

# The Masculine is Violent: Analysis of Relationship between Masculinity and Violent Crimes among Pakhtuns of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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**Abstract:** Crime and violence are the universally existed phenomena and deeply engraved concerns of the humankind since distant past. Almost all societies have experienced some sort of criminality and are still confronted with several diversified and intensified crimes. Being a global pattern of concern; crime is backed and based by diverse and dynamic factors, relative to the very society it exists in. This study intends to illuminate a cohabitation between masculinity and criminality particularly focusing on Pakhtuns. The data was collected during 2016 from a population of four Central Jails in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. All of the respondents were convicted by courts in commission of violent crimes including ‘assault’ and ‘murder’. The primary information reflects that Pakhtun culture strongly recommends the strong elements of masculinity such as ghairat (valor), nar-tob (being masculine), harshness, hardness, roughness and toughness for its male members and avoids the feminine characters, for which they never feel shy to offer any kind of risk-taking behaviors. In addition, the exhibition of masculinity among Pakhtuns is highly appreciated while the vice-versa is extremely stigmatized and abhorred. While ensuring these kind of masculinities, the Pakhtuns often indulge in violent activities such as assault, battery and murder, which makes them more prone to be the committers and victims of crimes. The study recommends a solid educational base, anti-poverty and unemployment programs, inclusion of criminologists in the legal and academic fields and proper and positive interpretation of Pakhtunwali for control and minimization of the severity of violent crimes in Pakhtun settlements.

Keywords: Masculinity, crime/criminality, violence, Pakhtunwali, ghairat (valor)

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## Background of the Study

Criminality and violence have been prevalent in different forms since distant past. Being a human, there is a high probability that s/he must have been indulged in some form of anti-social activities. S/he might have killed someone, involved in intimidation of others, being an assaulter; either aggravated or non-

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aggravated, has exploited someone purposefully or without any purpose, being a cheater or committing a fraud etc. On the contrary, the chances are higher that such human must have been the victim of some form of criminality or violence. He/she might have been cheated, exploited, mugged, threatened, suffered from burglary, larceny, or robbery, assaulted and battered. We are living in a world that is extremely diverse and dynamic. Almost every individual has different system of thoughts, feelings, emotions, socialization, economic background, political affiliations, educational wellbeing, ethnic and/or familial basis, spiritual attachments and deeds. In such scenario, the practice and experience of any form of deviant and unexpected acts or situation has the high probability and possibility.

Although criminality and violence are universal patterns of concern that are prevalent since human's arrival on this planet yet not defined absolutely and universally. The definitional controversy in crimes exists and depends on its diverse and dynamic nature that is further complicated by the socio-economic, cultural, political and spiritual diversities of the world. Apart from such diversities, there still exists some sociological and criminological elaborations of the term 'crime' that might be acceptable to the larger portion of experts in the field. In this context, the historic and probably more authentic explanation of crime has been given by Tappan (1947), viewing the crime as a deliberate violation of criminal law, undertaken without any apparent defense or excuse and punished by state law as an offence, felony or misdemeanor (also quoted in Bartol, 1995; Morrison, 2009; Oxford English Dictionary, 2009; Elizabeth, 2003). The commonality that exists in world in terms of crime is its dependency on the prevalent state-law, because it is the law, which declares an act being injurious or beneficial (Farmer, 2008). Another commonality that can be viewed in terms of definitional expressions among the experts is the 'intentions' behind the commission of any act of offense. Resultantly, the behavior that is intended to harm or injure any other without any mishap or accident is inclusive in the definition of crime and application of criminal law.

Violence in itself qualifies the criminal tendency for being the intentional use of power (including physical, social, cultural, mental and/or economic) to intimidate, harm, injure, harass, deprive or embarrass the individual or groups (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, & Zwi, 2002). The criminal justice experts and criminologists often associate the implications of violence with power in multiple dimensions. Daniels & Gilula (1970) argue that human's viciousness might be committed either haphazardly or sequentially in extensive or unbridled manner that almost always threatens the opponent. In traditional structures, the power rests most likely in one's physique followed by the cultural patterns, social status and economic wellbeing of the violence committer. Humans have been found involved in aggression and violence since distant past. More than five thousand years old (recorded) history of human has witnessed more than fourteen thousand wars ranging for more than two wars in a year (Baron, 1983; Montagu, 1976). In primitive ages, violence and aggression used to be the tools for survival in obtaining the material goods, land; protecting the family and one's status, prestige and power (Bartol, 1995).

On the contrary, during the current age of modernity, moderation and civilization; the use of power has been diminished for survival and replaced by rationality, knowledge and skills. Although, instead of discouragement of violence by the modern world; the current age is still not violence-free. The power is still implied for survival and maintenance of power, which most probably rests with the male counterpart in society. Relationally, men's socio-cultural, economic and physical power bring them at the verge of more

violence and makes them prone to criminality. The masculine men hold violence both in modern and primitive societies (Collier & Hall, 2000; Connell, 1995). In terms of gender representation in violence, the masculine part is attributed with ninety percent while the remaining ten percent is shared by the feminine (Bowker 1998). Men's violence has been strongly associated with their masculine power, cultural privilege and gender disparity (Ferguson, Hearn, Holter, Jalmert, Kimmel, Lang & Morrel, 2004).

Apart from the socio-cultural and political affiliations with crimes, men's violence has strong association with their masculinities. Masculinity is often viewed as an ideology, which has been developed for understanding sexual and gender inequalities (MacInnes, 1998) that is overtly expressed by men in terms of making and maintaining their masculine identity for which they tend to offer some masculine jobs. Jefferson (2007) and Owen (2012) in this context reflect that crime may be conceptualized as a resource for specific men in specific social settings for the accomplishment of masculinity. Men's intensive indulgence in criminality and violence is usually associated with their biological and socio-biological structures because their physiques marginally comprise of divine masculinity (Connell, 1995).

The discussion thus hypothesizes that criminality is a historically witnessed and globally prevalent where the use of violence or physical features have been the primary tools in its commission. Adding fuel to the fire, the cultural values and acknowledgment of the manly characteristics complicate the issue and bring instigation and hype in crime and violence's frequency. The values of masculinity are heightened while its assurance is brought through exhibition of some acts (mostly hard, harsh and rigid) that opens the violent avenues leading to crimes.

#### **The Argument:**

Until 2001 men's criminality kept women's far behind by dominating 81% of the overall crimes commission that remained static for almost a decade while between 1975 and 1985, men outnumbered women's crimes (Walklate, 2004). According to Connell (2000), men are more likely than women to be the committers and targets of certain kinds of violence, victims of assault in public violence, committers of street fights and brawls, and intimidators in business violence. Relationally, men are more frequently arrested, incarcerated and victimized through own gender's criminality (Owen, 2012). The question is highly debated that why men are arrested, victimized and alleged for crimes specifically violence-based criminality? Although there is variety of understandings in the socio-criminological, biological and anthropological scholarships, yet the emphasis might be drawn on the unique men's trait of their masculine-regime.

Masculinity has strong relation with criminality, as it is an academic concept in the criminological enterprise. The prominent criminologist, Edwin Sutherland (1947) and functionalist sociologist Talcott Parsons (1964) associate criminality with masculinity. On one hand, Parsons bases his emphasis on familial socialization where girls are socialized in feminized roles and boys reject feminine qualities in favor of 'being powerful, rough and tough' (Walklate, 2004). On the other hand, Sutherland (1947) asserts that criminal behavior is learnt in social settings where social factors such as association with the company of criminals and frequency of meetings play a pivotal role. In addition, the delinquency studies reflect that boys are unsure how to be masculine in a feminized home environment, therefore they resolve their issues on streets through breaking the rules (Cohen, 1955) taking risks, and asserting power, which can then provide expressions for young males to be masculine (Walklate, 2004).

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Men's criminality under the exhibition of their masculinity has no societal or communal boundaries. None of the culture, society, class and color is free of existence of violent and criminal masculinities. Women's vulnerability to men's atrocity has been the core issue of the current world. Aravamudan (2001) reflects that a huge number of women's infanticides is commonly prevailed in different parts of India through the passive killing by holding the food from newborn (girl) babies where a number of 'active killings' are also found. Relationally, societies governed by the traditional structures and lagging behind in the run of education, development and modernity, most often experience the violent masculinities that keep women and children at the brink of susceptibility.

Men's criminality also draws effects on behavioral and attitudinal processing of the both the victims and committers particularly affecting women and children as prime victims. Violent families produce violent behavior, and a vicious circle can be created (Ferguson et al., 2004) because the transmission of violence from one generation to the next and from the home to the streets is a long-lasting practice in the traditional world. The fact is obvious through research studies that men's masculinity has divided the world into two different streams; i.e. perpetrating class of crimes (mostly men) and the combating class with crime (mostly women) (Buvinic, Morrison & Shifter, 1999).

In this run, the third world (in comparison to others) has been found more prone and vulnerable to the existence of violent masculinities drawing violence on women. Violence against women has more obvious status in this region because of socio-cultural support to men's dominance. The violent acts against women predominantly comprise of marriage customs, which lower down the status of women and broaden threats and discrimination, leading to abuse, exploitation and violence including the custom of widow burning (*sati*) in India, sacred prostitution (*deuki*) in Nepal, and bride price (*vulvar*) in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Parween, 2011).

Pakistan as a Third World country is also faced with high prevalence of violent crimes where thousands of individuals are victimized in different forms. The patriarchic structure of Pakistani society paves the way for excess in masculinity-based crimes leading to male dominance and creation of violence in multiple ways like battery, assaults, murders, kidnapping, acid throwing, rape, forced marriages, stove burning etc. According to an estimate, 73913 cases of violence were reported in the last decade (Raza, 2013) while in 2008 the Daily Dawn reported 7773 cases. While in 2015, the country witnessed 20,848 deaths in different areas including Karachi, North Waziristan Agency, Khyber Agency, Peshawar District and Quetta District, while the unreported are still in dormancy. In light of the mentioned statistics, the only district i.e. Karachi reflects an area that is not purely Pakhtun society, but still Pakhtun constitute more than one-third of its population. The remaining areas are purely Pakhtun settlements, which shows their inclination, involvement and indulgence in criminality.

Pakhtun society in Pakistan is traditional and patriarchic in nature where masculine identity is continuously created in all kinds of social gatherings. Conflicts among Pakhtuns are evidently found in socio-economic, cultural and political relations growing out of the communal affairs including property matters, monetary related and women's issues. The conception of valor, gallantry, and more dominantly the masculinity is at par among Pakhtuns. More emphasis is drawn on the followers of Pakhtun culture to be masculine in any kind of situation. The current study intends to portray the masculine nature

of Pakhtun men that qualifies the characteristics of 'hardness', 'toughness', 'rudeness', 'traditionalism', 'rigidity' and 'valor', in terms of existence and instigation of criminality.

### **Objectives of the Study**

This research study predominantly covers and analyzes the following major objectives in terms of literary and empirical evidences:

1. To identify the socio-economic and cultural factors contributing to creation of masculine identity and promoting criminality among Pakhtuns
2. To analyze the association of masculinity with violence and criminality in Pakhtun society

### **Research Questions**

Why masculinity is highly attributed and acknowledged among Pakhtuns?

What are the basic characteristics of a 'masculine' among Pakhtuns?

What are the major expectations from Pakhtun males (masculine) in society?

Which are the most intriguing socio-economic factors that inculcate the element of masculinity among Pakhtun men?

What is the relationship of Pakhtun's masculinity with criminality and violence?

### **Theoretical Framework**

The criminological enterprises tend to focus on criminality as a pattern of diversified behavior. Experts in the field criminology agree on a single point that crime is a universally prevalent phenomenon where no exception for any society. Apart from this commonality, they are less likely agreed upon the causative factors behind crime commission. In addition, theorists might be found interested and almost all the theoretical debates emphasize and agree on another point except the others, that men have more involvement in criminal activities than women.

Throughout the history, it has been observed by the crime experts that initiation of criminality has predominant basis in world dominated by men. In order to understand the patterns of criminal victimization, frequency and severity and causes and consequences of crimes; majority of the criminologists have focused on men. It is because, most of us including the academicians, theorists, policy makers, or common community members believe that men have more inclination to criminality, especially towards violent crimes. Evidently, in 1913, Charles Goring (1913) presented immensely influential study naming 'The English convict; A Statistical Study', based on the observation of 2,348 male convicts, where Lombroso's biological positivism also emphasized on men's criminality as his larger work on "Criminal Man" reflects and justifies this notion (Ellwood, 1912). Later on, in 1940s William Sheldon presented that body type was correlated with crime; focusing on mesomorphs (people with firm, stable and well structured-strong muscles) (Kornblum, 1991; Walker, 1978; Sheldon, Dupertuis, & McDermott, 1954) being more inclined to crimes (Glueck & Glueck, 1950), which is primarily owned by men or is the prime characteristic of masculinity with a little exception.

Relationally, a prominent geneticist Patricia Jacobs reported that small but significant proportion of XYY males were more inclined to criminality, which she studied in a Scottish mental institution

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(Kornblum, 1991) by giving examples of mass murderers being predominantly having XYY chromosomes (Glaser, 1979; Ann Arbor Science for the People Editorial Collective, 1977; Borganokar & Shah, 1974).

While variations in testosterone levels have also strong connection with violent behavior; as men usually have high level of testosterone as compared to women predominantly leading to violence. Walter Gove (1985) emphasized that there is no variable other than sex, which determines violence and criminality. The fact lies in the evidence that females are much less likely than males to commit certain acts simply because of their physical weakness as criminality and especially violent crimes require high physical strength, which the females are lacking (Gove, 1985).

Based on the mentioned facts from a number of theorists including Goring, Lombroso, Sheldon, Jacobs, and Gove; it might be understood that criminality lies in one's sex or gender. Sex and gender determines human's behaviors that are justified through the course of researches and studies from mainstream experts in the field of criminology. The facts of Goring's research on male convicts, the Lombroso's biological positivism taken from physiognomy and external appearance, Sheldon's emphasis over body structure such a muscularity, Jacobs' approach towards chromosomes and Gove's research on the levels of testosterone palpably point to the single fact that being masculine is being criminal. Violence and criminality lie under the structure of masculinity and when such masculinities tend to develop, they must adopt the violent way, which ends at the criminal destination. The facts are much likely suitable for implication in a traditional Pakhtun society where the creation of masculinities by men has always been a priority. In such a run of creating the 'more' and 'most' masculinities, the opposite gender along-with minors and elders (both having lack of physical power and masculine well-being) are usually victimized, which makes the Pakhtun world a masculine-dominant regime with violence.

### **Methodology**

The current study is framed under the qualitative design of research to access and find the facts and correlate masculinity with criminality and violence. The study particularly emphasizes over Pakhtuns and analyzes their criminal and violent tendencies to search the ingredient of masculinity.

While working in a traditional Pakhtun society on Pakhtuns; the researchers selected a flexible framework to reduce limitations and enhance the range of methodological variety. In this context, we focused on qualitative research design and framework to undertake this study, which are usually purpose-based to describe a situation, problem or event and analyzed for identifying variation in the situation etc. without quantification (Kumar, 2011).

### **Population, Target Population, and Samples with Sampling**

This study was undertaken in four (04) central jails of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa located and named as Central Jail Haripur, Peshawar, D.I. Khan and Bannu, where all inmates inside the jails were population of this study that was further delimited based on requirements of the study to the 'target population'. The selection and delimitation of the population to target population was based on four (04) characteristics including (1) Gender (only male gender among the inmates) (2) Ethnicity (Pakhtuns) (3) Nature of crime and conviction (convicted in violent crimes) and (4) Age (adults). Forty (40) respondents (ten from each jail) were selected randomly from a jail and list of inmates (conveniently selected) while qualifying the mentioned criterion of being 'adult Pakhtun male, incarcerated and sentenced for violent crime'.

### Tool for, and the Process of Data Collection

While working on a sensitive issue with a specific and distinct group of respondents; the only and best choice for collection of information was qualitative interviews. In qualitative interviews, the interviewer has a generalized plan for asking open ended questions (Babbie, 2005) for which, an interview guide was prepared comprising of themes and open-ended questions having the potential of collecting in-depth information.

Respondents were interviewed in office of the Jail Superintendents through official letters on off days (10am to 02pm) in one-to-one meetings. Respondents were thoroughly interviewed, and discussions were made for finding the in-depth facts about the issue where the techniques of ‘probing’ and ‘vignettes’ were also implied when deemed necessary.

The collected information is then translated, transcribed and analyzed qualitatively and incorporated in the text either to confirm and/or confound the literary information. In addition, the respondents have been given codes to ensure their privacy and confidentiality. The code reflects eight (08) letters where each letter reflects some demographic and personal information of the respondents.

#### (08 Character Code)

| Character key                                | Description                     | Details  |
|--|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Character                    | Jail                            | 1 Central Jail Haripur<br>2 Central Jail Peshawar<br>3 Central Jail Dera Ismail Khan<br>4 Central Jail Bannu |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> Character                    | Conviction                      | M= Murder<br>A= Assault  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup> Characters | Interviewee’s Number            | Ranges from 01 to 05 <sup>1</sup>  |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> & 6 <sup>th</sup> Character  | Age                             | e.g. 32, 43, 51  |
| 7 <sup>th</sup> Character                    | Location of the respondent      | U= Urban<br>R= Rural   |
| 8 <sup>th</sup> Character                    | Social class of the interviewee | L= Lower<br>M= Middle<br>U= Upper  |

Source: Roney (2000) and Khan (2014), adapted by the Researcher

e.g. 1. 1M01-32RL = Central Jail Haripur, convicted for Murder, 1<sup>st</sup> interviewee, 32 years of age, living in Rural area, belonging to lower class.

### Results and Discussion

<sup>1</sup>05 respondents are selected from each jail in each category, that is why the number of respondents range from 01 - 05

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The following passages reflect the secondary data under the selected themes that are supported by primary information and case studies:

### **Masculinity and its determinants; a literary and local perspective:**

Masculinity; predominantly known as 'manliness', or 'manhood', is a set of features, attitudes/behaviors, and roles usually related with boys and men, which is the outcome of socially-defined and biologically-created factors (Hale & Finn, 2010; Richard, 2000; Marianne, 1997). Under these circumstances, the elaboration of masculinity is distinctive from the biological perspective of gender and sex formation because males and females have the ability to display masculine attitudes and traits (Ferrante, 2007; WHO, 2006). On the other hand, those males whose personalities comprise of both masculine and feminine qualities in more or less equal ratio are counted in the third gender and considered to be androgynous. Societies governed by traditionalism including Pakhtun culture, emphasizes over the strict differentiation between men and women and strongly offend the men having feminine qualities. While studying Pakhtuns, one must observe that those having feminine qualities are stigmatized and considered irrational for having no understanding of *Pakhtunwali* (Pakhtun code of life). They are called with some contemptuous nomenclature such as *mawali* (a gay, or a person who is a paid dancer in situations of celebrations), *heejrha*, *badag*, (eunuch, androgynous, or third gender), and *dawoos*(coward) (1M01-32RL; 1M02-43RM; 1M05-48RL; 2A02-39RM).

In practice, masculinity is most often relatively regarded that varies from culture to culture, society to society and even individual to individual. The practical definition of masculinity is mostly governed by cultural standpoint (Connell, 1995) as men (in some cultures) are emphasized to be faithful, forbearing, tolerant and static to exhibit and affirm their masculinity, while the other cultures expect the exhibition of roughness, hardness, anger, and machismo etc. (Ferguson *et al.* 2004).The traditional perspective on masculinity views it in some different direction by citing some traits specified for *masculinized* humans including courage, independence and assertiveness (Worell, 2001; Thomas, 2000; Vetterling-Braggin, 1982). Besides, such traits may not be commonly found throughout the social structure as they vary on the basis of location and context, and are influenced by numerous socio-cultural elements (Charlotte, 2010). In terms of Pakhtun culture, masculinity is strongly preferred, predominantly known as *nar* (Pakhtun masculine). The empirical response emphasizes and attributes different qualities to Pakhtun's masculinity. Pakhtun or Pakhtun's masculinity has been termed differently by people from different backgrounds such as Pakhtun mean 'justice', 'leader or leadership', 'the man with muscles or a muscular male', 'steadfastness, passion or passionate,(*sabr or sabrkawunkey*),valorous (*ghairaty*) (1M03-39RM; 2M04-58RM; 3A02-41RL).

Masculinity in medieval stages was essentially signified as valorous and chivalric as morals, bravery, honoring women, and generosity were circulated around the overall representation of men in the ancient literature (Richards, 1999). Similarly, Pakhtun culture also supports and promotes masculinity in terms of women's honor, prestige and respect. Pakhtun believe in courage and appreciate courageous and risk-taking behavior that is utilized for honoring and protecting women. During this study, none of the respondents reported 'yes' to sexual assault or rape, sexual inclination to women other than their wives or harassment of other women. It reflected that women's honor is above all that's why she is inside the four walls to be protected from malevolence and dishonor.



The determinants of masculinity both world-wide and in Pakhtun society qualifies a long range of attributes and factors that vary in terms of existence. Although the structure of modern family and roles have been shifted to egalitarian concept, yet the gender-based roles are strictly followed in a traditional Pakhtun society that determines one's gender explicitly and gets acknowledgment and appreciation. In the contemporary Pakhtun culture, men who are offering the instrumental roles and responsibility wholeheartedly are highly appreciated; but if not appreciated, still it is the job of men to shoulder it. On the contrary, those who are not offering such duty with zeal, are stigmatized and considered *beghairat*(cowards).

Masculine qualities, characteristics or roles are generally considered typical of, or appropriate to, a boy or man qualifying the comparative degrees of 'more masculine' and 'most masculine' where the opposite is expressed as 'unmanly' or 'epicene' (Roget's II, 1995). Similar approach has been adopted among Pakhtuns that men must be men (masculine) and those who are not, are precarious for being stigmatized and may not survive among Pakhtuns because it is appreciated, adored and acknowledged while the opposite is stigmatized. One of the respondents (who left his hometown due to enmity and imprisoned for murder) expressed that:

*"Being a failed masculine, I may not survive among Pakhtuns. We left our native town because they (my enemies) were most masculine and I was less. They were most-masculine, so they were appreciated and had the right to live on their homeland and I was supposed and forced to be either killed, exiled or escape; so I escaped. This is the act of cowardice (beghairty) in Pakhtun culture but I compensated it by leaving my homeland, my property, my relatives and friends. Among Pakhtuns, there is no concept of less-masculinity; one must be a masculine or a feminine, not more or less than that" (3M03-56RM).*

Evidently, masculinity is the result of biological factors, but the cultural patterns are influencing it in terms of construction. Being a symbol of strength; valor and gallant has always been acknowledged most likely in Pakhtun settlements. Almost all Pakhtuns prefer men's external appearance comprising of moustaches, beard, strong physique while some assert the use of *Pagrhai* (turban) being the prestigious masculine trait of Pakhtuns. The blend of religious and cultural traits is emphasized for a Pakhtun masculine comprising of beard (religious or Islamic), moustaches (cultural identity of Pakhtuns), muscular and tall physique (which means masculine). On the contrary, fatty belly and drooping shoulders are hated among Pakhtuns and are considered as the sign of pregnancy, which is solely the quality of women.

In this context, men are traditionally expected to be leaders of family and exercising powers over their subordinates especially women (George, 2006). Connell (2005) has tagged the traditional male roles and privileges as the 'hegemonic masculinity', which works as a normative feature where men are expected to aspire, and women are discouraged to adopt. Connell further argues that hegemonic masculinity is the conformation of gender-based practices, which encompasses the legitimacy of patriarchy, assures the dominant position of men and women's subordination (Connell, 2005). Patriarchy and male dominance have always been appreciated among Pakhtuns as they reflect that it feels good to be the controller or dominator of women; because

*"we have to be controllers because we shoulder almost all the power-seeking and energy-consuming activities of the family, for which we have to take control of all the segments including women" (4A03-50RL). This is men's primary task to take control of their women because male dominance is*

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*worthy among Pakhtuns as it is rational because Pakhtun men have to offer almost all the hard tasks in family and when one doesn't have dominance; how would he be able to offer his designated obligations elegantly? (4A03-50RL;3M03-56RM; 1M04-43RL).*

### Relational Status of Masculinity and Criminality among Pakhtuns

Men's criminality has greatly outnumbered women's offences almost in all cultures since distant past and found prevalent in the contemporary world. Men have always dominated women in criminal inclination, offences and antisocial attitudes beyond the level of severity and frequency of felonies. Until 2001 men's criminality kept women's far behind by dominating 81% of the overall crimes commission that remained static for almost a decade while between 1975 and 1985, men outnumbered women's crimes (Walklate, 2004). Siegel (2007) elaborates that men are more likely involved in crimes as compared to women as more than eighty percent of the victims report males as assailants in crimes involving violence. In addition, the Uniform Crime Report arrest ratio is almost 4 males to 1 female offender; for serious violent crimes, the ratio is 5 males to 1 female (UCR, 2001). The insight of a respondent palpably confirms men's indulgence in criminality at par as compared to women. Women cannot commit a crime; they are not supposed to do so, and even if they are supposed, they are unable to be so. Women are weak and delicate and have no concern with violence or fight. For instance:

*"In our fight (for which I am incarcerated), my wife and daughters only used to shout and scream for calling the people to protect us. They never thought to contribute in our fights" (4M02-50RL).*

In addition, another case further emphasized that men are absolutely the offenders and women (among Pakhtuns) cannot be criminals. For example:

*"Being the sole movers in society and shouldering every task; men are more prone; no, I would prefer; men are absolutely the offenders. Take my case; my father was murdered, and I accepted the responsibility to take revenge; my mother was also his wife and was more deeply attached to him but never thought of retaliation, why? Because she is a woman, and women among Pakhtun are not supposed to do so" (3M03-29RL).*

Criminological inquiry draws its emphasis on the notion of a strong association between masculinity and criminality both in past and present. In this context, Talcott Parsons initially pointed out such association and professed that masculinity primarily led the boys to indulge in deviant and criminal behaviors than girls during their adolescence (Parsons, 1964). Sutherland also emphasized that boys become delinquent when they are taught with the ideals of roughness and toughness (Sutherland & Cressey, 1924) while Cloward & Ohlin's (1960) Differential Opportunity Theory also supports the ideals of toughness and dominance, which (to them) is learnt through contact from the older males.

The masculine traits such as roughness, supremacy, and willingness to the choice of violence for resolution of interpersonal conflicts are basic characteristics of masculine identity (Messerschmidt, 1993; Anderson, 1994, Messner & Sabo, 1994). The research of Miedzian (1991) reveals that the socialization, peer pressure, media, and military influences well justify the violence being an acceptable behavior in men. Relationally, Thompson (1991) found that men with more masculine gender orientations were more likely to be involved in violent exchanges. Apart from this, the traditionally driven societies such as Pakhtun, qualify a comparatively lower ratio of education, poverty, unemployment and less or no facilities of media

along-with strong peer bonds. The collected information thus emphasizes on a unanimous approach that they had no exposure to media and there is no role of media in instigation or causation of their criminality. On the other hand, the peer influence has some chances where some information confirms this ideology at cent percent while the others thoroughly negate this conception. Here are the two extreme approaches in terms of media and peer influence:

*“In terms of peer influence; I am ninety-nine (99) percent agreed to this conception. Almost all the people (criminals) commit crimes under the influence of peers. I haven’t yet experienced a single case of criminality in which peer influence is absent or missing. While referring to media; I don’t know about its influencing, because I am a religious minded person and don’t have much exposure to media or movies etc.”(1M01-32RM).*

*“Well, I don’t see any relation of peer pressure and media influence in formation of criminal thoughts. As I haven’t any accomplice when I was committing such felony and was never instigated by any peer. Further, since my childhood, we are so oppressed that I have no exposure to any kind of media; that’s why I can’t correlate both of these (3A05-54RM).”*

A huge portion of criminological literature emphasize on the fact that the structure of urbanity is more prone to criminality. The population density, diversity, dynamism and mixture of different castes and classes lead to creation of criminogenic environment. The situation in Pakhtun settlements seems reverse, as most of the respondents interviewed in this study belonged to rural areas having less population density, personal relations and strong social bonds. In addition, the literary information also reflects that lack of male members or father in home, makes the dependents more vulnerable and exposed to criminal victimization. A small account of opinion supported that children have more interaction with their mothers, who (by nature and nurture) are delicate and kind; and socialize their kids in milder and assertive manner while fathers have violent and aggressive method of upbringing. Yet the huge emphasis of information led to the argument that lack of masculinity is victimization among Pakhtuns, which is palpable in the following extracts from interviews:

*“Well both situations can occur in terms of matriarchal homes (either victimization or criminality), but I think it may be more victimized rather than criminalized. As we know that in Pakhtun society and especially in our area (Dir), the sons are considered as guns and the father is the protector. There is a famous proverb that “da miraatmalizy doulas zaman ye (a Malizai [name of tribe in District Dir] having twelve sons is considered as infertile or sonless). So, having no elder or high number of males in a home, more is the probability of oppression and victimization” (3M02-50RL).*

*“My case is the best example of this question. Absolutely and evidently, the members of matriarchic family are victimized. When my father died (was killed), we left our homeland. When he was alive, he was the controller and protector of us and our home; but when he left us; we were extremely vulnerable and susceptible and were never able to survive for a single day” (3M03-29RL).*

In order to examine the above discussion, it can be easily and obviously elaborated and understood that men outlaw the overall criminal ratio throughout the globe. Masculinity (as validated from theoretical perspectives as well as the literary information) has core relation with criminality and violence. Males are found involved in more serious crimes including robbery, assault, murders, rapes and burglaries.

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### Conclusion

This research study draws emphasis on the factors working behind the creation of masculinities particularly among Pakhtuns and its relationship with crimes and violence. Masculinity among Pakhtuns is determined by a number of factors. Pakhtun culture, being an ardent supporter of male's hegemony appreciates the possession and practice of typical and traditional masculine traits. The cultural patterns emphasize machoism, bravery, chivalry and aggression, where by the non-masculine (feminine) qualities in men are highly discouraged. All the respondents were agreed that men having feminine features such as delicacy, emotionality, weakness etc. are stigmatized and disliked; while their responses supported the notion that Pakhtuns' masculinity qualifies the traits of leadership and justice: instead of violence and aggression, valor and bravery are universally static for a Pakhtun male.

The Pakhtun masculinity is also determined and exhibited through protection of family honor especially women's honor. Women; on one hand are considered the property of men, while on the other side, men are the sole protectors and guardians of women, to which all the respondents agreed. In addition, the breadwinning quality of Pakhtun men also determines their 'more' and 'most' masculine identity. All of the respondents shared and agreed that a Pakhtun's masculinity is determined by his physique having the specialized characters such as tall stature, muscular body, having beard and moustaches, and wearing a turban (*Pagrhy*).

Apart from these, Pakhtun masculinity is associated with a considerable control over women especially their wives. The interview data revealed that men (Pakhtun) shoulder all the power-seeking and energy-consuming activities, for which their dominant and controlling nature is necessary. In short, the factors behind Pakhtun masculinity are hidden in the overall social structure and cultural patterns through the support of economic and political system. Based on the determinants of masculinity among Pakhtuns; we found that almost all the determinants are violent and aggressive in nature. Such aggressive factors create a strong bond between masculinity and criminality. The field data reflected that women among Pakhtuns are mostly victimized of violence, while man have been reported as offenders of violence. In cases (shared by respondents) where sons and husbands were going to be assaulted and even killed, women were not allowed to move out of home and take part in the conflict or fight, which shows strict *purdah* system of this culture and men's dominance.

Based on these facts, it is quite explicit that masculinity (in general) has association with crimes and violence while Pakhtuns' masculinity (exceptionally) is deeply rooted in their exposure, commission and victimization to criminality and violence. Almost all the respondents in this study were criminals because of exhibiting their masculinities that led them to be violent and then victimized for being suffering from lifelong enmities and sentencing to life-imprisonment and/or execution. The astonishing fact that was found through the course of this was that all the respondents never regretted their crimes and were proud that they have determined their masculine identity, which in the customary language is known as '*ghairat* (valor), *nar-tob* (being masculine), *Pakhtun* (adhering to the qualities of Pakhtunwali), and *na-yaredunkey* (fearless).

### Recommendations

This study, after a deep and strong analysis of the situation and severity of the issue, recommends a four-point policy agenda to overcome and minimize the ratio and frequency of crimes committed through the exhibition of masculinity, as:

### **Eradication of Criminality through Education**

We found illiteracy as a common factor among respondents having poor educational backgrounds, which shows that violence and criminality are at height among the illiterate class of the society. Such an uneducated status of Pakhtun tends to create violent masculinities, which results in violent crimes. Such an aggressive attitude can be softened with inculcation of proper education and exposure to the rest of world.

### **Proper Interpretation of *Pakhtunwali* in terms of Masculinity**

We found that educated members of Pakhtun society primarily residing in urban areas had different interpretation of the code of life (*Pakhtunwali*). In their opinion, *Pakhtunwali* does not support violence rather encourages peace, morality and unity. On the contrary, inhabitants of rural areas having poor educational background have different connotation of *Pakhtunwali* and masculinity. They acknowledge and attributes of harshness, hardness and toughness, aggression and violence with Pakhtuns' masculinity. Such a discrepancy in interpretation of the cultural traits might be changed through education and awareness schemes. Introduction of modern and rational values, creation of a sense of development and humanity can be inculcated through seminars, workshops, exposure of Pakhtuns and provision of communication tools such as mobile technology, internet and other sources. In addition, inclusion of the basic concepts of *Pakhtunwali* in all disciplines at school, college and university levels will play a vital role in proper, correct and positive interpretation of such abstract concepts.

### **Induction of Criminologists in the Legal and Academic Systems**

Legal system of Pakistan and especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reflects weaknesses and flaws, which is monopolized by a specific group mostly educated in law and related disciplines. There is extreme scarcity of criminologists in such system, which has weakened the overall justice system. There are multiple ways out for the offenders in legal system that intensify the violent aspects of this society. On the other hand, the academic field of the area has also less inclination to the field of criminology. We have observed that there is a single specialized department of Criminology in the whole province at University of Peshawar, established recently and is in the stage of infancy. The inclusion of the discipline of Criminology will ultimately support the concerned authorities to induct criminology experts in legal system, academic institutions and general community through other governmental and non-governmental organizations. Such addition to the mentioned fields will not only assist the legal system to combat crimes but also empower the general masses to think rationally and bring flexibility in the strictly driven cultural patterns.

#### **7.2.4. Employability and Poverty Reduction Programs**

We found that majority of the respondents belonged to the lower and impoverished class of the society. Majority of them were suffering from unemployment, which was declared as a source of their frustration, aggression, violence and indulgence in criminality. Providing the sources of income and engaging the masses in productive and income-oriented activities will ultimately help to abate the acts of violence. It was mentioned in the text that 'excess of time and lack money' leads to frustration, which intensifies adherence of people to the prevalent code of life. In this context, it is obligatory for the government to introduce and implement various

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schemes such as small-scale industries, strengthening agriculture (as most of the people are connected to land) and provision of job opportunities at government and private sector. This strategy will help the masses to excel their potentialities in productive and developmental activities rather than indulging in criminal and violent acts.

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