

**ATTITUDES, FACTORS, AND ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR
HONOUR KILLING**



By

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	i
GLOSSARY for Non-English Words.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF APPENDICES	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
ABSTRACT.....	xii
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background of the Research	1
Honour Based Violence (HBV)	4
Conceptualisation of Honour	5
Understanding Honour Culture and Violence.....	6
Honour Killing Definition and its Conceptualisation	9
Historical Roots of Honour Killing and its Evidence in Pakistan	10
Statistics / Prevalence of Honour killing.....	14
Causative Factors of Honour killing	16
Legal and Religious Perspectives on Honour Killing	22
Honour Killing and Islamic Laws and Rules	28
Theoretical Perspectives on Honour killing.....	30
Attitude towards Honour Killing	34
Psychosocial Correlates of Honour killing	37
Attitudes and Factors Honour killing in Light of Demographic Variables	43
Review of Empirical Researches Conducted in Pakistan to Understand Honour Killing in the Past Decade	50
Measures of Honour Killing Available in Pakistan and Globally	54
Rationale of the Present Study	56
CHAPTER II.....	60
RESEARCH DESIGN.....	60
CHAPTER III.....	64
STUDY I	64
Research Questions.....	65
Objectives	65

Method.....	65
RESULTS.....	76
Discussions (Professionals Perspective).....	131
CHAPTER IV	150
STUDY II.....	150
Objectives of the Study.....	150
Sampling Strategy	150
RESULTS.....	155
Discussion (Murderers' Perspective).....	166
CHAPTER V.....	179
STUDY III	179
Objectives of the Study.....	179
Procedure	184
Instruments	185
RESULTS.....	186
Discussion.....	196
CHAPTER VI	198
STUDY IV	198
Objectives	199
Instruments	200
Sample	202
Procedure	203
RESULTS.....	204
Discussions	231
CHAPTER VII.....	264
GENERAL DISCUSSION ON SALIENT FINDINGS	264
Conclusion.....	270
Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Study	270
Limitations and Suggestions	274
REFERENCES.....	276
ANNEXURES.....	309

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AORHKS	Attribution of Responsibility in Honour killing scenarios
ATC	Anti Terrorism Court
ATHKs	Attitude towards Honour killing scale
AVWPHS	Attitudes towards violence against women for protecting honour scale
PPFHKs	Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing
CFA	Confirmatory Factor Analysis
CFI	Confirmatory fit index
EFA	Exploratory Factor Analysis
FIR	First Information Report
GBV	Gender based violence
GFI	Goodness of fit index
GRA	Gender role attitudes
GT	Grounded theory
HBV	Honour based violence
H/I	Hostility/Intolerance
HK	Honour killing
HKA	Honour Killing Attitudes Scale
ML	Maximum Likelihood
NGO	Non-Governmental organization
RIDL	Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities
RMSEA	Root mean square error of approximation
TLI	Tucker–Lewis index
TPB	Theory of Planned Behavior
TV	Television
WRIT	a form of written command in the name of a court or other legal authority to act, or abstain from acting, in a particular way.

GLOSSARY for Non-English Words

<i>Bradari</i>	(literally meaning ‘brotherhood’) is the most important kinship system in Pakistan
<i>Derah</i>	Camp, mound or settlement. A place in villages and tribal areas where the leaders / elders sit to take decision / local court
<i>Diyat</i>	blood money payable to the heirs of a victim in case of murder
<i>Fasad-fil-arz</i>	Chaos/disorder on earth or society
<i>Ghairat</i>	Loosely translated as honour but also refers to a chivalrous adherence to tradition.
<i>Hadd</i>	In law punishment, the limits of which have been prescribed in the Qur’an and Sunnah
<i>Hadith</i>	Arabic Ḥadīth, also spelled Hadīt, it is a record of the traditions or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, revered and received as a major source of religious law and moral guidance, second only to the authority of the Qur’ān, the holy book of Islam.
<i>Izzat</i>	Respect
<i>Jaidad</i>	Any tangible or intangible possession that is owned by someone
<i>Jirga</i>	An assembly of male elders, usually tribal, who make decisions regarding social issues; an informal body for resolving disputes. The term is Pushto but the practice exists across Pakistan. Decisions taken by them are known to be anti-women.
<i>Karo-kari</i>	Sindhi term literally meaning black i.e. disreputable man - disreputable woman (who have brought disgrace to the family or clan), a crime that allows culturally condoned killing in the name of honour of a man or woman charged with an illicit relationship. In Baluchistan the term used is siyahkari.
<i>Khula</i>	(in Islamic law) a form of divorce initiated by the wife, which is effected by the return of her husband’s wedding gift.
<i>Masoomud dam</i>	One whose life is sacred or protected.

<i>Maulvi /</i>	Muslim cleric
<i>Mullah/Imam</i>	
<i>Na-mehram</i>	All men excepting blood relatives.
<i>Panchayat</i>	An assembly of elders of the community, always males, who are called upon to resolve disputes.
<i>Purdah</i>	Veiling from all men excepting blood relatives.
<i>Qatl-e-amd</i>	Intentional murder
<i>Qisas and Diyat law</i>	Law promulgated by the Ziaul Haq regime as Sharia law that allows compoundability of crimes including murder.
<i>Qisas and Diyat Ordinance</i>	Law promulgated by the Zia ul Haq regime as Sharia law that allows compoundability of crimes including
<i>Qisas</i>	Retribution for murder and bodily hurt, e.g., an eye for an eye
<i>Razinama</i>	Reconciliation agreement
<i>Waderah</i>	Feudal Lord
<i>Sangsar</i>	To lapidate; to pelt someone with stones
<i>Sardar</i>	A leader; often used as a proper name
<i>Sharia or Shariat</i>	the law, including both the teachings of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet (PBUH)
<i>Sunnah</i>	It is an Arabic word meaning "tradition" or "way." For Muslims, Sunnah means "the way of the prophet"
<i>Tazir</i>	Sentence of imprisonment or death under normal law
<i>Ulema</i>	Religious leaders
<i>Wali</i>	Protector of women in the family, the head of the family
<i>Wursah</i>	Hereditary successors
<i>Watta-Satta</i>	Exchange of women in marriage between two families
<i>Zan, Zar, Zamin</i>	Women, gold, land, commonly considered motives for honour killing
<i>Zina</i>	Sexual relationship outside marriage

LIST OF TABLES

Table no	Title	Page no
Table 1	Sample Details (Gender, Profession, & Organization) for Interviews (N = 30)	70
Table 2	Categories & Subcategories Emerged from Professionals Interviews (N = 30)	81
Table 3	Sample Details (Gender, Age, Marital Status, Number of Children, Number of Murders, Relationship with the Victim, Reason of Murder, and Religion) for Study II (N = 05)	151
Table 4	Categories & its Subsequent Sub-Categories Emerged from Murderers Perspective (N = 05)	155
Table 5	Demographic Characteristics of the Sample for Study III (N = 459)	184
Table 6	Item-total Corelation for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (N = 459)	186
Table 7	Factor Loadings, Eigenvalue, & Percentage of Explained Variance of Two Factors of Attitudes towards Honour Killing Scale (N = 45)	187
Table 8	Item total correlation for Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale	192
Table 9	Factor Loadings, Eigenvalue, & Percentage of Explained Variance of Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 459)	193
Table 10	Descriptive Characteristics of Attitude towards Honour Killing, its Subscales (Affirmation and Deterrents),perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale (N = 459)	195
Table 11	Correlation of all the Study Variables for Study III (N = 459)	196
Table 12	Sample Characteristics of the Study IV (N = 695)	203

Table 13	Descriptive Characteristics of the Study Variables for Study IV (N = 695)	205
Table 14	Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (N = 695)	206
Table 15	Factor Loadings (Standardized Regression Weights) for Two Factor of Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS) (N = 695)	207
Table 16	Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 695)	208
Table 17	Factor Loadings for Uni-Factor Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 695)	209
Table 18	Correlations between the Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)	211
Table 19	Step-wise Regression for GRA, Religious Influence in Daily Life, Hostility / Intolerance, & Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing in Predicting Affirmation of Honour Killing (N = 695)	215
Table 20	Step-wise Regression for GRA & Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale in Predicting Deterrents of Honour Killing (N = 695)	216
Table 21	Gender wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)	217
Table 22	Marital Status (Single/Married) wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)	218
Table 23	Area of Residence (Rural & Urban) wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)	219
Table 24	Family System (Nuclear / Joint) wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)	220
Table 25	Mean differences for Education among all the study variables of Study IV (N = 695)	221

Table 26	Mean Differences for Age among all Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)	223
Table 27	Frequency Distribution of Responses of Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 695)	224
Table 28	Frequency Distribution of Gender, Family System, Area of Residence, & Marital Status across Attribution of Responsibility towards Honour Killing Scenarios (N = 695)	227

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure no	Title	Page no
Figure 1	Research Design	63
Figure 2	Conditional matrix and theoretical model: professional perspective	75
Figure 3	Conditional matrix and theoretical model: murderers' perspective	154
Figure 4	Model based on grounded theory for honour killing in Pakistan	176
Figure 5	Scree plot for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS)	190
Figure 6	Scree plot for Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (PPFHKs)	194
Figure 7	Measurement model of ATHKS	208
Figure 8	Measurement model of (PPFHKs)	209
Figure 9	Frequency percentage distribution of all items of perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale	225
Figure 10	Percentage frequency distribution of gender across attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios	228
Figure 11	Percentage frequency distribution of family system across attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenerios	228
Figure 12	Percentage frequency distribution of area of residence across attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios	229
Figure 13	Percentage frequency distribution of marital status across attribution of responsibility towards honour killing scenarios	230

LIST OF APPENDICES

Annexure A	Interview Guide for Professionals	309
Annexure B	Interview Guide for Murderers	310
Annexure C	Informed Consent Study I (Professionals Interview)	311
Annexure D	Informed Consent Study II (Murderers Interview)	312
Annexure E	Informed Consent Study III and IV	313
Annexure F	Demographic Sheet	314
Annexure G	Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing Scenarios (Urdu)	315
Annexure H	Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing Scenarios (English)	316
Annexure I	Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS; Urdu)	318
Annexure J	Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS; English)	319
Annexure K	Affirmation of Honour Killing Scale (AHKS)	321
Annexure L	Deterrents of Honour Killing Scale (DHKS)	322
Annexure M	Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (Urdu)	323
Annexure N	Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (English)	324
Annexure O	Gender Role Attitudes	325
Annexure P	Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities	327
Annexure Q	Hostility / Intolerance	328
Annexure R	Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (With 19 items)	329
Annexure S	Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (with 12 items)	330

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ABSTRACT

The killing of women to regain honour has occurred since ancient times globally. Incidents of honour killing have increasingly been reported in Pakistan and are estimated to be one-quarter of worldwide honour related killings. Regardless of the highest rates of honour killing in Pakistan, there is a lack of empirical studies exploring social, economic, cultural, religious, legal factors and attitudes that are responsible for honour killing. The aim of the present study was to unearth attitudes, and perpetuating factors leading to honour killing. The present research was broadly divided into four studies. Study I and II were qualitative in nature and were based on in-depth interviews of professionals and murderers' respectively. Adopting the framework of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), professionals ($n = 30$, including journalists, police officials, social activists, religious scholars, and psychologists) and murderers' ($n = 05$, male murderers in jail convicted for honour killing) were approached for interviews. These interviews were carried out to explore and understand attitudes and factors associated with honour killing in Pakistan. The findings of the qualitative studies further revealed that honour killing is a multilayered consequential phenomenon that is interplay of sociocultural, legal, psychological, emotional, cognitive, and religion-based factors. Study III and IV were quantitative in nature. Based on the findings of first two studies, item pool was generated for scale development in study III. Following scales were developed in this study: (i) Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKs), (ii) Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (PPFHKs) and, (iii) Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing Scenarios (AORHKs). Factor structure of these scales were also explored in this study through Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) on the sample ($N = 459$) with an age range 18- 60 years ($M=28.56$, $SD=10.12$). The analysis yielded two factors for ATHKs (affirmation and deterrents of honour killing) and 17 items were retained that accounted for 32% variance. Unifactor solution was suggested in EFA for PPFHKs explaining 30% variance, and 10 items were retained. Based on the feedback from subject matter experts, seven scenarios were finalised for AORHKs. In study IV, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was carried out to validate the factor structure of ATHKs and PPFHKs on the sample ($N = 695$) with an age range of 18-60 years ($M= 25.89$, $SD= 8.10$). Results indicated good model fit for these scales, thereby confirming the factor structure explored in EFA. The Cronbach alpha coefficients for all study measures were satisfactory. Furthermore, the convergent and discriminant validity of the scales were also determined by using the Gender Role Attitude Scale (Anila & Ansari, 1992), Extremism Scale (Hostility/Intolerance) (Gilani & Altaf, 2005), and Religiousness Measure (Religious influence in daily life activities) (Sethi & Seligman, 1993). Various hypotheses were formulated to explore group differences across different demographics. Non-significant gender differences were apparent across few study variables, whereas, significant differences were evident across area of residence (rural and urban), marital status, age, education, and family system. For seven scenarios of AORHKs, chi-squares across demographics were also computed. This study, therefore, concluded that honour killing

is culturally embedded in the Pakistani society; thereby patriarchal mindset in institutions sustains the prevalence of honour killing. In addition to this, poverty, lack of education, social pressure, untrained professionals and limited religious insight are also discussed as the pronounced factors that perpetuate the existence of honour killing. The study recommended that altering favourable/affirmative attitudes regarding honour killing is an important yet difficult step. However, crucial steps on an institutional level need to be taken in dealing with this issue. Structural reforms and advancements are also necessary to curb the crime. Therefore, it is important to design effective strategies to work with families, training of professionals such as police, judges, media personnels, etc. Furthermore, the current study has the potential to broaden our understanding about the dynamics of honour killing, myths regarding honour killing, sociocultural and institutional factors involved in the existence of honour killing. With the help of current findings effective intervention strategies at family, structural, and institutional level can be crafted to combat with honour killing in Pakistan.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

From the time of its creation, the history of Pakistan is strewn with tales that speak of the violence that has long disfigured the lives of women (Zakar, Zakar, & Kramer, 2012). The offences of the victims range from refusal of arranged marriages, doubts against victims, imagined extra-marital relationships and disobedience to those that are deemed in charge, etc. In these incidents, accusations become the excuse for male rage, and made-up relationships that help in covering up crimes such as denying inheritances or land. Even in these contemporary times, women in Pakistan are not viewed as anything less than a commodity and source of male honour. Their lives (and their deaths in certain cases) are to a great extent determined by the actions of men in the community to which they belong (Ali, 2001). Pakistani women usually shoulder a heavy burden of cultural norms, social practices and limited opportunities. Violence against women is mostly used as an instrument to ensure compliance from women and to maintain the prevailing ideology of patriarchy (Gill, 2004). The present research is conducted to understand honour killing, its dynamics and contextual and causative factors contributing to the existence of honour killing phenomenon in Pakistan.

Background of the Research

Unfortunately, for many years, incidents of honour killing have increasingly been reported in Pakistan, and are estimated to be one-quarter of worldwide honour related killings (Nasrullah, Haqi, & Cummings, 2009). The conviction rate in such cases is reported to be dismally low which renders deterrence of the offence impossible. Pakistan is a patriarchal society due to which there is a strong tolerance towards domestic violence and various other kinds of violence against women. The results of a survey conducted by *Pew* research centre (PEW is a family name not an acronym) indicated that only 8% of the Pakistani population considered honour killing as an unjustifiable act. Moreover, a higher percentage of population (57%) included both men and women that claimed that killing somebody to protect the honour of family is a justified (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). Therefore, an effort has been made in the current research work to discuss, explore, conceptualise, and understand honour killing with reference to Pakistani society.

The motivation behind exploring honour killing, both qualitatively and quantitatively, stemmed from the lack of empirical research studies and theories addressing the phenomenon of honour killing (Khan, 2018). This phenomenon has mostly remained a matter of attention for the social activists and NGOs (Lari, 2011). Many research studies based on the Pakistani population are conducted by NGOs. More recently, empirical research studies have begun to explore various perspectives of honour killing (Gibbs, Said, Corboz, & Jewkes, 2019; Rahim, Jehangir & Holden, 2016; Shaikh, Kamal, & Naqvi, 2015; Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014). Despite the immensity of honour killing, the government, lawmakers and judiciary have hardly taken stern actions against the practice. Therefore, it is important to understand the loopholes and attitudes of institutions, in order address the large number of honour killing in Pakistan.

Honour killing is a phenomenon that has cut across continents, with a number of cases going unreported (Vitoshka, 2010). There are several reasons behind indefinite statistics regarding honour killing. The reasons vary from tolerance for honour killing in society, favorable attitudes towards perpetrators, and lack of conviction. At times murder in the name of honour are disguised as accidental deaths, or suicides. It is an issue that is mostly prevalent in the Middle Eastern and South Asian countries with Muslim majority populations (Shier & Shor, 2016). However, traces of honour killings are also present in European and American continents, but usually occur in immigrant families with Muslim origin (Chesler, 2010). It is important to mention that violence and killings against women that have been recorded in western societies or the global north are often referred to as crimes of passion, domestic homicide, domestic violence or intimate partner violence (Carline, 2011). Nevertheless, there are countries like Malaysia and Indonesia which have large Muslim population, but the lowest number of honour killing cases that is testimony to the fact that Islam does not confer honour killing in the religion. Therefore, present study has made an effort to understand the foundation of honour killing and Islamic perspective on honour killing. It is of paramount importance to understand the role of culturally rooted patriarchy in societies where scores of honour killings are present. It is erroneous to say that honour killing is religion or caste specific. However, it is most prevalent in those Muslim societies that have strong patriarchal roots and strict traditional gender roles towards women. However, because of its huge presence among Muslim societies, it has been perceived

as an Islamic phenomenon. Various other factors are surrounded with this phenomenon.

The aim of present study is also to understand honour killing and its existence in-depth so that the misperception regarding honour killing as a religiously legitimised act can be rectified. Victims come from diverse religions, classes, castes, socioeconomic backgrounds, regions, age and professions. Victims all die because of their family, relatives or community members accuse them of being involved in shameful acts, for compromising the family and community values. Both men and women have been subjects of honour killing, yet, the majority killed are women because they are considered inferior to men in patriarchal societies, hence largely controlled by their families. Women failed to seek their families' forgiveness, and escape. Conversely, men usually are forgiven by providing compensatory money, or made to marry a women in the victim's family (Hadi, 2017). Women are being killed either to restore perceived lost honour or to fulfil an ulterior motive under the garb of honour. A number of honour killings are used as a tool to fulfil other motives; women are considered the property of men, making it is easier to sacrifice the life of a woman and justify it as an honour killing. Henceforth, Pakistan unfortunately has the highest number of honour killings recorded every year (Manzoor, 2019). Lack of sufficient understanding regarding the phenomenon and lack of availability of concrete and comprehensive definitions of honour killing are reasons that lead to difficulties in the deterrence of honour killing.

The honour killing phenomenon comes under the umbrella of honour-based violence. Therefore, to understand honour killing and what it entails, it is important to understand what honour-based violence is and review the kinds of violence that happen in the name of honour. This chapter further introduces and conceptualises honour and the honour killing phenomenon with reference to Pakistan. The introduction will outline the statistics of honour killing and discuss it with reference to various perspectives (feminist, legal, religious, and psychological) as well as attitudes and beliefs of people towards it. There are number of definitions available in the literature on honour killing phenomenon. There is a lack of consensus on single definition which further complicates the understanding of honour killing. The present study aims at proposing a comprehensive definition of honour killing in the light of the Pakistani context.

Honour Based Violence (HBV)

Violence can be defined as an expression of hostility and rage towards a certain person and object with the intention of physically damaging the concerned person and object (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). Moreover, violence is also defined as an intensity of emotions towards concerned object or person (American Psychological Association Dictionary, 2007). There are many forms of violence present globally. The most reported and prevalent forms of violence are emotional violence, psychological violence, physical violence, sexual violence, spiritual violence, cultural violence, gender-based violence and honour based violence. Honour killing is a form of violence and unfortunately often conceived as violence by a family member. Due to technological advancements and the improvement of global infrastructures, social problem including violence against women are reported more frequently than in the past (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011).

Honour based violence is often regarded as a type of gender-based violence (GBV), as most often the victims of honour-based violence are woman; however, it can also occur against men (Bhanbhro, Chavez, & Lusambili, 2016). Stockl et al. (2013) argues that the lack of consensus and official recognition of this classification can be the main factor responsible for the low-reporting of honour killings; with many countries registering these cases as domestic abuse.

It is important to mention that there are a number of definitions available in the literature on honour-based violence (HBV) leading to a lack of consensus on the conceptualisation of the phenomenon. Frequently used definitions that comply with the aims of the present study have been described as follows:

- i. HBV is any form of violence committed against an individual involved in a dishonourable act, or bringing shame to the family/community (Cooney, 2014; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013).
- ii. HBV is also defined as any type of physical or mental abuse committed to restore damaged honour (Helba, Bernstein, Leonard, & Bauer, 2014).

Characteristics of HBV. Honour based violence has been used as an overall term to cover all aspects of honour related violence (Helba, Bernstein, Leonard, & Bauer, 2015, pp, 3). However, it is important to mention that violence committed in the name of honour is different from domestic violence and gender based violence. Existing

literature uses the following features to create a distinction between the two. Firstly, honour based violence mostly takes place to safeguard perceived cultural, religious and traditional values. Secondly honour-based violence is widely appreciated and condoned by immediate, distant family and community. Thirdly, it is usually witnessed that more than one perpetrators are involved. Fourthly, male members of the family are usually involved in the murder. Finally, most often women become victims of honour killing, however, in certain cases men also become victim of honour killing (Idriss, 2018; Payton, 2017; Payton, 2014; Salter, 2014).

Literature has revealed that honour-based violence does not always occur in the form of physical violence against a target. The act of violence may take a number of forms such as, hymen repair, forced abortion, honour suicide and honour killings etc (Helba, Bernstein, Leonard, & Bauer, 2014,). Despite the efforts of researchers to delineate the two, there still seems to be considerably less researches in the overall literature addressing the demarcation between gender-based violence and honour based violence. The focus of the present research is to understand and explore one of the forms of honour based violence that is honour killing. Therefore, the present research aims to unearth and conceptualise the phenomenon of honour killing in the light of available literature and how such conceptualisation leads to honour killing. Before proceeding towards exploration of honour killing, there is a need to understand the way honour is defined and perceived in Pakistan.

Conceptualisation of Honour

In an effort to understand honour killing, it is important to review the term honour and what its conceptualisation entails. According to Oxford dictionary, the terminology “honour” (also “honour” in USA English) coined in the 12th century; the Oxford Dictionary defines the construct in terms of respect, high esteem, and being ethically and morally right. However, the online Etymology Dictionary defines the honour as woman’s chastity/purity. Thus, meaning of honour varies culturally. Honour is perceived differently by people in different times. In the contemporary societies, honour is conceived primarily as a form of social status that indicates sound character in an individual (Cooney, 2015).

It is still unknown that from where the conceptualisation has originated (Dogan, 2014). However, extensive literature has established the link between integrity and

morality (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Whereas, minute literature has also define honour as something that is related to status and reputation (Pitt-Rivers, 1966); and honour is a socially achievable state that is an individual capacity to obtain others respect (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997). Thus, it is clear that honour is not just related to personal pride and worth, rather it is also one's social position in the family and society (Ugurulu & Akbas, 2013). Even though this definition is not extensively used and recognised by western literature, but still in many parts of the world committing of violence is justified for the sake of protection of ones honour (Bowman, 2007; Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

In patriarchal cultures, honour is a gendered notion associated with women and deemed to be a source of honour, and men inherently being their controllers and protectors (Gupte, 2013). Following this, honour killing can be defined as a subtype of a gender-based violence towards an individual (usually a woman) who is believed to have brought shame and disgrace to the family or community by committing a morally and socially objectionable act (Cooney, 2014).

In numerous South Asian cultures, men are taught that they derive their honour from their family's reputation, the behaviour of their women, and sexual purity of their women (Ugurlu & Akbas, 2013; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Thus, men are deemed to believe that it is their inherent responsibility to restore family reputation and honour whenever it has been challenged by women who are a part of their household (Ugurulu & Akbas, 2013). In an honour culture such notions of retributions often infer that it is legitimate for men to resort to killing in order to retrieve lost honour (Welden, 2010). Research studies have identified a various ways that are employed by men (family) for killing women in the name of honour. However, common reported methods of killing include shooting, stoning, stabbing and beating (Cohan, 2010). It is evident from the preceding paragraphs that the concept of honour varies according the cultural values. So, it is important to understand how honour based culture supports the violence carried out in the name of honour.

Understanding Honour Culture and Violence

Honour cultures are part of kinship societies that have a patrilineal and collectivistic structure. In an honour culture individuals are responsible to safeguard family and tribe honour. Individuals are also accountable to their family and tribe for any wrongdoing (Cinthio & Ericsson, 2006). Pakistan is also a patrilineal, collectivistic

and patriarchal country. The central feature of the patriarchal family structure is, the elder male is considered as head of the family and holds the authority, and therefore has the control over his perceived subordinates, such as women and children. However, in a patrilineal society, blood relations continue throughout life, which means that female are accountable to their fathers or brothers even after marriage (Lari, 2011; Al-Badayneh, 2012; Cinthio & Ericsson, 2006; Faqir, 2001).

There are both advantages and disadvantages of patrilineal society. This type of family structure, function as a mean of support to the women in case of protection of harmful treatment from the husband and his family, but also as a means through which the woman is accountable to both her parent's family and husband family (Lari, 2011). Social institutions play a crucial role in imparting norms, values and cultural practices. In the honour culture, norms are largely based on communal and patrilineal values. These norms describe about the kind of behaviors are expected by the society at large and families in particular. The core feature of honour based cultures is that familial and communal honour is closely connected to the reputation of their women, purity and their virginity. Moreover, women are perceived as a property of men, whom they may exchange and use to fulfill their own purposes, for example, killing of women so that her land and property stays in the family. A woman's chastity is the symbol of pride for family and therefore, they are allowed to go to any extent in order to protect it. Reputation of any family in honour-based cultures is determined through the reputation and character of their women. In addition to that, in patrilineal setup, women are not just seen as bearers of male honour, but her ability of child bearing is considered as an essential asset as well (Paulusson, 2013).

Therefore, honour is perceived as something that can be lost or gained. When shame and dishonour comes to a family, it is lost. Honour has a great value in a social context; with men being the torch-bearers of honour. Their responsibility is to restore lost honour. The social pressure to defend and restore the honour is an element of day to day life (Paulusson, 2013). The behaviour of women and her social standing in the family and society is often related to honour of men. Baker, Gregware, & Cassidy, (1999) argued that in closely knitted collectivistic societies pressure put on by the local community or tribe on men facilitates killing of a accused girl to avenge lost honour.

Pakistan is amongst countries that strongly adhere to honour culture, alongside many countries like Turkey, and other Middle Eastern countries (Kulwicki, 2002). In

honour-based cultures honour is not conceptualised in terms of an individual's own worth and pride, rather honour is associated with social standing of one's family in the society. Honour culture inculcates strict gender roles and expects men to be tough and susceptible towards insults and threats to reputation of their family. On the other hand, women are brought up to be shy, obedient, dependent, and avoidant of any behaviour that deemed disrespect for the family (Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

Conceptualisation of honour in Muslim dominant countries. In several countries, the honour is linked to morality, integrity, honesty, and positive behaviors in both genders (Yeşilçiçek-Çalik, 2018). In some countries, especially in the Middle East, killings are justified by the state in cases where there is suspicion of adultery or illegitimate sexual relations, to restore perceived honour. Similarly, in the Muslim majority countries like Pakistan and Turkey, honour is mostly perceived as sexual purity of both men and women. However, women are considered as honour symbol, therefore the idea of honour is derived from women of the family in Muslim dominant countries that are governing on the principles of collectivism and patriarchy (Ugurlu & Akbas, 2013). Pakistan is among one of those countries where male and female honour differs, such as conceptualisation of female honour is related to the protection of her virginity, adherence to expected norms of family and society, whereas the male honour is conceptualised as the safeguard of female honour.

It is worth mentioning that the idea of honour in rural areas of collectivistic societies is very powerful. Honour is deeply embedded beyond reasons. In tribal Sindhi society (a province in Pakistan), families and communities are closely knitted. The act of a woman of one family influences whole community. Shame of family means shame for the entire community. Consequently, women are quite oftenly not allowed to go outside of their home without father, brother, or husband. When women break the rules and norms of society, it is believed that they have disgraced the honour of the family. In honour cultures, pressure is on the women to preserve the honour of the family by not involving into any socially and sexually inappropriate behaviour or behaviours that are against the honour culture (Baker et al., 1999). Henceforth, it is safe to determine that honour killing are the result of this conceptualisation of honour concept. When a family or society finds a woman guilty, accused of her being guilty to fulfil personal motives, they choose to kill her to restore their honour. As, it has already been established that even today women are considered not less than a property of a man in

honour based societies. In the case of Pakistan, collectivism, and an institutionalized patriarchy within the society has led the association of honour with men. Therefore, whenever, women behave or act against the set norms or surpass the restrictions set by the family men, they are likely to be met with violence.

Honour Killing Definition and its Conceptualisation

The term honour killing was first coined by the Dutch scholar of Turkish society AneNanta in 1978. Nanta first used the term honour killing so that a distinction could be made between murders committed for the sake of honour and other forms of murder. Despite it being a global phenomenon, the perception of public varies according to the culture to which they belong (Dogan, 2014; Rosenblatt, 2010).

Various definitions have been put forward to define honour killing. Because of lack of empirical theory on honour killing, there is no definite definition available. Researchers in the past attempted to define honour killing in the light of their exploration on this issue. There is lack of consensus on single definition and term that could best define honour killing. Multiple risks have been addressed by various researchers regarding different definitions of honour killing. Various terms have been used interchangeably to define honour killing. Such as honour based violence, gender based violence, so called honour killing, violence in the name of honour, and honour related violence. All these terms have been used to express killing or murdered for honour. Literature has indicated confusion in choosing the best term to define this type of violence. Lack of consensus on the definition of honour killing and meaning of honour have made it further complicated to measure and understand the honour killing. Therefore, present study aims to propose a comprehensive definition of honour killing with reference to Pakistani context. A few of the most comply employed definitions are as follow: -

Nasrullah et al., (2009), defined honour killing as the murder of a female by her family to take vengeance for perceived shame brought by a woman by being involved into unacceptable behaviour as per the society standards. Simply put, honour killing refers to the practice in which life of a woman can be taken by male members of the family on account of her involvement in the perceived disgraceful behaviour (Iqbal, 2007). Faqir (2001) defined honour killing in general as the homicide of female for alleged deviation from social and sexual norms imposed by society. Honour killing is

not always a one man act. It is often properly planned and carried out with the help of more than one family members or the consent of family members are also there (Metoo & Mirza, 2007). Human Rights Watch (2004) stated that women are killed, when they are perceived to have dishonoured the family in form of denying to have an arranged marriage, by facing sexual assault, rape, asking for divorce or accused of committing adultery. These all are the potential reasons on which women are being killed for honour. However, in the light of the limited literature and non-availability of any single definition on the subject and especially in the context of Pakistan, the present study conceptualises honour killing as the killing of a female family member on accusation of her being involved in immoral, socially and culturally inappropriate conduct (Ali, 2001; Faqir, 2001).

It can be deduced from the definitions that women are mostly killed by members of their own family and generally attacked by male members because men in patriarchal societies and societies with honour culture are deeply embedded with the feeling that they are the guardians and protectors of female chastity. This concept is profoundly embedded in the social fabric of the society that nobody openly condemns or questions the act honour killing. Despite the ambiguity in existing definitions, they provide researchers with the foundation that enables them to further the development of literature in the field of honour killing. However, in order to truly understand the prevailing perception of the phenomenon in society, the historical roots and development of honour killing must be analysed. The following sections aims at adding to building conceptualisation of honour killing in the review, by examining and addressing its antecedents.

Historical Roots of Honour Killing and its Evidence in Pakistan

The roots of honour killing can be traced back in the history. It is prevalent in certain societies and cultures for years (Amin, 2010). However, honour killing is largely associated with Muslims and Asian societies that are governing on the principle of patriarchy (King, 2013). Violence and killings against women that have been recorded in western societies or the global north are often referred to as crimes of passion, domestic homicide, domestic violence or intimate partner violence (Carline, 2011). Subjugation, commodification and abuse of women are old practice (Fildis, 2013). The control over women and origin of honour killings can be seen in various cultures throughout the history and time (Xavier, Petherick, & Sinnamon, 2017). Faqir (2001)

articulates that the use of physical and verbal aggression to ensure that masculine privilege in the society remains intact is not a recent phenomenon. Honour killing is also considered as a tool used to uphold the status-quo of gender relations and has historically been effectively used to control and subjugate women. Lerner (1986) reveals patriarchy is not a name of a single event, rather it is a process developing over a period of twenty-five hundred years, beginning in 3200 BC to 692 BC. Therefore, commodification, subjugation, and unequal treatment towards women is a result of patriarchy.

Furthermore, patriarchal family structure is designed in a way that facilitates male control over women and their sexuality. As women remain a property of men, first of her father, brother and then of her husband. The sexual purity of a woman is considered a most valuable asset (Ahmed 1993, p.26). The sanctity of marriage and its importance were discussed in roman and catholic laws. Stricter punishments were designed for anyone who was thought to against the moral standards (Goldstein, 2002).

The role of religion and culture in developing attitudes cannot be ignored, to understand “honour-based violence”. All cultural values, religious teachings, traditions and norms are learned in the family. All main religions and civilizations before Islam were misogynist, patriarchal, and domineering towards women i.e. in terms of ethics, economy, law or politics. Islam, being the latest monotheistic religion, continued most of the socio-legal disciplinary conventions, sometimes in its original forms and at times with alterations according to the needs of the existing Arab societies (Fildis, 2013).

Thus, according to history and studies conducted on anthropology, the killing of women to reinstate male honour and uphold patriarchy has been taking place for centuries (Ali, 2001). The practices of killing in the name of honour go across cultures and religions. Historic incidents of honour killings can largely be traced to the societies in Middle Eastern, Europe and in Asian countries (India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan), (Xavier, Petherick, & Sinnamon, 2017). Surprisingly, Canada and America are also among those countries where honour killing has been practiced but they usually refer to them as a type of domestic violence or crimes of passion. In addition to that literature also discussed that in developed and modern societies, honour killing are usually committed by immigrants. Such as Swedish nation introduced attitudes based intervention programs for Muslim immigrant community specifically to prevent honour killing as the Swedish nation witnessed honour killing among Muslim immigrant

communities. The difference in the categorisation of violence can primarily be linked to the desire of developed countries to not be labelled as culturally insensitive.

The practice of honour killing goes farback to the pre-Islamic times when Arab settlers settled in regions nearby to Sindh and Baluchistan (Malik, Saleem, & Hamdani, 2001). These settlers had strong patriarchal customs, such as practices that included burial of women alive and unwanted newborn daughters. In Pakistan, the concept can be traced back to Pakhtun and Baloch tribes. It has however, expanded in both Sindh and in Punjab after that, resultantly murders are being committed throughout the country irrespective regional or class boundaries (Lari, 2011). It is possible that “*karo-kari*” (an expression used for killing for the sake of honour in the province of Sindh, Pakistan) originated and further strengthened through several conservative cultural practices such as subjugation of women. It is the continuation of “*karo-kari*” in the feudal society that purports violence against women (Patel & Gadit, 2008). Although the terminology and practice of “*karo-kari*” is specific to Sindh, the universal concept of honour killing is independently prevalent in many parts of the world.

Understanding the Dynamics of Pakistani society related to Honour Killing in Pakistan

Before elaborating on the grave intensity of honour killing in Pakistan, it is imperative to understand the family and social expectance regarding women. The customs, culture and traditions of the Pakistani society have mostly been hereditary from varied surrounding cultures and groups of different ethnicities (Chaudary, Malik, & Ashraf, 2006). Pakistan is a male dominated society, where subjugation of women is not only something that is considered normal, rather it is perceived as a noble act (Jamali & Shah, 2015). The family setup in Pakistan is strongly patriarchal; with a large number of people living in joint families. The oldest male member in a family is considered as a head and expected to takes all decisions regarding all family matters. The traditional role for women in Pakistan is that of a homemaker, and traditionally secondary to a man. Professional and career-oriented women have to strive to gain acceptance. A woman is expected to be responsible for household chores (Jamali & Shah, 2015). Nonetheless, the women who go out for work have to face insecurities, inequity and harassment. Pakistan is included among those top five countries that are considered to be unsafe for women, as it has recorded highest rates of honour killings and murders for the sake of dowry (Trust, 2011). Another survey also confirmed that

as compared to the rest of the world Pakistan has highest number of honour killings (Greiff, 2010).

In Pakistani society, honour symbolises respect in family and society both. Thereby, disgrace brought by a female family member means shame to the whole family. There are many other actions that are also considered shameful, but nothing is more significantly disgraceful than perceived loss of female respect. Therefore, to protect and reinstate perceived loss honour, the offender female must be killed. Undoubtedly, Pakistani women yet face multiple forms of physical, psychological, and sexual abuse at the hand of family members, and community. Even to this day women are being harassed, beaten, raped, mutilated, and murdered in the name of honour (Jehanzeb, 2004). Honour violence is seen throughout the country in the name of culture and traditions (HRCP Report, 2008). It is assumed that honour killing redeems and resurrects family honour and prestige (Knudsen, 2004). Under this belief that honour can be redeemed after killing the women, scores of honour killings continually take place every year in Pakistan.

The lives of number of women in Pakistan have been confined by old archaic traditions; imposing extreme obedience to the male members of the family whether they are fathers, brothers, husbands and other male relatives (Zia-Ullah, 2010). In Pakistan, honour killings were recently criminalized, but continue to spread in all provinces of the Pakistan that is, Punjab, Khyber-Pakhtunkha (KPK), Baluchistan, and Sindh. However, honour killing is practiced under different names in every province, such as, “*kala-kali*” (Punjab), “*tor-tora*” (NWFP), “*Siyahkari*” (Baluchistan) and “*karo-kari*” (Sindh) (Malik, Saleem, & Hamdani, 2001). Karo is associated to a man whereas, Kari represents woman, who are believed to bring dishonour to their family. However, irrespective of language, the message these words carry elucidate how men and women shall be killed by their family or community on if found guilty of illicit relations or sexual misconduct. Widespread of honour killing is also a result of a leniency showed by country’s legal system, law enforcement agency personnels and wide support of community members towards perpetrators of honour killing (Honour killing Report, 2010). Loopholes still exist in the current legislation guiding the country. This however, will be discussed in the section (Legal and Religious perspectives on Honour Killing) related to honour killing laws in Pakistan.

Nonetheless, continuous efforts are being made from media and non-governmental agencies to create awareness regarding deprivation of women right in Pakistan. Due to widespread attention of media, the effort of women's rights groups has a higher impact in Pakistan, yet this has seldom led to reduction in the repression, and violent punishment women face. Although statistics shows scores of honour killing in Pakistan, however, at the same time as there is an increase of awareness of women rights. Many campaigns such as '*Aurat (women) march*' have been initiated in the past few years to create awareness about women rights. Similarly, television drama serials like *Udari*, *Deedhan*, *Kankar* and *Baghi* have represented the issues of honour killing. However, there is still debate as to how Pakistani dramas glorify violence against women and portray women as weak damsels in distress. Such portrayal of women needs to be changed, so that the narrative of powerless and dependent women does not gain momentum.

Statistics / Prevalence of Honour killing

As discussed earlier, honour killing is a global phenomenon. Pakistan is no exception to such killings (Lari, 2011). Honour killing of women and girls in the name of so-called honour by their family members are not restricted to any one region; rather it is more prevalent in societies with honour cultures like Asia and Middle East (Mayell, 2002). It is prevalent in contemporary societies, but it has often reported that killings in the name of honour are usually committed by Muslim immigrants from strong Patriarchal background. For example, the case of British Pakistani "Shafiea Ahmed" who had been killed by her parents for the sake of honour. At least 5000 women and girls, around the globe, are killed each year for honour (United Nations Population Fund, 2000). Researchers also believed that in Asian and Middle Eastern societies the rate of killing is much higher (Fisk, 2010). The higher number of killings in Asian and Middle East societies are because of their strict adherence to honour culture. The respect of a man in these societies lies in their women. However, due to its prevalence Muslim majority countries like Pakistan and Turkey, the phenomenon has wrongly been perceived and attached to Islamic religion. The phenomenon has more of cultural roots. Violence against women in countries like America and Brazil are also reported, but the difference is that killing of women are happening under the label of crimes of passion, and intimate partner violence etc. It is important to understand that despite of the prevalence of honour killing in Muslim societies, it is not an Islamic phenomenon.

Religion has been misused, and number of honour killings are carried out in the name of religion in order to fulfil other motives, so that a culprit can seek acceptance and forgiveness for his act in the name of religion.

South Asia (where Pakistan is located) has the highest rate of honour killing cases reported throughout the world (Greiff, 2010). Pakistan is considered to be the second worst country in the world in terms of gender inequality (World Economic Forum, 2016). Prevalence of gender inequality in Pakistan is an important indicator that gives sufficient explanation of women being subjected to violence in every corner of the country. It has been estimated that almost everyday three women in Pakistan are killed for reinstating so-called honour (Zia-Ullah, 2010). Consequently, 1000 women are being killed for the sake of honour every year. The report of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, HRCP (2012), further confirmed that thousands of women and girls are subject to honour killings every year in Pakistan. As per the data of the Federal Law Ministry of Pakistan for 2013 and 2014, 456 and 477 cases of honour killing were reported. According to the latest report by HRCP (2019), in the past decade 6867 cases of honour killing have been reported in Pakistan. Out of 7163 cases 6867 were female and 505 were males murdered in the name of honour.

The exact statistics on honour killings are difficult to obtain due to under-reporting of such incidents globally (Keyhani, 2013). Unlike other form of murders, honour killing murderers are usually family members. Consequently, family members of victim show reluctance to register the report against the murderer. People in Pakistan do not criminalize these murders within the social and cultural contexts (Goldstein, 2002). Honour killings have a high level of acceptance among Pakistani community in general and particularly high in rural communities (Reuters, 2004). Pakistani population is broadly living in rural and urban setups. Majority of the population that is 63.09 % belongs to rural areas. Murderers often appear to take advantage of cultural and social immunity for their crime. Majority of the statistics regarding honour killing are compiled from media coverage and through reports published by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. However, the number is only for the cases that have been registered. Given the particularly unhealthy prevalence of honour killing in Pakistan, the review will now turn towards trying to understand the underlying causes behind such acts.

Causative Factors of Honour killing

Existing literature has discussed various causative factors that lead to honour killings (Raza, 2006). One important element to be mentioned here is that while adultery and inappropriate sexual relations appear to be the instigators of honour killing, the reasons are often used as guises to gain social approval while meeting underlying motives (e.g. gaining control of a women's property) (Patel & Gadit, 2008). In the case of Pakistan, various factors of honour killings can primarily be linked to the fact that women are considered commodity and controlled by the male members of her family. Therefore, the worth of a woman is defined by her conduct within the social group. The following are some of the well documented factors that have led to the killing of women.

Love marriage and illicit relationship. It is important to understand that in Pakistani constitution only underage marriage that is less than 18 years of age is prohibited. Men and women above the age of 18 years can enter into a marital bond either through love or arranged marriage. Despite of this constitutional right women are being specifically deprived of this right. In Pakistan arranged marriage tradition is mostly being followed. Arranged marriage is common practice in oriental cultures. Arranged marriage is the most preferred way of marriage in Pakistan as well. The family of a girl and boy decide the marriage partner for each other (Najam, 1999). Love marriages are still considered a deviation and rebellion against family norms and the very fabric of social traditions. This often leads to an extreme reaction in many families.

Despite modernisation and globalisation, Pakistan is still operating on traditional practices specifically in rural areas. As already mentioned, women in Pakistan are still seen as a property of their fathers, brothers, and husbands (Critelli, 2012). This situation is even worst in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan where women are not allowed to express her liking towards any opposite gender (Critelli, 2012). Therefore, selection of a life partner by a woman or expressing intention of marrying out of love are among other causes that are perceived as inappropriate and rebelliousness against the family customs Furthermore, whenever a woman rebels against the prearranged marriage by exercising her personal will, she is considered as unforgiving and deemed worthy of killing (Hosseini & Basavaraju, 2016). A survey conducted by HRCP (2018) confirmed that scores of honour killing are committed for love marriage or marriage out of personal choice by women. The available statistics of 2004 and 2007 revealed that highest number of honour killings are committed in

Pakistan due to love marriages. Consequently, it can be inferred that love marriage has social and cultural unacceptance. When women challenge the norm of arranged marriage, they are considered worthy of violence and to be killed for bringing perceived dishonour.

Divorce seeking. In Pakistan, a woman trying to obtain a divorce or separation from her spouse is considered as a faux pas and often results in honour killings (Bhutta, Waraich, Bhutta, Bhutta, & Ali, 2015). In Pakistan, along with exercising the right to marry of their own will, seeking divorce is also considered to be inappropriate behaviour for which a number of women are killed every year. Murderers believe that these women have challenged societal norms and thereby stained the family honour. In cultures like Pakistan a woman's desire to seek a divorce is not viewed less than an insult and public dishonour to a whole family (Hosseini & Basavaraju, 2016). It is important to mention that seeking divorce or dissolution of marriage is not an un-Islamic act as well. Man can give divorce anytime, and it would not be viewed as a disgraceful act. Women cannot divorce her husband, unless she has taken the right during nikkah. However, women are also given opportunity of seeking *khula* in a court of law. *Khula* means that women can get separated from her husband.

However, *Khula* can be obtained as per- Islamic law under following situations; poor and violent treatment from her husband, whereabouts of husband is unknown for four years, neglecting attitude of husband, failed to perform marital obligations for three years, prevalence of insanity in husband, obstructs her in observing and following her religious practices etc (Mushtaq, 2015). Despite the fact that religiously and legally women are allowed to take *Khula*, it is perceived as a dishonourable act on part of women in the Muslim world. Women are taught and instructed in Muslim families that they must not seek divorce at any cost, even if it means to tolerate abuse by the husband (Lari, 2011). Although, women can obtain the right to divorce in their marriage document, but very few women are aware of this right and even fewer are granted such consideration – virtually zero in rural societies. Majority of Pakistani population is living in rural setup.

In Pakistan, when women initiate the process of divorce, their behaviour is considered as being disrespectful and dishonourable towards their husband or their family; and seeking divorce may eventually results in them being killing in the name of honour. A famous case of Samia Sarwar in 1999, who belong to a respected and

upper class family of Peshawar (Pakistan) had been killed in the presence of her mother in her lawyer's office for demanding divorce. The family believed that seeking divorce through the court has brought extreme shame and disobedience of family. Samia's Sarwar has been killed for taking divorce. It is the testimony to the fact that in Pakistani society a woman who seeks divorce is worthy of killing in the name of family honour. Furthermore, many tribal and religious leaders believed that the lawyers who helped Samia in seeking divorce must be dealt strictly as they are spreading modernism and freedom among women that could also mislead them (Hussain, 2006). Therefore, women are subjected to honour killing in Pakistan for seeking divorce.

Forced marriages. Pakistan is one of those countries that follow a tradition of forced marriages. Women are being forced to marry older men and forcefully married in relatives etc. However, modernisation and awareness through media in recent years has given courage to women to raise voice against such tradition of forced marriages. Greater number of women are now being educated and employed; influenced by media, they have started to shun traditional mindsets and the existing confinements of society. Women who tried to escape the traditional customs like child marriages and "*watta-satta*" (exchange of women in marriage between two families) have consequentially been murdered and later accused of being murdered for the sake of honour. A study revealed that almost 30% of honour killings take place due to forced marriages (Lari, 2011). A study conducted in Sindh region of Pakistan showed that women are not allowed to name a potential man they wish to marry. The women are supposed to obey decisions of their family and if they decline, they can possibly get murdered in the name of preserving honour (Pahor, Gurmani, & Khan, 2016).

Majority of the marriages in rural areas, specifically in Southern Punjab, are "*watta-satta*" marriage (Jacoby & Mansuri, 2010). "*Watta-satta*" marriages deprive women from their right to choose partner. "*Watta-satta*" marriages reflect oppression of women in South Asian societies.

Role of landowners, jirgas and panchayats in honour killing. Indigenous literature has frequently discussed the role of *Jirga* and *Panchayats* in the prevalence of honour killings in Pakistan (Lari, 2011; Iqbal, 2007). *Jirga* is comprised of group of elderly influential men that essentially gives jurisdiction and decisions over any issue of that area. This system of jurisdiction often referred as parallel judicial system is prevalent in rural and tribal areas. *Jirgas* in rural and tribal areas of different regions are

functional under different names but serve same purpose. For example in Punjab, it is often referred as '*panchayat*' and in Sindh area it is referred as '*faislo*'. The purpose of *Jirgas* are to resolve conflicts relating to land, money and women related issues such as (women who contracted love marriage, women who run away from their homes, or women who challenged the societal and traditional norms, honour breaches, and internal and external tribal killings (Iqbal, 2007).

In the eyes of tribal "*Jirga*", honour killing of a woman is not a crime. Tribal "*Jirgas*" often think of the killer as a victim rather than the victim who is assumed to be a transgressor. In their process of providing a verdict they make sure to compensate the killer (of the women) and his family. In cases like honour breach murderers are set free because murderer is not being perceived as a culprit rather viewed as a victim. Furthermore, there is a lack of women representation in the "*jirgas*" and "*pachayaats*", and accused survivor woman is also not given chance to present her verdict in order to defend herself (Iqbal, 2007). Consequently, there is sufficient impact of tribal *Jirga's* on violence against women. Since *jirgas* and *panchayats* are male dominated, usually less educated and influentials of that area are part of it. Patriarchal mindset also serves discriminatory attitude towards women. These influential have the instilled belief that women are bound to obey men and are not allowed to challenge norms (Participatory Development Initiative, 2005).

The ineffective formal justice system and delayed justice in the country has given motivation and encouragement to influentials of these *jirga's* and tribal leaders. Government has failed to criminalise these practices in a true sense; thereby it has given momentum to mostly remote tribal structures fostering brutal practices in the country (Iqbal, 2007). In rural areas of the country people are heavily relied on the opinion and decisions of *jirgas* and *panchayats*. Therefore, the justice for women has hardly reached to formal courts. The decisions given by *Jirgas* are heavily respected by villagers. Mostly, the decisions are biased against women such as child marriages and barter of women for the resolution of any conflict. It can be inferred that *jirgas* perpetuate violent practices against women under the guise of tradition and cultural practice. *Jirgas* and *Panchayats* function on the cultural and traditional principles where male honour is given highest value. A single testimony provided by a husband, brother, or father against a woman for being involved in an immoral act is sufficient for a *Jirga* leaders to declare that woman are worthy of killing in the name of honour. The loopholes in

justice system and its ineffectiveness and mindset of lawyers and judiciary have been discussed in the later sections.

Economic disparity, poverty, and settlement of land/ property issues.

Abundant literature has discussed that overall economic disparity in the country has also served as a perpetuating factor of honour killing in Pakistan. The extensive interest of men in land and inheritance has led to the honour killing of women and later accusing them of being involved in an immoral act. Men often murder women for either acquiring their inheritance, or their share in property and land later accusing them for being involved in a relationship with a man. Due to cultural and social immunity towards honour killing, it is easy to fulfill ulterior motives in guise of honour killing. In addition, victim's family also gains compensation from the man who is accused as *Karo (black man)* with her (Iqbal, 2007).

Poverty has remained a serious cause of many problems in Pakistan. Consequently, accusation of being killed in the name of honour is a convenient way of removing women from their legal inheritance, such as ownership of property. It is a common practice in Pakistan to kill women for financial gains, similarly feudal lords committing honour killings (Lari, 2011). Literature has shed light on the reasons behind the fake honour killings in the name of land and property. Furthermore it has been discussed in the literature that in many cases a man has murdered a woman of their own family with the excuse of honour to accuse someone in the debtor's family to ensure the loan would be appeased in compensation (Hadi, 2017).

In addition Amnesty International (2018) also identifies several other economic advantages men gain from commodification of women. For example, within family marriage or forced cousin marriage, so that the share of property of a woman remains in family; marriage of women to the Quran so that her share in land and property remains in the family; payment of bride price at the time of marriage etc are all economically viable situations that ensure economic benefits to men. Therefore, women are perceived worthy of possession because of their inherent value (Lari, 2011).

Lack of education. Various causes have been discussed in the light of previous literature; that are the possible causes mainly behind honour killings in Pakistan. One such cause is the lack of education in the mass population of Pakistan. It is not wrong to say that illiteracy has crippled the whole concept of honour (Bangash,

Khan, & Marwat, 2018). The core conceptualisation of honour is not part of Pakistani education system. Education level in Pakistan is very low, and even where people have access to education, they are not being taught about human rights, detrimental effects of violence and the true meaning of honour. Lack of awareness, insufficient knowledge, and an incorrect and insufficient understanding of honour has led to the lack of violence recognition, and contributed to the existence of traditions like honour killing (Bangash, Khan, & Marwat, 2018). Lack of education is also a cause of child marriages and *watta-satta* marriages; which often appear to be the highest contributors of honour killings (Bhutta et al., 2015). Due to illiteracy specifically among rural women, they cannot raise their voice against the inhuman forms of violence, or to reach out for legal help against violence they face. As a result, women's vulnerability to honour killing and other social crimes is much higher (Pahor, Gurmani, & Khan, 2016). The Sindh Department of Education Report (2007) determined that illiteracy is the major contributing factor towards honour killing. The occurrence of honour killing expounds in rural areas that are far behind in education and awareness (Hussain, 2006).

Rape and honour killing. Unfortunately, a woman subjected to rape has been perceived as the one who has stained the family honour. Rape victims are treated as they have violated the family honour (Lari, 2011). Moreover, the rape of a woman is perceived as bringing dishonour to the family and instead of going behind the culprit, people prefer to murder their own woman as she becomes a symbol of shame and disdain to the family. An incident occurred in Rahim yar Khan, where two sisters were abducted and raped by some influential residents of the area and later relatives of those girls killed those girls to restore the honour of the family (Haq, 2018). Numerous, newspaper-based articles have addressed the unfortunate incidents of honour killing of rape victims. Sexual purity and virginity of the woman is of utmost importance and considered as a responsibility of male family members (Dailey, Singh, & Ray, 2009). It is believed that rape victims have brought dishonour for the family and tribe. Moreover, when a woman is harassed on the streets or raped than she is the one who has provoked it. Therefore, the victim is held responsible and consequentially killed (Lari, 2011).

Undoubtedly, the above-mentioned factors are not the only causative factors for honour killing in Pakistan. In a broader perspective, shortcoming of law in Pakistan and religious misconception also served encouraging indicators of honour killings.

Understanding of honour killing and its prevalence through religious and legal perspectives is equally important. Therefore, next section has elaborated legal and religious perspective pertaining to honour killing.

Legal and Religious Perspectives on Honour Killing

Flexibility in law facilitates honour killing in Pakistani society and cannot be ignored. The legal perspective is important to examine in order to develop a holistic picture of its role in the prevalence of honour killings. Moreover, religious misinterpretation, wrong association of Islam with honour killings needs to be addressed in order to understand the correct stance of Islamic religion regarding honour killing.

Honour killing laws in Pakistan. Numerous different laws exist regarding honour killing globally. However, it is evident through literature that the laws to deal with honour killing seem to be lenient. Countries like Brazil and Colombia have just recently (in the past two decades) amended laws related to honour killing (Lari, 2011; Ali, 2001). Nevertheless, lenient provisions still exist in different laws all around the world. For example country like Morocco, are unable to deal with the issue of honour killing. However, their laws allow leniency towards honour killing crime. Similarly, Turkey has lately amended and enacted laws against honour killing. However, focus of the present study is to understand laws regarding honour killing in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, the legal system is divided in two parallel systems with regards to the honour killing phenomena. One is the criminal legal system, which consists of statutory laws that result in judicial rulings, while the other is parallel legal system based on tribal and local customs. The statutory law is mostly implemented in urban areas, whereas rural and tribal areas are usually dependent upon parallel legal system in the form of *panchayts* or *jirgas* for decisions. It is important to mention here that parallel legal system has no legal and constitutional basis of existence in the country (Irfan, 2008).

Pakistan has inherited English laws from colonial British era. Its penal code had the clause of “grave and sudden provocation” two decades back; however in 1990 it was omitted. Although honour killings have come under attention of courts for years, but until 2004 no specific legislation was put forwarded to deal with honour killing cases. Therefore, discriminatory judgments decided the fate of honour killing cases.

Before 2004, when a husband killed his wife for the sake of honour, he would get the benefit by pleading the exception of “grave and sudden provocation” under section 300 Pakistan penal code. Undoubtedly, such plea bargains given to men further encouraged the killing of women. Henceforth, before 2004 it was considered as a non-compoundable offense. Unfortunately, even after 2004 the offenders or culprits of honour killing receive nominal or lenient punishments (National Commission of Human Rights, Pakistan). Due to cultural immunity and patriarchal mindset of the judges and lawyers, offenders are usually unpunished (Ali, 2001; Lari, 2011). Non adherence of laws is also due to strong culturally embedded values regarding the phenomenon.

In simpler terms, plea of sudden provocation refers to fact “when a person is provoked to an extent that he or she is unable to control their anger and hostility, which consequently results in murder, they would not be acquitted. For acquittal, he/she has to provide enough justification for their anger and the consequent murder they have committed. Thereby, a number of court judgments showed that infidelity and sexual relationships outside marriage was enough of justification for a killer to kill (Ali, 2001). However, this provision was abated in 1990 and instead, of *Qisas* (retribution: eye for an eye) and *Diyat* (blood money: giving money to the heirs of the victim to seek forgiveness) were introduced under Islamic law. Despite the introduction of *qisas* and *diyat* laws in 1990, they were not fully operational till 1997; until it became the Act on April 1997. It was decided that all offences related to human body should be dealt under “*Qisas*” (retribution) and “*Diyat*” (blood-money). According to “*Qisas*” and “*diyat*” laws, settlement between the grieved party and offender could be done through a “*Razinama*”. “*Razinama*” is a settlement/compromise, a statement of reconciliation reached between two parties involved in any kind of dispute.

It was decided to trial cases of murders or cases related to human body under section 302 (a, b, and c). Section 302 dealt with *qatl e amd* (intentional murder). According to the section 302 (a), whoever commits an intentional murder would be dealt either as Punishment with death under “*Qisas*” (retribution; eye for an eye), or 302 (b) punishment with death or imprisonment with life as *tazir* (according to Islamic law punishment for offenses are under the discretion of the judge, or state), and 302 (c) punishment with imprisonments for maximum 25 years when “*Qisas*” has not been

carried out. Similarly section 309 and 310 was also introduced that deals with provision of “*diyat*” in the law.

According, to the laws of “*Qisas*” and “*Diyat*”, offences related to human body are compoundable. For murder related issues compromise can take place between legal heirs of victims and culprit under sections 309 and 310. In the first provision, legal heir(s) can forgive the murderer in the name of God, while under section 310 the legal heirs can reach to compromise after receiving “*diyat*” in their respective shares. The minimum value of blood money is provided for under Section 323 P.P.C. and is fixed (which shall not be less than the value of 30630 grams of silver on the first day of the month of July each year, determined by the Federal Government by a notification in the official gazette. This, however, may vary according to the price of silver at that point in time.

Qisas (retribution) and *Diyat* (blood money) were introduced as a result of the Shariat Court’s decision to Islamize penal law relating to offences against the human body (Ali, 2001). In simple terms, through *qisas* and *diyat* law, victims and their family has been given a series of choices; first, either they let the killer be convicted by the law in form of retribution; second, pardon the killer in the name of god; or third, victim or heirs of victim can forgive by taking blood money. The law is applicable to honour crimes as well. There are some fundamental issues associated and *Qisas* and *diyat* law, and along with that it has also been taken out of context in honour killing related cases. It seems that the fundamental problem with our criminal law is that the law on “*Qisas*” and “*Diyat*” has reduced it to a family affair rather than a domain in which the state represents the society. Consequentially, people are not afraid of committing crimes against family members, particularly women, because they believe they would be pardoned by other members of their family.

Before the introduction of “*Qisas*” and “*Diyat*” Ordinance, the provision of compromise was not part of the law. However, the Ordinance provided room for compromise in matters of bodily harm and murder. The punishment for murder was either death or life imprisonment. Experts have argued that despite giving no defence plea and leniency to the culprits of honour killing, judges kept dealing with such matters as sudden provocation, resulting in minimum or no punishment. Rather offences against human body were considered as the crime against the victim, not against the state. In other words, the state could not automatically prosecute the offender, for murder had

now become a private, family matter (Ali, 2001). Regardless of the fact that honour killing was declared as a punishable act according to Criminal Law Amendment Act (No. I) 2005. The law has declared the offence of honour killing as *fasad fil arz* (mischief on the earth) leading to imprisonment for a term not be less than ten years or life imprisonment or death as *ta'zir* even where the offence was waived/forgiven or compounded by the legal heirs/walis of the victim.

Honour killing was declared mandatorily punishable by Criminal Law Amendment Act (No. I) 2005 that introduced amendments mainly for the murder “in the name or on the pretext of honour”. The 2005 Amendment changed the law to include murder in the name of “honour” as an offence to be necessarily considered as *fasad fil arz* (mischief on the earth) leading to imprisonment for a term not less than ten years or life imprisonment or death as *ta'zir* even where the offence was waived/forgiven or compounded by the legal heirs/(*walis*) of the victim. Later, in 2016, it was again declared that no compounding of offence would be allowed in honour killing cases, and murderers must get strict punishment. Yet, the conviction remains low in honour killing cases. It is probably due to the patriarchal mindset of the judges who have failed to practice the law as it is stated.

There's a general agreement among concerned citizens that perpetrators of such murders go scot free due to the inadequacy of the criminal justice system, including a poor legal framework. However, the conviction rate in such cases is reported to be dismally low which renders deterrence of the offence impossible. This has led to the demand for amendments to the relevant penal laws. In 2016 a famous social media star “Qandeel Baloch” was killed by her brother in the name of honour. Much campaigning was done by women activists, human rights organisation, social activists and media. Consequentially the parliament decided to make further amendments in the present law. Therefore, in 2016 anti-honour killing bill has been passed, that is discussed below.

Latest legislation on honour killing in 2016 and its shortcomings.

After administering loopholes in the previous laws regarding honour killing, it was decided to pass a new act with amendments to counter the loopholes. First brief loopholes of previous law have been discussed in this section and then recent legislations and its shortcomings are discussed. Although in 2004 the law has been passed according to which honour murders would be considered intentional murders, but even this law has been made dysfunctional by including the practice of *Qisas*

(punishment of similar hurt e.g. eye for an eye) and *Diyat* (blood money, money provided by the culprit or the family of the culprit to the victim's family as compensation for the murder). Nearly, in all honour killing cases murderers are blood relations of the victims, such as father, brother, paternal uncle or husband. Therefore, they have the licence to settle the case on behalf of victim. Moreover, the other members of the family also have the privilege to forgive the murderer who is basically a family member. This implies that when a father, brother or husband kills his wife, sister or daughter, the family sits together and resolves the case before it goes to the police for investigation or to court for decision. Even if it goes to the police or court, the men still have the power to withdraw the case or grant the killer forgiveness (Gauhar, 2014).

While keeping in view the loophole in the previous law along with the continuous honour killing in the country, it was decided to amend the laws and an anti-honour killing bill was passed in 2016. Parliamentarians have debated on the issue and suggested several changes. According to the suggested changes decision for punishment would stay with the judge. Additionally, it was decided that minimum 25 years of punishment must be given to convicts, regardless of receiving pardon from their families (DAWN, 2017).

According to a Pakistani newspaper report; under section 302 of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), the convict in a simple murder case may get the life imprisonment of 14 years or a maximum of the death penalty (Bilal, 2016). The legislation on honour killing would not achieve the desired results on account of weak prosecution as murderers may claim that he had committed the murder for other reasons such as a land dispute or over property etc (Asad, 2016). Hence, he may be charged with Section 302 of the PPC and the family members may pardon him under section 309 of the PPC (Bilal, 2016). Thus, loopholes still persist in the law of honour killing. The prevalence of murders even after 2016, with very less convictions appear to be a testimony to the fact that honour killing laws demand more attention.

On the other hand, number of honour killing cases happen in rural areas of the country. In rural areas, the most relevant form of acquiring justice is through parallel legal system (*jirgas* and *panchayats*) (Iqbal, 2007). Hussain (2006) argues that decision of informal tribal councils such as *jirgas* are considered as a final decision in rural areas. Consequently, in rural areas the applicability of state law is less functional. Therefore,

parallel judicial system of *Jirgas* and *panchayats* perpetuates injustice for Pakistani women.

Legal awareness of perpetrators. Perpetrators of honour killing have a clear idea before committing the murder that they would be dealt leniently. In general, people in Pakistan have this idea that there is a cultural tolerance for murders committed in the name of honour (Lari, 2011). Less conviction and leniency towards perpetrators of honour killing is a prime reason that people use honour killing as a mean to fulfil other motives that are already discussed above. A study conducted by Lari, (2011) has confirmed that since murders take place within families therefore, mutual compromise exists within them. The case never reaches the court or reported to the authorities (Lari, 2011). A study conducted in 2015 highlighted the laws of Pakistan regarding honour killings. It has been discussed that mostly no fear of punishment has been seen amongst the perpetrators of honour killing. Although Pakistan enacted a law that has made honour killing a punishable crime in 2004, still very few convictions have been carried out against the culprits (Sattar, 2015). Additionally legal experts also agree that the existing laws leave space for judicial gender biases to intervene and result in lenient punishments to murderers that protects the perpetrators from getting maximum penalties and facilitate compromises that allow perpetrators to get away with minimal or no penalty. Therefore, unless the loopholes in the law are strictly addressed by the courts, it will be difficult to have convictions of the perpetrators of honour killings under this law (Asad, 2016). Despite the amendments made in the recent law, scores of honour killings still persist in Pakistan. In the recent report, almost 108 women in Sindh (Pakistan) have been killed for the sake of honour in the year of 2019 (Ali et al., 2020).

The current research and interviews with professionals for the present research were conducted before this new legislation was passed. Therefore, expert opinions were not taken regarding new legislation in this present research. Published news reports, have been consulted to understand the new laws and thus, relevant section regarding new legislation has been added. However, there are some critical dimensions of the problem such as response of judiciary towards such culprit, which if not considered can lead to a situation which may not lay the ground for further progressive legislative initiatives in short to long term in the context of honour based violence and women related violence.

Honour Killing and Islamic Laws and Rules

Islam does not allow intimate relations between men and women out of the bounds of marriage. It is not only a sin but a serious offense as well if one gets caught and is proven in a court (*Shariah* court in such cases). The punishment if proven guilty, in Quran's own words is,

“The woman and the man guilty of adultery, flog each of them with a hundred stripes: let not compassion moves you in their case, in a matter prescribed by Allah, if you believe in Allah and the last day; and let a party of believers witness their punishment.” (24:2).

A much needed clarification in this regard is that this order of quran, *“flog each of them with a hundred stripes”* is for the state or the authorities and not for a common man to act on behalf of state and all religious jurists have a census on this aspect. (Maudoodi 1994 P 331)

Cases had been pointed out in earlier years of Islam thus certain principles were formulated to cater for any personal misadventure by an individual.

- If a person accused somebody of adultery, he must bring the required number of 4 witnesses, otherwise he will be considered a liar, punished with 80 stripes and banned for being a witness for his life (Quran 24:4)
- No punishment can be ordered unless the event is legally proven. If legal course of action is pending, any punishment will be illegal.

In the light of Quran (4:15), at least four witnesses are necessary for a case of adultery. The preconditions and pre-requisites for the process of witnessing are further elaborated by (Maudoodi, 1994, p. 333):-

- Atleast 4 eyewitnesses reliable according to the Islamic law of evidence i.e. An honest man with no previous false witness to his record and no grudges against the person being accused
- The witness must testify that they saw the man and woman in actual state on intercourse
- All the witnesses should be on one page regarding persons, time and place of the event

The traditions of the Prophet (PBUH) further support this as “*Avoid punishment where ever you find scope for it* (Ibne Maja: 2535). In another tradition he said: “*Try to avoid punishing the Muslims wherever possible and if there is a way for an accused to escape punishment, let him off. An error of judgment in letting of an accused is better than in punishing him*”. (Al-Musannaf: 12971). Even the slightest of the doubts should be enough to spare a person from such a huge punishment (Maudoodi, 1994, P. 334). All these narrations add to the fact that there is no place for honour killing in Islam.

One of the narrations of the Prophet (PBUH) is frequently used to justify violence in the name of religion, it goes as “*Who so ever in you, sees a crime/guilt, should stop it with his hand*” (Muslim: 70). It is taken out by the scholars or religious clergy mostly and justified killing of the accused in the process of adultery (Madani, 2004). However, most of the scholars believe otherwise that killing without proper legal formalities is unjustified. The Quranic verses of, “*Never should a believer kill a believer*” (Surah Nisa 4: 92), and “*Take not life, which Allah hath made sacred, except by way of justice and law*” justify the opinion of the latter. Quran does not promote punishment without the proper procedure of the law (Hussain 2006).

Misinterpretation of Qisas and Diyat law in the light of Islam. The provision of *qisas* and *diyat* is given to the family of a murder victim as a compensation for their loss. In legal terms, they can be applicable if the state and the heirs both agree to it. In case of honour killing, the murderer is mostly a family member of the victim and ultimately the family members forgive the murderer thus promoting honour killing under the garb of a religious law. As per an article on this subject written by a famous religious scholar Ghamidi (2017), even though the family of the victim may forgive a killer, but it is not mandatory for the state to do the same. The state needs to closely look into the circumstances and the implications of the murder before going for this provision. This apparent loophole in the laws is being misinterpreted and exploited in cases of honour killing thus promoting it indirectly.

This aspect of the *Qisas* and *diyat* laws has been the subject of enduring criticism, and yet every amendment to date has failed to address this fundamental ambiguity in the definition of honour and the freedom of the courts to make such a determination. While this is not strictly a flaw in the law of *Qisas* and *diyat* itself, but one in the system, the amendments referred above were intended to curb the practice of *diyat* that had so far been given free reign (Ghamidi, 2017). The coexistence of

uncertainty and judicial discretion will always be in direct conflict to the interests of justice, because not only will the law lack certainty, but judges will be tempted to inject their personal biases into its application.

Although, no theory on its own is sufficient in explaining honour killing, the phenomenon can be understood in the light of a number of social and psychological theories. More recently, western researchers have developed a psychologically motivated model to explain the honour killing in the light of psychological perspective. The present research work does not claim to test a coherent theory, but somewhat it will try to look for different theoretical mechanisms that can be used for explaining the attitudes, beliefs regarding honour killing in Pakistan and also explain the motivational factors and reasoning used by the perpetrators of honour killing and people who are supportive of killing in the name of honour.

Theoretical Perspectives on Honour killing

In an effort to empirically test any construct, it is important to try to underpin it in light of existing theories that have been validated through research. Therefore, the review will begin exploring the theoretical routes of honour killing through various expressions about honour killing.

Feminist Perspective

There is a substantial body of empirical literature on honour killing that is grounded in feminist theory. Feminist researchers/perspectives have tried to theorize the phenomenon of oppression against women and violence against women in the light of patriarchy (Singh, 2017). Before understanding the role of patriarchy in the oppression against women, it is important to briefly understand the meaning of patriarchy. The word patriarchy has originated from Greek language: *patria* means father, *arche* means rule. Thus, it means father's rule or a male head of a family can exercise control female family members (Barlas, 2002). Feminist theorists have elaborated the perspective of patriarchy in order to explain the dynamics of male dominance in both modern and traditional societies (Hadi, 2017). The contemporary feminists including Liberal, Radical, Marxists, and Socialist theorists agree that patriarchy is a system of male domination; however, there are different ways of subjugation of women (see Hadi, 2017).

Feminist literature has explained patriarchy through multiple ways. Few feminists viewed patriarchy as a male power over women and young male members (Hartman & Sundt, 2011). Whereas, other feminists believed that men have biological and sexual dominance over women (Eisenstein 1979). Certain feminists put emphasis on its manifestation in the economic relation of production (Atakan, 2014). Lerner (1988) expressed his idea about patriarchy. The researcher explained that patriarchy refers to the expression of male control and dominance over female and children in the family. Walby (2000) believed that patriarchy is a system in which men dominate over women thereby men can oppress and exploit women. Moreover, Walby (2000) discussed several features that further explain patriarchy that capture the depth of women's subordination to men. Such as less pays, domestic work for women, control of sexuality lies with men etc. Patriarchal social structure is rooted in many societies, Pakistan is one of them. Patriarchal values are deeply ingrained in Pakistani society, thereby women have subordinated position. Patriarchal control over women is practiced through gender restricted behaviour, gender based discrimination, and the ideology which links family honour to female virtue (Hadi, 2017).

As a result, in order to uphold patriarchal values, men are conveniently let go of after committing violence against women under the guise of cultural defence (Keyhani, 2013). Hassan (2000) discussed that when a woman acts in a way that is considered improper, the patriarchal culture excuses and gives cultural immunity to males who often excuses the male's violent attempts to regain his own honour and reclaim control over his family. This signifies that men act as caretakers of women's chastity. This belief is so deeply ingrained in the social fabric of Pakistani society that it has become difficult for society to condemn anyone who carries out violence for the protection of honour of his family. By this way traditions of patriarchy are upheld in the society (Hassan, 2000).

The wide occurrence of violence against women can be understood from the above explanation of feminist perspective. Statistics of violence against women in Pakistani society are relatively high. Male honour is of utmost importance in Pakistan and tarnishing of said honour can lead to shame for men which then motivates them to deal with such situation in a violent manner. It is safe to say that patriarchal culture of Pakistan has a lot to do with the acceptance of honour killing in Pakistan.

Honour killing is not only a result of patriarchy and other cultural immunities rather lapses in the legal system of the country, wrong association with religion and other psychological factors that contribute towards honour killing (Muhammad, 2013). Honour killing can also be analysed through other theoretical perspectives that give explanations for occurrence of honour killing in the society.

Theory of Planned Behavior

Roberts (2014) examined honour killing through the lens of Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) (Ajzen, 1991) and explained the violence committed in the name of honour through psychologically motivated model by utilising the core features of TPB. It provides an illustration of the motivations behind such crimes and the imperative interaction of attitudes and beliefs; that provide the intent of Honour Based Violence (HBV). Ajzen (1991) described TPB through three beliefs. Behavioral beliefs refer to individual beliefs of positive outcome from an important behavior. For instance, believing that through violent behaviors family honour can be regained. Normative beliefs characterises the beliefs to perform expected action, believing so, behaviors are committed in social pressure. Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Branford, and Weaver, (2008) illustrate normative beliefs in an honour culture as violence is the way to regain family honour. Lastly, control beliefs are the individual's beliefs on their capacity to perform a particular behavior. They are strongest when individuals have strong beliefs about their ability to perform a particular behavior. For example, individual's strong control beliefs to attack another individual (victim) reflect their strong beliefs on their personal capacity to gain access over them. Ajzen (1991) concluded that the strengths of these beliefs determine the attitude of individual towards any particular behavior.

Attitudes range from favourable to neutral and unfavourable, depending on the relative strength of beliefs. For instance, favourable attitudes tend to be stronger when an individual has strongest behavioral, normative, and control beliefs about particular behavior (Ajzen, 2011). Ajzen further elaborated intention-attitude relationship through these beliefs of an individual such as: the intention to perform a particular behaviour depends on the strength of favourable / unfavorable attitudes, greater the control beliefs greater will be the tendency to perform a particular behaviour based on the inter-connection of beliefs, attitudes, and intentions. Ajzen (2011) described them highly personal mental states of an individual and are depending on their environment for their occurrence. He established that TPB can explain the extent to which an individual can

control the environment to perform a particular behavior-environmental effect of the behavioral control belief, higher at the supportive environment of a particular intention, for example, the availability and presence of both victim and the weapons.

Based on the basic assumptions of beliefs-attitude-intention association, TPB based motivational model to explain HBV expanded and illustrated that HBV occur in any context (irrespective of culture and gender) where attitudes and beliefs are consistent with honour concerns and are dealt with particular behavior (violent acts).

Moreover, the current approach allows examining the role of gender in carrying out HBV differently and elaborated that both can be a victim of these behaviors. It is imperative to understand that it is not about the gender of the victim's rather how they are expected to act on honour-based expectations. In other words, Leung & Cohen (2011) concluded that honour based violence is not a mere act of violence against women by men but an interplay of multiple factors and situation (cultural, psychological, and the environmental) that results in violent behaviors.

Theory of Moral Neutralisation

The theory of moral neutralisation has the potential to explain some aspects of honour killer's behaviours. Ribeaud and Eisner (2010) made an attempt to explain violence based acts and deployed theory of moral neutralisation to understand the violent crimes committed in the name of honour. This theory further integrated moral disengagement theory (Bandura, 2002), moral neutralisation theory (Skyles & Matza, 1957), and self-serving cognitive distortions (Barriga & Gibbs, 1996). By integrating these three theories, moral neutralisation referred to a mechanism through which an individual justifies harm inflictions on others. These justifications include victim blame (the person deserved it) and the desired outcome can only be achieved through violence.

Honour killing phenomenon through moral neutralisation provides a moral justification (of culprits) as the culprits (mostly male family members) self-ascribe themselves as restorers of honour and justify their acts as a mechanism of restoring their honour. Therefore, the theory of moral neutralisation could be used to understand the psyche behind honour killing. Earlier theories on moral neutralisation were developed for adolescents and preadolescent children and could limit the use of these theories. However, theory of moral neutralisation through the lens of moral justification could

help explain the honour killing behaviour of adults and people having affirmative attitude towards honour killing.

Psychological outcomes of honour killing. Although patriarchal biases are among the causal factors for the occurrence of honour killing, yet it can't be generalized as some individuals from similar socio-cultural background do not endorse such acts. The outcomes of patriarchal mindsets including the feeling of being disparaged and controlled and the lack of equal opportunities put women at a higher risk for developing psychopathology. The frequent and unexpected occurrence of violent crimes against women further inculcates an environment of fear among them (Muhammad, 2013). The unsafety for their life may also lead the victims to commit suicide either because of the guilt or fear of being killed (Coomaraswamy, 2005). These explain the higher tendency of honour suicides among women (Niaz, 2001).

The outcomes of these violent acts leave long lasting impacts on the mental wellbeing of victims. The aversive outcomes of honour killing are not only endured by women but children who experience domestic violence develop even higher risks for behavioral problems and imitate affirmative attitude towards honour killing (Muhammad, 2013). Therefore, it can be inferred that patriarchal mindset have larger impacts than mere contribution in the violent crimes.

Understanding honour killing and the associated multi factors further foster the idea to unearth attitudes and beliefs that enhance these killings. Currently, very limited literature (to the best of researcher's knowledge) entails the significant contributory factors that influence attitudes towards honour related crimes. Therefore, the following section examines the literature to understand attitudes towards honour killing.

Attitude towards Honour Killing

Attitudes are an integral part of individual's exhibition of behaviors as well as feelings and beliefs (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Attitudes are consistent with the actions or behaviors of individuals if they take responsibility of their own action (Myers, 1983, 2005) and tri-component attitude model refers attitude as cognitive, affective, and conative elements (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Regardless of the abundance of omnious findings, it is only recent that efforts have been made towards exploring attitudes towards honour killing through empirically valid researches (Khan, 2017).

In collectivistic cultures, honour crimes are committed to protect family honour and culprits do these so to conform to the attitudes and beliefs of their culture. “Psychologically oriented motivational model of honour based violence” (Robert. 2014) through its multifactor approach entails perspective of male and female on the endorsement of honour killings as a notion of family’s honour. Male’s and female’s attitude towards honour killing is quite relevant to administer as their response would determine their role as victim, culprit, witness, or instigator. This provides an indication of endorsement or deterrence towards honour based violence. For instance, if a person has inclination towards honour killing, then they will uphold the positive attitude and support honour based crimes even if they have been victimised (regardless of their gender). However, individuals who do not endorse honour based violence, will try to protect the victim from these crimes and seek help to do that (Khan, 2017).

It is important to highlight that culture and cultural norms influence the attitudes as literature suggests that traditionalism and chastity beliefs are significant predictors of positive attitude towards honour killing (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Similar results found in the study conducted in Pakistan identified that majority of the population justified honour killing and held a positive attitude towards this phenomenon (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). Such studies indicate that honour killing attitudes are internalized within traditional cultural views (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013).

Culture has been identified as an important and central concern for influencing cultural norms in number of researchers (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997; Pitt-Rivers, 1966). Cohen (1998) argued that cultural norms provide background of an individual’s environment; communicated and instilled in children by parents and family members through number of ways (for instance; during socialisation, religious teachings, and through social policies). Considering this, researchers (Hofstead, 2002; Triandis, 2002) highlights that all those behaviours that acknowledge cultural norms are rewarded and the contrary behaviours are punished with sanctions. Consequently, honour cultures tacitly support honour based violence with an absence to minimal punishments on honour crimes in the legal systems (Kulwicki, 2002). These cultural norms over the time plays an imminent role in developing personal or internal representation of appropriate and inappropriate behaviors (Triandis, 2002) and eventually these internal representations are reflected in individual’s beliefs and attitudes (Ajzen, 2001).

Bell, Halligen, and Ellis (2006) referred beliefs as the psychological state about the truth of a proposition and are the basic unit of thought processes. Likewise, in honour based violence, a father believes that a daughter should abide by his wishes and could be punished if she does not abide by. However, Eagly, and Chaiken (1998) stated attitudes as psychological states that evaluate objects be it a person, place, concept or behaviour, for example, favorable attitude towards violence committed in the name of honour or in other word family dishonour. Considering this, it can be inferred that both honour cultures and honour based violence committed by male members of society (against women) are quite consistent with each other as both justify violent behaviors through gender role attitudes and control over women. Leung and Cohen (2011) further highlight that culture in itself cannot foster attitudes and beliefs related to honour killing rather depends on multiple factors including exposure to other cultural norms, values and norms of peers and family members, as well as an individual's will to accept the norms of dominant cultures (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Burke (2004) further argues that acceptance of dominant cultural norms depends on individuals; as some adopt it to become an important part of that culture, some adopt to the cultural attitudes and beliefs to a lesser extent and some do not accept them. Therefore, the explanation of HBV and acceptance towards honour crimes can be explained (at least partially) through individual difference and that different individuals have different acceptance towards these crimes (despite exposure to similar culture) (e.g. Kulwicky, 2002; Palo, 2008). These findings support the contention that attitudes supportive of honour based violence are likely to occur across many collectivist communities (Brandon & Hafez, 2008). A study based on hypothetical scenarios conducted on Turkish and Italian samples was used to identify the differences in attitudes of people from individualistic culture (Italy) and collectivistic culture (Turkey). The results indicated that significantly higher number of participants' belonged to collectivistic culture approved and justified honour killing as compared to Italian participants (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014).

Perpetrators' Motivation and Attitudes towards Honour Killing

The perpetrator's motivation and attitudes towards this crime also adds in to the understanding of this phenomenon. A study (Gill, Strange, & Roberts, 2014), identified that convicts of honour killing proudly confessed their crime as many of them believe that killing for regaining individual or collective honour is a noble act. A study

conducted in Turkey to explore the dynamics of honour killing and the perpetrators' experiences indicated that perpetrators committed such murders out of self-defense and pressure from other important people. Moreover, cultural and normative pressure to uphold the self-image and reputation in the society was also a reason reported by the perpetrators (Dogan, 2016).

Above stated perspectives provide different explanations for the existence of honour killing in societies and how the attitudes and beliefs of people shaped by these various factors. To gain more understanding of honour killing and attitudes towards this issue it is imperative to find out different correlates associated with this phenomenon. It is evident in the literature that there are multiple psychosocial correlates associated with honour killing. Therefore, it was decided to explore the relationship of psychosocial variables in Pakistani population.

Psychosocial Correlates of Honour killing

Different researchers have made efforts to shed light on the socio-psychological variables associated with honour killing. Within this realm, gender role attitudes have been extensively studied (Ali, Krantz, Gul, Asad, Johansson, & Mogren, 2011; Esqueda, & Harrison, 2005; Hillier & Foddy, 1993), followed by traditional mindsets (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013) and hostile and intolerant behaviours. Thus, incidents of honour killing are result of intolerant and hostile behaviour towards premarital intimate relationships, extra martial affairs, and running-away from home. They consider these actions as sources of immense social dishonour which can only be recompensed by murdering the couple or a woman (Deol, 2014). In addition to gender role attitudes, and hostility several scholars have investigated the association between religiousness and domestic violence (Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner, 2004). These factors have been discussed in detail below:

Gender role attitudes and honour killing. It has been widely discussed in existing literature that the prevalence of honour killing and having attitudes supportive of honour killing are a part and parcel of belonging to collectivistic and patriarchal culture. This notion leads to the assumption that traditional and modern gender role attitudes would subsequently influence attitudes towards honour killing. Therefore, it is pertinent to explore gender role attitudes as predictor of honour killing attitudes. Gender roles are reflected through prevalent traditional and cultural norms of a society (Anila, 1992). However, gender roles are universally not practiced in a similar manner.

They differ according to the social context and individuals' experiences (Fields & Cochran, 2011).

Gender role attitudes define the appropriateness of roles for men and women. The conceptualisation of gender role attitude ranges from modern to traditional (Kamal & Saqib, 2004). Substantial evidence suggests what it means to be male or female is first instilled in children by parents; it is then internalized by the children (Santrock, 1994). Family is the first institution that teaches gender role attitudes to their children from an early age through different ways. This plays its part in gender-role development (Aziz & Kamal, 2012). Both boys and girls at an early age are being taught to choose colours and toys according to their gender. For example, girls are being taught to incline towards pink colour and boy towards blue colour. Thus, behavioural expectations from children are according to their gender (Thorne, 1993). Masculine and feminine traits are also derived from individual's gender role attitudes. There are traits that are masculine and considered appropriate for men and they are expected to behave accordingly (Konrad & Harris, 2002). However, it is not necessary that all gender roles that are either taught or expected by the society are considered healthier. In addition, gender roles vary culturally (Aziz & Kamal, 2012). In case of Pakistan, gender roles are built and derived from old traditional expectations from men and women. A Pakistani study elaborated that a woman's subservient position in Pakistan is maintained through generations, through submission to cultural and religious norms that are strengthened by families and extended families (Ali et al., 2011).

In Pakistan traditional gender roles are expected from females in all endeavours. Traditional gender roles for women are further strengthened by social and cultural norms of Pakistani society (Jalal, 1991). According to Mumtaz and Salway (2007), Pakistani society is deemed to be extremely patriarchal, with clearly defined gender roles for both men and women. Men are considered as primary bread earner for the family, and are the primary decision maker of the family, whereas, women are considered as homemakers who are economically dependent on men (Aurat Foundation, 2016). Women are expected to be in home and bow down to the family's decisions. This expectation from women is linked to family honour. For example, in Pakistan the expectation from women is to marry someone of their parents or elders choice. Thus, whenever women try to deviate from this expectation, they have to face violent consequences (Aurat Foundation, 2016). On the other hand, Read (2003) believed that

other than traditions and social values religiosity and ethnicity also influence in shaping men's and women's gender role attitudes. Haque (2010) also confirmed through her findings that, even though culture plays as a significant role in determining gender roles, but religion also reinforces traditional culture. In addition to it a study gathered data of 24 regions, highlighted few other factors such as education, family background, personal experiences as working women and cultural climate of their region that may influence gender role attitudes. The study further concluded that individuals with higher level of education and offsprings of working women support more egalitarian gender role attitudes (Boehnke, 2011). However, Pakistani study suggested that women have more modern gender role attitudes and men tend to have more traditional gender role attitudes (Aziz & Kamal, 2012). A study conducted in Pakistan confirmed that men with traditional gender role attitudes showed more acceptance towards myths related to violence against women such as rape myths as compared to women (Ahmed & Kamal, 2000).

Furthermore, literature indicated that traditional gender role attitudes and masculine ideology is associated with use of violence against women. Literature has further confirmed that men with more traditional gender role attitudes are more likely to practice domestic violence (Heise, 1998). It is well established in the light of literature discussed above that societies following honour based culture foster traditional gender roles. The traditional gender roles expected men to be tough, and aggressive towards insults, and sensitive towards threats to their family reputation, while women are expected to be modest, shy, obedient and avoidant of any sexual behaviours (Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

Honour killing is widespread in cultures where women's lives and rights are confined under strict traditional gender roles. For example in Turkey violence in the name of honour is considered a social problem. Women deviating from prescribed gender roles may be punished (Masood & Kamal, 2009; Ugurlu & Akbas, 2013). Similarly, in Pakistan women are expected to behave in accordance with their prescribed gender roles. For example, women living alone, doing late hour jobs, selecting their life partners on their own are considered in deviation from cultural norms. In these circumstances if women face accidental situations like harassment and rape, then they are blamed by the society and punished for tarnishing the family honour. Male students were more likely to believe that strong character of a woman would supposedly

shield her from the advances of a rapist. Moreover, study also established that male students believed that women are less likely to become victim of rape and violence if they are confined in the boundaries of their homes (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010).

It is also significant to note that internalisation of gender prescribed roles and attitudes sometimes become a cause of acceptance of violence among people themselves. A research found out that gender roles influence women's attitudes towards acceptance of violence against themselves as well. Women usually blame themselves for the abuse and hardly report violence related incidence to authorities. Women are being taught to be obedient and submissive towards their partners, and they are adjusted to place their partner's needs above their own needs (Firestone & Vega, 2005). A cross cultural study identified that attitudes towards the acceptance of honour killing is linked with gender roles expectations as well (Caffaro, Ferrari, & Schmidt, 2014). Findings of the study conducted in Turkey elaborated that women tend to have more egalitarian attitudes towards conceptualisation of honour, as compared to men (Gursoy & Arslan, as cited in Kumcagiz & Dadashzadeh, 2017). Thus, gender role attitudes are an important variable that aids an understanding and determining people's beliefs about violence against women (Masood & Kamal, 2009; Willis, Hallinan, & Melby, 1996). However, a small part of literature also discussed that industrialized countries have shifted their focus towards modern gender role attitude in the last 50 years (Boehnke, 2011).

Literature further confirmed that individuals with traditional gender roles attitudes were more likely to have affirmative beliefs towards violence against women. Individuals carried egalitarian attitudes showed less positive attitudes towards physical and verbal aggression, as compared to individuals who held traditional gender role attitudes Nayak, et al. (2003). Therefore, it can be deduced in the light of previous literature that violence against women is driven by gender norms that normalisation of these attitudes (Ali et al 2017). The current study intends to explore the manifestation of gender role attitudes and its association with honour killing in Pakistan.

Honour killing and religiosity. All major religions of the world teach and emphasise equality of human beings. However, misinterpretations of religion and lack of religious knowledge lead to believe in patriarchy and superiority of men (Hadi, 2017). However, it is also a fact that the synthesis of Islamic beliefs with local cultures

develops different gender-based expressions. In addition to intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations, quest religiosity is considered as an important form of religiousness (Batson & Stocks, 2005).

Research studies have identified a relationship between religiousness and domestic violence (Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner, 2004). However, few empirical studies, reported mix findings related to the relationship between honour killing, violence against women and religiousness. In Pakistan honour killing is often associated with religion. However, Islam does not confer anybody to kill anyone even in the name of honour under the guise of religion. In Pakistan honour killing is associated with religion because few religious clerics sanction such killing. Therefore, it is to be believed that people who hold strong religious beliefs would also have acceptance for honour killing (Muhammad, Ahmed, Abdullah, Omer, & Shah, 2012). It is found in Turkish society that 75% of population is Muslim but their religious interpretations vary in keeping with the Islamic sect they follow and the way they interpret religion. Since a huge percentage of honour killings in the modern world occur in the Muslim countries, therefore people are divided and confused about whether specific Islamic traditions sanction honour killing or not (Oberwittler & Kasselt, 2014).

Some authors have argued that harsh punishments such as honour killing on moral and sexual transgression are prescribed by Sharia law. Although religion and religious beliefs have been connected with honour killing, but empirical findings based on a Muslim sample from Jordan, suggests that religious beliefs are not a significant predictor for positive attitude towards honour killing (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Similarly, researches identified the role of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity as a non-significant predictor of domestic violence attitudes. However, the results of previous research did identify relationship between significant correlations between an intrinsic or extrinsic religious orientation and attitudes toward women (St. Lawrence & Joyner, 1991). The research conducted by Korteweg and Yurdakul (2010), discussed that role of religion has lot to do with genesis of honour killing. Particularly, the concern is whether honour killing is sanctioned by Islamic religion or it is an outcome of patriarchy and oppressive practices against women sanctioned by culture (Chesler, 2010). Thus, confusion persists in the literature as well regarding association of honour killing with Islamic religion despite the fact that Islam does not confer murder under any context. However, strict punishments are suggested in Islamic religion for moral

transgression. Therefore, it can be deduced that mix patterns are available with reference to the association between honour killing and religion.

Hostility-intolerance influence in honour killing. Aggressive behaviors and beliefs are an outcome of hostile thoughts and attributions (Eckhardt, Norlander, & Deffenbacher, 2004). Researchers believed that number of honour killing increased in last two decades. In addition to it, researchers believed that acceleration of honour killing is perhaps a function of extremism and fundamentalist attitude (Chesler, 2010). Hostility and intolerant attitude leads the family members to execute honour killing against the woman who brought dishonour to the family either by involvement in the intimate relationships, elopements or secret marriages of their daughters. Family perceived such incidents as, a considerable familial and social dishonour that can only be regained by killing the accused (Deol, 2014). Numerous studies conducted on intimate partner violence demonstrated that hostility is positively associated with honour killing (Elmquist, et al., 2016). Intolerant attitudes of family towards choice marriage, love marriages, marriage outside caste and premarital friendships become the major cause for honour killing (Deol, 2014). Research studies conducted in India pointed out that intolerant attitude towards premarital relationships and inter-caste marriages results in honour killing. In literature the notion of hostility is more associated with males as compared to females. Moreover, it was also identified that men containing sexist and hostile attitudes are more likely to commit violence against women than men with more impartial attitudes (Flood, 2010). Nolander and Eckhardt, (2005) conducted a study on the perpetrators of domestic and intimate partner violence found out positive relationship between hostility and physical intimate partner violence. Thus, existing literature confirms that hostility is a risk factor for physical intimate partner violence (Capaldi et al., 2012).

Many a times researches have explored a number of constructs with reference to various demographic variables as they also add in the understanding of the issue. In the following section, the literature will be assessing honour killing in light of some of the most relevant demographic features (as highlighted by literature).

Attitudes and Beliefs about Honour killing in the Light of Demographic Variables

The demographic variables like gender, (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014) age (Kardam, Alpar, Yuksel& Ergun (2005) area of residence i.e. rural and urban (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Rehman, 2009;), family system (Calik, Demerbag, Bulut, & Demirdag, 2017), marital status (Oyediran & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2005) and education (Rahim, Jehangir & Holden, 2016) are considered to be important demographic factors influencing the attitudes and beliefs towards honour killing. Findings from the literature revealed that honour killing in Pakistan is one of the expressions of a patriarchal, feudal and tribal mind-set and this mind-set prevails across class, education, socioeconomic status. Thus, patriarchal and conservative attitude towards women specifically are embedded in the social and cultural fabric of a society. Moreover, it is acquired and learned through family, religion, educational curriculum, and media (Bhanbro, Wassan, Shah, Talpur, & Wassan, 2013). However, literature has widely discussed and emphasized to explore honour killing with reference to different demographic variables. Therefore, the interplay of these demographics with honour killing is explored in the current research. Thus, the role of following demographics in the light of relevant literature has been explained in this section.

Gender. Gender and gender role attitudes are studied extensively to understand its role and relationship with violence against women (Esqueda & Harrison, 2005). Studies have confirmed that men and women perceive domestic violence differently (Seelau & Seelau, 2005). Gender is considered as the most significant confounding factor in the attitudes and perceptions of honour-based violence (Kaya & Turan, 2018). Gender alone has been considered as a significant predictor for justifying the violence against women (El-Abani & Pourmehdi, 2018). Therefore, in this present study, data were categorized in consideration of the variable of gender while examining the attitudes of individuals towards honour killing. According to Frieze and Li, (2010) Literature research pattern shows that men have more favorable beliefs towards violence. A recent study found out that women are being more involved in perpetrating honour based killing than any other form of domestic violence (Bates, 2018). The myth in honour killing cases that only men are involved in perpetrating honour killing, their findings conveyed that in honour killing cases role of women as complicit has been evident in the literature as well (Khan, 2018). It is important to mention that majority

of the literature indicated that men are mostly involved in committing the murder against women and they carry more affirmation of honour killing. A study conducted in student sample by Gursoy et al. (2014) found out more traditional attitudes of men towards honour concept as compared to women. A study conducted by Can and Edirne (2011) to examine the attitude towards honour killing of male and female students of nursing department identified that as compared to female students, male students showed more stricter and conservative attitudes towards honour killing. Thus, it can be concluded that gender has an impact on perception towards honour based violence. Furthermore, a study of similar nature conducted to identify gender difference in the attitudes towards domestic violence against women among Libyan migrants, found out that men believed that violence against women is a personal and family issue instead of social issue (El-Abani & Pourmehdi, 2018). Unfortunately, in the scenario of honour killing it is also seen as a family matter therefore, most of the time family do not inform about the murder to law enforcement agencies.

Contrary to the above-mentioned facts, literature also claims that less clear patterns on gender based differences are observed on honour related violence, wife beating and domestic violence (Archer & Haigh, 1997). A survey based study conducted on the sample from Islamabad (Pakistan) found out that majority of men and women believed that it is justified to kill a woman to protect honour. However, lesser number of participants believed that men should forgive wife, when they find her guilty (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). A study conducted in two cultures Turkey and Italy has found out that Turkish men attribute less severe punishment to the culprit (the one who killed) than Turkish women (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014).

Similarly, a study conducted on the sample taken from Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, and India to investigate the honour based abuse among these nations. The gender differences were hypothesized, and it was found out that more male than females carried honour adhering attitudes (Lowe, Khan, Thanzami, Barzy, & Karmaliani, 2018). With the belief that young Jordanian boys carried supportive attitude towards honour killing when compared to adolescent Jordanian girls, it was found that boys showed more supportive attitudes towards honour killing than Jordanian girls (Eisner & Gunheim, 2013). The pro violence attitude of men as compared to women is also a reflection of conservatism and strong advocacy of patriarchal traditions and this notion is confirmed by the findings of a study conducted on the people of Islamabad (Pakistan)

where they found out that men carried significantly more conservative and positive attitude towards honour killing than women (Shaikh, Kamal, & Naqvi, 2015). Rahim, Jehangir, and Holden (2016) conducted a study on participants from Peshawar province and also identified that men are more positive and justified honour killing as compared to women in Pakistan.

Similarly, few other studies identified that male students as compared to female students believed that virginity of a woman at time of marriage is utmost importance (Taskin, 2007; Zeyneloğlu, Kısa, & Yılmaz, 2013). In addition to it few other studies conducted by Gürsoy and Vural (2003) discussed that nursing students and nurses supported the idea that the woman should be a virgin when she gets married. On the other hand, despite the gender difference in the responses to the question of honour, it is seen in studies that, at present and to a significant extent, a woman's honour is evaluated traditionally and is associated with her sexuality. In contrast, men's virginity at the time of marriage is not discussed and judged by people. Societies that keep strict gender roles for women, gender inequality and consider that honour of a man is dependent upon the character and behavior of his woman hardly elaborate on the importance of men's virginity.

A large volume of findings in the literature have also suggests that gender differences are not very vibrant or less clear related to HBV, and IPV (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014). A study conducted by of Haj-Yahia and Uysal (2008) indicated less clear pattern of gender differences on attitude towards wife beating. In particular, the study of Haj-Yahia (2002) showed that majority of Jordanian women believed that, wife beating is justified, and attribute blame to women. Conclusively, in the light of previous literature, it is safe to say that gender plays an integral role in understanding attitudes and perception towards honour killing.

Education. Along with other social demographics education is also considered as an important predictor and a cause of violence against women. It has been identified that men with low level of education, income and occupation are more likely to indulge in violence against women (Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1982). Feminist theorists also believed that the more education level women will have the less they have to face violence against them (Yodanis, 2004). Literature has suggested that level of education does determine attitudes towards honour killing (Gibbs, Said, Corboz, & Jewkes, 2019). Thus, it is significant of explore the role of education in honour killing attitudes. In

addition to this, parental education is also a significant demographic that plays a crucial role in determining attitudes towards honour killing among children (Gürsoy & Özkan, 2014). Similarly, Zeyneloğlu, Kısaoğlu, and Yılmaz (2013) have also observed that students' attitudes towards social gender roles became more positive and equitable as the mother's educational level increased. This shows that both preventing violence and ensuring gender equality may be possible through the education of women. Whereas, another study conducted by Shaikh (2014) on Muslim American women recognised that education can play a key role in eradication of honour killing.

A study recently conducted by (Rahim, Jehangir, & Holden, 2016) in Pakistan on general population from Peshawar, found out that level of education does make a difference in attitude of people; the study concluded that people with higher level of education have negative or unfavourable attitudes towards honour killing. Nasrullah, Haqqi, and Cummings (2009) revealed that low education level is associated with positive attitude towards honour killing. (Haj-Yahia, 2002) conducted a study on Arab husbands and identified that husband with low level of education tend to justify wife beating.

Researches further indicated that low level of education is associated with pro-violent attitudes toward domestic violence. The lower the education level is, the higher the probability of pro-violent attitudes (Yoshioka et al., 2001). Kogacioglu (2004) also indicated that young women with early age marriage along with low level of education become frequent victims of honour killing. This is further supported by an empirical study conducted by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) on adolescence of Jordan whose attitude towards honour killing were explored and findings indicated that male member with lower education backgrounds are more positive towards honour killing (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). In addition, Kaya, and Turan (2018) mentioned that the number of perpetrators and victims of honour killing increased as the educational level decreased; that not only women but also men could be aggrieved in custom and honour killing.

In case of Pakistan, research studies have established that lack of education has a lot to do with honour killing. For both men and women development education plays a role of active agent. Research findings highlighted significant association of honour killing with lack of education (Bangash, Khan, & Marwat, 2018). Likewise, (Rahim, Jehangir, & Holden, 2016) stated in their findings that people who had higher education level had more negative attitudes towards honour killing.

However, it is also important to mention here that contrasting findings are also present in the literature where attitude towards honour killing were administered on student sample and the findings suggests that the level of education had not been a significant contributor towards honour killing (Llic, 2016). In the light of literature, it has been established that education has remained an important variable in relation with honour killing and attitudes associated with it. Therefore, present study also aimed to explore the role of education on attitudes of people towards honour killing.

Area of residence (rural and urban). Living area or set up of individuals either in rural or urban set up defines their area of residence (Madan, 2013). Irrespective of area of residence, Pakistani women become victims of violence based crimes, Rehman (2009) highlighted rape and female genital mutilation, acid attacks, and domestic violence among few of them. Nonetheless, young unmarried women from rural and isolated areas, with traditional customs are traded to settle debts (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Shaheed, 1990). The plausible explanation of the persistent higher rates of honour killing in rural areas might be scarce economy and less community interference of women in villages than in big cities (Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2013).

Gadit and Patel (2008) illustrated that premeditated honour killing like “*karo-kari*” are mostly common in tribal areas of Pakistan. Bhanbhro, Wassan, Shah, Talpur, and Wassan (2013) further highlighted the phenomenon of honour killings in the traditional Pakistani rural set up, they explained that cousin marriage and marrying with in the community / tribe / clan (endogamy) is practiced to maintain patriarchy in the Pakistani society. If and when a women uses her right to marry in her own choice, she will be labelled as “*kari*” and will be murdered because of her crime committed against the values of the community. This is of pertinent importance for Pakistan as more than 70 % of its population reside in the rural settings and are vulnerable due to higher influx of honour killings in these areas (Essays, 2018; Taipei, 2004). This might be due to low literacy rates in these areas, as highlighted by Nasraullah, Haqi, and Cummings (2009). A recent study (Çalik, Demirbag, Bulu, & Demirdağ. 2016) concluded that area of residence contribute significantly in establishing the construct of honour as those living / belonging from rural areas scored higher than the city people.

Nonetheless, area of residence has significant contribution in building the attitudes and perception of honour killing as eventually the crimes committed against

honour along with other demographic factor i.e. gender, age, marital and socio-economic status (Kaya & Turan, 2018).

Age. Literature identified age as a significant contributor in determining the attitudes and perception of individuals towards honour killing (Kaya & Turan, 2018). Findings of a Turkish research (Kardam, Alpar, Yuksel, & Ergun, 2005) indicated that the honour killing phenomenon varies across number of factors including age, socio economic and educational status. Honour killings are not restricted to certain age; however, Semahegn and Mengistie (2015) highlighted that women aged between 18 and 23 are more vulnerable to honour crime (including sexual violence) as compared to men. In Bangladesh, Hadi (2000) concluded that women between 20 – 29 years of age are more vulnerable for sexual abuse. Likewise in Turkey (Kardam, Alpar, Yuksel, & Ergun, 2005) highlighted that demographics have significant contribution in determining attitudes towards honour killings or honour related crimes. Similarly, in Pakistan, Jasam (2011) explained that women of all age groups are at risk of honour related crimes.

Domestic violence research has focused mainly on the relationships until recently, the focus shifted towards different age groups of women. Few researches (Harris, 1996; Sutor, Pillemer, & Straus, 1990) elaborated that domestic abuse affects younger women as compared to women of other age groups. However, literature (American Association of Retired Persons [AARP], 1993; Brandl & Raymond, 1997; Vinton, 1991; Wolf & Pillemer, 1997) further established that middle and older women are also vulnerable to interpersonal violence. Thus, literature reported mixed findings with reference to age, therefore, variable of age has been selected to explore its relationship with honour killing in the current study.

Marital status. Honour killing is driven by patriarchy, controlling of female sexuality and enforcement of male power towards both single and married women. Literature has established that marital status is a significant socio-demographic factor that influences the attitudes and beliefs towards honour killing (Oyediran & Isiugo-Abanihe, 2005). The concept of honour is deeply embedded among fathers, brothers and husbands. Transgression of honour is unacceptable for both single and married women. However, literature related to violence against women indicated married individuals showed favorable attitude towards violence against as compared to single individuals (Uthman, Lawoko, & Moradi, 2009). In case of Pakistan cheating in

a marital relationship is violation of marital bond. Therefore, both men and women considered extramarital affair as worthy of killing in the name of honour. Extra marital affair and infidelity both by men and women is considered culturally unacceptable. Honour killing are justified by men either married or unmarried men for the violation of honour code and transgression of gender roles displayed by women. However, studies elaborated that single men showed less positive attitudes towards honour killing as compared to married men. Similarly, marital status of a women is also related to violence experienced by them. It has been established that married women become victim of violence by men more as compared to single women. Extramarital affairs and infidelity are considered extreme offenses, and thereby treating with violence under such circumstances is considered justified (Cohen, 2003). It is unacceptable for husbands to bear the burden of deception by wife. Henceforth, married men carried more favorable attitudes towards honour killing.

Family system (joint and nuclear). The family system is an essential and integral feature of Muslim/ Arab societies (Barakat, 1993). The role of family in transmitting values cannot be ignored. Pakistan is a collectivistic society, thus, the role and involvement of family members in Pakistani society is comparatively more than other developed countries. Literature has pinpointed the significance of exploring the role of different family system (nuclear and joint) in determining and developing of attitudes towards honour killing (Kaya & Turan, 2018). Mainly two types of family systems are discussed in the literature. In joint/ extended family system, parents, children, grandparents and paternal and maternal uncles and aunts are living under one roof, whereas, in a nuclear family system a couple along with their legal children live under a roof. Joint/ extended family system is least widespread these days. Modernisation and urbanisation has degenerated the extended family system and rise the concept of nuclear family system (Bongaarts, 2001).

Literature has also indicated that the variable of family system has an important role in the development of attitude towards honour killing. The study concluded that the reason of more traditional perception of honour among men in the sample is because most of them were living in extended /joint family setups (Kaya & Turan, 2018). Calik, Demerbag, Bulut, and Demirdag (2017) found that individuals living in joint family system showed more positivity towards violence. In the study of Bansal, Dixit, Shivram, Pandey and Saroshe (2014), 60% domestic violence is experienced in joint families and

40% in Nuclear families. A study conducted in Turkey found out that family system (nuclear and joint) has a strong impact on the perception of honour (Kaya & Turan, 2018). Family system has been considered as an important variable. It has an impact on violence against women but limited empirical evidence can be found out on with reference to family system. Thus, present study has also included this demographic variable.

Review of Empirical Researches Conducted in Pakistan to Understand Honour Killing in the Past Decade

Honour killing in context of Pakistan is discussed extensively in this section. In addition to that it is also pertinent to review the latest empirical literature available in context of honour killing in Pakistan. The review would further strengthen the need to carry out present research.

A recent study conducted by Robina and Nawaz (2020) discusses the role of *jirgas* and *panchayats* as precursor of honour killing in Pakistan. The study has discussed the negative role of *jirgas* and *panchayats* in perpetuating honour killing in the Pakistani society. Researcher has elaborated that the women in Pakistan specifically of rural origin become victim of verdict given by *jirgas* and *panchayats* leaders. Despite the fact that number of honour killing cases and other form of violence against women are repeatedly reported in the print and electronic media, but no serious efforts have been initiated in criminalising these parallel legal systems in the country. The author has further discussed the extra social significance given to the word *izzat* (honour) in Pakistan. Although every individual of the family is responsible to maintain family respect, but women are perceived as their honour belong to men. Therefore, failure to maintain honour, results in violence. The author discussed that how women are still facing oppression and violence for many years. Women are still not allowed to exercise their choices for example right to marry. In the year 2014, a woman had been stoned to death outside Lahore high court for contracting love marriage. The researcher highlighted that favorable attitudes along with other factors such as poverty, illiteracy, complex procedure of reporting in the police, delayed justice are all these factors that strengthen the role of local justice system comprising of village leaders in the form of *jirgas* and *panchayats*. Study concluded that the intense violation of women's rights requires the attention of government, parliament, legal and justice system.

A study carried out by Hongdao, Khaskheli, Saleem, Mapa, and Bibi (2018) addressed the recently occurred cases of honour killing, reasons behind honour killing and review of efforts that are being made to reduce honour killings. The study was descriptive in nature. The study has identified various causes such as poverty, lack of education, tribal mindset, seeking divorce etc as the main reasons for honour killing in Pakistan. The study has further discussed that mere suspicion of women in any activity that is against the norms of the family and community is enough for honour killing. The results of the study further discussed the deficiencies in the amendments in 2004 act made for honour killing. For example, wavier and compoundability of the offense is the major advantage given to culprits of honour killing. Similarly, the study has reviewed number of cases reported in the past decade. Moreover, the study has discussed that efforts have been made by the government in 2016 to curb honour killings, but still lacunas persist in the 2016 act of honour killing as well. The study concluded that lacunas in the law need serious review and revisions along with that mindset of the society. Efforts should be made to maintain gender equality in Pakistan to deal with such issues.

Another study has been conducted by Rahim, Jehangir, and Zeb (2018) to explore attitudes towards honour killing. The study evaluated the attitudes through their newly developed measure of honour killing. The measure was scenario based and scenarios were based on cases published in print and electronic media. The psychometrics were developed on the sample of general population of Peshawar city. The study further identified demographics based group differences on honour killing. Various significant group differences were reported by her study such as significant gender based differences. The study however lacks generalizability, and lack indepth qualitative exploration for scenario development. Due to the lack of well- established qualitative part it was difficult to understand the basis of attitudes towards honour killing.

An interesting study was conducted by Raza and Liaquat in (2016) to compare the manifestation of honour killing of women in two main stream Urdu language newspapers (*Jang and Khabrain*). Content analysis was conducted to analyse the content of news related to honour killings. The study identified frequency of honour killing news presented in these newspapers. Furthermore, study analysed the issues presented in the newspaper on which honour killings were committed such as (how

many times honour killings for arranged marriages were reported in the newspapers). The study explored an important dimension but has not discussed the presentation of news, wordings and the content written on women who have been killed for being involved in an activity against the societal norms. Furnishing evidence on manifestation and projection of news regarding women in Pakistan are of paramount importance as ethical concerns related to media can only be dealt after in-depth exploration of issues pertaining to media houses. The study itself highlighted the need of indepth qualitative exploration to identify themes that could help in guiding the ethics and sensitivity to reporters to address news related to women in Pakistan.

A study was conducted by Malik (2014) on honour killing in Pakistan. The study has elaborated the prevalence of honour killing in Sindh and Baluchistan (Pakistan). The study has discussed various cases that occurred on honour killing in Pakistan in past years, on account of being involved in immoral activities. On the basis of the findings, the study has highlighted the importance of amendment in legislature related to honour killing. In addition to that the study has stressed upon the importance of training of police officials and law enforcement agencies. The study further discouraged the importance given to the verdict of *jirgas* and *panchayats* on honour killing cases which is quite prevalent in rural areas. The study has also condemned the practice of compromising women to settle personal disputes of two parties or families. The study stressed the need to evaluate the factors that are responsible for positive and favorable attitudes towards honour killing in Pakistan.

An ethnographic study was conducted by Bhanbhro, Wassan, Shah, and Talpur (2013). The fieldwork of the study was conducted in Jaccobabad (Sindh, Pakistan). The data was collected through informal group discussion, interviews and later formal interviews with potential participants were conducted. The major contribution of the study was that it has highlighted the negative role of feudal structure, feudal mindset, role of feudal lords and complicit role of police and judiciary in perpetuating honour killing. Consensus has been made among participants that feudal structure in the area is the major root cause of honour killings in Jacobabad. Despite identifying some major factors responsible for honour killing, there were still limitations of the study that cannot be ignored. The study was conducted on small scale, and only the perceptive of the villagers were included. The perspective of feudal lords of that area, police officials

and social workers are lacking. Their perspective is important to understand their attitudes and complicit nature towards honour killing.

A study conducted by Muhammad, Ahmed, Abdullah, Omer, and Shah (2012) explored honour killing in Pakistan through Islamic perspective. The study was descriptive in nature. The author attempted to elaborate the perspective of Islam on honour killing in the light of Quranic verses and *Hadith*. The study has elaborated the perspective of Islam with regards to women. The study has further furnished evidence regarding misinterpretation of Islam in honour killing. The study has tried to give sufficient evidences through Quranic verses and hadith in which murder has been stated as a sin. The study puts forth the effort to communicate correct Islamic teachings so that honour killing should not be associated with Islam. The study has further emphasised that correct and factual Islamic teachings should be taught and publicised. People have emotional attachment with religion but honour killing must not be associated with religion so that people can use it as a tool to get away with their vested interests. Moreover, the study has highlighted the importance of Quran and *Sunnah* that guided individuals to not to take law in their hands.

A study was conducted by Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal and Masood (2010) to measure the attitude of general population of Islamabad towards honour killing. The attitudes were measured through a vignette. Convenient sampling technique was employed to collect the data from various public places of Islamabad such as markets. The results of the study indicated that 57% of total participants believed honour killing committed by man is justified when he found his partner being immorally involved with someone else. The results of the study concluded that majority of the men and women believed that honour killing is a justifiable act. To safeguard one's honour it is acceptable to kill the one who has challenged the honour. The study was conducted through a cross sectional survey in which psychometrically sound measure has not been used. The study itself stressed the need to measure attitudes and opinions of people in Pakistan towards honour killing. For establishing preventive strategies, it is pivotal for government to measure attitudes of people through more sound and reliable method on an extensive scale. Furthermore, the study has given suggestion to the government of Pakistan that data and statistics on honour killings need to be collected in a manner that makes the core issues visible.

Measures of Honour Killing Available in Pakistan and Globally

Despite the fact that the number of honour killings in Pakistan are increasing every year, there are very limited number of empirical research studies on honour killing in the context of Pakistan. Understanding attitudes of the general public towards honour killing are key in decoding the social- cultural triggers and context in which violence in the name of honour occurs (Copp, Giordano, Longmore, & Manning, 2016; Gracia, Rodriguez, & Lila, 2015; Waltermaurer, 2012). Given the imperative role public attitudes play in the prevalence and expression of honour killing, it is imperative to develop culturally ingrained tools to objectively measure the phenomenon. Given the growing interest in honour killing lately, few researchers have attempted to develop instrument to explore different aspects of honour killing in their relevant society.

Attitude towards honour killing scale (Rahim, Jehangir, & Zeb, 2018).

This measurement is based on ten scenarios. The items of the scale were measured on murderers, honour killers and general population of Khyber Pakhtunkha province of Pakistan. The newly developed measure has gone through exploratory, confirmatory and other psychometric analysis. The alpha reliability of the scale was .80. The results of the study indicated that as compared to women, the men in general, murderers and honour killers showed more favourable attitudes towards different scenarios of honour killing. However, with reference to Pakistan, only one scenario-based instrument has been developed by Rahim, Jehangir, and Zeb (2018), that too has its own limitations. This scenario based items in the scale are solely based on incidents reported in print and electronic media, and lacks indepth investigation of the phenomenon in Paksitan.

To the best of researchers' knowledge so far this is the only scenario-based scale available in Pakistan to measure attitudes towards honour killing and that has been recently published. However, it is important to mention that although the scale developed by Rahim, Jehangir, and Zeb (2018) is relevant to Pakistani context, but it has been published in 2018 when the researcher of present study had already developed likert type and scenario based scales to measure attitude and beliefs towards honour killing. The items of the likert type scale were related to multi-dimensional perspective in which attitudes are measured through items related to law, religion, media and society.

Honour killing attitude scale (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Another scale that aims at assessing honour killing amongst Jordanian youth was developed by Eisner and

Ghuneim (2013). The Honour Killing Attitudes Scale (HKA) comprises of 4 items that ask respondents to rate the degree to which they think it is acceptable for a man to kill his sister, daughter or wife in the name of preserving honour and whether they think the concept is acceptable as a whole. The items were presented to the participants as a part of a 13-item set that presented a number of scenarios involving the murder of people. Unfortunately, the information regarding validity and reliability of this honour killing is unavailable. The detailed information on the scale is derived from personal communication through email.

Perception of honour killing scenarios (Caffaro, Ferrari, & Schmidt, 2014).

This instrument is based on three hypothetical scenarios. The questionnaire was developed following the general structure of the questionnaire used by Gölge et al. (2003). The scale was developed to measure the attribution of responsibility given to the assailant and blameworthiness to victim. The three honour killing scenarios were created by researchers i.e., (Caffaro, Ferrari, & Schmidt, 2014) by varying the “degree of victim blameworthiness” and “publicity of adultery” (increasing level of “victim blameworthiness” and “decreasing degree of publicity” from scenarios 1 to 3). Each scenarios has four options i.e., 0= not at all responsible to 4=totally responsible. Thus, the limitation of the scale is that factor analysis and psychometrics of the scale has not been carried out. Moreover, the scale is translated in Italian and adapted in Turkish language. Therefore, it was not appropriate to be administered on Pakistani culture nor used to establish validity (convergent and divergent) with present scale.

Attitudes towards violence against women for protecting honour scale (AVWPHSIşık & Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2009). This scale consists of 14 items. The aim of this scale is to assess attitudes regarding honour killing as well as attitudes towards other forms of violence (verbal and physical) and violence against women for protecting honour. Respondents were asked to indicate their response on a 6-point Likert-type scale. The high scores obtained from the scale reflect the positive attitude towards violence against women for honour. Işık and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2009) reported that Cronbach Alpha was .91, presenting a perfect value for internal consistency of AVWPHS. The validity of the scale was established on student sample. Moreover, author also mentioned in a personal communication (email) that these scales are not translated in English and have not published yet.

Rationale of the Present Study

Due to rapid advancements and the enhancement of global infrastructures, many social problems, including violence against women especially honour killing, seem to be reported more recurrently than past times (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). Unfortunately, Pakistan has the highest number of honour killing recorded every year (Manzoor, 2019). Patriarchal mindset and low conviction rates further reflects tolerance towards honour killing in Pakistan (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). Despite the enormity of the practice, the authorities have failed to take stern action in this regard. Moreover, the subject of honour killing is still under-researched, that leads to several misunderstandings about the phenomenon and contextual factors related to honour killing remain unclear. Present study thus, aims to fill this research gap by understanding honour killing and its contextual and causative factors that encompasses this issue. This phenomenon has mostly remained a matter of attention for the social activists and NGOs. However, more recently, empirical research has begun to explore the various perspectives of honour killing (Sheikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2014; Sheikh, Kamal, & Naqvi, 2015; Gibbs, Said, Corboz, & Jewkes, 2019; Rahim, Jehangir & Holden, 2018; Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014). Although these studies investigated attitudes and factors associated with honour killing, yet this phenomenon has not been examined in depth, despite its magnitude and consistency. Thus, an attempt has been made to unearth factors associated with honour killing and to conceptualise and understand the phenomenon regarding loopholes and mindset of institutions in order to address the inflated figures of honour killing in Pakistan. In present research, honour killing will be examined extensively (both qualitatively and quantitatively) and the motivation that stemmed from the limited number of empirical research studies and theories addressing the phenomenon of honour killing (particularly with reference to Pakistan). Preliminary literature review has helped in understanding and identifying the gaps in the literature. It was particularly noticed that abundant literature is based on other countries such as Turkey, India, and Italy etc. Culture and practices of these countries are different from Pakistan except for few aspects such as Turkey is also considered as a collectivistic society. Scarcity of local literature is evident.

No comprehensive theory was available to explain honour killing to the best of researchers' knowledge. Thus, a local study is needed that could discuss micro and macro level factors related to honour killing. A need for local and comprehensive

theory is also necessary, because the researches cited in the introduction chapter clearly demonstrated that Pakistan is among one of those countries where extensive number of women are being killed in the name of honour every year. Nonetheless, it is essential to understand honour killing, its dynamics, attitudes of people towards honour killing, the responses regarding attribution of responsibility in honour killing cases and perpetuating factors responsible for honour killing. Efforts regarding policy making and intervention to combat honour killing can only be done by gaining indepth understanding of the issue in Pakistani context.

Attitudes are considered to be important components that contribute in shaping up behaviors (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Researches have addressed that negative attitude of various facets of society towards victim and survivor of honour killing is a significant reason to understand the complexities pertaining to the prevention of this issue. Thus, present study aimed to extend the understanding and exploring attitudes of various professionals towards honour killing that cause hinderance in preventing the issue. Therefore, there is a dire need to understand attitudes of individual in a collectivistic culture (like Paksitan) where large number of people have tolerance towards this phenomenon and these tolerant cultural norms shape up individuals' attitudes towards acceptance of honour killing. It is imperative to do an indepth investigation of attitudes of Pakistani people. Hence, present research aims to explore attitudes, beliefs, perpetuating factors (such as religious, societal and legal) and attribution of responsibility people give in honour killing cases as it would help in understanding attitudes and examining the prevalence of honour killing on a wider scale in Pakistan.

Although the concept of honour has been explored by various studies but relatively few psychometrically sound scales are available to measure attitudes towards honour killing. Literature (Chapter 1) highlights lack of culturally relavent standardized instrument to measure the beliefs of people towards the causes associated with attitudes towards honour killing. Thus, it is important to develop a standardized measure to determine the attitude of diverse population towards honour killing phenomenon. Further, the present study aims to develop an instrument through indepth investigation of the phenomenon via qualitative approach to measure the attitudes towards honour killing from multi-dimensional lense (i.e., law, media, society, and religion). Additionally, the present research aims to validate the indigenous measure through

hostility in tolerance, religious influence in daily life activities, and gender role attitudes. This validation would furnish evidence of construct validity and explore the relationship of these correlates with reference to Pakistan.

The above-mentioned paragraphs illustrate the importance of factors associated with honour killing and the need to develop an indigenous measure. Literature further indicates along with the beliefs and attitudes of family, and community; it is equally important to measure attitudes of professionals working in a non governmental organization, social workers, healthcare, and law enforcement agency personnels who may come into contact with potential and actual victims of HBV (Aplin, 2017; Dickson, 2014; Adana et al. 2011;).

As it is highlighted in the literature that professionals are first in line whom victim contacts, therefore their response towards victims and survivors plays an important part (cCan & Edirne, 2011). Thereby, present research has also identified the need to assess the perspectives of professionals in the context of Pakistan. Attitudes of professionals are likely to have direct contact with honour killing victims/survivors in their practice and are thus, in a better position to provide help in emergency situations to victims and survivors vulnerable to honour killing (Khan, 2018). For instance, ineffective law enforcement and loopholes in justice department contribute tremendously to the existence of honour killing. In 2016, efforts had been initiated towards criminalizing this issue i.e. honour killing bill. However, no concrete results of these efforts can be seen as depicted from the statistics of these killing in Pakistan. Therefore, the focus of this study is to understand the attitudes and problems of the professionals working in these departments. Only through collective efforts of different institutions, the occurrence in these killing can be taken under control. Along with the professional's perspective, the comprehensive understanding of honour killing can not be achieved without exploring and understanding the perspective of murderer's who have committed honour killing. Furthermore, there is little or no information available regarding the motivation of murderers' behind honour killing. To the best of researcher's knowledge this kind of study has not been done earlier. Present study also aims to cater this perspective to address the paucity of literature and to understand the dynamics of honour killing in Pakistan through murderers' perspective.

Lastly, in collectivistic cultures (like Pkaistan), socio-demographic factors plays an imporatanat role in building attitudes and thereby influencing the behavior of

individuals. Keeping this in mind, the present research aims to investigate honour killing with reference to socio-demographic variables. To conclude, the present study is attempted to address all the gaps regarding this phenomenon because less attention has been given to this issue by researchers which has contributed to substantial gap in this area. Finally, by addressing these research gaps, the study aims to develop a more indepth and ecologically valid understanding of honour killing with reference to Pakistani cultural context. This study would further provide guideline to design effective interventions for all stakeholders.

Chapter II

RESEARCH DESIGN

Present research work is exploratory in nature and based on cross sectional research design. The research is divided into four studies. The details of each study is presented below.

The study I and II were carried out to qualitatively understand and explore the phenomenon of honour killing in the Pakistani context. The study I with professionals' and study II with murderers' perspective conducted through semi structured interviews. Following the grounded theory approach, at first interview guide was formulated based upon researcher's observation, literature review and few informal discussions with various individuals and general public for brain-storming. Whereas, second qualitative study was based on murderers' perspective. Semi structured interviews were conducted with the murderers' in jail. The details of interview guide employed in the second study have been mentioned in the relevant section. Furthermore, study III comprised of scale development, their psychometric establishment and study IV was based on validation of scales through confirmatory factor analysis, convergent and discriminant validity, along with testing of hypotheses formulated for the study based on correlates and demographic variables.

Study I

Understanding and Exploration of Honour Killing phenomenon in Pakistani Context. Study I was carried out to explore and take indepth understanding of the the nature of honour killing phenomenon in Pakistani context. Honour killing is widely present in Pakistani society, so it is important to explore this issue in Pakistani context.

It was designed to understand the conceptualisation of the phenomenon in order to identify the associated factors, causes, and attitudes that interplay in the existence of this issue. Semi structured interviews of professionals who had experienced with this phenomenon in their professional capacity were selected i.e., lawyers, police officials, social activists, journalists, religious scholars, and psychologists. Limited researches have been conducted to explore this phenomenon with the perspectives of professionals. Moreover, these professionals/stakeholders are first in line available for the victim's assistance, therefore their attitude and understanding towards honour killing is also

significant (Can & Edirne, 2011). Grounded theory approach was used to analyze the data. The method was chosen to excavate the indigenous theory on honour killing.

Study II

Understanding Honour Killing through Murderers' Perspective.

Study II was planned after analyzing professionals' interviews. It was decided to conduct interviews with murderers convicted for honour killing in order to understand that how they perceive the concept of honour and their impulse, and motivation behind killing their family member in the name of honour. Therefore, interviews were held in the district jail Lahore.

On the basis of information collected in the qualitative section initiated the idea of scale development. Exhaustive information regarding attitudes, beliefs and causes were discussed in the interviews that were later planned to utilize for scale development.

Study III (Phase I)

Development of Attitude towards Honour Killing scale, Attribution of Responsibility for honour killing scale and Perceived Perpetuating Factors of honour killing scale. After gaining an insight and understanding of the indigenous reality of honour killing from qualitative study. In study III development of scales were done. The objective of study III was to develop indigenous measures and assess attitudes of honour killing. Item pool was generated on the basis of themes identified in qualitative study and were evaluated by the subject matter experts for the content validity. However, murderer's interviews and few other honour killing incidents that were repeatedly reported by the professionals were used to make scenario-based scale. Exploratory factor analysis was conducted to identify the factor structures of the newly developed scales. Moreover, inter-scale correlation and reliability analysis was also conducted in this study.

Study IV

Validation of newly developed scales and hypotheses testing. This study comprised of validation of indigenously developed scale through confirmatory factor analysis. Moreover, convergent and discriminant validity of newly developed measures were also carried out with other correlates. The Gender Role Attitude scale, Hostility/Intolerance scale and Religious Influence in Daily Life scale were used for convergent and discriminant validity of Attitude towards Honour Killing scale,

Attribution of Responsibility towards Honour Killing scale, and Beliefs in Causes of Honour killing scale.

The data that has been collected through psychometrically sound instruments was subjected to statistical analyses in order to test the proposed hypotheses. The relationship of indigenously developed scales with other correlates and demographic variables including gender, age, education level, family system (joint/ nuclear), area of residence (Rural/ urban), and marital status were also tested. The findings have been discussed with reference to pertinent literature and implications for developing a comprehensive strategy for following institutions in order to curb honour killing.

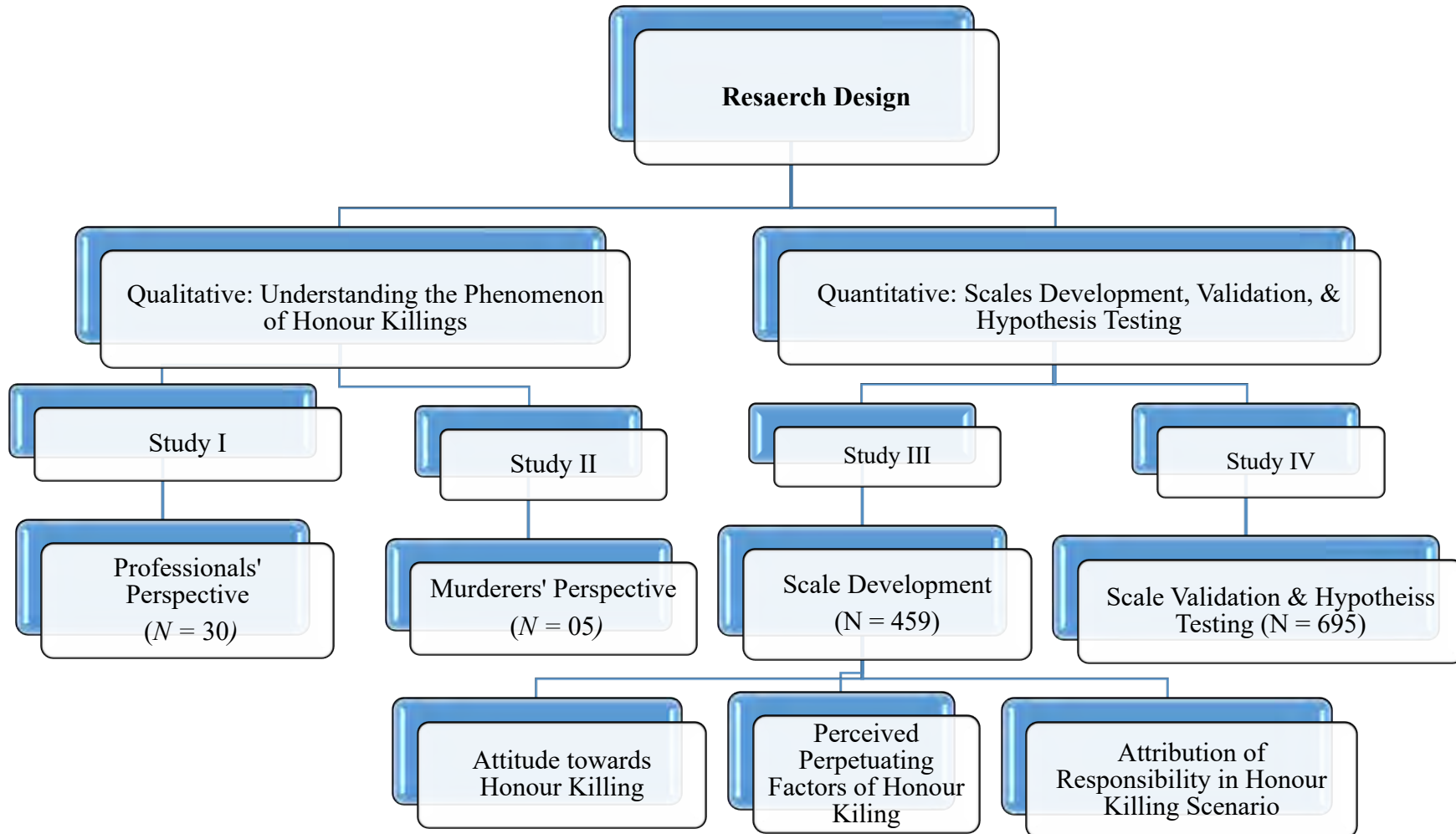


Fig 1. Research Design

CHAPTER III**STUDY I****Understanding of Honour Killing Phenomenon in Pakistani Context**

Study I was based on exploratory sequential form of mixed design. The exploratory sequential mixed methods design is characterized by an initial qualitative phase of data collection and analysis, followed by quantitative study. The present part of qualitative research has two studies i.e., professionals' perspective and murderers' perspective.

Professionals' Perspective

Study I of qualitative study was designed to explore and understand the phenomenon of honour killing, its associated factors, and attitudes in Pakistani context by adopting grounded theory approach. The previous literature has indicated the dearth of empirical researches on honour killing particularly with respect to professionals' (stakeholders') perspectives. Quite recently, countries around the globe have slowly beginning to recognise the importance of understanding honour killing as a unique form of crime. Moreover, researchers around the globe are interested in understanding the cultural tolerance towards this issue. (Chesler, 2009; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Meeto & Mirza, 2007). However, honour killing is also considered as a Central and South Asian phenomenon (Meeto & Mirza, 2007; United Nations, 2000), therefore, empirical understanding and exploration of honour killing in Pakistani context is the need of the hour. Mostly studies conducted on honour killing have their study limitations such as inadequate, limited, non-representative samples, lack of empirical evidences to support conclusions (Meeto & Mirza, 2007).

The data was collected from professionals belonging to different walks of life who had directly or indirectly experienced or witness this phenomenon in their professional capacity. The professionals in the study included social activists, journalists, religious scholars, police officials, psychologists, and lawyers. Data was collected by using semi structured interview technique. Initial interview guide was formulated with the help of researcher observations, literature review and discussions with various groups of people and individuals for the brainstorming for preparation of interview guide. The details of discussions are mentioned in later section (i.e., preparation of interview guide)

The qualitative data was analysed by using grounded theory method. The results comprised of categories and its subsequent subcategories derived from professionals' perspective. The result emerged out of interviews guided to explain honour killing phenomenon in the Pakistani context.

Research Questions

1. What do people understand by the phenomenon of honour killing?
2. What are the peoples' attitudes towards honour killing in Pakistan and factors associated with honour killing?

Objectives

1. To understand the phenomenon and nature of honour killing in the Pakistani perspective.
2. To understand the beliefs and attitudes of professionals' belonging to different walks of life towards honour killing.

Method

Introduction and justification for grounded theory methodology. The objective of this study was to develop a theory to provide an in-depth understanding into the phenomenon of honour killing, and perpetuating factors responsible for honour killing in Pakistan. However, emphasis was given on how it is embedded in Pakistani culture and which forces play their role in its prevalence.

The present research has used grounded theory methodology to explore and understand the phenomenon of honour killing, and attitudes and factors responsible for this. It was important to understand this problem by taking perspectives of professionals who are involved as a stakeholder. It was aimed that their perspectives would enable us to understand honour killing in broader perspective. The reason for choosing grounded theory methodology is based on several justifications such as lack of the availability of comprehensive theory in the Pakistani context. Less effort was put in by previous researches to validate the phenomenon through any empirically justified model or theory rather focusses on confirmation and verification of preexisting ideas such as exploration of attitudes. Literature to date depends upon different theories such as feministic theory, patriarchal perspective, terror management theory to explain honour killing. Therefore, there is a need for a comprehensive theoretical model to understand existence of honour killing in the Pakistani culture.

The Straussian approach to grounded theory was employed in the current study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, & Corbin, 1990). Thus, the purpose of employment of grounded theory in the current research is to derive the conceptual and theoretical model of the phenomenon under study. Grounded theory that is primarily based on theoretical sampling and constant comparison that provides an opportunity for the researcher to remain flexible in the field and open towards the findings emerging from the data (Kolb, 2012). The present study focused primarily on a semi structured interview format. Several interviews were conducted from professionals who had their experience related to the issue in their professional capacities.

Data collection tool: semi structured interviews with professionals.

Preparation of interview guide. Before conducting interviews with professionals an interview guide was prepared. Interview protocol was formulated with the help of observations, previous literature and discussions with various student groups and individuals for brainstorming. Discussion groups were conducted with undergraduate students and with a group of individuals from low socio-economic background (e.g. security guards, domestic workers). It is important to mention that people from low socio-economic background and with minimal education were particularly approached owing to the fact that newspapers reports and literature supported high number of honour killing cases in the low income strata.

The interview guide that was used in the field with professionals was based on the observations of the researcher and on recurrent themes identified in the discussions. Open ended questionnaires were formulated in the interview guideline and were updated as the interview progresses. Questions were incorporated in the guide as well so that all the important information can be obtained from the participants.

Details of Discussion with Various groups. The primary objective behind conducting discussions through unstructured interviews was brainstorming. The discussions were conducted to gain an insight about the level of awareness of people and factors associated with honour killing in Pakistan. Questions that were asked with group of people were prepared with the help of previous literature, newspapers reporting and researchers' observation. Discussion groups were comprised on three groups of students from Quaid-e-Azam University belonging to different departments; Earth sciences ($n = 7$), Anthropology ($n = 6$), and ($n = 6$), Gender studies department. Discussions were also conducted with female domestic workers and guards for the

development of formal interview guide for the field. Interview guide for semi structured interviews was formulated on the basis of prominent themes emerged from the discussions held with individuals along with the literature, observation of the researchers of the study.

The analysis of the groups' discussion did not involve any concrete qualitative analysis. The recurrent themes revolved around these following themes: discrimination against women; lack of religious understanding; lack of awareness about *Shariat* laws; lack of awareness about historical roots of honour killing; lack of legal awareness; confusion about the role of justice departments and penalties for culprits; less exposure to detailed news about the incident, and psyche behind aggressive/violent acts.

Semi structured interviews. Semi structured interview technique was employed to collect the data from professionals. In grounded theory approach semi structured interviews were most used data collection technique. Strauss himself preferred semi structured interviews (Bluff, 2005). There is no specified guideline available regarding number of interview question. Balanced number of questions are encouraged for the discovery of relevant and required information (Bluff, 2005). Semi structured interviews in grounded theory research is given preference than other techniques like focus group because it helps in achieving theoretical sampling Holloway (1997).

Thus, semi structured interviewing technique was employed to collect the data. All interviews were audio taped (with the permission of the participants) and later transcribed by the researcher. The interview length varied from 45 to 75 minutes. Number of open-ended questions such as, what do you understand by the phenomenon of honour killing, what is your insight about the attitudes and beliefs regarding honour killing? How do you describe law in context of honour killing? Etc were asked from the participants along with the follow up questions.

It is pertinent to mention that as interviews progresses the interview guide was also updated based on the information obtained from previous interviews. Such as questions regarding parallel judicial system, media shortfalls in perpetuating the crime such as sensationalism, attitude of law enforcement agency such as police and judge towards women in general and towards perpetrators of honour killing were added later in the guide. Final interview guide is attached in the Appendix (A). The additions in the

interview guide were also made when participants highlighted these pressing factors. Interviews were collected till the saturation of information; which refers to the state where no additional data is being identified; therefore, this stage indicates that researcher may start with the analysis of the data (Bowen, 2008). Theoretical saturation in grounded theory is an integral element indicated that novel and different information have not been emerging anymore. Therefore researcher may stop their collection process.

Sampling Methodology

Purposive sampling. Various sampling strategies have been employed in the current research. Purposive sampling was employed in the beginning. This means participants were selected on the basis of their knowledge of the phenomenon. Initially open sampling takes place. This means those participants were acquired who could provide data relevant to the topic under study. In qualitative research, participants are selected on the basis of their relevance to the phenomenon under study rather than representativeness or randomness (Creswell, 1998). In the initial stage of purposive sampling number of sample are unknown (Glaser & Strauss, 1968). Additionally, snowball sampling or chain referral sampling was also employed in the present study. Snowball sampling happens when one person informs about the other person according to his or her relevance, expertise and usefulness for the study. Finally, as a theory begins to unearth the theoretical sampling is included. Theoretical sampling guides the researcher regarding what to collect next, which information needs to be further explored, and which sample is further required to approach in order to build a theory (Bluff, 2005).

Thus, in the current study all three above mentioned purposive sampling (open sampling, snowball sampling) and theoretical sampling was employed. Initially it was targeted to conduct interviews with relevant professionals such as in initial stages social activists and lawyers, police officials, religious scholars, journalists and psychologist. All these people were contacted who had relevant knowledge and experience about the problem of the study. However, it is important to mention that those participants have guided and referred the researcher to other experts and relevant professionals about the study. For example, a social activist from Aurat foundation Lahore referred the researcher to a criminal lawyer in Islamabad who had a vast] experience regarding the issue. Similarly, a lawyer in Lahore referred the researcher to female journalist who

was sufficiently experienced in crime reporting of honour killing cases. Many lawyers have referred to their fellow lawyers who had an experience of dealing with honour killing related crimes. Henceforth, snowball sampling had been utilized to collect the data.

Finally, theoretical sampling had emerged as the data analysis progresses. It is important to mention that in grounded theory research it is suitable to collect, transcribe and code data simultaneously. Thereby, in the present study theoretical sampling also guide about the area that needs more exploration, which sample needs to be targeted as well. For example, the mindset of male police officials was tapped by various professionals, so it was decided to take more in depth understanding of this role particularly it was decided to include female police officials' perspective as well. Similarly, media sensationalism was mentioned by numerous professionals, therefore it was decided to specifically probe journalists to explain understand how sensationalism is creating through media and problems associated with it. Thus, theoretical sampling has facilitated the data collection process.

Sample

In the present study thirty interviews were conducted as suggested by different researchers (see for example Bluff, 2005; Clegg, 2003; Creswell, 1998). Sample included 8 lawyers ($n = 4$ men, $n = 4$ women) 6 social activists ($n = 6$ women), including NGO workers who are working on women related issues, 5 journalists ($n = 3$ men, $n = 2$ women), 4 religious scholars ($n = 4$ men), 3 psychologist ($n = 3$ women), and 4 police officials ($n = 3$ men, $n = 1$ woman).

The participants of the study were selected based on their experience with honour related crimes in their professional capacity. All the police officials, lawyers and social activists had dealt with the cases of honour related crimes. Moreover, religious scholars were interviewed whom had written on honourkilling in the light of religion in their books and articles. Whereas, psychologists were selected to interview who did researches on gender-based violence. Table 1 explained the demographics of the participants participated in this phase of research.

Table 1

Sample Details (Gender, Profession, & Organization) for Interviews (N = 30)

Sr.#	Profession	Gender	Working organization
1		Man	Criminal and Human Rights lawyer
2		Man	Criminal lawyer High Court
3		Man	Advocate and legal consultant, Ahmed &Pansota legal services
4	Lawyer	Man	Advocate, Legal Advisor, AGHS legal aid cell
5		Woman	Retd judge, High Court
6		Woman	Advocate, Associate lawyer, Ghazi chamber
7		Woman	Advocate, member Human Rights Watch Committee, High court bar association Lahore
8		Woman	Legal advisor, Aurat foundation, Islamabad
9		Woman	Director Resource Mobilisation and Cordination, Aurat Foundation, associated with Edhi centre Quetta
10	Social	Woman	Director Gender Studies Department, Quaid I Azam university, Islamabad
11	activist	Woman	Incharge crisis cell, AGHS legal aid cell
12		Woman	Chairperson Punjab commission on status of women
13		Woman	Director Aurat Foundation, Lahore
14		Woman	Director Mehrgarh, Islamabad
15	Police	Man	Deputy Inspector General operations (Lahore)
16	official	Man	Superintendent jail
17		Man	Asst superintendent jail
18		Woman	Senior superintendent Police
19	Religious	Man	Vice Presidents of Al-Mawrid, A foundation for Islamic research and education
20	Scholars	Man	President, fellow Al Mawrid, A foundation for Islamic research and education
21		Man	Faculty, Sharia and Law, International Islamic University Islamabad
22		Man	Faculty, Asool Uddin, International Islamic University Islamabad
23	Psycholog	Woman	Faculty Qauid I Azam university, Islamabad
24	ists	Woman	Faculty Qauid I Azam university, Islamabad
25		Woman	Faculty, Government College University, Lahore
26	Journalists	Man	Geo tv
27		Woman	Dawn news
28		Man	AAJ TV
29		Woman	BBC urdu
30		Man	AB TAK

Procedure

The data was collected through semi-structured interviews were conducted with professionals. After getting their consent they were assured of confidentiality and informed that the data provided by them and their names would not be disclosed anywhere in the dissertation. The information would only be used for research purpose. Rapport building was done with the participants so that they would easily share the information and the incidences they had experienced about this issue. Interviews were collected through both as audio recording and field notes. All the interviews were audio

recorded by taking their prior permission and participants were briefed that recording is only for transcribing the data. Except for two professionals (a police officer and a social activist) who did not allow recording however, written notes were taken during the interview.

Data Analysis

The data drawn by interviews was then analyzed by using grounded theory method in order to gain an in-depth perspective about the phenomenon of honour killing. Grounded theory research provides a flexible design that allows the researchers to develop and modify the research process in order to achieve the desired credibility and trustworthiness to ensure rigour in the data (Smaling, 2002). Grounded theory is relevant to this study as it explains social behaviours and clarifies the cultural and social contexts within which the phenomenon has developed (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994). Grounded theory was utilised with an aim to develop an indigenous theory and can also facilitate in modifying existing theories as argued by McCann and Clark (2003). Grounded theory has long been used to analyse unexplored areas. Thus, present study aimed to analyse the qualitative data through grounded theory analysis.

In the current study the approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss and Corbin (1990) were adopted. According to their approach open, axial, and selective coding for analyzing qualitative data. According to the grounded theory method suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967); Strauss and Corbin (1990), continuous comparative analysis was encouraged and suggested. Constant comparison reflects simultaneous data collection and data analysis. In present study researcher has also conducted constant comparison. After conducting interviews, data were being transcribed and coded so that the information of interviews can be compared and contrast. The constant comparison continues until the final core category emerges. Constant comparison has really helped in the coding process. Constant comparison of the data also helped the researcher in deciding where to go, and what to ask next. It has also helped in understanding the dynamics and depth of honour killing phenomenon. Thus, analysis of the interviews were performed in three phases. (i) Open, (ii) axial, and (iii) selective coding.

Open coding. After careful transcription of the interviews, coding of the data begin by open coding. Open coding is employed to give label or name to the data. Given

codes must be describing the phenomenon under-study. Line by line coding is preferred. Labels could either be descriptive in nature or actual word of the participants can also be utilised. In open coding the labels were mainly descriptive, with some being the actual words of the participants.

Axial coding. The second stage of data analysis is axial coding. Corbin and Strauss (2008) described axial coding as a way of discovering relationships among categories and subcategories. Coding paradigm helps in forming the relationships among categories and its subsequent subcategories. The generated codes and categories are plot according to the coding paradigm. The detailed coding paradigm of professional's perspective are explained through Figure 2 below. In this stage, related categories and subcategories are also merged and removed to avoid redundancy and give structure to the analysis. Therefore, in this phase of axial coding, subcategories were formulated; codes which are similar in nature or show certain relationship with each other are integrated. The stage of axial coding helps the researcher to group the similar data on the basis of their shared characteristic. In this stage data becomes condensed and eventually enables the researcher to make sense out of data. Another important aspect of axial coding discussed by Strauss and Corbin (2008) is development of conditional matrix. It assists in understanding about the relationship between all micro and macro level factors of the phenomenon that leads to ultimate consequence.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1967) the conditional matrix is a guiding tool helps in relating structure with process in relation to the context of the social phenomenon under study (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; 1998). This guiding framework aids researcher to understand why and how events happened along with under what circumstances phenomenon has expanded. It helps in understanding the relationship and interaction among categories; thus, refine their relationship. Moreover, Conditional matrix does not exist in a vacuum; the relationships between conditions, interactions and consequences are complex and sometimes difficult to examine (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; 1998). However, it is also worth mentioning that the elements of conditional matrix such as context, conditions, and intervening conditions do not follow a linear path. In the present study conditional matrix helped in understanding the circumstances that surround honour killing in Pakistan (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 90). When a researcher aims at developing an indigeneous theory on the phenomenon under-study than it is important to utilise conditional matrix in the research. To conclude, the present

study conditional and consequential matrix conceptualised based on the relationship emerged in the axial codings are mentioned below. Elements of conditional matrix are explained below.

Context. It refers to structural condition, circumstances to which individuals respond through their actions/interactions/emotions. In the present study lack of women empowerment, gender bias, wide acceptance of honour killing are contextual conditions under which honour killing are taking place in Pakistan.

Causal conditions. It refers to those causes that influences the phenomenon. These causal conditions may be in the form of situations, events that can affect the phenomenon in any way. (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Salsali et al., 2007). From the interviews of the professionals various causes were identified such as structural factors (poverty, lack of education, psychological factors, etc), institutional factors (attitudes of law enforcement agency, loopholes in law, lack of implementation of law, religious misunderstandings, challenges involved with *Sharia* (Islamic law), sensationalized and irresponsible media etc).

Intervening conditions. Intervening conditions are either function as a fascilitator, or hinders the action-interaction strategies in the specific context (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Intervening conditions leads to adopt strategies to deal with the contextual and causal conditions (Hastings et al., 2011). In the current research social pressure, cultural acceptance towards perpetrator, victim shaming, lack of support to the victim from institutions are raised as an intervening condition and fascilitate in perpetuating honour killing in Pakistan.

Action-interaction strategies. Refers to desired and dileberate actions that are taken to resolve problems that are playing role in accelerating the issue in some way (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Various action interaction strategies were suggested by the professionals. Psychological training such as campaign for attitudinal change, training of police and judges, better role of *ulemas* (religious leaders), responsible media role, provision of education and positive changes in curriculum were raised by the participants.

Consequences. Refers to results of actions and interactions in response to the events. Consequences are also described as a result of applying strategies to deal with the contextual and causal conditions. The participants of the study discussed and suggested few action interaction stratagies that could help in dealing with the issue.

Outcome after applying action interaction strategies could help in bring down the number of honour killing cases in the Pakistan.

Selective coding. The last phase of the analysis process selective coding was done with an aim is to draw or identified a core category by grouping the categories and their subsequent subcategories of similar nature or concept together. The emergent theory on the phenomenon revolves around the core category (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). However, core category must meet a core criteria. Such as, all categories must relate to that central idea (core category). Secondly it must appear frequently in the data, meaning all the events and actions in the data must point towards that concept. The core category must be reflective of whole phenomenon, categories and subcategories, and it must emerge itself. Lastly core category must be powerful enough to explain the whole data, so that it can be used for further research in other substantive areas (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In the present study the “core category” “Understanding Honour Killing in the Pakistani context” appeared in all of the interviews multiple times. Therefore, it has been finalised as core category. Thus, the core category identified fulfilled all these criteria mentioned above. Moreover, identified categories are linked with core category. Indeed, this helps in developing a conceptual model. Conceptual model helped the researchers to understand and analyze the phenomenon in a systematic manner.

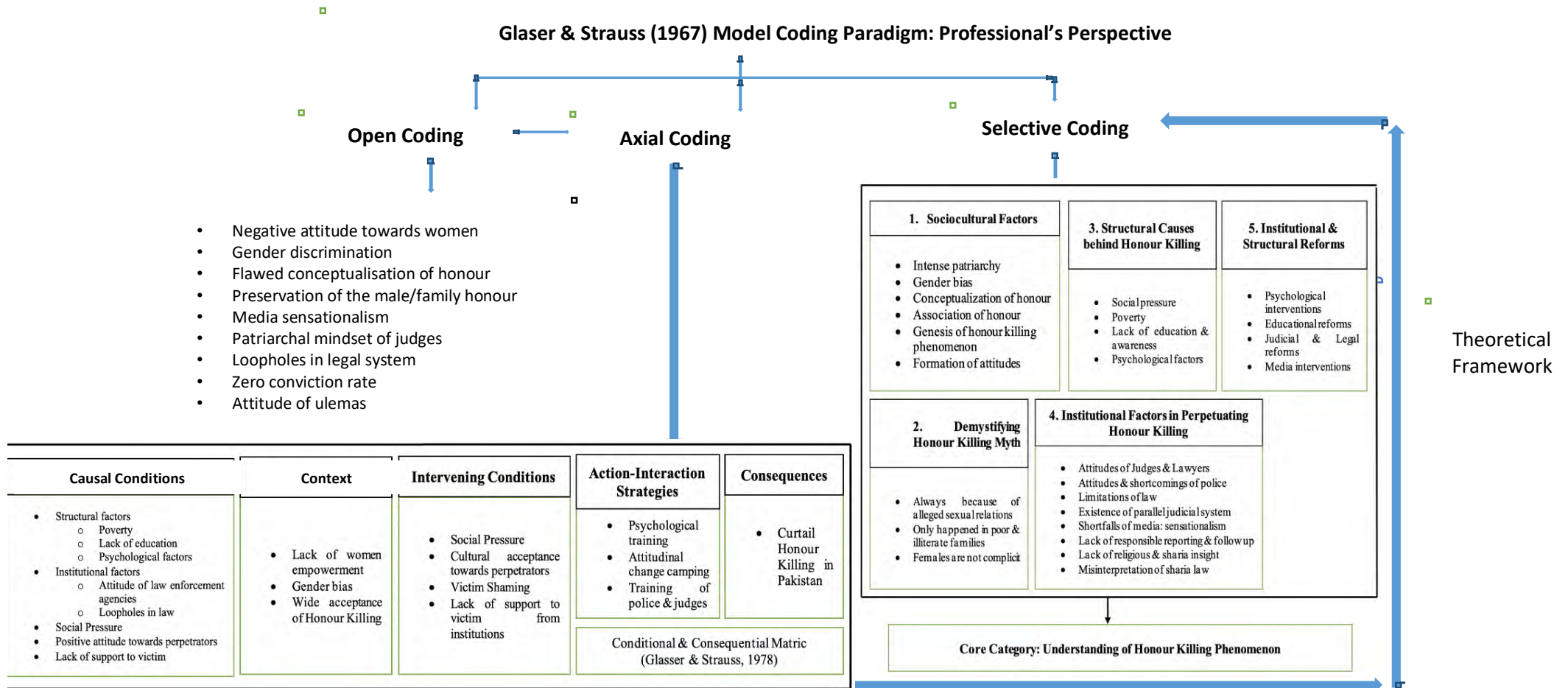


Fig 2. Conditional matrix and theoretical model: professional perspective

RESULTS

Maintaining rigor in the study or methods of verification of qualitative data.

Validation process of qualitative studies are different from quantitative studies, because they both are fortified by different epistemological assumptions (Alkhatib, 2012). Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that issue of verification is not for qualitative studies that are developing new and indigenous theories. Moreover, issue of verification are primarily for quantitative research. On the other hand, Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, and Spiers (2002) insisted on the importance of verification in the qualitative researches. However, researchers also claimed that it is not necessary to maintain rigor in the qualitative data only through validity and reliability (Cormack, 2000). Over the years researchers have built consensus on maintaining rigor in qualitative data through various other ways such as transferability, credibility, conformability and truthfulness (Ryan et al., 2007).

Henceforth, synthesis of above-mentioned approaches has been employed to enhance the rigor of the data. Researcher has tried to maintain the objectivity and credibility in the current study by employment of various factors such as debriefing the participants, by not intervening in the conversation of the participant. Regular meetings with the supervisor were ensured during both in data collection and data analysis process (Alkhatib, 2012). In that way any aspect that has not been analysed or understand by the researcher carefully could be discussed and addressed. Interview transcripts were reviewed and discussed regularly with research supervisor to ensure theoretical sensitivity in order to uncover any biases. (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996) stressed that in qualitative researches the research supervisors play a crucial role in ensuring objectivity in the ongoing study. Furthermore, after coding the interviews, supervisor has regularly checked the coded data to ensure the credibility of the analysis. In the result section the arguments are supported by the verbatim of the participants to enhance objectivity of the results. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) use of participants verbtims at all levels of coding and while explaining results would further add to the credibility of data. Researcher has also ensured confidentiality and volunteer participation of the participants. The experience, relevant, and suitable recruitment of participants were also ensured. The credibility of the coded and categories assigned in the transcripts were further verified through independent rater's review.

For maintaining the dependability and appropriateness of the sample, documentation of various aspects of the study are necessary (Alkhatib, 2012). Henceforth, in the present study, all aspects of the sampling recruitment, fieldnotes, and transcription of the interviews are documented. The selection criteria of the participants along with their relevance and appropriateness with the research has also documented. Selection of appropriate sample further facilitates to ensure that categories are saturated, therefore focus was kept on recruiting appropriate sample (Morse, et al, 2002). Furthermore, it is also important to explain the why and how the specific participants were selected for the research in grounded theory and present study has provided sufficient evidence in the method section on the recruitment of the selected professionals' and their relevance with the phenomenon. Moreover, in the researcher's reflection section the details about the field in order to signify the effectiveness of approach adopted in the current study. Triangulation approach was employed by interviewing professionals from various backgrounds and also later on by conducting interviews with perpetrators in the second phase. This approach has provided us conformability of our findings, because they have been verified by multiple individuals from multiple backgrounds.

All transcripts and recorded interviews are kept available for audit both in the form of audio and written coded transcripts in order to enhance the auditability of the data. As (Alkhatib, 2012; Kirk & Miller, 1986) put emphasis on keeping the qualitative data saved. As it allows other to recheck the qualitative data for any confusion. Auditability also ensure the credibility of the qualitative data. It allows others to evaluate the authenticity and worth of the data. Therefore, in the result section verbatim of the participants, have been added so that the reader can assess the relationship between coding, categories and explanation of results. Researcher in the present study has given honest effort to ensure all the ethical principles that are discussed above. These principles have been undertaken in order to make the findings of qualitative study reliable and valid to a certain extent.

Evaluation of Categories

Categories that emerged in data were evaluated in the following steps.

Raters' review. Some qualitative researchers argue that assessing inter-rater reliability is an important method for ensuring rigor, others that it is unimportant; and yet it has never been formally examined in an empirical qualitative study (Armstrong, Gosling, Weinman, & Marteau, 1997). In the present research coding and

categories were reviewed by three experts (PhD faculty members) with expertise in psychometrics and qualitative research. They were requested to review the coding and categories done by the researcher in order to analyse its appropriateness with reference to the data based on interviews. The raters suggested few changes in the titles of the subcategories and categories. The changes were incorporated after careful review by the researcher and the supervisor.

Researcher's Reflection on Field Experience. The role of the researcher in the enquiry process can not be ignored. The notion of reflexivity in grounded theory thus became prominent in existing works (Charmaz, 2005).

Although honour killing is considered as a sensitive topic, but for professionals' interview, the researcher did not face much difficulty in terms of recruiting or approaching participants. Initially the formal interviews were started with Aurat foundation (NGO) Islamabad. The researcher contacted them through email and to her surprise they responded instantly and favorably. They were extremely cooperative. The researcher did two interviews one with social activist at Aurat foundation who had a vast experience in dealing with crimes like honour killing and other with human rights lawyer. Quite a lengthy and substantial discussion has been conducted with them.

Moreover, they were the one who guided the researcher towards other related professionals who are working in this area. Indeed, it was quite a help. However, the researcher has not gotten any contact of survivor or family in which honour killing had been done. Later from an other branch of Aurat foundation the researcher got hold of a contact number of survivors whose relatives had cut her nose in the name of honour because she had refused to marry in a certain family, rather demanded to marry somewhere else. The researcher talked to that survivor and we agreed to meet at a decided time. However, she never came nor attended phone call later. The researcher realized at that point that survivors and family members of victims probably feels threatened and it is not easy to contact them. Later the researcher conducted interviews with perpetrators in the Lahore jail. Those interviews were under supervision of jail staff. To my surprise all the perpetrators were very comfortable in narrating the incident and courageously accepted their crime. After conducting interviews with them the researcher got a better understanding of loopholes in the law that has been discussed with the lawyers during professional's interviews. It was not difficult to elicit information from perpetrators. Moreover, detailed and more number of interviews

could not be arranged because of certain rules regulations and restrictions of Police department.

Furthermore, the researcher also planned to take interviews of victim's family. It was really difficult to approach such families. There are complex dynamics in Pakistan and especially in rural areas where majority of the killing in the name of honour happened. Yet, through a colleague, the researcher managed to visit a village xyz (a name of the village cannot be disclosed due the protection of participant and to keep their anonymity intact) where killing in the name of honour has occurred. The researcher got hold of one family. The researcher realized that the family was from extremely low socio-economic background. The researcher explained them the purpose of the research and why the researcher have approached them. The researcher inquired them about the incident and also seeked their permission for the recording but the family was not comfortable in recording. They were extremely disturbed on the killing of their mother in the name of honour. All they repeatedly said was that she had been falsely accused. Nothing inappropriate has happened. The brother inlaw killed his widowed sister in law (late brothers' wife). When the researcher asked them about the report FIR, they said nothing could have happened just because the person who killed our mother is a caretaker of a mosque at *Derah* and works at the house (*Derah*) of influential of this village. Rather, the murderer is considered as a respectable and pious man just because of the fact that worked in a mosque. Therefore, no action has been taken against him. The family does not even have a television at their house, so there were no media reporting as well. Rather to a great surprise family told the researcher that influentials had approached the family and convinced the deceased family that killer is justified because killing to save honour is a worthy act. Influential's insisted the family that even if they think any injustice has been occurred then they should forgive the murderer in the name of Quran (sacred holy book of Muslims). Therefore, the family was forced to forgive the culprit in the name of Quran and now they are unable to do anything against him. Actually, they were being blackmailed in the name of religion and sacred book Quran. The family was so fearful while talking to the researcher because they were afraid that if ever the influential of the village would get to know about this meeting, they would do harm to us. Therefore, dileberately the researcher did not report anything in the study. Nor there was any detailed recorded conversation available. Family was not really comfortable while explaining the

substantial details about the incident as well. The researcher had to face immense difficulty in making them understand that these interviews are not for media rather for education purpose. One person of the family told, despite police were being informed they did not register the case. Family was in immense grief and under fear of the influentials. Therefore, the researcher has to put lot of effort to find families willing to speak free of fear, which was beyond the scope of the study. Moreover, for interviewing from victims' families is not really easy to do because of the structural and institutional limitations. In villages mostly honour killing cases are handled by the feuds such (*Waderas, Sardars*) and other influential of that place. So, approaching those families could cause threat to both the participant and interviewer. Unless proper security is provided for the interviewer and participant this is difficult thing to be carried out. The researcher realized that after conducting interviews with victim's family who are bereaved from the act would also lead to open their wounds. (Sensitive topic research) it would not be ethically justified to conduct interviews without providing them post interview counselling. The researcher decided to not pursue victim's family interview for all their security reasons. After conducting interviews from professionals and perpetrators and a victim family the researcher was extremely overwhelmed. Before this indepth research he researcher had only read literature newspaper report etc on honour killing. After talking to just one of the victims family, the researcher realised that how families lack legal protection, how much patriarchy is infused in all institutions that is source of prevalence of honour killing. Moreover, in cases like this where victim's family are convinced that their dear one has been killed on mere accusation or false charges; it was difficult for them to deal with the loss emotionally and psychologically. The researcher discussed all this with my supervisor about my sentiments and overwhelming experience while collecting data. The ground realities were different and beyond the expectation of the researcher. The researcher certainly believes that victim's family's perspective on honour killing would add a lot in the literature and extend the understanding of honour killing. However, it should be done through proper channel and above all not without a support of practicing counsellor or mental health professional who are experienced in trauma and grief counselling.

Table 2

Categories & Subcategories Emerged from Professionals Interviews (N = 30)

Categories	Sub – Categories
Socio-Cultural Factor	a) Intense Patriarchy – Men domination b) Place of Women in Pakistani Society – Gender Bias c) Conceptualisation of Honour concept d) Association of honour concept e) Genesis of Honour Killing phenomenon f) Formation of attitudes towards honour killing g) Reactions of women related to lack of familial support
Demystifying Honour killing Myths	a) Always because of alleged sexual relation b) Only happened in Poor and illiterate families c) Females are not complicit in
Structural causes behind Honour Killing	a) Social Pressure b) Poverty c) Lack of Education and Awareness d) Psychological factor
Institutional Factors in Perpetuating Honour Killing	a) Attitudes of Judges and Lawyers b) Attitudes and shortcomings of Police c) Limitations of Law d) Existence of Parallel judicial system e) Shortfalls of Media: Sensationalism f) Lack of Responsible Reporting and Follow up g) Lack of Religious and Sharia Insight h) Misinterpretation of Sharia Law i) Role of clerics and scholars
Institutional and Structural Reforms	a) Psychological interventions b) Educational reforms c) Judicial and Legal reforms d) Media Interventions

Socio- Cultural Dimension

The category of socio-cultural dimension included subcategories that are related to one another. These subcategories included patriarchal male domination, and how it leads to gender discrimination and disempowerment of women. Moreover, the findings shows that intense patriarchy lead to misconceptualisation of the honour concept and associated honour with women. Patriarchy contributes to the roots of honour killing in Pakistani society.

a. Intense patriarchy men domination.

Patriarchy in Pakistan and its consequences have been extensively discussed during the course of interviews. Nearly all participants viewed Pakistan as a patriarchal society, where men are dominant in every sphere. There are multiple consequences attached to

patriarchy and acceptance of violence against women is one of them. A female social activist shared that, ***“Pakistan is a patriarchal society and both men and women [are] socialized in this patriarchal system. In Pakistan men dominates and whatever men do is considered as right, but anything that women do out of her free will is considered as wrong and consequently mishaps in form of honour killing happened”***. It can be evaluated from the participants’ interviews that the social structure, particularly in Pakistan and generally in South Asia, is male chauvinist. A female psychologist agreed to this and shared, ***“In Pakistan the status of men is recognized through the behavior of their females”***. She further elaborated that, ***“In Pakistan, pride, respect, prestige and honour has always been a property of men, it has always been perceived and related to men”***. The patriarchal setup of our society has specifically defined the stature of women. As one of the female psychologists stated, ***“Men are the caretakers in our society. They are the ones who set rules and when women try to deviate from them, she has to suffer”***. This centuries old systematic sexism prevalent in Pakistani society has made women powerless. Women have been made financially and socially dependent on men, and an independency in any of these aspects attracts the label of ‘social outcast’. Male superiority is visible in all avenues of women’s lives. The problem starts when women confront the decisions of men in Pakistani society. One of the female journalists argued, ***“Whenever women practice their own choice, especially when it comes to marriage and like how they want to live their own life that is where the intolerance began.”*** Furthermore, discussions suggested male chauvinism does not only appear when women choose who to marry. The violence of men can be evident for anything that they believe causes a woman to transgress their social norms. Whenever women deviate from the set patterns and norms, men felt that their honour has been threatened, and in order to restore it they killed the women. A male journalist reported an incident and told that, ***“it is very unfortunate that whenever a woman is killed for the honour, people believed that it is because women has done fornication or developed a sexual relationship outside marriage, however, this is not the case at all. Women, particularly in remote areas, are being killed just for singing and dancing in family gathering (marital ceremony).”*** He further elaborated on the case of Kohistan where girls have been killed for honour because the male members of their family saw a video that they had been involved in singing and dancing in the family function. Most unfortunate is that the Jirga sanctioned the killing of those girls. It is

evident from the above quotes that in patriarchal setups, men feel their reputation has been tarnished if familial women ever act against their set norms.

The findings highlighted that patriarchy keeps the women bound to a male figure for their sustenance. The condition is even worse in rural areas where the feudal system degrades the stature of women to a mere commodity. A male lawyer stated that, ***“In Pakistani society, specifically in rural areas, woman is given as a compensation in the conflicts of two parties, and I do not know where the [ghairat (honour)] of men at that time goes. It is a common tradition in villages till date”***. These are the places which are still following historical culture and have acted on these primitive values for a long time. One of the male lawyers quoted an incident, ***“Once I took up a rape case of a village in Punjab. A rape was established but the influential Panchayat (A council comprised of influential older man of the particular area) leaders of that area settled the case by giving 100 Kg wheat to victim’s family.”*** Thus, men have power over women and a misuse of this power is visible every now and then.

Society considers men as the dominant gender. It gauges men and women on different standards and through different scales. The power of judgment rests with men, always. As discussed by the participants the society operates on an antifeminist mechanism. This mechanism is based upon a flawed social structure. It is the social fabric of the society which encourages harmful practices by showing submission to patriarchal values. A female lawyer said, ***“The setup of society is patriarchal and anti-women. So [if] anything comes which is pro-women, it threatens the status quo of male members.”*** The power to do anything and the wild card of hyper masculinity always keeps the balance of power tilted towards men. There are no checks and balances towards the male responsibilities and the list of self-imposed male rights never ends.

It is evident from the results that the particular attitude that women are inferior to men is a culturally formed attitude. The prevalence of domestic violence is also the reflection of antifeminism approach. The women of Pakistani society have been, till today, battling exploitative treatment at the hands of their male counterparts. The socio-political and socioeconomic environment is not favorable for women. Participants have also said that it is difficult for women to progress and fight for their rights. There has always been some backlash against women who wish to empower themselves, be it by studying, working or even choosing a spouse for themselves.

b. Place of women in Pakistani society gender biasness.

The culture of male domination and patriarchal setup has made women less empowered. The findings also shed light on the fact that Pakistan is a patriarchal society that defines and limits the role of women in a particular manner. In most cases, women do not enjoy the same status as men. Women are made to believe that they cannot take autonomous decisions like men do. They ought to do and act according to the norms set by the men in the house. This attitude is prevailing with full strength in those societies who had carried out harsh practices against women, where women were treated unequally, where she had been deprived of rights like property and inheritance. A female psychologist elaborated on this, *“In Pakistan, from a very young age we have been conditioned to look out for either brothers or fathers for my every little thing and we need to seek approval from them for every little decision. If I give you my own example since very young age, I have been told that wherever I have to go I need to take my brother along. He has this idea from a very young age that he is my caretaker”*. Therefore, men treat women as their property and this sense of ownership makes them believe that they are custodians of the lives of women in their families.

Women are discriminated against everywhere, from their own families to the society they are living in. They need a man to act as their chaperon. This unfair treatment in favour of men makes them think that they can control the lives and decisions of women in the family. As one of the female psychologists argued, *“The kind of a society in which we are living in, male members of the house are given priority for every little and grand decisions”*. She further elaborated that women are disadvantaged, derogated, and ill-treated from the beginning. They are not allowed to make their own choices. In cases where some woman tries to exercise her rights, she is considered a rebel and men consider it their duty to rein them in. This mind-set is one of the biggest reasons behind honour killing. It is unbearable for men to see women as empowered beings. A female social activist shared her views and said, *“The reason behind not passing the women protection bill was that our patriarchal ulemas (religious scholars) and other people do not want to encourage women empowerment”*. A male religious scholar extended his insight and shared that, *“Parents give so much reaction to a daughter if she expressed her likeliness about someone, she sometimes has to face so much negative reaction that she decides to run away”*. Thus, when women are disempowered, they cannot regulate and exercise their will. In

Pakistani society women have no power to take any major decisions for them. This is because of the narrative that women belong to men. The whole mechanism of the society works in this way.

The findings have thoroughly discussed that lack of female empowerment in Pakistani society is a results of gender biases against women. Gender bias is not a novel concept in many societies, especially those which are less modernised. Pakistan is among those countries where women are facing extreme forms of gender disparity. Although there have been attempts to provide rights and safe spaces for women, the efforts are still in a volatile phase. The core issue is that, by and large, people do not accept women as an independent entity. There is a prevalent gender inequality which is a root cause of bias against women. Consequently, the unequal treatment towards women leads to violence against them. Men do not consider women equal to themselves, primarily because mostly men are the breadwinners in Pakistani society. A female social activist stated that, *“there were times when women were not allowed to own a property or [had the] right to vote, so men considered them inferior. Women were completely subordinate of men, therefore, all this mind-set of considering her a property perpetuates from those time”*. She further added that men have a strong feeling that they feed women and economically control them, so women are supposed to be subservient to them. Men take care of women and the home financially, so never considered them equal. Although culture and society have made women seem insignificant, those with biases against women also take refuge in religion. But one of the male religious scholars stated, *“Men and women are equal as per Islam, they are equal in terms of human beings only difference lies in responsibilities, It is the mere misperception that women has given an inferior status by Islam”*. Regardless of multiple religious assertion about the status, respect, and place of women most of the participants of the study have agreed that it is unthinkable that women in Pakistan can be superior or equal to men in any way.

As revealed by participants, gender inequality is also because of the hierarchy of gender relations in which men dominate and women are subordinates. A male lawyer stated, *“Men in our society are aware of this fact that they are the guardians of women of our society so if women go against their will, they are held responsible”*. Men try to assert the authority in their relationships by being controlling over women. A female activist stated, *“Gender relations and its hierarchy have made men think*

that they have a control over woman and they own them physically and sexually". According to the findings of the present study, many people hold the consensus that gender bias is evident in every institution, from family to social institutions. Women have been given less value by men. A female psychologist stated that, "***We never discuss in our class with students and children at home about respect of a woman, status of women, gender equality and how the well treated women can lead towards progression***". Another social activist also stated, "***Even in domestic violence cases people perceive women as the culprit and usually blames her for instigating the male figure of the house***". There are extreme forms of stereotypes against women and they have to bear with consequences if they ever try to break them. Gender stereotypes exist in many forms and shapes in Pakistani society. A female psychologist stated, "***The problem is that we have confined our children roles with particular beliefs and that is gender stereotypes. Only breaking these stereotypes at large can solve gender related issues.***"

Attitudes towards gender roles repeatedly appeared in the course of interviews. Participants discussed that the given gender roles also help in shaping personalities. These gender roles are the guiding principles on which a girl and boy is expected to behave. In Pakistan, traditional gender roles and behaviours are expected from girls. A psychologist stated, "***Since [a] young age, gender roles have been defined to children in our society, and especially to girls, from how they are expected to talk to how they should work. So if they ever tried to work otherwise, or challenge their given roles, then they get to face violence***". In Pakistan women are more confined in gender roles than boys. There are more traditional norms for women than for men, which they are expected not to challenge. A female journalist reported, "***Expanding and claiming space for women within set boundaries get them in trouble***". A male lawyer also shared that, "***The men in our society have this realisation of their power and that too at the top of their consciousness***". It can be evaluated from the findings that men have more liberty to think and behave. Even if men do not follow the given role, society does not come down harshly upon them. Ultimately, from early on, men have this understanding that power lies with them. They are aware of this fact that they can make and break laws. Consequently, this initial conditioning regarding gender role attitudes contributes to the acceptance of violence against women in Pakistani society.

c. Conceptualisation and perception of honour concept.

It is evident from the interviews that one cannot understand the drive behind honour killing without understanding the concept of honour and its importance in the lives of the people in Pakistani society. In a patriarchal society where men are the custodians of their families, and where family units are also fairly large, the honour of the family is directly associated with its social prestige. Likewise, it has been discussed above that due to male dominance and disempowerment of women, men believe that women belong to them and so does their honour. Moreover, when honour is associated with women then they would face negative results, whenever they tried to cross the set boundaries. Misconceptualisation of honour is essential to understanding the origin and existence of the honour killing phenomenon in Pakistani society.

The perception of honour is psychological, cultural as well as social. It was under discussion that generally Pakistani population people out there have a lot of misunderstanding about this phenomenon. A social activist stated, *“I believe whole concept of honour killing is skewed, the problem is with the word honour before killing so it is more about language which needs to be revisited”*. The participant believed that until we do not omit the word honour before killing it is difficult to change the narrative of people as well. A female psychologist told that, *“Honour is sort of social and cultural construct and it might have different meanings in different societies, such as in many western societies honour is perceived as it is related to how educated a person is, what status a person has whereas, in Pakistan the honour of the family and its men is measured through the behavior of their females”*. Men believed that their honour lies in their women and society also reinforces this idea. As a male lawyer also commented that, *“it is in our inherent belief that honour is related to women”*. Whenever this delicate balance is disturbed, as in the case of women asserting themselves, men with a narrow, patriarchal mindset, will act to restore the balance. This often leads to taking as drastic a step as taking the life of a family member. Men have a clear dominance and they think that their honour matters in the society and women are supposed to uphold them. As a male religious scholar quoted that *“In all these societies where women do not pertain to any independent powers, their freedom is restricted and violence and other reactions against women are more visible in these societies”*. It had also been discussed that perception of honour in the society is

defective. Honour of women has been viewed as if it is a possession of men and this is where the problem begins. A social activist strongly opposed the concept and stated that, ***“ I never agreed to this term honour killing, as honour of a women is her own possession and men has no right to say that it belongs to them”***. Therefore, participants insisted that society needs to revisit their perception of honour. According to the findings of the interviews, participants have discussed that people in Pakistani society perceived honour not as a personal thing but as a family belonging. The society teaches people to take pride in their self-defined family values. As a female social activist believed that, ***“In Pakistani society when family does not agree with what their women are doing, whether they are their wife, daughter or sister, men perceive it as they are playing with their honour, therefore they restore it by killing them”***.

The concept of honour was found to be one of the central factors that leads to honour killing. Furthermore, male honour in Pakistani society is reflected by the actions of their female relations. A female psychologist elaborated this by sharing that, ***“Men in Pakistan have always this superiority over women, therefore they considered themselves as the protector of female honour, just to keep hold on them and consequently they satisfied their ego’s in this process”***. In Pakistani culture family honour plays an important role in shaping societal and familial values. Perception of honour as associated with females is a socially and culturally originated phenomenon. It is the conservative attitude of the society which led to this thinking. The concept of honour is socially and culturally rooted. ***A lawyer claimed, “The concept of disgrace is associated with female in our society and the reason is that she has always been considered less valued”***. Moreover this perception of honour with the male members is directly related to the gender roles defined by our society. It may be a brother, father or husband, the custodian of honour is always a male. A male lawyer further reinforced this argument by sharing that, ***“In Pakistan it is expected that for maintaining honour it is important for men to discipline their females, men cannot bear the fact when women goes against the will of men or surpass the set familial values”***.

A female social activist further added, ***“It has been taught to males in our society that they have a control over women and women belong to them so the whole concept of izzat [honour] comes from them”***. Having defined the male figure as the master of the house, he is held responsible for all the good and bad of his house and the status of a woman is lowered to that of a mere commodity. She has no personal will

and she is dependent on men to take decisions for her. Any retaliation in any form is considered a rebellion and is dealt with accordingly. As per the remarks of one of the male lawyer, *“For every matter male are the guardian of women in our society, so when women try to go against their will and do not act according to the set standards, the male of the house is held responsible, this is where their repute is hurt and in order to maintain their ego, they do violent acts against women”*. A female social activist also endorsed that, *“In a given sociocultural context whatever men prescribes a woman is supposed to do that and if women go against that or transcend, that men feel their honour has been tarnished”*. She further added that, *“the whole concept of honour is skewed”*.

Furthermore, participants have discussed that perception and conceptualisation of honour has been misused. It has been discussed that concept of *ghairat* (honour) is not a negative concept, rather it has been made negative by not perceiving it in a rightful way. As a religious scholar discussed this in the light of Islam *“Honour is something in built in every one of us. According to Islamic shariat (Islamic law) ghairat is a good thing, however it is important to understand ghairat with its true essence. It should not be used to fulfill negative motives. Islam does not like acts like adultery, but it also does not allow to kill a woman all by yourself and justified it in the name of honour”*. Therefore, participants have also discussed that cultural change on macro level is important to relearn or reanalyze the concept of honour. This would certainly help society to eradicate this issue. A social activist believed that, *“we as a nation need to understand that culture evolves and changes with time and exposure. We believe that culture is a static entity which is not true. Culture is a dynamic entity; with exposure of internal factors it also changes. So, we need to change this culture rather continuing it with cultural immunity”*. She further exemplified this by stating the example of slavery, and how it is not part of culture anymore like it used to be. Thus, we can also change this culture of honour killing as well. A female lawyer also endorsed this and stated that, *“we feel that if something is a part of our culture, we cannot change it. If there are harmful practices they should be changed. Culture changes with time and environment. We should not conceive culture as something static and be stuck with it. I think this is something that we have not fully understood and appreciated. I also believe that the mechanisms which works against changes are also responsible and they are not pro-women”*. Thus, it can be analysed from the above

discussed findings that there is a dire need to redefine the concept of honour. Current perception regarding honour, specifically that men's honour is attached to the women within their families is not a healthy approach. Cultural understanding of honour also needs redefinition. Misconception has become an evident reason of the prevalence of honour killing.

d. Association of honour concept.

It can be presumed from the findings that the social fabric of the society indicate that the value of honour for the male members is more than the life of a woman. As discussed by the female activist, *“It is more important for man to maintain their honour and compromise the life of a woman if she fails to uphold it.”* She further added that, *“honour lies in mutilating the body of a woman, so I think honour is a word that has been much profaned in the name of honour. The association of honour with woman is not a recent phenomenon rather it is based on the old archaic times”*. The derivation of male honour is through the female members of the household. Honour is associated with women therefore by killing them, men in Pakistani society try to save their honour. A male journalist stated, *“Most of the time issue is not honour related, it is projected as honour because our society has tolerance for this issue”*. It is also because women have no independent space in society. Women have always been perceived as a dependent creature that has no independent choice or decision making of their own. A female psychologist stated, *“Every woman changes her name after marriage so once we are property of our fathers and then husbands.”* A female social activist said, *“It is the result of ancient medieval and archaic traditions that still men derive their honour from women”*.

Therefore, when concept of honour is associated with women, it increases violence because women in our society have less freedom to exercise than men. A social activist refuted the idea that honour of women belongs to men and stated that, *“it is not justified that the dishonour brought by a woman has to be dealt by men or any other person. Women herself is a custodian of one's honour, she herself is a first-hand custodian nobody has the right to claim that they are custodians and their honour is associated with the honour of a women”*. Whenever women go against the will of women it eventually hurts their self-esteem and to maintain that they go to the extent of any kind of violence. As one of the female psychologists stated, *“The men honour is associated with women and if they find it threatened by a woman then to save their*

honour, they choose to kill them". A female social activist also shared similar feelings and told that, *"In our society it is inherent belief that men have a control over women and their honour is related to them."* Another female social activist stated, *"Men think their honour lies in, or connected to women body and sexuality."*

Men believe that women are the custodians and keepers of their honour. Hence, women are forced to act on the principles dictated by men. However, if women ever try to cross this limit, it indicates that she has tried to tarnish the reputation of the men of her household. Women in Pakistani society are symbol of purity and obedience. This leads to a heightened sense of possessiveness that more than often results in situations where men believe that they control the lives of women. A female journalist said, *"Women are considered as a commodity who have no emotions of their own. She is a symbol of obedience and piety, therefore, she represents the honour of the family"*. It is the respect of a man that woman carry, therefore she must bear the consequences if she ever tries to cross the set boundaries. One religious scholar said, *"Many acts of violence and honour killing are result of an overblown honour, arrogance, and reluctance of giving personal rights to women"*. The female-related male honour stems from male ego. It was also argued during interviews that honour of men is overblown in Pakistani society which leads to many acts of violence against women. It can be concluded from the above discussion that in Pakistani culture the family honour in general, and man honour in particular, is dependent upon the conduct of their women plays into the culture of possession. This construct of honour has been created over centuries and people have been known to go to extreme lengths to protect their honour. In order to protect honour, men take their refuge in killing in the name of honour.

e. Genesis of honour killing phenomenon.

The interviews highlighted the concept of honour is highly misunderstood in Pakistani society, which gives rise to killing in the name of honour. A social activist told that, *"Honour killing is an outcome of misconception of honour. Honour killing against a woman takes place in order to restore family honour"*. The activist further argued that honour killing has a background. This phenomenon is prevailing more in traditional societies where harmful cultural practices are considered tolerable. It has been sufficiently discussed in the aforementioned findings how the concept of honour has been exploited, and how it is associated with women and become a leading cause of honour killing in Pakistan. A female lawyer shared that, *"I believe the problem is*

with the language. Honour killing seems legitimized because there is this word honour before killing. The prevalence of honour killing in the society is because everyone believed that it is important to restore their so-called honour in any way”.

Another female social activist endorsed that, *“We do not take honour killing as a murder because of the word honour attached with it”*. So, whenever a woman in this society stepped out of her defined boundaries, she was either killed or had to face the worst forms of violence. Another female social activist shared that, *“I believe honour killing is a consequence of gender inequality”*. The findings added to the understanding that this phenomenon of honour killing is socially and culturally driven.

Women are supposed to behave in a way society expects them to be. A social activist said that, *“In patriarchal communities like Pakistan, there are certain code of conducts on which expectation and behavior of women has given great importance. So, whenever a woman breaks that code, it is presumed that she has dishonoured the family and community, so she ought to receive punishment for that.”* The prescribed gender roles for women are set by society and conformity to these roles is obligatory. Participants also believed that the phenomenon of honour killing is a culturally conceived phenomenon prevalent since older times. Another social activist also endorsed that, *“Honour killing is present since old archaic times, and it is always there, only recently it gets attention because of technological advancement”*. Moreover, a male religious scholar added that, *“Our culture is more tribal and feudal in nature so till the time it will not urbanized much, and people get awareness, mind-set will not be changed”*.

Participants also believed that honour killing is a cultural and social problem. However, Muslim immigrant families who are living in the West for many years have committed honour killing when they found that one of their girls was going against their understanding of honour. Therefore, it is true to say that it becomes difficult to detach from cultural learnings, despite of living in a foreign culture. When people are raised to think and believe in a certain way, no matter where they are, they will act in a similar fashion. It is therefore imperative that honour killing is treated as a social and cultural problem. A female activist said, *“Honour killing is a customary phenomenon and prevailing in all the countries where people are upholding their traditional values and practices”*. Certainly, it is important to mention that the above discussion does not mean that patriarchy, patriarchal attitudes, gender discrimination, and misconception of

honour are the only explanations of violence against women in general, and honour killing in particular. Participants have discussed how various other structural, attitudinal and institutional factors intersect to contribute to the prevalence of honour killing in Pakistan.

f. Formation of attitudes towards honour killing.

The subcategory that is under discussion shed light on factors that are contributing in shaping attitudes of people towards honour killing. However, it has been discussed that attitudes are also culturally influenced. Analysing attitudes of people towards this phenomenon also helped in understanding the prevalence of honour killing. The current theme also discussed professionals' beliefs and thoughts on honour killing. Besides that, professionals had also shed light over the kind of attitudes that prevail in society towards honour killing. It is important to highlight that all the participants interviewed had a common belief that this phenomenon is ruthless and barbaric, but it has cultural and traditional immunity which is why it is still prevalent in the country.

To understand and examine the behavior of society, it is essential to understand the attitudes of its people. We do not condemn honour killing openly nor do we take punitive measures to eradicate or stop killing in the name of honour. Thus, it reflects the attitudes of our society towards this issue. A social activist acknowledged that and said, *“I believe any kind of violence and brutality reflects our attitudes. Now it is important to understand how these attitudes are formed. These attitudes are formed from our value system, norms and our traditions develop these attitudes in ourselves. Like the behavior a father show to his wife and daughter, same would be adopted by son. The son would believe that this is the way woman should be treated and same attitude he would exhibit”*. It has been discussed that changing attitudes is equally important as amending the law regarding honour killing. A female lawyer commented that, *“We really need to know about law in such cases but a real problem is our social attitudes regarding the fact that there is honour in killing someone. I would also like to add that social attitude are formed through culture. We have this concept that culture and traditions cannot change. When we feel that something is a part of our culture, we believe it cannot be changed. If the practices are harmful than they should be changed. I think this is one thing we don't understand that culture changes with time, movement and awareness”*. Honour killing is primarily a culturally and traditionally derived phenomenon, so people do not take effort to understand the cruel

nature behind this phenomenon. A male police officer said, ***“Honour killing is a culturally constructed phenomenon to uphold ones honour, so people believe that it is unchangeable.”*** Henceforth, he believed that the culturally formed attitudes of masses are responsible in the prevalence of this issue. Participants further stressed that it is important to change the understanding of people at large. Nevertheless, it is not a respectable act, rather it is a heinous crime against humanity.

It is a common understanding about culturally rooted phenomenon that they cannot be changed or altered. A female lawyer stated, ***“The problem of our society is attitudinal and attitudes are developed through culture and traditions and we think culture is unchangeable although culture is not a static entity it changes and evolve with time”***. Honour killing are accepted because they are seen as unintentional and provocative murder. However, the reality is otherwise- it is a pre-planned and intentional murder. It is a cold-blooded murder like every other murder. Honour killing like any other murder is a serious offense against humanity, religion and law. One of the religious scholar stated that, ***“Honour killing is a barbaric act, it is offense against human rights, norms, law and it is about denying of giving rights to another person for exercising choice”***. The word honour has been put before killing does not make it a respectable act. A psychologist endorsed, ***“I believe killing is a shameful act, therefore honour and shame cannot go parallel”***. It has been argued that it is a specialized form of crime that is free of any class, caste, and age. It is dependent more on traditional, deeply-rooted values. A social activist stated, ***“The whole concept is based on our social structure and norms which men have coined for their own interest, I believe just selfish attitude of men nothing else lies in the root of these killing”***. It is an old phenomenon, globally present. One male lawyer commented, ***“It is very unfortunate of our society that the practice of honour killing is prevalent in our country for past many decades mainly because it has related to both lack of religious understanding and culture”***. Participant’s discussions revealed that it is the worst form of gender-based violence. It is socially-motivated crime but takes a cover under religion, although religion has nothing to do with any such sort of inhumane act.

Interviews with participants shed light on another important factor that aids in understanding of underlying beliefs and attitudes of perpetrators. Attitudes of perpetrators assist us in understanding significant cause that contributes towards their criminal behaviour. Personal beliefs of the perpetrators are also to blame. While the

society has an imprint on the actions of individuals, at the end of the day individuals are responsible for themselves. Most of the times it has been seen that the people charged with the crime of honour killing believed that they did the right thing. As a social activist shared that, ***“I am recently working on a case where mother has strangled her young daughter for contracting free will marriage. I met her several times and talked to her and let me assure you that I had not seen any sign of guilt or remorse in her for killing her daughter”***. Not only the murderer, the family members, and the society at large, is also appeared to be unsympathetic with the victim. Female police officer also agreed to this and shared that, ***“once I went to village and I met a family of girl who had been murdered in the name of honour. I met her sisters and their attitudes were not sympathetic towards their deceased sister, rather she was of the opinion that we people who lived in cities and urban areas are unable to understand their customs”***. This is the main reason why the majority of murders done in the name of honour used to be pardoned by the respective families in the past. ***One lawyer said, “the zero-regret attitude is very common among the culprits of honour killing. I have never seen them regretting after murder of their blood”***. As long as people remain convinced that taking a life of someone is justified, we cannot end the menace of honour killing from society. The positive attitudes towards honour killing has a lot to do with men’s their behavior that they might exhibit when such situations occurred. Undoubtedly, it is more prevalent in societies which are still bound in old and archaic practices. It is more of a mind-set of people who are patriarchal in nature. A male lawyer commented that, ***“we can say that attitudes are transforming slightly and with very slow pace. When attitudes of top hierarchy would change, like judges considered it important to convict the perpetrators of honour killing and police find it important to register cases and when journalists do proper follow up, then their serious attitude towards crime would make people change their attitudes as well. People in general would know that this issue is taking seriously now”***. Obviously, it’s the attitudes of multiple stakeholders that this crime is still prevalent. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that honour is not an outcome of sociocultural mindset and attitudes, rather many other structural and institutional factors are also responsible for the wide existence of honour killing in Pakistani society.

g. Reactions of women related to lack of familial support.

One of the interesting finding that although has not been discussed by majority of the participants, yet few of them discussed it in detail that, strict attitudes and pressure on woman at their homes makes them retaliate against their family. Participants have shared that, the family pressure and family attitude forced women to retaliate against the decisions of their families or to take drastic steps such as runaway from home or contracting love marriage that, eventually made them a victim of honour-based murder. A female social activist added that, *“According to my experience, women of those families retaliate where they have been kept under strict surveillance. The families who put lots of pressure on their women and in those families they had previously established example of violence and women whoever tried to broke set norms. Women have told me multiple times that we have gone against family wishes because we were unable to share our desire and wishes with them. They told that they had been fearful to communicate our desire to family because already in our family our Khala (sister of a mother) or Phopoo (sister of a father) had been killed in the name of honour for retaliation”*. The participant were of the opinion that families had forgotten the fact that by treating women harshly, you made them insecure in your own home. They become distant with their own families. When they are distant mostly likely they would not communicate their desires and rather take steps under disguise. A social activist further added that, women who choose to run away from their homes are those who were feeling insecure in their own homes and facing lots of pressure. A female journalist added that, *“intolerance and radicalisation in our country that women public and private spaces are decreased. Therefore, in any incident where women practice their own choices specially when it comes to marriage and like how they want to live their lives. That is where the intolerance began”*. A female journalist also quoted a case that confirmed retaliation from a girl because of her family behavior. She quoted a case about Zeenat Rafique, who got murdered in the name of honour for exercising her right to free will marriage. A journalist told that, *“Zeenat was basically a victim of severe domestic abuse. She had been severely beaten by her mother and brothers throughout her childhood. She had lived a life under great family pressure and abuse. Her husband was her childhood friend who had witnessed all this behavior of Zeenat family. They used to live in a same vicinity. They raised in a same place. Other people in the neighbourhood told that Zeenat used to come school with bruises on her body. This where she had developed friendship with her husband. Her*

husband also wanted to bring her out of her abusive family after marrying her. So you see it not that in our social fabric overnight girls decided to retaliate against their families. There are dark circumstances going on in a background. Girls who decides to go against family is because they had been facing worst attitude since childhood.”

The patriarchal narrative and discriminatory attitude of mothers specifically and all other family member led them to take such steps. Similarly, participants have discussed that inhumane treatment from families and disrespect towards their daughters and sisters would lead them take drastic steps like court marriage etc. A journalist quoted that, *“family usually use their girls as a tool to obtain their means. They tried to marry them with someone who is not their age appropriate, at times they do plan mismatch weddings in the family so that their inheritance do not go out of family. Those girls tried to resist families but in turn face abuse. In those circumstances they took steps like making friends and tried to married on their own”*. Thus, it can be concluded that attitudes of families towards their daughters and sisters is one reason for them to break norms. A male lawyer also shared his opinion and told that, *“let me tell you one thing out of my experience that the woman who decided to run away from homes and to marry on their own, they are usually ones who faced a lot of domestic violence at homes. To get rid away with their conditions, they develop friendships outside their homes, so that they can marry in the end and run away. Secondly forced marriage with someone is also a reason woman decide to rebel against their family. Consequently, when those women caught but their families they got killed in the name of honour”*. It can be seen that family attitude, abuse and pressure towards woman is an important aspect that makes them rebel against their family and in turn they get killed in the name of honour. Moreover, other people in the family and their community also forced families to kill that woman so that they can set an example for other woman in the family.

Demystifying Honour killing Myths

Another important contribution of this qualitative study is that it has uncovered a few myths that are associated with honour killing. Myths are generally defined as false beliefs regarding some phenomenon, person, or thing which are prevalent since older times among people.

a. Honour killing is always because of alleged sexual relation.

It is important to understand that the real causes behind honour killing are not exactly as they are presented to people. It is a common misconception that women were being killed because they had done been involved in some illicit activity. A male journalist said that, *“Mostly when women is asking for her rights and family doesn’t want to give then they murder them and claimed that the woman has been killed in the name of honour. They give label of honour killing just to protect themselves for any investigation”*. Therefore, participants held the consensus that most of the time, honour killing happened under the cover of other issues.

Participants have expressed that a lot of times it is more about achieving ulterior motives under the name of honour killing. It has been discussed in numerous interviews that primarily the ulterior motives are economic gains, which are legitamised under the guise of honour killing. One male lawyer and stated, *“In most of the cases I witnessed, the cause behind the murder was domestic and land disputes and later portrayed as Honour Killing”*. A social activist endorsed this, saying, *“most of the time that girl has been murdered over land disputes, inheritance (jaidad) issues and sometime to solve the disputes between tribal clans. Later, it was presented as girl had an illegitimate relation with someone that’s why out of rage and to protect izzat of the family she has been killed”*. The real cause is usually that brothers of fathers, instead of giving the due share of a girl in property or land, falsely accuse her and kill her, because a man who killed in the name of honour has cultural and social immunity. A male lawyer stated, *“I have witnessed people in courts who forcefully asked their mothers and sisters to withdraw their share of inheritance. They deliberately deprived them of their rights, and when they do not do so, they go to the extreme of killing them.”*

It has been also reported and discussed that women who seeks divorce or do not allowed their husband for second marriage has also been killed, and accused by men that they have been killed because they brought dishonour to the family. Therefore, when a girl demands her inheritance or share in property, or does not allow her husband for a second marriage, husbands and other male family members find it easier to kill the victim by accusing her of bad character because it is easier to do character assassination of a woman in Pakistani society. A male police officer stated, *“People assassinate the character of a woman and killing on character base is very easy as*

people easily go with this notion". Similarly, a female social activist said, *"I dealt with a case where a woman was being killed in the name of honour, whereas actually her husband was in an illegitimate relationship and she did not give permission of a second marriage"*. Participants were of the view that this trend needs to change if we want to eliminate honour killing from our society. Furthermore, participants have also shared that most of the time, honour killing are done by men in order to save their own crimes and to settle their personal disputes. A social activist said that, *"I even know that lot of times because of conflict among friends if one kills the other, then he comes home and kill a woman at home and say I saw them in an uncompromising situation that is why I killed both of them. Therefore, in those rare cases men are also been killed in the name of honour"*. In this way, no one would investigate the culprit as to why he had killed that man and woman. A male lawyer also endorsed the fact that, *"a lot of times stories and circumstances behind honour killing are different. It is mostly been misused. Mostly we found out in our cases that there are other domestic or land disputes involved in which they murder a woman by accusing her"*. Women usually become victims of honour killing because their worth is not more than a commodity, as discussed in former categories. Participants believed that the state should enforce that the choice for a life partner of a girl is properly ascertained, without coercion or family pressure, and in case she wants to say no, she must be assured of personal safety.

b. Honour killing only happened in poor and illiterate families.

Another important issue discussed by few of the participants is that honour killing do not happen only in poor families with weak social and financial status. Participants, specifically lawyers and social activists, reported that honour killing does happen in wealthy and stable families. A male lawyer told that, *"Perhaps, there are few cases of honour killing in financially stable families, but they are present. It is not that in rich family's parents or relatives are always comfortable with love marriages or marriages out of caste or families. Just the difference is that family tackle cases in a different manner. They have money and power so probably they reported as well"*. As an example, a social activist discussed about one of the cases where she told that, *"a mother who belonged to well-known and wealthy family killed her daughter through her personal body guard in the lawyer's office because she divorced her husband to marry someone else who she had been in love"*. None of the family got executed because of family influence. Literature based on news reports also

speaks about a case that had happened in a major city of Pakistan, where the father had managed to kill his daughter because she had a court marriage with a boy of her choice. The case was not brought to the limelight, and people hardly got to know about the incident because the father was an influential citizen. Moreover, media nor ngo's paid any heed to the case because the culprits belonged to influential families. Therefore, it can be presumed that honour killing are just not limited to any particular socioeconomic background or class. A female social activist also added that, *"I personally know an incident where the family is economically very stable. The father of the deceased girl was a lawyer in Supreme Court, and his daughter was also master's degree holder. The girl was interested in her cousin, but the family was not ready for their marriage. Therefore, they runaway to marry on their own. After few days family invited them and parents of girl told her that they have forgiven her. When girl arrived, the father had killed her in the name of honour daughter and he did hundred pieces of her body. Believe me the doctor was even shocked to see the body in such condition. See even the father was financially very stable and literate but the feudal mindset, the ingrained patriarchy did not allow him to leave the girl who broke the family honour"*. Thus, it is quite prevalent in wealthy and literate families. A psychologist also told that, *"Honour killing is more related to the upbringing of child. It doesn't matter how much educated you are because if education or degrees have anything to do with this, because it is prevalent in educated class as well"*. Another social activist added that, *"I would like to add that honour killing are just not restricted any specific rural areas. These are also present in urban and suburban areas. However, they are largely prevalent among areas that are influenced by feudal and tribals."* Honour killing are the result of the mindset that women belong to men, and wherever she independently decides something for herself, she would have to face extreme reactions. Henceforth, it is important to demystify that honour killing are area specific, and only present in low socioeconomic and illiterate classes.

c. Women are not complicit in honour killing.

The present study found out through the perspectives of participants, that people have general, stereotypical beliefs that in honour killing scenarios, only men are involved. They have discussed perspectives in the light of their experiences about the support of women and mostly mothers in honour killing cases. It has been discussed that there is this misperception that only male relatives such as fathers, brothers, husbands or uncles are involved in the murders.

Few of the participants have discussed that although women are not directly involved in the murder, their passive involvement has been witnessed in many cases. The passive or indirect involvement of women, mostly mothers, has been further elaborated in the light of a famous honour killing incident happened in Pakistan. A lot of participants have exemplified mothers' involvement through a famous honour killing case of Samia Sarwar that happened in Pakistan a few years ago. A social activist, a male lawyer and a journalist have mentioned her case. A female social activist working in a prominent legal firm elaborated that, *“In honour killing cases mothers showed their consent to male members towards honour killing of their daughters and at times they also become accomplice in those murders. I cannot forget the very incident of Samia Sarwar who has been killed in this very law firm. Her mother came here with her bodyguard and mislead the lawyer by stating that she would want to meet her daughter, who was actually taking legal protection. When the Samia came here, her mother directed her bodyguard and he gunshot Samia exactly in her lawyer’s office.”* A male lawyer also mentioned this incident by elaborating that, *“we cannot ignore the women support to their male members for honour killing. In Samia Sarwar case, her mother although did not directly shot her daughter but she accomplice this and murdered her daughter through a male body guard”*. Thus, it can be said that mothers have are involved and consent in killing in the name of honour.

Participants have also discussed that women do not directly kill their daughters or daughter in laws, and this is why female involvement in honour killing cases has not been highlighted much. A male lawyer further elaborated on a case he was handling in which a mother killed her daughter with the help of her son and son in law (another daughter's husband). He shared that, *“I am dealing with a case these days, where an 18-year-old girl had been killed for contracting free will marriage. The family did set fire to kill her.”* The lawyer further elaborated that initially the deceased's mother and brother beat her up and later the mother put kerosene oil on her daughter and set her on fire. A lawyer further elaborated that, *“although it is hard to believe that the mother herself set her daughter on fire, but it's a rare case where is happened. Mother and her complicit son and son in law all confessed about killing. They all believed that they did because she married on her own and brought excessive shame to the family”*. In another example female police officer also shared that mothers are equally involved in honour killing as much as fathers and brothers are – you cannot

differentiate it on the basis of male and female. It is not correct to say that honour killing are just male oriented. It has been reported by the participants that honour killing often goes unreported when females of the family are also involved. When females are equally involved than they also did not report the incident to authorities as well. The whole family including females are either complicit, or they accepted the killing in the name of honour against a girl who deviated family values. Female police officer further reported that, *“once I went to an honour killing case in the village, the deceased girl sister asked me that these killing in the name of honour. They are part of our traditions and we are fine with it. You people belonged to cities would never understand dynamics of our customs”*. Therefore, it is clearly evident through participant’s perspectives that involvement of females is equally there in honour killing cases. It would not be right to say that because of gender differences, women do not take part in honour killing.

It can be believed from these findings that mothers and women had their equal share in honour killing cases. Many other stories in the newspapers are also indicating the involvement of mothers and sisters in carrying out honour killing. Female police officer further elaborated on another case that happened in the rural area of Punjab where an 18- or 19-years old girl was killed with the help of her mother. A police officer stated that, *“When my team inquired about the case, we got to know that brother accused her sister for being loose character woman. When he decided to kill her; mother supported her son. The mother locked the door from outside and brother injured her through knife. Mother kept sitting outside the door for forty to fifty minutes unless she was confirmed that her daughter is killed. Although the girl was young and resisted a lot, consequentially in the end her whole body had knife scars and eventually brother cut her throat and till the time mother stayed outside so that her daughter won’t get a chance to run away*. Henceforth, this misconception needs to be ruled out that men are only involved in honour killing cases. Women are also raised in the patriarchal environment in Pakistan; therefore, they are also embedded with the belief that they are the respect of their fathers, brothers and husbands.

Women have mentally accepted the fact that the women who bring shame have to be killed to save family honour. They need to act in accordance with strict traditional gender roles. Women are raised under this narrative that they have to safeguard their respect for the sake of their family. When women see other womens’ involvement in

any activity against the norm, they consider it worth killing for as well. As a result, it can be assumed that perception needs to be dispelled that, because women are the victims of honour killing, naturally they should disapprove of honour killing as well. However, this is not the case in reality.

Structural Causes behind Honour Killing

While exploring this phenomenon participants elaborated on structural causes behind honour killing. Participants were of the opinion that it is important to understand the structural causes that are perpetuating this crime. Societal factors such as social pressure, psychology, lack of education, and socio-economic factors such as poverty were discussed as responsible for the prevalence of honour killing in Pakistani society.

a. Social Pressure.

Society has a great influence in accelerating honour killing. Societal factors included social pressure and face-saving in public. It has been identified from the discussions that social pressure is one prime reason behind killing in the name of honour. The pressure exerted by society is considerable, which motivates the family for conformity. Most of the time families fail to forgive their daughters for marrying through their own choice because of the high pressure they receive from the society they are living in, “A male lawyer said that *“I have witnessed in many cases that most of the time family of the girl is less convinced to murder if she does love marriage, but the influence and pressure of society makes them do such acts”*. The lawyer further elaborated that I witnessed a case where an attempted honour killing against a girl had happened, but luckily, she survived. In that case a victim girl herself told me that the father was somewhat convinced to forgive her for her marrying against the family consent, but her paternal uncle forced her father and pressurized him to kill her in order to live with respect in the society.

As it has already been discussed, honour killing is a socially derived phenomenon, so society does not tolerate any bold step taken by a woman. Pressure of neighbours and relatives is uncontrollable for parents, especially fathers and brothers, therefore they ended up killing their own blood. One male journalist said, “*The interaction of men in society is important and in order to maintain his position at sociocultural fronts, so he takes or do extreme actions*”. People give a lot of significance to cultural norms, so it is important to save face in society because

Pakistani men in general and fathers in specific believe that the act of their daughter has ruined their honour so unless they kill her society will not accept them or give them any respect. *A male lawyer stated that, "It is important for a man to maintain his status and expectations of a society he cannot tolerate deviance of a woman who's either a sister, daughter or wife." A social activist also added that, "In order to satisfy the society family end up killing a woman whom they feel have dishonoured them. So, people do not say anything to men. A lot of people I have heard said that, 'what sort of man are you? Are you not concerned with male honour, therefore those men might or might not believe in what they do, but they do what society expects them to do.'*

Participants further discussed that in order to avoid the taunts of the society, families reach a consensus of killing their daughter, wife or sister. The killing is planned within the family. The whole family is motivated for the crime because they want to earn their reputation back and they have this realisation that they can only regain it after murder. *A male lawyer shared an incident, "I dealt a case in which a girl married out of her choice and eloped, this was so embarrassing for her father and other male relatives of the family because they perceived and believed that they failed to control a women of their house that has cause damage to their repute in the family and surroundings, so in order to save their respect they attempted murder".* Likewise, a female social activist endorsed this by sharing, *"I have witnessed in many honour killing related cases that nonetheless family is involved in killing, but family, neighbors' pressurized them for taking out killing in the name of honour."* The murder takes place in a family so it is also pre-decided who will commit the murder and how other family members will forgive the perpetrator. Another social activist shared that, *"when women exercise free will, and defied the family norms, family believed that she also has lost her respect in the community, so it's better to kill her than leave her live as a shame of symbol for the family and community."* By this way they regain their prestige in their surroundings, and it is also a lesson for other women in the society. As already discussed in the above findings, honour in Pakistan is associated with male members of the family and therefore it is important for them to give a message to society that they have control over their women. Men killed female family members to send an important message that their respect is far larger than the woman who disobeyed their norms. It has been discussed by participants that

maintaining social prestige is given a lot of consideration and importance in Pakistani society.

b. Economic factors.

Participant's discussion has elucidated the relationship between honour killing and poverty in Pakistan. Participants have discussed that poverty and economic conditions cannot be ignored while understanding honour killing. A female journalist commented that, it is evident that economic issues do play a role in honour killing in Pakistani society. A male journalist elaborated, *“Poverty issue and claimed that there are two reasons of the prevalence of crime, one is environment for crime, and Pakistan is a country where there is lack of economic stability, lack of justice for crimes and poverty that adds in the frustration of people. These are the root causes of honour killing are need to be addressed but no one takes them seriously”*. A female journalist also endorsed this and shared that, *“In low socioeconomic setup girls and woman are not even allowed to gain education or make their professional choices. Therefore, women of low socioeconomic class believed that doing marriage out of own choice is only medium of exercising their right”*. It is evident from the findings that honour killing is beyond class, religious sect and ethnicity, but, numerous reported cases are from low socioeconomic class. A male lawyer also believed that *“Honour killing would mostly be carried out by an illiterate and socioeconomically deprived individual. There are less number of cases where rich people have committed killing in the name of honour”*. One reason that has been discussed by a number of participants regarding prevalence of honour killing in low socio-economic classes, is that the men in these classes usually have no educational and professional status in the society. Moreover, they are living in a close-knit community where social prestige and honour is everything for them. Moreover, due to socioeconomic deprivation they are more frustrated and easily influenced by their community and neighborhood.

c. Lack of education and awareness.

Lack of education is a leading factor in most social evils. It often leads to taking emotional decisions instead of analyzing matters rationally. A religious scholar stated that, *“If you ask me the reason behind existence of honour killing is, I would say its illiteracy. Honour killing has existing in our society due to our self-created norms and those norms are prevalent because of illiteracy at large”*. Participants also discussed that lack of education and awareness serves as one of the central causes

behind honour killing. A male lawyer commented that, *“People generally claimed that they have murdered out of rage or sudden provocation, but I believe that illiteracy and lack of awareness has a lot to do with this. People are unaware about religious and legal implications. Moreover, our psychological makeup of mind regarding this phenomenon can only be altered through education”*. A female journalist added that, *“I believe that honour killing usually takes place in areas where there is less awareness and education. It is also more prevalent in economically deprived places primarily in rural areas because all these variables such as education, justice, and awareness is not suffice”*. While highlighting the prevalence of illiteracy another male lawyer added, *“Poor literacy and lack of awareness is one reason behind these murders, although, it is not class related but more prevalent in low income group”*.

Participants have discussed the role of education in curbing a social evil like honour killing. A female social activist endorsed that, *“Education can play a huge role in changing the mindset in our society. We need to make interventions in our educational curriculum and education should be available to masses only then we will be able to curb this crime”*. Education brings about a change in human behavior and all perpetrators lacked this opportunity. Another social activist also added that, *“Education of women is important particularly so that they get aware of their rights and protect themselves against all kinds of violence. We need to empower women, give them conscious [ness] about their rights. We need to give them feministic thinking and these all can be done through education.”*—One religious scholar stated, *“Education can bring openness in people. That is why it [honour killing] is very rare in urban and educated class”*. A police officer stated that, *“I believe lack of education, social deprivation, general patriarchal ascendancy and dearth of relevant legislation are the main causes of honour killing”*. A male journalist added that, *“Lack of education is the reason that still these rotten traditions like honour killing are prevalent in the country.”* Another male journalist added that, *“Old traditions would not be eliminated from the society in few days. It’s a long process, but education of individuals both in families and schools would make a difference. We need to change the narrative in our social interactions as well where we need to condemn rotten traditions like honour killing. This would bring awareness among people”*. Pakistan’s weak education system is a cause of illiteracy and in turn a cause of honour killing as well. A female lawyer also commented that, *“Overall families in*

Pakistan needs to be educated on this issue, they need to be realized and understand it is the killing against their own blood and these acts dismantle family structure”.

Participants further elaborated and stressed on the education of women in Pakistan. The heinous crime of honour killing is done in ignorance – the ignorance of law and the ignorance of religion. Illiteracy is a root cause of evil and honour killing is one of its forms. When women are educated, they will be aware of their rights as well.

d. Psychological causes.

Several psychological factors were also highlighted by participants which they believe add to the prevalence of honour killing. A psychologist stated that, *“All the honour killing and domestic violence against women in general is related to male ego or male psyche. Since our childhood we have been told that our brother are our caretakers. Everything has been provided by fathers, brothers or grandfathers in our society. They are the chaperons of women”.* As a result, this psyche plays a role in developing the patriarchal attitude amongst males. Another psychologist shared that, *“At a very young age, we have confined our children under strict gender roles. We taught them that girls can do this, and boys can do this. We taught girls in our society that they cannot exhibit their anger. They are the ones who have to patient and quiet. On the other hand, we taught boys in our culture that they cannot cry. We taught them it’s not manly to be sensitive. However, we never discouraged them when they show hostile tantrums”.* So, we may assume by the participants’ discussion that we develop attitudes like women need to patiently live with violence. Because men are their caretakers, they are allowed to behave like this. Moreover, depression and unhealthy thought patterns were identified as major contributing factors to this behavior. As one of the female journalists stated that, *“Infused aggression and frustration among people is one [of] the prime reasons that people take impulsive acts like honour killing”.* –Societal pressures and failure to rationalize one’s own feelings led men to commit violent actions like honour killing. Men who commit this crime are depressed and frustrated, either poor or emotionally unstable. One male police officer shared that, *“I believe there are number of psychological factors are dominant such as aggression and ego that perpetuates a father or brother to killed his own daughter and sister but these psychological factors needs to be explored further as it is important to unearth what factor psychological state forces a father to kill his own blood. See, if you shoot somebody that’s a mechanical action, in a matter of seconds*

things are done. However, when you kill your own daughter by choking is a difficult thing to do". The aim of men in the family is to take revenge on the one who has challenged their ego. Furthermore, a male journalist also shared this belief stating that, *"The extreme actions by male members are taken in order to satisfy their ego. Ego plays an important factor in this. Whenever, a woman takes a step against the family, ego of the male members of the family hurt"*. The mindset of men in the honour killing cases have appeared a number of times. Many participants have confirmed that it is their mindsets that become threatened when their women disobeyed them. A male lawyer also believed that, *"In two to three cases of honour killing I have particularly observed that men in society feel their power at the top of their conscious level along with that they have this psychological issue of satisfying their ego. Honour killing helped them in satisfying their egos"*. Most of these men do not believe in equity. In some cases, perpetrators have also filed for an insanity defense stating that the crime was committed in the state of rage, *"One of the male lawyers stated that threatened ego, controlling factor, hyper masculinity and maintenance of repute in society leads to such violence"*. In a nutshell, psychological state of mind has an important role to play behind these violent actions.

Institutional Factors in Perpetuating Honour Killing

Participants have widely discussed that the role of three institutions in Pakistan – law, media and religion – are highly questionable and their shortcomings play a huge role in perpetuating honour killing in Pakistan. A major critique that came from participants from all factions of society is towards the irresponsible attitude of the judicial and law enforcement institutions. Their performance is poor and has been deemed untrustworthy by society. Furthermore, the unprofessional behavior of judges and lawyers received criticism as well. Lawyers have been reported to use their profession for monetary benefits only. Seeking justice has been made expensive for a common person. The court proceedings are so entangled that a common citizen fears getting stuck in them. The selfish attitude of lawyers along with all the above factors has kept the justice system a major contributor towards the honour killing issue. Moreover, the unprofessional attitude of media channels in sensationalizing sensitive issues, lack of follow ups, and irresponsible reporting are also contributing to the honour killing culture and require our attention. Similarly, poor role of clerics in

discussing such issues in the light of religion and lack of true understanding of Islam and *Sharia* are also responsible for perpetuation of honour killing in Pakistan.

a. Attitudes of judges and lawyers.

The judicial system of Pakistan at large has been insensitive towards the topic of honour killing. The judges and the lawyers do not feel the pain of a life lost and keep the situations twisted in the intricacies of the legal proceedings. The case proceedings are slow and legal formalities are prolonged to an extent that any hope for justice remains bleak. One female social activist said, ***“Jirgas exist because our formal judicial system is not working properly”***. Until the judicial system becomes transparent and committed to its job, the parallel judicial system will continue to exist. The slow process of justice is unable to keep up with the high influx of cases. Over the years, cases have been piling up and their disposals from the courts have been sluggish. A female lawyer confirmed that, ***“Prosecution departments in Pakistan are ineffective and slow. Judges do not give timely decisions nor are cases being prosecuted timely. Therefore, cases are settled out of court. Moreover, law has already been very lenient towards honour killing cases”***. The findings reinforce the need for structural reform in the law enforcement and judicial systems of Pakistan.

The attitude of judges towards women killed in these honourkilling is also a complex matter, as they do not treat these cases as a priority and appear to be biased. A social activist shared that, ***“Judges and lawyers in Pakistan are also the product of the society, and they belonged to same patriarchal mindset”***. Female police officer also confirmed that, ***“Judges themselves are misogynist and have not pursue such cases. Hardly any honour killing culprit has been convicted. From here it can be imagined that patriarchal mindset of judiciary that they are unable to make any convictions on honour killing case”***. Henceforth, judges, lawyers and other individuals involved in the judicial process come from the same patriarchal, societal mindset, and remain the torch bearers of male chauvinism. A female lawyer also stated, ***“I witnessed in courts that the attitude of judges towards who has come for protection after being eloped of their houses, they really do not see them with compassion”***. There is a shortage of women officials in the judiciary, where female lawyers and judges are outnumbered by their male counterparts. A male police officer said, ***“From the prosecutor to the judges, everyone is male. It is difficult for a woman to get justice in court.”*** Therefore, if any female victim pursues court for shelter or protection, she has to face biases in

court against her. A male lawyer also confirmed the biased attitude of judges towards women victims and shared that, ***“When a judge who hears the case of Qandeel Baloch, would also see her past records and decision would definitely be biased and effected by her past”***. It can be analyzed from the findings that biased attitude leads to ineffective prosecution in honour killing cases. To minimize the scores of honour killing in the country, it is important to ensure conviction and timely processing of cases. For this, it is important to make sure the attitude of the judiciary towards women victims remains unbiased. Induction of female judges would also help in dealing with honour killing cases in the country.

b. Attitudes and shortcomings of police.

It was revealed during interviews that the police staff also shares a similar mindset to the rest of society. A police officer endorsed this and said that, ***“Police is the product of our society. All over the world police is the reflection of society. This cannot happen that society and police are looking in the opposite direction”***. Participants believed that patriarchal mind-set of the police is a hurdle towards this social evil. Majority of people in police departments are neither very literate, nor do they come from very progressive families. Therefore, they have insensitive attitude towards honour killing. A female social activist commented that, ***“Police in Pakistan is very patriarchal and is a male dominated department. Lot of corruption is involved during the process. There are a smaller number of honour killing cases that are actually registered”***. The police accuse women in any such case and resort to character assassination. A female social activist shared, ***“Many a times, the victims reported to us that the police believes that it’s a woman’s fault. They believe that women instigate men to resort to violence”***. A female activist also confirmed that and shared, ***“Whenever a woman stepped out to register any complaint about harassment or violence against her, police showed highly insensitive attitude towards her. Regardless of what happened to her, they question her as to what were they wearing, why were they alone at that time, what were they doing etc and they pull out the history of what was her life, what has she done in her previous life just to prove that she had a bad character”***. Therefore, it is difficult for women to raise their voice against ill treatment because of the judgement they face by the law enforcement agencies. Moreover, police officials and staff are not sensitive towards issues like violence against women. They term such issues as ‘domestic’. A female

social activist stated that, *“Once I was doing training of police officials on violence against women issues. I found out that 89% of police officials believed that whenever such sort of cases comes to them, they would try to reconcile both parties. Without even knowing the gravity of dispute, their first step is reconciliation. At times reconciliation is in fact more damaging because the condition at home is so intense that reconciliation can enhance the torture on a woman who has taken a courageous step to come out and approached the police station.”* Thereby, very limited cases get registered by the police.

According to the participants, police officers often presents weak evidence to support honour killing cases. A female activist elaborated on this stating, *“Whenever a woman goes to police and asked them that I am facing threat from family or inlaws and please register my case, then police do not write FIR rather they write a RIT. RIT is something that is written in a register and proper investigation only starts on the basis of FIR. However just to satisfy women they write a RIT and thereby inaction against culprit’s remains”*. The first information report filed by the police is intentionally left weak and vague as one of the social activists shared, *“Weak FIR and presentation of cases by the police makes the cases weak”*. A male lawyer stated that, *“Police remains passive in these cases because it’s a family matter and they know eventually the family will forgive them”*. A female journalist said similar things, *“Neither does the Police take these cases seriously, nor do follow up because it’s a family-oriented crime. The family knows they will get away with these cases eventually. So, the police do not waste their energy and time in gathering enough evidence”*. The police officials are weak in front of the influential and wealthy characters in society, such as tribal leaders and feudalists, which is unfair. A female activist stated that, *“Police can be easily pressurized to become biased in a case. An amendment in FIR (first information report) system is needed and the induction of female staff is the need of the hour.”* Moreover, it has also been addressed by the male lawyer that, *“Weak FIRs are written in honour killing cases which is a problem. According to criminal procedure court Mohrar is bound to write what you have produced to him, but what happens is people took prewritten content for the FIR. Usually whenever such cases are happened people rush to lawyers and they guide culprit and his or her family what should be written in a FIR so that case become*

weak in initial stages". Therefore, the attitudes of police departments have major shortcomings, and until they are addressed things will not get better.

c. Limitations of law implementation.

Other than the human errors and shortcoming of the individuals involved, our legal system has certain loopholes that have also been extensively discussed by the participants. Moreover, lack of implementation of existing laws sustains the prevalence of honour killing in Pakistan. The lawyers and religious scholars elaborated the law and gave a detailed judgment on the loopholes in the law that provide a license to kill a woman without being convicted. A male lawyer explained the background of the law and said that, *"The loopholes exist in the substantive criminal law". Initially Sharia bench of Supreme Court of Pakistan and then in 1989 Sharia (Islamic law) court has given a decision that all offences against human being and human body must be dealt under Islamic regulation. At that time specific indications were also given that legal heirs of perpetrators would be allowed to forgive the perpetrator. Secondly, compounding of offense by taking compensation from perpetrators has been allowed. In 2004, an amendment was made and it was decided that honour killing would be considered as a Qatal I Amd (intentional murder) that means punishment of honour killing would be according to Qisas law and if Qisas is not possible than Tazir (punishment by state or ruler of the state) would be granted."* A lawyer further shed light by saying, *"On the section 302 (a, b & c) which applies on murder cases. Participants explained that section 302 a, b and c of criminal procedural code of Pakistan deals with Qatal I Amd (intentional murder). The section 302 (a) deals with Qisas (Causing a similar hurt to the person on the same part of the body i.e., eye for an eye). Punishment under Qisas cannot be implemented on honour killing cases or cannot be possible because 302 (a) is about evidential burden or sentencing somebody after fulfilling the Islamic criteria of witnesses. According to Qisas law, four witnesses have to be presented before the court who will give assurance that the person who is accusing the woman is justified. The four witnessed were also supposed to be of an utmost character as per Islamic criteria. So, you see you cannot present four witnesses who are of utmost character it is highly impossible. Therefore section 302 (a) is hard to implement. Then comes section 302 (b) that deals with punishment with death or life imprisonment. According to Islam, there are two concepts Hudd (God has Prescribed) and Tazir (state or ruler of the state gives of that time). Whereas*

section 302 (c) states imprisonment of 25 years, but it is lesser as per the circumstantial evidence. It has also been told by the lawyers that Qisas is only applicable when culprit confessed about the indictment against her or without any external pressure. Henceforth, section 302 a, b and c would not be applicable on crime occurred under the pretext of honour. Moreover, according to section 309 a wali (legal heir) of the victim can always waive off the qisas. Whereas section 310 has provided the opportunity where the right of the qisas shall be deemed to have been compounded and the offender shall be liable to diyat (blood money).” A female judge agreed that, *“Unless honour killing will not be considered as a non compoundable offense, the problems will not be solved. When wali and waris such as father, brother, son or husband are the perpetrators, it becomes impossible to punish or convict them. This is the reason whoever in the family feels like they killed a woman because they know they can legally escape”. The misuse of Deeyat (blood money) law has been the biggest reason behind the cases of honour killing.*

In honour killing, families are involved therefore cases often get settled within families. They are also legal heirs of the victim, and so once one forgives the other, the matter is dissolved. The family members settle the case by waiving of *qisas* and also through *diyat*, and save the murderer who is also a part of their family. A female social activist said, *“The provision of Diyat is there for such murders. After spending some time in jail, a settlement is done and the offender is freed. State needs to become party in such crimes and whoever comes such father says that my son killed my daughter and I am his wali therefore I forgive my son. This should not be accepted by the court. When state is a party then punishment must be granted to the offender may he be of any relation to the victim”*. A female lawyer told, *“Section 302 has loopholes as it allows you to pay Diyat and get away by giving blood money.”* A male lawyer suggested that *“Honour killing should be trial under anti-terrorism court. Because you cannot make settlement in the cases that are included under ATC. These cases are considered as cases against the state. Therefore, state becomes party and family is not involved”*. The involvement of state in honour killing related cases could have an impact on such cases if the individuals in the judicial system would sincerely give their heart and mind to eradicate this social issue. A female police officer and a female judge ascertained that, *“We need to make it a non- compoundable offence and we need to have more conviction to reduce the frequency of such cases”*. Participants have

extensively discussed the need of making honour killing a non-compoundable offense. It should be dealt as every other murder whereby the state has to play a role of *Walion* behalf of the victim. A police officer shared that, ***“The problem exists because of the provision of qisas and diyat law that was introduced by the government of Zia ul Haq in 70’s”***. It provides a gateway to culprits because it is a family crime. A religious scholar believed that, ***“In honour killing cases families are involved therefore, they should not be given the power of forgiveness to them, rather state should deal it.”***

Participants have also discussed about the lack of implementation of law. A female lawyer shared that, ***“I think there is a difference about the law and its implementation. You cannot say that it’s because we do not have the law. No, I think you have the law, you are unable to bring it in its true essence”***. Various factors have been discussed by the participants beyond just the lack of law enforcement, such as social attitudes, mindset, and acceptance of honour killing, delayed justice and existence of parallel judicial system. Due to the nature of honour killing, either the victims’ own families are involved or other close to them, so the majority of cases go unreported. Court proceedings are entangled so much that there is lack of implementation of the law. A journalist argued that, ***“Pakistan is among one of those countries where a considerable number of laws exists, the problem is lack of implementation of those laws”***. A female police officer said, ***“I don’t understand when judiciary is going to implement this law. In other cases, murder cases convicts receive punishments. However, in honour killing cases, you hardly get to see any conviction that indicates non-implementation of law”***. These loopholes and non-implementation provide easy ways out for perpetrators. A male lawyer stressed that, ***“There is a serious need to bring more amendments in the law and also implementing them through”***. The involvement of the family of the victim in the offence makes the case more complex. There is no plaintiff (*Muddai*) to pursue the case. Moreover, in many honour killing cases that occurred in rural areas are dealt under *Jirgas* and *Panchayats* because formal legal system is slow, expensive and thus this is one of the many reasons that parallel judicial system exists.

d. Existence of parallel judicial system.

The participants widely discussed the role of parallel justice system in Pakistan whereby *Jirga*, tribal courts headed by tribal leaders, present a hurdle to the rule of national constitution. They suggested that these *Jirgas* were the outcome of traditional

caste system and a means to sustain tribal bonds. One of the female social activists said, *“Jirgas exist because our formal judicial system is not working properly”*. A female lawyer told that, *“Our judicial system is so cumbersome that decisions on cases are mostly delayed. Thereby Panchayats and Jirgas become strong. When in courts it would take 20 years to resolve a land dispute, whereas when you go to Panchayats it gets resolved easily. The difference is that women are not equal to a land dispute but nonetheless women are considered as commodity and they take decisions on behalf of women in Panchayats where she is never been present to defend herself”*. Participants have also discussed that people in parallel judicial system and their leader also lack knowledge and education. As a male journalist confirmed that, *“The heads of the jirgas being mostly illiterate give their decisions based on their own narrow mindedness. Any revolt against these decisions results in a social outcast and violent reactions”*. Unfortunately, the rural population is largely dependent on *panchayats* and *jirgas* for the settlements of all kinds of disputes. A lawyer said, *“Jirgas and Panchayats are final authority in rural areas and they have always given anti-women decisions”*. A female activist also endorsed that honour killing cases in Southern Punjab and Sindh are dealt by *Jirga* leaders and through *Panchayat*, *“They grant forgiveness to the family and if in any case family has also killed man along with their woman even than jirgas and panchayats compensation to the man family according to their judgment”*. These systems are so strong that any resident of the area cannot escape their influence. This settlement of honour related crimes outside the courts provides an opportunity for the perpetrators to escape unpunished and reinforces the notion of honourkilling. A female journalist also stated that, *“Interior Sindh and Punjab are dominated by feudalists and there is a lack of law and order situation. Existence of Jirgas and panchayats are indicating the significance of the law system made by feudal”*. These feudalists are largely politically influenced, and the authorities do not intervene in their decisions. Participants were of the view that these parallel judicial systems need to be criminalized. A male journalist told that, *“I am actively running a campaign where we are highlighting that how detrimental this parallel judicial system is for the country. He told that all legal authorities claim that jirgas and panchayats are illegal. However, they just say it for the sake of it and no concrete step has been taken up till now to abolish them”*. As the judicial system is ineffective, people rely more on these locally formulated systems of justice.

Moreover, there is no representation of women in Jirgas. Women are not allowed to defend their side of story. A journalist said, *“In rural areas it’s a custom that after committing a crime, people go and take refuge in the jirgas which always end up supporting the criminal”*. A female lawyer showed her concern and said, *“There is no representation women in parallel judiciary”*. A social activist said, *“Jirgas and Panchayats play negative role in perpetuating these cases. They play huge role in guaranteeing forgiveness to the murderers”*. Participants believed that parallel judicial system of the country needs to be properly handled because they are involved in inhumane acts and their decisions are mostly biased. Until we address the existence and activity of parallel judiciary systems, honour killing and violence against women will continue to take place.

e. Shortfalls of media: sensationalism.

Majority of the participants had consensus over the fact that media is playing a very negative role that perpetuates honour killing, as media plays a role in shaping opinions of the masses. Many participants in the research thought that such double standards of the media are the major cause behind the overall mishandling of honour killing cases and widespread increase in the cases of honour killing.

Media personnel themselves argued that people in media are not educated and qualified in media studies so they lack sensitivity while reporting and presenting the news. A journalist quoted that, *“Media personnel are themselves not very educated, they are ill-minded people, they carried the same mindset even in the field they do men do not give respect to their fellow women”*. A social activist also agreed and stated that, *“Media is extremely patriarchal, male dominated and non-professional in Pakistan. Number of journalists and reporters are not very trained and they report cases in a very insensitive manner. Eventually they only sensationalize the news.”* When a certain breach in honour happens, where a female decides to act on her own whims, it is often the media that projects the story which at times increases the sense of being dishonoured among the members of the family. A female activist believed that, *“I think media is very less sensitized, they need to be sensitized over sensitive issues”*. As a female lawyer commented that, *“Media is inherently patriarchal in their own essence. The women feel so threatened because media does not care while highlighting sensitive issues. Media needs to keep the identity anonymous of those women but media hardly does that”*.

Honour killing or women-related issues demand a certain level of sensitivity but the truth is that people in media houses are also from the same society. A journalist reported that, ***“Media people are the representation of the societal mind-set; they focus more on selling their stories through sensationalism rather reporting them objectively and follow it till the end”***. Another journalist also said that, ***“Sensationalism also leads to victim’s shaming rather than helping the victim”***. It is evident from the participants interviews that the imbalanced, sensationalized and insensitive reporting gives the impression that victim deserved that punishment. A male and female journalist stated that, ***“Media focuses more on sensationalizing the news for a time being they do not take responsibility of following it up later”***. Consequently, it is unable to educate people about the crime and related factors. Another female journalist also reported that, ***“Media is disinterested towards educating the masses about the problem and its related factors in a correct manner, they are only interested in reporting the case rather helping the affected individuals”***. It has been thoroughly discussed that gender sensitivity in the media is also a serious problem. The patriarchal set up of society is clearly visible in Pakistani media as well. Majority of reporters, especially in rural areas, are men. Men shape the narrative carried by the media; hence it is not surprising that women are targeted. This trend is more visible in cases where local media reported the stories of honour killing.

At times, media reporting of sensitive cases like honour killing is done in such a manner that it adds fuel to the fire and the would-be-murderer is pushed even further to commit a crime. A female journalist further elucidated that, ***“Hence, victim shaming and sensationalism lead towards violence as it recently happened with one of the social media celebrity “Qandeel Baloch”. Sensationalized news about her ignited the fire in her family which ultimately became the cause of her murder by her own brother. The duty and moral responsibility of media is too high that it is not fulfilling. If it acts upon it responsibly, then it makes the institutions accountable. People would also get to know that it is a crime and their criminals also get executed”***. A female police officer added, ***“Media thinks that their only job is to give spicy news; they do not feel any responsibility otherwise. If media highlights cases in correct manner, then it will put pressure on the law enforcement agencies as well”***. Therefore, lack of sensitivity, victim-shaming attitude, and inaccurate reporting make the media responsible contributors to the sustenance of this phenomenon.

f. Lack of responsible reporting and follow up.

In past few years, a lot of private media houses have been established. As there are many channels on air, the sense of competition is also rising among them. Due to their personal unhealthy competition they are becoming more irresponsible such as lack of follow up in news. A social activist said that, *“I believe media has a much bigger responsibility than only reporting the news. Follow up of news is of utmost duty of media. If police have arrested somebody and when it goes to the court media needs to follow the case till the end. Only then people would know what’s going on in such cases”*. Furthermore, another journalist pointed out, *“Media is keener about their ratings, so most of the time their irresponsible manner of coverage damages the repute of the victim and its family”*. A lot of participants argued that media is not fulfilling its duty with responsibility. The institution of media has flourished a lot in the past decade. It is more accessible to masses even in farfetched areas of the country. A male and a female journalist themselves agreed that media channels in these times are just in competition of giving news first.

Participants have further discussed that when media does not follow up on cases, then the issue dies down in the hearts of people and they do not get any idea about the actual factors involved behind killing, nor do they know about the investigations. A male journalist said that, *“Initially every channel had broadcast that news repeatedly showed that incident in a way that the girls have transcend the customs of the society and so on but later hardly any channel or journalist done its field analysis and reporting.”* The journalist further elaborated that he himself is an investigative journalist and therefore he had picked up the case to investigate it and to prove that the girls had not done anything shameful, *“despite the fact that I had been threatened, attacked and discouraged to pursue this case by various people including Jirga leader of Kohistan, but I still am following this case and putting effort to bring change in that area”*. Another female journalist also told about a famous case in which she herself was involved – that of the famous social media star Qandeel Baloch’s murder. She narrated, *“When Qandeel was murdered the news was all over the media and social media. Every channel had showed what she used to do why she had been killed etc. But no channel later on did follow that what happened to the murderers, where are they, had they been caught or not despite the fact that it had been clearly established that she had been killed by her own brother”*. A female social activist further added, *“Participants also believed that local media lacks proper training as well. There is no*

concept of media ethics and the code of conduct, especially with regards to the local newspapers". It has been further discussed that many reporters in the print and electronic media are not well equipped in dealing with sensitive and investigative cases. Lack of trained individuals are recruited in the media. Furthermore, in rural areas, due to lack of staff, only one reporter is dealing with all kinds of reports for that area. One of the lawyers stated that, *"Because of lack of follow up about these cases, people tend to believe that it is a non-punishable crime. Therefore, they do not perceive it as a crime, nor they have the knowledge about the undercover facts behind honourkilling"*. Participants other than journalists also addressed these problems

. Religious scholars also condemned the role of media, in that rather than educating the masses about ethics and morality, it is promoting depravity in younger generations. The kind of values the media are transferring become the cause of misguidance. One religious scholar stated that, *"Media is creating evilness in society by showing low standard and immoral programs"*. Police officers also said that media these days just need a news item which they can present in a glamourized way, and they are becoming less responsible. A police officer stated that, *"Media is so irresponsible and discriminatory in cases related to honour-based violence. When it comes to a rape case, they will do a lot of glamourisation of that woman and will keep on calling her in the programs, but when a woman is dead nobody cares to interview the culprit or to do its public shaming"*. The lawyers also claimed that media has contributed a lot in creating the sensationalism around this issue – *"People in our society are so immune to this phenomenon that it has made the positive perception for honour killing". People are so infused with this phenomenon that it is no more a crime in their view"*. The journalists who are reporting such cases hold the view that there is such a large influx of new news items that they are unable to follow up with previously covered stories. The media houses are already operating on a business model approach, so their focus is on money making and selling news, and for that they adopt any approach.

However, the most important influence of media is that it creates public opinion and formulates narratives, so it's a responsibility of media institutions to act upon this responsibility and to counter this problem from the bottom up. The change of narrative will also change the attitudes of people. Media, art and literature are important agents in constructing narratives so institutions need to be cohesive in order to tackle this issue effectively.

g. Lack of religious and *sharia* knowledge.

Religion is an important aspect with regards to the matter of honour killing. Majority of the participants believed that the common man lacks true understanding of religion and the place Islam gives to women. A social activist shared that, *“I can clearly recall that once I had a detailed discussion with some religious cleric over this issue. He told that, a woman who has been killed for the sake of honour, or women who have been killed because they got married out of love or out of their own choice, and it is thought that this killing is justified in Islam, and the murders should be dealt with leniency, in reality it is due to lack of Islamic knowledge. The cleric himself believes that killing is a crime according to Quran and honour killing is also considered as a murder. The punishment of murder is hell, and it cannot be forgiven”*. It has been made clear that by no means killing is allowed in Islam. Furthermore, participant’s discussion and literature confirmed that mostly honour killing took place in reaction to love marriages. Pakistani society, particularly in rural areas, is not open to the idea of girls having a say in their marriage. A journalist stated that, *“Arranged marriage is a norm and men take all the decisions. In case a girl wants to marry someone of her choice, she is forced to rebel. Numerous reported cases of honour killing have this as their root cause – a girl trying to marry someone she likes when the family is not supportive of the idea”*. On this, religious scholar categorically declared that, *“Islam believes in equality. A woman is allowed to take personal and professional decisions like she is allowed to choose her life partner just like she is allowed to choose her career”*. Unfortunately, Islam is portrayed as a conservative religion, but the reality is otherwise. A female judge believed that, *“It is the religious orthodoxy that presents Islam as religion who doesn’t give any respect or power to women. Although religion of Islam is all about peace and respec.,. People are so afraid of Mullahs (clerics) that they do not raise voice and other are blindly followed and believe them”*. Orthodox religious clerics are of the view that women should be considered inferior, because Islam gives no freedom and liberty of action to women.

Religious scholars have maintained the stance that, *“There is neither sanction for self-proclaimed killing nor authority for killing by heirs in religion. It’s the right of Sharia and law”*. Religious scholars discussed that primarily honour killing takes place when a girl marries out her own choice, at times out of societal brotherhood, caste etc. A religious scholar commented on this and condemned killing for marrying out of

personal choice or outside of family and caste. He said that, ***“It is extremely embarrassing to kill someone for marrying out of choice. It is a basic human right that one can choose their life partner just like one can choose their career. Parents or family can suggest an adult but they cannot force them nor can they be violent towards that girl or a boy. Islam gives right to marry out of personal choice”***. It has been clear that Islam does not allow to killing somebody nor allow violence against women. Honour killing has been wrongly associated with Islam. People portray the idea that Islam has allowed or sanctioned killing in the name of honour. Due to lack religious knowledge, people justify this crime. A religious scholar categorically stated that, ***“From Islamic perspective, murder is the second biggest sin in the light of Islam”***. He further mentioned that in Surah Furqan, the 25th surah of the Quran, ***“those who never invoke any other deity beside God, nor take a life, which God has made sacred, except in the pursuit of justice, nor commit adultery. Whoever does these things will face the penalties...” 25:68***. Moreover, the scholar further elaborated that Allah tala (God) has clearly mentioned that murder of one human is the murder of whole humanity. A male lawyer also endorsed and said that, ***“We have been taught that Islam instructed us that murder of one person is the murder of whole humanity, then how do people justify honour killing as Islamic”***.

The major excuse behind honour killing is the immoral acts or character of the women. The teachings of Islam in this regard are very clear. Islam has not given the right to kill to anyone. A female activist said, ***“Islam is used as a tool for murdering in the honour whereas true teachings of Islam do not allow killing in any circumstance”***. The Prophet (PBUH) also gave clear understanding in this regard. He never encouraged or suggested murder in any such circumstances like adultery. A religious scholar cleared this and said that, ***“In sharia the immoral actions like adultery are considered as extremely disliked acts. But it is never stated nor encourage by sharia that person can hold gun himself to killed the person. Sharia has never allowed the Wursah (family) to take law in his or her hand neither they can kill on their own”***. If adultery is witnessed, the accuser is supposed to present four witnesses whose characteristics are defined by Islam. A social activist told that, ***“I strongly believe that religious militancy contributing rise in violence against women including honour killing. Because people believe that if some girl run away from home then this is an act of vulgarity. And they believe that to punishment of***

immorality is murder. Although in actual religion has clearly guided where you cannot take law in hand. Murder cannot be done based on assumptions and accusations". Other participants have also maintained the perspective that if any wrong deed has happened than it has been taken to task by following proper course of law.

Unfortunately, people at large use that Islamic verdicts out of context. It has been made clear by religious scholars that illicit sexual relation is considered as a wrong deed, and Islam has also guided for the punishment for those who are involved in that. But that punishment cannot be granted without proving the offense. However, in Pakistan, every other day women are killed in the name of honour and on the accusation of adultery, without proof and without witness testimonies. A social activist stated that, *"Number of women are killed in the name of honour and their family justified their killing by saying that she was involved in an illicit activity"*. Participants strongly believed that people are conveniently associating and justifying those murders in the name of Islam. As one of the lawyers stated, *"Religion has also been used and exploited to sanction such acts. Honour killing has cultural basis not religious"*. It has been made clear that one is only allowed to give punishment of murder to someone who has killed somebody and confessed it, or witnesses have clearly testified against the person and the family of the victim is neither ready to forgive the perpetrator nor the state and law believes that the culprit should be forgiven. Only under these conditions can a culprit be killed, and that is called *Qisas*.

The problem lies primarily with the way religion is used and interpreted by an overwhelming majority of the people. As a social activist told that *"Religion has been profaned. I must say it has been distorted. Record it, when I say its distorted, because nobody had taken the trouble to study the religion in its true sense and depth"*. Although religious scholars and all other participants believe that killing has no place in religion, no serious effort has been made by the state or the religious establishment to reform the mosques that exist across the country. It is not the fault of religion, rather it is our faulty and limited knowledge about religion. A scholar conveyed that, *"Although, the status of women defined by Islam is quiet contrary to this patriarchal and extremist mind-set of our society. Religion provides equal rights to women in everything. From right of inheritance to the right of choosing their spouse, Islam professes fair rights to women."* This misinterpretation of religion means that, at times, the concept of honour is defended using religious references.

h. Misinterpretation of sharia law.

Participants have acknowledged that generally we all lack understanding of sharia law. Unfortunately, we are unable to understand the true essence of punishments sanctioned by religion. It has also been acknowledged by various participants that the concept of *Sangsaar* is also misunderstood, and people used it in their defense. However, the accounts of religious scholars have made clear that the punishment of *Sangsaar* is there to create fear in people to abstain from any immoral acts. Participants have told that the types of punishment, “*Hudd*” and “*Tazeer*” are not known to common man. *Hudd* is a form of punishment ordained by the Quran and Sunnah and therefore changes cannot be made into them. Whereas, *tazeer* is a form of punishment given by, or at the discretion of, the judge or ruler of the time and so judges can make changes in it. One religious scholar comprehensively explained the misunderstanding related to *diyat* (blood money), ***“It has also been found out that the law of Diyat is flawed foundationally. As per the Islamic law it is the right of the state or the court to decide about forgiveness in case of murder. Legal heirs come later. If the court feels they can give concession then they can take the opinion of the legal heirs. The heir cannot forgive a killing directly”***. If the heirs are not willing to forgive, then the court is bound to punish. But when court decides that the crime is punishable, then the court is not bound to ask the opinion of heirs for forgiveness of the culprit. Another religious scholar also stated that, ***“According to Islamic religion, it is imperative to determine that state, law or rulers of the state are satisfied with forgiveness of culprit. Actual Diyat law states that family (Wursah) can only forgive when state or judge also believed that the convict can be forgiven. If state believes that culprit cannot be forgiven then family (Wursah) cannot forgive the culprit as well. On contrary to this the law that we are practicing and the common belief prevails in the society is that blood money law as it is all about forgiveness granted by the family (Wursah). On the other hand, Quran says that in case of murder it is mandatory to have Qisas. So, if any lenience can be the state needs to make sure that the person deserves lenience”***. It is quite evident from the findings that our society, including law enforcement agencies, are unaware of the true essence of this law. Men in rage kill their daughters, wife or sisters thinking and believing that they will be forgiven by the family. It should not be a license to kill like this one. A crime is always against the society. Any personal settlement should be through state. Punishment is the right of the state. If the person sees something bad happening, instead of taking things into his own hand, he should

report to the authority. The above stated law is practiced otherwise. *Diyat* is only applicable when along with heirs, the court also believes that the culprit can be forgiven.

A religious scholar stated, ***“The law of Qisas and Diyat is not reflecting true Islamic teachings rather it is taking out of context, and people do not raise their voice against this because they are afraid of orthodox Ulemas.”*** The deficiency of religious knowledge often encourages families and individuals to take the law into their own hands and attempt honour killing. It is relatively easier to provoke people in the name of religion. The emotional attachment with religion often leads them to justifying violent acts.

i. Role of clerics and scholars.

The interviews have clearly indicated that religion in Pakistani society has been used as an instrument to justify honour killing. It has also been identified that the public heavily rely on clerics in gaining knowledge of religion. A female judge believed that, ***“It is the religious orthodoxy that presents Islam as religion who doesn’t give any respect or power to women. Although religion of Islam is all about peace and respect. People are so afraid of Mullah’s that they do not raise voice and other are blindly follow and believe them”***. People consider Mullah’s as an ultimate source of religious knowledge. A religious scholar stated that, ***“It is our own weakness that we never tried to understand our holy book and our religion on our own, we never tried to read meaning and interpretation on Quran that is why we are religiously misleded nation”***. One male police officer also stated that, ***“I strongly believe that we are religiously confused nation, I am unable to decide that what takes me to hell or heaven, the religion I am following is correct or not even in this age I am so religiously confused”***.

The Ulemas have been unable to deliver the true essence of the religious knowledge. A social activist told that, ***“We have made clergy as owner of religion. Mullahs (clergy) are only to sit in the mosques and claims to be a religious leader. In real they are not the leaders. They have not studied the true essence of religion. In no way they know what Quran is saying. They read Quran in Arabic language, which is a foreign language. Unless and until they know the language thoroughly. Arabic is a difficult yet rich language. In Arabic language at times it has 20 different meanings of one word in different contextual places. Mullahs being an authority of religion have distorted the religion and misinterpret it mostly”***. They failed to convey

the true essence of what Quran is saying to the common man. The religious teachers need to be trained first as their influence has a lot of weight in Pakistani society. The religious scholars have also been known to misuse their authority. Even the silence of religious scholars causes the spread of ill practices. A journalist comprehensively indicated that, *“Largely people have emotional attachment with religion but they do not have understanding about Islam, true knowledge of religion cannot be delivered through journalist or media; religious education is the job of Ulemas (Religious leader). Unfortunately, religious leader is more involved in Politics than preaching. They become vengery of sectarianism. It is very unfortunate to say but in rural areas where people do not have availability of any technology, education or media over their religion has been educated through clerics and ultimate source of information for people is mosque so his words of mouth has a lot of significance for those people so it is the duty of cleric to be more responsible and enlightened which unfortunately they are not.. Imam (religious leader) is more into giving Friday sermons on politics than discussing real life or social issues in the light of religion”*. The Imams can preach with impunity and they can present themselves as a religious authority. In remote areas most of the misconceptions regarding religion exist primarily because the Imams of the mosques misinterpret religion. As discussed by a social activist and religious scholar also believed that, *“In most of the cases the religious education is given through local mosques where the Imam (religious leader) is also a semi-educated individual. His interpretation of religion is often based on the cultural constructs, as religion culture and values intermix”*. Religion does not sanction murder in the name of honour as it has been explained in the light of abovementioned professionals verbatim. Religion has been misused because generally people lack religious understanding themselves. Rather, they rely on the knowledge given to them through any religious leader. The problem lies primarily with the way religion is used and interpreted by the overwhelming majority of society. People at large mix morality, honour and religion in a confused manner and try to come up with their own justifications.

Institutional and Structural Reforms

Professionals also stressed that there is an urgent need to bring reforms both at the micro and macro level. In the light of existing gaps, loopholes and limitations at structural and institutional levels, reforms and interventions have been suggested.

a. Psychological interventions.

People in the interviews argued that there is an immense need to teach effective parenting skills. Parents should be aware of their child emotionally and psychologically. A psychologist added that, ***“Raising of child is of utmost importance. We need to make strategies for good and balanced parenting for both boys and girls.”*** Parents should focus on their child’s development, how to raise them in a better way, and what are the skills and tasks they should know from a young age. As one the religious scholar stated that, ***“Science has proven that many actions are related to human psyche, so psychological training for controlling aggression is important for such individuals”.*** Respect for the opposite gender and teaching them equality is the duty of parents. Participants were of the view that a psychologist can play a great role in this regard. A male lawyer stated that, ***“Our psyche needs to be altered and that’s only possible through psychological training of individuals, awareness and education”.*** Creating awareness in society, and teaching parents and teachers the effective skills of raising children at home and school, will bring a massive change. A psychologist added that, ***“In our society, since our childhoods we confined boy and girls in to certain gender roles. We created boundaries for girls from a very young age that they cannot do these things”.*** It is important to change this perspective and girls should not be confined to strict gender roles. It is important to change the patterns of upbringing of girls in Pakistani society from a young age. It is essential to not to make unreasonable expectations of girls. Moreover, another psychologist also stated that, ***“We need to work on our aggression, expression of anger and emotional expression. We do not teach boys at young age how to neutralize their anger. Moreover, we do not teach girls that they can also express their anger. Since childhood we have taught girls that they supposed to internalize their anger. So, you see the problem arises when we set different behavioral patterns for both genders.”***

b. Educational reforms.

It has been thoroughly discussed that no nation can learn and progress without education. Lack of education is playing a pivotal role in the existence of honour killing. Most of the participants believed that education must be available even in the remotest areas. A religious scholar believed that, ***“I believe more than half of our population is living in rural areas. There is hardly any sign of education. Women are not at all educated; therefore, they are not aware of their rights so they do not claim their space. Moreover, they are virtual slaves to their husbands. Women in rural areas are living***

worst lives. *This is the norm that we need to break. Only through availability of education we can bring number of awareness to men and women both. A good education would deter people to carry out violence against women. Education would help them understand that women have equal rights as well. Because education is the best source of awareness*". The education system assumes that concepts like gender roles, women empowerment, etc will be taught to new generations from families and society. A psychologist added that, *"I think most important is that first we understand honour as a concept which is dominant in our society. We can develop correct understanding of honour by making it part of our curriculum. It should be included in our academics. We have never talked about such things in our classrooms. We should talk about equality, gender-based discrimination etc."*. Educational institutions should understand their role in building new generation. A female journalist stated that, *"Our education system should play their role in eliminating the patriarchal influenced gender notion. I believe through medium of art and literature we change the narrative of people, especially youth"*. Our syllabus should be proactive and deal with these issues. A social activist stated, *"I believe patriarchy, religious tolerance, human rights and gender equality should be part of our syllabus"*. Discrimination against women is a serious issue that exists within Pakistani society, which can only be changed through external influence. It has also been discussed that education should promote character building among individuals. A religious scholar stressed that, *"Role of educational institution should not be limit to syllabus completion. They should also play their part in character development"*. It has been discussed that the concept of honour as a subject is not taught in the educational syllabus. A psychologist believed that, *"Education is a great way of changing the attitudes of the people and introducing a new worldview"*. Participants believed that by reforming our education system we can teach the future generations that true honour lies in respecting women and not in killing them for exercising their freedom of choice. A male lawyer stated that, *"I think my suggested solution primarily is education. The priorities of our government is wrong, we need to invest more in education. Although it is a long process it will take time but effect of education is everlasting. It brings awareness to overall population"*. Gender equality can also be promoted through these educational reforms. In higher classes, the syllabus could also introduce the new legislation and efforts to eradicate honour killing and violence against women in general.

Honour killing has existed in Pakistani society for many generations as already mentioned in the literature. By introducing adequate education reforms, we can speed up the process of eradicating honour killing and violence against related issues for the greater good of everyone. The participants held a consensus that to fight honour killing, provision of education and reform need to be ensured.

c. Judicial and legal reforms.

Participants shared ideas that require due consideration in improving the justice system for honour killing cases. Moreover, it has also been discussed that the current law also needs to be revised and modified. A religious scholar strongly believed that, *“There are some flaws remain in our legislature. In our country parliament makes law. You may identify flaws or weaknesses in the law after the law has been passed. So, there is a need to review already passed laws so that mistakes or weakness can be amended. There is a dire need to amend laws regarding honour killing. For example, a Qisas should be implemented on murder, even if murder has done by any family member”*. A female judge of the Pakistan high court stressed that, *“Honour killing should be declared as a non-compoundable offense. There should be no tolerance at all levels in case of honour killing”*. Participants further added that the law enforcement agencies should be trained to deal with such cases appropriately. A clause should be added in the law for a confirmed conviction. The domestic abuse of women should be discouraged at all levels. There should be no political involvement in any such case to affect the decision of the courts. A female police officer said that, *“At times when police registered cases, the culprit straightaway goes to the influential of that village for refuge. These influential are people who have either political influences or they themselves are in the Parliament. They pressurized police to not to register cases or provide haven to the culprits. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to make our law enforcement agencies free from political influences”*. The masses need to be educated about the laws and their implications. Strict punishment should be awarded to the perpetrators. A male lawyer also shared that, *“It is highly recommended that honour killing should be trialed under anti-terrorism courts (ATC’s)”*. The cases that are trialed under anti-terrorism courts cannot be settled. The offense is considered against the state.

Participants have also suggested that participation of women in both in judiciary and in police departments would also help. As a female journalist stated that,

“Representation of women in judiciary would be very beneficial for the female victims”. As victims of violence would not have to face male bias and derogatory remarks in courts, they would rather feel comfortable while explaining their issues. Moreover, it has also been suggested that the role of the extra judicial system needs to be addressed. It was suggested that the proactive participation of *jirga*’s and *panchayat*’s need to be abolished. A journalist also believed that, ***“Jirga’s and panchayat need to be criminalized”***. A female lawyer stated that, ***“The parallel judicial systems like jirgas and panchayats are needed to be abolished. They should be declared illegal in the law”***. It has also been discussed that our legal and judicial system needs to speed up their process. The delayed justice system forces people to go to these *jirgas* for speedy justice. Reforms in judiciary would help weaken the role of the parallel judiciary as well. Furthermore, it has been suggested that training of police departments and advancement and improvements must be considered. As suggested by female social activist that, ***“I believe that there is need to recruit female Mohrar (Actuary) in police department to register FIR. Therefore, women would feel comfortable in explaining their incidents. This would be a positive change. Secondly, there needs to be a video recording of the complainer, it will remain in record that what complainer has actually told and what is written in the FIR”***. Thus, these are the possible suggestions. If they can be implemented, the system would work better. Furthermore, a male lawyer also suggested, ***“There is a need to have a proper complain system in the police station so that witness do not feel fearful come at front for the registration of the FIR”***. There is a need for witness protection interventions in the judicial system, and law enforcement agencies.

d. Media interventions.

Media institutions also require training. The focus of media should be to create awareness among the masses and for that, the media industry itself needs training as a whole. Media personnel need to be aware of the sensitivity of incidents. The presentation of news needs to be anti-sensationalism in manner and avoid victim shaming. Participants have suggested training of journalists and reporters. As a journalist stated that, ***“Media people are supposed to be more educated so that they have an insight about the sensitivity of different issues. It should not focus business model approach rather humanistic approach”***. It has been discussed that there needs to be checks and balances in media houses. Follow ups of the news should be considered

as an important element. Educated people should be added in the media channels. A social activist states that, ***“It is a time when media needs to deliver masses that honour killing is nor allowed nor justified in the light of religion. They can play their role in educating the masses about how it is an un-Islamic act”***. The content media delivers needs to be under check. The reporting of cases through media from farfetched areas helps in drawing the attention of people and law enforcement agencies. One of the participants stated that, ***“Through media, element of accountability and pressure increases on institutions. Honour killing cases were probably high in number in the past but because of limited mass media they usually went unreported”***. Media can be very beneficial if it tries to understand its role and responsibility and act upon it.

It has also been discussed that media can play a vital role in changing the perception of people through dramas and talk shows. It has been argued in the interviews that dramas and plays also help in changing the mindset of people. A female activist stated that, ***“Unfortunately, in most of the dramas, the stereotype character of a women has been played. A submissive role of a woman who is unaware about her rights and is not allowed to raise voice about any atrocity or maltreatment. This is how women is portrayed in our society. The outreach of media is so extensive that even in rural areas where education is not as common, television and dramas are accessible. The women in those areas idealize more about the TV characters and they shape their opinions and attitudes from those dramas. Instead of creating any awareness, these programs affect their attitudes negatively”***. Another social activist stated that, ***“Why not our films and dramas talk about Pakistanis being responsible citizens, talking about good practices of our society, cultural tolerance, religious pluralism, gender equality and strong women citizens etc. Why don’t we address these issues and give messages through this medium?”***. The above findings show that media can play a pivotal role in creating sensitive and positive narratives about women. A psychologist also added that, ***“Through informational television programs and media campaign we can curb this crime”***. Media can play its role disbarring the narrative that honour killing is influenced by Islam or gender inequality and patriarchy is religiously influenced. Media should focus more on building positive images of its people and culture, and dismiss the negative aspects of the society by not giving sensationalism to gender-based issues.

However, efforts are needed to check the negative influences of media. Media has huge potential. It can help uproot the social evil of honour killing from Pakistani society. If proper media ethics are in place, and the media personnel are trained to report objectively, ignoring market forces, media can be used as a medium to change the public opinion of the masses and to introduce them to the heinous nature of this crime.

Thus, it can be concluded that to control killing in the name of honour both individual and collective efforts need to be made. The efforts should be multi layered. The interventions need to be made on both micro and macro levels. Efforts should be made for all genders, age groups, and people belonging to different socio-economic class. On a macro level, institutional reforms must be ensured. Similarly, media must revisit its role and add some constructive efforts instead of victim shaming and portraying weak, submissive women in their programs. Sensitized training on women issues should take place, along with the efforts to change attitudes within the law enforcement agencies such as judiciary and police. *Ulemas* and religious scholars also need to play their part in portraying the correct stance of Islam. Instead of indulging in political and sectarian affairs, they should propagate true essence of Islam and help people understand *Sunnah* and *Sharia*.

Discussions (Professionals Perspective)

The primary objective of this study was to explore the motivating forces or factors leading to honour killing in Pakistani society from the perspectives of professionals or stakeholders. The main objectives were met adequately. The study revealed that honour killing is a multidimensional phenomenon that is underplayed by various micro and macro-level factors. It has mentioned with certainty through findings that honour killing is not the result of any one dominant factor; instead, it is a manifestation of various multiple factors. The results revealed during data analysis have given a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon in Pakistani context and forces behind the genesis and existence of this phenomenon. In this section, the discussion has been categorized with the same sequence as followed in the result section.

In the result section, the first category of sociocultural factors has been discussed along with their role in the prevalence of honour killing in Pakistan. The results identified men dominance and intensified patriarchy in society and how it had formed the idea that male honour is derived from their female counterparts (mother,

sister, daughter, and wife). Men dominance and patriarchal thought have built gender bias or attitude of gender discrimination in the society, which has made women less empowered. Results have also discussed that value of male honour is far more than the life of a woman in Pakistani society. Therefore, men go violent to the extent of killing if they feel that their honour code has been breached or tarnished by a woman. These sociocultural factors have a lot to do with the genesis of honour killing in the society and contribute attitude towards honour killing.

The current study pointed out that Pakistan is a male-dominated society with inherent patriarchal beliefs, therefore, women are considered a mere commodity. Patriarchy is a way of dominating and oppressing women in society. (Gill, 2006; 2004), elaborates that honour killing is a long-standing cultural practice in terms of women's subordination and controlling them through necessary means by male segment of society. It could be inferred that when women are raised on cultural notions such as "they belong to men", it is expected from them that they bow their heads on every command. One of the many consequences related to the belief that the honour of men lies in the chastity of women leads to the belief that men are the masters of women, and they have to behave under them. This upbringing of women makes them insecure and dependent upon men. They are unable to make decisions for themselves. Women, in general, believe that their life decisions are not their prerogative. At times intensified men dominance and patriarchy make them rebel against the set patterns and face its consequences. The studies conducted in the past also confirmed that the concept of honour is deeply rooted in patriarchy, with the main focus on the underlying assumption that men have authority and control over women's action (Parrot & Cummings, 2006). Further studies indicated the problem associated with cultural tolerance towards violence against women in Pakistan (Critelli & Willett, 2013). The submissive behavior of women also strengthens men dominance.

Furthermore, it has been analysed from the findings that the patriarchal system in Pakistani society subjugates women to men. Therefore, the status of women in society remains a grey area. Any hope for their empowerment remains bleak, and their rights are non-existent in this patriarchal society. Based on the findings of this study, honour killing has been strongly supported by intensified patriarchal beliefs. This narrative has also been discussed widely in previous literature. Ishaq (2010) found that all forms of violence, including honour killing is also a method of controlling women's

actions, and their submission towards men. Pakistani society has assigned stereotype roles to women, and a visible bias against women exists. Pakistani society is male dominant, and because of the patriarchal setup and chauvinistic thoughts, women have to suffer from many forms of violence and have less acclaimed space. It is evident from the results that when women are less empowered and under control of their male counterparts at home, they most likely become a subject of violence.

Moreover, in our society, men are the custodians of the houses, and honour is related to the members of the house, particularly women. It has been identified that when men consider honour as property, they can go to extremes to protect it and avenge any harm to their honour. This concept of honour and its relation to women is a culturally formed attitude. Previous studies have also confirmed that women are responsible not only for their own 'honour', but for that of their male family members, and women who transgress 'honour' codes are treated with violence (Reddy, 2008). Similar to the findings of this study, researchers such as Welchman, and Hussain (2005) conferred that the upholding of 'honour' is intricately aligned masculinity and men dominance.

The results further discussed that perception of honour concept and its association with women is flawed. Participants have discussed that honour killing is more of an oxymoron, honour, and killing contradict in their denotation. So, it can be analysed that the problem has arisen from this point. The results brought out that the conceptualisation of honour is a problem in our society. It has been discussed that "Honour Killing" is a result of attaching honour with women in Pakistani society. The findings further elaborated that honour killing is a globally existing phenomenon. It is a pre-planned intentional murder. It is perceived as a justifiable act because of word honour associated with killing. Honour killing is a cold-blooded murder like any other murder. It is just the language flaw that is giving a blanket to the heinous crime. It is one way of snubbing women. Honour killing has also been used to prove that males are the ruling elite in society, and they regulate women's actions. Anything that goes against the will of a man can result in the worst consequences. Literature also suggests that honour killing is not only a problem maintaining virtue, rather it is more of an outcome of male domination, and view women as property of men (Adana et al., 2011). The new finding of this study is that it indicates the importance of elimination of word honour before killing. It is because culture, society, and people provide immunity to

culprits for this act. After all, they justify it through the honour code. Therefore, it has been evaluated that the findings of the study mentioned above are aligned with the previous literature in many other cultures where honour killing is prevalent primarily because their men attached their honour with their female. As a result, when women failed to uphold their honour according to the expectations and norms set by the male members, they had to face grave consequences.

Findings further discussed that attitudes towards honour killing are also a product of cultural beliefs. Previous theories about attitudes have confirmed that the attitude of an individual towards any stimulus would help in understanding the behaviour that an individual would likely to emit. Professionals have shed light on the attitudes of people they have seen regarding honour killing. Professionals have also laid the importance of understanding of attitudes because it helps in understanding the existence of the phenomenon. Participants themselves believed that honour killing is a cruel and barbaric act. However, people, in general, have positive attitudes towards honour killing. It has been inferred that due to ingrained patriarchal beliefs since childhood, acceptance of violence against women is acceptable in general and honour killing in particular. People do not generally voice against honour killing because they have accepted the notion that killing to save honour is justified. The belief has been inculcated among woman that they are the property of a man, whereas men have been taught that they are protectors and custodians of women. A past study conducted on Jordanian adolescents also found out that adolescents who had traditional patriarchal attitudes showed more positive attitudes towards honour killing. Their attitudes were reflective of their belief that female chastity is of utmost importance (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013).

Moreover, to a certain extent, both men and women believe that honour of a woman is associated with man. Positive attitude towards honour killing is one of the reasons that this crime is prevalent in the country with its length and breadth. People also believed that attitudes are a cultural entity, therefore, they cannot change. Lack of remorse and regret in general towards the victim of honour killing is also because people accepted and believed that woman is punished this way if she ever surpasses the norms. Previous indigenous literature is also aligned with the current findings. A study conducted through a survey to evaluate the attitude towards honour killing of the general population had identified that the majority of men and women believed that

honour killing is a justified act. They did not condemn honour killing because attitudes of people signify that killing is the way of regaining honour (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). The supportive attitudes are dominant in the other factions of the society as well, such as police, judiciary and in media. Unfortunately, the supportive attitude of people towards honour killing is one reason that it had not been curbed yet.

The novelty of the present study was to highlight myths regarding honour killing. It is essential to understand that myths do exist about different social phenomena. One of the categories identified in discussion with professionals was demystifying myths regarding honour killing. Certain false beliefs exist about honour killing in the society that needs to be demystified.

The findings of the present study indicated that people believe that honour killing in any family is the result of sexual activity outside marriage. Whenever a case of honour killing is identified in a family, people blame the victim because they tend to believe that the woman must have done something immoral, and that is why she has been punished this way. The reason behind the acceptance of honour killing is false beliefs regarding a woman who has been killed in the name of honour. People never tried to unearth the objective truth behind killing, because it has been presented in this way for so long that it has become of our belief system. The professionals recruited in the study had the correct information and told that alleged sexual activity is just an accusation to justify their killing. Killings are usually taking place to fulfil the ulterior motives. *Karo-karias* a convenient way of acquiring wealth or land by declaring a woman of their household a *kari*. This allows the family to obtain the victim's share of inheritance (Patel & Gadit, 2008). For various reasons honour killing are done in a way to settle land disputes, marrying outside caste, family or for seeking a divorce. Later on, culprits claimed that they had killed the woman because she had tarnished the honour of the family. Literature has confirmed these findings as a study indicated that a woman could be targeted for murder for a variety of other reasons, including refusing to enter into an arranged marriage or seeking a divorce or separation even from an abusive husband. The mere suspicion that a woman has acted in a manner that could damage her family's name may trigger an attack. These assumptions are primarily based on feelings and beliefs of men towards women rather than on objective truth (Singh & Dailey, 2016).

Moreover, other studies also confirmed that in recent years, the label of Karo-Kari has been used to fulfil other ulterior motives. Later murders have been justified by labeling them as murders for the sake of honour (Amnesty International, 1999a). In Pakistan, honour killing are used as a cover-up for men who murder other man (and their own woman) in personal disputes, tribes to settle rivalries and later accused him that he had been immorally involved with the women of their family (Husain, 2006). Therefore, it is crucial to understand that in Pakistan, honour is just an excuse to fulfil personal motives by the culprits. However, the concept of honour killing has cultural immunity; thereby, it is easy to label women as Kari and kill her.

Additionally, a myth consisted of the belief that honour killing is only prevalent among people of poor socioeconomic background and those who are illiterate. It has been cleared in the research that honour killing has existed beyond any class or status. Various incidents have been mentioned in the results that indicated the occurrence of honour killing in the wealthy and literate families. It can be inferred that the notion of honour killing is culturally-rooted that it is in the mindset of the majority of people in Pakistan. It is true that less number of cases are reported in high socioeconomic class but their presence cannot be ignored.

The passive involvement of the mother and other family members has also been ruled out. The findings indicated that directly or indirectly, mothers are involved in honour killing. It is important to note that the involvement of females in honour killing have primarily remained an untouched area. Mother specifically and other family members generally showed their consent towards carrying out honour killing. In the light of various incidents, participants have proved the involvement of the mother in an honour killing cases and thus demystified the belief that women of the family have a sympathetic attitude towards the victim. Mothers at the time do not directly involve in carrying out the murder, but at times, mothers inflicted violence through their sons or other male relatives. The incidents mentioned in the result section pointed out where mother involved their son and son in law to murder her daughter for contracting a love marriage. A study conducted by Alpin (2017) confirmed that mothers play fundamental role in perpetrating of honour based abuse against their daughters. Mothers inflict violence, in form of forcing them for abortion and by approving violence inflicted by men such as sons. One thing that can be analysed from these findings is that we need to get off the false belief that women have primarily become victims in honour killing

so they would carry sympathetic attitudes with their fellow women. Women do not condemn honour killing as well, even though they are the ones who become a victim of violence. Literature confirmed incidents where mothers are part of planning in killing her daughter, but mostly it was observed that at times mothers were also being killed for showing their support towards their daughters decisions (Iqbal, 2006). One explanation of this reality is that mothers are the ones who play an active role in the upbringing of their children. In Pakistani society, it is visible that mothers bring up their sons and daughters differently. They bring up their sons under a patriarchal narrative. Women condition their daughter as being submissive and bearer of family honour. Another perspective could also be that at times, mothers are also helpless in the masculine structure, and hence they believe in showing support to their husbands and sons. Thus, the role of mothers is vibrant and that of lack of condemnation in the killing of their daughters as well.

The finding of the present study also suggests that honour killing is an outcome of many structural causes as well. Various structural causes have been identified in the qualitative study. Thus, the second category refers to structural causes, and its subsequent subcategories included lack of family pressure and retaliation of women, social pressure, lack of education, socioeconomic factors and psychological factors. The present study has found out that social factors such as social pressure, the influence of surroundings, neighbourhood and maintenance of honour socially play a pivotal role in the society. The findings of the study give this understanding that social pressure plays an important role and influences the culprit to take strict action against the women who stepped out of set boundaries.

Pakistan is a collectivistic society. In Pakistani culture, relatives, and people in closed interaction are of utmost importance. The prestige that men want to maintain is for themselves, but its larger purpose is to remain honourable in the eyes of his surroundings. In Pakistan, people are living in tightly knitted families. They are aware of each other's issues and problem. So, whenever an issue arises such as a girl runaway from home or contracts a court marriage of free will, it becomes a big issue. The extended family and neighbour's start are pressurizing the male members of the family, in order to take stern action against their daughter or sister. People pressurize them by taunting the men of those families and usually label them as not being *ghairatmand* (honourable). Therefore, to refrain from taunt and to maintain their prestige in the

society, men get influence from their closed ones. The findings are also consistent with the previous studies that also believed social pressure being an agent of honour killing. A study conducted in Pakistan found out that concept of taunts compels male family members to take severe steps against accused woman in order to cleanse their honour (Bangash, 2017).

Retaliation that the family shows is mostly based on the treatment and attitude of their extended family and neighbour's. The rumours about a family in which a woman has been accused of alleged sexual activity or for choosing a life partner damages the social prestige of that family. Rumours degrad the prestige of the family socially and publically. Therefore, to give a response to those rumour men or that family choose to deal with that person violently. A Pakistani study has confirmed that rumours and taunts create social pressure which tarnishes the social status and image of men in the society. This ultimately compels men to kill woman who has allegedly stained family honour (Bangash, 2017). Further literature has confirmed that social pressure plays an essential variable that force family to take violent actions against the accused one under social pressure (Erez & Berko, 2010). Thus, it can be inferred from the findings of the current study and previous literature that status of men in society is defined by the behaviour of the women of his family particularly in collectivistic cultures like Pakistan where people are embedded in tightly knitted relations.

Additionally, in structural causes, family pressure on woman has been pointed out that instigate retaliation among women in the family. The findings indicated that since a very young age women had been treated under strict control. The findings are consistent with the previously conducted study such a study argued that Cultural norms related to violence are not only evoked at the individual level but re-enforced by family and community within the broader social context including media as well (Zia-Ullah, 2010). The family specifically men in the family, expect profound obedience from women and never expect them to disobey. However, over-confinement of women mostly results in their retaliation and rebellious behaviour. It is understandable from the present findings that when women are refrained from exercising their rights against forced marriage, and mismatch marriage, then they become rebellious. They forcefully try to exercise their freedom in the form of court marriages, or they develop friendships with men and the premarital affair that is considered an unhonourable act in Pakistani society. Previous studies are also aligned with the present finding and confirmed that

women who are killed “in the name of honour” have previously experienced other forms of violence from family members (Payton, 2014). At times they face violence and strict attitudes at home and to avoid that they run away from the house or contract love marriage as their possible getaway and there when they caught are being killed in the name of honour.

Furthermore, socioeconomic conditions such as poverty contributing to honour killing have also been identified by the participants. It has been discussed in the results section that honour killing are most prevalent in low-income families. Therefore, economic conditions are an essential variable to gain understanding about the phenomenon. Pakistan is considered an economically weak state. Cultural values and traditions over empower the country but not economically empowered. Several people are economically deprived. Therefore, it is safe to say that lack of economic stability causes multiple psychological issues among people.

Moreover, when an individual fails to fulfil the economic needs then they are keener to fulfil their need for respect and social status. Findings are consistent with the past study emphasising that ‘honour’ is a resource through which families can achieve social status in a community, especially families from low income group (Awwad, 2001). The study further elaborated that as such, for more impoverished families, the maintenance of family honour is of utmost importance as compared to more affluent families because they have other resources as well to maintain and achieve their status. Thus, it can be inferred from the findings of the present study that economic instability creates frustration that further leads to violent actions. It is also essential to understand that economically stable people find it easier to gratify their need for respect and prestige from various social milieus such as professional success and their educational careers. Whereas, women being a weak segment of society become victims of the frustration of men. Previously conducted study on Pakistani sample has also confirmed that poverty is the main reason for sufferings, which stems deprivation of basic needs and thus creates frustration in the society. This frustration is then translated through different violent attitudes. Respondents believed that since women are a weaker segment of the society, therefore they become the subject of frustration (Qaisarani, Liaquat, & Khokhar 2016). Poverty has been linked to increased violence against women, such as trafficking, harassment, and sexual violence (UN Women, 2014). Economic deprivation has been coupled with social injustice which collectively

contributes towards frustration and violence. One explanation of the prevalence of honour killing among low socioeconomic status could also be that people with low socioeconomic background have less access to education as well. As education brings awareness and open-mindedness; therefore, this could be a reason. People from low socioeconomic status often say and believe that they have fewer resources to live a life, but all they have is respect. Therefore, they cannot compromise when it comes to respect.

In structural causes lack of education has also been considered as an essential variable in understanding the prevalence of honour killing. Unavailability of education is a prime issue in Pakistan. Considerably less number of people in general and women, in particular, have access to education in rural areas. Honour killing is also most prevalent in rural areas. It can be interpreted as a lack of education added in the lack of awareness and understanding the fact that killing in any form is a crime rather than an honourable thing. Findings are aligned with previous researches which indicated that in Palestine where people have acquired the level of primary or more education, they are considerably less involved in honour killing (Gibbs, Said, Corboz, & Jewkes, 2019). Previous research has suggested that people with higher level of education showed less strict patriarchal views and conservative attitude towards women (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Lack of education forced to take abrupt sentimental decisions. Lack of education also snatches the power or ability to reason.

Moreover, the lack of women education also deprives them with the awareness of their rights. Previous studies have also confirmed that illiterate women are not aware of their rights and thus, become vulnerable to violence and abuse (Qaisarani, Liaqat & Khokhar, 2016). Similarly, another research has also confirmed that perhaps women who are unemployed, illiterate and live in impoverished conditions are more at risk for honour based violence (Niaz, 2001). Although the occurrence of honour killing could not be limited to a particular group, or area, however; it is considerably found in those parts of the society which is noticeably ignorant, uneducated, underdeveloped and belonging to the rural setup of the country (Shah, 1998; Zia-Ullah, 2010). It can also be presumed that education promotes rationality which might help in reducing the number of cases. Therefore, by working on these structural issues, honour killing can be curbed.

Psychological factors are also being identified as an essential variable which aids in the understanding of honour killing. It has been addressed in the results that

psychological factors such as overblown ego, hyper-masculinity, and aggression has led people impulsive actions. A past study indicated that men dominance over their women is a desire to oppress them, to view them as inferiors and property of men. Therefore, men tend to treat them aggressively (Walby, 1990). It can be presumed from the present findings that masculinity is firmly culturally inherent among men.

In contrast, due economic deprivation, poverty and lack of opportunities to live a better life also contribute to frustration among men. Most often, women become a target of their frustration. Findings indicated that lack of emotional regulation is a reason that people indulge in impulsive actions. Moreover, discriminatory upbringing in which men are allowed to express anger and women are disallowed to exhibit their feelings also become a source of illegitimate violence. In Pakistani society, lack of emotional expressivity in women and intolerance in men have been promoted through discriminatory and faulty parenting. Findings are aligned with previous literature that confirms that women are also not expected to express their thoughts and feelings. Therefore, the male side of the family decides whom the daughter is going to marry (Anderson, 2003). Lack of empathy and egoistical behaviour of men lead them towards carrying out violence against women. In Pakistani society, when women disobey man, it hurts their ego. When the ego is over empowered, they are unable to control their selves. Whenever the surroundings are taunting men regarding their women, then it becomes difficult for men to control their anger which usually then resulted in killing in the name of honour.

Along with sociocultural and structural factors, institutional factors have also been discussed in the present study. Significant results had discussed the role of judiciary, police, legal loopholes, shortcomings of media and poor understanding of religion and sharia. Role of police and judiciary was also identified as biased towards a victim woman. The inherent bias among these people is because of the patriarchal mindset. It was reported that the attitude of police and judges are questionable when it comes to cases on women violence.

The unfavourable attitudes of people belonging to law enforcement are understandable in the given cultural context of Pakistan. The findings are aligned with the previous study such as; a study conducted on sociocultural factors behind violence against women in Pakistan identified that behaviour of police and judges towards women are often filled with biasness, derogatory remarks, and at times women tend to

face harassment in the police stations (Qaisarani, Liaqat & Khokhar, 2016). People in Pakistani society have generally been trained under the patriarchal narrative. All these people attitude such as lawyers, judges and police are the reflection of society. Their discriminatory attitude towards women is the testimony of the fact that people are generally brought up under patriarchal values. People in this society are aware that men are superior to women. Literature has also confirmed that institutionalised sexism and systematic misogyny are in the Pakistani society (Syed & Naqvi, 2015). They are also aware of the honour code related to women. Men from any segment of the society believe that women who tarnish the family honour need to deal with violence such as honour killing. An explanation that whenever people in law enforcement agencies get to witness cases in which man confess killing in the name of honour than they do usually show appeasement towards that man. Similarly, when any woman come for protection who had contracted a free-will marriage or court marriage, then they usually do not sympathise with that woman.

Furthermore, it was highlighted by the participants that there are an inherent flaw and loopholes in our legal system. The culprits must receive punishment; rather, they set free by giving blood money. A past study conducted by Lari, (2011) categorically stated that the 2004 Act did not remove the option of *Qisas* and *Diyat*, leaving one of the most important loopholes in the law, thereby the majority of perpetrators are allowed to go free. There are so many loopholes that without diligence and activism on the part of the court, it will be hard to get very many convictions for honour killing under this law. The punishment of culprits should be given imperatively.

The present law needs significant amendments to make this crime as a heinous one. Findings are consistent with the previously conducted studies. A study conducted to evaluate honour killing in KPK (Pakistan) highlighted that criminal legislation is pleases customary justice system in Pakistan. However, strict laws and convictions of offenders can help in solving the problem of honour killing in Pakistan (Knudsen, 2004). It can be acknowledged from the findings that in the law regarding honour killing has a provision of *diyat* (blood-money) law. This *diyat* law has an Islamic foundation. A possible reason that people do not demand to eliminate this law as it has Islamic connotations. By an element of religion attached to it has made it an untouchable entity. Although, it is the lack of understanding of the *qisas* and *diyat* law. People have understood it and used it out of context. One reason is that the attitudes of people

towards honour killing is generally very supportive. They do not want to have changed. People at large are generally convinced with the idea that a woman killed for honour is a justifiable act.

Moreover, it has established that several murders have just done under the label of honour killing. Therefore, if some alteration in the law has been made than man at large would not be able to fulfill their ulterior motives. However, people at large failed to understand the true essence of *diyat* law and its applicability. Lack of proper understanding of sharia and legal laws led people to believe that this is an in Islamic provision; therefore, they can always get away with the crime. Although it is a family killing where the murder takes place within a family, a culprit must be taken to a task without considering the relationship he/she had with a culprit. It is worthy of mentioning that Pakistan has made few amendments in the law in the year of 2016 where the murderer must receive punishment at least imprisonment of 25 years. However legal experts say that loopholes persist yet in the law. Legal experts believe that murderer would simply claim that he had murdered otherwise not for the sake of honour and then again would become eligible to seek pardon through heirs (Asad, 2016).

Moreover, participants also stressed the elimination of parallel judicial system in the country. The presence of parallel judiciary in the country is quite proactive. Number of citizens in Pakistan belong to rural setup. Therefore, their also aware of customary laws translated in the form in the parallel judiciary. The concept of Jirgas and Panchayats are not new for Pakistani people. These Jirgas and panchayats are run through the influence of that area such as feudal lords. A study based on Pakistan also believed that, In Pakistan, violence against women is also an outcome of conservative and feudal mindset (Qaisarani, Liaquat, & Khokhar, 2016).

A number of those feudal and influential also belong to political parties of the country. Therefore, these people are part of the Pakistani parliament—one of the reasons that no stern action have taken to abolish a parallel judicial system. A previously conducted study also confirmed that Ali (2001) articulated that, role of tribal leader cannot be ignored in honour killing cases. Honour killing are supported by Jirgas leaders and tribal chiefs, thereby, honour killing has cultural and social immunity in rural and tribal areas. Many of these tribal chiefs are well educated and members of parliament, they are well aware of the changing pattern across the globe, but unwilling to change immoral practices like honour killing in their society. Another explanation

for the local traditional justice system is prevailing in the country is because the formal justice system is weak, slow and expensive. The parallel judicial system is male-dominated. These people are extremely under patriarchal influenced. In the subcontinent, jirga and panchayat system have a very long history. A recent study based on Pakistan elaborates on the discriminatory role of jirga and panchayat in the country. The study agreed that jirgas and panchayats are the fastest means of resolving any dispute or issue; therefore, people relied on them as compared to the formal legal system.

Moreover, the study also stated that it had used to protect the powerful, while poor and weak people are the victims of its harmful procedures. A past study mentioned a case that would help in gaining a deeper understanding of the attitudes of jirgas and panchayats. The example in this connection is of Maryam Bibi who was stoned to death in Khanewal, a district of Punjab. Reports from the media say, 25 years-old Maryam Bibi, mother of five, was cutting grass on the fields of a local landlord who reportedly forced her to submit to his sexual advances. When she declined the landlord leveled accusations against the woman and took the case to a local panchayat, who ordered the woman to be stoned to death. The order was carried out at her home in the early hours of July 18. Her husband, Sarfaraz, was kidnapped, but later recovered. People generally have less respect for women across the country and can be more observed in rural Sindh and southern Punjab (Irfan, 2012). Whenever any woman stepped out of the boundaries than her fate is being decided in jirgas or panchayats. Lack of women representation in those traditional justice systems is also the reason that women has always punished in various ways. The accused woman is also never allowed to present her side of the story or perspective. The woman has to bowhead. A previously conducted study in Pakistan argued that the existence of parallel judicial system and their influence on significant decisions of the community is to significantly reflect their power in their local community (Ali, 2001). A past study claimed several decisions of local Jirga and Panchayat have supported in the name of religion as well. However, Jirga/ Panchayat decisions related to women are not only against the true essence of religion, law, and constitution of Pakistan but also a source of sacrifices for the women (Nawaz 2020). The role of parallel justice system needs to reduce in the country. It is evident from the findings of the present study and also previous literature that the number of violence against women is the result of the verdict given against women by the local justice system where women have no opportunity to present her narrative as well.

Additionally, lack of religious understanding, misinterpretation of religion and negative role of clergy is creating much nuisance in people's mind, which in result accelerates violence. People justified honour killing on a religious basis. It has found out that people give religious justifications on murdering someone for the honour. They assumed that religion sanction murder of women if she marries out of her own choice and without parental consent. However, religion does not give any such teachings and do not allow murder even if in any case fornication or adultery established. A past study conducted by Qaisarani, Liaquat and Khokhar, (2016) also confirmed that at times violence against women is also justified in the name of religion. The researcher further stated that this happens because religious scholars take Quranic verses out of context and eventually that has been pass on to general people as well. For example, many conservative religious scholars try to justify men's superiority over women in the light of Verse (Surah Al Baqra 2: 228), which states: "*And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over them, and men are a degree above (them)*". Now, this can be inferred from the findings of the present study that the religious misperception that is prevalent among in Pakistan is mostly due to limited understanding for religious book Quran and *Sunnah* and *Shariah*. People are mostly dependent on religious clerics for gaining the understanding of Islam. However, it is essential to understand that clerics have their interpretations according to their sect and from which particular religious group. It is understandable that when one is unaware of themselves that what is written in the Quran and *Sunnah*, then will be unable to make explicit judgments. In this study, a new important finding was that professionals argued that honour killing was against religion, and suggested that it should be fought through religious sanctions. Thus, religious leaders have a societal responsibility to inform the public of such occurrences within the private and public spheres of society.

A study reflecting on the religious perspective argued that Islam forbids brutal practices like honour killing. He referred an observation by the high court in a case; nobody is allowed to take law in his hand in the name of so-called *ghairat* (honour). It is not only against the injunction of Islam but law and constitution too. Religious extremism, issues of the legal system and improper interpretation of religion also create doubts about the place of women in the society (Nawaz, 2020).

Moreover, it was also identified that media as an institution has an important responsibility to play, which it is not fulfilling. Its focus is more on sensationalism and

non-objective reporting. It is also because of the increasing number of private media houses whose working on a business-oriented model. The focus of private media channels is rating and competition of telecasting news before one and other channels. Widely media does not consider the importance and sensitivities of these issues. Increased number of channels, fewer checks and balances on media houses is the reason. That is why the lack of balanced reporting has done in such cases. One of the reasons could be, that for the coverage of sensitive issues like honour killing, quite thorough fieldwork is required. Lack of resources, training and less number of reporters from that area is also a reason that the issue dies down soon. Media these days is a major source of the narrative building of the society, so it is an essential duty of a media to do objective reporting and do follow up of incidents they are presenting. It was also identified that media could be a good source of making the culprits accountable, and by spreading awareness among masses we can bring down the number of prevalent violent issues. Previous studies also indicated that media should be sensitised to play a responsible role in terms of the content that is aired, and it should focus on promoting a positive image of women (Qaisarani, Liaqat, & Khokhar, 2016). Another study also found out that the through media image of women conveyed as a submissive, and oppressed. These media portrayls led to the stereotypical image of womens (Ahmed, 2005).

Finally, the last category laid stress on reforms and interventions both on an institutional and structural level. Significant importance was given to alleviate poverty, and provision of education at a significant level. Along with that, the educational curriculum needs major revisions which should talk about women equality, place of women given by Islam. Such topics need to include. Poverty indeed causes excessive frustration among people. Similarly focus on good parenting, non-adherence of strict gender role attitudes needs to be implemented. Emotional regulation and a better way of channelising frustrations and emotions need to teach.

Moreover, instead of relying on cleric's verdict on religion, it is important to read, understand and comprehend the Quran and *Sunnah* first. Sensitisation training of judges, police personnel's, reporters, journalists should and given importance. Recruitment of women in the police department and the judiciary should give focus. Objectivity and speedy justice and maximum possible convictions need to be ensured.

Similarly, implementation of the law should be a focus. Some of the laws do exist, but due to lack of implementation, culprit gets away quickly.

Moreover, other people also got encouraged because they are aware that no such example of conviction exists. A study conducted in Pakistan outlined that the murderers have given protection and impunity from within the community; which extends to the police, courts and other implementing agents and agencies. Apart from the inherent biases within these bodies, problems also lie with the methods of investigations, lack of up-dated machinery and tools. Responsible reporting in media should be promoted (Lari, 2011); therefore, interventions and reform in law enforcement agency should be made. Ethical adherence should be made compulsory for media channels. Instead of sensationalism, follow-ups should be encouraged. Proper and balanced coverage to the news should be given importance.

Moreover, educational programs on media should increase. Moreover, stereotypical roles and weak portrayal of women in Pakistani dramas need to be discouraged. Awareness programs along attitudinal change need to be done. Previous literature has also believed that extensive interventions are required in the country regarding the alleviation of heinous crimes like honour killing. It is essential to work on both structural and institutional level because only than roots of this phenomenon can be weakened.

Conclusion.

The present study was aimed to gain insight into the phenomenon of honour killing in Pakistan. In order to attain the understanding, perspectives of professionals were taken. The interviews of professionals have given valuable insight regarding various factors that has caused the existence of the phenomenon. Moreover, the discussion with professionals have added in the understanding regarding the sociocultural, structural and institutional level changes that are required to curb this issue.

It had found out that the mere perception of honour has flaws in it. The conceptualisation of honour has extracted from women in our society. Women are subservient to men in every aspect, so anything that goes against the will of male brought the worst consequences. It has found out that there are certain misconceptions about honour killing prevailing in the society. Sometimes the actual reason behind

honour killing is not as it has presented. There are many underlying interior motives of the family which have fulfilled under the blanket of honour killing due to loopholes in laws for honour killing. The society as a whole is functioning on patriarchal principles. It is hard for women to raise voice against the injustice done to them. The study also highlighted that behind cultural and societal causes, there are other factors also responsible behind the prevalence of honour killing. It is the limitations and ineffective roles of specific institutions. Sensationalised reporting of media, loopholes in qisas and diyat laws, patriarchal judiciary, and lack of religious understandings are the major causes behind the prevalence of honour killing. There is a dire need to bring amendments in-laws and interventions in other institutions can be a changing agent. Furthermore, it is important to mention that the role of civil institutions and legal institutions perpetuated and sanctioned these acts through inaction, and putting the full family's interests and reputations over the needs of vulnerable women life.

It can be presumed from the findings as mentioned earlier that the perspectives of stakeholders added a lot more understanding of the emergence of honour killing and the way flawed conceptualisation give rise to killing in the name of honour. Participants have highlighted that negative attitude of relevant stakeholders or professionals towards victims of honour killing also compromise help and required justice. Moreover, discussion added to the understanding regarding the discriminatory attitude of women in Pakistani society due to which they suffer violence against them. Participants shed light on the different triggering factors associated with honour killing. Those factors included the pressure of family, extended families and society in general that enforce the family to make killing in the name of honour. It is social approval that is important for people in order to live an honourable life. Other than that, killing also takes place when people are economically deprived, and they want to and settle their financial disputes or to hold the inheritance of woman; they choose to kill them under the slogan of honour. In short honour, killing has cultural and social acceptance.

Furthermore, the role of lack of education and awareness has also seen as an essential variable that has accelerating honour killing. Moreover, the role and shortfalls of different social institutions such as family, religious institution, media, law and judiciary have also discussed. The limitations of these institutions are one of the reasons that as a society, people are unable to curb this crime. Due to the lack of accountability

from these institutions, favourable attitudes and beliefs of perpetrators are the sources that society is unable to bring down the number of killing in the name of honour.

Furthermore, the results of the qualitative study stimulated the idea towards another important aspect that is to explore the perspectives of perpetrators of honour killing in the jails. Therefore, phase two of the qualitative study was planned to conduct in-depth interviews with perpetrators of honour killing. It is to understand their perspective, their beliefs and motivation behind this extreme act.

CHAPTER IV**STUDY II****Understanding Honour Killing Through Murderers' Perspectives**

After gaining an insight from the professional's perspective, it was decided to explore the views of the persons who has committed murders' in the name of honour in order to explore their motivations and justification behind this act. The findings of the professional's perspectives highlighted about the beliefs of murderers towards honour killing as a major source behind this crime. Therefore, the present phase of the study was planned to explore the perspectives of the murderers over this issue. The study was planned to explore their insight indepth regarding honour killing they have committed. It was also a qualitative study which was designed to explore the perspectives of perpetrators in jails. Data was collected by using semi structured interview. Grounded theory method was used to analyze the data. The findings helped in understanding the phenomenon through their perspectives.

Objectives of the Study

1. To explore the murderers' beliefs about honour killing.
2. To explore the underlying reasons and motivation of murderers' behind honour killing.

Sampling Stratagey

Sampling strategies similar to (study I: Professionals perspective) was employed to collect the data. Purposive sampling was employed in the beginning. This means murderers in the jail who committed the murder in the name of honour were selected. Initially open sampling takes place. This means those participants were acquired who could provide data relevant to the topic understudy just like study I. The details of open sampling are already provided in the study I of the study. However, unlike study I, the snowball sampling was not employed in the current study (murderer's perspective). Because locating murderers' of honour killing doesn't need referral. Jail authorities were contacted and on the basis of the available record they were suggested the researcher. Jail authorities were only instructed to scrutinized honour killers. Finally, as a theory begin to unearth the theoretical sampling is included. Theoretical sampling basically occurs as the data collection progresses (Bluff, 2005). Theoretical sampling is an integral element of the grounded theory. The codes and

analysis help researcher to understand what is to collect next, and which areas required more exploration. Thus, in the current study purposive and theoretical sampling was employed.

Sample. Sample was comprised of 5 male murderers convicted for honour killing in the Lahore district jail. They belonged to different cities of Punjab and for past few years they were in jail. Broadly, prisons in Pakistan are classified into four major categories. (i) Central jail, (ii) District jail, (iii) Sub jail, and (iv) Special jails and institutions. However, in present study data was collected from district jail Lahore. District jails can accommodate upto one thousand inmates are usually considered judicial lockups of a certain district. Only a limited number of convicted inmates are confined in the district jail. Women and children are also confined in district jail before their trial and acquittal. However, for the present study no women inmates convicted for honour killing were present in the district jail at the time of data collection.

The current study focused on interviews with imprisoned murderers, who were found guilty of murdering one or more than one people.

Table 3

Sample Details (Gender, Age, Marital Status, Number of Children, Number of Murders, Relationship with the Victim, Reason of Murder, and Religion) for Study II (N = 05)

Gender	Age (in years)	Marital Status	Children	Murders	Duration in jail (years)	Relationship with the victim	Reason for murder	Religion
Male	50	Married	09	2(wife & lover)	02	Wife	Extramarital relationship	Islam
Male	28	Single	N/A	2(sister & her lover)	03	Sister	Premarital relationship, friendship on phone	Christianity
Male	45	Married	04	1	1.5	Daughter	Extramarital affair	Islam
Male	29	Married	01	2(wife & her lover)	04	Wife	Extramarital affair	Islam
Male	23	Married	N/A	1	0.10	Sister	Premarital relationship	Islam

Procedure

Semi-structured Interviews were conducted from the murderers with the help of the interview guide (**Annexure B**). An interview guide was developed for murderers' interview mainly with the help of themes uncovered in the interviews with professionals. Permission was taken from the inspector general prison for conducting interviews with

murderers. Prison record of the murderers were used as a reference which showed that the respondent had committed at least one murder in the name of honour. Questions were open ended in nature. However, questions were primarily based upon their personal information, questions regarding their offense, attitude and how they conceptualise honour. After explaining the purpose of the study to participants their consent was taken. They were assured about the confidentiality of the information and that data will be only used for research purpose. The current study focused on male murderers who were found guilty of murdering one or more than one person in the name of honour.

The interview begun by taking their personal information (age, education, marital status, number of children, and relationship with victim) and after that murderers were asked to narrate the story about the crime they have committed and reasons behind their act. Later, other follow up questions along with other open-ended questions related to their crime were asked. The interview guide was developed in Urdu language, however, at times questions were also asked in Punjabi language as well (local language of Punjab province). The jail authorities did not give the permission of voice recording therefore researcher along with an associate were keeping notes of the detailed information provided by them. Two guards were also present throughout the course of interview. Five interviews lasted for 30-35 minutes, conducted on the same day as the permission was given for one day only. In the end researcher also gave them an overview about what all they had shared, and they were encouraged to add anything more if they like to.

Data Analysis

The obtained data was analyzed using grounded theory approach. Similar approach has been employed in phase I (interviews of professionals). Open coding followed by axial and selective coding. In the axial coding phase, the relationship among codes, categories and subcategories were emerged. Several categories were merged, and few were removed to provide clarity in the structure. The emerged categories were organized according to the coding paradigm. The coding paradigm is an integral feature of conditional matrix, which has several unique characteristics such as context, causal condition, intervening conditions, action-interaction strategies, phenomenon and consequences. The characteristics helped in identifying core category which is an integral feature of selective coding phase. By mapping the categories and

subcategories in the coding paradigm of conditional matrix helps in making a conceptual model. For example, in the study II conditional and consequential matrix has conceptualised in the following way.

Context. In the context under which murder takes place. In the present study acceptance of honour killing as a legitimate act by the murderers, supportive attitude from families and police, awareness about flexibility in the law, belief that killing in the name of honour is the only solution to regain lost family status/honour in the society. These are contextual conditions under which honour killing are done by the murderers.

Causal conditions. Various causal conditions were associated with the murder of family member in the name of honour. Perceived illegitimate relationship, and to protect personal and family honour, regain respect in the society.

Intervening conditions. In the current study social pressure, fear of spoiling other family members and non-supportive attitude of family members towards the victim are raised as an intervening condition in the current study.

Action-interaction strategies. Various action interaction strategies were taken by the murderers to justify their actions. Such as negotiations with the victim, religious justification for the murder, and victim blaming.

Consequences. The murderers told that after taking several measures in order to warn the victim, and when victim doesn't complied the request of murderer they eventually committed "murder to save honour".

Glaser & Strauss (1967) Coding Paradigm: Murderers Perspective

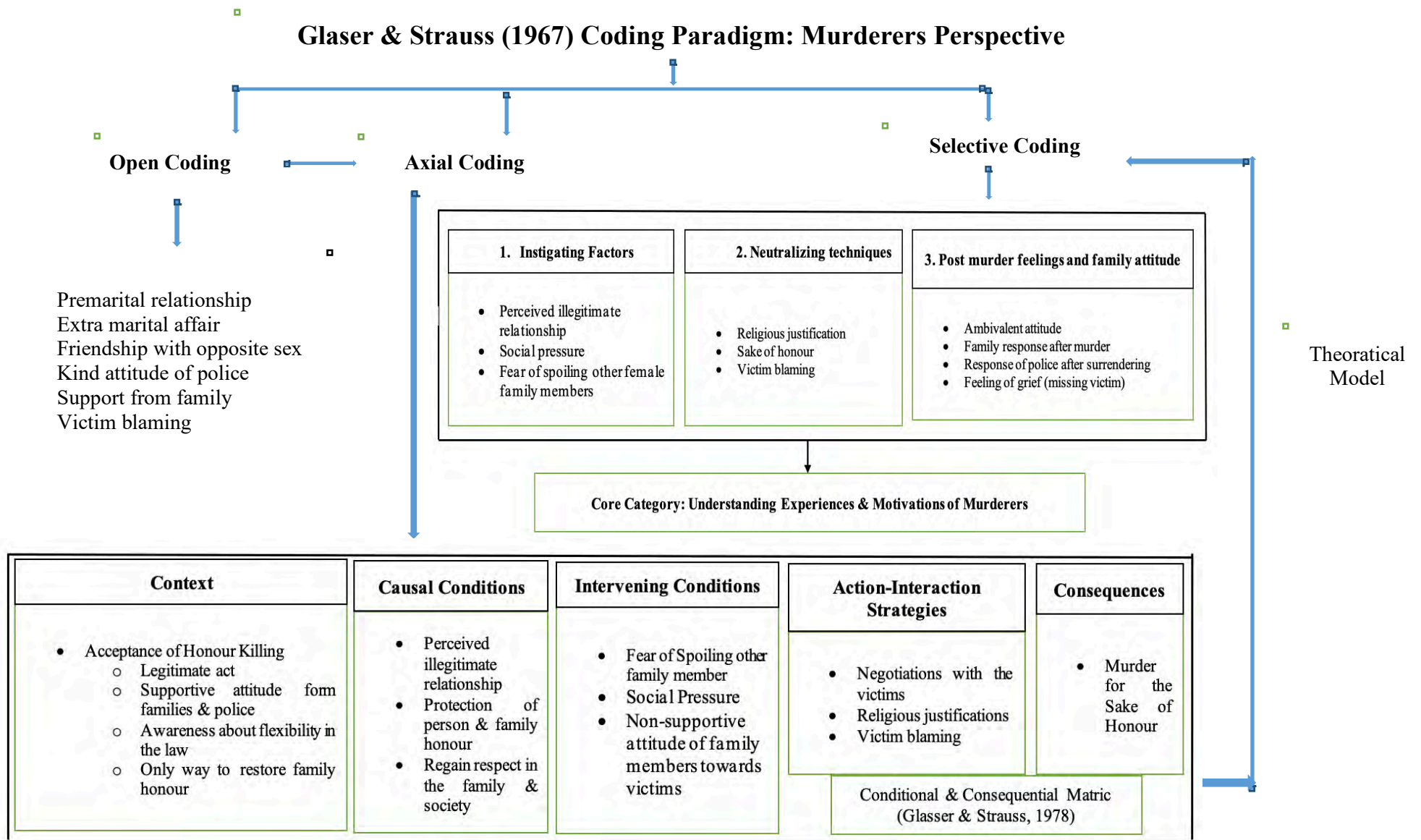


Fig 3. Conditional matrix and theoretical model: murderers' perspective

Maintaining Rigor in the study or Methods of verification of Qualitative data

To maintain the objectivity in the current study (murderer's perspective) similar method of verifications was adopted (Details are mentioned in study I).

RESULTS

Table 4

Categories & its Subsequent Sub-Categories Emerged from Murderers Perspective (N = 05)

Categories	Sub-Categories
Instigating factors	a) Perceived Illegitimate relationship b) Social pressure and Protection of societal image c) Fear of spoiling other female family members
Neutralisation techniques	a) Religious justification b) For the sake of honour c) Negotiations with the victim
Post murder feelings and Family attitude	a) Ambivalent attitude b) Family Response after Murder c) Response of Police after surrendering d) Feeling of Grief (Missing the victim)

Honour killing is by and large a reaction. Those who have been through this phenomenon claim that the act of killing happened because of other factors. In the following section dynamics of honour killing through murderers' perspective would be discussed.

Instigating Factors

The first category that emerged out of murderers interviews were the instigating events and causes behind murder told by the murderers. Various reasons have been told by the murderers behind killing. They told that they have suspected the involvement of the victim in illegitimate sexual relationship. Moreover, social pressure, the attitude of society, neighbor's friends towards the victims provoked the murderer to carry out killing in order to regain honour. Murderers also believed that they killed the person in question so that other women in the family and surrounding would not repeat that mistake. The murder was planned and then executed after murderers believed that they have no other way out in their eyes. It has been evident from their verbatim that none of the murderer murdered their near and dear one out of sudden provocation or rage.

a- Perceived illegitimate relationships. Killing for the suspected involvement in the illegitimate relationship was one of the reason that had been mentioned by all the murderers. Moreover, murderers also claimed about the deception they had felt when their women had disobeyed them and that was unbearable for them. It is important to mention here that none of the murderers had said that they caught them red-handedly in sexual relationships. They all talked about the friendships their victims had developed outside marriage. Friendship and meetings with a guy outside marriage is a serious offense in Pakistani culture. Extramarital affairs is considered as a more serious offense. Therefore, women have been killed on developing affairs with men outside marriage. The honour of a man is tarnished, if any such behavior appears. As one of the murderers stated that, *“I murdered my wife, because one of my old friends got involved with my wife, initially he used to say she is like a sister to me but later he trapped her and I often found them together in parks.”*. He elaborated that their dishonesty was so much painful that out of emotional retaliation he decided to murder them. He is of the view that friendship with another man is unjustified, and having an illegitimate relationship is also an unforgivable sin. All this leads to embarrassment and humiliation in the society. Another Christian murderer stated that *“I murdered my sister because she used to have an illicit relationship with a Muslim man who was already married, I told my sister a lot of times to not see him, but she didn’t listen to me and when matter reached to a certain limit and she kept on disobeying me, then I murdered her”*. Developing a relationship with a guy is equivalent to crossing their limits. Murderers argued that when a daughter, sister or a wife go beyond the limits, it is important to give them a lesson. It is a sin what they are doing.

All the murderers who have been interviewed accused that the woman either a wife, sister or a daughter of their house had an illegitimate relationship. Another murderer who had killed his daughter reported that, *“My daughter was married but she was childless. She ran away from her husbands’ house three times. She often came at our place by leaving her husband’s house. She had developed a friendship with a man who used to live somewhere quite distant from our village. I often caught her using my mobile phone to talk to him. She wasn’t doing a right thing. She should not have developed friendship. This was so disrespectful for me and my family and even for her husband”*. Another murderer also endorsed that and told *“I am not against*

marrying with choice, I allowed my daughter to do love marriage three years ago, I killed my wife on grounds of an illegitimate relationship". Murderer, however, did not talk about that why they have developed friendships, why they did not want to continue with their marriages or what kind of problems they had in their marriages. Even on inquiring them about these questions, they were just convinced that illegitimate relationships are sufficient reason for them to kill their loved ones. The definition of illegitimate relationships is having a friendship outside the bounds of a marriage.

The murderers also discussed about their reservations which they kept in mind for marriage. All the participants stated that they support marriage of their daughters or sisters within a family, baradari, caste and within same religion. As a participant reported that *"I am not against love marriage. However, I cannot bear her friendship and affair with a man. If my sister had asked me that she wanted to have a love marriage with somebody from our baradari (clan), family and same religious background then I would not have opposed her"*. It becomes problematic for them when the woman demands to marry outside *baradari* and caste. They have had strong belief about marriage within a family. Marriage within the same caste, baradari and religion is an important factor related to a mindset of people if their woman tries to like somebody out of that boundary that becomes a matter of dishonour for the male relations. Baradari (clan) and relatives pressures within the family also brings more aggression among them, which ultimately leads to violence. Additionally, it has also been revealed by the murderers that they have issues with extra and pre-marital relationships. They repeatedly shared that friendship with a man causes a lot of other problems for them in the society. It becomes unbearable for them, when they witness their woman involved with some other man.

They believed that their repute in the surroundings was being threatened due to their love affairs. Murderers also confessed that they did not allow their daughter and sister to get married to that particular man with whom they have a love affair. They strongly believed that the reason for murder was strong enough. Another murderer shared that *"I did not allow my sister to marry of her own accord, this was not possible for our family to let our women have the power take such decisions"*. Woman's friendship with a man is an unforgiveable act. At times, they had themselves caught the victims in act of defiance and took things in their own hands. *"As one of the murderer stated that he had killed his wife because he had seen her personally with another*

man in the room". Although none of them had reported or accused the victim for being involved in a sexual relationship. All of them had an issue regarding friendship with a man. It is true that the suspicion of involvement, or rumor about a woman involved in an illegitimate relationship is one of the prime reason behind honour killing. Murderers were also firm in their belief that these things brought serious consequences. Everyone in our society is aware of the consequences related to the development of an illegitimate relationships. Therefore, whenever they are to go against the standards of family then these reasons are sufficient for them to meet such consequences.

b- Social pressure and protection of family image. It has been understood from the findings that society plays a very crucial role in honour killings. The pressure within the society instigates the man to take a stern course of action. The action that expects them to take various ways of exerting pressure has been discussed in the following interviews. Participants told that they live in a closed community, so their societal image is an important element. A murderer who had killed his wife and her friend told that, *"You cannot imagine that my neighbours and relatives, everyone got to know about her friendship with that man. They all used to taunt me. They even accused me of being beghairat (dishonourable) man. They even used to say that I didn't say her anything, because I am financially dependent on my wife. Although this was not true but I used to hear so much taunts in their voices.* Participants told that they find it difficult to resist the pressure and they also have to uphold their image in the society. As a murderer who had killed his daughter told that, *"no one actually directly asked me to kill my daughter, but they ridiculed me, taunted me about her behavior. I was also unable to face people out there. Everyone knew that my daughter doesn't have a good character".* It is essential to mention that all the participants although talked about the pressure they felt from the society, however, they also own and admit that they have killed, because they felt that was the right and the only way to redress the situation. None of the participant gave this impression that killing took place due to the pure instigation of people in the surroundings. The society exerts lot of pressure and involvement in domestic and external matters. A murderer discussed that, *"Since men go out in the society, they are also over-sensitive about the way they as well as their family name is perceived".* Whenever a woman tries to take things into her hands, and crosses the limits set by her family or by the society, it is the responsibility of men to restore the societal order and their inextricable lost image

associated with it. As murderers extended his feelings that ***“He chose to kill because he had been continuously ridiculed by relatives and neighbors, so face saving becomes important for living and that could only be achieved by killing the one who brought this dishonour”***. Therefore, during a course of interview society and social pressure also appeared to be a great motivational factor behind honour killing. It has been found that murderers were more concerned about how people perceived them when such action takes place in their home. They believe their women have disgraced them in society and their social identity has been tarnished.

c- Fear of spoiling female family members. Another interesting finding obtained through the murderers’ interviews is very pertinent to the research at hand. Murderers reasoned that they had saved other family members from getting exploited. As one of the murderer shared that ***“Killing one such woman who crosses the familial and societal boundaries would be a lesson for other women of the family, they would think twice before committing such acts, so I have saved other women from getting exploited as well”***. Murderers further believed that one such act can leave a bad impression on other women and to ensure that such actions will not be repeated by any other women so male members of the family recourse to such violent lessons. A murderer who had killed his wife believed that ***“Respect and honour did not allow me to let her do things like these as she would have spoiled my daughters as well”***. Participants have discussed that such dishonourable acts of one woman plays a role in encouraging others doing that as well. Such actions of a woman may pollute the mindset of others, therefore, it has to be dealt with harshness. Thus, to save that honour and to save other female members from getting exploited, taking their lives is the only option. Likewise, a murder who killed her sister told that, ***“It’s good that she has been killed, else such traits would have also influenced her children. They would have also turned out to be loose characters. If I let her did all that, her children would have suffered because of her abominable nature”***. Thus, it is evident from the findings that teaching other women a lesson and saving them from getting exploited are also an utmost concern of the murderers. By killing a woman, they achieved two goals. One that they regained their societal image and honour, the other is they showed to other female members of the neighborhood and family that such consequences are very much likely to happen. In this way, they instil the element of fear among other women.

Neutralisation Techniques

The category under discussion shed light on how murderers neutralizes their action by rationalisation. Murderers have rationalized their behavior by subscribing their action to cultural, religious and moral norms. Murderers tend to justify their act through this way. By justification it doesn't mean that murderers believed that what they did was wrong, rather they just did not put the sole responsibility of the act on themselves. They condoned their delinquent act through various justifications that are discussed below.

a- Religious justification. Murderers tend to be religiously justified their behaviour. It has been identified that murderers have an understanding that anyone who carries a relationship with a man against the will of the family should be killed. They did not have any deep knowledge about what religion says about liking somebody, or a love marriage per se. They were also not aware about what exactly adultery is and what exactly is an illegitimate relationship. They were also unaware of the fact that on what terms Islamic religion has allowed the punishment of *sangsaar* (Islamic punishment where group of people stoned the person who is proved to be guilty of an immoral act), and the importance of witnesses in that case. They were unaware regarding what guidance Quran and Suunah give in this regard. They believed that developing a friendship, interaction with a guy outside marriage is all related to vulgarity and also that means that women have an illegitimate relationship. Therefore, it has been observed that murderers gave religious justifications to just neutralize their behavior.

They have this belief that friendships, illegitimate relationships are against the boundaries defined by the religion and to teach a strict lesson through murder is the right way to redress their grievances. Although, it was also found out that all of them lack the in-depth understanding of Quran and religion. As one of the murderer argued that *“even in our religion it is stated that to save your own life, you can murder and there is no life without honour”*.

All the murderers agreed that murder is also a bad act and religion does not allow this, but they believed that they had a strong justification that what their woman had done was against all standards of morality, so their action was nothing out of the ordinary. *A murderer stated that “I know religion says do not kill anyone, but no religion allows women to dishonour their families by involving into an illegitimate*

relationships". They have interpreted their act as religiously justified by blaming the victim and believed that no religion allowed women to act this way. It was quite evident from the findings of interviews of murderers that they also bring in religion as a sacred source to defend themselves. Most of the men who were interviewed stated that religion had made them the guardian of the honour and that they were somehow responsible for the acts of the female members of their families. They also tend to believe that religion has also imposed sanctions on the role and behavior of the female and that under no circumstances, they could have been allowed to transgress from those limitations.

b- For the Sake of Honour. Murderers have put the responsibility of their act on cultural norms and ideas. The findings indicated that murderers believed they have committed the crime to safeguard the family honour. It is important to mention that all the murderers who had killed for the sake of honour, belonged to low socio-economic background. They reported that their living standards are low. They had no educational, professional or financial stable status. Therefore, the murderers agreed that honour is more important to live in a society and when a person lost his *izzat* (integrity) in a society, it becomes impossible to live a reputable life in these surroundings. A murderer who had killed his wife commented that, ***"I told people around me as well that I will kill her for maligning my respect and integrity"***. Participants also agreed that to murder a loved one or a blood relation is not an easy thing, but it becomes obligatory for saving personal and family honour in the society.

It has been analyzed from their discussion that they have more importance for respect and dignity in the society other than being called as wealthy. A murderer who had killed her sister told that, ***"We as a family are poor people but we are respectful. We have nothing but dignity and respect. We can never tolerate anything blighting our respect and honour"***. He further stressed that ***"Honour is greater than life. It is indeed, when there is no izzat that life can have no meaning. Specifically, poor people have nothing but respect and dignity"***. Moreover, they asserted that having already lived in poverty, they have nothing much to offer about themselves in the society but dignity, honour and respect. Participants have agreed that to safeguard their honour they are ready to go to any extent. As one of the murderers who had killed his sister told that, ***"Poor people have nothing to show off but respect and dignity"***. Murderers believed that being poor is already a suffering itself so there is only one thing a poor person can be proud of and that is his dignity and respect. Murderer who had killed his daughter

told that *“We are poor people but respectful, we have not much other than our reputation, so we can never tolerate anything maligning the name of respect and honour”*. A woman of the house is supposed to carry that in a respectful manner, when they breach that code of respect then a man has to face and suffer all the censure of the society. It has been evident from the findings that in low socio economic background, the concept of *izzat* is more internalized as they have nothing else to feel proud of. It has also been discussed by one of the participants that woman is supposed to be careful. Society would always be critical about the behavior of a woman. As he told that, *“My daughter should have been careful, society always accuses women and remember her for her bad deeds. Izzat of a woman is everything. A woman’s izzat is honour of a whole family”*. They believed all they need is *izzat* or integrity to live in the society. All they have is *izzat* and to protect that they go to extremes. Murderers also claimed that women of their family are both a source of respect and prestige for them and also the root of all evil in case of slander should such occasion arise.

c- Negotiations with the victim Murderers conveyed that they had had multiple negotiations with the victim before murdering them. In that, they were forewarned that they will have to bear the consequences if they did not stop communicating with the person they were involved. A murderer stated that, *“I did talk to my sister a lot of times that do not meet that guy or talk to him, but she did not listen to me and when that matter reached a breaking point and she kept on disobeying me then I murdered her”*. Almost all the murderers reported that they had negotiated with the victim quiet a lot of times both politely and sternly. One of the murderers stated, *“I tried to make her understand with patience that do not indulge in this evil, I offered her a divorce, but she was not even ready for that”*. They were of the view that after giving them ample chances to correct their misdeeds, the women still did not follow their commands then to ensure the integrity and respect, they had to take that extreme form of reaction. All of them agreed that they have no tolerance of disobedience and dishonouring from women. They led their aggression to exceed a limit due to which they murdered them. They argued that the woman of their house who dishonoured them basically forced us to commit such crimes against them. As a murderer also reported, *“I have no regrets because I murdered my sister for saving honour and whenever I have to do murder for saving honour I will not refrain”*. It is hard to murder anyone even more so a blood relation, but the kind of a behaviour they

emitted were against the norms, therefore, they chose to murder in order to regain their lost respect in the family and society. The murderers strongly believed that victims were responsible for the dire repercussions that ensued.

Post-murder Feelings of Murderers and Attitudes of People

The post-murder feeling is another interesting finding to be explicated here. That the behavior of the family and personal feelings changed in the murderer are an important aspect to understand, because they do in most of the cases. On top of that, novel findings have also identified such as feeling of missing the loved one among few murderers.

a- Family's response after murder. This idea of honour killing is often reinforced by the external approval, so the family and the society at large is almost always as forthcoming in condemning this heinous crime as compared to other criminal actions which further feeds into the psyche of the killer. The other important finding emerging out of interviews is, response and attitude the murderers received from their family members after murdering someone among them. It was noticeable from the findings of the interviews that murderers, or murderers are aware about the flexibility in imprisonment.

They did not have detailed knowledge about the law and legal proceedings, but they have this understanding that they can be easily released by giving blood money to the other party whose member they have killed. They are also aware of the fact that forgiveness by the other party and their own family would make it possible for them to avoid any prospective punishment. One of the murderers stated that *“When I murdered my sister in the name of honour, I was detained in jail for two months and then my parents gave application for my release and I got release after two months, now I am in jail after murdering the man my sister used to love, the family of that man is demanding money, until then they would not forgive me. Therefore, my family is working on gathering money to pay blood money to other party”*. It is understandable that family has a right to forgive the murderer to set him free, and murders for the sake of honour usually take place within a family, therefore, it is more easy to forgive a family member and make him escape punishment or jail time.

It has been clear that in the honour killing cases where murder takes place only within family it's easy to get away with imprisonment. It only gets difficult when some

other family also had a stake in the murder. As one of murderer told that *“I murdered my married daughter who was involved in extra marital affair, my family is trying to get me out of here but my son in law is not forgiving me, although my family is trying really hard to do monetary settlement with him”*. It has been found that when brother killed their sisters then they were pardoned by their parents, as a murderer stated that *“My parents were slightly sorrowful about my sister when I murdered her, but they also believed that I have done the right thing. Therefore, after two months of the procedure they got me out of jail”*. Similarly, on the killing of wife, children pardoned their father subsequently when father killed a daughter, rest of the family forgave him. Another murderer told that *“My children are putting effort to make adjustment with other party, my daughters are also doing jobs to save money for me so that they can pay to other party and make me free from jail”*. So, the family approval was there before murder and even after the murder. All the murderers who were in custody stated that none of their family members displayed any sort of anger toward them and none of them were reluctant in giving forgiveness. Because granting forgiveness in honour killing has much significance. He not only believes that he would be able to bypass justice but is also motivated by the fact that his action would earn him respect, which he had otherwise lost, from the society.

b- Response of police and surrender. Another pertinent case is in which all the five murderers told that they had confessed about the crime they had committed and hence thereby surrendered themselves. In that, all the interviewed murderers turned themselves to the police. According to one of the murderer, *“After killing my wife I was not on the run. I believe I had done the best for my family and other. I came to police and told them everything. Actually, when my wife used to run away with her lover, I had even at that time came to police for the complaint. Therefore police had an idea about her status. This time I told police about the incident. Police had not been harsh with me at all”*. Moreover, murderers were highly satisfied being in custody. Almost all the murderers mentioned that they really appreciated the role of police and their compassion towards them when they registered the case. It has not been reported that police have a negative attitude towards them. These findings especially the role and attitude of police with the murderers of honour killing is empathetic is quite consonant with the findings that emerged in the aforementioned study of professionals

who reported that because of the inherent patriarchal psyche of police, which deals with these murderers with compassion is the real cause of honour killing cases.

c- Grief: missing the victim. A novel finding that has identified in the two of the perpetrators were feeling of slight remorse. Although personal feeling towards honour killing vary from person to person. However, two of the murderers in which one had killed his daughter and the other who had killed his wife reported that they miss them at times. Even in the cases where the murderers are convinced that he had done the right thing, it has been found through the course of this research that there were traces of slight remorse. A murderer told that, *“I do regret sometimes and miss my wife as well, but I murdered her out of honour, it was difficult to tolerate her relationship, she was not a bad woman initially. She got spoiled because of bad influence”*. Even if it is for honour, it is hard to justify killing. Those who have committed this crime agree that killing was wrong but say that they were forced to do it because of their *izzat* or some other external factors. Another murderer who had killed his daughter told that, *“I miss my daughter at times, when I see my other daughters in the house, I miss her too. Her husband is not forgiving me as well that’s why I am in jail. He also says that I didn’t do the right thing”*. It can be concluded that murderers do feel remorse sometimes in the context of missing the loved one that they had killed. It was a new finding for the researcher, as it has hardly been discussed in the literature. Moreover, this aspect was raised and explored by the researcher on other three interviews but rest of them did not report any remorse. A murderer who had killed his sister, explicitly told, *“I do not miss her, I am convinced that I have done the right thing. Even if my other sisters or any woman in the family would behave this way, I would not shy away from killing them as well”*. All of them agreed that they have no tolerance of disobedience and defiance from women. It is worthy to mention that this feeling of remorse among those two murderers has also inclined them towards religion as well. They both claimed that after murder they are more religiously transformed and more inclined towards their religion. One of the murderer also stated that, *“I know religion does not allow murder, but religion also do not allow such dishonourable acts, but I am more religiously inclined ever since I have been in jail”*. Another murderer, who had killed his wife told that, *“I have become a religious person, I offer prayers regularly, I also pray for my forgiveness and for my wife’s forgiveness. I feel myself more attached to religion after this whole episode*. The attachment to religion

might be related to their feeling of remorse that their conscience made them associated with God in order to seek forgiveness. They reported their satisfaction with their act, however after murdering they do miss their loved ones. They did not claim even once that they are ashamed of the action they carried out.

As it can be seen that though all the perpetrators had admitted that killing itself is a wrongful act and is a sin, but all of them have justified their act by saying that victim left no choice to them. They have tried to take all the measures to make victim stop of what they are doing. In the end they had to take this stern action. They all were convinced and strongly believed that killing was their only choice, no one can tolerate such shameful acts committed by their women.

Discussion (Murderers' Perspective)

The first category indicated the reasons for murder. The interviews regarding the reasons for murder specified that murderers killed their loved and dear ones on having an illegitimate relationship in a form of pre and extra marital affair. One of the bigger reasons behind the crime of honour killing is the urge from the so-called guardians of woman's honour to avenge the breach caused due to illegitimate relationships. The society as a whole has a very rigid attitude when it comes to defining the boundaries of relationships, especially when it comes to the women. It is important to mention that in neither of cases they found them or saw them in a physically compromising position. However, the instigating event is the affair and friendship of their women. They believed that having a friendship outside marital relationship signifies that the woman had defied the cultural and social norms. Thus, she deserves to be punished. Previous researches also confirmed that women who involved in friendships, communication, perceived or actual adultery, running away from home, contracting love marriage, are all considered as threat to male honour thereby they need to be treated harshly (Nassrullah, Haqi, & Cummings, 2009). Despite of modernisation and progression in the Pakistani society there are few cultural and social norms that are still intact. One of those norms is that friendship between man and woman is considered as a taboo. Even in educated families it is not considered as very favorable thing. However, in rural areas that are not modernized and educated yet; any kind of relationship among man and woman outside marriage is considered as socially and culturally unlawful. Men feel insulted if they have been informed about any such act related to their women. In contrast to many western societies where friendship with

opposite gender, outside any marital bond is considered normal and acceptable. Moreover, selecting a life partner in the Western countries are an acceptable norm. Thereby, at times it is difficult to understand honour based killing by people living in Western.

Islam does not disallow the interaction between man and woman; rather, Islam has given freedom to Muslim man and woman to select their life partner. However, individuals who carried out and support honour killing confused it as being unIslamic. Islam forbidden sexual relationship before marriage and approved a punishment of *Sansaar* for both man and woman when it is being proved. As it can be clearly understood that in none of the cases illegitimate sexual relationship has been observed. The pre-marital and extra marital affairs, communicating with men who are not part of family and caught them together had been enough reasons for the murderers to kill their loved ones. The findings of the present study are aligned with previous researches which have established that women involved in friendship, in communication with a man; women being in a room or someplace with a man who is not a family member is considered as a dishonourable act on part of women (Nassrullah, Haqi, & Cummings, 2009). As in the present research murderers have reported that they have seen victims talking to man on mobile phones and in other case a husband who had killed his wife because he had caught them in the house together and earlier he caught them in parks multiple times. It has been established through the results of study I (professionals perspective) that in Pakistani society woman who are being treated poorly at their homes by their parents, brothers, and husbands, then those women mostly tried to develop friendships with men as a escape from their families. They believed that after marrying with them they could get away with unfavorable circumstances they are facing at homes. Divorce from a first husband, and love marriages both are not seen as something favorable in Pakistani society. Therefore, women feel compelled to deviate the set patterns and norms. They do it discretely and kept it as a secret, but when they are being caught, and they have been killed on the accusation of tarnishing the family honour.

Another instigating event that compelled murderers to ensure killing in the name honour is social pressure. Pressure of society was one of the major reasons for murderers' motivation to kill their family member who had crossed the set limit and destroyed the family honour. The humiliation and shame they received from society was one of the prime reasons behind killing. It is evident from the findings that

reputation in the society is more important for the male members than the life of their family member. Findings in the literature also indicated that the thoughts of the society on a family reputation are of great significance. The rumours of society, and beliefs about the family, could possibly destroy the reputation of the family. Thus, the beliefs of society about family determine how honourable a family is (Erez & Berko, 2010; Ouis, 2009). Professionals had also confirmed in their interviews that in many cases they had seen that social pressure is one element that provokes honour killing. It has been seen that all the interviewed murderers belonged to low socio-economic background. In rural or small underdeveloped areas people lived in closely knitted social structure. Any such kind of act on part of a woman cannot remain a secret from neighbors and relatives. When a girl runaway from a house, or have been seen as communicating with a man who is a not family member is spread like a gossip. Family and men particularly feel insulted and had to face humiliation. Men in Pakistani society are the ones who have elaborated social interactions. They have to interact in the community. In Pakistani society where woman is considered as honour of a man, then in such circumstances man has to face more humiliation. Society also forces them to take stern action against the woman even when they are not eager to kill. Literature has also confirmed that social pressures compel even when men in the house are reluctant to commit a murder for the sake of honour (Cohan, 2010). Therefore, social pressure does play a crucial role in instigating a murder.

Similarly fear of spoiling other women in the family has also been unearthed as an instigating factor. Men in the family usually justified that the killing by saying that other females in the house of family would take encouragement for such acts if the accused women has not been punished. The punishment of an accused woman would give a lesson to other girls not to follow their footsteps. These findings are also aligned with the previous study (Professionals perspectives). Professionals have mentioned that multiple times murderers claimed that they killed the woman because they feared that she would spoil other girls as well. Kardam, (2008) also found that murderers have linked honour killing with social pressure. The punishment of an accused woman would give a lesson to other girls not to follow their footsteps. It can be presumed that the murderers believed that by killing one deviated woman gives a sufficient lesson to other women of the family and community. The incident would be remembered for generations and whenever a woman tried to cross the set boundary she would have been

threatened with such examples. Therefore, she would not challenge family, cultural and society norms.

Other than instigating factors various neutralization techniques have also been emerged as a major finding. Despite that murderers have accepted that committing murder was the right decision but they also neutralize their behavior to justify that victim deserved to be treated this way. The primary reason behind the murder of their own family was their passion about honour. All the murderers as per their belief argued that as a husband, brother, or father they are the guardians of honour of their females and their families. Therefore, it is their duty to protect honour. It becomes intolerant for them when women of their house breach that honour. As literature also confirmed that for the perpetrators of honour killing, honour is the most sacred entity. It is impracticable to deal with the issue of dishonour in any other way but killing (Van Eck, 2003).

As it was being discussed that the murderers are usually belong to low socio-economic background. Prestige and status in society can only be extracted by their females. Therefore, it becomes difficult for them to rationalize any such situation. Findings consistent with literature also indicated that in poor socioeconomic settings, honour is the family's insurance for their well-being (Paulusson, 2013). These findings are also aligned with the findings of professional's perspective where they had shed light on the fact that murderers of honour killing justified their act by their role as a gatekeeper of womanhonour. Professionals also argued that men in Pakistani society associate their honour with the female of their family. Therefore, they take extreme measures against a woman who violate the honour code. Previous literature has also confirmed that in patriarchal societies like Pakistan women has to sacrificed they are for the sake of honour because that is an easy way for the family to regain honour (Kardam, 2008; Cinthio & Ericsson, 2006; Andersson, 2003). Andersson, (2003) emphasized that men locate their honour on women bodies, and they believe controlling their sexuality is there duty. Literature has confirmed that in Middle Eastern societies the concept of honour is deeply embedded, therefore honour is used to justify the killing of women, because in patriarchal societies honour depends on the perception of others, therefore behavior must be controlled (Abu-Rabia, 2011). In the findings of professional's perspective it had been discussed that honour killing are not limit to any particular economic background, and professionals did exemplify certain cases where

honour killing had been done in wealthy families. However, murderers that have been interviewed were from the low socioeconomic background.

Secondly, murderers neutralize their behavior by believing that is religiously justified. However, few of the murderers have told that only after residing in the jails they have started their daily prayers. So it may infer that despite the fact that murderers gave religious justifications of their act, they were not practicing daily religious rituals like prayers before the incident. The murderers did not reject legal and religious norms that establish that killing is wrong. Indeed, they accepted that killing was wrong, and a sin, but they asserted strongly that the killing was the only option in their circumstances. Although they had no deep knowledge about the religious stance in such issue yet they believed they have not done any sin. It can be analyzed from the findings that honour killing although has deep cultural roots yet it has made associated with religion. Incorrect religious teachings have been embedded on people mind; therefore, they do not consider it wrong. They believed that killing is disallowed in the religion but they justify their act by saying that illegitimate relationship is also not allowed. They failed to understand that friendship or affair in which no adultery has been proved has not come under the banner of illegitimate relationship, neither killing for having friendships allowed in Islam. Islam clearly states that one must have four witnesses in order for a case to be brought forth in a court of law (Cinthio & Ericsson, 2006; Ali, 2008; Ishaq, 2010). Findings of the previously conducted study also confirmed that murderers of honour killing frequently give religious justification for their murders, and it was also used by many family members to further their own agendas and to justify their approval (Alkhatib, 2012). A theory of neutralisation techniques have also confirmed that people give powerful justifications and rationales for their violent acts or whenever they violate laws or norms to tell themselves that they have not done anything wrong (Skyles & Matza, 1957). Society also strengthens this belief that these murderers have not done anything wrong. Results of another study found out that the participants in interviews reported that family honour is related with religion, so when someone violate the honour of the family, he/she is violating the codes of religion (Adana, et al., 2011). The finding of present study is also aligned with the discussions of professionals where they reported several times that misinterpretation of religion and lack of personal religious understanding motivates family towards honour killing. It becomes easier for murderers and their families to justify their act under the religious narrative. Thus, murderers lack

religious understanding. However, they believe that it is compulsory to murder a woman who shows any less dignified act. It was clear from their opinions that they use religion as a tool to justify their act may be to avoid feeling of guilt.

Furthermore, it has also seen that murderers put the burden of blame on the victims by saying that they deserved to be killed. It was clearly evident from their conversations that murderers believed that victims involved in an act of shame and therefore left no choice with murderers. It is another way of neutralizing their act. It can be presumed that it may be a reason that murderers of honour killing do not feel shame and proudly accept their crime. Literature has also confirmed that perpetrators of honour killing felt ashamed by the conduct of their female relative not for them (Dogan, 2016). Furthermore, a study conducted by Dogan, (2016) has also found out that the blaming the victim for the consequences has appeared the most in their course of interviews with perpetrators. By putting the blame on the victim, they do not have this feeling that they have committed any crime. They believe that victims were responsible for such consequences. This is also a reason that unlike other murderers' honour killers do not feel ashamed of what they have done, instead they feel ashamed of victim's act. They justify their action by making the victims responsible of their acts.

Another finding identified was post murder feeling and attitudes of people towards murderer. An interesting finding that has appeared in few interviews where murderer has admitted that although they believed that they had done the right thing but still they miss the victim. When a father told that I do miss my daughter at times as after all she was a daughter. When I see my other daughters, I do miss her. Interestingly literature had not indicated such findings. It is important to make clear distinction between missing the victim and having regret. Murderers were clearly asked again that if they are missing the victim than does that mean they feel regret? Murderers clearly told that we do not feel regret at all for the murder we had committed. We did it because victims deserved to be treated this way. It is just that at times they miss them as they had spent a great deal of good time with them. It is being consonant with findings of previous literature where a study conducted on prisoners convicted for honour killing in Turkey revealed that none of them regretted their actions rather; they have been applauded by their relatives for this course of action (Dogan, 2016). It can be considered from the findings that honour killers are convinced and motivated that they had done the right act. For them murder for the sake of honour is a justified act.

Moreover, findings also indicated that attitude of people specifically family members were supportive towards the murderers'. As it has been established through professionals' perspective and previous literature that in case of honour killing, whole family is convinced with an idea of killing the one who had disgraced the family honour. In cases where few of family members contained any sympathy for the victim, would also not be able to protect them. Another study also found out that family honour is dependent upon the women and morality associated with it and all sort of acts of hers which became a source of bringing dishonour to the family needs to be repressed (Ouis, 2009). Honour is culturally embedded in the mind and heart of people. Murderers' told that their family members are doing effort to bring them out of jail. This is a reason that convictions in honour killing cases hardly took place in Pakistan. Other members of the family forgive the murderer. One explanation behind this behavior could be that in low socio-economic class where most of the honour killing takes place, they cannot afford to keep the bread earner of the house remained in jail. Fathers, brothers who killed usually are the bread earners of the family as well. In cases where murderers are in jail, in such cases blood money is also one of the motives from the other party. Such as one of the cases where brother has killed both his sister and her lover, in that case the other party whose male member has been killed are not forgiving and demanding for blood money. The interviewed murderers belonged to low income group so they find it difficult to arrange blood money and that is the reason they are in jail. In cases where just their own family member, either sister, daughter or wife has been killed alone, in those circumstances family immediately forgive the murderer. They do not have to spend time in jails, and many a times get released on bail. Findings of the study also revealed that all those who have murdered their family members have an internalisation of values that honour is bigger than human life. Whenever somebody cross that established code of honour he/she will have to face worst consequences. Thus, present study has established that attitude of family is supportive towards honour killers.

Moreover, murderers have also reported that attitudes of police towards them were also satisfactory. None of the murderers told that they been harshly treated by the police. Murderers told that they surrendered to police themselves after committing the murder. Similarly, the study conducted by Dogan (2016) has identified that the most honour killers turned themselves to the police. Thus, honour killers conveniently turned themselves to the police. Although the sample of the study was small, however all the

interviewed murderers turned themselves to the police. One explanation for conveniently surrendering to the police could be that honour killers believe that by murdering the one who had disgraced the honour they have regained honour in the eye of society and feel themselves as heroes. They feel no shame rather honourable and thus turned themselves in with pride. It has been discussed that the attitude of police is also very patriarchal. Police is also a part of the society; therefore, they also reflect the societal mindset. They also contain lenient attitude towards honour killers. It is in the collective unconscious of majority of individuals in Pakistani culture the killing in the name of honour is justified. The victim is actually the one responsible for their killing.

Differences and Commonalities among Professionals' and Murderers' Perspectives

It is pertinent to discuss here that few of the factors highlighted by the professionals were confirmed and some other are not confirmed by the murderer. Such as professionals' in their interviews highlighted that murderers of honour killing showed no remorse at all. However, few of the murderers during their interviews accepted that they do miss the victims. Moreover, professionals have highlighted that due to poverty, there is a lack of resources, and education and awareness among murderers' they tend to murder. Murderers told that as they do not have much resources and opportunities from which they can extract prestige and status, thereby, all they have is respect and face saving in their community. Although professionals told that many honour killers murder their female for personal motive, but the murderer' shared that they have killed their females' either for extra marital or pre-marital affair. Moreover, from the verbatims of professionals and murderer's, it is cleared that law enforcement agencies have lenient attitudes towards murderers', support of family was also confirmed by the murderers'.

Conclusion

The study was conducted to explore the perspective and personal understanding of the murderers of honour killing in order to get the deeper understanding of the dynamics of honour killing. The findings indicated that murderers are motivated to regain their lost prestige in the society, and they are internally as well as externally forced to take extreme actions like murder. It can also be assumed from the findings that for them their women are source of prestige and honour. In low socioeconomic families the notion of honour is deeply internalised as it is the only way of re-

establishing their prestige and honour in the society. Their ultimate source of honour in the society is derived through the behaviour of their women.

A number of scenarios ranging from a perceived extramarital affair to a mere friendship between a girl and a boy could lead to this crime. To understand this, we need to grasp the importance of the concept of *Izzat* in the society. For a patriarchal society, where men assume the roles of the custodians, women are considered as their responsibilities. This leads to a heightened sense of possessiveness that more than often results into situations where men believe that they control the lives of the women. Since men as compared to women go out in the society, they are also over sensitive about the way they as well as their family name is perceived. Whenever a woman tries to take things into her hands, and crosses the limits set by her family or by the society, men assume the job of restoring the order. This motivation is the main cause behind honour killing. Moreover, role of poverty has been linked to honour killing. As the murderers reported that

Although murder is a crime but those who commit this are convinced that they are doing the right thing. This idea is often reinforced by the external approval. The family and the society and even the law enforcement agencies at large are not always as forthcoming in condemning this heinous as it is for other criminal actions which further feeds into the psyche of the killer. He not only believes that he would be able to by pass justice but is also motivated by the fact that his action would earn him respect, which he had otherwise lost, from the society. The role of the family is also very important in this regard. At times murderer is not operating alone at times. Even where the rest of the family members are not actively involved in the act of murdering, or attempting to murder, for honour, they provide tacit approval. The fact that most of the cases of honour killing are not reported is a testimony to this trend. Furthermore, the families also use the law of *Diyat* to forgive the killer. Family set up, therefore, is also responsible for the prevalence of this crime. In rural areas, where majority of the people subscribe to the traditional ideas have a lot of cases where the killer was forgiven by the family.

The support of the families, whether it is direct or indirect, is seen to serve as a kind of deterrent. Even those who are willing to concede the fact that honour killing is not justified, tend to argue that if such actions were not done, other women by which they mean their sisters and daughters, would be tempted to follow their whims, and may

become unruly. The fear that families may lose control that they have on the lives of the females in the status quo is a major factor behind the support provided by the families to defend the culprits of the honour killing. So, most of the people belonging to traditional family set up think that, though unwanted, the act of honour killing can be used as an example for the coming generations to prevent them from even thinking to follow the same path.

Personal attitude towards honour killing vary from person to person. Even in the cases where the perpetrators are convinced that he has done the right thing it has been found through the course of our research that there were traces of remorse. Even if it is for honour, it is hard to justify killing. Those who have committed this crime agree that it was wrong but say that they were forced to do it because of their honour (*Izzat*). The concept of honour killing is also closely linked with morality and the way it is perceived in the society. The study also revealed that none of them had instantly murder on the sudden provocation rather they planned and decided well about their action. They believed that their honour lies in their women, and they are supposed to behave, live and marry according to their fathers, brothers and husbands will. Those, who had admitted that they miss their loved one were also convinced that they committing a murder was the right thing. All of these cases tried to defend themselves by citing compulsions of the moral order.

Limitations and Implications of the Qualitative Studies

The present study has attempted to put forward an indigenous theory on understanding honour killing in Pakistani context. The qualitative study has attempted to give a detailed perspective of professionals and murderers, but it is still subject to limitations. It is difficult to control personal bias, feelings and emotions in the qualitative study. However, researcher tried to avoid personal biases while collecting and analyzing the data. The sample size in qualitative studies is relatively small, and thereby generalizability of the study is not guaranteed. Especially, the sample of murderers is very small in size. But, since it was a unique and difficult sample (in terms of the recruitment for detailed interview), the knowledge collected from murderers have meaningful contribution in the existing literature. In future studies, women murderers and number of other murderers from diverse socioeconomic background must be ascertained to gain more insight and make more confirmations about the narrative shared by murderers.

Perspectives of victims’ families and their nature of adjustment in the society after the incident is missing in the present research. However, a discussion with one family of a victim would certainly draw attention towards many important aspects such as, need of mental health professionals help in coping with the grief of family members, counselling of bereaved families, and need of adjustment in the society despite the murderer being a family member. Future research must cater for the perspectives of survivor victims and bereaved families can enhance the credibility of the present theory and to get more holistic perspective of honour killing phenomenon. The present study lacks the opinion of governmental representatives such as social workers regarding the need of shelter homes and their provision of security for women who want to take steps like love marriage against their families consent. The present study also lack the perspective of forensic psychologists as there are limited number of practicing forensic psychologists present in Pakistan.

Grounded theory based model on understanding Honour Killing in Pakistan

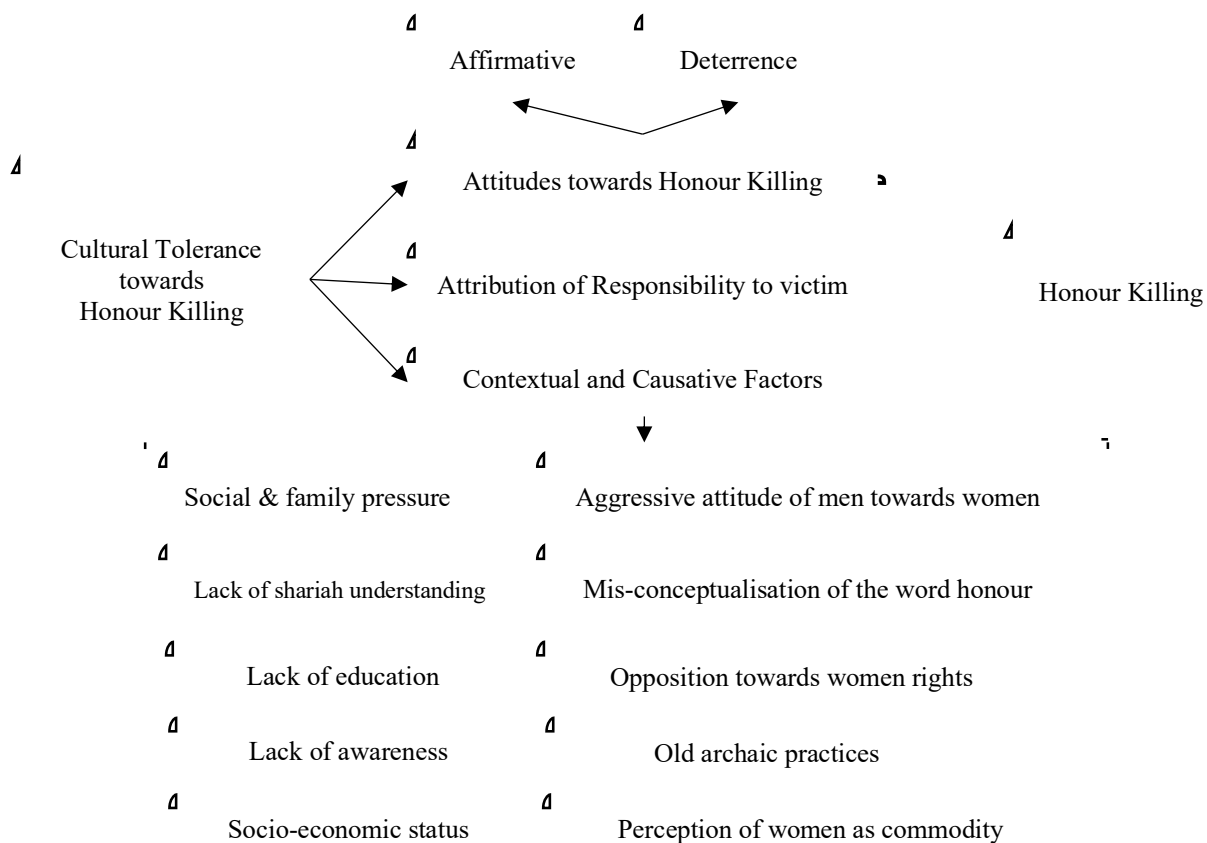


Fig 4. Model based on grounded theory for honour killing in Pakistan

The aim of the in-depth qualitative inquiry is to understand honour killing through the murderers and professionals’ perspective in order to gain comprehensive

understanding of honour killing and factors associated with it. There is lack of indigenous theories on honour killing and existing theories on honour based violence do not fully explain the honour killing in indigenous context. The effort has been made to propose indigenous theory that has understood from the professionals and murderers perspective on honour killing phenomenon. The categories coalesce to support the theory of honour killing in the Pakistani context. As shown in Figure 4, the relationship between these categories is amalgamate of all those attitudes, beliefs, and causative factors shape and reinforced honour killing in Pakistan.

It is pertinent to mention that first two studies have adopted grounded theory method and theory emerged out of this particular data. For that reason, the substantive theory proposed or developed out of this data gives sufficient evidence regarding the understanding of honour killing in Pakistani context, but, it only applies in Pakistani culture. Further research would be required to substantiate and modify this theory by further collection of data across various cultures. The study substantiated the need of professional's role and their unbiased attitudes both individual and organizational level is the need for combating honour killing in the country. Moreover, further interviews of stakeholder would also help in refining this theory. The phenomenon of honour killing and its practice varies culturally and globally according to the dynamics of their country and mindset of their nationals.

Although many definitions of honour killing are available, but based on the study findings, honour killing in Pakistan is defined as, "It is a murder of an individual (generally a female) either precipitously/impulsively or preplanned on the accusation of the person's involvement in the culturally unacceptable behavior to regain honour in the eyes of society. It's a multilayered consequential phenomenon which is an interplay of numerous elements including psychosocial, legal, religious beliefs, emotions, and cognitions which becomes a root of the occurrence of honour killing in Pakistan".

Honour killing is a multidimensional phenomenon. It is an outcome of multiple factors and misperceptions. The acceptance of honour killing is rather an outcome of psychologically driven mindset that the concept of *Izzat* is associated with women. It is perceived as that honour killing in Pakistan is always committed for adultery and other immoral conduct on part of women. However, number of honour killings are committed on mere accusations, social pressures, and on personal belief of a man towards a victim woman. Thus, honour killing is just not a product of killing in the name of honour in a

true sense, rather killing is motivated by multiple factors such as family and society pressure, false accusations, fulfillment of ulterior motives etc. Economic interests/ gains are at times the motivating factor behind honour killing. Poverty and lack of awareness does contribute in the conservative mindset towards women. It is confirmed that murders or people in favor of honour killing extract their honour and respect from women. Accordingly, significant findings indicated that honour killing must be understood through the context in which it occurs, rather than just viewed as an emotionally driven act of the perpetrator.

Thus, the one who committed honour killing and are in favour of honour killing are all those people who haven't understood the concept of honour. They are either favour murder or have murdered in the name of honour under the influence of people opinion about them, or it is a common belief system that they have nothing else from where they can extract their honour and prestige but women. Number of factors pointed out by professional such as poverty, lack of education, awareness, stereotypical perception about women etc are also those factors that perpetuate the beliefs of murderers towards honour killing.

The results of both professionals' perspective and murderer's perspective encouraged to utilize the codes and categories for another study i.e., development of scales. Therefore, in the second study that is based upon quantitative studies; the information from the interviews was employed to develop scales. Categories emerged from the interviews were reflective of people's attitudes and beliefs towards this phenomenon. Therefore, it was planned to explore the attitudes and beliefs of people on a larger level.

Hence, recurrent codes and categories had been utilized for the item generation in the scale development. It is significant to mention that the information retrieved from the interviews were extremely extensive and rich. Thus, information retrieved from the qualitative studies can be divided into three main categories that is attitudes, beliefs and attribution of responsibility. It was decided to develop three separate scales measuring different dimensions of attitudes towards honour killing. The real incidences quoted by the murderers were utilized to make a scale that would determine how people attribute the responsibility in honour killing scenarios.

STUDY III

Development of Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale, Attribution of Responsibility towards Honour Killing Scale and Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale

This study was planned to develop three indigenous scales to measure attitudes, factors perpetuating honour killing, and attribution of responsibility towards honour killing. Exhaustive information has been received in both the qualitative studies. Therefore, it was decided to utilize the information in the development of scales. The number of attitudes related scales on honour killing phenomenon are already very limited in number. However, literature has extensively discussed the need of measuring attitudes pertaining to honour killing as of paramount importance. As discussed in the introduction section, only one scale related to attitude towards honour killing is present in Pakistan and that too has its own limitations. The gravity of honour killing in Pakistan cannot be ignored. It is of paramount importance to have more reliable and valid instruments to measure attitudes and beliefs towards honour killing. Therefore, qualitative data was utilised to develop an item pool for indigenous scales related to honour killing. Thus, the item statements and scenarios used in these scales are all based on the information collected in the qualitative phase through interviews of professionals' and murderers'.

Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the study were:

- 1- To develop an indigenous measure to assess attitudes towards honour killing (HK).
- 2- To develop an indigenous measure of perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale.
- 3- To develop an indigenous scenario-based measure for attribution of responsibility for honour killing scenarios.

These were planned on the basis of qualitative part of the study (see Chapter 3) that were based upon interviews of professionals and murderers. The findings of the study revolved around factors that are perpetuating the culture of tolerance for honour killing, attitudinal and attributional components towards honour killing. Therefore, it

was decided to construct two likert type scales and one scenario-based scale. The information collected from qualitative phase indicated number of associated factors that are related to honour killing e.g., how the misconceptualisation of honour construct and skewed conceptualisation leads to perpetuate honour killing. The cultural and institutional limitations (i.e. lenient laws, delayed justice, media sensationalism, and misinterpretation of religion, socioeconomic factors, less education, and lack of awareness) are also the leading source in the existence of honour killing. The acceptance of this concept in the Pakistani culture among every socioeconomic class, and region is also the reason that this has not been curbed yet. All the information has been revealed in the qualitative phase that helped in understanding the existence of this issue and factors associated with it. However, an important finding in the qualitative study indicates that the attitude and beliefs of general masses are also important to be assessed; only then the awareness among the masses could be created and other highlighted limitations could be addressed. Therefore, two likert type scales were developed to assess attitude towards honour killing, and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing respectively. The third scale was comprised upon scenerios based on real incidences (taken from news on reported cases, interviews of murderers, and the incidence narrated by participants in the qualitative phase) of honour killing to identify the attribution of responsibility people provide in such cases. The details of the steps involved in the development of scale are discussed below:

Step 1

Item pool generation. In the first step of the scale development, item statements were generated based on subcategories and categories identified in the qualitative phase (see Chapter II) including understanding and conceptualisation of honour killing, and institutional factors (family, religion, media, law, police, and judiciary) that are associated with honour killing. All the initial items were critically reviewed by the researchers to address comprehension, redundancy, complexity, ambiguity and cultural relevance. Item pool was generated for three scales.

Item pool of (i) Thirty-seven statements was developed for the Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale. (ii) Item pool of twenty-three statements was developed for the Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour killing Scale, and (iii) Nine scenerios were developed for the Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing Scenario scale. Scenarios were based on real stories narrated by the professionals and perpetrators in Study I and II

respectively. These honour killing incidences were briefed into one-two lines statements (to cover the whole story) and it also gone through different stages in the course of its development like other two measures.

Following steps were taken to construct scenarios and likert type scales. The same procedure was followed for all three measures.

Step II

Evaluation of item pool by Subject Matter Experts (SMEs). The item pool of two scales along with scenario-based scale were further analysed by the committee of five experts including three Assistant Professors and two PhD scholars of National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. These SMEs were approached based on their expertise in psychometrics and gender related issues. Items of these scales were reviewed based on precision, clarity, repetition, and cultural relevance.

Items were reassessed by the researchers of the study based on the suggestions of the SMEs to reach to a consensus for finalizing the statements of all three scales. Redundant items were deleted, few items statements were altered, and similar statements were merged during this process. Moreover, statements reflected difficulty in comprehension; vagueness and overlapping with other statements were dropped.

Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale. Out of thirty-seven items of attitude towards honour killing scale; nineteen items were selected, and statements were written for 5-point likert type response alternative.

Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale. Twelve items out of twenty-three were selected for perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale, and statements were written for 5-point likert type response alternatives.

Attribution of Responsibility for Honour Killing Scenarios. Scenario based scale was also evaluated by SMEs and response format and options were suggested by them. After their review, suggestions were incorporated e.g. “statements of the scenarios and wordings were altered and condensed”. The researcher has tried to make scenarios on all those incidences that had been told by the professionals and murderers were included in the scale. Additionally, researcher had attempted to include different nature of scenarios in terms of marital issues, extramarital affair, love marriage, cast issue, religious issue, and suspicion issue. Moreover, researcher has included

varied scenerios based on honour killing committed by different relations such as father, mother, brother, husband, and inlaws. The response format included the options of attribution of responsibility towards “the culprit” (one who committed murder); attribution of responsibility towards “the victim” (the one who has been murdered) and the third option was of “both”. It was decided to take frequencies on all the scenerios based on chi square analysis in order to ascertain the responses of participants and whom they considered responsible.

**Note: construct validation and psychometric properties were not established for the scenario based scale*

Nature of scenarios. The nature of scenarios varied in terms of their stories. In scenario **one** a daughter had been killed by the mother for having a second marriage out of love. Next the scenario **two** discussed the murder of a daughter by her father for choosing a life partner outside their braadri (cast and creed). Scenario **three** explained the murder of a sister by her brother for her pictures with a religious cleric going viral on social media. In scenario **four** two sisters had been killed by their brother for having friendship with a guy on telephone. Scenario **five** is indicating the murder of a sister in law by her brother in law on suspicion of extramarital affair. Scenario **six** is based on the murder of a wife by husband for developing an extramarital affair. In scenario **seven**, a sister had been killed by her brother for developing a relationship outside their religion.

The researcher tried to cover all the issues and instigating factors such as, honour killing on pre-marital affair, extra marital affair, love affair outside religion, friendship with a man, etc as discussed by the participants that ultimately results in honour killing

Step III

Exploratory factor analysis, inter scale correlations, and internal consistency. Factorial validity of the scales was determined by using Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). To determine the internal consistency, Cronbach alpha were also computed of the newly developed scales. Inter-item correlations were calculated to establish the construct validity of the scales.

Sample. Both scales were administered on a sample of 459 individuals ($n = 245$ Men, $n = 209$ Women) with an age range of 18-60 years ($M = 28.56$, $SD = 10.12$). Data was collected through convenience sampling from Federal areas and different

cities of the province of Punjab which is the representation of 52.95% of total population of Pakistan. The cities include: Lahore, Sargodha, Chakwal, Rawalpindi, and Multan.

Sample inclusion criteria. The sample with the age range of 18 years above was selected as a criteria. However, minimum education level of matriculation (grade 10th) was selected.

Response rate. The overall acceptance rate of forms was 86.95 %, as 500 questionnaires were received back from the 527 distributed questionnaires. Additionally, while cleaning the data 41 forms were discarded based on incomplete responses. Thus, analyses were conducted on 459 questionnaires.

Table 5 showed the demographic characteristics of the sample. Frequencies and percentages for marital status, education, religion, family system, residence, and employment status showed equal distribution of gender in the sample while majority of them were Muslims (as Pakistan is a Muslim state). The data showed equal distribution for nuclear and joint family systems. However, majority of the individuals belonged to urban areas as most of the data was collected from major cities. Response rate and willingness of participants from urban areas were higher as compared to rural areas (rural areas of Chakwal district). Mostly in rural areas people are less educated and show less willingness in taking the questionnaire. They were less likely to fill the questionnaires. Researcher tried to capture information from rural areas, but people showed less inclination towards filling questionnaires. Number of distributed questionnaires (especially at homes) were either not returned or were blank.

Table 5

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample for Study III (N = 459)

	Demographics	<i>f (%)</i>
1. Gender	Men	245 (53.4)
	Women	209 (45.5)
	Missing	5 (1.1)
2. Education	Matric	49 (13.6)
	Intermediate	80 (22.3)
	Bachelors	89 (24.7)
	Masters	114 (31.7)
	Post Graduate	27 (7.5)
	Missing	100 (21.8)
3. Religion	Muslims	444 (96.7)
	Non-Muslims	02 (0.4)
	Missing	13 (2.8)
4. Religious Sect	Non-Muslim	02 (0.4)
	Ehl-e-Hadees	07 (1.5)
	Sunni	291 (63.4)
	Deo Bandi	12 (2.6)
	Ismailee	03 (0.7)
	Shia	17 (3.7)
	Missing	127 (27.7)
5. Family system	Nuclear	220 (47.9)
	Joint	178 (38.8)
	Missing	61 (13.3)
6. Marital status	Single	286 (62.3)
	Married	160 (34.9)
	Missing	13 (2.8)
7. Area of Residence	Rural	130 (28.3)
	Urban	299 (65.1)
	Missing	30 (6.5)
8. Employment status	Employed	174 (43.7)
	Unemployed	157 (48.5)
	Missing	28 (7.8)

Procedure

Data was collected from Islamabad and various parts of Punjab. At first permission letter and ethical consent was taken from National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad to collect the data. Potential participants were approached at their workplaces, homes, colleges, and universities by the researcher and research assistants. The help of research assistants was taken and they were briefed about the questionnaires in detail. Consent of participants' were taken through informed consent (see appendix E for consent form). The purpose of the research was explained through the informed consent. Participants were briefed that the purpose of the study is

just to seek their opinions, so that relevant and effective strategies can later be made and implemented. It was written in the consent that confidentiality would be ensured. Moreover, participants' were briefed that they can take part voluntarily in the research, and thereby, can leave the research whenever they feel uncomfortable. After taking participants' consent, a self-administered questionnaire along with a demographic form was also attached to capture demographics of interest. Participants' were also requested to fill the demographic form along with informed consent and questionnaires. Demographic form was developed to gather information on gender, age, marital status, family type (joint or nuclear), income level, area of residence (rural or urban), job status, religious sect and religion. They were instructed to carefully and honestly respond to all the items of the scales as per their opinion. They were also told that during administration if they feel uncomfortable they can leave the study at any point. Respondents took almost 20-25 minutes to complete the questionnaires. Moreover, glossary for the difficult terms were also provided in both English and Urdu to the participants along with the questionnaires.

In the end participants were thanked for their time and cooperation. They were also assured that their data will remain confidential and will only be used for research purpose.

Instruments

Following instruments were used in the study:

Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS). Indigenously developed 19 items ATHKS was administered. The statements represent items that could measure attitude towards honour killing. The scale is 5-point likert scale ranged from 1= (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5= (*Strongly Agree*).

Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (PPFHKS). 12 items scale of was PPFHKS administered. All the item statements reflect the salience of perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing in the society. The scale is 5 point Likert scale ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*).

Attribution of Responsibility towards Honour Killing Scale. Attribution of responsibility based scale were also developed and administered. The scale composed of seven scenarios were administered. Each of the scenarios were based on true incidences of honour killing. The scale comprised of three options; attribution of

responsibility given to the one who had been murdered i.e., (victim blaming); responsibility attributed towards murderer, and a both / neutral response. Frequencies were obtained on all the scenerios in order to determine and understand the pattern of attribution of responsibility participants ascribed.

RESULTS

For the scale validation, item total correlation and Maximum Likelihood (ML) was performed. Psychometric properties through alpha reliability coefficient were also computed for the scales. The analysis is written for all scales separately.

Item total correlation for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKs).

Before conducting, exploratory factor analysis the item total correlation analysis was conducted that ranged from .08 to .49 at $p < .05$, and $p < .01$. The weak to moderate inter item-correlation is an evidence of non multicollinearity of the data. However, moderate correlation among all the items provided justification that promax rotation can be used to extract the factor structure underlying ATHKs.

Table 6

Item-total Correlation for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (N = 459)

Items	<i>r</i>	Items	<i>r</i>
(1)	.49**	(11)	.32**
(2)	.45**	(12)	.25**
(3)	.25**	(13)	.29**
(4)	.34**	(14)	.32**
(5)	.38**	(15)	.44**
(6)	.25**	(16)	.40**
(7)	.27**	(17)	.40**
(8)	.31**	(18)	.46**
(9)	.28**	(19)	.08
(10)	.34**		

In the present study EFA by using maximum likelihood approach was employed to factor analyse the items. It is suggestible to use maximum likelihood or principle axis factoring in exploratory factor analysis as principle factor analysis does not truly reflect factor analysis (Field, 2017).

EFA for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale. Before carrying out EFA few tests were applied for the authentication of data fitness for the factor analysis i.e., Barlett Test of Spehericity ($\chi^2 = 1590.33$ (231), $p > .001$), and Kaiser- Meyer-Olkin (KMO=.80) values were computed. Along with these tests, items based on Eigenvalue $> .35$ were retained for the further analysis. Any item with factor loading less than .35 and items who cross loaded on other factors were not consider for further analysis. It is suggestible to make decision about final factor solutions on the basis of interpretability and meaningfulness among factors in the context of this research.

Table 7

Factor Loadings, Eigenvalue, & Percentage of Explained Variance of Two Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 459)

Items no	Factors	
	1	2
1	.59	.14
2	.55	.14
3	.01	.52
4	.40	-.15
5	.44	-.10
6	.00	.49
7	.00	.58
8	.35	-.12
9	.03	.72
10	.48	-.18
11	.14	.57
12	-.00	.42
13	.35	-.16
14	.40	.04
15	.58	-.11
16	.56	-.23
17	.36	.08
18	-.21	.23
19	.29	.08
Eigenvalue	4.17	2.09
Percentage of Explained Variance	21.41	11.01
Accumulated Percentage of Variance	21.41	32.43

Nineteen items were subjected to EFA by adopting maximum likelihood approach and promax rotation was employed. As item total correlation suggested correlations among the items. Promax is one of the rotation methods that provide solutions with correlated components/factors (called oblique solutions).

Initially factor structure was explored based on Eigenvalue (1), and five factors with eigenvalue >1 emerged. The variance explained by five factors were 35%

collectively. However, fixed factor solution was tried for number of factors (4, 3, & 2) were analysed based on their item loadings ($>.35$), face validity of inter factor items and overall meaningfulness of the factor with respect to items. Out of these five factors the variance explained by three factors were less than 5% except for two factors which explained 21% and 11%, variance respectively. After qualitative analyses of the items it was decided to use fixed factor solution because few numbers of items loaded on other factors. The detailed analysis elaborated two factors solution as the most appropriate solution for ATHKs. Although scree plot gives visual description of three and four factor structure, but it can be seen that maximum number of items loaded on first two factors with higher number of eigenvalue (see Fig. 5). Though there is no threshold of percentage variance but factor with less than 5% variance is not considered a reliable factor (Beavers et al., 2013). Item loadings, eigenvalues, and variance percentage explained by the factors are mentioned in Table 7.

Seventeen items out of nineteen items were retained after EFA for further analyzing them in CFA. Results showed factor loading of mostly items $>.40$ which is evidence of less specific variance among variables/items. The two items i.e., item 18 and 19 were deleted as they did not meet the set criteria. Moreover, results indicated that factor 1 had an Eigenvalue of 4.08 and explained 21.41 % of the total variance whereas, factor 2 had an Eigenvalue of 2.09 and explained 11.01 % of the total variance. The table demonstrated that total variance explained by two factors is 32.43%. Although no absolute threshold was defined for cumulative variance, but it is suggested that higher cumulative variance reflects better factor solution, however, in social sciences it can be below 50% (William & Brown, 2010). One possible explanation for the low cumulative variance is homogeneity of sample (Field, 2009). Further empirical evidences furnished that, “Despite the importance of factor retention decisions and extensive research on methods for making retention decisions, there is no consensus on the appropriate criteria to use. A number of criteria are available to assist these decisions, but they do not always lead to the same or even similar results” (Carragher & Buckley, 1991; Thompson & Daniel, 1996). The contemporary interpretation criteria include: the factor loadings of variables; the percentage of variance accounted for by the components/factors; and the interpretability and meaningfulness of the resulting factors (Ledesma, Valero-Mora, & Macbeth, 2015).

Hence, the factor retaining decision for the two scales in this dissertation have been taken on the qualitative interpretation as well as factor loadings and the percentage of variance explained by the variables. Literature has emphasized that, “The factor number determination options included eigenvalue greater than one, scree test, minimum average partial, chi-square statistic, a priori number of factors retained (e.g., literature review suggested four factors), percentage of variance accounted for per factor, other approach, and no report (Carpenter, 2018). Therefore, it is suggestible to make decision about final factor solutions on the basis of interpretability and meaningfulness among variables and factors in the context of research.

Scree plot. A scree plot is a simple line segment plot that shows the fraction of total variance in the data as explained by each factor. It is clear from the figure that a large variance is explained by first two factors.

It is important to mention that, “*This decision (factors retaining) is sometimes based on a visual inspection of the Scree plot. However, the scree plot may at times be ambiguous and open to interpretation*” (Ledesma, Valero Mora & Macbeth, 2015). The objective of factor analysis is to choose enough factors to adequately represent the data, while eliminating factors that are not statistically or theoretically relevant (Fabrigar et al., 1999). The body of literature suggests that it is important to choose or retain factor that are meaningful. Eliminating factors that are not conceptually meaningful is suggestible. However, retaining too many factors could be detrimental, as it might resulting weak factor loadings and deplete the factor structure (Pett et al., 2003). Earlier researches have also argued that the sole reliance on scree plot results is not recommended as “the scree test suffers from subjectivity and ambiguity” (Cliff & Hamburger, 1967).

Though scree plot depicts more than two factor solutions for ATHKs scale, however it was tried, but was not retained because of lack of meaningful cluster. Only two items tend to be loaded on third factor and additionally those two items were also strongly crossloaded on first factor. Moreover, three and four factor solution has explained variance less than 5%. Factor solutions were based on an examination of the scree plots, a minimum of three items per factor, eigenvalues greater than 1.0, minimum factor coefficient of .40 for each item, and interpretation of the factors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Thereby, two factor solution was tested and it seems to be a better and meaningful solution. Therefore, researcher tested and retained forced two factor

solution on the basis of their Eigenvalues, meaningfulness and interpretability. Although there is no threshold of percentage variance and it has been discussed by Beavers et al., (2013) that factors with less than 5% of the variance is not considered a reliable factor.

Furthermore, two factor solutions were retained on the basis of SMEs opinion and variance explained by each factor, their interpretable meaningfulness, and relevance with the factor. It is further decided to analyse the suitability and appropriateness of two factor structure in the confirmatory factor analysis. As it does further confirm the suitability and statistical appropriateness of factor structure.

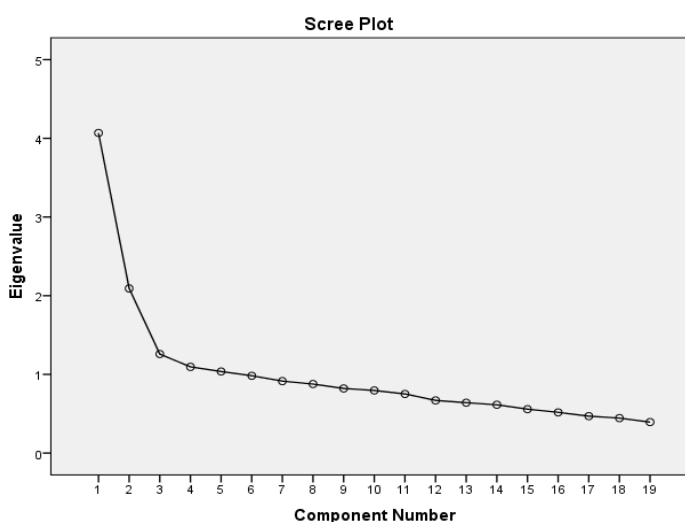


Fig 5. Scree plot for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS)

Final Attitude towards Honour killing Scale (ATHKS). Items of the two factors were given to five research experts (PhDs with sufficient research experience of at least 5 years). The experts were requested to label both subscales with appropriate name. They labeled each subscale based on the face validity of items. Based on their suggestion titles were chosen for each subscale, i.e., (i) Affirmation of Honour Killing (AHK) and (ii) Deterrents of Honour Killing (DHK). Seventeen item ATHKS scale was 5-point Likert type scale with response ranged *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. Original scale is in Urdu language and is attached in Annexure I. However, scale has been translated in English language for foreign readers/researchers. The translation of scale has fulfilled all the standard psychometric requirements. The translated version of

scale is attached in the Annexure J. Moreover, the initial 19 item scale of ATHKS is also attached in the Annexure R.

The scoring of the attitude towards honour killing and its subscales were carried out in the following ways: It was decided to score the subscales independently. Composite scores can be obtained by reversing the scores of any one of the subscales. Henceforth, high scores on AHK would indicate affirmation of honour killing. Whereas, participants scored high scores on DHK would indicate their deterrents of honour killing. The subscales in the ATHKs with their item numbers are as follows.

In the present study scores of DHK were scored reverse to obtain a total score. Thus, the total score would reflect Affirmation of honour killing. The score range of total ATHKs is 17-85

Factor One: Affirmation of Honour Killing (AHK Factor One: Affirmation of Honour Killing (AHK). Overall, 11 items (1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, & 17) loaded on this factor (see Table 1) indicating affirmation of honour killing. Therefore, high scores on these items would indicate affirmative attitudes towards honour killing. Sample items are “There should be no punishment for honour killing in the law.” “Killing is the only way to deal with anyone who acts against Islamic law (shariah).” The score range for AHK is 11-55. The subscale is also attached in Annexure K.

Factor Two: Deterrents of Honour Killing (DHK). Overall, 6 items (3, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12) loaded on this factor which indicates deterrents of honour killing. Therefore, high scores indicated deterrents of honour killing. The score range for DHK is 6-30. Example items are “Lack of punishment for honour killing in the state law encourages people towards it”, and “As per state law, killing in the name of honour should be punished like any other murder.” The subscale is also attached in Annexure L.

EFA for Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (PPFHKs)

Item total correlation for Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale. In order to determine the factor structure for the 12 items of Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale, item total correlation was carried out for the initial analysis to test the dimensionality and construct validity of the scale.

Table 8

Item-total Correlation of Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 459)

Items	R
(1)	.55**
(2)	.69**
(3)	.64**
(4)	.68**
(5)	.59**
(6)	.54**
(7)	.59**
(8)	.61**
(9)	.66**
(10)	.63**
(11)	.45**
(12)	.43**

The item total correlation for twelve items of (PPFHKs) have significant positive correlation with the total score indicating a highly significant internal consistency of the scale and ranged between .43 to .69 ($p < .01$). As almost all the items showed high item total correlation therefore oblique method (Promax) was selected to draw the factors.

Exploratory Factor Analysis of PPFHKs. Twelve items of PPFHK scale were factor analyzed through EFA and factor extraction was conducted on the basis of eigenvalue for 12 items. On the basis of initial eigenvalue, three factor solution was suggested, but it was not retained because of high cross loadings among items. After trying fixed two factors and unifactor solution it was decided to retain unifactor solution, as it turned out to be most meaningful solution on the basis of factors loadings, eigenvalue, face validity, and interpretability of the items. Uni-factor solution showed satisfactory loadings ($>.35$). The maximum number of items has showed factor loadings above .40, therefore, it has been decided to exclude items that showed less than loadings less than .35. The results explained almost 30.37% total variance. However, two items (11 & 12) were eliminated because they did not show satisfactory factor loading. Thus, decided to not to test them further in CFAs. Moreover, all the variables/ items in the factor are related to the perpetuating factors associated with honour killing. Thereby, it

is decided to retain unidimensional factor. As for factor extraction factor loadings are considered prime criterion, for the large sample with proportion of number of items factor loadings can be low (William & Brown, 2010). To test the sample adequacy for factor analysis Bartlett test of Sphericity {1216.05 (45), $p < .001$ }, and KMO (.87) for PPFHKs was found significant, suggesting adequate sample for the analysis. Therefore, it was decided to carry on with the uni-dimensional solution. All 10 items showed satisfactory loadings ($>.35$). Hence, these 10 items were retained to further test them on confirmatory factor analysis.

Table 9

Factor Loadings, Eigenvalue, & Percentage of Explained Variance of Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 459)

Items	Factor Loadings
1	.46
2	.65
3	.62
4	.69
5	.52
6	.50
7	.56
8	.58
9	.65
10	.61
11	.31
12	.31
Eigenvalue	4.30
Percentage of Explained Variance	30.68
Accumulated Percentage of Variance	30.61

Scree plot. Figure 6 shows the factor matrix of PPFHKs scale. Although scree plot shows two factor solution, but it is also clear from the figure that a large variance is explained by factor one. It was evident from the results of two factor solution of PPFHHKs that only two items loaded on factor two and enormous researches have indicated that a minimum of three items per factor, eigenvalues greater than 1.0, minimum factor coefficient of .40 for each item, and interpretation of the factors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). However, on the basis of scree plot two factor solution was also tried, but the solution suggested on two items on second factor with minimal loading. Uni factor solution seemed to be the most meaningful. Thereby, to avoid meaninglessness it was decided to retain single factor as it seems more meaningful.

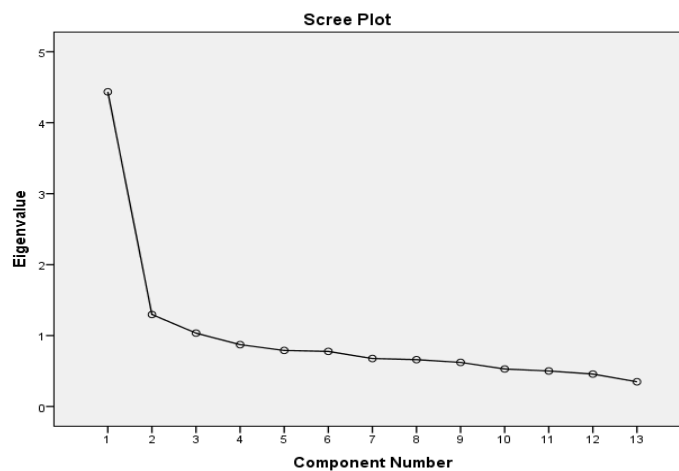


Fig 6. Scree plot for Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale

Uni-factor structure was retained for PPFHKs, this scale was developed with the aim to assess perceived salience of the factors that perpetuating honour killing. All the causes included in the scale were repeatedly discussed and reported by the interviewees in the qualitative study. One of the main category in the qualitative phase is also about causal factors associated with honour killing. Large number of participants in the qualitative study believes that these perpetuating factors have significant contribution in leading to honour killing in the Pakistani society. The selection of items in the scale was on the basis of including all the factors that have largely been discussed and included in the qualitative studies. The final selection of items in the scale was on the basis of factor loadings $> .35$. The results showed that 10 items had loadings $> .35$. Therefore, they were taken for CFA.

Final Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale.

The scale entitled “Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing”, is a unifactor measure. The newly developed uni factor scale measures the significance of each perpetuating factor that leads to honour killing. This uni-dimensional measure consists of 10 items having a response format of 5-point scale. Composite score and frequency can be determined on each item. Frequency /Scores on each item helps in understanding about the perception of participants regarding the most and least perpetuating factors of honour killing. Composite scoring indicates the perceived value of these perpetuating factors in triggering the act of honour killing. The maximum score obtained on the scale is 50 and minimum score is 10. Higher the score, higher would be the perceived salience of the perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing.

Original scale is in Urdu language and is attached in Annexure M. However, scale has been translated in English language for foreign readers/researchers. The translation of scale has fulfilled all the standard psychometric requirements. The English translated version of the scale is attached in the Annexure N. Moreover, the initial 12 item scale of PPFHKS is also attached in the Annexure S.

Descriptive of measures i.e., Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale, Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing scenarios and Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale

Table 10

Descriptive Characteristics of Attitude towards Honour Killing, its Subscales (Affirmation and Deterrents), Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale (N = 459)

Variables	k	α	M (SD)	Range		Skewness	Kurtosis
				Potential	Actual		
1 ATHKs	17	.78	36.10 (9.75)	17-85	17-65	.29	-.62
2 DHK	6	.70	21.05 (5.00)	6-30	6-30	-.58	-.08
3 AHK	11	.76	21.15 (6.97)	11-55	11-46	.68	.02
4 PPFHKS	10	.84	36.08 (7.76)	10-50	10-50	-.83	.70

Note. ATHKs = Attitude towards Honour Killing Total; DHK = Deterrence of Honour Killing; AHK = Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHK = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale

Table 10 showed the descriptive of all the measures used in the study based on 459 sample including both males and females. Internal consistencies for all the measures were satisfactory ($>.70$) and ranged between with appropriate mean, *SD* and skewness and kurtosis were also in range.

Inter scale correlation. The analysis was conducted to examine relationship among newly developed scales. The analysis revealed that total score of attitude towards honour killing has significant positive relationship with affirmation of honour killing, and significant negative correlation with deterrents of honour killing and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale. The direction of relationship between these scales are in the desired direction. The moderate magnitude of the correlation coefficients indicates that measures are different from each other.

Table 11

Correlation of all the Study Variables for Study III (N = 459)

Scales	1	2	3	4
1 Attitude Towards Honour Killing	-	-	-	-
2 Affirmation of Honour Killing	.87**	-	-	-
3 Deterrents of Honour Killing	-.73**	-.31**	-	-
4 Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing	-.59**	-.37**	.64**	-

** $p < .001$.

Discussion

Honour killing is a prevalent issue in Pakistan. It has also been reported extensively in the past decade. However, its roots can be traced in history as well. Regardless, of number of killing every year this phenomenon is not explored through psychometrically strong scales. The study conducted with the objective of development of scales that can measure attitudes, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing and attribution of responsibility participants gives in honour killing related scenerios.

Item generation for the present study has been conducted with the help of the categories emerged in the qualitative phase. 19 items ATHK and 12 items PPFHKS was used for empirical testing along with scenario-based scale. The exploratory study was conducted on sample ($N = 459$) with an age range of 18-60 years ($M = 28.56$, $SD = 10.12$), including men ($n = 249$) and ($n = 209$) women respectively.

For the development of scales factor analysis was conducted. Factor analysis is multivariate statistical procedure that is used to large number of variables into fewer ones. Factor analysis concise the number of variables that share a common variance and are unobservable. This process is also known as factors/ reducing dimensionality (Bartholomew, Knot, & Moustaki, 2011). Factor analysis also provides construct validity evidence of self-reporting scales (William, Onsman, & Brown, 2010). Thus, factor analysis is useful in converting variables into meaningful factors (Rummel, 1970). It is pertinent to understand that for performing factor analysis, an important assumption is that data must be normally distributed (Field, 2009). Other assumptions include that three variables has to be there before labeling and finalising any factor. Recommended sample size for factor analysis is at least 300 participants. Whereas, correlation r must be .30 or greater, less than that show weak correlation among variables (Tabachnick,

Fidell, 2007). However, in the present study few of the items showed weak correlation, but still factor analysis was conducted because maximum number of variables showed moderate or satisfactory correlation. Consequently, the present study fulfilled all these preconditions of factor analysis. Items in the scale were finalized by using Maximum Likelihood (ML) method. Moreover, oblique rotation was used. It is suggested to use promax method when items in the scale were all correlated with each other (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Factor matrix correlation value was in satisfactory range.

The results of interscale correlation were in desired direction and magnitude. Furthermore, the reliability of the scales are also in satisfactory range. However, it was decided to further test the validation and reliability of the instrument through the confirmatory factor analysis on an independent sample. Descriptive of all the measures are in the acceptable range, and data is not skewed that signifies that the data is normally distributed.

There are limited number of comprehensive scales available in Pakistan and globally that can measure attitudes of people through multidimensional perspectives. The current scale has included items that would determine the attitudes of people on religious, legal, media, social and cultural dimensions associated with honour killing. The other scales would determine the beliefs of people about various socioeconomic and sociocultural causes that perpetuates honour killing. Whereas, the third scale would help in understanding over attribution of responsibility people give in honour killing scenarios.

Conclusion

The newly developed scales would be a contribution in the already available literature of honour killing. The newly developed scales are reliable to measure this multilayer concept. To ensure further about the usefulness and applicability of the newly developed scales on a diverse sample, it was decided to ensure validation through confirmatory factor analysis to confirm factor structure drawn through EFA.

Study IV

Validation of Instruments and Hypotheses Testing

Study IV of the present research has discussed the construct validation and hypotheses testing. After development of indigenous scales of honour killing (attitude towards honour killing and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale), confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) along with Croanbach alpha reliability. Moreover, correlation was carried out to ensure the construct, convergent and discriminant validity of the indigenously developed scales of honour killing. To establish convergent and discriminant validity, various psychosocial measures have been selected. Psychosocial variables such as, gender role attitudes, Hostility / Intolerance and influence of religion in daily life choosed to establish convergent and discriminant validity with newly developed measures. These three variables were selected on the basis of their association with honour killing attitudes and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing

Previous studies showed that modern gender role attitudes have significant negative relationship with favorable attitudes towards honour killing. (Glick, Sakalli-Uğurlu, Akbaş, Orta & Ceylan, 2015; Hill & Marshall, 2018). It has been discussed in the literature that in order to better understand that how the word honour and killing in the name of honour is perceived, minimized, or even justified when committed it is helpful to explore it with reference to gender roles and sexism (Baldry, Pagliaro, & Porcaro, 2013). Traditional gender role attitudes, collectivistic culture and patriarchal mindset also tend to attribute the responsibility to the victim for instigating killing against her (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014). Similarly, Hostility/Intolerance (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013) and religiosity (Glick et al., 2015) have been identified as positive correlate of honour killing attitudes. Gender inequality, and patriarchy has been proposed as one of the psychosocial factors to contribute in honour killing (Pahr, Guramani & Pahor, 2016). Thus, these constructs were taken on basis of evidence available in the literature that these variables have relationship with honour killing.

Objectives

- 1- To establish the construct validity of attitude towards honour killing scale, and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, through confirmatory factor analysis.
- 2- To establish convergent and discriminant validity of ATHKs its subscales, and PPFHKs with hostility/intolerance, gender role attitudes and religious influence in daily lives.

Justification for Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives of the study following steps were taken to test the hypotheses. The hypotheses were formulated on the basis of the findings identified in the exploratory factor analyses study.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) is a method for testing a measurement model. Confirmatory factor analysis is the most used method for construct validation of newly developed scales or with adapted scales. One of the objectives of the present study was to put forth reliable and valid scales. Thereby, to gather the evidence of validity, confirmatory factor analysis was carried out. As honour killing is a culturally rich phenomenon, but an extremely low number of scales measuring attitudes and beliefs towards honour killing are available. With CFA, the existence of a previously proven structure is investigated with a new data set. In scale development studies, CFA should be used to test the validity of the structure obtained after EFA (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). However, it is important to note that in scale development process, CFA must be carried out by using a different data set (Schumacker & Lomax, 2010). Thus, the validity of the factors identified in the EFA has been explored in the confirmation phase with a new data set. The present study has conducted CFA on an independent or separate data set ($n = 695$). The result of an EFA is an output which can be used to determine the number of needed factors, and which variable loads on which factor in CFA. With CFA, the existence of a previously proven structure is investigated with a new data set. When you have a hypothesis about which variables load on which factors, the CFA can test how well this hypothesis fits the data. In CFA factor loadings help in determining how good a particular indicator is at measuring the construct.

For establishing factorial validity of ATHKs (Affirmation and Deterrents of Honour Killing) and PPFHKs, confirmatory factor analysis was conducted. It is a

statistical technique used for multiple purposes including the development of new measures, evaluation of psychometric properties of already established and newly developed measures, and construct validation i.e., whether a measure is invariant across groups, population or time (Harrington, 2009). CFA is an index of the extent to which the researcher has accurately predicted the pattern of findings in the exploratory analysis (DiStefano et al., 2009).

When a CFA is conducted, the researcher uses a hypothesized model to estimate a population covariance matrix. Technically, the researcher wants to minimize the differences between the estimated and observed matrices (Schreiber et al., 2006). The metric also provides a test of the statistical significance of the match between observed and expected correlations, and provide confidence intervals for that match, taking into account the likelihood that some of the validating variables may not be independent of one another (Westen & Rosenthal, 2003). A statement about the validity of an instrument is a statement about the extent to which its observed associations with measure of other variables match theoretical predictions about how it should be associated with those variables.

Step I

Factorial validity of scales through confirmatory factor analysis.

Indigenously developed ATHKs its subscales and PPFHKs were analyzed through CFA to establish the factorial validity of these measures.

Step II

Convergent and Discriminant validity of ATHKS and PPFHKS

Convergent validity refers to convergence of one scale with other similar or related scales. Whereas, discriminant validity can be established when two measures are not related with each other, infact shows zero, no relationship or weak relationship (Trochim, 2006).

Gender Role Attitude scale, Hostility/Intolerance and Religious Influence in Daily Life scale has been employed to see its convergence and divergence with newly developed measure.

Instruments

Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKs). The detailed description of the scale is mentioned in the Chapter V and page number 190-191

Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (PPFHKS). The detailed description of the scale is mentioned in the chapter V and page number 194-195

Attribution of Reponsibility towards Honour Killing scenerios (AORHK). The detailed description of the scale is mentioned in the chapter V and page number 185- 186

Gender Role Attitude Scale (Kamal & Ansari, 1992). It is a 5-point Likert scale comprised of 32 items developed earlier as Sex Role Ideology scale, and was later revised and two items were dropped, by Kamal and Saqib (2004). The scale measure roles of men and women in different categories including: inside and outside home, occupational activities, personal relationship, academic achievements, decision making and for parental responsibilities. The two subscales of the instrument consist of modern and traditional attitudes. As the two subscales are opposite in nature, items of traditional attitudes (1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, & 30) will be reversed to measure modern attitudes of the scale. The reliability of the scale as mentioned by original authors is .87. Whereas the study conducted by Kalsoom and Kamal (2020) reported alpha coefficient of .76 in their study. The alpha coefficient reported by Aziz and Kamal (2015) .78, that shows, meure is reliable to use in the present study. Gender Role Attitude scale was also used to establish convergent validity with the newly developed measures i.e., Attitude towards Honour Killing, and (ii) Perceived Perpetuating factors of honour killing. The scale is attached in Annexure O.

Religiousness Measure Adapted (Sethi & Seligman, 1993). In the present studythe only one subscale Influence of Religion in daily life with six items was used. In the present study translated and adapted version of this scale is used in the study. The new version was established with 17 items and was named as Religiousness Measure Adapted. The scale has 17 items including four subscales: Religious Influence in Daily Life, Religious Faith, Religious Involvement and Optimism.It is a 5-point Likert scale with scores ranging from 1(*never*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). The subscale is also use to establish validity with the newly developed measures mentioned above. The alpha reliability of the subscales religious influence in daily life was found to be .85 (Waseem & Kamal, 2013). The scale is attached in Annexure P.

Hostility/Intolerance -Extremism Scale (ES) (Gillani & Altaf, 2005). In the present study only Hostility / Intolerance (2, 5, 10, 12, 18, 20, 29, & 37) was used for the current study as a correlate measure, and to establish both discriminant and convergent validity with the newly developed indigenous measures. High scores on hostility / intolerance scale will indicate the emotionally charged angry behaviour of individuals to express the conduct of indignation and animosity.

The scale was developed to measure the tendencies of extremism. The scale consisted of 42 items with five subscales namely; Conservatism (16 items), Hostility and Intolerance (8 items), Submission to authority (7 items), Rigidity (8 items), and Power and Toughness (3 items) was used. It is a 5-point Likert scale with scores ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). Cronbach alpha coefficient for overall scale was .86 (Gillani & Altaf, 2005); .80 (Malik, 2004); Khan (2008) confirmed $\alpha = .87$ on overall scale with $n = 235$ sample, $\alpha = .79$ on conservatism scale, $\alpha = .60$ on Hostility/Intolerance scale, $\alpha = .56$ submission to authority, $\alpha = .40$ rigidity and $\alpha = .40$ power and toughness for the subscales. Whereas, intersubscale correlation ranging from .14- .68 ($p < .01$). Jami and Kamal (2010) reported .82 reliability coefficient for Hostility/Intolerance subscale in their study. The scale is attached in Annexure Q.

Demographic form. This form was developed to gather information on gender, age, education, marital status, family type (joint or nuclear), place of living (rural or urban), and religion.

Sample

A new sample of 695 individuals including male ($n = 248$) and female ($n = 447$) with an age range of 18- 60 ($M = 25.89$, $SD = 8.10$) was collected from Federal capital city ($n = 100$) and various cities of Punjab including, Lahore ($n = 130$), rural area of Chakwal District ($n = 125$), Bhawalnagar ($n = 75$), Rawalpindi ($n = 135$), Hafizabad ($n = 80$), and Sargodha ($n = 45$). Sample characteristics of the study are also represented in the Table 12.

Table 12

Sample Characteristics of the Study IV (N = 695)

		Demographics	f(%)
1.	Gender	Male	248 (33.1)
		Female	447 (64.0)
2.	Education	Matric	66 (9.5)
		Intermediate	76 (10.9)
		Bachelors	196 (28.2)
		Masters	242 (34.8)
		M.Phil.	44 (6.3)
		PhD	03 (0.4)
3.	Religion	Muslims	660 (95.0)
		Non-Muslims	02 (0.3)
		Missing	33 (4.7)
5.	Family system	Nuclear	284 (40.9)
		Joint	245 (35.3)
		Missing	166 (23.9)
6.	Marital status	Single	467 (67.2)
		Married	164 (23.6)
		Divorced/Seperation	5 (.7)
		Missing	59 (8.5)
7.	Residence	Rural	241 (34.7)
		Urban	351 (50.5)
		Missing	59 (8.5)

Procedure

The same procedure was followed to collect data as it was used in study III with the same ethical considerations. Convenient sampling technique was used in the study, and data was collected from Islamabad various cities of Punjab. Only those individuals were approached and included in the study with aged 18 years and above. The minimum qualification requirement was matriculation. Matriculation and minimum age range 18 was set as an inclusive criterion because phenomenon of honour killing can be better understood by adult population. The sample was taken from universities, workplaces and housewives were contacted at their homes. Along with the questionnaires of honour killing, instruments regarding correlates were also administered, thereby 15-25 minutes were taken by the participants to complete the questionnaire booklet.

All the instruments including informed consent (see Annexure E) and demographic sheet (see Annexure F) was administered on the sample. In case of any ambiguity, researcher helped the participants to explain the statements for clarity. At the end all the participants were thanked for their time and cooperation.

RESULTS

Descriptive characteristics of the variables

Data was analyzed through descriptive analyses for its suitability for inferential statistics. Means, standard deviations, alpha coefficients, skewness and kurtosis were computed to check the spread and normality. Moreover, frequency distribution for the attribution of responsibility scale toward honour killing was also calculated and represented in the Table 13.

Table 13 explained all the above-mentioned descriptive characteristics of the data. Mean and standard deviation of the data is normalized. It is observed that skewness ranges from -1 to +1 for all the variables of study, clearly indicates that data fits on the normality assumption and therefore parametric tests can be applied (Field, 2009). Reliability coefficients of the variables were also acceptable ($\alpha = >.70$) except for Deterrents of Honour Killing scale (DHK) and hostility/ intolerance scale ($\alpha = .61$ and $.62$) respectively. Alpha coefficient of $.60$ for Hostility/Intolerance was also reported in the previous study (Khan, 2008; Altaf & Gilani, 2005). Similarly, it can be assumed that low internal consistency of DHK is also because the scale has a smaller number of items. The evidence in the literature also argued that threshold for Cronbach's alpha values found in the literature is usually equal or superior to $.70$ (Nunnally, 1991). However, values around $.60$ or more are equally acceptable when the instrument is used for research purposes and not for diagnostics (Hair et al., 1998).

Table 13

Descriptive Characteristics of the Study Variables for Study IV (N = 695)

Variables	k	α	M (SD)	Range		Skewnes	Kurtosis
				Potential	Actual		
ATHKs	17	.79	33.76 (9.57)	17-85	17-77	.66	.21
DHK	06	.61	22.62 (4.37)	06-30	06-30	-.87	1.06
AHK	11	.79	20.39 (7.12)	11-55	11-51	.96	1.08
PPFHKS	10	.77	34.28 (6.35)	10-50	10-50	-.79	.84
GRA	30	.78	98.77 (14.68)	30-150	61-148	.53	.52
Relig.	06	.76	22.84 (41.58)	06-30	08-30	-.40	.16
H/I.	08	.62	23.43 (5.52)	08-40	08-40	.06	-.07

Note. ATHK = Attitude towards Honour Killing Total; DHK = Deterrents of Honour Killing; AHK = Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHKS = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale; GRA = Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance.

CFA

Analysis of Moment Structure (Amos 22) statistical package was used. Furthermore, constraints were anticipated for the CFA model based on maximum likelihood method called path analysis, linking the variances and covariance's between predefined factor model to observe set of data or observed scores. In confirmatory factor analysis observed variable are also termed measured indicators. Researcher usually uses square and rectangle to designate them graphically. As there is no universally accepted fit indices model is available to check the adequacy of model. However there are relative and absolute index are often used to estimate the lack of fit in the model compared with a perfect model. These indices provide a justification that either data confirmed the proposed model or not.

In the present study, chi square, RMSEA, CFI, TLI, and GFI are considered as primary index to evaluate the model fit. It is considered that RMSEA value less than .08 is considered acceptable, however, as low the value is the better the model fit would be. Whereas, researchers considered the range of GFI value between .80- .89 indicates reasonable model fit. Similarly, for TLI and CFI, value of .90 is considered as an acceptable model fit, but value greater than .95 is considered as an excellent fit. Marsh and Hocevar (1985) mentioned that the ratio of chi-square value must be as low as 2 or as high as 5 to furnish the evidence of reasonable and acceptable fit. Henceforth, all

these fit indices taken into consideration in the confirmatory factor analyses of the preent research.

All the model path diagrams were established using AMOS graphics and analyses were computed to estimate the chi-square value and fit indices. Standardized regression weights were identified considering the same as were the criteria for EFA. The criteria are greater than .35.

Factor loadings of the items on their respective factors are shown in the Table 14 given below. All the factor loadings are depicting an overall satisfactory result ($>.35$), except item 17 which has .32 loading which is also acceptable (Field, 2009). The item was retained as the item is important for the scale. No item was deleted in the confirmatory factor analysis. All items were retained as they showed satisfactory factor loadings. Therefore, confirmed 17-item factor structure for ATHKS.

CFA for ATHKS. In order to ensure the factor structure of the scales, *CFI*, *GFI*, *TLI*, and *RMSEA* were taken as criteria to confirm the factor structure of attitude towards honour killing scale and its subscale.

Table 14

Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (N = 695)

Variables	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>CMIN/df</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>GFI</i>	<i>TLI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>
Model 1 ATHKS (17item)	289.8	118	.00	2.45	.91	.95	.89	.04

Note. ATHKS = Attitude towards Honour Killing

Table 14 showed results of CFA with the model fit indices for ATHKS. Model 1 indicated the values of all the primary indices that are in acceptable range (for example $CFI > .90$). All factor loadings of most of the items are according to the set criteria ($>.35$). Therefore, Model 1 represents 17-item factor structure for ATHKS. No modification indices or covariances were added as the model suggested satisfactory indices. Figure 7 represents the pictorial representation of the model.

Table 15

Factor Loadings (Standardized Regression Weights) for Two Factor of Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS) (N = 695)

s.no	Item Statements	Factor Loadings	s.no	Item Statements	Factor Loadings
Affirmation of Honour Killing			Deterrents of Honour Killing		
1	Item 1	.52	1	Item 3	.58
2	Item 2	.51	2	Item 6	.36
3	Item 4	.53	3	Item 7	.47
4	Item 5	.47	4	Item 9	.51
5	Item 8	.57	5	Item 11	.37
6	Item 10	.59	6	Item 12	.44
7	Item 13	.57			
8	Item 14	.50			
9	Item 15	.54			
10	Item 16	.46			
11	Item 17	.32			

Table 15 illustrates the factor loadings of all the items of ATHKS. Factor loadings of the items are further represented by Figure 6. It represents the graphical picture of good fit model. It can be seen that most of the items show factor loading $>.35$. Overall factor loading range from .32 to .59. Only item no 17 has item loading less than .35. However, the item was retained as the deletion of this item also do not make much difference in the overall model as well as on the reliability of the scale.

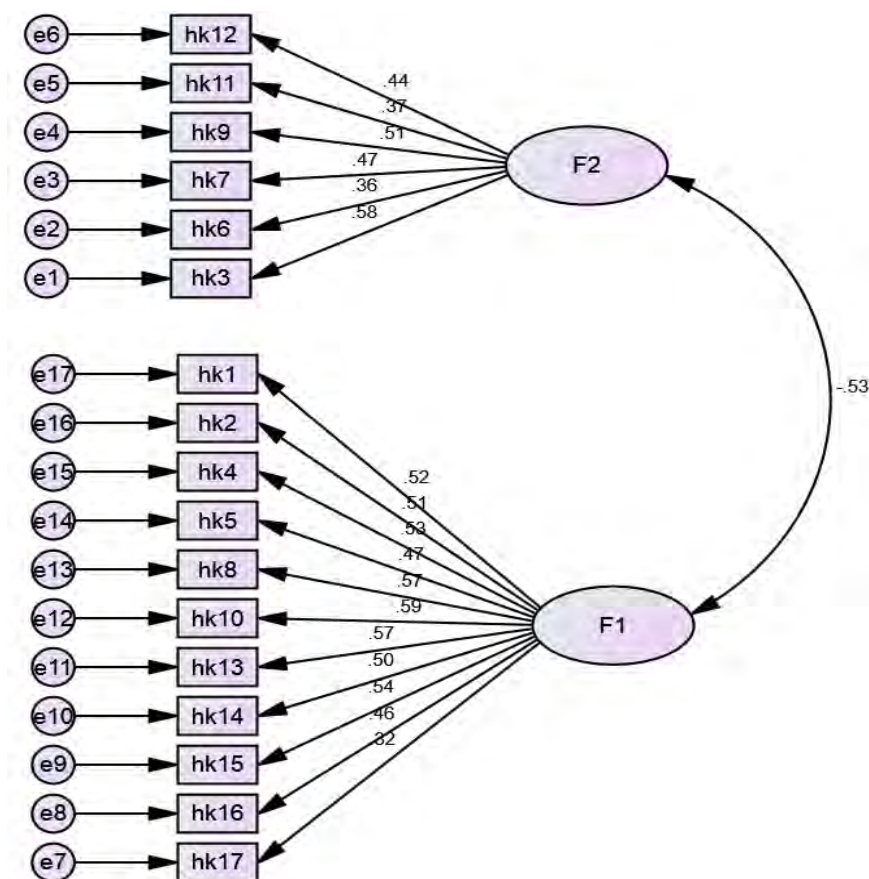


Fig 7. Measurement model of ATHKS

CFA for PPFHKS

Table 16

Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale (N = 695)

	Variables	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>P</i>	$\frac{CMIN/d}{f}$	<i>CFI</i>	<i>GFI</i>	<i>TLI</i>	$\frac{RMSEA}{A}$
Model 1	without item deletion	192. 18	35	.00	5.49	.87	.94	.83	.08
Model 2	one error covariance	132. 66	34	.00	3.90	.92	.96	.90	.06

Table 16 showed the results of confirmatory analysis model fit indices for PPFHKS. Model- I indicated default model for 10 items. Fit indices i.e., *CFI* = .87, *GFI* = .94, *TLI* = .83 and *RMSEA* = .08 indicated poor model fit. Model 2 represents modified CFA model after adding error covariances between item 3 and item 4. As a result, significant and improved indices can be seen in model 2. Where error covariance

was applied between error 3 and 4. The values of indices decreased to represent better model fit. The indices in model 2 is $CFI = .92$, $GFI = .96$, $TLI = .90$ and $RMSEA = .06$. Table 17 and Figure 8 represented the factor loading of the scale.

Table 17

Factor Loadings for Uni-Factor Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale (N = 695)

S.no	Item Statements	Factor Loadings
Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale		
1	Item 1`	.44
2	Item 2	.57
3	Item 3	.47
4	Item 4	.55
5	Item 5	.49
6	Item 6	.52
7	Item 7	.33
8	Item 8	.50
9	Item 9	.63
10	Item 10	.48

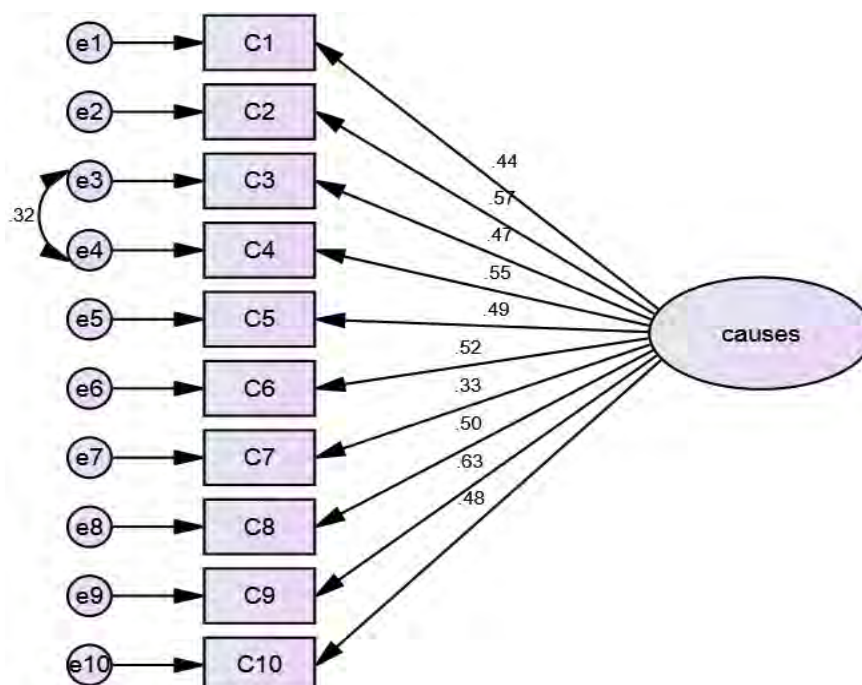


Fig 8. Measurement model of PPFHKs

Step II

Convergent and discriminant validity of indigenously developed measures.

Convergent validity provides the degree to which any two measures are related to each other and for that we use correlation coefficients to measure this. We look at the patterns of inter-correlations among our measures. Correlation among theoretically similar measures should be positive whereas, correlation between theoretically different measures should be negative (Trochim, 2006). To establish the convergent and discriminant validity of Attitude towards Honour Killing scale, Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale, with Hostility/Intolerance, Religious Influence in Daily Life and Gender Role Attitudes was used. The relationship of selected psychosocial variables with newly developed measures have already discussed in the start of this chapter. The magnitude and direction of correlation value can be seen in the Table 18 to confirm the convergent and discriminant validity of these scales.

Objectives

- 1- To assess the relationship among attitudes towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing with gender role attitudes, hostility/intolerance, and religious influence in daily life activities.

Hypotheses for Correlation

1. Affirmation of Honour Killing would positively Hostility/Intolerance Subscale (Extremism Scale), Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities
2. Affirmation of honour killing would show negative correlation with modern gender role attitudes
3. Deterrents of Honour Killing would positively correlate with modern gender role attitudes.

Table 18

Correlations between the Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 ATHKs	-						
2 DHK	-.72**	-					
3 AHK	.90**	-.35**	-				
4 PPFHK	-.45**	.54**	-.32**	-			
5 GRA	-.42**	.24**	-.42**	.28**	-		
6 RIDL	.17**	-.09*	.17**	-.02	-.22**	-	
7 H/I	.23**	.00	.31**	.04	-.28**	.14**	-

Note. ATHKs= Attitude towards Honour Killing scale; AHK= Affirmation of Honour Killing; DHK= Deterrents of Honour Killing; PPFHKS = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale; GRA=, Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance.

Evidence of Convergent and Discriminant Validity of Scales

The objective of the study was to explore the relationship among newly developed variables and its correlates. Result showed positively significant correlation between total attitude towards honour killing and affirmation of honour killing. Results showed positive correlation of Affirmation of Honour Killing with Hostility/Intolerance, and Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities. The correlation value of low magnitude provides sufficient evidence that two scales are not exactly the same, whereas inverse relationship provides an evidence that two measure are opposite of one another. The non significant and extremely low correlation is an evidence of discriminant validity.

Results also yield negatively significant correlation between measures that also furnishes an evidence for convergent validity. The negative correlation confirmed that the direction of these measures is not exactly the same which determine that these measures measure theoretically different constructs. Attitude towards honour killing its subscale i.e., Affirmation of honour killing was also significantly negatively correlated with deterrents of honour killing, gender role attitudes, and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing. The negative and positive correlation is the evidence of convergent validity.

However, results also indicated weak and non-significant correlation among deterrents of honour killing and hostility/ intolerance. Significantly weak correlation were observed between perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale, religious

influence in daily life activities and hostility/intolerance. Thus, these weak and nonsignificant correlation provides a sufficient evidence for discriminant validity.

The present study was conducted with the following objectives i.e., validation of indigenously developed scales i.e., ATHKs its subscales, and PPFHKs. In order to confirm the structural dimensions of scales, confirmatory factor analysis was applied on the sample of 695 individuals including both males and females for ATHK and PPFHK scales. Descriptive analysis showed that the data is normally distributed with satisfactory reliabilities of the scales used in the study. The present study involved following steps. In the first step confirmatory factor analysis was performed. In second step construct validity was explored through convergent and discriminant validity was performed for the newly developed measures with selected correlates. The results are further discussed in the discussion section.

These findings confirmed factor structure of scales and provided the evidence for convergent validity with selected correlates (gender role attitudes, Hostility/Intolerance and religious influence in daily lifeactivities). Confirmatory factor analysis confirmed the factor structure for both Attitude towards Honour Killing scale and its subscales and Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour killing.

HYPOTHEIS TESTING

The current study aimed at finding the relationship of attitude towards honour killing, and its subscales i.e., (i) Affirmation of Honour Killing (ii) Deterrents of Honour Killing, and Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing between other correlated measures (i.e., Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities, Intolerance/Hostility, Gender Role Attitudes) with demographic variables (gender, age, monthly income, area of residence, education level, marital status, family system). It has already been established in the literature above that the role of demographics in attitudes and beliefs pertaining to honour killing cannot be ignored. Thus, hypotheses testing has been carried out in this phase; as role of demographics based differences could be effective in understanding attitudes and beliefs of honour killing. Henceforth, to explore how demographic variables contributed in determining attitudes towards honour killing, and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing among participants, the analysis were conducted in following levels. To see the role of demographics related differences as gender, age, education, monthly income, family system, area of residence and marital status were tested by applying *t*- analyses and univariate analysis (ANOVA) and

regression analysis were computed. The hypotheses testing on demographic variables were conducted on the same sample ($n = 695$) individuals that has been used in validation analysis.

Objectives

The following objectives were formulated in order to find out the contribution of attitude towards honour killing (affirmation and deterrent attitudes) perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale, attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenerios among general population.

- 1- To explore the strongest predictors deterrents of honour killing and affirmation of honour killing among the other correlates of the study.
- 2- To investigate the demographic wise group differences (i.e., gender, marital status, area of residence, family system, education, and age) among study variables.
- 3- To investigate the most strongly perceived perpetuating factor leading towards honour killing in Pakistan.
- 4- To examine the frequency distribution of participants on each scenario and their attribution of responsibility (murderer, victim, or both) across the demographics (gender, age, education, marital status, family system, and area of residence).

Hypotheses

Following hypotheses were formulated based on existing literature and tested in order to fulfill the objectives.

Hypotheses for Prediction

1. Modern gender role attitudes will negatively predict affirmation of honour killing.
2. Modern gender role attitude would positively predict deterrents of honour killing.
3. Religious influence in daily life activities and hostility/intolerance will positively positively predict affirmation of honour killing.

Hypotheses for group differences

4. Men will score higher on affirmation of honour killing, traditional gender role attitudes, and hostility / intolerance as compared to women.

5. Women will score higher on religious influence in everyday life activity than men.
6. Individuals living in rural areas will show higher score on affirmation of honour killing and traditional gender role attitudes than individuals living in urban areas.
7. Participants belonging to joint family system will score higher on affirmation of honour killing as compared to the participants from nuclear families.
8. Individuals with low level of education will score higher on affirmation of honour killing.

RESULTS

The results of the study included the inferential analyses, step wise regression analysis was applied to find out the best predictor for attitude towards honour killing and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing. Similarly, *t*- analysis was carried out to see gender, family systems, area of residence (rural/urban), and marital status wise differences. One-way ANOVA was also applied to identify the multiple group differences in terms of age and education level. The results are reported as follows:

Predictors of Attitudes towards Honour Killing. Step wise regression analysis was carried out to identify the strongest and weakest or least significant predictors of affirmation and deterrents of honour killing. The step wise regression analysis was carried out on the basis of above stated correlation analysis.

Table 19

Step-wise Regression for GRA, Religious Influence in Daily Life, Hostility / Intolerance, & Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale in Predicting Affirmation of Honour Killing (N = 695)

Predictors	Affirmation of honour killing				95% CI	
	R^2	ΔR^2	β	F	LL	UL
Model 1	.177	.177				
Constant				144.644***	37.27	43.93
GRA			-.42***		-.24	-.17
Model 2	.223	.046				
Constant				96.490***	42.74	50.16
GRA			-.36***		-.21	-.14
PPFHKs			-.23***		-.31	-.17
Model 3	.275	.052				
Constant				85.000***	32.15	41.20
GRA			-.28***		-.17	-.10
PPFHKs			-.25***		-.34	-.20
EXT			.24***		.22	.40
Model 4	.281	.006				
Constant				65.560***	27.63	38.49
GRA			-.26***		-.16	-.09
PPFHKs			-.26***		-.34	-.20
EXT			.24***		.22	.39
REL			.07**		.02	.25

Note. PPFHKS = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale; GRA = Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 19 shows that gender role attitude in model 1 appear as the strongest negative predictor showing 17.7% of variance in affirmation of honour killing. In model 2 perceived perpetuating factors increased variance to 22.3 %. Thus a variance of 4.6% is added to the model which is unique for perceived perpetuating factors in negatively predicting affirmation of honour killing. In model 3 extremism is having unique variance of 5.2 %. Whereas in model .6% variance is added by religion by positively predicting affirmation of honour killing.

Table 20

Step-wise Regression for GRA & Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing in Predicting Deterrents of Honour Killing (N = 695)

Predictors	Deterrents of HK					
	R^2	ΔR^2	β	F	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Model 1						
Constant	.29	.29	.54***	283.21***	8.02	11.12
PPFHKs					.31	.39
Model 2						
Constant	.299	.009			5.20	9.46
PPFHKs			.51***	147.71***	.29	.37
GRA			.099**		.01	.05

Note. PPFHKs = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale; GRA = Gender Role Attitude

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 20 displayed step wise regression analysis of the study variables in prediction of deterrents of honour killing. Regression analysis excluded religiosity and extremism from the model, however, perceived perpetuating factors accounted for 29% of variance in the model 1 and gender role attitudes accounted for almost 1% of variance in addition to perceived perpetuating factors in model 2.

Role of demographic variables in study variables

Demographic

variables including gender, age, area of residence (Rural/Urban), education level, family system, and marital status, were studied with the help of inferential statistics for attitude towards honour killing and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale among study participants.

Gender differences on attitude towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, gender role attitudes, religious influence in daily life and hostility/intolerance.

To find out the gender differences t -analysis was computed for the aboved mentioned study variables.

Table 21

Gender wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)

Variables	Men	Women	$t_{(693)}$	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	($n = 248$)	($n = 447$)			LL	UL	
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$					
ATHKs	20.58 (7.48)	20.28 (6.91)	.53	.59	-.80	1.40	.04
DHK	22.50 (4.26)	22.68 (4.43)	-.49	.61	-.85	.50	.04
AHK	20.58 (7.48)	20.28 (6.91)	.53	.59	-.80	1.40	.04
PPFHKS	37.69 (6.18)	37.61(7.12)	.16	.87	-.97	1.14	.01
GRA	98.14 (14.41)	99.11 (14.83)	-.84	.40	-3.25	1.30	.06
RIDL	22.40 (3.94)	23.09 (4.85)	-2.09	.03	-1.31	-.06	.16
H/I	22.87 (5.44)	23.74 (5.55)	-1.99	.04	.43	-1.72	.16

Note. ATHKs = Attitude towards Honour Killing Total; DHK= Deterrents of Honour Killing; AHK= Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHKS = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing scale; GRA=, Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance.

Table 21 shows that there are non significant differences among men and women in attitude towards honour killing scale their subscales, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale and gender role attitude as well. Thus, the hypothesis 4 stating men would score higher on affirmation of honour killing, and traditional gender role attitudes has not been confirmed. However, significant differences are found among men and women in hostility/intolerance and religious influence in daily life measure. Thus, the hypothesis 5 stating that women would score higher on religious influence in daily life activities has been accepted.

Marital status wise differences on attitude towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, gender role attitudes, religious influence in daily life and hostility/intolerance. To find out the differences in study variables and its correlates with regard to single and married individuals, t-analysis was carried out.

Table 22

Marital Status (Single/Married) wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)

Variables	Single	Married	$t_{(633)}$	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	($n = 471$)	($n = 164$)			LL	UL	
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$					
ATHKs	32.87 (9.58)	33.77 (9.56)	-3.33	.00	-4.60	-1.19	.30
DHK	23.10 (4.29)	21.64 (4.19)	.3.76	.00	.70	2.21	.34
AHK	19.98 (7.30)	21.43 (7.04)	-2.21	.03	-2.72	-.18	.20
PPFHKS	38.32 (6.44)	36.29 (7.14)	3.37	.00	.78	3.27	.29
GRA	100.91 (14.73)	93.30 (14.14)	5.76	.00	5.06	10.16	.52
RIDL	22.48 (3.86)	23.83 (4.71)	-3.60	.00	-2.14	-.53	.31
H/I	23.51 (5.53)	22.84 (5.38)	1.34	.18	-.31	1.63	.12

Note. ATHKs = Attitude towards Honour Killing Total; DHK= Deterrents of Honour Killing; AHK= Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHKS = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale; GRA=, Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance.

The result in the Table 22 shows the statistically significant difference among married and unmarried participants in all the measures. The mean differences showed that unmarried individuals scored higher on deterrents of honour killing, gender role attitude, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing and hostility and intolerance variable. Married participants scored higher on religious influence in daily life, affirmation of honour killing and attitude towards honour killing variables.

Differences in rural and urban setup on attitude towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, gender role attitudes, religious influence in daily life and Hostility/Intolerance. Mean differences were obtained to identify the attitudes and of participants living in rural and urban areas by calculating t -analysis.

Table 23

Area of Residence (Rural & Urban) wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)

Variables	Rural	Urban	$t_{(590)}$	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	($n=241$)	($n=351$)			LL	UL	
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$					
ATHKs	36.25 (9.08)	31.77 (9.49)	5.74	.00	2.96	6.00	.02
DHK	21.85 (4.41)	23.17 (4.22)	-3.68	.00	-2.03	-.61	.05
AHK	22.10 (6.68)	18.94 (7.12)	5.43	.00	2.01	4.28	.25
PPFHKS	37.24 (6.95)	38.09 (6.67)	-1.50	.13	-1.97	.26	.67
GRA	93.20 (12.51)	102.49 (14.63)	-8.04	.00	-11.49	-7.08	.45
RIDL	23.29 (4.55)	22.54 (3.84)	2.18	.03	.08	1.45	.38
H/I	24.77 (5.38)	22.54 (5.35)	4.97	.00	1.35	3.10	.35

Note. ATHK = Attitude towards Honour Killing Total; DHK= Deterrents of Honour Killing; AHK= Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHKS = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale; GRA=, Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance.

The results in the Table 23 shows significant differences among rural and urban population in all the study variables except for perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing variable. The mean differences show that participants belonged to urban setup scored higher on deterrents of Honour Killing, gender role attitudes, and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing variable. Thus, the hypothesis six stating rural individuals would score higher on affirmation of honour killing has been accepted. Whereas the mean scores are higher for participants belonged to rural class on another variable.

Comparison of nuclear and joint families' participants on attitude towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, gender role attitudes, religious influence in daily life and hostility/intolerance. Mean differences were calculated by using t-analysis to find out the difference in attitudes and beliefs of people living in joint and nuclear family system.

Table 24

Family System (Nuclear / Joint) wise Differences on Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)

Variables	Nuclear (n = 384)	Joint (n = 311)	$t_{(693)}$	<i>P</i>	95% CI		<i>Cohen's d</i>
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>	
ATHKs	32.91 (9.60)	34.81 (9.45)	-2.59	.01	-3.32	-.46	.20
DHK	22.90 (4.51)	22.26 (4.17)	1.92	.05	-.01	1.29	.15
AHK	19.83 (7.09)	21.07 (7.10)	-2.30	.02	-2.31	-1.84	.17
PPFHKs	38.47 (6.62)	36.60 (6.88)	3.64	.00	.86	2.88	.28
GRA	100.62 (15.11)	96.47 (13.82)	3.74	.00	1.98	6.30	.29
RIDL	22.68 (3.83)	23.04 (4.53)	-1.16	.25	-.99	.25	.09
H/I	23.68 (5.53)	23.11 (5.52)	1.34	.18	-.26	1.39	.10

Note. ATHK = Attitude towards Honour Killing Total; DHK = Deterrents of Honour Killing; AHK = Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHKs = Perceived Perpetuating Factor Honour Killing Scale; GRA = Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance; AORHKs = Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing Scenarios.

The result shows statistically significant difference among participant resided in nuclear and joint family system in all the variables except for two variables i.e., religious influence in daily life and hostility/intolerance. The mean score shows that participants resided in nuclear family system have higher score on deterrents of honour killing, gender role attitudes, perceived salience in perpetuating factors of honour killing. Whereas, participants lived in the joint family system scored higher on affirmation of honour killing. Thus, the hypothesis seven stating that people belonged to joint family system will score higher on affirmation of honour killing has been accepted.

Role of education level on attitude towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, gender role attitudes, religious influence in daily life and hostility/intolerance.

In order to study the differences in terms of education level on attitudes and beliefs towards honour killing and other study variables, the sample was divided into three categories i.e., undergraduation, graduation, and postgraduation. To see the differences analysis of variance with post hoc analysis was computed for study variables.

Table 25

Mean differences for Education among all the study variables of Study IV (N = 695)

Scale	Under-graduation	Graduation	Post-Graduation	F	i-j	Mean D (i-j)	SE	95 % CI	
	(n = 142)	(n = 197)	(n = 292)					LL	UL
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)						
ATHKs	39.25 (9.60)	33.28 (7.80)	31.66 (9.77)	33.45***	undergraduation>graduation	5.98*	1.01	4.00	7.96
					undergraduation>postgraduation	7.60*	.94	5.76	9.44
					graduation>postgraduation	1.62	.84	-.04	3.28
DHK	20.41 (4.36)	23.14 (4.23)	23.21 (4.21)	23.46***	undergraduation>graduation	-2.74*	.47	-3.66	-1.82
					undergraduation>postgraduation	-2.80*	.43	-3.65	-1.95
					graduation>postgraduation	-.06	.39	-.83	.71
AHK	23.68 (6.93)	20.43 (6.02)	18.87 (7.36)	23.41***	undergraduation>graduation	3.25*	.76	1.77	4.74
					undergraduation>postgraduation	4.81*	.70	3.43	6.19
					graduation>postgraduation	1.56*	.63	.31	2.80
PPFHK	35.08 (7.50)	38.16 (6.23)	38.33 (6.55)	12.48**	undergraduation>graduation	-3.08*	.74	-4.52	-1.63
					undergraduation>postgraduation	-3.25*	.68	-4.59	-1.90
					graduation>postgraduation	-.17	.62	-1.38	1.04
GRA	90.39 (10.94)	97.30 (14.24)	104.01 (14.79)	48.07***	undergraduation>graduation	-6.91*	1.52	-9.90	-3.92
					undergraduation>postgraduation	-13.62*	1.42	-16.40	-10.84
					graduation>postgraduation	-6.71*	1.28	-9.22	-4.21
RIDL	24.02 (4.78)	23.03 (3.99)	22.27 (3.94)	8.56***	undergraduation>graduation	.98*	.46	.09	1.89
					undergraduation>postgraduation	1.75*	.43	.91	2.58
					graduation>postgraduation	.76*	.38	.00	1.51
Hostility / Intolerance	24.08 (5.81)	25.35 (5.11)	21.83 (5.01)	28.07***	undergraduation>graduation	-1.28*	.58	-2.41	-.15
					undergraduation>postgraduation	2.25*	.54	1.20	3.30
					graduation>postgraduation	3.52*	.48	2.58	4.47

Note. ATHKs = Attitude towards Honour Killing Total; DHK = Deterrents of Honour Killing; AHK = Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHKS = Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale; GRA = Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance;

* $p > .05$.

Table 25 illustrated the mean differences among all study variables for education. Affirmation of honour killings were higher in undergraduate than graduates and post graduates. However, deterrents of honour killing attitudes, salience of perceived perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing, modern gender role attitudes, and religious beliefs in daily life activities are higher in post graduates. However, intolerance/hostile beliefs were higher among individuals with graduation (degree) than undergraduates and post graduates. Thus, the hypothesis 8 stating that individuals with lower level of education will score higher on affirmation of honour killing has been accepted. The table further elaborated mean difference of levels of education for all study variables as well.

Role of age on attitude towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, gender role attitudes, religious influence in daily life and Hostility/Intolerance.

In order to study the differences in terms of age on attitudes and perceived perpetuating factor leading towards honour killing and other study variables, the sample was divided into three age categories i.e., those who fall between age group of 18-25 (young adults) years were placed in one category, similarly second category was between 26-35 (middle adults) years and third category was between individuals 36 years and above (late adulthood). To see the differences analysis of variance with post-hoc analysis was computed for study variables.

Table 26 showed significant age differences across study variables. Attitude towards honour killing, affirmation of honour killing, attribution of responsibility in honour killing is higher among late adults as compared to middle and young. Whereas, young adults scored higher on deterrents of honour killing, perceived salience in perpetuating factors leading to honour killing, modern gender role attitudes and extremism. However, non significant differences were apparent among all age groups.

Table 26
 Mean Differences for Age among all Study Variables of Study IV (N = 695)

Scale	Young Adults	Middle Adults	Late Adults	F	i-j	Mean D (i-j)	SE	95 % CI	
	(n = 465)	(n = 132)	(n = 79)					LL	UL
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)						
ATHKS	33.33 (9.41)	33.83 (10.69)	36.27 (8.72)	3.16*	Young Adults > Middle Adults	-.50	.95	-2.35	1.36
					Young Adults > Late Adults	-2.94*	1.17	-5.23	-.64
					Middle Adults > Late Adults	-2.44	1.37	-5.12	.24
DHK	22.80 (4.34)	22.75 (4.58)	21.55 (3.97)	2.78	Young Adults > Middle Adults	.04	.43	-.80	.89
					Young Adults > Late Adults	1.24*	.53	.20	2.28
					Middle Adults > Late Adults	1.20	.62	-.02	2.42
AHK	20.14 (7.02)	20.59 (8.09)	21.86 (6.18)	1.99	Young Adults > Middle Adults	-.46	.71	-1.84	.93
					Young Adults > Late Adults	-1.72*	.87	-3.43	-.01
					Middle Adults > Late Adults	-1.26	1.02	-3.26	.73
PPFHK	38.13 (6.63)	37.46 (7.12)	35.72 (6.45)	4.50*	Young Adults > Middle Adults	.67	.66	-.63	1.97
					Young Adults > Late Adults	2.42*	.82	.81	4.02
					Middle Adults > Late Adults	1.75	.95	-.13	3.62
GRA	100.54 (14.05)	97.32 (16.76)	91.29 (12.63)	14.71***	Young Adults > Middle Adults	3.23*	1.43	.43	6.03
					Young Adults > Late Adults	9.25*	1.76	5.80	12.71
					Middle Adults > Late Adults	6.03*	2.06	1.99	10.07
Religiosity	22.53 (3.83)	23.35 (4.80)	23.43 (4.69)	3.1	Young Adults > Middle Adults	-.83*	.41	-1.63	-.02
					Young Adults > Late Adults	-.90	.50	-1.89	.09
					Middle Adults > Late Adults	-.078	.59	-1.24	1.08
Extremism	23.75 (5.61)	22.58 (5.88)	23.05 (4.03)	2.53	Young Adults > Middle Adults	1.17*	.54	.10	2.23
					Young Adults > Late Adults	.70	.67	-.62	2.01
					Middle Adults > Late Adults	-.47	.78	-2.01	1.07

Note. ATHKS = Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale; DHK = Deterrents of Honour Killing; AHK = Affirmation of Honour Killing; PPFHKs = Perceived Perpetuating factors of honour killing scale; GRA = Gender Role Attitude; RIDL = Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities; H/I = Hostility/Intolerance; * $p > .05$.

Frequency Based Analysis

Frequency based analysis was carried out on attribution of responsibility towards honour killing scenerios and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scales to get individuals understanding of the scenerios and perceived perception regarding perpetuating factors associated with honour killing.

Results. Descriptive analysis (frequency distribution and chi-square) were carried out to attain the desired objectives. The results are reported as frequency distribution and bar charts for clear understanding:

Table 27

Frequency Distribution of Reponses of Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (N = 695)

Statements	Responses		
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree
	<i>f</i> (%)	<i>f</i> (%)	<i>f</i> (%)
1 Social and family pressure	58 (8.3)	22 (3.2)	615 (88.5)
2 Lack of shariah understanding	94 (13.5)	51 (7.3)	550 (79.1)
3 Lack of education	134 (19.3)	69 (9.9)	492 (70.8)
4 Lack of awareness	96 (13.8)	38 (5.5)	561 (80.7)
5 Socio-economic status	159 (22.9)	171 (24.6)	365 (52.5)
6 Perception of women as commodity	148 (21.3)	143 (20.6)	404 (58.1)
7 Aggressive attitude of men towards women	166 (23.9)	162 (23.3)	367 (52.8)
8 Opposition towards women rights	136 (19.6)	114 (16.4)	445 (64)
9 Mis-conceptualisation of word honour	95 (13.7)	64 (9.2)	536 (77.1)
10 Old archaic practices	92 (13.2)	88 (12.7)	515 (74.1)

Table 27 illustrated the frequency distribution of the perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing. Higher frequencies on the continuum of “agree” indicates that majority of the sample perceived that particular factor as the most salient one in perpetuating honour killing in the society and vice versa for the low frequency. The same picture is further clarified by the bar graphs for each cause.

The results of the frequency analysis illustrate that maximum number of participants indicated that social and family pressure is the most perceived factor that perpetuates honour killing in the society. However, other most perceived factor according to frequency is the lack of awareness, lack of sharia insight, and socioeconomic status, indicated by participants that perpetuates honour killing in Pakistan.

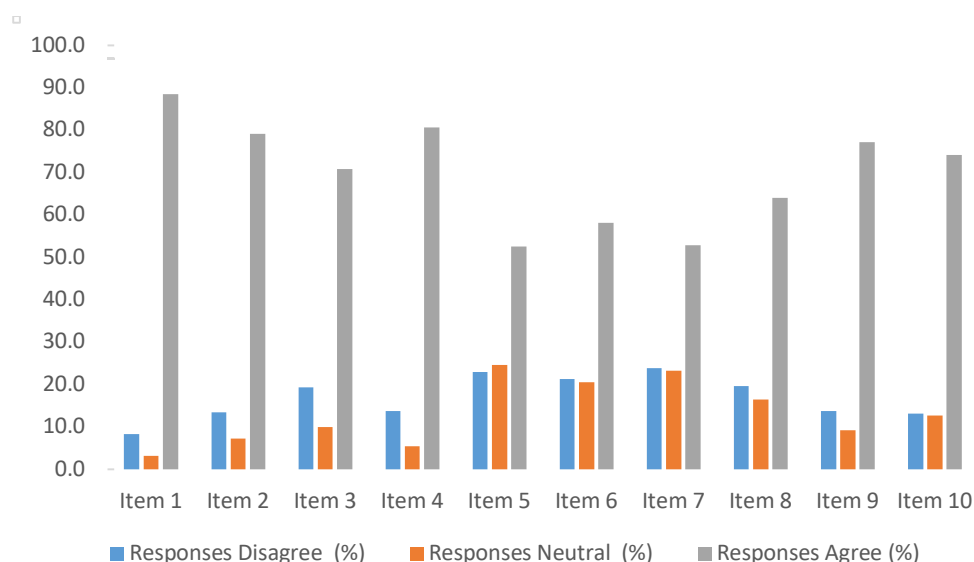


Fig 9. Frequency percentage distribution of all items of perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale

Frequency Distribution Analysis across Scenarios Representing Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing

Frequency distribution analysis of with demographics across seven scenerios have been carried out. The scenerios depicted different incidents where man and woman have been killed by their relationships. Before discussing the analysis, brief scenerios are mentioned. However, detailed scenario based scale in both Urdu and English language in the following Annexure E and Annexure F respectively.

Scenario one: a daughter had been killed by the mother for seeking divorce and having a second marriage out of love.

Scenario two: discussed the murder of a daughter by her father for choosing a life partner outside their braadri (cast and creed).

Scenario three: explained the murder of a sister by her brother for her pictures with a religious cleric going viral on social media.

In scenario **four:** two sisters had been killed by their brother for having friendship with a guy on telephone.

Scenario five: is indicating the murder of a sister in law by her brother in law on suspicion of extramarital affair.

Scenario **six**: is based on the murder of a wife by husband for developing an extramarital affair.

In scenario **seven**: a sister had been killed by her brother for developing a relationship outside their religion.

Table 28 illustrates the frequency distribution of demographic variables (gender, family system, area of residence, and family system) towards attribution of responsibility across all scenarios. More females attributed the responsibility to culprit in scenario one, three and five while higher number of male attributed the responsibility to culprits in scenario two, four, six, and seven. These result further indicate that both male and female attributed responsibility to culprit depending on the scenario.

Across family systems, individuals who live independently or nuclear family system attributed the responsibility to culprit in all the scenarios except for scenario sixth. However, individuals living in joint family systems attributed the responsibility to culprits in all other scenarios. The results further indicates that family system have a strong impact on attribution of responsibility towards honour killing. Similarly, individuals living in urban areas attributed the responsibility to culprits in all scenarios as compared to individuals living in rural areas. Lastly, married individuals responded in attributing the responsibility to culprits in only scenario one, four, and six as compared to higher number of single individual who attributed the responsibility to culprits in scenario two, three, five, and seven.

Table 28

Frequency Distribution of Gender, Family System, Area of Residence, & Marital Status across Attribution of Responsibility towards Honour Killing Scenarios (N = 695)

Scenerio	Attribution	Gender		χ^2, df (2)	Family System		χ^2, df (2)	Residence		χ^2, df (2)	Marital Status		χ^2, df (2)
		Male	Female		Nuclear	Joint		Rural	Urban		Single	Married	
		<i>n</i> = 248 <i>f</i> (%)	<i>n</i> = 447 <i>f</i> (%)		<i>n</i> = 384 <i>f</i> (%)	<i>n</i> = 311 <i>f</i> (%)		<i>n</i> = 241 <i>f</i> (%)	<i>n</i> = 351 <i>f</i> (%)		<i>n</i> = 475 <i>f</i> (%)	<i>n</i> = 194 <i>f</i> (%)	
1	Culprit	124 (50)	230 (51.5)	4.42	198 (51.6)	156 (50.2)	2.61	108 (44.8)	197 (56.1)	8.6*	236 (49.7)	105 (54.1)	9.51**
	Both	103(41.5)	159 (35.6)		149 (38.8)	113 (36.3)		97 (40.2)	121 (34.5)		193 (40.6)	58 (29.9)	
	Victim	21 (8.5)	58 (13)		37 (9.6)	42 (13.5)		36 (14.9)	33 (9.4)		46 (9.7)	31 (16)	
2	Culprit	145 (58.5)	242 (54.1)	2.15	206 (53.6)	181 (58.2)	5.3	120 (49.8)	210 (59.8)	9.05*	265 (55.8)	107(55.2)	.51
	Both	75 (30.2)	138 (30.9)		131 (34.1)	82 (26.4)		77 (32)	104 (29.6)		141 (29.7)	62(32)	
	Victim	28 (11.3)	67 (15)		47 (12.2)	48 (15.4)		44 (18.3)	37 (10.5)		69 (14.5)	25 (12.9)	
3	Culprit	99 (40.1)	187 (41.9)	4.42	157 (41.1)	129 (41.5)	1.17	87 (36.1)	167 (47.7)	29.91***	209 (44.2)	69 (35.6)	5.15
	Both	95 (38.5)	145 (32.5)		138 (36.1)	102 (32.8)		73 (30.3)	132 (37.7)		157 (33.2)	68 (35.1)	
	Victim	53 (21.5)	114 (25.6)		87 (22.8)	80 (25.7)		81 (33.6)	51 (14.6)		107 (22.6)	57 (29.4)	
4	Culprit	98 (39.5)	156 (34.9)	6.02*	128 (33.3)	126 (40.5)	4.02	83 (34.4)	144 (41)	27.41***	171 (36)	79 (40.7)	3.77
	Both	96 (38.7)	155 (34.7)		148 (38.5)	103 (33.1)		66 (27.4)	140 (39.9)		164 (34.5)	72 (37.1)	
	Victim	54 (21.8)	136 (30.4)		108 (28.1)	82 (26.4)		92 (38.2)	67 (19.1)		140 (29.5)	43 (22.2)	
5	Culprit	179 (72.2)	346 (77.4)	6.69*	297 (77.3)	228 (73.3)	4.5	178 (73.9)	280 (79.8)	7.60*	369 (77.7)	135 (69.6)	17.53***
	Both	55 (22.2)	66 (14.8)		67 (17.4)	54 (17.4)		37 (15.4)	54 (15.4)		84 (17.7)	32 (16.5)	
	Victim	14 (5.6)	35 (7.8)		20 (5.2)	29 (9.3)		26 (10.8)	17 (4.8)		22 (4.6)	27 (13.9)	
6	Culprit	52 (21)	70 (15.7)	22.48***	54 (14.1)	68 (21.9)	7.37*	37 (15.4)	69 (19.7)	27.75***	69 (14.5)	49 (25.3)	10.92**
	Both	107 (43.1)	133 (29.8)		136 (35.4)	104 (33.4)		58 (24.1)	145 (41.3)		172 (36.2)	61 (31.4)	
	Victim	89 (35.9)	244 (54.6)		194 (50.5)	139 (44.7)		146 (50.6)	137 (39)		234 (49.3)	84 (43.3)	
7	Culprit	105 (42.3)	177 (39.6)	3.7	155 (40.4)	127 (40.8)	.08	79 (32.8)	160 (45.6)	17.70***	206 (43.4)	69 (35.6)	7.03*
	Both	90 (36.3)	145 (32.4)		129 (33.6)	106 (34.1)		77 (32)	119 (33.9)		160 (33.7)	62 (32)	
	Victim	53 (21.4)	125 (28)		100 (26)	78 (25.1)		85 (35.3)	72 (20.5)		109 (22.9)	63 (32.5)	

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

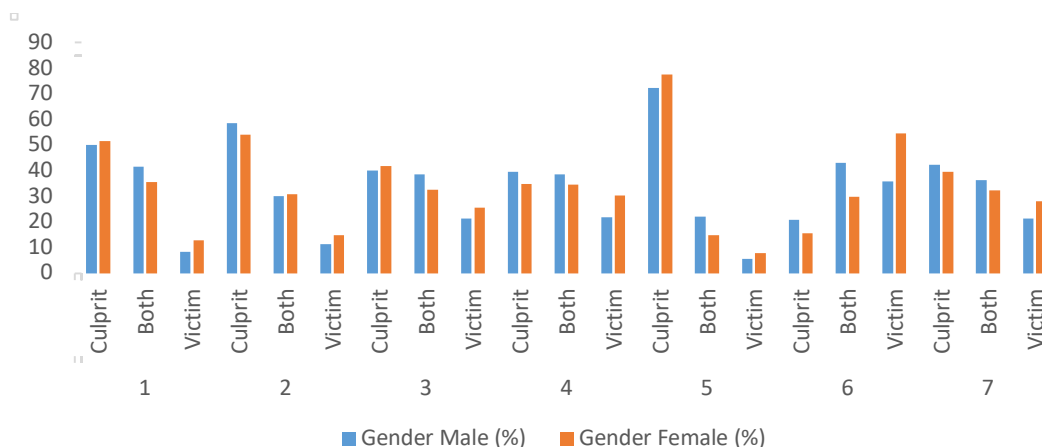


Fig 10. Percentage frequency distribution of gender across attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios

Figure 10 illustrates gender wise comparison of attribution of responsibility across all scenarios. The figure further illustrates between scenario comparison of attribution of responsibility (for culprit, victim, and both) for both men and women. Non significant differences were apparent across gender for scenerios, one, two, three, and seven, whereas, significant differences were observed across scenario four, five, and six. Moreover, in scenario four men have attributed the responsibility to culprit, whereas more women than men have attributed the responsibility to culprit in scenario five. In scenario six which was about women being killed for extramarital affair. More women than men have attributed the responsibility to victim.

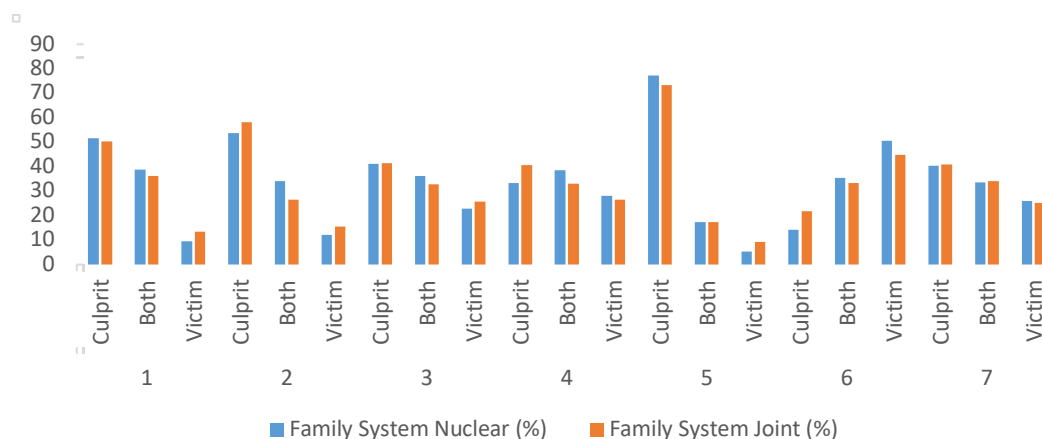


Fig 11. Percentage frequency distribution of family system across attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios

Figure 11 represents that family system in attribution of responsibility for all scenarios. Both nuclear and joint families had tend to attributed the responsibility to

culprits that is why significant differences were not observed in terms of family system across scenerios except for scenario 6. However, it is evident through the readings in the table that more number of people living in nuclear family system attributed the blame to culprit as compared to individuals'belonged to joint family system. The significant difference is evident across scenario six. More individuals living in nuclear family system have attributed the responsibility to victim as compared to participants living in joint family system.

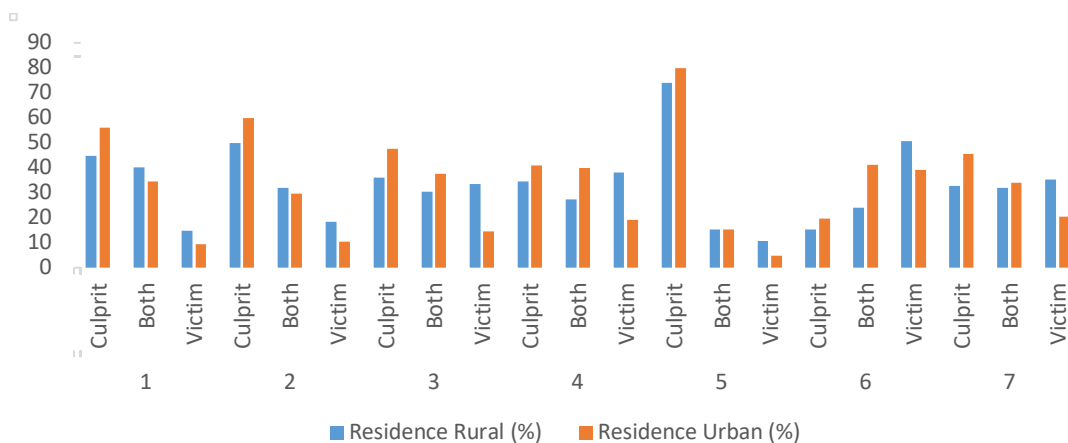


Fig 12. Percentage frequency distribution of area of residence across attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios

Percentage analysis for area of residence and attribution of responsibility are depicted in Figure 12. Significant area wise differences were apparent across all scenerios. Furthermore, in scenario one, teo, three, four, five, and seven, participants belonged to urban area have attributed more responsibility to culprit as compared to rural participants. Whereas, participants belonged to rural area have attributed the responsibility to victim in scenario six as compared to urban participants.

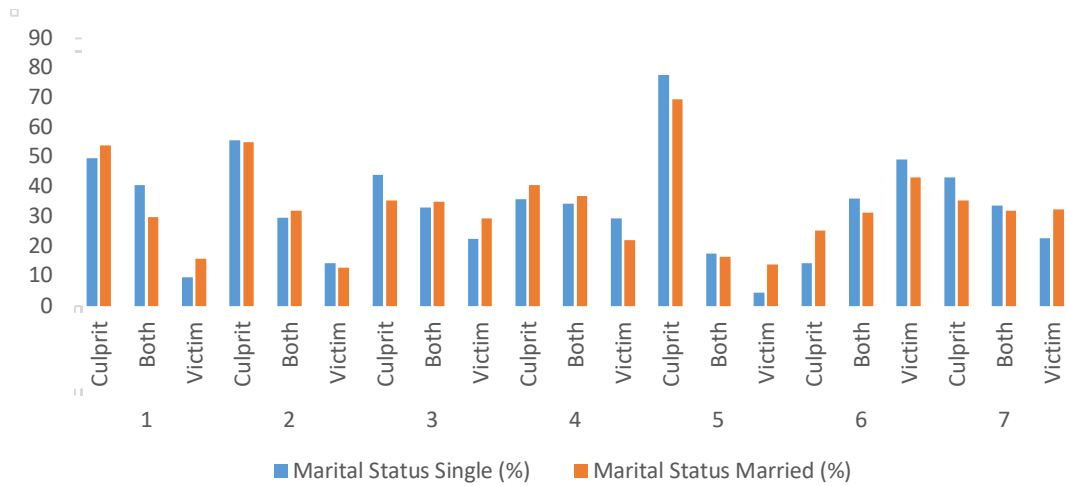


Fig 13. Percentage frequency distribution of marital status across attribution of responsibility towards honour killing scenarios

Figure 13 highlighted frequency distribution of marital status wise differences across scenarios. Significant differences were observed across scenario one, five, six, and seven. Moreover, in scenario one more married individuals as compared to single participants attributed the responsibility to culprit. Whereas, in five and seven more single individuals have attributed the responsibility to victim. However, in scenario six higher percentage of single individuals attributed the responsibility to victim as compared to married individuals. The findings have discussed further in discussion section in the light of literature.

Discussions

Confirmatory factor analysis. Construct validity ensures and provides the logical relationships among tested variables. However, Welden (2012) defined construct validity determines that the test or scale measures that is supposed to be measure. Confirmatory factor analysis was employed in the present study to ensure the construct validity. CFA was conducted by using Analysis of Moment Structure (Amos 22) statistical package for all the newly developed measures in the present study. CFA with maximum likelihood was carried out to test whether the factor structure of ATHKS (Affirmation and Deterrents of Honour Killing), PPFHKs, and AORHKs could be replicated on an independent sample. CFAs are conducted to test a hypothesized model especially when testing already established theory or when adaptation of scales has been conducted. However, CFAs are considered as an important step when new scales are developed, but it should be conducted on a separate sample, such as sample that has been used in EFA can not be taken for CFA. CFAs are carried out to test the hypothesis (Stevens, 1996), and the present study proposed that the factor structure of newly developed measures would remain the same on an independent sample as well. Results of CFA for ATHKS and PPFHKs revealed standardized regression weights for all the 17 items of ATHKS and 10 items of PPFHKs as greater than .35. The criteria to retain items are those with regression weights greater than .35. In ATHKS, model 1 has all 17 items and model shows satisfactory indices. Therefore, model 1 with no changes was retained as a confirmatory model; whereas, in PPFHKs two models were developed to finalize the model. The model 1 showed poor fit indices, whereas, model 2 showed satisfactory indices. Finally, model 2 was finalized for PPFHKs.

In measurement models of three scales, all the indices that are taken as a criteria were found significant including chi square. With reference to model fit, numerous good fit indices are taken as criteria, however, there are few common fit indices that are usually taken as a criteria in social sciences research to assess the model (Distefano et al, 2009; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Westen & Rosenthal, 2003). In the present research few common fit indices are taken into consideration such as Normed Fit Index (NFI), Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI, also known as TLI), Goodness of Fit index (GFI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA).

The popularity of fit-index research can be seen by the number of indices that exist. In general, the author prefers the TLI, CFI and RMSEA for one-time analysis (Harrington, 2009). Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) tests the extent to which the model fits reasonably well in the population. It is sensitive to model complexity, but unlike the model chi-square, it is relatively insensitive to sample size. Close fit indicates the probability that RMSEA is less than or equal to 0.05. (Harrington, 2009). The comparative fit index (CFI) is equal to the discrepancy function adjusted for sample size. CFI ranges from 0 to 1 with a larger value indicating better model fit. Whereas the acceptable model fit value of CFI is .90 or greater (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Root mean square of approximation (RMSEA) is related to residual in the model. RMSEA value ranges from 0 to 1. Smaller the RMSEA value, better the model fit. Acceptable model fit is indicated by an RMSEA value of .06 or less (Hu & Bentler, 1999). If model fit is acceptable, the parameter estimates are examined. The ratio of each parameter estimate to its standard error (SRMR) is distributed as a z statistic and significant at the .05 level. The results of present study are in accordance with the above mentioned criteria of fit indices. Henceforth, measurement model provides the accuracy of confirmatory factor analysis for all the newly developed measures.

Oluwatayo (2012) discussed that construct validity is primarily comprised of two elements that are convergent and discriminant validity. It is a convenient way of obtaining construct validity. The convergent validity requires that the scores derived from the measuring instrument correlate with the scores derived from the variables of similar nature (Cooper & Shindler, 2001). Campbell and Fiske (1959) discussed that the convergent validity coefficients are the correlations between measures of the same trait that are obtained through different measurement methods. Discriminant validity provides an evidence that measures do not theoretically highly correlate with one another. The weak and no correlation among measures signifies that the measure discriminate well with each other (Kinnear & Taylor, 1996).

In order to establish the construct validity, the researcher needs to be sure that their construction of a particular issue agrees with other constructions of the same underlying issue. A high correlation coefficient implies construct validity of the new instrument or research. In another dimension, convergent validity can be achieved by correlating scores obtained between the scale and subscales together. The inter-correlations from the multitrait- multi method matrix are used to support convergent

validity (Oluwatayo, 2012). It is a method of obtaining convergent and discriminant validity simultaneously. The objective behind this technique of validation is that different methods of measuring the same construct should yield similar results.

Evidence of convergent and discriminant validity of affirmation of honour killing, deterrents of honour killing, and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing and have been established with hostility/ intolerance subscale of extremism scale (Gilani & Altaf, 2005), religious influence in daily life subscale of religiousness measure (Sethi & Seligman, 1993) and gender role attitudes (Anila & Ansari, 1992). Factor analysis have not been conducted on scenario based as there is very less evidence available in literature regarding factor analysis of scenario based scale. Moreover, the scenario based scale was only utilized for obtaining frequency based analysis in order to determine the responses of the participants that they ascribe in different scenarios. For example, a similar kind of scenario based scale on attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios for Turkish and Italian sample, devised by Caffaro, Ferraris and Schmidt (2014) had not taken out factor analysis and have not done construct validation for their scenario based scale.

As expected, attitude towards honour killing, and its subscale affirmation of honour killing scale is positively correlated with hostility/intolerance, religious influence in daily life activities, thereby, confirmed the objective. The results suggested that these constructs are in the same direction through which we can infer that all those individuals who believed in affirmation of honour killing would also yield hostile/intolerant attitudes. Honour killing is considered as a violent practice. It has been considered an extreme form of violence which cannot be carried out without having extremist attitudes (Grzyb, 2016). This ensures that hostility/intolerant attitudes among individuals motivate them towards violent actions. Literature confirmed that people with personality traits such as hostility and impulsivity are more at risk of engaging in criminal behavior. Nonetheless, honour killing is an act of extremism. Thus, the variable of hostility/intolerance has been selected to observe its relationship with honour killing attitudes. Literature from various parts of the world has confirmed that hostile traits and cognitions do play role in honour killing attitudes. As one of the studies showed that in the past two decades, honour killings have accelerated considerably. This may indicate that honour killings are genuinely growing, perhaps because of fundamentalist and extremist attitude (Chesler, 2010). Similar findings had

been observed where hostility and intolerance has been reported as positively associated with intimate partner violence as well (Elmquist et al., 2016). Therefore, it can be recognised from the present findings that people with hostile and intolerant attitudes are at greater risk of accepting honour killing, blaming the responsibility to victim and might indulge into honour killing themselves.

Similarly, the present study also established convergent validity by showing moderate positive association between affirmation of honour killing and religious influence in daily life measure. The more religiously influenced people, the more they affirm honour killing. The pattern of result confirmed the predictions that affirmation of violent practice like honour killing cannot operate without aggressive tendencies like hostility and intolerance. Likewise, extensive qualitative and few quantitative studies have also established that religion has been associated with honour killing. The high influence of religion yields this belief that honour killing is a religiously sanctioned act. The findings of the present research are consonant with the previous researches. Kulczycki and Windle (2011) found that the view of women as being under the authority of their male kin is deeply culturally rooted in Islamic religion and the Islamic tenets are often invoked to reinforce the subordination of women. In Pakistan majority of the population believes in Islam, and the phenomenon of honour killing is closely knitted in Pakistani traditions. People in Pakistan mostly associated honour killing with religion primarily due to their misunderstanding about the religion. This could be an explanation for the positive association between religion and favorable attitudes towards honour killing. However, there are also studies that are contrary to present findings. The study conducted by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) found that neither influence of religion nor the intensity of religious beliefs was positively associated with attitudes toward honour crimes when theoretically relevant proximal mechanisms, such as traditionalism and chastity beliefs, were taken into account. Instead, researchers suggested that honour killings are likely to be supported culturally wherever notions of patriarchy, family honour, and the preservation of female virginity are widely accepted. Furthermore, another study also indicated that the high level of religious influence in one's life also encourages for forgiveness and less hostile reactions (Lutjen, Silton, & Flannelly, 2012), but it can be said that in Pakistan people have misperceived the Islamic concept of forgiveness through blood money and the whole concept of punishment for adultery.

As expected affirmation of honour killing showed significantly negative relationship with modern gender role attitudes. The negative correlation among them is because people who carry modern gender role attitudes will be less tolerant towards honour killing and would not attribute the blame to victim for honour killing. A study by (Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner, 2004) confirmed that individuals with traditional gender role attitudes have positive beliefs towards violence against women such as wife beating. The study further discussed that individuals with modern gender role attitudes would never believe that victim has instigated the violence against them and thereby victim is responsible (Linton & Lorde, 2011). Similarly, findings of study conducted on both male and female residents of Barbados society in which the study identified that the residents who had traditional gender role attitudes perceived the violent action against the female victim as justified (Linton & Lorde, 2011).

People who carry modern gender role attitudes showed their agreement with perceived perpetuating factors leading to honour killing in the Pakistani society. Findings have been identified in the past researches, which claim that people having more traditional attitudes will be more prone towards hostile sexism (Hill & Marshall, 2018). Consistent with the current findings, another study also reported that men believing in strict patriarchal traditionalism showed strong favour towards honour killing phenomenon (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Studies have confirmed that gender role attitudes, religion, and spirituality do predict to beliefs and acceptance about violence against women

Another hypothesis also confirmed and showed significantly positive correlation between deterrents of honour killing, and modern gender role attitudes. The significance level along with the direction shows the evidence of convergent validity among these measures. This would signify that; the more people have egalitarian attitudes towards women the lesser they would assert the idea of honour killing. Extensive literature has discussed that traditional gender role attitudes are positively associated with favorable attitudes towards honour killing (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Ilic, 2016). Thereby, the more people have modern approach and attitudes towards women, the more they would deter violent practices towards women.

Deterrents of honour killing also showed significant negative correlation with affirmation of honour killing scale. The results can be interpreted as that the more people have unfavorable or deterring attitude towards honour killing, the lesser they

blame victim for honour killing. Moreover, with with deterring attitude, people would not show any agreeableness towards honour killing. People would not sanction honour killing under any circumstance.

The present finding also meet the objective and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, showed positive relationship with deterrents of honour killing and modern gender role attitudes. Whereas, it has showed significant negative relationship with affirmation of honour killing and non-significant negative relationship with hostility/ intolerance, religious influence in aaily life activities and attribution of aesponsibility in honour killing scenarios. However, literature support is not available with reference to perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, but the explored relationship confirms that this measure converges with the measures of its similar nature. Moreover, the inverse relationship between perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing and affirmation of honour killing confirmed that people who perceived perpetuating factors as salient in causing honour killing in the society would never affirm with the idea of honour killing.

Furthermore, the present study also found no correlation between deterrents of honour killing and hostility/ intolerance variables, giving the evidence of discriminant validity. Hostile and Intolerant people are least likely to have an unfavorable attitude towards honour killing. Their idea of extreme reactions contradicts with the benevolent nature of showing deterrence towards honour killing. However, the results of present study had shown neither positive nor negative correlation. Yet, studies on similar construct showed negative correlation between positive/ affirmative attitude towards honour killing and extreme attitudes such as obedience and aggressive behavior (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Ilic, 2016). Literature has indicated that people whose attitudes are not in favor of honour killing also disagree with extreme attitudes such as obedience, traditionalism, and authority (Ilic, 2016). Therefore, no correlation with hostility and deterrence of honour killing is aligned with the previous literature. Thus, it can be presumed from the present findings that these two attitudes contradict with each other. Furthermore, no correlation between deterrents of honour killing and hostility/intolerance confirmed discriminant validity. Discriminant validity has provided sufficient evidence that two measures diverge from each other. Henceforth, the construct validity of newly developed scale was supplemented by finding significant

positive relationship between modern gender role attitudes and subscale of newly developed measure that is deterrents of honour killing.

Largely, the results were in line with the objectives of the current study and results provide sufficient support for reliability, construct, convergent and discriminant validity for newly developed ATHKS comprising of two subscales, and PPFHK scale.

This section also explains all the salient findings according to the hypotheses and objectives of the present study with reference to correlates of attitude towards honour killing, its subscales and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing. All the findings reported in this chapter are discussed to fill the gaps in existing literature especially in South Asian region. The findings of this research could be justified by employing literature based on domestic violence or intimate partner violence as honour killing is also a type of domestic violence. Due to scarce literature on honour killing specifically with reference to demographic variables, researches based on domestic violence, violence against women, and intimate partner violence have been used to justify the current findings.

All the proposed hypotheses discussed here are explained with reference to literature. Along with step wise regression analysis that was conducted to explore the strongest predictor for attitude towards honour killing. In addition, demographic related differences were also examined in this research. Descriptive statistics on honour killing attitude and its subscales, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, gender role attitudes, hostility/intolerance through (extremism scale), and religious influence in daily life through religiousness measure was calculated by computing mean, standard deviation, skewness, kurtosis and Cronbach alphas (see table in validation chapter; validation of scales). The same sample was used for hypothesis testing, therefore, descriptive and correlations were not conducted again. The results indicated that data was normally distributed on all the study variables. Positive values of kurtosis indicate that distribution curve is heavy tailed and pointed for those variables whereas, negative sign is an indication of flat and light tailed distribution of variables. According to Field (2013), if data exceeds 1000 cases then normality of data can be assumed without giving much consideration to larger values. Satisfactory normality and reliability assumption provided way head for inferential statistics. However, reliability ($\alpha = >.70$) of newly developed measure can be justified as the threshold for Cronbach alpha values found in the literature is usually $\geq .70$ (Nunnally, 1978). Although, one does seek high internal

consistency for the set of items that make one factor, high Cronbach alpha value is expected in such a case, but as apparent from the descriptive, deterrents of honour killing and other correlates does not indicate high alpha value. This could be due to less number of items in the scales or because the phenomenon is culturally sensitive, so social desirability factor cannot be ignored. However, values around .60 or above are equally acceptable when the instrument is used for research purposes and not for diagnostic (Hair, et al., 1998). In the present research, alpha reliability of both newly developed scales is $> .60$. It can be linked, and is consistent with the satisfactory reliability of previously developed scales; Ambivalent Sexism Scale ($\alpha = .78$) (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and Rape Victim Empathy Scale ($\alpha = .67$) (Dietz et al, 1982). Previously developed measures related to the concept of honour in collectivistic societies have also reported low reliability in their subscales such as Cronbach's alpha of each dimension of Honour Scale (revised version developed by Guerra, Gouveia, de CR Araújo, de Andrade, & Gaudêncio, 2013) was .77 (family honour), .66 (social honour), .82 (feminine honour), and .61 (masculine honour). Moreover, attribution of responsibility towards honour killing scale also shows that the measure has satisfactory internal consistency. The alpha coefficients of other measures that gender role attitude scale and extremism subscale (hostility/intolerance) also have good reliability that is a consistent finding with past studies as well. Many researchers have reported that reliability of GRA is .81 to .84 (Kamal & Saqib, 2004; Masood, 2004; Nisar, 2018). The alpha coefficient of .60 was also reported on the subscale of extremism (hostility/intolerance) in previous study (Khan, 2008). Hence, the newly developed indigenous scales i.e. attitude towards honour killing (affirmation and deterrence attitudes) perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, and attribution of responsibility towards honour killing are contributing in the field of psychology and psychometrics.

Predicting attitude towards honour killing (affirmation of honour killing) with study variables.

The regression analysis for the study variables of present research were carried out. The stepwise regression analysis was chosen to explore the strongest predictors of affirmation of honour killing. The stepwise regression analysis was computed because no prior hierarchy on such variables was available. There is lack of literature support with the attitudes towards honour killing and correlates of the present study in terms of prediction based analysis. Therefore, with this aim it was decided to employ stepwise regression analysis, as it could best explain the predictors

as they positively or negatively predict attitude towards honour killing. Thus, the present study aimed to explore the most and least influential predictors of attitude towards honour killing suscales i.e. affirmation of honour killing and deterrents of honour killing. Two separate models were tested to identify the relationship of predictors on the dependent variables.

In one model the subscale of affirmation of honour killing was tested as dependent variable. The analysis revealed that modern gender role attitudes turned out to be the strongest negative predictor of affirmation of honour killing. The negative correlation was well expected. People who shows affirmation of honour killing would likely to have traditional gender role attitudes instead of modern approach. Literature has also discussed that attitude of male and female towards honour killing has its influence on victim blame (Aplin, 2017; Chesler, 2015). It is quite clear that positive attitude towards honour based violence would likely mean that victim deserved to be punished this way. Thirdly, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing were turned out to be a negative predictor of affirmation of honour killing. The present findings are aligned with the previous research findings where a researcher claimed that the most consistent predictor of attitudes that support the use of violence against women among college students or any other group is gender role attitudes, defined as beliefs about appropriate roles for men and women (McHugh & Frieze, 1997). Also, a positive relationship has been found between traditional sex role attitudes and negative attitudes toward women and the acceptance of rape myths (as cited in Berkel, Vandiver & Bahner, 2004). The other studies of similar nature had also confirmed that traditional gender role attitudes in a sample of adolescents were also associated with less perceived seriousness of scenarios depicting interpersonal aggression (Hilton, Harris, & Rice, 2003). The next strongest predictor that has negatively predicted the affirmation of honour killing is perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing. It is to be evaluated that the more you have perceived factors as salient in perpetuating honour killing, the lesser one would have affirm honour killing. Therefore, the perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing have negatively predicted the outcome. Greenblat (1985) found that beliefs about proper gender roles were associated with tolerance for violence. Finally, it is reasonable to speculate that one's experiences with violence shape one's view or perception about what factors causes it. Although researchers have seldom

explored the relationship between attitude towards violence and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing.

At a minimum, one might expect that those who have used violence against a partner are more likely to blame victims for provoking them and less likely to attribute violence to offenders' personal traits. Therefore, it can be concluded that people who believe that victim themselves are responsible for the violence against them would not believe on other socio economic and psychosocial factors as the contributing factors towards honour killing. Moreover, the third predictor is hostility/intolerance that positively predicts the attitudes in favor of honour killing. Aggressive or extremist behaviors have also been associated with honour killing. Honour killing is believed to be an extremist act that can be carried out of extreme aggression.

Literature has also confirmed that morally neutralized aggressive behavior is one of the predictors that shapes the attitudes in favor of honour killing (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Contrary to the expectations, religious influence in daily lives was not a significant predictor of affirmative attitudes towards honour killing. Religion as a predictor of honour killing attitudes is discussed in the literature. Mix findings are reported. In few researches religious influence does strongly predict positive attitude towards honour killing (Bellar, Kroger, & Hosser, 2019), whereas in other researches, religion does not predicted honour killing attitudes (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). The study variable religious influence in daily life least predicted the honour killing attitudes. The occurrence of honour killing is mostly prevalent in Muslim dominated culture, so it has also been associated with Islamic religion whereas; Islam carries a clear verdict on honour killing. The mere association of honour killing with Islam is because of its long overdue presence in Muslim countries. Honour killing is a result of deeply rooted concepts of sexuality and gender roles in Muslim society (Barry, 2016). It is important to mention that researches concerning the relationship between religious influence in daily lives and violence against men and women are conflicting. Ellison and Anderson (2001) analyzed data from the National Survey of Families and Households and found that those who attended services more often reported less spousal abuse. On the other hand, Jeffords (1984) argued that these beliefs contribute to a patriarchal system that assigns women a subordinate role to men. He investigated relationships among gender role attitudes, religious orthodoxy, and beliefs about forced marital intercourse and found that those who held traditional gender role attitudes and those who reported

religious orthodoxy were more likely to endorse the use of forced marital intercourse than those with egalitarian gender role attitudes or those who did not report religious orthodoxy. He also reported that traditional gender role attitudes were positively associated with the religious variables in his study. Similarly, Eisner and Ghuneim, (2013) also concluded in their study that religion and the intensity of religious beliefs are not associated with support for honour killing. Thus, the results suggested that modern gender role attitudes deter positive honour killing. However, the association of gender role attitudes with violence cannot be ignored. Similarly, the purpose of identifying the relationship of religion with affirmative attitude towards honour killing was strong association of religion with honour killing. In Pakistani society largely people associated honour killing with religion. People tried to assert and justify their act of honour killing as it is approved by the Islamic religion. However, literature also claimed that it is wrongly associated, but nonetheless, associated with Islam.

Predicting deterrents of honour killing on study variables. The study variables were used for predicting deterrents of honour killing. Stepwise regression analysis was carried out as the objective of the study was to identify strongest predictor. The results of the study indicated that perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing turned out to be the strongest predictor for deterrents of honour killing and the next strongest predictor is modern gender role attitudes. Remaining predictors such as hostility and intolerance were excluded by the analysis that clearly signifies that religious influence and hostility and intolerance has least association with deterrents of honour killing, therefore they turned out to be the weakest predictors.

It is evident from the analysis that the more people would belief in psychological, social and economic factors responsible for honour killing the more they would have unfavorable or anti attitude towards honour killing. Finally, it is reasonable to speculate that one's experiences and perception of violence eventually shape one's view about its perpetuating factors, although researchers have seldom explored this topic on a larger sample. A past research conducted on the beliefs in the causes of domestic violence elaborated that respondents are most likely to account for violence in terms of the characters of individuals or households, although when prompted, many agree that social learning and cultural forces contribute to violence (Worden & Carlson, 2005). Similarly, in researches conducted decades ago also indicated that many or most people

also believe household stress, financial hardship, and unemployment increase the likelihood of family violence (Yick & Agbayani, 1997).

Modern gender role attitude also reflects that men and women are open towards the idea of gender equality and they believed that women can make choices and can take independent decisions. Such beliefs and feelings in people would certainly encourage them to not get involved in the violence against women. Research conducted in the past also confirmed that when people in the society perceive gender roles in a traditional way, preferring male roles over female would actually make their attitudes tolerant toward violence against women whereas as modern gender role attitudes minimize the beliefs in violence against women (Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner, 2004). Literature has consistently talked about that gender-based norms had the greatest impact on judgments of domestic violence (Taylor & Sorenson, 2005). Linte and Lorde (2011) have discussed that people with modern gender role attitudes would always deter violence and positive attitudes towards violence against women. The current findings are consistent with the previous literature; therefore validating the findings on the Pakistani culture. Thus, it can be concluded that modern gender role attitudes and perceived salience about the factors that perpetuate honour killing are strongest positive predictor of deterrents of honour killing.

Demographic variables on attitude towards honour killing, beliefs in causes of honour killing and attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenerios.

Gender. Gender has remained an important demographic in determining the honour killing attitudes. Literature has widely discussed the gender-based differences on these honours killing related variables (Rahim, Jehangir, & Holden, 2016; Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013,). Gender based difference has remained an interest of researchers to explore its role in determining the attitude towards violence against women. Sufficient researches have explored gender as the strongest predictor in determining favorable attitudes towards multiple forms of violence against women (Cowan 2000; Gölge et al. 2003; Nayak et al. 2003; Sakall 2001; White & Kurpius 2002).

In the present study, the mean difference for gender is small and does not account for significant results. Therefore, the hypothesis has not been accepted. However, it is also important to mention here that pattern of gender differences is less

clear in honour related violence in the literature (as cited in, Caffaro, Ferraris & Schimdt, 2014). Attitudes towards honour related violence provide results that do not support for differences based on gender (as cited in Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014). The results of the present study explored gender-based differences on attitude towards honour killing and its subscales, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, and on other correlates i.e. gender role attitudes, religious influence in daily life, and hostility/intolerance as well. The non-significant gender differences on attitude towards honour killing are partially aligned with previous researches. Lately a research identified that gender has no influence nor predicted supportive or non supportive attitude towards honour killing (Beller, Kroger, & Hosser, 2019).

However, plenty of previous literature indicated that the general pattern recorded for gender differences suggest that men are generally more likely than woman to blame victims, also considered violent acts as less serious (White & Kurpius, 2002; Dogan, 2013; Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016; Flood & Pease, 2009) . Similar findings had also been discussed in the researches related to rape, spousal abuse and attitudes towards sexual assault and physical violence related to spouse, where men showed more supportive attitudes towards these forms of violence against women (McCaul, Veltum, Boyechko, & Crawford, 1990). In addition to these above mentioned studies, it has been identified that men in Pakistan showed more positive attitudes and acceptance towards honour killing as compared to women (Rahim, Jehangir, & Holden, 2016; Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). However, there is still a space to explore sparsely explored area of honour killing attitudes with reference to gender in the Pakistani context. Thus, present study attempted to explore gender based differences with reference to honour killing attitudes.

According to the results of the present study, gender differences on attitude towards honour killing, its subscales (affirmation and deterrents of honour killing) and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing were not found to be significant. However, the mean differences are very small. The less clear or similar pattern of attitudes on both genders might be because of the fact that since Pakistan is an honour-based society; therefore, men and women mostly have similar form of attitudes towards honour killing. However, there could be multiple explanations regarding non-significant gender based differences on attitudes and perceived perpetuating factors towards honour killing. Findings of the present study are supported by previously

explored findings that also claimed that minute and overlapped differences among male and female in support of honour killing is because both men and women supports honour killing. The study further established that despite women being a victim of honour killing, but still at times both men and women equally blame victim (Beller, Krogger, & Hosser, 2019). However, the research conducted in Pakistan identified that both men and women equally blame the victim and justified honour killing (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). A study conducted on male and female officers to determine their attitude towards victims of honour killing and perpetrators found out no significant gender-based differences (Baldry, Pagliaro, & Porcaro, 2013).

The non-significant results in researches related to honour violence has also been supported by Vandello and Cohen (2003) who investigated perception of violence of a husband against his wife in response to her infidelity, and found nonsignificant gender differences with the idea that men are justified to use violence against women, and women are suppose to tolerate it. In addition to this Haj-Yahia, and Btoush (2008) analysed the attitudes of Jordanian men towards wife abuse and found less clear differences in their attitudes. Futhermore, a study conducted by Haj-Yahia and Uysal (2008), in which the attitudes of male and female Turkish medical students about wife-beating were analyzed, and the results did not suggest strong support for gender differences. A study conducted in Pakistan explored the perceptions of men and women on honour killing through survey found out that majority of men and women considered honour killing a justifiable act (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal & Masood, 2010). It has also been stated that mostly women belonged to collectivistic cultures of honour, approved the use of violence against their fellow women in order to save the family honour (Khan, 2018). Since literature also emphasized that it is not necessary that individuals who belong to honour based culture will always internalise the beliefs, attitudes and cultural norms taught to them (Leung & Cohen, 2011). The internalisation of domiant cultural norms are dependent upon various factors such as, how and who presented or transmitted the values, and individuals personal motivation to accept dominant cultural values (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Thus, individuals learn and internalise those norms that they want to learn. This could also be reason of nonsignificant gender based differences.

There are also researches based on gender differences presenting contrasting results from the present study. A study was conducted in Pakistan to explore the

attitudes towards honour killing related scenarios, and the results indicated that men have more positive attitudes towards honour killing than women and the study further discussed that primarily women are being victims of honour killing most of the time that is why they have more negative attitudes towards honour killing (Rahim, Jehangir, & Holden, 2016). Another study conducted in Islamabad (Pakistan) on student population found out that male students as compared to female students had exhibited more conservative attitudes reflecting patriarchal and tribal traditions that in extreme form eventually result in violence against women (Shaikh, Kamal, & Naqvi, 2015).

Nonsignificant gender differences were also found on other correlates such as gender role attitudes. However, gender differences were found to be significant in hostility/intolerance and religious influence in daily life activities. On both variables women scored higher than men which interprets that women have more hostility and intolerance. In Pakistani society women are usually expected to internalize their aggression. They are never encouraged to exhibit their aggression and hostility. Therefore, the lack of expressiveness of hostility in general endeavors of life leads to the findings of present result. The findings of present research are in contrast with the existent literature where men reported to endorse more aggressive behaviors and attitudes than women (Frieze & Li, 2010). Women had also scored high on religiosity which signifies that women tend to be more religiously influenced in their daily life activities as compared to men. Pakistani women are more fervent in their religious practices. Women tend to be more involved in religious activities and they refer more towards acts that are in accordance with religion. Literature has also confirmed that women across the globe are typically more keenly involved in religiosity and spirituality. The strong relationship of women with religiosity is of paramount importance to understand that women accept honour code and that is why mostly they are killed in the name of honour. This could also be a reason of non significant gender based differences. (Glick, et al, 2016) has also confirmed that religious beliefs of women give sufficient explanation of women acceptance of honour code.

In the present research there could be multiple explanations for the nonsignificant gender based differences in honour killing attitudes. The issue under investigation in this research was socially and culturally sensitive and this could have led to providing ambivalent attitudes. Pakistan is a collectivistic and patriarchal society, therefore participants might have faced uncertainty in deciding that either they would

agree with the item statements or not. The scale does have an items on which people might believe that they agreed with the fact maintaining honour in the society is important, but they might feel they would not kill someone for this. Thus, ambivalence could be a source of non-significant gender differences in the present research. A further reason for non-significant results could be that a majority of participants were young adults and educated. However, young participants were not deliberately targeted, rather convenience sampling was employed. Reasons for non-significant gender differences could be because of unequal sample size of men and women. Moreover, the nature of the construct is socially and culturally sensitive and it may lead to the socially desirable responses. In addition, since the researchers' gender was female, there is a possibility that male participants gave socially desirable responses.

Rural and urban. Role of area of residence on attitudes towards honour killing has been discussed in the literature. Therefore, present study has also attempted to explore the role of area of residence on honour killing attitudes and beliefs. (Rehman, 2009) acclaimed that women in Pakistan face violence against them irrespective of their area of residence such as rural or urban. However, Shaheed (1990) identified that traditional setups are more vulnerable to be used for the settlement of debts and other conflicts such as child marriage, marriage with older man, or killed in the name of honour on false accusation. It has also been discussed in researches that the people's conception of honour varied according to their area of living (Calik, Demerbag, Bulut & Demirdag, 2017).

According, to the results of the present study participants from the rural areas showed more affirmation of honour killing along with that they showed that they do not perceived the perpetuating factors as salient in the existence of honour killing, Moreover the results can also be interpreted as that rural participants do not believed that these factors have a role to perpetuate honour killing in the society as compared to urban participants. Thus, the results are aligned with the hypothesis. The present findings are consonant with the findings of previous researches. For example, Bellar, Kroger, and Hosser, (2019) confirmed that rural population showed more accepting attitudes and beliefs towards honour killing. A study conducted to explore the attitudes of academicians also found out that teachers who belonged to far fetch district and rural areas had more acceptance towards honour killing as compared to teachers who lived in cities. Similarly, participants living in urban setup showed more unfavorable attitudes

towards honour killing (Calik, Demerbag, Bulut & Demirdag, 2017). Moreover, the results showed that that rural population showed less beliefs in the sociocultural and socioeconomic causative factors of honour killing. Thereby, it can be inferred from the findings that rural participants might believe that victim themselves are responsible for honour killing or to ignite the murderer to take extreme action, because of their deviated action. A study that has been conducted to explore beliefs about the causes of rape victim also mentioned that the individuals who disagree with the sociocultural beliefs about the rape victims is because they believed that individual factors like victim herself was responsible, and that is the reason that she had to become a victim of rape (Cowan & Quinton, 2006). Additionally, it can be derived from the findings that participants belonging to rural areas are usually under-educated therefore less aware about advancements and far behind in technology. Therefore, rural population still holds conservative beliefs and carried traditional approach towards women. Individuals living in rural areas believed that women belong to men. Women themselves hardly get opportunities to attain education or seek opportunities to step outside traditional circumstances. They have less awareness about their rights as well. Consequently, they are more vulnerable to violence against them as compared to participants living in urban areas.

There is less media coverage and mobile phones access as well. In this era technology has added a lot in the awareness of masses. In urban areas women in particular have lots of opportunities to gain awareness regarding their rights. Due to which men and women at large do not accept the traditions of honour killing in general. Due to lack of technological orientation, they are unable to communicate about what they had been going through. The findings of the present study can be confirmed through various researches where it has been claimed that in Pakistan, majority of the population lives in rural areas and mostly rural women are killed in the name of honour (Nasraullah et al., 2009). Literature also suggested that rural communities can be more affected by the traditional concept of family honour, both in Turkish and Italian population. Therefore, the positive attitudes of rural population towards honour killing can be anticipated from these findings. The large number of occurrences on honour killing in rural areas might be the reason of acceptance towards this issue. One possible explanation of presence of honour killing in the urban areas are due to the fact that the people belonging to rural background continued to live with their traditional mindset

and deal with such matters accordingly. In the same way fewer honour killings have occurred in the western land and carried out by the immigrants from the Pakistani and Muslim background. Moreover, a research indicated the perspectives of urban population in Jordan by using structured interview techniques found out that 87% of the population believed that honour killers should be punished, whereas 89.5% opined that honour killing could not redeem family honour. A research has also confirmed that the families with a rural origin, and having strong tribal and kinship relationships remained under influence of traditional practices even if they move to urban areas (Glick, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Akbaş, Orta, & Ceylan, 2016; Kardam, 2005).

The findings of the present study also indicated that participants who belonged to rural areas had not carried modern gender role attitudes as compared to their urban counterparts. Also, rural participants showed more hostility/ intolerance and religious influence in daily lives. Traditional gender role attitudes among rural participants are one strong indicator for affirmation of honour killing which is also an outcome of hostility/intolerance towards different facets of life. When women are expected to behave according to old archaic values. When they had not been allowed and expected to take advancements according to time then they had to face violence of any form whenever they tried to challenge the expectations of the society. The men belonged to rural areas expected their women to remain at home, they are not really allowed to go outside without male supervision. Similarly, women are brought up under the patriarchal narrative learned to compromise on the restrictions imposed on them, and believed that men are their masters. Similarly, they are also not allowed to choose careers, jobs and their life partners without the permission of their male family members. It is the reason that when any woman tried to cross that boundary and challenged the set roles and expectations, they had to face violence against them. Sakallı-Uğurlu and Akbaş (2013) discussed in their findings that families that are settled in villages in extended family structure and having extended families support the continuation of traditional gender roles, intense patriarchal setup that legitimize it as in the patriarchal system, support male dominance over female with the believe that women sexual conduct is related to men's honour. Thus, men and women both who are long settled in rural setup do not welcome new and modern roles for women. There are women in rural areas who had also been immersed in their traditions, that they find difficult to support their fellow women who tried to cross those boundaries. These women along with men

also believed that men are the decision makers of the family. Women are supposed to act according to their guidance in every aspect of life.

Marital status. Like other demographics, role of marital status has been sparsely explored in reference to attitudes towards honour killing and other violence against women researches. Therefore, in the present research one of the objectives was to explore the role of marital status in attitude towards honour killing. The results showed statistically significant differences among married and single individuals. According to the results single individuals scored higher on deterrents of honour killing, gender role attitude, and perceived perpetuating factors honour killing variable, whereas, married participants showed more affirmation of honour killing and religious influence in daily life.

It can be assumed from the findings that infidelity from married individuals, extra marital affair, refusal to submit in arrange marriage, demanding a divorce for second marriage from both men and women is considered as an immoral conduct equal to sin. Therefore, married individuals adhere to honour attitudes. Findings of the present study are aligned with previously conducted researched on similar issues. The societies that are dominant with collectivist cultural system promotes a belief pressure that is exerted on married individuals both by families and communities. The pressure is more on wives to submit to their husband's authority, follow and abide by husband's decisions, and remain faithful to him under any circumstances. (Galanti, 2003; Moreno, 2012; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Several other studies have confirmed that societies that have honour based culture socially justified the use of honour killings as an instrument of maintaining morality, and approve male dominance over female counterparts (Torres et al., 2002; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Previous studies have also confirmed that damage of the feminine honour code (e.g. extramarital affair) can threaten a husband's (and his family's) reputation that leads to honour killing (Ahrens, Rios-Mandel, Isas, & Lopez, 2010). Therefore, in the present study married individuals scored higher on affirmation of honour killing wherea scored low on perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing. It can be inferred that married individuals believed that victim are responsible for instigating honour killing, other factors are not being perceived salient by them. However, contrasting findings are also available in the literature. For example, a study conducted to explore the attitudes of Turkish academicians towards the concept of honour and the results indicated no significant

differences in the attitudes of married, single and divorced individuals (Calik, Demerbag, Bulut, & Demirdag, 2017). Therefore, mix findings are available in the literature on marital status relationship with honour killing attitudes.

Family system. According to the mean scores on family system, participants residing in nuclear family system have showed attitudes that signify deterrents of honour killing, modern gender role attitudes and perceived salience about the factors that perpetuate honour killing. Whereas participants living in joint family system scored higher on affirmation of honour killing and also scored high on overall score of attitudes towards honour killing. The results are aligned with the objectives and hypothesis. It can be assumed that people who are living in joint family system have to face more social pressure within the family. Mostly the beliefs and attitudes in joint family system are translated through the older member of the family. It is assumed that all family members must be regulated under same narrative. The extended family exerts more pressure if anything goes against the standard norms, because they might be taking the act of one member as a threat on the respect of all the members living together. Similar findings have been reported in literature where researcher identified that joint family structure provides a controlling environment for all the members of the family. The findings further suggested that controlling environment in the joint family structure hinders the development of individuality that eventually worsens women's status in the community (Dogan, 2013).

Moreover, other researches on violence against women also claimed that women belonged to joint family system face more domestic violence than women living in nuclear family system (Bansal, Dixit, Shivram, Pandey, & Saroshe, 2014). A research conducted on the attitudes of academicians on the conceptualisation of honour and the results indicated that academicians who belonged to extended or joint family system were found to be supporting honour adherence attitudes and believed of violence as a solution (Calik, Demerbag, Bulut & Demirdag, 2017). Therefore, the findings on the variable are consistent with previous researches.

Age. Age is also considered as an important contributing variable in determining the attitudes towards honour killing and with its correlates. Majority of the studies implied that age plays an important role in determining the attitudes and beliefs of people regarding any phenomenon (Cowan, Quinton, 2006; Beller, Kroger, & Hosser, 2019). Kardam, Alpar, Yuksel and Ergun (2005) in Turkey interviewed people in four

cities and concluded that cases of honour killing differed on basis of age, social position, educational background and most of the interviewed persons had seen honour killing and the aforementioned factors were relevant to committing of this crime.

In the present study age has been divided into three categories based on the assumption of age categories descibed by Erik Erikson. Various researches have also categorised age into three categories. The results indicated that older adults who are above the age of 35 years showed attitudes pertaining towards affirmation of honour killing; along with traditional gender role beliefs for men and women. These findings are aligned with the previous research where it was found out that older people strongly endorse conservatism, old values and traditions (Robinson, 2013). However, previous study has also indicated that old age is associated with less positive attitudes towards violence (Robinson, 2013), whereas, younger participants carried more modern gender role attitudes and deterrents of honour killing. The results of younger participants indicates the perceived salience of these perceived perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing. However, an interesting finding indicated that younger participant showed more hostility/intolerance. It can be supposed from the findings that older people have rigid attitudes that they had through life experiences. They want to live with their old schemas related to men and women and how they should behave according to set patterns. The older people are not really convinced on changing their mindset and accept things that are changing with time. They showed less flexibility in changing them besides knowing the causal factors accelerating honour killing. However, contrasting results had been reported in the literature where no significant difference on the attitudes of people towards the concept of honour was found in terms of different age groups (Calik, Demerbag, Bulut, & Demirdag, 2017). Literature has also discussed that there are less comparisons available in terms of age towards honour killing attitudes and emphasized the need to explore age wise comparisons on this phenomenon (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimidt, 2014).

The reason for extreme attitudes such as hostility/intolerance could be because younger participants are more emotionally unstable thereby they have intolerant attitudes. Although, they have scored higher on deterrents of honour killing but this could be because younger people do not buy the idea of honour killing or they do not believe to associate honour with women. They are more technologically aware than older people, but that may not rule out generally extremist attitudes among them. Roald

(2009) believed that it is wrong to believe that young generation does not contain extreme attitudes. The element of social desirability in the appearance of less supportive attitudes towards honour killing among younger participants could not be ignored. Moreover, Pakistan is a country which is still in a social transition, thereby the young people are more exposed to extremist elements that inculcates intolerant and hostility in them.

Education. Education has been considered as an important demographic variable in predicting the attitude towards violence against women. However, scant literature is available with reference to role of education in predicting attitudes towards honour killing and other forms of violence against women. Therefore, literature has stressed the need to explore the role of education in exploring the differences in attitudes of people towards honour killing (Beller, Kroger, & Hosser, 2019) and its subscales. Therefore, the present study has attempted to fulfill one of the objectives of the study by exploring the differences in terms of level of education towards honour killing attitudes and perceived salience of the perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing.

As hypothesized the results of the study indicated that the participants with lower education level i.e. who fall in the category between matriculation and intermediate showed more affirmation of honour killing as compared to participants who have done graduation and post graduation. The participants with graduation and post-graduation level of education carried more deterrents of honour killing, and the perceived salience of the perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing. Moreover, participants with higher education showed agreement with the factors that perpetuate honour killing in the society. The findings clearly indicated that education does have an impact on forming attitudes of men and women towards honour killing attitudes along with perceived salience of the perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing. Findings of previous researches are also consonant with the present findings such as study conducted by Beller, Kroger, and Hosser, (2019), the findings of their research indicated that participants with low level of education justified honour killing of women. The explanation of significant differences with reference to education and other variables are because lower level of education is an indicator of less awareness and understanding towards such phenomenon. Another study has also confirmed that higher educated individuals are less likely to show supportive attitudes towards honour killing.

The study has further established that individuals with higher education are more likely to question archaic traditions and norms that support honour based violence (Flood & Pease, 2009). Education is a key element in differentiating between right and wrong. Lower level of formal education does not broaden the horizon of people. It is to be believed that high level of education helps in changing the mindsets of men and women it helps in changing their rigid narratives about certain things which are only present due to old archaic traditions. Bagguley and Hussain (2007) suggested that level of education is associated with positive and negative attitudes towards honour based violence. A study conducted on Jordanian adolescents found out that low educational level turned out to be the significant predictor of positive attitude towards honour killing (Eisner & Gunheim, 2013). The present findings related to perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing suggested that people with higher education level have perceived salience of the perpetuating factors leading to honour killing. The empirically developed scale of present study about perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing discussed the factors related to low education, poor socio-economic situation and poor understanding of the phenomenon that accelerates the honour killing. The findings are also consistent with the study conducted by Nasrullah, Haqqi and Cummings (2009), who conducted a study to explore the factors responsible for honour killing and found out that low education is one of the leading factors contributing towards honour killing. It can be deduced from the present findings that the more educated one is the more they believe strongly in the causal factors that are responsible in accelerating honour killing. Education makes people understand that there are factors underneath that perpetuate honour killings. Perceived salience of the perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing would only lead to the efforts to eliminate those causes in order to honour killing to cease to exist. It can be assumed that the less you perceived factors that perpetuate honour killing, the more it signifies victim blaming. Another study conducted by Kardam, Alpar, Yuksel and Ergun (2005) in Turkey also confirmed that educational background is an important variable in understanding honour killing attitudes.

Educational differences were also explored on correlates and they were also found to be significant. The results stated that people whose education level were between matriculations to graduation were found to be more hostile/intolerant and more religiously influenced in their daily life activities. A study conducted on Jordanian adolescents identified that morally neutral aggressive behaviour in general were evident

in adolescents belonging to collectivistic, patriarchal society (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). The explanation for the present findings could be that education brings rationality in approach and better emotional expressivity, whereas, people with post-graduation qualification carried more modern gender role attitudes. Contrary to the present findings previous researches reported that attainment of high level of education does not account egalitarian attitudes among boys and girls (Liao & Cai, 1995). Similarly, another research reported that level of education has no direct impact on gender role attitudes (Mensch, Ibrahim, Lee, & El-Gibaly, 2003). However, to understand the results of present findings, it can be inferred that high education does bring the change in the traditional mindset and helps individuals in accepting the changing role for men and women. Primarily modern gender role attitudes support women for carrying out chores that are not typically associated with women such as women are only supposed to be a housewife. Higher education helps individuals in acceptance of different roles for women.

Frequency based analysis

Perceived Perpetuating Factors of honour killing. The frequency analysis provides an interesting explanation in identifying the most perceived factor that perpetuates honour killing. Frequency /Scores on each item helps in understanding about the perception of participants regarding the most and least perpetuating factors of honour killing. The perceived factors available in the scale represent ten different factors such as lack of education, social pressure, and lack of women empowerment etc that are possible perceived factors for the existence of honour killing in the country.

Nevertheless, it is also important to understand that there could be two possible interpretation of perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing. People although have indicated their perceived salience of these perpetuating factors such as socio-cultural, distal, and structural causes that support the existence of honour killing in Pakistan, at the same time people who have indicated their disagreement with these factors might believe that individual factors such as conduct of the victim, behaviour of the victim and personal characteristics of murderer and relationship dynamics of murderer with the victims can also be an important factors of honour killing.

All the factors that have been mentioned either by professionals and murderers in their interviews were included in the scale. The most agreed perceived factor that is held responsible for the existence of honour killing emerged in the frequency analysis

was social and family pressure. The majority of the participant's perceived that social pressure and taunts (including family, relatives, and friends) play a key role in perpetuating honour killing in Pakistan. It was extensively discussed in qualitative study that social pressure at times leads to the killing. Both murderers and professionals have discussed that what people says is of utmost importance. Along with cultural and traditional support to honour killing, pressure from extended family, friends, neighbors, and relatives compel perpetrators for killing the person who brought dishonour. Pakistan is a collectivist, and closely knitted society, therefore, comments of closed ones matter a lot. Men have major interactions in community and neighborhood, therefore, taunts and pressure of people around them become unavoidable. Extensive literature has also discussed social pressure as one of the major causative factors of honour killing in Pakistan (Bangash, 2017; Erez & Berko, 2010). Thus, highest obtained frequency on the factor of social pressure is consonant with the findings of the literature and qualitative findings of this study.

The second perceived factor that people agreed most with was lack of awareness that perpetuates honour killing in the society. Number of participants showed their agreement with the factor that lack understanding and awareness regarding honour killing. Rather the common perception that prevails among masses is that killing in the name of honour is a sacred act. Honour killing is an illegitimate act; people are unaware about religious teachings regarding rights of women. People generally legitimize honour killing in the name of religion and that is due to their lack of awareness. Literature and qualitative findings also indicate that education and lack of awareness is also among many causative factors that led to honour killing (Qiasarani et al., 2016). Patriarchal thoughts and conservative attitude towards women is deeply embedded among masses especially in the rural areas. Women are less aware of their rights and thus, easily snubbed by men in the society. Increased awareness regarding the illegitimacy of honour killing both legally and religiously would certainly help in bringing down the number of cases.

The third most recurrently indicated perceived factor indicated by the participants was lack of *Shariat (Religious law)* knowledge that perpetuates honour killing. Lack of religious awareness and true understanding of religious knowledge lead the perpetrators and their family to justify honour killing. Honour killing has long been associated with religion. It has been perceived that killing in the name of honour is

religiously sanctioned and justified act. Tolerance of Pakistani society towards honour killing is primarily because it is deeply imparted in the mindset of Pakistani masses that it has religious basis. However, it has been discussed extensively in the qualitative section and past literature that Islam does not confer killing at any cost (Nawaz, 2020; Qaisarani et al., 2016). Adultery is considered as the most disliked and sinful act in Islam. However, punishment prescribed on adultery can only be granted when it is proven, and it must be granted by jurists or state authorities. In reality, women are being killed by individuals without evidences and witnesses on mere accusations, and later justified it in the name of religion. Thus, it can be inferred from the findings that true essence of religious knowledge can help people understand that the phenomenon has been wrongly associated with religion and it has no basis in Islam.

The fourth most perceived factor considered salient by participants was faulty conceptualisation of honour that perpetuates honour killing. The word honour which denotes prestige and respect in general, but in Pakistani society honour is associated with women. It has been perceived and believed that women are bearers of men's honour. Therefore, it is women's responsibility to uphold family honour. Any woman who transgresses that perceived honour has to face repercussions. Due to intense patriarchy it is believed that women belong to men and so does their honour. Respect and honour of a man in society is measured through the conduct of their women. Thus, men believe that living in society with respect is important, disgraceful act brought upon family by women is intolerable. The concept of honour was also found to be an important factor indicated by professionals that perpetuates honour killing in the country. In addition to it, murderers also reported in their interviews that killing to save ones honour is a sufficient reason and justification behind their act. The findings of the literature also indicated that perception and association of honour is an important factor that leads to the prevalence of honour killing in the society (Adana et al., 2011). Thus, it is important to revisit the concept of honour, in order to deal with this issue.

The fifth perceived factor indicated by the participants that perpetuate honour killing in Pakistan is old archaic traditions and beliefs that prevail the existence of honour killing. Honour killing is primarily an outcome of traditions. The concept of honour killing has social and cultural immunity. Pakistani society has strong traditional and cultural roots. These old traditions still strongly control the mindset of the masses. Honour killing is not considered as sinful and unlawful act by people at large because

tradition and culture of Pakistan shows favorable attitude towards perpetrators. Thus, it is commonly perceived that traditions and cultures cannot be changed, and it is important to attach to old beliefs.

The sixth cause indicated by the participants is lack of education that perpetuates honour killing. It has been discussed earlier as well that education brings awareness. Lack of education means lack of religious and social understanding about the nature of the crime. The reason that honour killing has not been perceived as a crime is because of lack of education. For many social evils, lack of education is responsible; honour killing is also one of them. Education is an important agent that can help in changing the mindset of the society. Thus, education of both men and women is equally important. Education is associated with awareness, and awareness can lead to change violent attitudes and unfair attitudes towards women in the society (Gibbs, Said, Corboz, & Jewkes, 2019).

Participants showed less agreement on remaining factors as compared to abovementioned ones that include lack of women rights, perception of women as property, male aggression and lack of economic resources for perpetuating honour killing. Participants showed their agreement with most of the factors and perceived them as salient ones in perpetuating honour killing. It can be presumed from the findings that these factors are equally important in understanding the reason behind existence of honour killing. The inferior place of women in the society, and harsh attitude of men towards them cannot be ignored. Women are unable to exercise their rights such as right to choose life partner because of lack of freedom given to women in Pakistan. Any action of women against the will of men may lead to aggressive outcomes. Even educated women at times become a subject of violence because of their subordinate position. The women subordination is culturally imparted in the mindset. Men consider women as their property. Thus, participants showed agreement and beliefs with these causes that perpetuate honour killing.

Frequency Distribution- Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing scenerios. The results indicated non significant findings across gender in most of the scenerios, except for scenario four, five and six; these scenerios are about brother killing sisters for friendship with a boy on phone, brother in law killing widow sister in law on accusation of illegal relationship with a man, husband killing wife for extra marital affair respectively. The scenario that shows significant results such as in

scenario four, male have attributed the responsibility to culprit as compared to females, whereas in scenario five more females have attributed the responsibility to culprit, and in scenario six more females have attributed the responsibility to victim. The findings are interesting. Although it is quite clear from the findings that in Pakistan both men and women put the responsibility on the culprit in almost all scenarios except for scenario six where attribution of blame was given to victim by the participants. In the present study mixed findings have merged in terms of gender whereas in scenarios like murder of female on accusation, for seeking divorce and posting pictures on social media, women tend to blame murderer and did not endorse honour killing under these circumstances. However, in scenarios where women were being killed for premarital and extra marital affair, attribution of responsibility was given to victim by female participants. The findings are interesting, because women in Pakistan are brought up under this narrative that relationship before and after marriage, and friendship with a man is an act worthy of killing. The findings of previous literature indicated that females did not endorse honour killing under any circumstance as compared to male members (Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016). In scenario six, more female participants have attributed the responsibility to victim. 35% of men have also attributed the responsibility to victim in scenario six that was about extramarital affair of a woman. The interesting thing is that even women in Pakistan approved honour killing under this circumstance. It can be inferred from the findings that women in Pakistan do not endorse honour killing in various scenarios, but infidelity, extramarital affair on the part of women is not accepted and such women are deemed worthy of violence. In Pakistan, infidelity specifically on the part of women is considered morally, ethically, and religiously erroneous. This can be explained on the basis of upbringing which instills the beliefs of sanctity of marital bond in children at a very young age. However, women are specifically taught that they are supposed to continue their marital relation despite any abuse or issues etc. It is not expected from the women to apply for divorce or can develop a liking for someone. Divorce itself is considered as a serious and unlikeable decision on part of women. Therefore, women involved in extramarital affairs because they can't get divorce would be perceived and viewed as characterless and are worthy of any form of violence. Infidelity is considered as seriously immoral act in honour cultures. Even in Western societies, violence against women occurs in the name of crimes of passion on accusation and establishment of infidelity on the part of women. Islamic religion particularly has adopted a serious stance on infidelity on part of women

and men both. However, Pakistani society particularly takes stricter stance on women being involved in extramarital affair. Previous studies have however reported mix findings on attribution of responsibility in scenarios related to adultery. Many researchers have reported that in honour cultures, women themselves endorse violence against them and blame victim and consider it justified that victim deserve violence in cases of both accused infidelity and infidelity. A study conducted in two different cultures Italy and Turkey indicated that Turkish women attributed lesser responsibility to victims in case of adultery (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schmidt, 2014).

The area wise comparisons across all scenarios were also explored. In all the scenarios participants residing in urban settings attributed the responsibilities to the murderers as compared to rural participants. In rural areas patriarchy and patriarchal characteristics are maintained and practiced with more vigour than urban setting. Urban population has disapproved honour killing of women for obtaining divorce, or choosing to marry outside cast and religion. Additionally, urban participants have also disapproved honour killing of young girls for friendship with a man. In contrast to urban population, the people living in rural areas believed that victims were also responsible and that is why they have been treated with violence. In rural setup people are generally living in close communities. Social influence is also greater in these communities. Thus, rural population have generally conservative attitude and have lesser education. Due to conservative mindset, it is instilled in their mind that honour is everything. Thus, violence in the name of honour is justified. Findings in the study also discussed that people living in rural areas are more prone to justify culturally driven mindset through religious justifications; therefore they are more inclined to uphold traditions like honour killing (Sakallı-Uğurlu & Ulu, 2003). Moreover, the attribution of responsibility given to victim by rural participants could be because the cases of honour killing are more recurrent in rural areas, thereby people living in rural communities learn by observing others that in cases where women deviate either by contacting to love marriage or seeking divorce is deemed worthy of killing. In sixth scenario (extra marital affair of women) even urban participants have attributed the responsibility to victim. Thus, it is clear that setting of living does not matter when it comes to extra marital affair or infidelity on part of women. Participants believed that it is being immoral on part of women to surpass the marital bond. All the participants justified the killing of women. Thus, it can be inferred that participants believed that in such circumstances women

must not be forgiven rather treating them with violence is justified. The findings are aligned with the previous literature where rural participants have shown positive attitude towards honour killing (Çalik, Demirbag, Bulut, Demirdag, 2017). Participants living in rural areas hold stricter gender roles for women, thereby both men and women in rural areas ascribe to the traditional values for women especially. The upbringing of both men and women are under the patriarchal narrative, thereby both men and women in rural areas internalised patriarchy and male dominance. It has been learned by them that female sexuality is controlled by men.

The role of family system has also been explored across all the scenarios. Non significant findings are apparent in the results across all scenerios except for scenario six. However, it is evident through percentage distribution across all scenerios that participants living in both joint and nuclear setup have mostly given the attribution of responsibility to murderers in all the scenarios except scenario six. The results of scenario six (extra marital affair of a woman) clearly indicated that although participants from both nuclear and joint family system believed that victim behaviour was responsible and deemed worthy of killing. It is clear that participants from both joint and nuclear family system believed that women who are caught for extramarital affair must be dealt strictly. They agreed with the idea that it was justified for husband to kill a wife who cheats on him.

Findings regarding attribution of responsibility across marital status have been explored as well. Findings indicated significant differences in married and unmarried individuals' opinion regarding the attribution of responsibility towards murderers' in scenarios one, five, six, and seven, whereas, in scenario six more single individuals have attributed the responsibility to victim as compared to married individuals. However, both married and single individuals have given higher percentage to victims in scenario six. Pakistan is a collectivistic and patriarchal society in which married individuals have traditional believes towards women and their wives. Findings of the study also indicated that in Pakistan, 88% of married women are being killed for the sake of honour on accused or alleged extramarital affair. Study further elaborated that almost 43% of murders in the name of honour are committed by husbands. Therefore, married women mostly become the victim of honour killing in Pakistan (Nasrullah, Haqi, & Cummings, 2009). Surveys conducted on Pakistan have also confirmed that 50% of married women in Pakistan are subject to sexual and physical violence by their

husbands (Bhattacharya, 2014). Thus previous statistics regarding Pakistan helps us in understanding that married individuals (specifically husbands) are believed to induce violence on their wives as their legitimate right. Moreover, at the time of marriage in Pakistan young girls are even being taught by their mothers and other members of family that they are supposed to submit to their husband's will at all costs. Thus it can be inferred that married individuals have also instilled conservative beliefs in themselves towards women.

While exploring the age wise comparisons in attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios, it has been identified that younger individuals attributed the responsibility to murderer across all scenarios except scenario six as compared to middle aged and older adults. However, significant differences are reported in scenario one and six. In scenario one younger adults have attributed the responsibility to murderer, while in scenario six majority of the young adults have attributed the responsibility to victim for this violence. Although perception of different age groups have not been explored with reference to honour killing attributions and attitudes. However, the findings of present study would add into the existing literature on honour killing. Various studies have been conducted on young adults. It is quite evident from the findings of previous studies that young individuals also carried traditional and positive attitudes towards honour killing. Similarly, the findings of present study are aligned with the previous literature where young adults in the past have also approved honour killing for extramarital affair. The attribution of responsibility to murderer given by young adults could be because of their education in the recent times. Young and more educated generation are open to modernized concepts, and technological advancements. The previous studies are also aligned with the present findings (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schimdt, 2014). However, even younger adults did not approve women having extramarital affair, and believed her killing in the name of honour as justified. Despite their attribution of blame to the murderer in all scenarios, they believed that extramarital affair, or cheating to husband is not fair rather worthy of killing. In previously conducted studies, students claimed that on account of extramarital affairs women should not be forgiven nor she would be given divorce, rather such women are worthy of killing.

Attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenarios were also explored across individuals with less and high education. It is evident from the findings that

highly educated participants are more likely to attribute murderer in all the scenarios except for scenario six. Education plays an important role in making the mindset of individuals. Thus, it could be a reason that as compared to lower level of education, the individuals with higher level of education believed that honour killing is not justified under any circumstances. Educated people believed that marrying out of own choice, and marriage out of *bradari*, and cast is not an unhonourable act. A study conducted to obtain a perspective of well-educated academicians showed negative attitude towards honour killing (Calik, Demirbag, Bulut, & Demirdag, 2017). As it has already been discussed earlier that education brings awareness and it helps in changing the already prevailing narrative regarding a phenomenon. Education helps and promotes realistic thinking. Despite belonging to honour based and patriarchal culture, it is evident that education does make difference in opinion. However, cheating on part of wife is unacceptable act and people do not believe in leniency towards such women.

The findings of hypotheses testing and objectives indicated that newly developed scales provided sufficient evidence of convergent and discriminant validity. Furthermore, the role of demographics in determining attitude towards honour killing, perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing and other measures have also explored and significant differences have been found among demographic variables scales except for gender. Although literature established sufficient evidence for gender related differences for attitude towards honour killing, but present study did not account for significant differences on gender. The possible reasons have been discussed. Moreover, frequency based analysis provide the culturally rich evidence regarding beliefs and attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenerios.

Conclusion

The study IV confirmed the factor structure of newly developed scales. Moreover, significant group differences were observed among study variables i.e. participants from rural background, living in joint family system, older in age and from low education background showed more support for honour killing whereas, modern gender role attitudes strongly predicted affirmation of honour killing. Furthermore, in frequency based analysis regarding perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing; participants have indicated that they found social and family pressure as the most salient factor that perpetuates honour killing in Pakistan. In addition to this results of frequency distribution analysis of attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenerios revealed

that all the participants across gender, area of residence, family system, and marital status attributed the responsibility to victim in a scenario where women were being killed by husband for extra marital affair.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL DISCUSSION ON SALIENT FINDINGS

The present research was carried out to explore the phenomenon of honour killing, attitudes towards honour killing and to determine its relationship with psychosocial correlates among study participants. Research was completed in three studies by following triangulation technique by using qualitative and quantitative methods. The primary objective of this research was to explore and understand the dynamics and attitudes of honour killing in Pakistani cultural setting for in-depth understanding. The qualitative study was followed by quantitative study based on scales development and their validation and after that inferential statistics were carried out to explore the relationship among newly developed scales with other correlates and to look into the demographic based differences of sample on study variables. The qualitative findings and three different scales developed in the present study was a major contribution of this research to the existing body of knowledge.

The first and primary objective of this study was to explore the nature of existence of honour killing in Pakistani culture through qualitative study. The major findings revealed by professionals in their interviews were revolved around the misconceptualisation of honour construe that how it has made killing in the name of honour a respectable act in the minds of people. They have stressed on the fact that removal of word honour before killing would make much of a difference. They have discussed that the narrative of Pakistani people can only be changed by correct conceptualisation of honour and respect and how it is not making a murder an honourable deed. The findings also revealed that place of women in Pakistani society is still objectionable and concept of women discrimination and male chauvinism is evident in almost all regions and class. Due to patriarchal mindset and approach women have been considered an insignificant creature. Moreover, men in Pakistani society have been brought up under the narrative that women belong to men; they are the honour and respect of their fathers, their brothers and their husbands. Therefore, women are supposed to abide by all those rules and norms set by the male figures in the family and society. Due to the subordination of women, scores of incidents of violence against women in Pakistan are reported in which honour killing is one of them. Various other causal factors associated with honour killing have also been discussed. Lack of

education is also a hurdle in the way of understanding and awareness over this issue. Social pressure of relatives, extended families and neighbors were widely discussed by the participants and considered it a perpetuating source of honour killing in the society. Participants have discussed that taunts and pressure by the family and friends also motivated the family to take extreme step like murder against the girl who wishes to act against the will of the family either by having friendships, love marriage or even to take divorce from their husband; all resulted in their killing in the name of honour. Similarly, the limitations of social institutions had also been discussed and improvements in those institutions were also suggested in order to curb the crime. The role of media has been discussed along with its responsibilities and limitations. The sensationalism, lack of follow-ups, misrepresentation of cases was all the shortcoming of media reported by the participants. The participants believed that media is a great source of building narratives therefore it is important to make responsible reporting along with follow-ups; complete absence of sensationalism should be adopted by the people in media. Subsequently, other institutions like police and justice department also needs to work on their loopholes in order to remove limitations of the institutions.

It has been discussed in the interviews that delayed justice, patriarchal mindset of judiciary and police, and availability of diyat (blood money) in the law are the encouraging for the perpetrators and other men in the society to kill in the name of honour. The loopholes and leniency in the punishment also perpetuate people to kill a woman and man in the name of honour under the carpet of some other issue and sometimes to settle disputes. In addition to it they are exploited by the various other factors such as strong gender discrimination, the perception of society, media portrayal of women and violence against women and perspective of orthodox clergy regarding women in the country.

People confused the stance of Islam and most often punishment has been granted without any authentication. Honour killing has been carried out and justified in the name of religion to date. The findings of the present study have made an effort to remove this misconception regarding honour killing and it's so called association with religion. The legitimacy of honour killing is confused with "*Sangsaar*" (Punishment in Islam for adultery). People who are in favour of honour killing in Pakistan are often unaware of religious perspective. Society at large is unaware of religious perspective,

lack indepth knowledge of Quranic *Ayat*, *Sunnah*, and *Hadith* and often take them or understand them out of context.

The punishment of *Sangsaar* is present in Islam only for those men and women who are caught doing sexual activity outside marriage. Islam also categorically stated that punishment would only be granted after taking the testimony of four witnesses, and when adultery is proved. The character of those witnesses also fulfills the criterias as per Islam. Number of killings in the country have been carried out on false accusations, and for fulfilment of ulterior motives in the name of honour. Moreover, the punishment is for both man and woman. Therefore, the stress has been given by professionals on religious awareness and in-depth knowledge of religion would make a difference in altering attitudes supportive of honour killing.

Mindful parenting also lacks in our society as since young age girls and boys are broughtup under different narratives. Stereotypical gender roles also make men superior to women. Aggression and authoritarian nature has been inculcated among men in our society since very young age. This is also one of the reasons that men discriminate women and believe that they are supposed to take their commands for everything. In the end professionals suggested few recommendations that can be effective and helps in curbing the crime. The professional's perspective helped in understanding the depth of multidimensional factors that perpetuate honour killing in Pakistan. The most significant factor that needs to be understood is the deeply rooted cultural practice, tradition of honour killing, and cultural tolerance towards honour killing instead of religion. It is just unfortunate that though violence against women is present globally, but the presence of violence especially honour killing has been associated with Islam.

In the second study the interviews of murderers were conducted in order to know their perspectives, and beliefs on this issue. Almost all the participants strongly believed that committing a murder of their woman has earned them respect in the society. They also reported that one of the primary motivations behind murder was to avoid taunts and mocking of their relatives and neighbours. Because Pakistan is a collectivistic society where there are close bonds with the relative, extended family and neighbourhood. Therefore, the opinions of people matters a lot to them. The data collected from murderers revealed that all the murderers have reportedly internalised the concept of honour in traditional terms, as Pakistan is a traditional society where

honour is established through women. Murderers, had no indepth religious knowledge, but they did justify their crime in the name of religion. Moreover, they were aware that provision of forgiveness was available in the law. The findings helped in understanding the psyche and factors motivated murderers for this violent act.

All these qualitative findings that revolved around factors associated with honour killing, attitudes and beliefs of perpetrators and professionals and how they perceived and conceptualise this issue would lead to the development of scales. The objective of scale development was to measure attitudes, attribution of responsibility, and perceived perpetuating factors of honour killings. The information collected through qualitative phase was rich and dynamic so it was decided to measure three types of scales. These scales were further confirmed in confirmatory factor analysis. (i) Attitude towards honour killing scale, (ii) Perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale, and (iii) Attribution of responsibility for honour killing scale. The first two scales were likert type whereas attribution of responsibility scale was based on scenarios.

The exploratory factor analysis forced two factor solution as the best solution for attitude towards honour killing scale, whereas, uni-factor solution was turned out to be best for perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale. Attitude towards honour killing scale measured beliefs, emotions and thoughts of individuals towards honour killing. Two factors (attitudes) emerged, affirmation of honour killing and deterrents of honour killing. The perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing scale measures the ercieved salience of the perpetuating factors that are playing their role in accelerating honour killing. The perceived perpetuating factors included social, cultural, economic, lack of education, and lack of *Sharia* knowledge etc. Frequency based analysis gave a clear insight on the causes that are most believed by the particiants as a cause that perpetuates honour killing. Social pressure, lack of awareness and lack of *Sharia* insight were indicated by the particiapnts as the most perceived perpetuating factor of honour killing. As identified in the qualitative findings, maximum number of participant percieved that these various multidimensional factors need to be addressed in order to bring down the scores of honour killing. The attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenario scale would examine the attribution of responsibility individuals would give in different scenarios related to honour killing. It is important

to address that only those stories in the form of scenarios were included in which actual cases were told by the murderers and professionals.

Inferential analyses, regression, t- test, and Anova were carried out to determine group differences. Non-significant gender differences in the study suggested that men and women would not differ in terms of their attitudes, and perceived perpetuating factors in the current sample. However, interestingly, more women than men scored higher on attribution of responsibility in honour killing scenerios. This indicated that in collectively all the scenerios women tend to balme victims, as the victims must have committed an act that was worthy of killing. Thus, women belived that victims deserved this punishment. Most of the participants included in the data fall between young adult age group and the sample is mostly well educated. It can be assumed that this is the reason that the attitude of the majority of the population do not carry positive or affirmative attitude towards honour killing. The findings of the current sample identified that people belonging to rural class, married individuals and those who lived in joint family system approved honour killing as compared to their counterparts. The significant differences in the attitudes and beliefs of rural participants as compared to urban people might be because that still in rural areas of Pakistani people are less educated and have less awareness. In fact rural people have more patriarchal mindset because of their lack of exposure towards advancement. They still keep rigid mindset. Whenever, women go against those set patterns they have to meet the worst of consequences such as honour killing. Marital status wise differences were also clear in the data. Married people showed more affirmative attitudes towards honour killing than unmarried people, and single people tend to perceived salience of these perpetuating factors leading towards honour killing. It can be assumed from the findings that in collectivistic cultures, the husbands expect loyalty from their wives and never expect them to be involved in infidelity, extra marital affair and seeking for divorce. Therefore, there is an added responsibility and external pressure on married couples to ensure and uphold honour. The current study also revealed that participants living in nuclear family system do not approved of honour killing as compared to people living in joint family system. It can be assumed from the findings that in Pakistani society people living in joint families have to face more pressure than people living just with their immediate families.

Educational and age-related differences were also explored, and significant differences can be seen in the results. Although it is important to mention that majority of the participants belonged to young age group and mostly are well qualified. However, the hypotheses have been approved and younger people and more educated people have shown deterrence towards honour killing than their less educated and older counterparts. One possible explanation could be that education does bring awareness and broaden the scope of people. Age related differences were also found to be significant. It can be assumed that younger people are more exposed to technology and other advancements which may have broaden their horizon as compared to older people who are stuck to their old ideas and beliefs. Socio-cultural and economic advancement and modernisation have resulted in some degree of emancipation amongst younger population.

Finally, findings based on the regression analyses also revealed that modern gender role attitudes are strongest negative predictor for affirmation of honour killing. Thus, it confirms that modern mindset can actually deter honour killing. The acceptance of women in different role other than just being a housewife can actually show tolerance towards women. People having modern gender roles would certainly regard the choices made by women for their personal and professional lives.

The frequency based analysis of perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing, and attribution of responsibility for honour killing scenarios have also been furnished. The findings of the study indicated the role of demographics in attribution of responsibility. Different scenarios were given to participants to explore their attribution of responsibility for honour killing across cases. Scenarios differed in their nature, such as scenarios pertaining to love marriage, premarital affair, extra marital affair, friendship bond outside marriage, will of marriage outside caste and religion have been included in the scenario based scale. Moreover, in all the scenarios murderers differ in terms of relation with the victim as well. For example father, mother, brother, uncle, brother in law and husband. A deliberate effort has been made to include scenarios of different nature, so that a comprehensive picture could be taken. Particularly scenario six is a scenario in which almost all the groups attributed the responsibility to victims. The findings on scenario six are according to the expectations. The findings have been discussed in the light of Pakistani cultural mindset and traditions.

The frequency based analysis on perceived perpetuating factors of honour killing further established that social pressure, influence of family and relatives, and lack of awareness about honour killing phenomenon is said to be the most recurrent causative factor that perpetuates honour killing in Pakistan as indicated by the participants.

Conclusion

The present study was carried out to explore attitudes and factors associated with honour killing and attribution of responsibility for honour killing. Broadly, four studies have been carried out in the present research to meet various objectives and hypotheses. Qualitative studies were based on interviews with professionals and murderers. The findings of the qualitative study indicated indigenous factors that play a huge role in the existence of honour killing. Qualitative findings and literature have indicated that public attitudes and responses regarding honour killing reflect these norms and play an important role in shaping the social climate in which the violence occurs. The information emerging through interviews was further used for scale development on attitudes, beliefs, and attribution of responsibility. Moreover, in the next study scales have been confirmed through confirmatory factor analysis. Inferential analysis and frequency based analysis revealed significant differences between study variables and demographics.

The qualitative study, as well as development and validation of scales measuring honour killing phenomenon is a step forward in the study of honour killing in Pakistan. It does allow researchers to extend knowledge about their conceptualisation, measurement, prevalence, and the social and cultural factors that may influence these attitudes in order to improve prevention and intervention strategies. Addressing attitudes towards violence related researches is becoming a central issue in research and population surveys and, in this regard all three measures developed in this research are psychometrically sound instruments to fill the gap.

Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Study

Killing in the pretext of honour irrespective of perceived morality and family respect is unacceptable and unjustifiable. In the context of this rationale the present research examined its causal factors and therefore based on the indigenous findings understands the phenomenon of honour killing in Pakistani context. The study provides

number of theoretical and practical contributions to curb this issue. Additionally, to the best of researcher's knowledge, the current research is among very few researches that investigated in depth phenomenon of honour killing both qualitatively and quantitatively in context of Pakistan. Therefore, the present research contributes in the theoretical understanding of honour killing phenomenon in Pakistan as well as in cultures similar to Pakistan. Furthermore, very few scales are available to assess attitudes towards honour killing and present research made an effort to provide indigenous and valid instrument to measure attitude as well as causes and beliefs towards honour killing. This scale could be useful for other honour based cultures to measure attitudes and beliefs of people.

This in-depth information regarding honour killing attitudes, limitations of institutions, structural issues, myths, and its mis-conceptions could be further utilised to understand the causal factors associated with other forms of violence against women in Pakistan. The present research further adds to the limited empirical literature of violence against women (specifically honour killing) in Pakistan where this issues needs an immediate attention due to influx of honour killing cases.

Grounded theory analysis in qualitative study attempted to provide a theoretical model to understand honour killing in developing countries (particularly South East Asian and Muslim majority countries). To the best of researcher's knowledge, this theoretical model is first of its kind to understand the phenomenon of honour killing in Pakistan. Moreover, present study has proposed conclusive model of honour killing by employing the principles of grounded theory. The model aids the understanding of honour killing and can help eliminating the misperceptions associated with this phenomenon globally. Moreover, in future research the proposed model could be test through model testing, and can test in various other similar cultures to verify authenticity of honour killing model based on grounded theory. Considering this, it is imperative to conclude that the findings of the present research adds immensely in the scant literature of honour killing and hence is useful in designing and devising intervention plans and policies to curb this issue in Pakistan.

The present study has highlighted that both individual and institutional factors are contributing in the existence of honour killing in Pakistan. Therefore, the findings of the present study indicated the need to take immediate measures to tackle this issue both at individual and institutional level. For example the mindset of individuals,

educating the masses regarding illegitimacy of honour killing and attitudinal change awareness programs that could help in curbing this crime.

As study I of the present research has highlighted that patriarchy is infused in Pakistani culture. Hence, keeping in mind these findings, effort could be made to eradicate honour killing in particular and violence against women in general from Pakistani society. Therefore, it is imperative to design programs that could help in mitigating the hostility and issues related to patriarchy in the country, for instance, awareness regarding rights given to women in Islam and treatment towards women according to Islam. The current findings also have applied value and could guide practice efforts in combating perpetrators supportive attitudes related to honour killing that endorses the use of violence as a means of maintaining family honour.

Honour killings phenomenon and its influx in Pakistan (with reference to the findings of the qualitative part of the study) could be helpful in spreading the education and awareness of Islamic laws and regulation regarding the punishment of immoral acts. It is imperative to make the people (belonging to Islamic religion and honour based cultures) understand the guidelines of giving the punishments on adultery or immoral acts; educating them that an “individual” has no right of deciding the punishment of any immoral act rather it follows a proper course of law. The present study indicated the need of coherent messages against honour killings that must be delivered and discussed by religious council of Pakistan.

Literature and findings of the study further establish a pressing need for attitudinal change programs in collectivist societies like Pakistan where honour culture prevails. Both qualitative and quantitative studies of the current research indicate the importance of this attitudinal change among professionals including police officers, social activists, psychologists, and lawyers in safeguarding people specially women against violence. Therefore, effort could be made to utilise the indigenous scales of the present research to measure the attitude of professionals so that awareness, educational programs on honour killings could be designed. The findings of the study foster the need of attitudinal change among educated individuals and those living in rural areas. These indigenous findings are of paramount importance as they provide an insight to the multitude of factors responsible for the influx of honour killing cases in Pakistan. In the light of the current findings the present research could provide a basic tool to examine attitudes and beliefs regarding honour killings that further helps in formulating

policies to curb killings in the name of honour. Furthermore, long-term educational program could be designed to offer educational workshops and courses could be offered to people from different facets of life.

These finding further furnish the importance of training programs particularly for emergency welfare services to increase the awareness of these professionals. As these professionals are the first line contact for honour abused victims / survivors and their families. As a training and awareness program called “*Sharf heroses*” was launched by Sweden government to tackle the honour killing cases in Muslim families. *Sharaf* means honour in Arabic and the program focused on the behavior of young men. It is an attitude change intervention based program. The program aimed to reclaim the honour. The training program was initiated to change the mindset of individuals, as the belief of the program was that attitudes and behaviours of people are also influenced by their closerbys. Therefore, changing a mindset and bringing awareness in certain men could also lead them to influence men in their families and friends. With the help of the findings of the present study, similar kind of programs can be designed for Pakistani population. Awareness and attitude intervention program would help in changing the strong patriarchal narrative of Pakistani men.

Hence, the attitudes of professionals are of paramount importance and these trainings could enhance the sensitivity of the issue irrespective of gender and their cultural beliefs about honour crimes. Moreover, the findings of the present study indicated that important measures and decisive actions taken by the criminal justice system is the need of the hour. The study laid the importance of number of execution of honour killers and strict punishments against honour crimes would discourage favourable attitudes of people towards honour killings.

These contributions could also be helpful in curbing this issue in cultures similar to Pakistan and could further clarify the misconception related to honour killing. The study further made an effort to provide an insight to the Western communities to understand the causes behind honour killing persistent in the immigrant communities residing in the west. With the help of the findings western communities specifically would be able to understand the mindset behind the prevalence honour killing. By understanding the real factors perpetuating honour killing, western communities could devise policies and intervention plans for the immigrants residing in their countries.

Limitations and Suggestions

Like any empirical research the present research work is not without limitations. The present study has some strengths and weaknesses:-

- 1- The sample of the study was not equally distributed across different demographic variables.
- 2- Less number of interviews have been taken of perpetrators. Formal interviews of victims (survivors) and victims' families are also lacking in the present study. Therefore, formal interviews with proper ethical protocol should be ascertained in the future researches.
- 3- Interviews of *ulemas* (religious scholars) belonging to different religious sect has not been ascertained in the present research. Therefore future researches should cater the perspective of orthodox *ulemas* and *ulemas* belonging to different religious groups, so that the contrast in opinion can be further analysed.
- 4- The data was not representative of all regions/provinces of Pakistan; therefore, the findings can not be generalized to the whole population. Future studies should recruit representative samples across all provinces.
- 5- The data in the current study was only collected from federal and one province of Pakistan. The ethnic differences in the attitudes of people should also be looked in with more detail in future studies.
- 6- The sample was not equally divided across gender groups. Future studies must create a gender balance, thus accounting for the possible clear significant differences between attitudes of both genders.
- 7- The sample was not equally divided across different age groups. The sample of present study is dominant with younger population. It would be useful if future studies recruited more sample of middle age and older population. Therefore, the possible differences in the attitudes between generations must be accounted in the future research.
- 8- The present study also lacks group differences across profession. Future studies should make an effort to determine the attitudes of police officials, judges, psychologists, journalists, and religious scholars on a wider scale.
- 9- In future studies the differences in the attitudes and beliefs should also be catered according to socioeconomic status because it may influence the perception of people. The participants in the present study belonged to diverse

socioeconomic backgrounds, but the analysis was not carried out on this demographic in the present study because very few individuals have reported their monthly income.

- 10- Factor analysis and construct validation was not done for attribution of responsibility for honour killing scenario scale. However, in future construct validation of the scale must be carried out to furnish its psychometric properties.
- 11- The degree of religiosity among the participants should also be explored by using more comprehensive measures such as frequency of prayer, number of visits to mosques, number of events attended related to religious sermons etc. Moreover, prediction of attitudes and beliefs of honour killing must be ascertained through intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity in future result as it would give more rich findings.
- 12- The social desirability bias was also not controlled in the current study and it should also be focused in the future studies by using suitable measures of social desirability.
- 13- Future studies should also recruit and administer this scale on murderers. The present study also recruited small sample of murderers from the jail, mainly because in Pakistan it is difficult to obtain data from jails. However, future studies should recruit extensive number of honour murderers.
- 14- The present study lacks psychosocial risk and protective factors associated with honour killing focussed on cultural, religious, legal factors and attitudes. Therefore, future researches must ascertain factors other than these. Psychological perspective such as aggression and personality factors which may influence the development of favorable attitudes must be explored. Psychological factors that may discourage the use of violence in the name of honour could be explored in the future researches as well.
- 15- Future studies must ascertain the personality profiling of murderers in order to gain in-depth understanding about their criminal behavior.

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ANNEXURES**Annexure A****Interview Guide for Professionals**

1. What do you understand by the term Honour Killing (HK)?
2. What do you understand by the phenomenon of honour killing?
3. Would you justify HK in any circumstances?
4. Do you believe HK stems out of our own social structure?
5. Why does Honour matters a lot in our society?
6. What is your insight about the attitudes and beliefs regarding HK?
7. What do you believe about the other precipitating / perpetuating factors behind HK in our society? How can these factors help eliminate the issue?
8. What is your opinion about the present law in context of HK?
9. What possible alterations we need to refine the current law?
10. In your opinion, what are the loopholes that still persists in Pakistan's legal system?
11. Do you believe that law on this crime provides flexibilities to the perpetrators?
If yes, then how?
12. How do you see the role of media in reporting of HK cases / crimes?
13. How do you see the role and tolerance of religious institution towards HK?
14. Do you think religious ulemas / scholars have played role in either perpetuating or preventing this issue?
15. In your point of view, why HK are committed under the name of religion
16. In your opinion, how society can come together to prevent HK?

Annexure B**Interview Guide for Murderers**

1. Can you explain what made you murder your wife/ daughter/ sister?
2. How do you think victim has violated the honour code?
3. What do you understand by honour?
4. How do you think that victim's behavior was inappropriate? How it was a threat to your family?
5. Have your family supported you in this process? How did you confess the crime to authorities?
6. Did you have any prior communication with the victim before committed murder?
7. How do you justify your act? Are you convinced that you have done the right thing?
8. What pressures you have faced by the society (family, relatives, and neighbors) when your loved one had disobeyed norms?
9. Do you believe that religion justifies murder in the name of honour?
10. What did you know about the forgiveness element available in the law on honour killing crimes?
11. How do you feel after the murder? Have you ever felt that you miss your loved ones?

Annexure C

Informed Consent (Professionals' Interview)

Informed Consent for Study I

میں قومی ادارہ نفسیات قائد اعظم یونیورسٹی میں پئی ایچ ڈی کی طالب ہوں۔ میں ایک تحقیق کر رہی ہوں جبکہ مقصد پاکستانی معاشرے میں لوگوں کا غیرت کے کام پر ہونے والے قتل کے واقعات کے بارے میں رائے جانتا ہے۔

ایک معاشرے میں رہتے ہوئے ہم دوسرے لوگوں کے رویے سے متعلق ایک رائے قائم کر لیتے ہیں جو کہ ہماری ذاتی سوچ، احساسات، اور جذبات کی عکاسی کرتی ہیں۔ میری اس تحقیق کا مقصد ہمارے معاشرے میں غیرت کے کام پر قتل کی وجوہات، معاشرے میں مردوں اور گوتوں کے کام اور ان کے رویوں پر آپ کی رائے جانتا ہے۔ معاشرے میں موجود روایات کو سمجھنے کے لیے یہ تحقیق کی جا رہی ہے۔ آپ کی رائے اس تحقیق کے لیے بہت اہمیت کی حامل ہے اس لیے آپ سے گزارش ہے کہ سوالات کا جواب اپنی ذاتی رائے اور تجربے کے مطابق دیں۔

آپ کو اس بات کی یقین دہانی کرائی جاتی ہے کہ آپ کو کوئی ہرجا نہیں ہوگا اور وہ معلومات صرف تحقیق مقصد کے لیے استعمال کی جائیں گی، انہیں میڈیا میں رکھا جائے گا اور کسی اور مقصد کے لیے استعمال نہیں کیا جائے گا۔ اگر آپ اس تحقیق کا حصہ بننا چاہتے ہیں تو نیچے دی ہوئی جگہ پر اپنے دستخط کر دیں۔

دستخط: _____

Annexure D

Informed Consent (Murderers' Interview)

Informed Consent for Study II

مس قومی ادارہ نفسیات قائد اعظم یونیورسٹی میں پناہ گزینوں کی طالبہ ہوں۔ میں ایک تحقیق کر رہی ہوں جس کا مقصد پاکستانی معاشرے میں لوگوں کا غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل کے واقعات کے بارے میں رائے جانتا ہے۔ اس تحقیق کا مقصد غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے والے مجرموں کی رائے جانتا ہے اور متحول سے متعلق ان عوامل کو زیر بحث لانا ہے جنہوں نے انہیں قتل جیسے بڑے فیصلے پر مجبور کیا۔ علاوہ ازیں جرم سے متعلق ذاتی خاندانی اور معاشرتی رویے کے مطابق جانتا ہے۔ آپ کو اس بات کی یقین دہانی کرائی جاتی ہے کہ آپ کو کوئی ہرجا نہیں کر رہا ہے اور وہ معلومات صرف تحقیق مقصد کے لیے استعمال کی جائیں گی، انہیں میڈیا میں رکھا جائے گا اور کسی اور مقصد کے لیے استعمال نہیں کیا جائے گا۔ اگر آپ اس تحقیق کا حصہ بننا چاہتے ہیں تو نیچے دی ہوئی جگہ پر اپنے دستخط کر دیں۔

دستخط: _____

Informed Consent (Study III and IV)

Informed Consent

میں قومی ادارہ نفسیات قائد اعظم یونیورسٹی میں پی ایچ ڈی کی طالب ہوں۔ میں ایک تحقیق کر رہی ہوں جس کا مقصد پاکستانی معاشرے میں لوگوں کا غیرت کے کام پر ہونے والے عمل کے واقعات کے بارے میں رائے جاننا ہے۔

ایک معاشرے میں رہتے ہوئے ہم دوسرے لوگوں کے رویے سے متعلق ایک رائے قائم کر لیتے ہیں جو کہ ہماری ذاتی سوچ، احساسات، اور جذبات کی عکاسی کرتی ہیں۔ میری اس تحقیق کا مقصد ہمارے معاشرے میں غیرت کے کام پر عمل کی وجوہات، معاشرے میں مردوں اور عورتوں کے کام اور ان کے رویوں پر آپ کی رائے جاننا ہے۔ معاشرے میں موجود روایات کو سمجھنے کے لیے یہ تحقیق کی جا رہی ہے۔ آپ کی رائے اس تحقیق کے لیے بہت اہمیت کی حامل ہے اس لیے آپ سے گزارش ہے کہ ہوائنامے میں موجود سوالات کا جواب اپنی ذاتی رائے کے مطابق دیں۔ ان تمام سوالات کے جوابات کا کوئی بھی جواب درست یا غلط نہیں ہے اس لیے آپ سے گزارش ہے کہ جواب دیتے ہوئے اپنی ذاتی رائے کو مد نظر رکھیں۔

آپ کی اس بات کی یقین دہانی کرائی جاتی ہے کہ آپ کی ہر کردہ معلومات صرف تحقیقی مقصد کے لیے استعمال کی جائیں گی، انہیں میڈیا یا دیگر مقاصد کے لیے استعمال نہیں کیا جائے گا۔ اگر آپ اس تحقیق کا حصہ بننا چاہتے ہیں تو نیچے دی ہوئی جگہ پر اپنے دستخط کریں۔

دستخط: _____

سحبہ پوٹی

پروفیسر ڈاکٹر انیل کمال

قومی ادارہ نفسیات قائد اعظم یونیورسٹی اسلام آباد۔

رابطہ نمبر:

Annexure F

Demographic Sheet (Urdu)

ذاتی کوائف

نام: (Optional) _____ عمر: _____
 جنس: مرد / عورت _____ مذہب: _____ مذہبی فرقہ: _____
 تعلیم: _____ خاندانی نظام: مخلوط / nuclear / مشترکہ-joint
 پیشہ: _____ ماہانہ آمدن: _____
 والدین کی تعلیمی قابلیت: _____ والد: _____ والدہ: _____
 والدین کا پیشہ: _____ والد: _____ والدہ: _____
 بہن بھائیوں کی تعداد: _____ بہن: _____ بھائی: _____
 گھر میں رہنے والے افراد کی تعداد (آپ کو شامل کر کے): _____
 آپ کی ازدواجی حیثیت: شادی شدہ / غیر شادی شدہ / مطلقہ / بیوہ / رتدوا
 آپ کی شریک حیات کی تعلیم: _____
 آپ کی شریک حیات کا پیشہ: _____
 اگر شادی شدہ ہیں تو بچوں کی تعداد: _____ بیٹے: _____ بیٹی: _____
 رہائشی علاقہ: دیہی / شہری۔
 کیا آپ ملازمت کرتے / کرتی ہیں؟ ہاں / نہیں
 اگر ہاں تو: (1) پیشہ: _____ (2) ملازمت کرنے کا عرصہ: _____

Annexure G

Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing Scenarios (Urdu)

مندرجہ ذیل خاکے غیرت کے نام پر قتل کے حقیقی واقعات پر مبنی ہیں۔ ان واقعات میں جو ذمہ دار ہے ، دائرہ لگا کر نشاندہی کریں۔

واقعہ نمبر ۱

ایک دیہی علاقے کی شادی شدہ عورت اپنی پسند سے شادی کرنے کے لیے اپنے شوہر سے طلاق لیتی ہے جس پر اسکے گھروالوں سے جھکاتے ہیں کیونکہ ان کو لوگوں کے طعنے سنتے پڑتے ہیں۔ اپنے ماں باپ کے ڈر کی وجہ سے وہ عورت عدالت سے اپنی جان کی امان کی درخواست کرتی ہے۔ عدالتی پناہ کے دوران اسکی ماں ملاقات کے لیے اسکے پاس آتی ہے اور اسی ملاقات کے دوران ماں اپنے باڈی گارڈ کی بندوبست سے اپنی بیٹی کو غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرواتی ہے۔

آپکے خیال میں مندرجہ بالا واقعہ میں ذمہ دار کون ہے:

۱۔ ماں ۲۔ بیٹی ۳۔ دونوں

واقعہ نمبر ۲

باپ کو پتہ چلتا ہے کہ اس کے گھر کی بیٹی کے ایک غیر برادری کے لڑکے کے ساتھ تعلقات ہیں۔ خاندان میں یہ بات پھیلنے اور بدنامی کے ڈر سے باپ بیٹی کو قتل کرواتا ہے۔

آپکے خیال میں مندرجہ بالا واقعہ میں ذمہ دار کون ہے:

۱۔ باپ ۲۔ بیٹی ۳۔ دونوں

واقعہ نمبر ۳

ایک لڑکی اپنی تصاویر اور ویڈیو جو کہ ایک مذہبی شخصیت کے ساتھ ہیں سوشل میڈیا پر شائع کرتی ہے جس پر وہ لوگوں کی شدید تنقید کا نشانہ بنتی ہے جس کے نتیجے میں اس کا بھائی غصے میں آکر اسے قتل کرواتا ہے۔

آپکے خیال میں مندرجہ بالا واقعہ میں ذمہ دار کون ہے:

۱۔ بھائی ۲۔ بہن ۳۔ دونوں

واقعہ نمبر ۴

دونوں عمر لڑکیوں کی موبائل فون اور انٹرنیٹ پر (لڑکوں سے) دوستی کا علم ان کے بھائی کو ہوتا ہے۔ غیرت کے احساس میں آکر بھائی دونوں بہنوں کو سخت تعلقین کرتا ہے مگر بہنوں کے

اس فعل کو جاری رکھنے پر بھائی ان کو غصے میں آکر قتل کرواتا ہے۔

آپکے خیال میں مندرجہ بالا واقعہ میں ذمہ دار کون ہے:

۱۔ بھائی ۲۔ بہنیں ۳۔ دونوں

واقعہ نمبر ۵

ایک گاؤں میں مسجد کی دیکھ بھال کرنے والے شخص کو گاؤں کے لوگ اس کی بیوی بھانجھی کے کسی غیر مرد کے ساتھ تعلقات کے بارے میں آگاہ کرتے ہیں۔ اپنی بھانجھی کو ایک روز کسی غیر مرد کے ساتھ بات کرتے دیکھ کر اس کا شک منسوب ہو جاتا ہے جسکی بنا پر وہ اپنی بھانجھی کا قتل کر کے لاش کھیت میں پھینک دیتا ہے

آپکے خیال میں مندرجہ بالا واقعہ میں ذمہ دار کون ہے:

۱۔ دیور ۲۔ بھانجھی ۳۔ دونوں

واقعہ نمبر ۶

ایک شخص کو اپنی بیوی اور اسکے عاشق کے درمیان تعلق کا علم ہوتا ہے۔ اسکی بیوی کو اکثر گھر سے باہر رہنے پر سچے اور شوہر روکتے ہیں لیکن بچوں اور شوہر کے سمجھانے کے باوجود یہ سلسلہ جاری رہتا ہے اور ایک دن شوہر دونوں کو پارک میں ایک ساتھ بیٹھے دیکھ کر دونوں کو کھانسی سے قتل کرواتا ہے۔

آپکے خیال میں مندرجہ بالا واقعہ میں ذمہ دار کون ہے:

۱۔ شوہر ۲۔ بیوی ۳۔ دونوں

واقعہ نمبر ۷

ایک نوجوان اپنی بہن کی ایک غیر مذہب کے لڑکے سے دوستی، تعلقات اور پسند کی شادی کرنے کی شدت پر طیش میں آجاتا ہے اور اپنی بہن اور لڑکے دونوں کا قتل کرواتا

ہے۔

آپکے خیال میں مندرجہ بالا واقعہ میں ذمہ دار کون ہے:

۱۔ بھائی ۲۔ بہن ۳۔ دونوں

Annexure H**Attribution of Responsibility in Honour Killing Scenarios (English)****Instructions:**

Following scenarios are based on real incidents of honour killing. Whoever is responsible (in your opinion) in these scenarios, indicate by encircling it.

Incident # 1

A married woman from a rural background takes divorce from her first husband to get married to another man of her choice. on account of this her family threatens her because they have to face taunts from the society. She requests the court for the protection of her life because of the fear of her parents. During the judicial protection, her mother visits her and during the same meeting the mother kills her daughter in the name of honor with a gun of her bodyguard.

In your opinion who is more responsible in the above mentioned incident.

- a) Mother b) Daughter c) Both

Incident # 2

A father gets to know that his daughter has relations with a man/boy of another caste. Fearing the spread of this news and subsequent humiliation, he murders the daughter.

In your opinion who is more responsible in the above mentioned incident.

- a) Father b) Daughter c) Both

Incident # 3

A girl shares her photos and videos taken with a religious personality on social media for which she becomes the subject of people's severe criticism. As a result, her brother kills her, out of rage.

In your opinion who is more responsible in the above mentioned incident.

- a) Brother b) Sister c) Both

Incident # 4

A brother finds out about his two young sisters' friendship (with boys) made over internet and on mobile phones. For the sake of honor, he strictly warns his sisters. On continuation of this act, the brother kill both sisters, out of rage.

In your opinion who is more responsible in the above mentioned incident.

- a) Brother b) Sisters c) Both

Incident # 5

A custodian of a mosque in a village was informed by the villagers about his widowed sister-in-law's relations with a man. His doubts strengthen after seeing his sister in

law talking to a man. On the basis of this and he kills his sister in law and throws her body in the fields.

In your opinion who is more responsible in the above mentioned incident.

- a) Brother-in-law b) Sister-in-law c) Both

Incident # 6

A man comes to know about the relation of his wife and her lover. Children and husband stops her often from stay out of home. But irrespective of children and husband's advice this act goes on and One day the after seeing them in a park sitting together, the husband kills them with an axe.

In your opinion who is more responsible in the above mentioned incident.

- a) Husband b) Wife c) Both

Incident # 7

A young man feels infuriated by his sister's friendship, relationship and insistence on marrying a boy of another religion. He kills both his sister and the boy.

In your opinion who is more responsible in the above mentioned incident.

- Brother b) Sister c) Both

Annexure I

Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS; Urdu)

مندرجہ ذیل سوالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل سے متعلق آپ کے جذبات، سوچ، اور عملی طور پر یہ سے آگاہی پہنچی ہیں۔ کوئی بھی جواب صحیح یا غلط نہیں ہے۔ اس لیے آپ جس حد تک ان تمام سوالات سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں 1 سے لے کر 5 تک کے ہندسوں پر نشان لگا کر وضاحت کریں۔

۱۔ بالکل غیر متفق ۲۔ غیر متفق ۳۔ غیر جانبدار ۴۔ متفق ۵۔ بالکل متفق

نمبر شمار	بیانات	بالکل غیر متفق	غیر متفق	غیر جانبدار	متفق	بالکل متفق
۱	قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر کوئی سزا نہیں ہونی چاہئے۔					
۲	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں قانون کو صلہ رحمی سے کام لینا چاہئے۔					
۳	ریاستی قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر سزا نہ ہونا اور لوگوں کی حوصلہ افزائی کرتا ہے۔					
۴	لڑکی کا غیر برادری میں پسند کی شادی کرنے پر غیرت کے نام پر قتل ہونا بنتا ہے۔					
۵	خاندان اور برادری کا دباؤ اور تشدد لڑکی کی عزت اور جان سے بڑھ کر ہے۔					
۶	شرعی قانون میں گھر کے افراد کو غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی سزا ملنی چاہیے۔					
۷	ریاستی قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل پر قاتل کو اعدام قتل کی ہی سزا ہونی چاہئے۔					
۸	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی FIR درج نہیں ہونی چاہئے۔					
۹	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں قاتل کو، خواہ وہ گھر کے فرد ہوں، معافی کی گنجائش نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔					
۱۰	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں پختہ پختہ کا قاتل کو مکمل طور پر بری کر دینا بالکل صحیح فیصلہ ہوتا ہے۔					
۱۱	میڈیا میں عورت کو کمزور دکھانے سے معاشرے کے مردوں کا عقولوں کی طرف امتیازی سلوک بڑھتا ہوا ہے۔					
۱۲	غیرت کے نام پر قتل جیسی سستی چیز جڑوں سے معاشرے میں تشدد اور اشتعال انگیزی کو فروغ دیتا ہے۔					
۱۳	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کے فیصلے ریاستی قانون کی بجائے ڈیرے اور پتھروں پر عمل کرنے چاہئیں۔					
۱۴	کسی بھی غیر شرعی حرکت کا ارتکاب کرنے والوں سے نمٹنے کا واحد طریقہ قتل ہی ہے۔					
۱۵	لوگوں کا غیرت کے نام پر قتل کو جائز فیصلہ قرار دینا صحیح ہے۔					
۱۶	پولیس کا غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے والے مرد حضرات کے ساتھ رویہ ہمدردانہ ہونا چاہیے۔					
۱۷	جو خواتین معاشرتی طور پر بقیوں سے انحراف کرتی ہیں انہیں سزا ملنی چاہیے۔					

Annexure J

Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (ATHKS; English)

Below mentioned questions are based upon your awareness regarding your feelings, thoughts and actions towards honor killing. There is no right and wrong answer to these questions therefore, indicate your degree of agreement by marking on the scale of 1 to 5

1. Strongly disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral 4. Agree 5. Strongly agree

	Item statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	There should be no punishment for honour killing in the law					
2	Law should be relaxed towards killings in the name of honour					
3	Lack of punishment on honour killing in the state law encourages people towards it.					
4	Honour killing of that girl is justified who had love marriage outside her cast					
5	Societal and family pressure is far more important than the life of a girl					
6	According to shariah law, family members must get punishment for honour killing.					
7	As per state law killing in the name of honour should be punished same like any other murder					
8	FIR should not be registered for HK cases					
9	In case of honour killing a murder should not be given advantage of forgiveness despite of being a family member					
10	Parallel judicial system (Punchayat) is absolutely right to completely acquit the perpetrator					

11	Media portrayal of women as weak, reinforces discriminatory behaviour of men towards them.					
12	Sensational news about honour killing provokes extremism and violence in the society.					
13	The cases of honour killing should be decided under parallel judicial system instead of state laws					
14	Killing is the only way to deal with anyone who acts against (shariah) Islamic law.					
15	Its ok to consider honour killing a justified act by people					
16	Police should be empathetic towards perpetrator of honour killing					
17	Women who deviate from prescribed social norms must be punished.					

Affirmation of Honour Killing Scale: 01, 02, 04, 05, 08, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17

Deterrents of Honour Killing Scale: 03, 06, 07, 09, 11, 12

Annexure K

Affirmation of Honour Killing Scale (AHKS)

مندرجہ ذیل سوالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل سے متعلق آپ کے جذبات، سوچ، اور عملی طور پر یہ سے آگاہی پہنچی ہیں۔ کوئی بھی جواب صحیح یا غلط نہیں ہے۔ اس لیے آپ جس حد تک ان تمام سوالات سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں 1 سے لے کر 5 تک کے ہندسوں پر نشان لگا کر وضاحت کریں۔

۱۔ بالکل غیر متفق ۲۔ غیر متفق ۳۔ غیر جانبدار ۴۔ متفق ۵۔ بالکل متفق

نمبر شمار	بیانات	بالکل غیر متفق	غیر متفق	غیر جانبدار	متفق	بالکل متفق
۱	قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر کوئی سزا نہیں ہونی چاہئے۔					
۲	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں قانون کو صلہ رحمی سے کام لینا چاہئے۔					
۳	لوہی کا غیر برادری میں پسند کی شادی کرنے پر غیرت کے نام پر قتل ہونا ہوتا ہے۔					
۴	خاندان اور برادری کا دباؤ اور تشدد کی کمی عزت اور جان سے بڑھ کر ہے۔					
۵	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی FIR درج نہیں ہونی چاہئے۔					
۶	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں پتھاریت کا قاتل کو مکمل طور پر بری کر دینا بالکل صحیح فیصلہ ہوتا ہے۔					
۷	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کے فیصلے ریاستی قانون کی بجائے ڈیرے اور پتھاریتوں پر حل کرنے چاہئیں۔					
۸	کسی بھی غیر شرعی حرکت کا ارتکاب کرنے والوں سے غصے کا واحد طریقہ قتل ہی ہے۔					
۹	لوگوں کا غیرت کے نام پر قتل کو جائز قرار دینا صحیح ہے۔					
۱۰	پولیس کا غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے والے مرد حضرات کے ساتھ رویہ ہمدردانہ ہونا چاہئے۔					
۱۱	جو خواتین معاشرتی طور پر بھاریوں سے انحراف کرتی ہیں انہیں سزا ملنی چاہئے۔					

Annexure L

Deterrence of Honour Killing Scale (DHKS)

مندرجہ ذیل سوالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل سے متعلق آپ کے جذبات، سوچ، اور عملی طور پر یہ سے آگاہی پر مبنی ہیں۔ کوئی بھی جواب صحیح یا غلط نہیں ہے۔ اس لیے آپ جس حد تک ان تمام سوالات سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں 1 سے لے کر 5 تک کے ہندسوں پر نشان لگا کر وضاحت کریں۔

۱۔ بالکل غیر متفق ۲۔ غیر متفق ۳۔ غیر جانبدار ۴۔ متفق ۵۔ بالکل متفق

نمبر شمار	بیانات	بالکل غیر متفق	غیر متفق	غیر جانبدار	متفق	بالکل متفق
۱	ریاستی قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر سزا نہ ہونا اور لوگوں کی حوصلہ افزائی کرتا ہے۔					
۲	شرعی قانون میں گھر کے افراد کو غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی سزا ملنی چاہیے۔					
۳	ریاستی قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل پر قاتل کو اعدام قتل کی ہی سزا ہونی چاہیے۔					
۴	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں قاتل کو بخوابا اور گھر کے فرزندوں، معافی کی گنجائش نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔					
۵	میڈیا میں عورت کو کزور دکھانے سے معاشرے کے مردوں کا عقائدوں کی طرف امتیازی سلوک پختہ ہو جاتا ہے۔					
۶	غیرت کے نام پر قتل جیسی سنگین خیر خیروں سے معاشرے میں تشدد اور اشتعال انگیزی کی فروغ دیتا ہے۔					

Annexure M

Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (Urdu)

مندرجہ ذیل سوالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل سے متعلق آپ کے جذبات، سوچ، اور عملی طور پر یہ سے آگاہی پر مبنی ہیں۔ کوئی بھی جواب صحیح یا غلط نہیں ہے اس لیے آپ جس حد تک ان تمام سوالات سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں 1 سے لے کر 5 تک کے ہندسوں پر نشان لگا کر وضاحت کریں۔

۱۔ بالکل غیر متفق ۲۔ غیر متفق ۳۔ غیر چہچہدار ۴۔ متفق ۵۔ بالکل متفق

نمبر شمار	بیانات	بالکل غیر متفق	غیر متفق	غیر چہچہدار	متفق	بالکل متفق
۱	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر اس کے نام پر معاشرے (خاندان، رشتہ دار، دوست احباب وغیرہ) کی تنقید اہم کردار ادا کرتی ہے۔					
۲	شریعت کے قانون کا صحیح علم اور سمجھ بوجھ نہ ہونا بھی غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں اضافے کا باعث بنتا ہے۔					
۳	پسماندہ تعلیمی حالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی بڑی وجہ ہیں۔					
۴	شعور کی کمی غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں اضافے کا باعث ہے۔					
۵	خاندان کی معاشرتی اور معاشی حالت غیرت کے نام پر قتل کا موجب ہے۔					
۶	گھری گورت کو ملکیت سمجھنا بھی غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی وجہ ہے۔					
۷	غصے اور شدت پسندی کا عنصر صرف مردوں سے منسوب ہونے کی وجہ سے، مرد و شہرہ کی طرف مائل ہوتے ہیں۔					
۸	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی ایک وجہ معاشرے کا حقوق نسواں کی مخالفت ہے۔					
۹	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی ایک بڑی وجہ لفظ غیرت کی غلط سمجھ بوجھ ہے۔					
۱۰	پرانی اور فرسودہ رسومات بھی غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی وجہ ہیں۔					

Annexure N

Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (English)

Below mentioned questions are based upon your awareness regarding your feelings, thoughts and actions towards honor killing. There is no right and wrong answer to these questions therefore, indicate your degree of agreement by marking on the scale of 1 to 5

2. Strongly disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral 4. Agree 5. Strongly agree

	Item Statements	1	2	3	4	5
1	In provocation of honor killing, criticism from society (family, relatives, friends etc.) criticism plays an important role.					
2	Lack of sufficient knowledge and understanding of Shariah Laws can also be a cause of an increase in Honor Killing					
3	Poor education system is a major cause of Honor Killing					
4	Lack of awareness is a reason for increase in the honor killings.					
5	Family's socio-economic conditions are cause of honor killings.					
6	Considering women of the house as a possession is also a reason for killing in the name of honor					
7	Linking the element of anger and extremism with only men is the reason of male inclination towards violence.					
8	The opposition of Women Rights by the society is also a cause of Honor Killing					
9	One of the biggest reasons for honor killings is the misunderstanding of the word 'honor'.					
10	Old customs and traditions are also a cause of honor killing					

Annexure O

Gender Role Attitudes

ذیل میں دیے گئے سوالات کے جوابات آگے دیئے گئے "بالکل صحیح" سے لے کر "بالکل غلط" کے خانے میں () کا نشان لگا کریں۔

بیانات	بالکل غلط	کسی قدر غلط	صحیح نہ غلط	کسی قدر صحیح	بالکل صحیح
۱					قانون کے معاملات میں خاندان کی طرف سے شوہر کو فیصلہ کرنا چاہئے
۲					جس طرح شادی سے مرد کے کیڑے پر کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا اسی طرح عورت کے کیڑے پر کوئی فرق نہیں پڑنا چاہئے
۳					بیوی کی سرگرمیاں شوہر کے مرتبے کے مطابق ہونی چاہئیں
۴					عورتوں کو وہی آزادی ملنی چاہئے جو مردوں کو حاصل ہے
۵					جس گھر میں مرد اور عورت دونوں ہوں وہاں عورت کو گھر کیلئے کام اور مردوں کو بھاری بھاری کام کرنے چاہئیں
۶					عورت کو یہ حق حاصل ہونا چاہئے کہ وہ مرد سے طلاق لے سکے
۷					کوئی شادی شدہ عورت اگر مردوں سے دوستی کرتی ہے تو اس میں کیا حرج ہے؟
۸					اگر شوہر بے روزگار ہو اور بیوی ملازمت کرتی ہو تو بھی گھر کا سب کام وہی ہوگا
۹					اگر بچوں کی تربیت اچھی نہ ہو تو قصور صرف ماں کا ہوتا ہے
۱۰					عورتوں اور مردوں کا کام بنیادی طور پر مختلف نہیں ہونے چاہئیں
۱۱					گھر کی روزمرہ اشیاء کی خریداری میاں بیوی کو مل کر کرنی چاہئے
۱۲					بچوں کی نگہداشت کے ادارے (سے کیڑے سنسنر) زیادہ ہونے چاہیں تاکہ ماؤں کو کچھ دیر فراغت ملے
۱۳					اس میں کیا حرج ہے اگر کوئی پختہ عمر کی عورت کسی نوجوان میں دلچسپی لینے لگے
۱۴					مردوں کے لئے ان کا پیسہ یا ان کی ملازمت اتنی اہم ہے کہ ان کا گھر کیلئے کاموں میں الجھنا مناسب نہیں
۱۵					کسی لڑکی کو عورت کا اکیلے کسی پارک تفریحی مقام پر جانا ٹھیک نہیں
۱۶					عورتیں اگر نوکری کرنے لگیں تو ان کی سوانحیت ختم ہو جاتی ہے
۱۷					بچوں پر رعب باپ کا ہی ہونا چاہئے
۱۸					اس میں کوئی حرج نہیں کہ مرد اور عورت ایک جگہ کام کریں
۱۹					بزنس کے معاملات عورتیں بھی اچھی طرح سمجھ سکتی ہیں
۲۰					لڑکوں اور لڑکیوں کا تعلیمی نصاب ایک ہی ہونا چاہئے
۲۱					عورتوں کو اپنا کیڑے بنانے کی بجائے شوہر کے کیڑے میں مدد کرنی چاہئے
۲۲					عورتوں کو گھر کی چار دیواری میں رکھنا ان پر ظلم ہے
۲۳					مرد اور عورت کا اکٹھے ایک کار میں سفر کرنے کی صورت میں یہ ضروری نہیں کہ کار مرد چلائے
۲۴					عورتوں کو بہت نرم گفتار ہونا چاہئے

					۲۵	گھر سے باہر نکلنے والی عورتوں کو لڑکیوں کا مقصد عام طور پر مردوں کو چھانا ہے
					۲۶	بیوی کا ہر کام کرنے سے پہلے شوہر سے اجازت لینا ضروری نہیں
					۲۷	عورتیں بہت خوش سلوپی سے اپنی نوکری اور گھریلو زندگی سے انصاف کر سکتی ہیں
					۲۸	عورتیں بہت جزباتی ہوتی ہیں اس لیے ان میں فیصلے کی صلاحیت نہیں ہوتی
					۲۹	عورتوں کو لڑکیوں کو صرف ان حالات میں گھر سے نکلنا چاہئے نوکری کرنی چاہئے جب آمدنی کا کوئی اور ذریعہ نہ ہو
					۳۰	اکثر وہی لڑکیاں اعلیٰ تعلیم حاصل کرتی ہیں جن کی شادیاں نہیں ہو پاتیں

Annexure P

Religious Influence in Daily Life Activities

ذیل میں دیئے گئے سوالات کے جوابات آگے دیئے۔ بہت کم " سے لے کر بہت زیادہ " کے خانے میں () کا نشان لگا کریں۔

بیانات	بہت کم	کم	کسی حد تک	زیادہ	بہت زیادہ
۱ آپکی زندگی میں مذہب کتنی اہمیت رکھتا ہے؟					
۲ آپکے مذہبی عقائد آپکی زندگی کے اہم فیصلوں پر کتنا اثر انداز ہوتے ہیں؟					
۳ آپکے مذہبی عقائد آپکے پہننے اور صحت پر کتنا اثر انداز ہوتے ہیں؟					
۴ آپکے مذہبی عقائد آپکے کھانے پینے پر کتنا اثر انداز ہوتے ہیں؟					
۵ آپکے مذہبی عقائد آپکے تعلقات اور دوستیاں بنانے پر کتنا اثر انداز ہوتے ہیں؟					
۶ آپکے مذہبی عقائد آپکے معاشرتی کاموں پر کتنا اثر انداز ہوتے ہیں؟					

Annexure Q

Hostility / Intolerance

ذیل میں دیے گئے سوالات کے جوابات آگے دیئے گئے "بالکل صحیح" سے لے کر "بالکل غلط" کے خانے میں () کا نشان لگا کریں۔

بیانات	بالکل غلط	کسی حد تک غلط	معلوم نہیں	کسی حد تک صحیح	بالکل صحیح
۱ میرے نزدیک سخت سزاؤں کا نفاذ ملک میں امن قائم کرنے کا لیے ضروری ہے۔					
۲ میں چاہتا ہوں کہ لوگوں کو ان کی غلطیوں پر سخت سزا دی جائے۔					
۳ میں دوسرے فرقوں میں شادی کرنے کے سخت خلاف ہوں۔					
۴ میرے خیال میں انسان کو کسی حال میں بھی سمجھنا نہیں کرنا چاہیے۔					
۵ میرے نزدیک غیر مسلم قوم کے خلاف جہاد و فتوح کی اہم ضرورت ہے۔					
۶ میرے نزدیک اقلیتوں کے لیے علیحدہ سکول ہونے چاہئیں۔					
۷ میں کسی سے بولنے والے میں دیر نہیں کرتا کرتی ہوں۔					
۸ میں بدداشت نہیں کر سکتا رہتی کی کوئی میرے کام میں غلطی نہ لے۔					

Attitude towards Honour Killing Scale (with 19 items)

مندرجہ ذیل سوالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل سے متعلق آپ کے جذبات، سوچ، اور عملی طور پر آپ سے آگاہی پر مبنی ہیں۔ کوئی بھی جواب صحیح یا غلط نہیں ہے۔ اس لیے آپ جس حد تک ان تمام سوالات سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں 1 سے لے کر 5 تک کے ہندسوں پر نشان لگا کر وضاحت کریں۔

۱۔ بالکل غیر متفق ۲۔ غیر متفق ۳۔ غیر جانبدار ۴۔ متفق ۵۔ بالکل متفق

نمبر شمار	بیانات	بالکل غیر متفق	غیر متفق	غیر جانبدار	متفق	بالکل متفق
۱	قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر کوئی سزا نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔					
۲	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں قانون کو صلہ دہی سے کام لینا چاہیے۔					
۳	ریاستی قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر سزا نہ ہونا اور لوگوں کی حوصلہ افزائی کرنا ہے۔					
۴	لڑکی کا غیر براء اداری میں پند کی شادی کرنے پر غیرت کے نام پر قتل ہونا چاہیے۔					
۵	خاندان اور براء اداری کا دباؤ اور تنہید لڑکی کی عزت اور جان سے بڑھ کر ہے۔					
۶	شرعی قانون میں گھر کے افراد کو غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی سزا ملنی چاہیے۔					
۷	ریاستی قانون میں غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل پر قاتل کو اقدام قتل کی ہی سزا ہونی چاہیے۔					
۸	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی FIR درج نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔					
۹	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں قاتل کو خواہ وہ گھر کے فرد ہوں، معافی کی گنجائش نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔					
۱۰	غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں پچھتاہٹ کا قاتل کو عمل طور پر بری کر دینا بالکل صحیح فیصلہ ہونا ہے۔					
۱۱	میڈیا میں عورت کو کمزور دکھانے سے معاشرے کے مردوں کا عورتوں کی طرف امتیازی سلوک بڑھتا ہوا جاتا ہے۔					
۱۲	غیرت کے نام پر قتل جیسی سنگین خیر خیروں سے معاشرے میں تشدد اور اشتعال انگیزی کو فروغ دیتا ہے۔					
۱۳	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کے فیصلے ریاستی قانون کی بجائے ڈیر سے اور پچھتاہٹوں پر چل کر چاہئیں۔					
۱۴	کسی بھی غیر شرعی حرکت کا ارتکاب کرنے والوں سے شیشے کا گواہ حد طر پر قتل ہی ہے۔					
۱۵	لوگوں کا غیرت کے نام پر قتل کو جائز فیصل قرار دینا صحیح ہے۔					
۱۶	پولیس کا غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے والے مرد و حضرات کے ساتھ رویہ ہمدردانہ ہونا چاہیے۔					
۱۷	جو خواتین معاشرتی طور پر ریتوں سے انحراف کرتی ہیں انہیں سزا ملنی چاہیے۔					
۱۸	غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والا ایک قتل خاندان کی باقی خواتین کے لیے سبق آموز ہوتا ہے۔					
۱۹	قتل کی بجائے بیوی کو طلاق دینے سے شوہر اور بچوں کی عزت بحال ہو سکتی ہے۔					

Annexure S

Perceived Perpetuating Factors of Honour Killing Scale (with 12 items)

مندرجہ ذیل سوالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل سے متعلق آپ کی کیا بات ہو سکتی ہے اور عملی طور پر یہ سے آگاہی پہنچی ہیں۔ کوئی بھی جواب صحیح یا غلط نہیں ہے۔ اس لیے آپ جس حد تک ان تمام سوالات سے متعلق کرتے ہیں 1 سے 5 تک کے ہندسوں پر نشان لگا کر وضاحت کریں۔

نمبر شمار	بیانات	۱۔ بالکل غیر متعلق	۲۔ غیر متعلق	۳۔ غیر بہت ہمار	۴۔ متعلق	۵۔ بالکل متعلق
۱	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے پر اس کے لئے میں معاشرے (خاندان، ارشد، دار، دوست، احباب وغیرہ) کی تنقید یا ہم کر دانا کرتی ہے۔					
۲	شریعت کے قانون کا کھنگلنا اور کچھ بوجھ نہ ہو، ماں بھی غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں اٹھانے کا باعث بنتا ہے۔					
۳	پسماندہ تعلیمی حالات غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی بڑی وجہ ہیں۔					
۴	شہوری کی غیرت کے نام پر قتل میں اٹھانے کا باعث ہے۔					
۵	خاندان کی معاشرتی اور معاشی حالت غیرت کے نام پر قتل کا موجب ہے۔					
۶	گھری عورت کو ملکیت سمجھنا بھی غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی وجہ ہے۔					
۷	قیسے اور شدت پسندی کا عنصر صرف مردوں سے منسوب ہونے کی وجہ سے، مرد و تندر کی طرف مائل ہوتے ہیں۔					
۸	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی ایک وجہ معاشرے کا حقوق نسواں کی مخالفت ہے۔					
۹	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی ایک بڑی وجہ لفظ غیرت کی لفظ کچھ بوجھ ہے۔					
۱۰	پرائی اور ریسورسورسومات بھی غیرت کے نام پر قتل کی وجہ ہیں۔					
۱۱	غیرت کے نام پر قتل کو ہیڈ یا پوکھانے سے، اور لوگوں کا بھی ایسے قتل کرنے کے لئے حوصلہ باندھنا ہے۔					
۱۲	میڈیا میں پسند کی شادی کے رجحان کو فروغ دینے سے معاشرے میں غیرت کے نام پر قتل بڑھتے ہیں۔					

Annexure T

Permission to use Religiousness Measure

2/6/22, 8:52 PM

Gmail - Permission regarding use of measure



sadia huda <sadiahudakhan@gmail.com>

Permission regarding use of measure

4 messages

sadia huda <sadiahudakhan@gmail.com>
To: waseem.fayyaz.k@gmail.com

Sun, Dec 10, 2017 at 6:19 PM

Dear Sir,
I am Sadia Huda, doing my PhD with Dr Anila kamal. I am writing to you regarding the permission to use the scale that you have translated and adapted in your PhD thesis.
I am working on "Measuring attitude towards honor killings in Pakistan". I am developing an indigenous scale for Honor Killing. To correlate with my scale, the scale of religiousness measure will be useful for my study. Your permission to use this scale will be appreciated.

Regards
Sadia Huda
PhD Scholar

waseem fayyaz <waseem.fayyaz.k@gmail.com>
To: sadia huda <sadiahudakhan@gmail.com>

Sun, Dec 10, 2017 at 9:42 PM

Miss Sadia Huda

You have my permission to use adapted Urdu version of Religiousness Measure for one time in the work of your PhD dissertation involving relationship of religiosity and honour killing. This permission is conditional upon:

1. Permission from original author
2. Establishing psychometrics for the sample of your study
3. Following the instructions of administration and scoring of the said measure
4. Sharing with me the results on the said measure

Good luck for your doctoral work

Dr. Waseem

[Quoted text hidden]

Dr.Waseem Fayyaz
Asst Prof of Psychology
Gordon College, Rawalpindi
Alumni NIP, Quaid-e-Azam University
+923345862827

sadia huda <sadiahudakhan@gmail.com>
To: waseem fayyaz <waseem.fayyaz.k@gmail.com>

Sun, Dec 10, 2017 at 9:59 PM

Noted with thanks sir

Regards,
Sadia Huda
[Quoted text hidden]

Annexure T(i)

Permission to use Religiousness Measure

2/6/22, 8:57 PM

National Institute of Psychology(NIP), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad Mail - Re: Contact from Sheenalyengar.com



Sadia Huda <sadiaphd14@nip.edu.pk>

Re: Contact from Sheenalyengar.com

2 messages

Office of Sheena Iyengar <sheenaiyengaroffice@gsb.columbia.edu>
 To: "sadiaphd14@nip.edu.pk" <sadiaphd14@nip.edu.pk>

Tue, Dec 12, 2017 at 7:05 PM

Dear Sadia,

No permission is required.

Best,
 Elizabeth, Assistant to Sheena Iyengar

From: Sheena Iyengar <sheenaiyengar16@a2plcpnl0656.prod.iad2.secureserver.net>

Sent: Tuesday, December 12, 2017 12:14:57 AM

To: Office of Sheena Iyengar

Subject: Contact from Sheenalyengar.com

Name: Sadia huda
Email: sadiaphd14@nip.edu.pk
Select
Subject: contact

Message: Mam i need your email id i want to take permission to use Religiousness Measure developed by you.
 Regards Sadia PhD scholar Pakistan

Sadia Huda <sadiaphd14@nip.edu.pk>
 To: saadiajanjua4@gmail.com

Sun, Feb 6, 2022 at 8:25 PM

[Quoted text hidden]