

MURDER IN THE NAME OF HONOUR: HONOUR-BASED VIOLENCE IN PAKISTAN – CASE STUDY OF SINDH PROVINCE

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Abstract

Honour-based violence (HBV) and its local manifestation “karo kari” are among the most deeply rooted types of gender-based violence in Pakistan’s Sindh province. While legislation passed in 2016 to criminalize honour killings, making them a non-compoundable crime, continues to be largely ineffective, with conviction rates in Sindh remaining virtually nil. With the use of police statistics, human rights reports, parliamentary resolutions, judicial verdicts and scholarly literature, this paper offers a detailed examination of the nature, patterns, socio-economic factors, and legal measures associated with HBV in Sindh. It highlights how patriarchal culture, feudalism, jirga courts, and poor law enforcement contribute to the prevailing culture of impunity. Legal measures alone are not enough; what is required is a holistic approach to tackling the problem from all fronts.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the greatest contradictions in the culture of Pakistan can be found in its Sindh province, which is the second-largest province in Pakistan. Sindh is known for its tradition of sufism, poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, and religious pluralism. However, in contrast with the progressive culture in this country, there exists the brutal tradition of honor-based violence known as Karo Kari, which claims lives of hundreds of people annually (mostly of females). Honor killings are known to be one of the worst forms of gender-based violence, and Pakistan is ranked among the top ten countries that experience such acts regularly (Patel, Gadit & Bohra, 2008; Wasim Jan, 2025).

It should be noted that the term Karo Kari is heavily burdened with social-cultural meanings. First of all, traditionally, this term meant a husband (Karo) and wife (Kari), who allegedly dishonored their families because of having sexual intercourse outside of the marital relations (Shah, 2016). In practice, women bear the brunt of punishment for this type of behavior. The accusations are often made without any evidence; rumors and personal grudges are usually the only basis for the killings of female victims. This paper focuses on honour-based violence in Sindh province as a case study. It addresses four central research questions:

1. What is the distribution of HBV infection in Sindh?

2. What are the key factors responsible for this level of violence?
3. Why have legal changes failed to produce any tangible results?
4. What are the possibilities for prevention?

Through empirical synthesis, analysis of case law and academic scholarship, the paper endeavors to examine the gaps in implementation and provide recommendations. The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2 we will look at literature review. In Section 3 we will discuss the methodology. Section 4 looks at findings regarding prevalence and conviction rates. Section 5 provides analysis of multiple factors contributing to HBV. Section 6 examines legal framework and gaps in implementation. Section 7 discusses state and civil society responses to HBV. Section 8 examines findings, and finally, Section 9 provides policy recommendations.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Definitions of Honour Based Violence and Karo Kari

It is important to note that honour based violence is generally understood as violence aimed at restoring family honour in retaliation for a perceived breach of traditional gender roles (Wasim Jan, 2025). In its most extreme form, honour killing refers to the act of murder committed by the family or community against a person whose behaviour is seen as dishonouring the family. In Pakistan, honour based violence takes a unique form known as Karo Kari which means literally “black male” and “black female”. Karo Kari, according to Patel et al. (2008), is defined as a planned honour killing practiced mostly in rural and tribal areas of the province of Sindh, targeting women suspected of dishonouring their families.

However, although formally prohibited, sociocultural attitudes and prescribed gender roles have given Karo Kari legitimacy in some tribal communities. Shah (2016), in his influential ethnographic study on upper Sindh, argues that Karo Kari is not only about punishing someone for what they did wrong, but also a means of eliminating people who threaten patriarchal rule.

2.2 Theoretical Frameworks

Post-structural feminist perspectives have been effective in studying the role of ideology around honour in normalising violence against women. According to Cetinkaya (2025), one must be cautious about the Western-centric translation of terms such as *namūs* to “honour,” which could lead to epistemic injustice. However, in the case of Sindh, Bourdieusian models have yielded positive results; honour acts as symbolic capital, unequally allocated according to gender, with women being carriers of familial honour (Moulding & Borgkvist, 2026).

Wasim Jan (2025) discusses the connection between honour killings and both cultural and economic factors, while Jokhio, Almani and Asif (2024) focus on the interplay of law and society, stating that despite stringent laws, the “laws remain ineffective due to an inefficient law-enforcement system and deeply rooted cultural practices.”

2.3 Evidence on Prevalence

Systematic recording of HBV in Pakistan continues to be difficult because of underreporting and the existence of informal conflict-resolution systems (Wasim Jan, 2025). According to Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, about 1,000 women are murdered every year in honour related murders, but the actual number is estimated to be three to five times greater because of the large amount of underreporting (HRCP, 2025). The HRCP reported at least 405 honour killings in 2024 throughout Pakistan, with the provinces of Sindh and Punjab accounting for the largest figures (HRCP, 2025). There were altogether 490 incidents in 2023, and even in 2022, as high as 590 individuals were brutally murdered because of honour crimes (HRCP, cited in MMNews, 2025).

2.4 Factors behind Honour-Based Violence

Multiple factors are identified in the literature that act as a catalyst for honour-based violence. In their ethnographic study conducted in Jacobabad, Bhanbhro et al. (2013) find that honour killings are motivated by more than just customs; they are motivated by feudal culture, patriarchal social

structures, collusion of the state institutions and law enforcing authorities, and vested interests. Increasingly, economic motivations have come to the forefront, and Wasim Jan (2025) shows that honour killings arise from the interaction between cultural demands and economic motivations, “particularly property consolidation”. The existence of informal courts or “jirgas” is seen as the biggest impediment, as these courts make extrajudicial decisions and supersede state laws.

2.5 Legal Provisions and Implementation Challenges

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act (Offences in the Name or Pretext of Honour) was enacted in October 2016, revising Section 311 of the Pakistan Penal Code to render honour killings non compoundable offences and providing discretionary life imprisonment for offenders (Wasim Jan, 2025). The implementation process of this legislation has been severely inadequate. According to Nahata & Sodhi (2025), there is a significant loophole in the legislation; the use of the term “may” instead of “shall” while imposing mandatory life imprisonment allows judges considerable leeway in deciding whether to be merciful. Furthermore, the Senate of Pakistan (2025) has observed with grave concern that “although there are legal protections against honour killings, their implementation has been woefully inadequate.”

3. Methodology

The paper follows a qualitative methodology of case studies by synthesizing information obtained from various secondary sources. The information has been gathered from the following sources:

1. Police records of the Sindh Police between (2024-2025) published in the newspapers of Pakistan and human rights bulletins.
2. Annual reports of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) and Sustainable Social Development Organisation (SSDO).
3. Parliamentary records including resolutions of the Senate.
4. District court judgments from the Sindh High Court.

5. Peer-reviewed research articles from leading research journals (2013-2026).

6. Reports produced by civil societies including Sindh Suhai Sath.

The study adopts a descriptive-analytical approach aimed at identifying the trends, factors, and challenges associated with the topic.

4. Prevalence, Patterns and the Impunity Gap

4.1 Prevalence of Honor Killings in Sindh

It is evident from the data that honor-based violence in Sindh continues to be rampant, reaching levels of public health and human rights crises. As reported by Sindh Police, within the first ten months of 2025, 140 cases with a total of 162 people killed on the grounds of Karo Kari have been recorded in Sindh (Internews Pakistan, 2025). Out of these, 119 victims were women, and the rest, 43 victims, were men. For 2024, 152 killings have been reported in 132 cases of Karo Kari, where the number of women and men murdered stood at 123 and 29 respectively. In a span of four years, at least 595 people, out of which 466 were women, have been murdered on the grounds of honor.

There exists an important geographical difference in terms of range-wise breakdown. The greatest number of such murders was recorded in Larkana Range, where 48 people – 35 women and 13 men – were killed as a result of such accusations (MMNews, 2025). In Sukkur Range, 28 people (20 women) died because of honour killings. 17 people (15 women) died in the Shaheed Benazirabad Range. There were only two women killed in Mirpurkhas Range. In Hyderabad Range, the deaths numbered 12 victims (8 women) (MMNews, 2025).

The police data show that in many of such cases, the killers happened to be family members of their victims, including 38 husbands, 24 brothers, six fathers, but also there were some murders committed by sons, daughters, mothers and sisters. Moreover, 46 relatives of the victim's family members and even 7 outsiders participated in the murders (Dawn, 2025).

It is known that Shikarpur district became the second highest district in the country in terms of honour killings committed in January-July 2025.

According to information provided on VoicePK.net, there were 32 cases of such murders committed within Shikarpur district. Most victims are women as they constitute 77-80% of all victims.

4.2 National and Regional Background

Nationally, the situation is no less depressing. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) stated that at least 405 females had been murdered in honor killings across Pakistan in 2024 compared to 226 cases recorded in 2023 (24NewsHD, 2025). In the first five months of 2025, a total of 268 people were killed in honor-related murders across Pakistan, including 155 females and 113 males (VoicePK.net, 2025). More than 7,500 women have reportedly been murdered in Pakistan during the last four years, according to a statement made by the Minister of Law to the National Assembly of Pakistan (Calcuttanews.net, 2025). It is estimated that about 1,000 women are killed every year for honor-based crimes in Pakistan; however, this number may be three to five times higher than the figure given because of underreporting of such crimes (The Human Rights, 2026).

4.3 The Impunity Gap

One of the most disturbing observations, without a doubt, is the complete lack of legal responsibility. In the report released by the Senate committee in 2025, it was established that the conviction rate for honour killings in Sindh is essentially zero. In 134 honour killing cases reported in Sindh in 2024, there were zero convictions, while there were also zero convictions in 243 rape cases and 375 domestic violence cases (Nation.com.pk, 2025). On average, the conviction rate for honour killings across Pakistan is only 0.5%. According to Jokhio et al., "The divide between law and justice is quite evident" (Jokhio et al., 2024, p. 181).

4.4 Relevant Case Studies

The above trends are no mere numbers but have been amply illustrated in recent occurrences, where the heinousness of HBV in Sindh can be seen.

Khairpur (2026): A 22-year-old lady named Rubina, alias Khalida Chandio, was killed in broad daylight in the jurisdiction of Tando Masti police station of Khairpur district. According to sources, the victim was reportedly ordered killed by a local jirga. The Khairpur police apprehended 18 persons including five principal accused in connection with the murder (The Current PK, 2026). The murder was committed in the presence of a large number of witnesses that filmed the incident using their mobile phones but did not intervene in any way to help save the life of the victim (IANS, 2026).

Shikarpur (2025): During the months from January through July 2025, there were 32 cases of honour killing reported in the Shikarpur district of Sindh. This made Shikarpur the second-highest reporting district of HBV after Karachi in Sindh (VoicePK.net, 2026). In one case, a man allegedly murdered his wife in the presence of police officers and other 18 witnesses in a clear demonstration of alarming erosion of the rule of law (Lokmattimes.com, 2026).

Multiple Districts (2026): During the month of January 2026, there was the killing of eight individuals, comprising five women, within a span of three days in four different districts of Sindh.

5. Drivers of Honour-Based Violence in Sindh

5.1 Feudalism and Patriarchal Social Structures

The discussion on the incidence of HBV in Sindh would not be complete without taking into consideration the feudal social structure of the province. Much of the rural population in Sindh is under the influence of landlords, who have greater power than the law (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). The feudal structure is hierarchical and exploitative, and essentially patriarchal. Honour killings were not only the result of traditions and custom but the result of a feudalistic society, where there are male-dominated social structures, collusion between state institutions and law enforcement agencies, and the presence of various vested interests (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). The feudal lord has absolute control over their jobs and sources of income, which makes any attempt at challenging such a practice risky for the entire family. It leads to an environment of silence and

complicity where the perpetrator is able to operate without fear of punishment because he is aware that the victim's family relies on the feudal lord for sustenance. As Bhanbhro et al. (2013) contend, "honour killings" can be prevented through minimizing the involvement of feudal lords in state organizations, especially the police force, and educating people against a patriarchal and feudal mindset.

5.2 The Function of Jirgas (Informal Justice System)

One of the greatest impediments to enforcing the law is the existence of jirgas (informal justice system). They pass judgments that go against established laws. In July 2025, in Balochistan, a man and a woman were killed in broad daylight by the order of the jirga (Resolution of Senate, Radio Pakistan, 2025). The same trend can be witnessed in the case of Sindh where, according to the Khairpur case in 2026, a jirga passed an order for the victim's death. As reported by Jokhio et al. (2024), jirgas work freely in rural areas of Sindh. These acts have been strongly criticized by the Senate of Pakistan. In a unanimously adopted 2025 resolution, the Senate stated that so-called honor killings "amount to murder and should be tried as such," emphasizing that "there cannot be any justification for using tribal or customary methods of justice that would negate any constitutional safeguards and legal due processes" (Radio Pakistan, 2025). It further said that "there can be no defense of this criminal act whatsoever under the guise of 'custom or honor', nor the entire procedure of victim blaming" (Radio Pakistan, 2025).

5.3 Economic and Property Considerations

In recent times, scholars have sought to refute cultural motivations behind honor-based violence by highlighting the economic factors that lead to HBV. Wasim Jan (2025) convincingly illustrates that honor killings occur because of the combination of cultural forces and economic factors "particularly property considerations" that include patriarchy in families, arranged marriages, property issues, lack of education, wrong interpretation of religion, poverty, strict social codes, and weak legal enforcement (Wasim Jan,

2025). In many instances, labeling a woman as kari ensures she will not inherit anything, prevents any property from going into the hands of the unsuitable spouse, and allows family members of the woman to consolidate property through the use of compensation and payments made by jirga. As Aisha Dharejo, the founder of Sindh Suhai Sath says, "This has nothing to do with culture, this has got to do with property, retribution, or even dominance. Women are used as pawns in negotiations between families" (IANS, 2025).

5.4 Patriarchal Ideologies and Gender Ideology

Behind all this stands a very deeply rooted patriarchal ideology. The idea that a woman represents her family's honor and not herself, which gives her no individual rights and makes her subordinate to her family, makes any behavior that seems unbecoming of a woman – such as refusal of an arranged marriage, demanding divorce, selecting her own husband, or simply exercising her own agency over dressing and moving freely – an insult to the family's honor, necessitating violent restoration. According to Wasim Jan (2025), "Gender subordination ... plays an important role in the generation of ideologies which legitimize violence." As reported by rights activist Mehnaz Rehman of HRCP, men get away without punishment for crimes such as honor killings, while "women get killed in these incidents" (Dawn, 2025). "Low education levels and ignorance of the law" also contribute largely to such crimes," she added.

5.5 Insufficient Education and Misunderstandings of Religion

Insufficient education and insufficient understanding of religious teachings are the circumstances that make distorted reasoning for honor killing plausible. Limited access to education and misinterpretation of religion have been identified by Wasim Jan (2025) as some of the leading causes of honor killings. It is critical to mention that the mainstream Muslim authorities have firmly denounced the practice of honor killings. According to the Pakistan Ulema Council, honor killings have been described as being "un-Islamic, anti-Shariah, illegal, and a form

of terrorism” (Wasim Jan, 2025). However, in those rural communities where education opportunities are restricted and traditional practices are interpreted as religious teachings, such declarations cannot influence people much. Mehnaz Rehman, a rights activist, stated, “An educated person will never do such things. We should educate people about this matter.”

6. Legal Framework and Implementation Gaps

6.1 The Anti Honor Killing Act, 2016

Following the violence and high profile cases, Pakistani Parliament passed the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act (Offenses in the Name or Pretext of Honor) in October 2016. The significant legislative step was closing the infamous ‘loophole of forgiveness’ and made honour killing a non-compoundable offense whereby family members could not forgive the murderer and drop charges against him (Wasim Jan, 2025). The law amended section 311 of the Pakistan Penal Code and stated that the discretionary life imprisonment (ta’zīr) shall be awarded to those convicted of committing an offense under the head of fasad fil arz. In accordance with the new law, life imprisonment (25 years) shall be awarded to anyone killing someone in the name of honor, even if his/her parents forgave the murderer (Express Tribune, 2016). The amending act requires that the relatives shall forgive convicts in case they were given a death penalty, however, they will have to undergo mandatory life imprisonment (WUNRN, 2016).

6.2 Failure to Implement the Legislation Persistently

Regardless of all these legislative efforts, the actual impact of this law seems to be highly deficient. Activists have pointed out that the problems arising from poor implementation of the already enacted legislation persist. It means that the problem does not lie in lack of laws per se, but rather in how they are implemented (Dawn, 2025). According to the Senate of Pakistan (2025), there is considerable concern that “despite such legal protections, their implementation is often lax and justice is subverted, as seen in earlier well-

publicized incidents, particularly where women are involved”.

As emphasized by Nahata and Sodhi (2025), one significant deficiency in this legislation relates to using of “may” instead of “shall”, thus allowing the judiciary some discretion in choosing whether to apply severe punishment. First, it should be noted that in practice the police refuse to register the FIR; second, murders committed in the name of honour are reclassified either as suicides or accidents. Additionally, at times, the police receive money for dropping the case, while family members abuse Section 345 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

6.3 Judicial Activism

As the executive has miserably failed to enforce the law, there has been an increased level of activism on the part of the judiciary, especially by the Sindh High Court (SHC). In March 2025, the SHC noted that killers using the defence of honour had “perfectly planned their strategies” and that the modus operandi used to commit such crimes is “known to all in the criminal justice system but it ends up with the acquittal of the offenders due to lack of evidence generated from poor investigations” (The News, 2025). The Court rebuked the police for its “lacklustre investigation in so-called honour killings cases” and noted that police officers involved in such cases have dealt with them in “a non-serious and arbitrary way” (The News, 2025; Dawn, 2025). The Court also ordered the prosecutor general of Sindh to evaluate the performance of prosecutors in such cases and warned about preparing charge sheets “in a stereotypical and mechanical fashion” (Dawn, 2025).

The SHC has also made strong rulings substantively. Expressing its concern over the murder of innocent individuals in the name of honour, the SHC declared honour killings an “uncivilised, barbaric and abominable practice,” further adding that “the increase in number of such killings can lead to total anarchy” (29ru.net, 2025). In October 2025, an Additional Sessions Judge in Ghotki imposed a death sentence on three individuals accused of honour killing. The court said, “honour killing is an unforgivable

crime and reconciliation or compensation cannot be considered in it.” Besides a death sentence, the judge also ordered 10 years’ rigorous imprisonment and imposition of a fine amounting to Rs 200,000 in the case of attempted murder (Nation.com.pk, 2025).

7. State and Civil Society Responses

7.1 Parliamentary Action

On the national level, the Senate of Pakistan has shown an unequivocal position against honour killings. In July 2025, the Senate unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the killing of a couple in public view, based on the directives of a jirga (Radio Pakistan, 2025). The Senate stated that honour killings “are murders as per the law and should be punished accordingly”. They strongly rejected any cultural, tribal, or traditional basis for these crimes and denounced any effort to legitimize honour killings under the umbrella of “ghairat” or honour (Radio Pakistan, 2025). The Senate demanded the government “to ensure immediate and transparent investigation and to punish all the perpetrators of the crime, including those who organized or approved any jirga” (Radio Pakistan, 2025). Furthermore, the Senate asked the Ministry of Law and Justice and the Ministry of Human Rights “to review the deficiencies in the implementation of laws regarding so called honour crimes” (Radio Pakistan, 2025).

7.2 Civil Society Responses

However, civil societies have been working actively in response to the state failure. HRCP is working on reporting issues and reforming them. SSDO conducts reports on the conviction rate showing the alarming levels of impunity. Aurat Foundation provides legal and shelter assistance to the victims. In Sindh, one particular organisation called Sindh Suhai Sath (SSS), headed by researcher and activist Aisha Dharejo, has made an immense contribution. This organization has been studying cases of Karo Kari for 15 years, which includes the notorious ‘graveyard for dishonored women’ in Fattu Shah village of northern Sindh (IANS, 2025). Victims are not only denied proper funerals but are buried without being washed in shallow graves, according to Dharejo. Sindh Suhai Sath

provides financial, legal and psychological help to women survivors of honour crimes and domestic abuse such as Sobia Batool Shah, who was beaten severely by her father and other family members because she wanted a divorce: “They made me disabled, They have taken my legs,” she says (IANS, 2025).

7.3 Measures Taken by Provincial Government

There have been some measures taken by the provincial government of Sindh; however, their success remains questionable. As per a statement released by the spokesperson of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) Sindh, he ordered the police that “honour killings should be made even more punishable” and “that SHOs themselves would register the cases of honour killings” (Dawn, 2025). Nevertheless, the same spokesman pointed out that the prevention of honour cases “is basically the responsibility of the provincial government” and much more needs to be done (Dawn, 2025).

8. Discussion

This combination of facts reveals a dire situation. Over the last years, Sindh has seen hundreds of honour killings with women being by far the biggest group of victims. At the same time, the conviction rate remains at zero. The passage of the Anti Honour Killing Act in 2016 became essential but totally insufficient. This gap between legislation and practice is not a problem of poor application but rather a symptom of structural problems.

There are several reasons behind the impunity in cases of honour killings. Firstly, the process of investigation of cases is “defective”, as noted by the Sindh High Court. Charges are lodged late; evidence cannot be found; witness interviews are inadequate; and chargesheets are lodged mechanically and recklessly. Prosecutors have no experience in handling cases of honour killing, and in some cases, judges accept family forgiveness despite a ban introduced in 2016. These are proximal causes that emerge from structural problems.

The power of feudalism still reigns supreme in rural areas of Sindh. Not only do the feudal lords

control the means of production, but they also control the police and judiciary in these areas. Criminals who enjoy the protection of a powerful feudal lord are sure they will not face any legal action. The jirga process is an alternative justice mechanism that undermines the state's monopoly over law and justice. As long as communities see the decisions of jirgas as more legitimate and actionable than those of the courts and as long as jirgas can decree execution without any repercussions, perpetrators will remain fearless.

The economic angle of honor killings has been underplayed in policy formulation. Interventions generally tend to be either cultural or legal, ignoring the significance of inheritance and land issues in such crimes. A woman being declared a kari may simply be a tactic employed to deprive her of any rights to inheritance, and this process is aided by jirgas passing down verdicts in favor of compensation in exchange for murder. Policies for the future need to ensure that empowering women economically, especially with respect to land, will prevent violence.

This is also a reflection of the crisis of political will as well. The state has simply failed to take honour killings as seriously as it should be taken. The police force lacks resources, training, and accountability. Political expediency – that is, keeping the feudalists and tribal powers on side – has resulted in systematic neglect by the authorities. As the rights activist Anis Haroon put it, the state “neglects its duties due to political expediency” (Dawn, 2025).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The violence that occurs in the name of honour in Sindh is a complex issue regarding human rights and public health. Although changes to the law may be seen as symbolic gestures, they have not led to any real gains in terms of security or justice. The conviction rate for cases of honour-based violence is essentially zero. A combination of feudalism, patriarchy, economics, and informal justice systems perpetuates the climate of impunity.

Recommendations

1. Legal and Judicial Reforms

Enhancing Anti Honour Killing Act: The phrase 'may' needs to be changed to 'shall', which will result in imposing life imprisonment upon conviction of honour killing. Judicial discretion in awarding punishment under Section 311 of PPC is commonly exercised in favour of leniency (Nahata & Sodhi, 2025). **Setting up Fast Track Courts:** Fast Track courts must be established for gender based violence, including honour killings in each and every district of Sindh. **Compulsory Training Programs:** A specialized training program must be conducted for police officers, lawyers, and judges for handling honour killings.

2. Accountability of Police Officers

Independent oversight: An independent oversight system should be set up to oversee the registration process and investigation of honour killings with public accountability regarding the percentage of convictions. **Prohibition of informal settlements:** The use of jirgas and informal resolutions to resolve honour killing cases should be explicitly prohibited, and the execution of individuals based on jirga decisions should be considered criminal conspiracy.

3. Economic Empowerment

Women must be provided with secure property rights through legal education programs and free legal aid where women are being dispossessed of their property rights. Women should be provided with alternative means of income generation, such as micro loans and vocational training, so that they do not become vulnerable to violence. Economic and legal empowerment should be combined, ensuring that women are not left destitute after filing a divorce case or claiming her inheritance.

4. Community Based Interventions

Enhance awareness campaigns: Start extensive campaigns for public awareness in rural Sindh where religious clerics who have been vocal against honor killing, tribal leaders who can forsake their jirga power, and women's organizations are included. **Promote dispute resolution:** Help set up alternative dispute resolution methods through

communities that exist within but not outside of the official legal structure and focus on the rights of women. Work with men and boys: Create programs for men and boys challenging patriarchal values and peaceful conflict resolution methods.

5. Data Collection and Research

Development of provincial HBV database: Develop a computerized and publicly available database of information regarding HBV cases in Sindh, including disaggregated information about victims, perpetrators, case outcomes, and convictions. Funding for primary research: Allocate government funding as well as donor funding for conducting primary research on survivors' experiences, functioning of jirgas, and economic aspects of HBV cases. Comparative research: Conduct comparative research across the different provinces in Pakistan to find factors affecting HBV rates.

6. International and Regional Cooperation

CEDAW compliance: Pakistan has signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Measures must be undertaken by the government to ensure implementation of CEDAW in matters concerning violence against women through legislative and enforcement mechanisms (Gultom et al., 2025). Regional cooperation: Work together with regional organizations in South Asia to adopt best practices for dealing with honour killings. Failure to undertake immediate and effective action on all these fronts will mean that women who have been murdered in the name of honor will continue to be buried in the many graveyards of Sindh province. As Aisha Dharejo rightly stated, "Education and awareness can help, but until we change our power structures, these women will just keep burying their bodies in these quiet graves" (IANS, 2025).

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