of District Charsadda namely Shaikho, Nisatta and Dargai. Interview schedule was used as a tool for data collection and 120 respondents were purposively selected from the study universe. The data was analyzed and presented both at univariate and bivariate levels with the help of using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Chi-Square test statistics. The study results concluded that women are economically dependent on men and they have no role in financial affairs of the family. Women right of inheritance was denied by all social classes inhabiting in the area, but they are compensated with cash and dowry in place of their share in inheritance. The main reason of such denial includes division of land and absences of women contribution in the financial resources of the family in the form of paid jobs. Awareness needs to be created among the women population regarding inheritance, inclusion of reading materials in the syllabus about inheritance, promotion of basic knowledge and education, implementation of state laws and provision of legal support to women in matters related to inheritance were forwarded as some of the policy recommendations.

Keywords: *Women; Empowerment; Inheritance; Education;*

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In a widespread phraseology inheritance stands for property or money that is derived from father, mother, ancestor or assets derived from ancestors to their heirs according to the law (Accurate and Reliable Dictionary, 2008). However, in legal terms inheritance means that the property received from ancestors under the law of inheritance or the property which a person received by bequest (Black's Law Dictionary, 1999). Further, there are two types of heirs that received property i.e. primary and secondary heirs. Primary heirs could never be excluded from inheritance rights as always entitled for inheritance share that includes blood relatives (father, mother, son, and daughter) and relatives by marriage (wives). However, secondary heirs are excluded in presence of the primary heir and in absence of them they are entitled to inherit like brothers, sisters, grandparents etc (Husain, 2002). Schacht (1991) further concluded that in absence of both legal heirs i.e. primary and secondary, the property goes in the hands of the state.

There are several socio-cultural, religious and financial factors that restrict women from their due rights of inheritance. Literature suggests that women right in 'Pukhtun' society with particular reference to women ownership in land is still considered a taboo as this issue has not occupied a significant position in the civil society organization. It is quite pathetic that most members of civil society are educated and having background to rich families, but they were least influenced by the issue of women rights with particular reference to land ownership. Their attitude could be found more negative than other in the 'Pukhtun' society as they reject the notion of women ownership and land with the very sang that least number of women are interested to get their shares back (Shah, 2007).

In this regards Ahmad, Bibi, and Mahmood (2012) highlighted that different societies have different normative orders for transferring wealth from one generation to another as in some societies it is very simple while in other it's have a complex nature. However, according to tribal traditional customary practices of Pakistan male children enjoy the right of receiving all sorts of assets that is left behind the parents while women are neglected and tend to surrender their due right in inheritance in favor of male family members. Moreover, dowry is often considered as women share in inheritance that is often not equivalent to legal inheritance shares in most of the cases.

In this connection Mehdi (2002) added that inheritance rules in the country is based on powerful customary forces where the rural women received rare shares in such sort of immovable property. He further concluded that sometimes they received shares in inheritance but the same is typically controlled by the male heirs. Statistical data also elaborated similar situation as Bennett (1981) identified that less than two percent of whole titled land around the globe is owned by women, which clearly shows gender-based discrimination and inequity worldwide that challenging women economic wellbeing and resulting restriction on women abilities to attain the minimum means of survival.

Similarly, Kamal (1999) concluded that male relatives are having the actual control of property and even though if, women own property than mostly they dispose of their property with the consent of household and all sort of selling and buying is dealt by male family members. Moreover, they surrender their share of inheritance through social pressures or force in favour of sons and brothers and such practices are widespread within the Pakistani society. He further contended that although Islamic and statutory laws provide women right of holding, disposing and inheriting property. However, women greater dependency on brother and parental homes at time needs and troubles; they forgo their due share of inheritance as a protective measure and insurance for the future.

Likewise, Roulet (1996) ethnographic studies concluded that dowry in true sense is a property provision from the parents to their daughter at time of marriage which is also known as pre-mortem inheritance. Similarly, Kumari, (1989) expressed that most of the parents give their girls with gold and jewelry by mortgaging land and selling the family property with the sole purpose of enhancing the dowry of their daughters. Arif and Ali (1998) explored that women know little about the rights of property and also, they do not properly handle the land registration systems, the papers as well as the transactions processes to retain their personal shares. The judicial court where they can get their proper rights, but they are also not aware of the said system as the court has made the important precedents for them to reach to their property rights. Furthermore, Tirmazi (1999) asserted that women are neglected to perform their duties as service providers as a result they are not considered for owning and controlling property and are not the part of important decision often related to them. Although such situation is not only limited to Pakistan but still these behaviors are found across the country.

1.2 METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The present research study was conducted under the positivist methodology and quantitative tools of data collection with the core objective to determine relationships between the denial of female right of inheritance in '*Pakhtun*' Society and various economic factors that are associated with such denial. Universe of the study was consisting upon three Union Councils of District Charsadda namely Shaikho, Nisatta and Dargai. The data was collected from 120 respondents through the developed three levels interview schedule i.e. "YES", "NO" and "UNCERTAIN". The required numbers of respondents were purposively selected consisting upon married women and fathers of the married daughters. To analyze the collected data univariate analysis were carried out with the help of frequencies and percentage distribution of the respondents' responses while using

Statistical Package for Social Sciences(SPSS), 20-Version. However, to draw association between dependent variable (denial of female right of inheritance) and independent variable (economic factors associated with denial of female right of inheritance), Chi-Square test statistics were used while undertaking bivariate analysis of the data.

1.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The collected data was presented both statistically and descriptively. The data was properly analyzed both at univariate and bivariate levels with the help of using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Chi-Square test statistics. All drawn statistics were properly analyzed, descriptively presented and supported with the secondary information.

1.3.1 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents Concerning Financial Factors Associated with Denial of Female Rights of Inheritance

S. No	Attributes	Yes	No	Uncertain
1	Women are economically dependent on men	84(70.0)	36(30.0)	00
2	Women have no role in the financial matters of the family	84(70.0)	36(30.0)	00
3	People considered dowry as substitute of female share in inheritance	116(96.7)	4(3.3)	00
4	Males avoid female share of inheritance due to cut on their family financial assets	103(85.8)	17(14.2)	00
5	Female share of inheritance is avoided due to division of land	107(89.2)	12(10.0)	1(0.8)
6	Female are persuaded by giving cash in place of share in inheritance	72(60.0)	48(40.0)	00
7	All economic classes of the area equally deny female right of inheritance	44(36.7)	70(58.3)	6(5.0)
8	No contribution of women in the financial resources of the family	90(75.0)	30(25.9)	00
9	Non-contribution on part of women in the shape of paid jobs deny	105(87.5)	10(8.3)	5(4.2)

women from their right to inheritance			
---------------------------------------	--	--	--

1.3.2 EXPLANATION OF THE TABLE:

Economic factors are considered, the core reasons for not getting inheritance in property or land by female family members. Transfer of money, property or its related decisions to women may weaken the male dominance in the family and disturb the power structure. In most of the families, women are being persuaded by giving them dowry in place of share in inheritance and they have no role in financial matters of the family. Men thought women are not major contributors to financial assets of the family due to which they are avoided. The above table shows that majority i.e. 84 (70%) of the respondents agreed with the notion that women in the area are economically dependent on men members of the family, 36(30%) of the respondents disagreed to the statement while none of the respondent were uncertain in this regard. It could be the reason that women in ‘*Pakhtun*’ society are often attached with domestic chores and they have little role in economic affairs of the family. Likewise, responses resulted as majority 36 (70%) of the respondents agreed with the statement that women had no role in the financial matters of the family, 36 (30%) respondents negate the notion and none of them were uncertain about it. These results might be the reason that due to weaker financial status of women, various socio-cultural factors, stigma and taboos; women in the study area are neglected in assigning responsibilities related to familial financial matters. These findings of the study are also supported by the work of Agarwall (1994) who viewed that in compression to male, female segment of the society has little control and ownership over the resources and even if they have some sort of access to certain rights still they are dependent on male family members of the society and are economically dependent upon their men. In addition, majority of the respondents 116 (96.7%) viewed that people considered dowry as substitute to female share in inheritance whereas, 04 (3.3%) respondents negated the notion while none of them were uncertain in this regard. It might be the result that in most of the cases women in ‘*Pakhtun*’ society are avoided and neglected in

provision of their due shares in inheritance that is why they are compensated with dowry as an alternate. Similarly, majority of the respondents 103 (85.8%) opined that male avoid female share of inheritance due to cut on their family financial assets, 17 (14.2%) of the respondents disagreed with the statement and none of the respondents was uncertain about the notion. Furthermore, majority of the respondents 107 (89.2%) stated that female share of inheritance is avoided due to division of land, 12 (10%) respondents did not agree with the fact and the remaining 01 (0.8%) of the respondents were uncertain. It is may not be the sole reason as in '*Pakhtun*' society land is always divided among the male members, however; entrance of strangers attached with the family through a marriage bound may restrict women provision of share in inheritance. Similarly, majority of the respondents 72 (60%) reported that females were persuaded by giving cash in place of share in inheritance, 48 (40%) negated this view whereas, none of the respondents was uncertain. It could be the reason that in many cases it has been viewed that parents do not intend to give share to their daughters as they will be given dowry at time of their marriage. Moreover, males avoid females' inheritance because of the land division thus they are offered cash. The supremacy of males in such decisions left female as obedient follower and to remain thankful to the generosity of male segments. Inline to the above results, Ahmad, Bibi, and Mahmood (2012) elaborated that in Pakistani society rather to provide shares in inheritance; dowry is often considered as women share in inheritance. These findings of the study are also augmented by the work of Meinen Dick and Zwarteven (1997) who claimed that due to the existence of customary laws of the area people deprived women of this right and considered dowry as substitute. Due to division of land among brothers, thus daughters are neglected by the male elders from her inheritance. Similarly, at marriage time female are being convinced to give them cash in order to keep them silent. Furthermore, majority of the respondents 70 (58.3%) contended that all economic classes do not equally deny female right of inheritance whereas 44 (36.7%) respondents viewed that all economic classes equally deny female right of inheritance and 06

(05%) respondents were not sure that either all classes of the area equally deny female right of inheritance or not. '*Pakhtun*' society is consisting upon different castes, classes and tribes. Beside the strong observance of common socio-cultural practice, various sub-culture are also prevails in '*Pakhtun*' social structure that are specifically limited to a particular caste, class and tribe.

Therefore, it could be assumed that some caste may follow the practice of denying female right of inheritance and some may not. In addition, majority of the respondents 90 (75%) reported that women have no financial contribution to the family resources, 30 (25%) respondents disagreed with the statement while none of them were uncertain. It could be the reason that '*Pakhtun*' women are lag behind in educational attainments than men. They did not receive their due shares in inheritance in most of the cases. Norms related to veil and various taboos also restrict their true role in the process of industrialization and to become its part. All these confined women to domestic actives and restrict their financial contribution to family institutions. Similarly, majority of the respondents 105 (87.5%) believed that women have no contribution in the form of paid jobs can deny women from their right to inheritance, 10 (8.3%) of respondents denied the notion and 05 (4.2%) respondents were not sure about the statement. Denial to women's inheritance rights is universal in occurrence in the study area. Women contribution is in form household chores and not as bread winner. Their contribution to family is underestimated and therefore, they are not given due right in inheritance rights. Kelkar (2013) stated that women have no control over assets and land as it is usually passed on from father to sons.

This can further contribute in way of feminization of poverty which stands as a barrier in the way of female total empowerment and struggle for equality beyond the gender and due to their incapability to contribute to financial resources of the family. They are ignored, and male are preferred over them.

It is concluded from the results that female are denied of their inheritance because of their economic position as they are economically dependent upon men. Their contribution in family economy remains invisible and neglected. Women have to follow male's decision of complete deprival of inheritance rights or to accept cash or in kind for it. Scarcity of land is another reason of neglecting such rights.

1.3.3 Association between Associated Financial Factors and Denial of Female Right of Inheritance

Financial Factors	Perception	Denial of Female right of Inheritance		Total	Chi-Square (P-Value)
		Yes	No		
Women are economically dependent on men	Yes	52(43.3)	32(26.7)	84(70.0)	$\chi^2=32.330$ (0.000)
	No	2(1.7)	34(28.3)	36(30.0)	
	Uncertain	00(00)	00(00)	00(00)	
Women have no role in the financial matters of the family	Yes	44(36.7)	40(33.3)	84(70.0)	$\chi^2=6.163$ (0.013)
	No	10(8.3)	26(21.7)	36(30.0)	
	Uncertain	00(00)	00(00)	00(00)	
People considered dowry as substitute of female share in inheritance	Yes	50(41.7)	66(55.0)	116(96.7)	$\chi^2=5.057$ (0.025)
	No	4(3.3)	00(00)	4(3.3)	
	Uncertain	00(00)	00(00)	00(00)	

Male avoid female share of inheritance due to cut on their family financial assets	Yes	49(40.8)	54(45.0)	103(85.5)	$\chi^2=1.945$ (0.163)
	No	5(4.2)	12(10.0)	17(14.2)	
	Uncertain	00(00)	00(00)	00(00)	
Females' share of inheritance is avoided due to division of land	Yes	52(43.3)	55(45.8)	107(89.2)	$\chi^2=8.300$ (0.016)
	No	1(0.8)	11(9.2)	12(10.0)	
	Uncertain	1(0.8)	00(00)	190.8)	
Females are persuaded by giving cash in place of share in inheritance	Yes	45(37.5)	27(22.5)	72(60.0)	$\chi^2=22.273$ (0.000)
	No	9(7.5)	39(32.5)	48(40.0)	
	Uncertain	00(00)	00(00)	00(00)	
All economic classes equally deny female right of inheritance	Yes	26(21.7)	18(15.0)	44(36.7)	$\chi^2=16.072$ (0.000)
	No	22(18.3)	48(40.0)	70(58.3)	
	Uncertain	6(5.0)	00(00)	6(5.0)	
No contribution of women in the financial resources of the family	Yes	46(38.3)	44(36.7)	90(75.0)	$\chi^2=5.432$ (0.020)
	No	8(6.7)	22(18.3)	30(25.0)	
	Uncertain	00(00)	00(00)	00(00)	
No contribution on part of women in the shape of paid jobs deny women from their right to inheritance	Yes	51(42.5)	54(45.0)	105(87.5)	$\chi^2=9.177$ (0.010)
	No	00(00)	10(8.3)	10(8.3)	
	Uncertain	3(2.5)	2(1.7)	5(4.2)	

1.3.4 EXPLANATION OF THE TABLE

Struggle for gaining power is one of the basic human niches and money is the basic criterions for measurement of power, prestige and status within society. Those in power not only own money but also try to sustain its ownership to continuously display their power. Deprivation

of neglected segments from their basic rights is one of the mechanisms to maintain power at micro and macro levels. To test the association of financial factors and denial of female inheritance rights objectively, the perception of financial factors was limited to few statements as given in the table and described below in details.

A highly significant association ($P=0.000$) was found between denial of female right of inheritance and the statement that women are economically dependent on male family members in the area. Out of several mechanisms of maintaining power, prestige and status in society, one of the worst practices is to deprive the poor vulnerable groups from their basic rights and keep them dependent. Financial dependency of women also comes under the same category and this could have restricted women from other aspects of power like decision making in family related issues. Those who are more deprived on these lines are less likely to get their inheritance shares. Like these results, Agarwall (1994) viewed that in comparison to male, female segment of the society has little control and ownership over the resources and even if they have some sort of access to certain rights still they are dependent on male family members of the society related to financial matters.

In addition, a significant association ($P=0.013$) identified between denial of female right of inheritance and the notion that women have no role in financial matters of the family. 'Pakhtun' society is patriarchal in nature and all sort of powers are lies in the hands of male family members. Women are mostly deprived from such powers as enjoyed by the male segment of the society. Such patriarchal orientations also restrict women to take part in deciding matters related to family finance as contended by the study results. In consonance to these results, Tirmazi (1999) concluded that women are not considered as to work service providers that result an absence of owning and controlling property or to become the part of important decisions.

Similarly, a significant association ($P=0.025$) determined between denial of female right of inheritance and the contention that people considered dowry as substitute of female share in inheritance. These results might be the reason that in many cases it has been viewed that parents do not intent to give inheritance share to their daughters as they will be given dowry at the time of their marriage. That is why dowry is often considered as an alternate of women shares in inheritance. In this regard Roulet (1996) concluded that dowry in true sense is a property provision from the parents to their daughter at time of marriage which is also known as pre-mortem inheritance.

Correspondingly, a highly significant association ($P=0.000$) was found between denial of female right of inheritance and the statement that females are persuaded by giving cash in place of share in inheritance. Although '*Pakhtun*' by theology are Muslim, however; they prefer their own customary practices regarding various issues related to women. The same is also applicable in case of women share in inheritance as they are treated beyond the religious teachings of Islam that strictly assure women rights of inheritance. Moreover, the custom of giving cash to their women in place inheritance shares is widespread in '*Pakhtun*' society. In this connection, Badawi (1995) highlighted that un-Islamic and non-religious practices exist under the shadows of religion. Moreover, Khattak, Muhammad and Lee (2014) elaborated that '*Pakhtunwali*' the unwritten laws of '*Pakhtun*' are both the culture and social patterns of life for them. Such laws and traditional rituals are both philosophically and morally widely acceptable due to reason of existing ignorance and cultural dominancy.

Furthermore, a significant association ($P=0.016$) observed between denial of female right of inheritance and the notion that female share of inheritance is avoided due to division of land. These results contended that male avoids female inheritance because of land division thus they are offered cash. However, it is also an evident fact that land is sub divided in '*Pakhtun*' society among the male family members. That is why the same may not be the core reason,

but other socio-cultural factors may also be involved, like fear of stranger entrance in the parental property if the same is divided among the female family members, taunt of giving share to female and stigmatization.

Likewise, a highly significant association ($P=0.000$) contended between denial of female right of inheritance and the statement that female are persuaded by giving cash in place of shares in inheritance. This is might be the reason of the prevalent widespread customary practices of the area that are equally observed by almost all of the dwellers residing in '*Pakhtun*' society. Inline to these results, Meinzen and Zwarteven (1998) viewed that due to the existence of customary law of the area, people deprived women of their inheritance right and considered dowry as substitute. Moreover, due to division of land among brothers, daughters are almost neglected by the male elders from her inheritance.

Likewise, a highly significant association ($P=0.000$) was found between denial of female right of inheritance and the contention that all economic classes equally deny female right of inheritance. '*Pakhtun's*' could be placed in various ladders of the hierarchal division of the society i.e. from lower to upper. Further, they could also be sub divided into various castes, classes and tribes. Such variations are also observed in the sub-cultures they hold along with the main '*Pakhtun*' culture termed '*Pakhtunwali*'. However, besides observing various customary practices related to a particular caste, class or tribe; women are neglected from their due shares of inheritance due to the strong normative orders of '*Pakhtunwali*' and patriarchy. In this regard previous studies concluded by stating that if women actions are found in contrast to the patriarchal order than they have to taste the music (Hussain, et al., 2016). Moreover, women activities, mobility and behavior are strictly monitored to the extent of conformation to centuries old customs and traditions (Jilani, 1998).

In addition, a significant association ($P=0.020$) was found between denial of female right of inheritance and the notion that women have no contribution in the financial resources of the

family. It could be the reason that women are economically dependent on male family members that could further restrict their education, development and mobility. Further, they are neglected in provision of share in parental property. Moreover, they have less access to public spheres like job market etc. and mostly confined to domestic activities. All these associated factors directly or indirectly restrict women contribution in the financial affairs of the family. In the regard, Naz, Ibrahim and Ahmad (2012) concluded that women are dependent in economic affairs due to their lesser chances of freedom, empowerment, and illiteracy that restrict them from enjoying self-independence. Similar to these results, Ahmad (1992) elaborated that women are limited to do household tasks and after getting married go to groom's house, where they are required to perform duties like washing dishes, and cooking for family members and doing other domestic activities.

Similarly, significant association ($P=0.010$) was found between denial of female right of inheritance and the statement that women have no contribution in the shape of paid jobs deny them from their right to inheritance. Denial to female inheritance rights was of universal occurrence and people from all segments of society deprive them from inheritance rights. One of the mechanisms to keep women silent was to offer them cash instead of property. Further, women contribute less in the financial affairs of family due to their less involvement in job market, therefore they are denied. Kelkar (2013) stated that women have no control over assets and land as it is usually passed on from father to sons. This can further contribute in way of feminization of poverty which stands as barriers in the way of female total empowerment and struggle for equality beyond the gender. Conversely, a non-significant association ($P=0.163$) was found between denial of female right of inheritance and the statement that male avoid female share of inheritance due to cut on their family financial assets. Gender based division of labor entails some disadvantages for women as family members. They are made to believe as secondary and dependent on male family members because of their invisible financial shares in family finances. To avoid sub-division of family

property, women are convinced to believe dowry as their share in lieu of inheritance or are offered cash at the time of marriage. The mechanism is of universal occurrence in all social segments that strangle women through denial to their inheritance rights. Meinzen and Zwarteven (1998) articulated that female share of inheritance which is her due right is usually avoided by men because of their incapability to participate in financial assets of family.

1.4 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study concluded that women in '*Pakhtun*' society are economically dependent on male family members in every sphere of life and they have either no or little role in financial affairs of the family. Therefore, they are always denied in inheritance rights and the same practice is equally observed by all economic classes of '*Pakhtun*' society. Moreover, women of the area are compensated with dowry as substitute to their share of inheritance. Sometime women are also persuaded by giving cash in place of their share in inheritance. This could be the reason to avoid division of land and to stop entrance of strangers attached only by the marriage bound in the parental property. Likewise, the absences of women contribution in the financial resources of the family institution in the form of paid jobs also deny their due share of inheritance. However, to avoid female share of inheritance due to cut on family financial assets was non-significantly associated with denial of female rights of inheritance. Various policy recommendations were emerged in light of the study findings that includes; to create awareness among the general masses about women rights of inheritance by involving academicians, political and religious leaders, women should be equipped with basic knowledge and education regarding the philosophy of inheritance, inclusion of reading materials in the syllabi regarding issues related to inheritance, implementation of statutory laws of inheritance in true letter and spirit and provision of legal support to such women combating against the denial of their shares of inheritance.

REFERENCES

- Accurate and Reliable Dictionary*. (2008). London: Oxford Printing Press.
- Agarwal, B. (1994). *A field of one own: gender and land rights in South Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ahmad, E., Bibi, A., and Mahmood, T. (2012). Attitudes towards Women's Rights to Inheritance in District Lakki Marwat, Pakistan. *The Pakistan Development Review*, pp. 197–21.
- Ahmad, L. (1992). *Women and gender in Islam: historical roots of a modern debate*. USA: Yale University Press.
- Arif, K., and Ali, S. (1998). *The Law of Inheritance and Reported Case Law Relating to Women in Farida Shaheed et al, Shaping Women's Lives*. Lahore: ShirkatGah.
- Badawi, J. (1995). *Gender Equity in Islam. Basic Principles*. Plainfield. IN.
- Bennett, L. (1981) Women, Law, and Property in the Developing World: An Overview. *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol (3)2.
- Black's Law Dictionary* .(1999). 7th ed., edited by Brayan A. Garner, West Group.
- Hussain, A. (2002). Islamic Law of inheritance. Retrieved From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_inheritance_jurisprudence_dated_August_15, 2016.
- Hussain, et al. (2016). Honor Killing in Pakistan: Socio-Legal Implications from Mid-1990s to the Dawn of 21st Century-A Critical Analysis. *International Research Journal of Interdisciplinary & Multidisciplinary Studies (IRJIMS)*, Vol (2)2, pp. 18-31.
- Jilani, H. (1998). *Human rights and democratic development in Pakistan*. Montreal: International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.
- Kamal, S. (1999). Effects of the Interplay of Formal and Customary Laws on Women in Tribal Cultures. Paper Presented at the 7th Interdisciplinary Congress on Women. *Women's Worlds*, No. 99.
- Khattak, R.W.S., Mohammad, F., and Lee, R. (2014). The Pashtun Code of Honour. *Central Asia, Research, Journal of Area Study Center, University of Peshawar*.

Kumari, R. (1989). *Dowry Victims Harassment and Torture* in P. Dandavate , R. Kumari, band J. Varghese (eds.): *Widows, Abandoned, and Destitute in India*. New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, pp.10 – 25.

Lodhi, M.S., and Siddiqui, J. A. (2014). A Sociological Perspective on the Issue of Killing in the name of Honor in Pakistan. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol, (19)12.

Mehdi, R. (2002). *Gender and Property Law in Pakistan, Resources and Discourses*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Meinzen, D.R., and Zwartveen, M. (1998). Gender participation in water management: Issues and illustrations from water users association in South Asia. *Agriculture and Human*, Vol, (15).

Naz, A., Ibrahim., and Ahmad, W.(2012). Socio-Culture Impediments to Women Political Empowerment in Pakhtun Society. *Academic Research International*, 3 (1).

Roulet, M. (1996). *Dowry and Prestige in North India: Contributions to Indian*. India.

Schacht, J. (1991). *Mirath Encyclopedia of Islam*, 7 (2nd Ed): Brill Academic Publishers. pp, 106–113.

Shah, S. (2007). *Women's Land Right Issues in District Swabi*. Retrieved From <http://khyberwatch.com/main/land-right-issues-in-district-swabi/> dated June 12, 2016.

Tirmazi, M. K. (1999). *Land, Water and Gendered Nobilities in Pakistan: Exploring the Contradictions*. International Conference Organized by the Chinese University of Hong Kong.