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Uncovering community notions of honour and their relation to honour killings

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Uncovering Community Notions of Honour and their Relation to Honour Killings

Sadiq Bhanbhro

June 2021

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Abstract

This thesis aims to uncover and explain the notions of honour used to instigate and justify honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and amongst the UK's Pakistani community. Honour has been a central concept across many societies. However, its conception, configuration, use, and consequence are variable both historically and culturally. While the notion of honour has *prima facie* positive connotations and characteristics, its connection to crime, violence and killings makes it contentious. Also, little is known about the complexities of honour killings beyond their popular 'cultural explanation', that is, that honour killings are the behaviour of a specific ethnic or cultural group.

A critical realist social constructionism framework informed the empirical research, which was carried out using the principles and methods of a critical ethnographic approach. The fieldwork was carried out in Pakistan and the UK. 22 in-depth individual and eight group interviews were conducted in both settings with 45 male and 11 female participants from various ethnolinguistic groups. Additionally, during the fieldwork, non-participant observation was conducted in community-led events, and informal conversations were held with various people during the field visits to both research sites.

The data show that the local terms for honour, dishonour and shame have different meanings and functions; these are interconnected and underpin organised structures that constitute the honour system. This functions as a three-pronged system of surveillance, normalisation, and examination, aimed to produce harmless, non-rebellious, passive female bodies. The women who follow the rules are supposed to be satisfied with a life conforming to the normalised standards of being a chaste, modest, and obedient woman. In turn, such a woman is perceived as a vessel of honour of an individual man or wider group that can be a family, lineage, kinship, community, and tribe. In contrast, women and girls who do not conform to the prescribed rules and norms are regarded as defiant, disobedient, and deviant. To control non-conforming women and girls, a range of social practices from forced marriages to honour killings are used by the actors under the auspices of the honour system. Honour killing, that is, killing or attempted killing of women and girls to save or restore a

social group's honour, is an extreme form of such behaviour. Hence, honour killing is not an isolated individual behaviour; instead, it is a social practice rooted in patriarchal cultures and operates within a tight social group as a tool to exercise power and control over women and girls.

This is an interdisciplinary study drawing on anthropology, sociology, psychology, gender studies, and public health, which informs the understanding of notions of honour that lie behind honour killings in a transnational context. Drawing on post-colonial literature, critical feminist theories and transnational perspectives, it introduces a shift from an essentialised cultural view, and the binary division of cultures based on the conception of honour to the novel concept of the honour system. This is a 'real' and a 'complex' social system of power and control underpinned by the notions of honour. This conception enables a change in narratives and behaviour regarding honour killings. Furthermore, this empirical work and related conceptualisation of cross-cultural variability can be used to design culturally specific and acceptable interventions to prevent such violence.

Candidate Declaration

I hereby declare that:

1. I have not been enrolled for another award of the University or other academic or professional organisation whilst undertaking my research degree.

2. None of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.

3. I am aware of and understand the University's policy on plagiarism and certify that this thesis is my own work. The use of all published or other sources of material consulted have been properly and fully acknowledged.

4. The work undertaken towards the thesis has been conducted in accordance with the SHU Principles of Integrity in Research and the SHU Research Ethics Policy.

5. The word count of the thesis is 70,000.

Name	Sadiq Bhanbhro
Date	June 2021
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Acronyms

IKWRO	Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
HBV	Honour Based Violence
SHO	Station House Officer
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PGRN	Pakistan Gender-Based Reproductive Health Network
CII	Council of Islamic Ideology
GoP	Government of Pakistan
USAID	United States Agency of International Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Glossary of terms used in the thesis

angreez	English people
beghairat	a person without honour
behaya	immodest
besharam	shameless
biradri	brotherhood in Pakistan and the Pakistani diaspora denotes the number of social strata, including clan, kinship, and caste.
dada-potra	lineage
dera	household
gandi aurat	dirty or immoral woman
ghairat	honour, etymologically it means 'other blood'.
ghairatmand	a person with honour
ghairatwala insan	an honourable person
ghair	other or outsider
ghair mard	an outsider man
goro	a white person
gotra	clan
imaan	faith
jirga	council of elders
karo-kari	means a blackened man and a blackened woman. It also translates to honour killing. Originally terms were used for 'adulterer' and 'adulteress', but this term is now used for multiple forms of perceived immoral behaviour. It describes a custom whereby a woman and a man found in, or more often suspected of an illicit relationship, is killed by family members to restore the family honour.
karo	a black person

khaandan	usually means family, more specifically extended family, kin or lineage
khair	traditional settlement process for honour killing disputes
khap panchayat	caste-based or community council
mahram	a person whom it is permanently forbidden for a woman to marry because of blood ties, breastfeeding of the same woman or marriage ties such as her son, father, brother, brother's son, sister's son, husband, paternal uncle and her maternal uncle.
mardan g ghairat	men's honour
mursmanhu	machismo/ a masculine man
muqdam	mediator
na mahram	a person with whom marriage is generally permissible.
namus	an Arabic term translated as 'virtue' but commonly used for honour.
nang	women
nikah	a religious ceremony & a contract for a Muslim couple to be legally wed under Islamic law.
otaq	male guest room
paro	a section of a tribe or group
qaum	generally means a nation in the Pakistan research site people meant a tribe
qabeelo	tribe
r'at	blood
riwaj	tradition
sharam o haya	modesty
sardar	tribal chieftain
vekro	Generally means the trade of anything, but in the context of honour killings, it denotes the sale of women
zaat	caste
zameen	land
zar	wealth
zun	woman

Chapter 1. Introduction

> ‘At ours, *karo-kari* (honour killing) is a “trade” in which women are treated like a commodity; hence, they can be bartered, bought, and sold and even killed when they are no more considered a valuable commodity’ (Male participant Kooral Khan, 50, Pakistan).

This thesis aims to uncover and explain notions of honour and how they are implicated in the honour killings of women and girls. The rationale for the study derives from academic literature and public policy discourses related to notions of honour and the associations with the honour killings of women and girls. Data were collected from women and men in Pakistan and the Pakistani community in the UK.

This first chapter provides the background to the study by establishing the context and the significance. It also describes the key concepts relating to notions of honour and honour killings. It then examines the origins of the term ‘honour killing’ and the prevalence of honour killings. The third section presents the aims, objectives, rationale for the study and my positionality. The final section describes the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the study

1.1.1 Context of the study

Honour has been a central concept across cultures throughout history. Similarly, violence has existed across societies and continues to touch all people’s lives in some way. However, its patterns, extent and consequences exhibit noticeable differences among men, women, and children (Krantz &

Garcia-Moreno, 2005; Krantz, 2002). Violence against women based on gender is a global problem, directly affecting one-third of all women globally in their lifetime (World Health Organisation, 2017) and occurring at all levels of society. Nonetheless, patterns, roots, causes, nature, distribution, and degree of violent incidences differ in time and context. Violence against women using notions of honour as a justification has a long history; however, after condemnation from the United Nations in a resolution in 2000, honour-based violence in general and honour killings[1], in particular, have received considerable scholarly and public attention from the media, human rights organisations, public health professionals, politicians and wider society. There are hundreds of books on honour crimes and honour killings written for popular consumption in the literature. Some of these were critically analysed by anthropologist Abu-Lughod (2015), in which she notes that the literary scholar Dohra Ahmad has called this genre of books 'pulp nonfiction' (p. 87).

Honour related violence and honour crimes are umbrella terms; they include a range of harmful practices shaped by notions of honour such as domestic abuse; death threats; sexual and psychological abuse; economic abuse, acid attacks; forced marriage; forced suicide; forced abortion; female genital mutilation; assault; blackmail; and being held against one's will (Hester et al., 2015; Nesheiwat, 2005). Killing or the attempted killing of a woman or a girl in the name of saving or restoring the honour of an individual man or a social

[1] In Pakistan, the combined term 'honour killing' is known by its regional names such as *kala-kali* (Punjab), *karo-kari* (Sindh), *tor-tora* (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and *siyakari* (Balochistan). In the Urdu language, honour killing is termed as *'ghairat ki naam pi qatil*' (translated as murder in the name of honour).

group (commonly known as honour killing) is an extreme form of violence for the sake of honour. In this thesis, honour killing is defined as occurring when

> 'in order to save or restore honour, the perpetrators (predominantly male family members) killed a woman, or a girl perceived as having brought or tried to bring dishonour or shame to the social group'.

The most widely used definition of honour killing in the literature is the murder of a woman or girl by male family members who have been accused of having engaged in "sexually immoral" actions such as having pre-marital or extramarital sex. However, I argue that this definition is narrow because women and girls can be killed for various reasons (for example, even when they are victims of rape) that are believed to be a source of dishonour and shame for the social group, which can be a family, lineage, caste, biradri or tribe. Hence, the above definition of honour killing is one that encompasses the murders of women and girls that occur for many reasons and can involve perpetrators outside a family.

Maintenance of family honour and avoidance of dishonour and shame are critical concerns of Pakistani communities both in Pakistan and abroad. The notion of honour is diverse, complex, and fluid. Honour is generally viewed as part of an inherent and indispensable system of social values, which provides the basis for the social position of a family within its respective social groups that can be a clan, caste, kinship group and tribe. Patterns, models, and ways of enacting honour have created normative understanding for both women and men.

However, the justification for harm based on breaches of honour is always attributed to the bodies, sexuality, behaviours, and actions of women and girls.

This gender disparity is illustrated in the findings from research studies; for example, the number of murders on the pretext of violation of family honour is immensely skewed towards women. For example, based on reports in the newspapers, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) recorded 430 cases of honour killings from three provinces of Pakistan (Punjab, Sindh & Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in 2020, involving 148 male and 363 female victims (HRCP, 2021). There are also norms for who performs the killing. Where a woman is murdered in an honour killing, she is killed by her family; in contrast, male victims are killed by the family or relatives of the woman with whom he was accused of inflicting dishonour to the family, for example, by having a pre- or extramarital affair or eloping together with the woman for marriage.

In Pakistan, Shah (2016) and Aase (2002) examined a sub-set of honour killings in intra- or inter-tribal and family feuds, in which honour killings of women and girls were used as a justification to start, avenge or resolve the feuds. In addition, Aase (2002) analysed cases of blood feuds, and Shah (2016) examined case studies of *karo-kari* (a type of honour killings) and the associated vendettas; both authors state that the honour killings were used to settle marriages, land and water disputes. In sum, the honour killings of women and girls are committed for many reasons, from an allegation of adultery to talking with a stranger (Bhanbhro, Wassan, Shah, Talpur & Wassan, 2013), as the following studies illustrate.

Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, and Masood (2010) did a cross-sectional survey with a convenience sample of 601 men and women approached in markets, bus stops, hospitals, and other public places in Islamabad, Pakistan in 2006. The majority of respondents (65% men and 53% of women) considered the killing of a woman justifiable and acceptable in the event of an extramarital sexual

relationship as a measure to save the husband's honour. Although it is acknowledged that the public context for this data collection might have affected what participants said, other studies affirm that murders of women and girls for the sake of honour can involve a variety of reasons. For example, a qualitative study by Bhanbhro and colleagues (2013) in the vicinity of one of the district headquarters of the Southern province of Pakistan, infamous for a high prevalence of *karo-kari* (honour killings), reveals that honour killings of women and girls are not limited to their sexual conduct, but that there are multiple reasons, including marrying against the parents' will, marrying outside one's social group, or talking to a man who is stranger to the family. In addition, Shah (2016, 2007, 1993), Phulpoto, Shah and Shaikh (2013) and Raza (2006) document that in many cases of honour killings, financial motives are prominent. For example, her family might kill a woman to settle a debt, or an unmarried girl forced to sign away her inheritance to her brothers or uncles, knowing that failing to do so, she would be declared as *kari* and killed. Nevertheless, in order to justify the killings, male perpetrators predominantly use family honour, culture, tradition, and religion (Laghari, 2016). The findings of these research studies suggest that murders of women for the sake of honour are underpinned by various factors, including customs, traditions, feudal and male-dominated social structures, the complicit role of state institutions and law enforcement agencies, and a network of actors/agents who have vested interests in the practice of honour killing.

In the UK, empirical research on honour-related violence is also emerging. For example, Gill (2008) did participatory observation and analysis of a roundtable discussion related to honour-related violence. Her findings suggest that honour-based violence is a complex social crime comprising different elements, all of

which revolve around women's systematic subordination in the communities that practice and condone it. In another study Gill (2006) examined British media reporting of honour-related violence, concluding that British media coverage has misrepresented ethnic minorities and engendered a sense of mainstream moral superiority.

In 2015, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) commissioned a qualitative study to identify and interview survivors of honour-based violence; the research documented the voices and experiences of 50 survivors across England. The study found that 36 respondents experienced forced marriage and/or honour-related violence, while the remaining respondents were survivors of female genital mutilation. The study confirmed that family honour created the conditions for the violence and additional constraints and harms for the victim. Also, it revealed that the victims of honour-related violence wanted police forces to understand better the subtleties of honour, such as how it exerts power and control over the victim and how the notion is implicated in actual incidents of violence and the dynamics of the wider family and community involvement (Hester et al. 2015). This study was limited to capturing the experiences and awareness of the victims and survivors of honour-based violence only and focusing on their interactions with police forces.

The wider global public health literature presents a bleak picture of violence against women and girls. It is a gender-based crime that includes the most abhorrent of abuses; rape and sexual assault, domestic abuse, honour-based violence such as forced marriage and female genital mutilation, stalking and harassment. It is a major public health concern affecting most women and girls directly or indirectly. For example, the World Health Organisation's (2021) analysis of prevalence data from 2000-2018 across 161 countries and areas

and found that worldwide, nearly 1 in 3 (30%) of women have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner or non-partner. Similarly, the Crime Survey for England and Wales estimates that 1.6 million women aged 16 to 74 years experienced domestic abuse in the year ending March 2020 (Office National Statistics, 2020). Gender violence has a serious detrimental impact on health and wellbeing, and it is one of the main causes of death, disability and illness of women and girls, leading to health consequences including chronic pain and depression across the world (World Health Organisation, 2021).

Violence against women and girls is committed in the name of 'honour'; that is, honour-based violence is a subcategory of gender violence. It can negatively affect the emotional and mental wellbeing of women and girls if they are directly victimised themselves or witness to honour-related violence as they may live in constant fear for their safety within households or accessing health and social care services. Considerable progress has been made toward understanding the nature of violence against women and girls in general; however, there is little known about honour-related violence and honour killings beyond its "cultural explanation", which excludes underlying economic, political and social factors and does not provide sufficient insights to develop interventions to prevent it. This study used interdisciplinary perspectives to explore and examine the wider factors and underlying narratives that shape, justify and maintain honour killings of women and girls. By examining community conceptions of the notions of honour and their relationship with the honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and the Pakistani community living in the UK, this thesis will address a current knowledge gap.

1.1.2 Significance of the study

Violence against women and girls committed in the name of honour is a form of gender-based violence. It can negatively affect the emotional and mental well-being of women and girls if they are directly victimised themselves or witness to it as they may live in constant fear for their safety within households, and it can have an impact on their day-to-day life, for example, on their ability to access social and health care services. The HMIC's inspection study (2015) found that two of the 36 victims and survivors of honour-related violence, including forced marriage, had attempted self-harm, including suicide, and 11 reported that they were taking medication for anxiety or depression (Hester et al. 2015).

Despite the Anti-Honour Killings Laws (Criminal Laws Amendment) Bill that was passed unanimously by Parliament in 2016, honour-related violence and honour killings continue in Pakistan. This legislation on honour killings includes strict punishment for the perpetrators making it more challenging than ordinary murder cases. Legislation against honour killing and its various forms has existed in the country since 2004. However, under this earlier legislation, the perpetrator could officially seek forgiveness from the victim's family, thereby avoiding all legal consequences (Shah, 2016a). Under the new law, relatives of the victim can only pardon the killer if he is sentenced to the death penalty. However, the culprit would still face a mandatory life sentence of twelve-and-a-half years (Fatima, Qadir, Hussain & Menezes, 2017). As such, it is considered a step-up towards tackling the issue.

Nevertheless, the conviction rate under the new legislation is low. The Sindh Police released a report in early 2020 on the statistics for honour killings in the

province. The report reveals that 649 cases of honour killings were brought into courts between 2014 and 2019. Of these, the accused in 19 cases were given sentences. Those charged in 136 cases were acquitted, and 494 cases are still pending trial (Ali, 2020). The conviction rate figures imply that the legislation is not effective.

Similarly, gender-based violence against women and girls committed by their male family members in the UK is widespread, and in England and Wales, it costs approximately £66 billion a year in policing, health services, victim services, legal processes, and social care (Oliver, Alexander, Roe & Wlasny, 2019). For instance, the UK Femicide 2020 Census report reveals that men killed 1425 women between 2009 and 2018 (Femicide Census, 2020). The prevalence of honour-related violence in the UK is also thought to be widespread, although the problem's exact scale is unknown.

Whilst progress has been made towards understanding the nature, causes and the extent of violence against women and girls in general, little is known about honour-related violence and killings beyond its two popular explanations. The first is that it is condoned by a specific culture type known as 'honour culture'. This authorises its members, mainly males, to resort to violence and murders for the sake of saving family honour (Lowe, Khan, Thanzami, Barzy, & Karmaliani, 2018; Khan, Saleem, & Lowe, 2018; Metlo, 2012; Kurkiala, 2003; Kressel, 1981). The second popular explanation suggests that violence against women and girls is committed by men using any available excuse; honour is merely one such excuse that serves as a reason where the real cause is down to the socio-economic and political structures of society that are essentially

patriarchal in nature and universally oppressive for women (Begikhani, 2005; Pimentel, Pandjiarjian, & Belloque, 2005; Siddiqui, 2005; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001).

Both explanations are likely to have some truth within them. However, neither is supported by sufficient empirical data. In addition, the first explanation, which is probably the most prevalent, is reactionary in the sense that it appears to close the door on the potential for change; culture is treated as being essential and beyond criticism. In the 'cultural explanation' of honour crimes, the culture, traditions, and religion of particular communities are taken as causes of violent crime for the sake of honour. Conversely, some scholars have criticised the cultural explanation. For example, Montoya and Agustin (2013) argue that the "culturalised forms of violence" largely ignore the gendered nature of violence, and the cultural framing of violence creates a dichotomy between non-violent Europeans and violent others. Similarly, Meetoo and Mirza (2007) argue that in 'domestic violence' discourses, which includes 'honour killings', the victim women have been highly 'ethnicised'. In turn, the cultural/racial classification not only stigmatises particular acts of violence but entire communities (Montoya & Agustin 2013; Abu-Lughod, 2011; Bhanbhro, de Chavez & Lusambili, 2016).

Thus, when honour-related violence is dismissed as a cultural issue, the communities in which it prevails are stigmatised, and those who suffer violence also face their suffering being brushed off as a cultural problem (Montoya & Agustin 2013; Ewing, 2008). In addition, some scholars argue that cultural understating and representation of violence conceals more pressing and central structures of violence affecting women and political processes that shape it; in those parts of the world where culture is usually blamed for such violence. It is

necessary to be mindful of this when analysing and understanding the violence in cultural terms per se (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Ewing, 2008; Shah, 2007).

Public and policy discourses on honour killings often arise from journalism and demotic discourse rather than empirical research, scholarship, and theory. Moreover, the perspectives of communities where honour killings are prevalent have been afforded less attention. There is little research on the underlying taken for granted assumptions behind honour-related violence, the production of the concepts of honour and honour killings, or how concepts produce meaning, customs, identities, and the collective values and systems that shape, justify and maintain honour killings. The present comparative study attempts to address this knowledge gap by focussing on Pakistan and the UK's Pakistani community. To date, there has been little empirical research with social groups and communities where honour killings are prevalent; this lack of research is particularly marked in Pakistani communities, where the incidences of honour killings are on the rise (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

Honour crime, including honour killing, may affect women, men, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people; however, as illustrated above, it is most prevalent against women and girls. In female honour killings, the perpetrators are mainly male family members, supported by their social groups and rarely challenged. Therefore, this study explored and examined the intersections of different social forces and structures that manifest in honour killings of women and girls.

In social groups, where honour-related violence and killings are practised, they have different forms and names. However, in much of the policy, popular and academic discourse, the term 'honour killing' is widely used. This labelling of the

crime plays a crucial role in shaping public and academic discourses on the subject; in turn, the debate influences the development and implementation of social interventions to tackle honour killings. Therefore, it is useful to know how the combined term originated.

1.2 Origin of the term 'honour killing'

The term honour killing has a long history but gained currency in the late 1990s as a label used within activism, research, and scholarship associated with the killing of women and girls, mainly in Muslim communities in their own countries and diaspora communities across the globe. Diaspora Muslims usually live-in countries where Islam is not the majority religion (Syed & Pio, 2016); thus, because of a propensity to othering and invoking 'different culture' explanations, there has been much discussion and debate with a growing body of literature in various fields such as anthropology, sociology, criminology, public health, and social work. In academic literature, the term honour killing is ubiquitous but contested. Hitherto, it is not reported exactly when and by whom the term honour killing was coined. In the rest of this section, I describe my attempt to establish the origin of the term.

Amid the anthropological debate on concepts of honour and shame in Mediterranean societies, a study was published in the *British Journal of Sociology* titled 'Honour crimes in contemporary Greece' (Safilios-Rothschild, 1969). In this article, the author describes violent crimes, including killing, in defence of family honour of a dishonoured female family member or those responsible for the dishonouring: the author terms this "honour crime" (p. 206) but does not use the term "honour killing". Later in 1981, the *Current Anthropology* journal published a study on homicide for family honour in Israeli

Muslim Arabs, in which the author used the term “homicide for family honour” to describe the murders of women for the sake of family honour by their family members; again, the term “honour killing” was not used (Kressel, 1981, p.142).

Most recently, authors like Churchill (2018), Shaikh, Ossege and Sears (2018), Idzikowski (2017) and Xavier (2015) have credited the Dutch Turkologist Ane H. Nauta with coining the term “honour killing”. Interestingly, except Churchill (2018, p.2), none of the authors has cited this source. Churchill (2018) cited the blog, where he took the information, but the blog also did not reference the actual source. In 2002 van Eck published the book “Purified by Blood: Honour Killings amongst Turks in the Netherlands”, in which Ane Nauta was acknowledged for coining the Dutch term *eerwraak* that means honour revenge (p. 10). More recently, it was confirmed by Ermers (2018) in his book, in which the authors give reference to his communication with the scholar that occurred in November 2006 (p. 194). Neither Ermers nor van Eck translates *eerwraak* as honour killings. As such, it appears that Ane Nauta did not coin the term ‘honour killing’.

I did an exhaustive search into the literature and archives, including the Guardian, New York Times, and Dawn Newspapers, the first entry of the term ‘honour killing’ was found in the New York Times on March 19, 1991, ‘Honour’ killing of wives outlawed in Brazil. Afterwards, it appeared in a report titled “Violence against women in Bangladesh, Pakistan, Egypt, Sudan, Senegal and Yemen”, published by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), the University of Sussex, in March 1993. The author of the report, Rachel Marcus (1993), defines honour killing as “the murder of a woman because she is suspected of having engaged in illicit sexual relations” (p.12). The author cites two books of the famous feminist Egyptian authors; however, neither book had the term. In

the same year, in January 1993, the Pakistani anthropologist and politician Nafisa Shah (1993), considered a leading authority on *karo-kari,* a form of honour killings, published a feature in the Newsline magazine on the subject. She did not use the term 'honour killings' instead, and she termed it "*Karo Kari* ritual killings in the name of honour" (p. 28-29).

After the IDS report, the American journalist and writer Jan Goodwin talks about honour killings extensively in her book "Price of Honour", published in 1994. The author lived and worked in the Islamic countries and researched in ten countries: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Israel (West Bank & Gaza), and Egypt. Later in January 1996, Jennifer Griffin and Mohammad Ismail published a report in the Observer newspaper's same issue. The story's headline was "women murdered by tradition", it was about *karo-kari* killings in the Sindh province of Pakistan. The report mentions the term honour killing and refers to the late Asma Jhangir, the renowned lawyer and the founder of the Human Rights Commission (HRCP) of Pakistan.

Consequently, it can be concluded that the term honour killing was probably a creation of the journalist Jan Goodwin that was based on a wide range of related terms; academics and the media then picked it up. Grewal (2013) argues that, as a media-invented-and-led term, honour killing circulates as a symbol of cultural deviancy and as "a crime of culture" (p. 3), which not only describes honour as a cultural ideology, but is also seen as a fixed cultural "pathology" (p. 4). The problem with the term honour killings is that it tempts the user to cultural essentialism (Narayan, 2000) and political inaction. Dustin & Phillips (2008) argue that inaction could be seen as racist, but so could action, i.e. women are being abused but so is the conception of 'culture'. In academic

and popular discourse concerning honour-related violence and honour killings of women and girls, there has been a tendency towards what Benhabib (2002) describes as “reductionist sociology of culture” (p. 4), that is, a tendency to represent cultures as more distinct from one another, less marked by internal contestation and more determining of individual behaviour than is ever actually the case.

Moreover, cultures of certain groups and communities are represented as homogenised entities such as the Muslim culture or Asian culture. This cultural reification often involves binary classification of ‘cultures’ such as backward vs progressive, civilised vs uncivilised, violent vs non-violent in popular representations with minority or non-European cultures. Dustin and Phillips (2008) argue that such representations of ‘other’ cultures tend to read the behaviours, actions and beliefs of people from ethnic minority or non-western cultures simply as expressions of “their culture”, which not only assumes an extraordinary degree of homogeneity within the cultural group but also denies individual agency (p. 408).

Further, cultural essentialism makes possible condemnations of these cultures concerning the protection of women. Grewal (2013) argues that many governance tools have emerged in response to honour killings, from immigration tests in which young women testify that they did not have forced marriages to policing methods focused on detailing Asian males and families. It also makes the crime a hypersensitive and politically charged issue. It also diffuses responsibility by diverting the attention from specific social groups that tend to resort to violence for honour to vaguely defined social entities such as Asian culture, Islamic culture, Pakistani community, and the Muslim community. Some scholars also believe that the term honour killings is a euphemism that

serves to exonerate the killer, and thus they suggest the word 'femicide' (Welchman & Hossain, 2005, p. 8).

Despite its limitations, it is a widely used and recognised term. This thesis uses it with the full awareness that it is problematic and should be viewed and analysed as a social practice.

1.3 The scale of the problem

Honour based violence and killings take place worldwide in various cultures, some regions being hotspots, such as South Asia and the Middle East (Fisk, 2010; Mayell, 2002). There are no reliable statistics on honour killings, but in 2000, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) estimated that at least 5000 women and girls worldwide are murdered each year in the name of honour (UNFPA, 2000). The figure is the most widely cited in academic literature and the media. As yet, these numbers have not been updated by any organisation. Various women and human rights groups contest the numbers, and some researchers believe that the rates are at least four times higher (Fisk, 2010). Nonetheless, of the 5000 internationally reported honour killing cases, 2000 are from India and Pakistan, according to the international digital resource centre Honour Based Violence (HBV) Awareness Network (HBV Awareness Network, 2015).

In Pakistan, Nasrullah, Haqqi, and Cummings (2009) analysed the data on women's honour killings. The data were systematically collected by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) from newspaper reports from January 2004 till December 2007. The analysis revealed that in total 1957 honour killings occurred in four years; the major reported reason behind 1759 of the

killings was extramarital relations. This quantitative analysis provides important statistics on the problem's scale and highlights the urgent need for further empirical research, systematic data collection and preventive measures in this critical area of public health. Since 2004, the HRCP, the country's apex independent human rights organisation, has recorded honour killings from media sources and volunteer reports. The HRCP reports show that between 2004 and 2016, a total of 15,222 cases of honour killings of women and men have been recorded in the country; this figure excludes attempted honour killings and other forms of honour-related violence. This means an average of 1170 honour killings every year and 22 per week (HRCP, 2019a).

Similarly, more than 11,000 honour-related violence incidents, including 29 honour killings and attempted killings of women, were recorded by the UK police forces from 2010 to 2014 (Talwar & Ahmad, 2015). Of these 29 killings and attempted killings, the ethnicity is known or alleged in 22 cases; of these, 15 were of Pakistani origin, three of Indian, one of Bangladeshi, one of Palestinian/Syrian, one of Kuwaiti and, one of white British (Dyer, 2015). The statistic shows that most reported UK honour killings have been carried out against people of South Asian origin, most of whom have Pakistani ethnic origin.

Overall, there is no national data on the scale of honour crimes in any country, including Pakistan and the UK, because it is not a recorded crime category. Consequently, the actual numbers of the crime are inaccurate. However, it is widely thought that the prevalence of honour-related violence and honour killings is increasing in Pakistan (HRCP, 2016) and the Pakistani community living in the UK (Dyer, 2015).

Having described the study's background, the origin of the term honour killings, and its prevalence, I will explain the rationale for the study.

1.4 The rationale for the study

There has been little empirical research conducted to explore, examine, and explain the social forces and structures that support, maintain, and manifest themselves in the acts of honour killings. Also, there is little known about honour-related violence and killings beyond their above-described popular explanations that such killings are cultural (particular to certain social groups) or patriarchal (universal to all societies). In practice, the notion of honour combined with violence and killings assumes that violence, in particular against women and girls, is culturally sensitive — a sensitivity that allows the perpetrator to use further coercion to prevent the victim from seeking help and to intimidate agencies of the state to stop them from pursuing and prosecuting these violent crimes. When honour-related violence is dismissed as a cultural issue, the communities in which it prevails are stigmatised, and those who suffer violence also face their suffering being brushed off as a cultural problem (Bhanbhro, 2017).

Additionally, there is an absence of systematic official information, over-reliance on secondary materials, and the lack of community perspectives on the conception and implication of honour notions through violence. Due to the sensitive nature of this issue, many researchers preferred to use secondary and tertiary sources and do not do fieldwork primarily because of the potential risk posed by those who might feel honour killing is a 'sacred cultural practice' that should not be tampered with (Sev'er, 2013; Perlmutter, 2011; Malik, Saleem, & Hamdani, 2001). This over-reliance on second and third-hand information has

implications for reliability because the available information is extracted from newspapers and electronic media reports, which is incomplete and therefore of limited value. Furthermore, a poor understanding of the context behind honour killings, such as social, religious, cultural and class structures, could contribute to unreliable assessments and analysis of the issue, and in turn, vague solutions could be suggested. Existing literature acknowledges an urgent need for primary research to improve understanding of the problem, which could help formulate preventive strategies and specific policies to address the issue (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Nasrullah, Haqqi, & Cummings, 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008). This interdisciplinary study draws upon knowledge from different disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, gender studies, psychology, political economy, and public health. The study also draws on postcolonial and transnational perspectives to contextualise the findings representing the same community from two different contexts, i.e., Pakistan and the UK. It analyses, synthesises, and harmonises perspectives, concepts, and theories taken from the different disciplines concerning the subject under investigation, presenting them as a coordinated and coherent whole to explain the notions of community honour and how they are enforced through violence and killings. In order to investigate honour killings as a collective practice rather than an individualistic action, the blend of anthropology and public health approaches provided a framework to include diverse sectors such as health, education, social services, justice, and policy in the analysis to understand what is usually assumed to be a purely “cultural” problem.

1.5 Aims and objectives of the study

Aim:

To explore, examine, and explain notions of honour and how they are implicated in honour killings and better understand these concepts and their implications in the honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and the UK's Pakistani community.

Objectives:

- To explore the community understanding of notions of honour and their enforcement through violence.
- To identify and uncover values, beliefs, norms, and traditions that underpin concepts of honour used to justify killing or attempt killing of women and girls.
- To explore, examine and explain the role of social structures such as extended family, clan, kinship, tribe, caste, culture, patriarchy, gender, sexuality, and religion as perceived by the community in shaping values of honour and their enforcement through violence against women and girls.
- To identify the social forces that shape, maintain and encourage the use of honour to justify the killing of women and girls.
- To interrogate the relationships of causality and justification between the notion of honour and killings or attempted killings of women and girls

1.6 My positionality

As we have seen, notions of honour and honour killings are unavoidably political and sensitive. This research is informed by critical realist social constructionism framework with critical feminist and race theories (this is described in chapter 2), which seeks to examine the taken-for-granted assumptions (women's subordination to men), ideologies (honour), and the social practices (honour killings) and how they are deeply embedded in societal structures and women's position in society.

I am a 40-year-old male British Pakistani married to a female British Pakistani. I have two children. I was born and brought up in Sindh, Pakistan, and lived in the UK for 14 years. I have travelled and worked extensively within Pakistan, the UK and overseas, including visiting 12 countries in Europe, the Middle East, North America, and Southeast Asia. This has given me insight into diverse cultural perspectives on the subject under study. I have been working as a researcher for twelve years in academic institutions in the UK. I also worked in Pakistan for two and a half years with Aga Khan University and the Trust for Volunteer Organisations. My first language is Sindhi (a regional language in Pakistan). I am fluent in English, Urdu and Hindi and understand Punjabi, Balochi, and Seraiki (regional languages of Pakistan). The participants in the UK and Pakistan viewed me both as an 'insider' and 'outsider' to the respective cultures because of my ethnic background (Sindhi) and social class (foreign education, working in a university and living in the UK with family).

Nonetheless, I maintained to operate in the field as an insider, as someone whose ethnicity, country of origin, skin colour and language gave the study participant and me a 'lived familiarity' and a prior knowledge of each other

(Holmes, 2020, p. 6). This position had both advantages and disadvantages; I explore these further in the reflexivity section of the methodology chapter. My ethnicity being a Sindhi (an ethnolinguistic group of Pakistan who speaks Sindhi), was the key factor in shaping my interactions with other Sindhi or non-Sindhi participants and impacted the data in Pakistan and the UK. For example, some non-Sindhi participants viewed honour killings purely as a problem of Sindhi culture and psyche; thus, their perspectives were skewed towards *karo-kari* (a form of honour killings) in the Sindhi province instead of honour killings, and similar practices occur in all parts of Pakistan. Being a Sindhi, some of the UK's non-Sindhi participants viewed me as a part of the problem and wondered why I was researching the topic. In contrast, some Sindhi participants focused on the view that the alleged association between honour killings and Sindhi culture is a conspiracy to malign their culture instead of acknowledging that it is a real problem but not one that is limited to Sindhis. Therefore, being a Sindhi, they wanted me to remove this misconception concerning the alleged association between Sindhi culture and honour killings practice through evidence-based research on the issue.

Similarly, my foreign education and residence in a foreign country were key factors from my class background that influenced interactions with the participants, particularly in Pakistan (see reflexivity section). So, the way I was perceived by participants and gatekeepers in the research sites, I feel it improved the richness and quality of the data.

I did this PhD because of my interest in women and girls' health and social well-being resulting from my previous research on health inequalities, maternal health, the impact of tribal conflicts on women and honour killings in Pakistan. I was interested in women's and men's perspectives on honour and honour

killings of women and girls to understand their viewpoints on social forces and structures that shape, support, and maintain the practice of honour killings.

In previous research, the people and social groups in the communities where honour killing has been studied have been only marginally represented, if at all. By contrast, this inquiry aimed to engage them to provide their perspectives on the issue being studied. I set out my research position to give significance to "speaking with, rather than for" these groups (Gill, 2013, p. 241). This position acknowledges participants as "active, capable and knowledgeable" (Russell & Barley, 2019, p. 22) and their knowledge as legitimate and authentic, as well as their right to imagine and construct it themselves, fashioning and reclaiming their being as opposed to others determining it (Dossa, 2011).

Based on my experience of conducting ethnographic research in various contexts, including Pakistan, pertaining to this study's aims and objectives, the principles and methods of a critical ethnographic approach were used to undertake fieldwork for data collection. In addition, the critical approach was closely aligned with the selected research methodology of the study. The fundamental principle that guided me was that the reality lay beneath surface appearances; this principle unsettles the current status of social issues and disrupts neutrality and taken-for-granted conjectures by bringing to light underlying and opaque structures of power and control (Madison, 2011). In applying critical ethnographic principles and methods, attention to my positionality has been vital. Among other things, it made me acknowledge my power, privilege, and biases (Madison, 2011) for minimising the impact of those on research processes and findings.

My standpoint continued to change over the course of the PhD. Reflecting on my personal and professional development and how it may have influenced the research design and analysis has been an important feature of this study. As appropriate, I have taken steps to mitigate personal and professional bias, particularly in fieldwork and data analysis, by writing field notes and memos, reading widely, and fully utilising discussions with my supervisors.

In Pakistan's research site, I maintained my research positionality as a member of the same social group as the participants but in a position of power that comes with my living and studying abroad. Before going to research sites, I reflected on what I knew about honour-related violence and honour killings. Because I made myself aware that my background knowledge would impact how I interview participants, I made a conscious effort to approach the data collection process as the one who has no or little knowledge about honour killings and therefore acknowledging the participants as the 'experts' on their experience.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organised into nine chapters. The present first chapter presents the background, rationale, aims and objectives of the study. It also reports the prevalence of honour killings and sketches the historical origin of the term honour killings.

The second chapter sets out the research methodology applied to answer the study's research questions and objectives. It justifies using critical realist social constructionism as an appropriate philosophy of research for this study. It also describes how the framework was used in the study. The chapter contains the

overall approach to data collection and analysis, including the directions to fieldwork in both research sites and negotiating access to the participants. It ends with a description of my reflections on the research processes.

The third chapter contains the literature review, including methods, results, synthesis, and analysis. The chapter culminates with theories and models that informed the data analysis.

Chapter four presents the empirical findings on participants' understanding of honour's notions and related concepts of dishonour and shame. It also includes local terminology that is closely aligned to notions of honour and their key dimensions. The chapter describes the relationships and implications of these concepts in acts of honour killings.

Chapter five presents empirical data on the honour system, its purposes, and the power dynamics that enable it to operate as enforcement rules through different social entities and emergent powers. It also outlines a three-pronged approach of surveillance, normalisation, and examination used by the system's agents, including the individuals, social groups, and institutions that make up social entities called 'norm circles'. The final section of this chapter describes how the honour system treats women and girls as vessels of family honour.

Chapter six presents empirical findings on the social entities, community or social groups that believe in the norms and values of honour and are affected by the honour system's rules and practices as norm circles. It describes the three levels of norm circles, i.e., micro, meso and macro, and how they interact and intersect to actualise the honour system's functions.

Chapter seven draws together chapters four, five and six by showing how the social forces and structures presented in these chapters manifest in the acts of

honour killings. It also describes that honour killings are not isolated incidents but a collective social practice.

Chapter eight discusses the empirical findings in light of relevant literature. It also discusses the theoretical developments.

Chapter nine concludes the thesis. It also sets out the contributions to knowledge made by this thesis and recommendations for policy and practice. It contains a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the study.

Chapter 2. Philosophy, methodology and research design

This chapter covers the theoretical framework underpinning the philosophy, methodology and research design of this thesis. First, I introduce the critical realist constructionist theoretical framework used in this project. I then move on to describe the research design, including research sites, data collection and analysis tools and the research participants involved.

This study aimed to uncover and explain notions of honour and how they are implicated in women and girls' honour killings in Pakistan and the UK's Pakistani community. This research aim has two parts: a) exploring and understanding the nature of functions and influences of notions of honour, which lie behind the murders of women and girls; and b) examining relationships between the conception of family honour and the social phenomenon of honour killings of women and girls. The section below describes the philosophy of research, including ontology, epistemology and methods used to attain its aim.

2.1 Philosophy of Research

The philosophy of research or research paradigm is "sound only if it guides the selection of methods in carrying out empirical research" (Yeung, 1997, p. 70). There are three basic elements to the research philosophy (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Firstly, ontology describes the nature of what is under study, the kind of entity it is. In my study, the central entity is "honour" and the associated honour killings of women and girls. Secondly, epistemology explores how we can know

what exists, particularly the entity or entities of interest. My epistemological standpoint in this study was that it is not possible to know a single objective reality of entities of interests (honour and honour killings). Instead, it was deemed appropriate to explore multiple, subjective, and intersubjective perspectives of the study participants about socially constructed entities of interests. Thirdly, methodology – is inquiry logic and tools, how we learn about our entity or entities of interest (Howes, 2015). The methodology also encompasses a set of theories about how and how far the research design enables a researcher to draw plausible inferences to conclusions that provide answers to the research questions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I used different theories, including critical feminist and race theories as well as theories concerning social practices and honour; these formed the basis of a social asset theoretical perspective to inform the analysis. Additionally, I employed critical ethnographic principles and methods to design and conduct this study.

The careful selection of a research paradigm is the first step towards the design and conduct of any empirical research. There is no 'objective' ground for selecting a specific research paradigm. However, it was necessary to conduct research within a paradigm consistent with the researcher's assumptions (Yeung, 1997). I made these explicit and critically reflected on them throughout the research process (see the section on reflexivity). The following section describes the three elements of the research paradigm, starting from critical realist social constructionism (Elder-Vass, 2012), which I used as an overarching theoretical framework in the research.

2.1.1 Critical realist social constructionism

Critical realist social constructionism combines two theoretical perspectives that are often considered contradictory: social constructionism and critical realism.

One of the notable differences between social constructionism and critical realism concerns ontology. For social constructionism, social entities are the creation of social processes. Further, they have no existence independent of the social process. Thus, social institutions, such as money, the market, social class, and honour, exist only because humans create them and dissolve when, typically, humans cease to believe in them (Hacking, 2000). Money has value only because we believe it can function as it does (Searle, 1995); class inequality exists because people create distinctions along these lines. And because of this, they have no reality in terms of causal power – how can something that exists only by virtue of human consciousness have independent causal power? For a social constructionist, the power must lie with humans and their beliefs, not in the entities they create through their beliefs. A further aspect of social constructionism is that we can create a different set of social entities. For example, the philosopher Appiah (2010) gives a historical account of honour as underlying moral misconducts such as duelling in England, foot-binding of women in China and slavery in the British Empire. As he shows, these practices have been eliminated. However, there remains a social practice called 'honour killings' that exists in many countries worldwide.

In contrast to constructionism, critical realism is a particular form of broader scientific realism (or natural realism). Critical realism says that reality exists independently of human beings and their beliefs and entities exist whether we believe in them or not, e.g., gravity. The building blocks may be atomic or

primary forces such as gravity and electromagnetism, but also, the things built, the systems, such as carbon entities and living beings, have an independent existence and, crucially, causal power. Critical realism takes this into the social realm and argues that social systems, processes, and so forth also have an independent existence and causal powers (Archer, 1998). For example, a mob has causal power that does not lie simply with each individual member of the mob.

At first, the two approaches look incompatible: social constructionism explicitly rejects the independent nature of reality that critical realism affirms. However, the sociologist Dave Elder-Vass squares that circle, proposing a theoretical framework that combines both. He emphasises that social entities are socially constructed – but once constructed, they also have an independent existence and causal powers. Also, insofar as humans are social beings, they "land" into a world of independent social entities that mould them and which they, in turn, mould.

The causal powers of social entities are emergent (i.e., emerge from the structure – just like emergence in the natural realm). Some are ascribed to social entities as a whole (e.g., a company can adopt a marketing strategy; an orchestra can create a harmony) or by its parts in virtue of the whole (as when a boss can fire a worker but not vice versa). These powers can be ascribed to an individual, but they exist not by virtue of qualities in the individuals themselves but by virtue of the system. Thus, when a boss sacks a worker, this can only be explained at a structural level; the individual's desires and make-up are of relatively minor importance.

Hence, for Elder-Vass (2012), social construction is a real and causally significant process that depends on multiple interacting causal powers to produce social entities. Once the entities are formed, they exist and operate independently of our knowledge of them. Therefore, both perspectives are significant and mutually dependent for an inquiry into the nature of existence of social entities and the emergent causal powers and processes that lie behind the formations, operations, and effects of the entities, such as norm circles, in the social world (Elder-Vass, 2012). Norm circles are central to Elder-Vass's account and are a key realist explanatory tool for all social phenomena. A more detailed account of the theory of norms circles is given in the following section.

2.1.2 Theory of Norm Circles

Norm circles can be defined as emergent entities comprising sets of individuals who hold normative beliefs, dispositions, and social expectations to endorse and enforce norms. This norm circle model is underpinned by Foucault's (2002 [1969]) discursive formation or *episteme,* a system of dispersion that may include compatible and conflicting norms and statements. However, one issue with Foucault's account of discursive formations is the difficulty in accounting for the causal powers of discursive rules that "reside in discourse itself" (p. 82) and which are produced in some way by the historical archive of discourse. Elder-Vass (2012) argues that Foucault fails to identify a mechanism through which the causal influence of episteme could occur. In the norm circle model, Elder-Vass identifies groups of people with the collective commitment to enforcing those norms that are the source of their causal influence. For Elder-Vass (2012), such social groups are social entities with people as their constituent

parts, and they have the causal powers that are “emergent properties”. The term emergent property is defined as,

> *“a property [of an entity…] that is not possessed by any of the parts individually, and that would not be possessed by the full set of parts in the absence of a structuring set of relations between them”* (p.17).

The emergent powers of social entities (norm circles) are produced by mechanisms, which are processes of interactions among the parts of the whole that produce the power, which produce a tendency in individuals to adhere to standardised social practices. Social order is then normativity - the tendency that people must follow the practices that are relatively standardised across a social group. For example, in the social practice of child marriage, people prefer to adhere to it on normative conditions that they believe most people in their relevant norm circle follow, and those people also believe that others should conform to it (Bicchieri, 2016).

In this thesis, I contend that the term ‘honour killing’ is viewed as a social practice rather than an isolated individual behaviour. This social practice is rooted in patriarchal cultures and operates within a tight social group, a norm circle (see below section on social practice theory). It is not necessary that a single norm circle exerts its powers to approve and impose a social norm within a social setting, but a variety of norm circles can exist and overlap with each other for sanctioning and implementing the norm. For example, a norm circle comprising extended family members who strongly believe in preserving family honour can interact and seek support from another norm circle comprising people from a similar clan who hold expectations from the family to avenge ‘dishonoured’ family honour by killing the person responsible. Sequentially, both

norm circles hold normative expectations from a third norm circle consisting of family and clan heads, mediators (*muqdams*) and tribal chiefs (*sardars*) to intervene and organise a traditional settlement (*khair*) to resolve the issue. These norm circles are concerned with a single social norm but exist at different levels and overlap with each other. For example, there may be a set of individuals or families (norm circle) who believe in the notion of family honour (social norm), which they attach to the sexual conduct and behaviour of their female relatives. In order to ensure compliance with the social norm, the concerned norm circle construct rules (code of honour), measures (expectations and sanctions) and social practices (honour killings).

Another significant aspect of the theory of norm circles is that the behaviour of individual members of a norm circle is determined by normative social institutions (e.g., family honour) and other causal forces. These institutions can contribute causally to determining behaviour. Hence, while it is not inevitable that the members of a norm circle will conform to the social practice, they are expected to observe it; they must either comply with or reject it – their behaviour is affected by it either way. The expectations are mediated through positive and negative sets of sanctions. The one who conforms to the practice receives praise, reward, and social support.

In contrast, the one who does not conform to the practice gets punishment, disapproval and, in some cases, socially shunned. In the context of honour killings, the perpetrators are mainly applauded and considered brave for protecting or restoring the family honour; they receive social and financial support (e.g., the group members collect funds to provide cash for the police

case and they accompany in support the concerned family to court, the police station or place of traditional settlement). If a family does not conform to the social norm of redressing damaged family honour, the family can be levied with negative sanctions such as social boycott (e.g., the noncompliant group members and families are not welcomed in birth, death, and wedding ceremonies), financial penalty, and loss of business. It is not all members of a given norm circle that influence an individual to conform with a norm concerned, but the local group ensures the conformity to a given norm. These local groups are categorised as:

- Proximal norm circle – consists of immediate and extended family (*khaandan*) members. This group develops schemas, dispositions, and beliefs around a norm, which in turn, individuals internalise as a social and familial value. This level of norm circle and its effects are a feature of Bourdieu's *habitus* (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977]).
- Imagined norm circle – encompasses people from a *khaandan* (extended family or lineage), neighbourhood, *paro* (a section of a tribe or group) village, tribe, clan, and members of other social groups. This group of people's attitudes and beliefs are not necessarily known to the individual, but that individual believes this group would endorse a particular set of norms, usually those of the proximal norm circle. The circle really exists but what is imagined by the individual, perhaps accurately, is their attitudes and beliefs. What Anderson (2006), for example, calls "imagined communities" (p. 6), where fellow members of the group 'imagine' "they share beliefs and attitudes and recognise a collective…as having similar opinion and sentiments to their own" (Hague, 2011, p.19). This constructed form (imagined) of the "reality is something that

everyone believes in, and as long as this communal belief persists, the imagined reality exerts force in the world" (Harari, 2014, p. 35). This norm circle plays a significant role in the enforcement of a concerned norm.

- Actual norm circle – composed of social institutions such as *jirga* (council of elders), police, district administration, and laws. This circle determines when actual endorsing and enforcing of behaviours are likely to occur.

These norm circles intersect with each other, and the boundaries between them are blurred. However, in a given social setting, the procedures to enact a social practice like honour killing include the following steps:

- killing an accused woman and man or both
- blaming a man for being a paramour of the family women (wife, mother, sister, and sister-in-law)
- reporting the incident to the family members then the head of the clan
- making the incident public

The nature and order of the above steps could vary across regions, cultures and social groups. In this study, the norm circle could be a family (*khaandan* or kin group), a clan, a biradri, a tribe (*qaum* or *qabeelo*) or a sub-tribe, caste (*zaat*), a kinship group[2], and a social group (connected through their country of origin) and the social norm, for the particular group members, who are committed to conforming is family or the group honour.

[2] The terms *biradri, qaum, qabeelo and zaat* are terms used interchangeably in Pakistan particularly in Sindh province to refer to the genealogical based endogamous groups consisting of several sub-caste and kinship groups.

Having discussed the first part of the philosophical stance - ontology (the nature of what is under study), we consider the second element of the paradigm: epistemology. My epistemological stance involved exploring multiple, subjective, and intersubjective social realities steered by several theories, including critical feminist, race and social practices and honour as property; I now turn to these theoretical perspectives.

2.1.3 Epistemology

Epistemology includes considerations about knowing what exists, particularly about an entity's ontological properties. In line with my ontological position (expressed in the above section), my epistemological standpoint was that it is not possible to know about a single objective reality of social entities of interests (honour and honour killings). However, it was plausible to explore multiple, subjective, and intersubjective social realities through interactions with the study participants. This position encompasses aspects of social constructionism and critical realism. The 'critical' element is shown in terms of going beyond merely describing the social structures of power and domination to engendering plausible explanations that might contribute to a change in the status quo. The 'realist' and 'constructionism' is shown in relation to exploring causal powers of socially created but independently operating entities that are not inevitable but amenable to be deciphered and transformed.

Concerning the realist perspective, knowing about the social entities of interests is to identify and state the existing theories and test them through empirical research. Thus, I identified the relevant theories from the existing literature, and those of most interest were examined and refined iteratively to develop an in-depth understanding of the social entities under investigation. Hence, the study

begins with initial theories examined (explored/challenged) and refined using empirical data and ends with developed theories that explain the notions of family honour and their relationships with the practice of honour killings of women and girls.

In this study, I adopted some aspects of critical theory to analyse the workings of power structures and forms of domination that apprise the intersections of gender, sexuality, and race with class, culture, and caste. In addition, I engaged with the theoretical perspective 'honour as property' (Bond, 2012, p. 202) to explore the intersections between notions of honour and their functions as a form of social asset. In the following section, I will describe these theories in detail.

2.1.4 Critical theory

Critical theory is one of the major traditions of critical thinking and analysis of the 20th century. It originated with various scholars, including Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, and Jurgen Habermas at the Frankfurt School. The theory's major goal is to describe the social forces of domination, inequality, and exploitation by going a step further to examine them critically and generate knowledge about them that can, in turn, inform social and political action for social justice. The scholars of this intellectual tradition stress the term "critical" for two reasons. First, the theory is critical. As such, it not only makes the forces of domination and disparities explicit, but it also deciphers the possible underlying factors that cause the social inequality and power differences and, in response, provides resources to society in general or at least oppressed sections, to strive for social and political change (Rush, 2004).

Second, the critical theorist believes that other theoretical perspectives are not critical because they have a more “administrative character”, which takes social forces of dominations and inequality for granted, without questioning them, which helps maintain the status quo (Fuchs, 2016, p.1).

Hence, critical theory aims to provide descriptive and normative sources for social inquiry and movements striving for social justice. In accordance with this approach, feminist theories (Friedan, 1982 [1963]; hooks, 2000) offer accounts of gender inequality due to the oppression and exploitation of women in a patriarchal system, rather than the supposedly inevitable or natural differences between men and women. In turn, this kind of explanation informs feminist activism to aspire to change in gendered power relations. The feminist theories provide ‘alternative visions’ by demystifying the naturalistic explanation of gender relations through more in-depth understanding and critically examining the surmised assumptions and ideologies and how they are deeply embedded and operate through social practices and social entities (Rhode, 1990, p. 635). I drew on the ideas and principles associated with the aspects of critical theory, including critical feminist, race, and social practices theories, which I will describe in the following section.

2.1.5 Critical feminist theory

Feminism has many varieties; thus, a single abstract definition of feminism would not apply to the whole spectrum of gender at all times and in all situations, regions, and cultures. In this study, I adapted a definition of feminism in accordance with the contextual relevancy of the definition with my study. The definition was formulated by the group of South Asian feminists, which argues,

> *"Feminism is a theory and practice of an awareness of women's oppression and exploitation in society, at work and within the family, and conscious action by women and men to change this situation"* (Bhasin & Khan, 1986, p.2).

This definition corresponds to a critical feminist approach, which goes beyond merely demanding social and legal reforms to end gender discrimination to critically investigating patriarchal power structures and wider social forces of domination, inequality, and exploitation. Following the critical analysis of a social phenomenon, the approach creates resources for action to bring social justice to society.

The more recent critical feminist theory (since Crenshaw) uses an intersectional framework, which considers the interconnections between various factors, including gender, class, caste, race, ethnicity (Crenshaw, 1991), migration status, resistance, representation, place, and response to the influential discourses of imperial Europe (Kramarae & Spender, 2001). For example, Okin (1999) and Appiah (2010) created discourses based on moral superiority, which show how social practices such as polygamy, the murder of an adulterous wife, wearing headscarves and female genital mutilations and honour killings in immigrant communities represented *moral differences* between 'us' (civilised West) and 'them' (backward East). These types of 'discursive representations' (Volpp, 2000, p.89) are made on the grounds of supposed moral superiority in order to make appeals to 'human potential to do the right thing' (Abu-Lughod, 2015, p. 56). For example, Appiah (2010) calls to his Western audience to intervene in getting Pakistani men primed to find the particular treatment of women (honour killings) shameful and to ridicule men who engage in honour killings; he views this as a means to bring about a moral revolution (p. 56). In

Spivak's (1994) words, Appiah calls on the West to "save brown women from brown men" (p. 92).

In her analysis of 'sati', Spivak (1994) similarly argues that Indian women were caught between two patriarchal systems in colonial times. On the one hand, white men wanted to 'save' them by abolishing the sati through a raft of oppressive misogynist laws and on the other hand, brown men wanted to erase the Indian women, leaving "no space from where the sexed subaltern subject can speak" (p. 316). Historically, the 'moral superiority' argument has been more accessible to the 'power centres' that influence the public, policy, and legal discourses. It is also purported by academic discussions and writings (Volpp, 2000). Therefore, I used critical theory (feminists, race and social practice) and an intersectionality approach to critically examine these discourses.

In my research, critical feminist theory provided the basis to examine taken-for-granted assumptions (women's subordination to men), ideologies (honour), and the social practices (honour killings) and how they are deeply embedded in societal structures and women's position in society. For example, the status quo of 'women as carriers of family honour; inferior to men; and are viewed as property' narratives — were questioned and disrupted in my study. Similarly, postcolonial feminist theories offered a critical stance on the universalising tendencies in Western feminist theory and a lack of attention to gender issues (Mohanty, 1984). The intersectional approach used in the study to take into account the role of culture, religion, state and social groups dynamics in production, reproduction and reinforcement of such assumptions, ideologies and practices that make women vulnerable to violence and killings for the sake of family honour. For example, the law in many countries, including Jordan,

Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, shows leniency towards perpetrators who murder women for the sake of family honour (Hasan, 2002; Warrick, 2005).

Similarly, some state institutions pay no or less attention to systems such as *jirga* (council of older men) in Pakistan and "*khap panchayats*" (caste-based councils) in India, that settle disputes of honour violence and killings out of the courts and sometimes sanction honour killings (Hussain, 2006; Roy, 2011). In the same vein, courts in Europe and the United States tend to take the 'cultural background' of perpetrators into account and result in more leniency when dealing with violence against black and ethnic minority women, including honour killings (Volpp, 2000; Hasan, 2002; Mojb & Hassanpour, 2003). Further, Meetoo and Mirza (2007) argue that honour killings as a form of domestic violence have become 'ethnicised' in the British multicultural context, as the media and government agencies perceive that these crimes are unique to cultural minority ethnic groups. In the same vein, Abu-Lughod (2013) and Zakaria (2021) argue that honour crimes in general and honour killings, in particular, are one of the favourite subjects of Western journalists when reporting on the Muslim countries or Muslims who live in Europe and America. With a view to analyse and problematise such 'ethnicised/racialised' presentation of minority ethnic groups and the practice of honour killings, I used critical race theory, to which I now turn.

2.1.6 Critical race theory

Critical race theory offers accounts of race, racism, racialised identities and racial oppression as socially constructed modes of explaining power relations rather than naturalistic accounts of these categories (Haslanger, 2014; Baum, 2015). While the biological or naturalistic accounts of race have been largely

debunked, at this time the similar essentialist assumptions have been made for the 'culture' of outsider communities such as black and ethnic minority groups, who are living in Europe and the United States. For instance, the cultures and traditions of particular groups such as Pakistani, South Asian, or Middle Eastern are taken as causes of criminal violence such as honour killings. Such communities and groups' cultures are seen as fixed, homogenised, and having an inherent tendency of gender oppression and violence. This racialised view of some cultures is produced and reproduced because culture's very fluid and diverse nature has been ignored. Under such a framework, black and ethnic minority communities' culture has been transformed into a "pseudo-biological property of communal life" (Gilroy, 1993, p. 24). Similalry, Weheliye (2014) argues that not thinking critically about race leaves the door open for the naturalisation of this category (that is, race). He argues that race should not be viewed as an ideology or "the erroneous ascription of social meaning to existent biological classifications" (p. 51). But Weheliye suggests Roberts' (cited in Weheliye, 2014) explanation to view race as

> "a political system that governs people by sorting them into social groupings based on invented biological demarcations. . .. Race is not a biological category that is politically charged. It is a political category that has been disguised as a biological one" (p. 51).

As in the past, if someone of another so-called race did something wrong, it might be attributed to being 'in his blood'. More recently, this attribution has become 'it is in his culture'. In both cases, race and culture are viewed as innate characteristics of certain social groups. Within this viewpoint, ethnic differences between native and immigrant populations are equated with moral differences to explain behaviours, attitudes, views, and beliefs (Volpp, 2000).

Further, Montoya and Agustin (2013) argue that this view of violence as having a 'racial' or 'ethnic' basis largely ignores the gendered nature of violence and the cultural framing of violence; it also creates a dichotomy between "insiders" (non-violent Europeans) and "outsiders" (violent others). Therefore, Spiller (cited in Weheliye, 2014) asks us to understand and tackle systems of oppression and not choose between race and gender but demand attentiveness to different forms of domination, including gender, coloniality, slavery, racialisation, and political violence. Grewal (2013) takes on the issue from a slightly different direction, focusing on 'the production of the idea of honour killing' or how the concept produces meanings, cultures, and identities' (p.1). She argues that the concept of honour killings has been outsourced from Europe and America like patriarchy. By "outsourced", she means that in the Western discourse on honour killings, the culture remains the dominant explanation for the crime, which produces the forms of power that reinforce caste, class, racial and Islamophobic answers to the honour crime. The overall result is that the cultural/racial classification not only stigmatises certain acts of violence but entire communities and cultures (Montoya & Agustin 2013; Abu-Lughod 2015; Bhanbhro, de Chavez & Lusambili, 2016). This is shown by, for example, Brandon and Hafez (2008) conducted a major study on honour-related violence in the UK, which was commissioned by an independent think-tank, the Centre for Social Cohesion. In the study report titled "*Crimes of the Community: Honour-Based Violence in the UK*", they showed that the terms "community" and "honour" were attributed to ethnic minority groups as if only the notions exist among these groups and all of those communities were implicated in the crime of honour. Critical race theory enriched the analysis to show how, when, and why the racial or ethnic differences were attributed to

harmful practices and “bad behaviours and actions” of certain social groups, in this case, communities of South Asia and Middle Eastern origin in general and Muslims in particular.

The cultural accounts of honour-based violence, including honour killings, have been produced and reproduced extensively through the media, academic writing, popular literature, political rhetoric, and policy discourses, underpinning the overstated differences between “us” and “them”. Under such framing, the concept of culture has been used as an essential tool for making ‘others’ (Abu-Lughod, 1991), which avert people viewing and understanding specific power relations – both within other cultures and their own (Volpp, 2000). In order to signal the shift from the overuse of ‘culture’ in the context of honour killings instead, I used the notion of social practice in my research. The idea of practice is ‘built around the problems of contradiction, misunderstanding and misrecognition and favours strategies, interests and improvisations over the more static and homogenising cultural tropes of rules, models and texts’ (Abu-Lughod, 1991, p. 472). The following section will describe another key aspect of critical theory: the social practices theoretical approach adopted in this study.

2.1.7 Social practices theory

The theory of social practice has many strands and spans literary to cultural studies. I used a critical theory informed perspective of social practices in my study. The practice involves human action that means – ‘anything people do’ (Ortner, 1984, p.149). Historically, many anthropologists and sociologists have derived an action from concepts and processes known as social systems. For instance, ‘collective consciousness’ for Durkheim, ‘habitus’ for Bourdieu, ‘systems theory’ for Parson, and ‘structuralism’ (structural anthropology) for

Lévi-Strauss, all refer to social systems that underlie all the things that humans do (van Leeuwen, 2008). The practice theory model seeks to explain and understand the relationships between human action and social systems. For example, a marriage system is a 'system of social relations, economic arrangements, political processes, cultural categories, norms, values, ideals, emotional patterns, and so on'. So, anything people do in such a system would form a social practice (Ortner, 1984, p. 148). With reference to my study of honour and honour killings of women and girls, I contend that the notions of honour operate through an organised system of patriarchal control and domination over female family members and anything people do to maintain that system is a social practice, such as the murder of women for the sake of honour.

Social practices are a patterned and routinised set of behaviours in a social system (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977]), in which human actions (Ortner, 1984) are underpinned by a web of intersubjective meanings (Kippax, 2008). The practices involve numerous elements interconnected to one another. I adapted the elements of a social practice outlined by van Leeuwen (2008, p. 7-12). These are described below:

- Actors: People who directly or indirectly take part in a particular social practice such as instigator, agent, affected, beneficiary, etcetera. For example, within the Pakistani Muslim marriage system, cousin marriage (a marriage between a man and a woman, who are first or second cousins) is a social practice. In this practice, a typical set of actors would be a bride, groom, parents, siblings, other relatives, cleric, etcetera. The practice varies across cultures and communities within Pakistan and the Pakistani diaspora; hence the actors would vary.

- Actions: A set of actions performed in a sequence by the actors, the sequential actions in the above practice would be negotiations between the families before the wedding, performance of a set of rituals before, during and after the wedding ceremony such as *nikkah* (marriage contract), *walima* (the marriage banquet), *rukhsati* (sending off the bride from her parents' home to her in-laws), and consummation of the marriage.
- Performance mode and times: The actions are performed at a certain pace, time, and sequence; for example, in the practice of cousin marriage, *nikkah* is done before *walima* and then *rukhsati.* The marriage will be consummated after *rukhsati* and usually at night-time.
- Locations: Places where social practices take place, for instance, the social practice of cousin marriage, may take place in the bride or groom's house or a hotel or marriage hall. It can occur at multiple locations in parts, such as *nikkah* in a mosque, *walima* in a hotel and *rukhsati* from a house.

Further, a practice is a coordinated, intentional, and rule-governed pattern of behaviours (McGeer, 2007) that generates, allocates, and arranges resources with a positive or negative value such as honour, social status, power, property, knowledge (Haslanger, 2018). The consistency in behaviours comes from cultural schemas or intersubjective meanings, which social group members have learned and internalised through socialisation (McGeer, 2007).

In addition, social practices play an important role in setting a 'stage' for actions to be carried out that they specify. For example, bride price is a social practice within the marriage system observed in certain social groups that provides a

platform for actual acts of weddings through exchange rules, price of a bride, customs for negotiations and agreements. The set rules are aligned with social institutions such as *jirga* to settle the disputes that may arise, measures for the enforcement of the decisions taken in the *jirga* and means of communication to perform the bride price. Social practices theory views that to perform an action specified in the relevant practice, individuals may act alone but that, despite this, the action is not (primarily) an individual behaviour. Rather it is the individual acting with reference to shared meanings (Kippax & Stephenson, 2005) or representing the norm circle for that concerned social norm (Elder-Vass, 2012, p. 26). One way to think of this is that the individuals are fairly interchangeable; it is the individual as a group member that acts, not the individual as an autonomous agent.

Therefore, social practices are formed within intersubjective webs of meanings and are basically social - in the sense that the relations between people shape them. The social relationships between people are mediated, structured, and navigated by important differences in social groups (norm circles), such as social status, class, ethnicity, and other structural differences in age, gender, and sexual orientation. From a social practice perspective, individual behaviour is always socially and contextually embedded (Kippax, 2008). For example, in certain social groups, the concept of family honour is a highly prized social asset, and, in a bid to protect such cherished resources, the groups would create social practices, such as honour killings. The following section will describe an analytical lens, “honour as property”, applied in the analysis.

2.1.8 Honour as social property

I used a theoretical perspective known as the 'property-based theoretical lens' (Bond, 2012, p. 204). It was first introduced by Johanna Bond, a law professor, in her article titled 'honour as property', published in 2012. She contends that in many countries worldwide, legal systems have treated the notion of honour as a form of social 'property' and have made legal and social provisions for men who seek to regain honour property through violence (Bond, 2012). For instance, the partial defence of provocation in the current American law mitigates the murder of a cuckold husband on his wife and/or her lover. In the past, it was justified that in such a situation, a man with honour was not merely forgiven but expected and encouraged to take the law into his hands and avenge his honour. Now the partial defence of provocation is no longer a justification but an excuse, expressing society's forgiving understanding rather than the full condoning of such killings. Nevertheless, in most American states, as in England and other common law countries, the partial defence of provocation is still the law of the land (Kamir, 2006). In this context, the theoretical model, honour as a form of property, provided me with the analytical insights to examine the intersections between the nature and functions of socially constructed concepts of honour and property and their implications for the social practice of honour killings.

The theoretical lens is based on the idea that honour is a highly valued and fiercely protected form of social property in a norm circle. The social standing of a family within a norm circle (clan, *biradri*, tribe, community, or a group) mainly depends on the conception of honour that fundamentally operates to control sex, sexuality, body, and behaviours of female members of a family who, in turn, are deemed as objects of the honour property. Similarly, paper banknotes are objects that contain monetary or exchange value.

Honour property is intangible; it lies with female family members but is 'owned by male family members' (Bond, 2012, p. 233). Schneider (1971) argues that for the Mediterranean pastoralist groups, honour and its corollary concept, shame served two main purposes - to defend or enhance the patrimonies of families and to define "the family as a corporate group", in which women are considered as the contested resources for group rivalry and usurpation (p. 21). Similarly, Shah (2007) says that different tribes and clans in Upper Sindh Pakistan, when competing for resources, use the idea of honour to articulate these competitions; and the tribe and clan members use honour allegations for the rival group members to draw huge penalties in cash, kind, or both. Further, she states that within the 'exchange economy of honour' (p. 139), many resources are redistributed through honour accusations such as government employees advance salaries, pensions, house-building loans, traders' returns, fresh acquisitions of property.

Women symbolise honour in the way that money symbolises exchange value, and like monetary value, honour-value can rise or fall. Having defined what is meant by 'honour as property', I will now move on to discuss Bond's (2012) theorisation of it:

- Honour as currency: its presence and absence have economic consequences, and its value fluctuates with women's behaviour and actions. For example, in a village where honour killings are practised, if a local shopkeeper's daughter has been accused of tainting the family's honour and the person does not want to clean the family honour, he may lose all his customers.
- Honour and cost-benefit analysis: in the context of honour crimes, in a bid to avenge damaged family honour, legal and non-legal penalties

are involved, and concerned families carefully consider economic consequences before taking any action to protect or restore the family honour. For example, the cost of weapons to be used in the crime, expected penalties by the community or the state, fines, imprisonment, and cost of a police case. In some cases, families place responsibility for defending family honour on younger or older male family members, who are economically inactive. This can be seen in the case of brothers who shot dead their 20-year-old sister in Sindh, Pakistan, to save the family honour, but who then registered the case against their retired father (Samoon, 2017). The local reporter of Dawn newspaper told me that this manoeuvre was pre-planned by the father and brothers to save the family from financial consequences following the murder, avoid imprisonment for the brothers, who had jobs, and instead imprison the father. The latter was on a pension (Dawn.com, personal communication, July 11, 2017).

- Economic gains (fraudulent use of honour): Male family members may seek to extort money from an unrelated male by claiming that the person has damaged their honour. For example, in *karo-kari* (a type of honour killings prevalent in Pakistan), a man can kill his wife in a bid to extract money from a rival person, with the accusation that she had an extramarital affair with the rival; the accused party would then be liable to pay compensation in the form of money, land, or any other valuable property.

Further, Bond (2012) has placed the idea of honour property into two conceptual categories, i.e., honour property as power and honour property as communication.

i) Honour property as power

Bond (2012, p. 236-242) articulates four aspects of honour property as power, that include:

a) First possession through discovery or conquest: hitherto, legal systems such as the exact meaning and boundaries of "possession" are not defined clearly in many countries. Under the first possession rule, courts generally give property rights to those who first owned a disputed, previously unowned property. Consequently, in the context of law, a person gets compensation if he or she can show a legitimate claim to the formerly unowned or undiscovered territory. In the context of honour, the 'previously unowned or undiscovered territories' are the virgin and chaste female bodies' (p. 236) that carry the value of family honour. So, in the situation where the chaste or virginal female body has been exposed through premarital, extramarital sex or even rape, the family honour is diminished; as a consequence, the owners of honour property (male family members) would attempt to regain that value through violence targeted at the carriers of honour property (female family members). This explains the claim and exercise of honour as power through 'possession' of honour property (p. 236). It is like discovering that some of your money is fake, and so you publicly destroy that to reassure the community that the rest of your money (analogous to, say, another daughter) is still "pure" or – not fake.
b) Occupancy theory: under the first possession rule, the occupancy theory justifies property ownership simply by establishing possession through occupation or control over the contested property. For example, in the

family honour system, male family members exercise power and control over female family members as women are the objects of honour property.

c) Labour theory: conception of this theory is based on the English philosopher John Locke's (cited in Bond, 2012) argument, according to which 'a thing derives its value from someone's investment of labour, and, as a result, the person who invested labour deserves to call the property his or her own' (p. 240). In the family honour system, family members constantly watch family women and girls' movement and behaviour. Girls are taught to obey modesty, chastity, and honour codes and norms from a very young age. In many parts of Pakistan, a woman cannot go outside the home without a male family member, even though they could be as young as five. The vigilance over women's conduct is labour intensive. For example, in some social groups, where honour is highly valued, males go to great length and invest resources in a bid to maintain the value of honour property through restricting women's behaviour, social mobility and their contact with men outside the social group (family, kinship, or caste).

d) Exclusion: In modern property theory, the right to exclude is one of the key principles. In the honour system, exclusion means barring others from gaining sexual access to female family members and, by this means, maintaining the value of honour property.

ii) Honour property as communication

The second conceptual category is honour property as communication, which serves three main roles in a social group (norm circle). Firstly, norm circle members communicate and recognise the relationship between the property

holder and the honour property and expect the members, particularly males, to guard the family's honour property. Secondly, the norm circle plays a role to regulate the value of honour property by creating and organising rules and structures to enforce and manage claims of defilements. These include, for example, procedures to convene *khair* (informal settlement), fixing the price of compensation in cases of married or unmarried women and fixing the means of compensation, such as cash payment or *sangchatti* (exchange of women to settle a dispute). Thirdly, avenging family honour to reclaim the value of honour property through the murder of an alleged transgressor also conveys a message to other women. This can be seen in the case of a Turkish woman Ayse, who escaped from honour killing in 2002. Her husband wanted to prevent the murder of Ayse, but the council of family elders insisted that he had to kill his wife, on the pretext that it would be a bad example for other women, who may wish to follow Ayse (KA-MER, 2004, p. 128).

The ontology, epistemology and theories described in the previous sections informed the selection of methods, the critical ethnographic principles, and methods, which I used to carry out empirical research. I will now move on to discuss these in the following section.

2.2 Methods

The selection of appropriate data collection methods is important because of what, how and where the generated data are used to produce explanations to answer the research questions. Considering my study's nature, scope, and objectives, the research methods based on the positivist paradigm show a single objective reality that can be discovered by applying suitable experimental methods such as laboratory-based trials, quantitative polls, questionnaires, and

surveys deemed unsuitable. In contrast, my study's selected research paradigm was based (as described above) on critical realism and social constructionism that there is no single reality, but multiple and multi-layered realities that can exist independent of our knowledge about them. They can be explored by eliciting the study participants' perspectives on the research topic. This can be done using appropriate data collection methods such as interviews, observations, and focus groups on eliciting participants' views in a social setting.

To reiterate, given the sensitive nature of the issue under study, most researchers who have studied this topic previously preferred to use secondary and tertiary sources of information and did not do fieldwork. Thus, little attention has been paid to engaging people, groups, and communities, specifically male members of such groups, who believe in the 'values' of honour and their enforcement through violence. So, in order to investigate the particular research problem, fieldwork using critical ethnographic principles and methods is justified. I anticipated a greater potential for trust and communication with men in the research sites as a man. Also, owing to a paucity of male researchers working on honour-related violence, including honour killings, our knowledge of men's views, attitudes and beliefs about honour and honour killings is slighter than women. Therefore, I chose to include both (men and women) but concentrated more on men in both research sites, i.e., Pakistan and the UK.

At this stage, it is necessary to clarify that this was an ethnographic study but not a full ethnography as I did not take ethnography as a philosophical paradigm involving the systematic study of people in their cultural context (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Also, I did not stay with them for a long period to produce a thick ethnographic account of people and their culture (LeCompte

& Preissle,1993). However, given the marginal representation of people and communities in the research on honour-related violence and honour killings undertaken up to now, the process of this inquiry needed to be one that had the potential to engage potential participants to provide their perspectives on the issue being studied. This required an approach that would gain an emic perspective. Thus, because of the sensitive and complex nature of the topic under-study (honour and honour killings) and my previous experience with ethnographic research carried out in several contexts, including Pakistan, the principles and methods of a critical ethnographic approach deemed appropriate to undertake fieldwork for data collection as these were aligned with the selected research paradigm. The critical ethnographic principles that guided the research are:

- The reality lies beneath surface appearances; this principle unsettles the current status of social issues and disrupts "both neutrality and taken-for-granted" conjectures by bringing to light underlying and obscure structures of power and control (Madison, 2011, p. 5).
- To be attentive to the realistic representation of the study participants, their culture, and stories. Presenting and representing those you have come to know and those who have given you consent to bring to light their stories through the research process have consequences. As Hall (1997) says, the way people are represented, the way they are treated.
- Sensitivity to "positionality" and "reflexivity" – the researcher needs to be explicit about their background, values and stance relating to the research topic, locations, and participants (Madison, 2011). The researcher needs to develop and embrace a process of self-awareness to be critically reflective on one's thoughts, biases, and experiences and

how these have influenced all stages of the research process (Begoray & Banister, 2012; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

These principles informed my data collection methods, including individual and focus group interviews, informal conversations, social events observations, and archives searches.

2.2.1 Data collection methods

I did fieldwork in two research sites: a district of Sindh province of Pakistan, and a city of North England, UK. I held informal conversations in both settings, formal in-depth individual and focus group interviews with people of various socio-economic backgrounds, including opinion-makers (those who influence their social groups or communities) and observations of community events.

Informal conversations are important in doing the fieldwork (Driessen & Jansen, 2013, p. 249). Despite the recent changes in the fieldwork practices and processes, the informal conversations are part of Geertz's (1998) idea of systematic "hanging around", which is still a core ingredient of fieldwork. In most cases, during my fieldwork, I used informal conversations as a continuum to the formal interviews, which allowed me to probe and discuss the emerging issues in the interviews.

I used interviews as data 'making' or data-generating tools (Baker, 1997, p.130) to produce knowledge about the social phenomenon under study, in partnership with the study participants, instead of excavating pre-existing data (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). In-depth individual interviews are normally considered appropriate methods to capture deeper information and participants' perceptions in ways other tools such as surveys cannot (Rich & Ginsburg,

1999). In addition to the individual interviews, I organised focus groups interviews to gather various participants' opinions. The focus group interviews provided an opportunity to explore group dynamics, which enhanced the participants' likelihood of speaking frankly about the issue; this could not have occurred through individual interviews (Lederman, 1990).

In addition to the data collection methods mentioned above, I produced data by observing community events such as *jirga*, *kachahri* (traditional male gatherings), community association meetings, meetings with schoolteachers and speaking with taxi drivers, shopkeepers, and labourers. The observations were useful because they enriched and supplemented the data gathered through other tools and gave me direct access and insights into social and physical spaces where complex interactions occurred (Moyles, 2007, p. 174).

In combination with the data gathering methods mentioned above, I used archival research methods to extract information from archival sources such as manuscripts, documents, records (including electronic records), and newspapers. It provided historically significant evidence related to the research topic.

The individual and group interviews were carried out in the preferred language of the research participants. Participants were asked open-ended questions and given prompts to gain meticulous details and a deeper understanding of the study subject. For the interview guide in English, Sindhi, and Urdu, see Appendix 1. The majority of interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants. Informal conversations were not audio-recorded, but relevant notes were made with the participants' permission. All the audio recordings of the individual and focus group interviews were translated and transcribed by

two professionals and double-checked by myself and my critical friend, bound by the study's ethics to ensure accuracy.

I conducted the majority of individual and focus group interviews. However, given the delicate nature of the topic, female research participants were given a choice to be interviewed by a female researcher or me. In the UK, four female research participants preferred to be interviewed by a female researcher. Following their preference for a female researcher, I arranged an experienced female community researcher who interviewed them in their preferred language and place. In order to capture the range of perspectives, the following main research methods were used.

Individual in-depth interviews

In my study, the individual in-depth interview was one of the key data collection methods. The interviews provided the means to explore the participants' perspectives on the study topic while giving their views "culturally honoured status of reality" (Miller & Glassner, 1997, p. 99). Hence, all interviews were conducted face-to-face, yielded more detailed information through open-ended questions, and received higher response rates.

I conducted 22 individual in-depth interviews in total, twelve in the UK and 10 in Pakistan. In each setting, six interviews were held with male and six with female participants. The interviews were held at locations preferred by the individual participants, including male guest rooms (*otaq*), shops, mosques, community centres, non-governmental organisation (NGO) offices, participants' houses, political party offices, cafes, private clinics, and government offices. The length of the interviews varied from 30 minutes to an hour. The interviews were

conducted in a conversational style, but the pre-designed open-ended questions and prompts were used to steer the conversation towards the topic.

Focus group interviews

I facilitated the focus group interviews, which involved group participants' interaction with each other and me. The distinctive feature of the focus groups was interaction among the group participants, in which they not only exchanged their point of views on the topic of the focus, but they sometimes challenged each other on some points. This technique was useful as the "explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights would have been less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (Morgan, 2011 [1997], p. 2). In total, eight focus group interviews were conducted with male and female participants. Of these, six were held in Pakistan and two in the UK. Each focus group interview consisted of 2-9 participants.

Observations

I did non-participant observations of different social events. This method allowed me to see, hear and write notes unobtrusively while people were engaged in their respective activities, talking to each other, participating in discussions, running shops and restaurants, and playing their assigned roles (in the case of *jirga*). In the events where I was allowed to ask questions, I did try to probe for clarification and got some insights about the issues being discussed. My presence in some events, such as a *khair* (out of court settlement for honour killing dispute), was conditional that I would not write, record, take pictures or ask anything during the process of *khair,* but I could ask questions after it ended. Regardless of being a participant or non-participant observer, I needed to be there, as opined by Fetterman (2010), that "is being there—to observe, to

ask seemingly stupid yet insightful questions, and to write down what is seen and heard" (p. 9). Some social events attended at both research sites included informal community gatherings, a community engagement workshop on honour-based violence and forced marriages, entitled 'community dialogue on honour', and a *khair* (an informal settlement event on an honour killing dispute).

Informal conversation

Informal conversations with people in both field sites were useful information-gathering sources about the research settings, the participants, and their perspectives on the issue. It was important to build rapport and overcome strangeness, newness, and otherness in the field. For example, on my second field trip to Pakistan, while waiting for a participant to interview, I had a chat with a person who brought tea for me. When I told him that I was researching *karo-kari* (honour killings), when he heard the word '*karo-kari',* he immediately replied, 'what are you doing here then? You should go to [name of an area] and speak to people; they will tell you everything about this social evil [*karo-karo*]'. When I asked the person why [the name of the area], he replied, 'the [name of the area] is the centre of the centre (*garh*) for this *laanat*' [literary means curse but metaphorically used for an extremely offensive or bad act] (Field notes).

Archival research

The archives can provide vital information about the past that can help us to much the changing present. The available literature on the issue of honour-based violence, including honour killings and the concept of honour, have presented this social phenomenon as an ahistorical socio-cultural problem, which gained currency in the late 1990s and took off after 9/11 (the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States of America) as a label for activism, human

rights, research, and scholarship associated with the killing of women and girls, mainly in Muslim communities in their own countries and migrants in Europe and America. However, I contend that this phenomenon has existed for centuries in many cultures and communities and is not limited to Muslims and South Asians. Therefore, it was considered necessary to explore and understand the historical context behind this social phenomenon. According to Harari (2016), "studying history aims to loosen the grip of the past… it will not tell us what to choose, but at least it gives us more options" (p. 69). Thus, I researched the archives to explore the historical backgrounds of honour killings and how the notion of honour has been constructed. More importantly, to see how and why women have been made carriers of family honour.

I attended a PhD student open day in January 2019 organised by the British Library, London, to access archival material. Following this, I made a few visits to the library where I carried out systematic searches using specific search terms in the main catalogue of British Library, India Office Library, Missionary Literature, and Digitised Newspapers since 1858 (British Raj).

2.3 Ethics approval

Adherence to ethical guidelines or codes of conduct is central to conducting high-quality research throughout the research process. It is the responsibility of a researcher to pay attention to ethical issues during the research process. The ethical guidelines encompass various things, but most important are informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, privacy, respect, risk assessment, reciprocity, and promises (Habib, 2018; Sanjari et al., 2014; Allmark et al., 2009; Halai, 2006). The professional and ethical codes of conduct should be observed throughout the research process, including data collection, analysis, reporting

and publication of research findings or information about the research participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Before going into research sites, I obtained ethical approval from SHU's Faculty of Health and Wellbeing Research Ethics Committee Ref: 2015/6-HWB-HSC-39 (Appendix 2). The anticipated main risks were to do with distress, maintenance of confidentiality (particularly in the focus groups), what to do if details of a crime become apparent, the interviewer's personal safety and gender acceptability. There might have been some inconvenience since participants had given time to take part. Before the data collection, adequate arrangements were made at collaborating organisations to address these issues. The arrangements included: a) the participant information sheet was prepared in local languages, Sindh, and Urdu (Appendix 3); b) adequate information about the research was provided to the potential research participants in their local languages before they participated in interviews or focus groups, and c) a female researcher was arranged to conduct interviews with female participants. Voluntarily informed written and oral consent was taken from all participants before conducting interviews, focus groups and observations.

Participants right to withdraw at any stage of the project was made known in the participant information sheet, at the meeting they had with me, within the consent form and again before taking part in the study. Due to time constraints at the end of some individual and group interviews, debriefing sessions were held with collaborating organisations to ensure people were okay. Seven debriefing sessions in the UK research site and 3 in the Pakistan research site were arranged, but the participants raised no concerns.

All the interviews were translated and transcribed by professionals while double-checking for accuracy and reading for the analysis; I spotted considerable inconsistencies in four interviews and one focus group, which I re-transcribed myself. Also, I did re-check all interviews against the audio recordings for their accuracy and consistency. Participants were informed that their real names would not be mentioned in the transcripts. Identifying details of the participants and places was taken out of any final report and any publication so that readers would not identify them. The documents relating to this research project's administration were kept in a folder called a site file that was locked away securely. The only situation in which people from outside the research team did see this documentation was where people from the University wanted to check that I was following the correct procedures. However, even in this case, the anonymity of the participants was preserved.

2.4 Approaching research sites

The fieldwork in Pakistan was conducted on four trips between September 2016 and August 2018. On these trips, I spent more than two and a half months at the research site. The data collection in the UK was carried out between February 2017 and March 2018.

The research culture in Pakistan is underdeveloped, and it is challenging to access people and invite them to participate in any research. This research involved a sensitive issue and inviting people to participate in such research is even more difficult. Similarly, honour-related violence, including honour killings, is a politically charged and contentious issue in the UK. Therefore, I used inter- and intra-personal networks and local resources to access research participants and data collection in both research sites.

Before starting my fieldwork in Pakistan, I communicated with my contacts who belonged to the area and explained the study. I collaborated with a network of non-profit organisations. The network worked with different communities on gender-based violence, including honour killings and reproductive health. It has several offices in Pakistan, but my main contact was with the office located in the selected district because it was my main research site in Pakistan. The network provided me with the necessary support in my fieldwork, including arranging access to the research participants and data collection.

My first visit to Pakistan for data collection was in September 2016. This trip happened to be after the high-profile case of the honour killing of Qandeel Baloch. On July 15, 2016, Qandeel Baloch, a 26-year-old Pakistani model, actress, and social media celebrity was strangled to death by her younger brother, who alleged she had dishonoured their family. Honour killings and people's divided views about it were not a new phenomenon in Pakistan, but it was something new that people did express their views freely on social media. Some people were praising the killer that he was justified in killing his sister for cleansing the stained family honour, and some were condemning the murder that it was the hypocrisy of her brother when he was receiving money each month from her then he did not think about the family honour. However, wherever I went during my field visit and asked people about honour and honour killings, people immediately started talking about Qandeel's case. This incident created an environment where I felt it was hard to engage people in the conversation beyond this case. Due to the extensive national and international media coverage of the case, the Pakistan parliament started debating the pending legislation on the anti-honour killing law. Some segments of the society considered honour killings a national disgrace and pressured the state

institutions such as the parliament, courts, and law enforcement agencies to tackle this issue. As a result of the ongoing public discourse on honour killings, people avoided speaking with the people coming from abroad about honour killing, and the impression was that reporting of the foreigners regarding such issues gave a bad name to the country. I overcame this challenge by getting support from my contacts and the collaborating network, who facilitated my fieldwork by arranging interviews, focus groups and meetings with community members, journalists, civil society, and human rights activists. My other field visits in 2017 and 2018 were fairly smooth, as I established a rapport with people, built new connections with people and the local organisations and identified some village level gatekeepers whom the people trusted in the field.

Similarly, at the UK research site, a charity working with local communities on various issues, including domestic violence, offered me a flexible work placement for my data collection duration. I used this opportunity and visited its office every alternate Saturday for about four months. While sitting in the office, I interacted with the staff, the volunteers, and the public members who visited the office. Along with the organisation, another community centre also helped me recruit the study participants and use their premises for conducting focus groups and interviews. The centre also invited me to various community social events, which were useful in building rapport with people. With the centre's support, I also got an opportunity to speak on a local community radio station to introduce my research. In addition to these organisations, I received support from individual gatekeepers to conduct my fieldwork.

Negotiating access

Access to the study participants was negotiated through various gatekeepers identified through the local organisations. For data collection in Pakistan, there was no other permission required. However, I visited the local police station and informed the House Station Officer (SHO) about my study and the fieldwork. The SHO offered the help that a police officer could go with me to the villages and ask people to speak with me, but I thanked him and declined his offer as it could have sabotaged the data collection, given that the presence of a policeman could prevent the study participants expressing themselves freely. After informing the local police station, I approached the potential study participants through already identified gatekeepers and provided them with information about the study's aims and objectives. I distributed the participant information sheet, which was translated into the Sindhi and Urdu languages. Most of the participants did not read it and asked me to explain it, which I did. Those who agreed to participate then signed a consent form; again, most of the study participants in Pakistan did not sign the consent form but preferred to give oral consent. A majority of interviews were conducted simultaneously, and some of the interviews and focus groups were arranged one day before going into the field.

The snowball sampling strategy was mainly applied to recruit the participants, which provided an effective way of accessing key individuals within a specific field, especially when I could have otherwise found it difficult to make direct contact with appropriate individuals or when the response rate was expected to be particularly low. As in the case of participants' recruitment in the UK research site, it was difficult to recruit the participants for the interviews, especially when I tried to hold interviews with Muslim clerics or religious leaders. In order to hold

interviews with at least two religious leaders or Imams from each of the Islamic sects (Shia/Sunni), I approached 8 of them, but after listening about the research topic, all of them declined to take part. Then, one of the gatekeepers arranged an interview with a Sunni cleric in a local mosque.

Access to participants was greatly enabled through local contacts, family members, relatives, friends and friends of friends. For example, approaching a politician or a religious leader for an interview on honour killings was challenging. However, my sister-in-law's husband had close relations with the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) chairman. He not only booked my appointment with the chairman for the interview but accompanied me to the office, where I conducted the interview. Similarly, access to women participants in the field, especially in rural villages, was almost impossible due to the strict gender segregation. Nevertheless, one of my friends introduced me to his colleague, who worked in an NGO in the same area where I was conducting my fieldwork. His organisation worked with rural women; therefore, he helped me arrange interviews with two women in a village.

Along with the support of the collaborative organisations for the participants' recruitment, I visited local mosques many times. I spoke to Imams and office bearers of mosque associations during the visits, but they all declined to participate in the study. A majority of them quoted the reason that honour killing has nothing to do with Islam, and it is a contentious issue; therefore, they do not want to be part of it (fieldnotes). A couple of the Imams went on to say that it's part of the Western agenda to malign Islam and Muslims (fieldnotes). I tried to convince them that you must speak out and share your views about this issue if you think it is Western propaganda. But to no avail.

I made considerable efforts and thoroughly exhausted resources to speak with Muslim organisations' representatives from England in order to get their perspectives on the subject under study. For example, I visited mosques, spoke with Imams, and sent repeated emails to several organisations, but no one responded.

2.5 Research Sites

2.5.1 A district in Sindh Pakistan

My main research site in Pakistan was a district of Sindh province. The district is a part of the Larkana division. The division is also known as Upper Sindh and comprises five districts, including Kashmore, Jacobabad, Kambar-Shahdadkot, Shikarpur and Larkana. In Sindh province, the region has the highest rate of honour killings, commonly known as *karo-kari*.

The research site is a junction where the borders of Pakistan's three provinces Sindh, Punjab and Balochistan, meet. The district has a unique identity because of its prominent geographical location and crossroad connecting borders with three provinces. There are 11 courts and 24 police stations in the district, yet the district has the second-highest rate of honour killings in the province.

The district has a well-established tribal system in place, locally called *sardari niazam*, and is considered as one of the least developed districts of Sindh. More than a dozen *sardars* (tribal chiefs) of various tribes and castes dwell in this district. They dominate it and are considered the ruling class of the area.

I did fieldwork within the selected district (further details are given in Appendix 4), mainly in one of its sub-district villages, with the highest rate of *karo-kari* (honour killings) in the district.

2.5.2 A city in northern England

The main site for data collection in the UK was an ethnically diverse city in the north of England. According to the UK Census (2011), 80.8% of the population is white, and 19.2% belongs to various ethnic minorities, including Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian, Somali, Yemeni, Chinese, and the Caribbean. Approximately 4% of the city's population are of Pakistani origin, and among these, 8703 were born in Pakistan. Nearly half (46%) of the Pakistani community lives in areas amongst the 10% most deprived in the city. This is above the citywide average of 23% (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015). Further details about the research site are given in Appendix 4.

2.6 Research participants

Hierarchy based social classification is one of the critical features of all ethnolinguistic groups of Pakistan. For example, the research site district in Pakistan is broadly divided into two broad groups, i.e., Baloch and *Smaat*. Within these larger groups, people are divided into different tribes. Again, the tribes are divided into sub-tribes or caste groups. Similarly, people of Pakistani origin in my UK research site are divided into two major groups, i.e., people from Azad Kashmir, commonly called Mirpuri, further divided into *biradri* (s) or clans and people from other parts of Pakistan. This is why the first question a Sindhi asks a Sindhi fellow is, '*awhan kair ahyo*' (literally means who are you?).

In reality, this is a query about one's biradri or *zaat* (caste). Similar questions are asked by other Pakistanis too. For instance, a Punjabi asks from his Punjabi fellow like '*tusi kaun honde oo*"? This sentence's literal meaning is who are you, but the question is about biradri or kinship group. This identification of 'self' in relation to a social group, i.e., caste, biradri or kinship, is significant concerning examining honour killings. As Alvi (2001) argues:

> *"The notion of honour (izzat) and the potential to react in defence of one's honour emphasise the shared aspect of the self. Thus 'to lose face' (mu na rea) means to be no longer able to live with an image of the self in harmony with others*" (p. 50).

This hierarchical feature of different groups contributed to the data collection sample's variation and helped capture narratives that account for depth and diversity from the UK and Pakistan. The research participants' sample was stratified by gender (men and women) and ethnicity (Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtun, Baloch, and Kashmiri). Within each stratified group, a mix of roles in the community (Community leader, cleric, head of clan and councillor), religious sect (Sunni and Shia) and education levels were included; a fuller range of perspectives was captured. The research participants were aged from 18 years to 78 (see tables 1 & 2).

2.6.1 Pakistan – Research participants

In Pakistan, individual in-depth interviews (n=10) were held with men (n=8) and women (n=2). Six focus groups were conducted with 15 male and three female participants. The participants included community members, farmers, clerics, tribal chiefs, mediators, lawyers, teachers, business people, civil society and

human rights activists, journalists, government officials and local municipality councillors.

In total, 28 people participated in the individual and group interviews aged between 18 and above 65. The youngest person was aged 19, and the oldest was 78 years old. Twenty-five participants were married, two single and one widowed. The majority of the participants, 13 were Balochi speaking, followed by seven Sindhi, three Seraiki, and the rest were Urdu, Pashto, and Punjabi languages. The six participants had no formal education. Three had primary education (up to class five), three had middle or secondary school certificates (up to class 10), nine had undergraduate, and seven had postgraduate degrees. Ten participants were employed, four unemployed, nine self-employed, two farmers, two homemakers, and one retired. Twenty-six participants had no formal religious education or qualification, but most Muslim participants had attended the local mosque or Madrassa to learn the Quran in their childhood. Two participants had formal religious qualifications.

Table 1: Sociodemographic characteristics of the participants – Pakistan

Characteristics		Number	%
Age, years	18 – 24	01	3.6
	25 – 34	03	10.7
	35 – 44	10	35.7
	45 – 54	12	42.8
	55 – 64	01	3.6
	65 or above	01	3.6
Gender	Male	23	82.1
	Female	05	17.9
Marital status	Married	25	89.3
	Single	02	7.1
	Widowed	01	3.6
	Divorced	00	00
Languages	Urdu	02	7.1
	Punjabi	01	3.6
	Mirpuri	00	00
	Sindhi	07	25.0
	Pashto	02	7.1
	Seraiki	03	10.7
	Balochi	13	46.4
Level of Education	No Formal Education	06	21.4
	Primary	03	10.7
	Middle/Secondary	03	10.7
	Undergraduate	09	32.1
	Post-graduate	07	25.0
Employment Status	Employed	10	35.7
	Unemployed	04	14.3
	Self-employed/Business	09	32.1
	Homemaker	02	3.6
	Farmer	02	7.1
	Retired	01	3.6
Formal religious qualifications	Yes	02	7.1
	No	26	92.9

2.6.2 UK – Research participants

In the UK, individual in-depth interviews (n=12) were held with men (n=6) and women (n=6). Two focus groups were conducted with 16 male participants. The participants included community members, Imams, community leaders, councillors, politicians, shopkeepers, charity workers, teachers, nurses, retired people, and students.

In total, 28 people participated in the study aged between 18 and above 65. The youngest person was aged 24, and the oldest was 73 years old. Twenty-four participants were married, one single and three widowed. The seven participants were Mirpuri and seven Sindhi speaking, followed by six Punjabi, three Urdu, two Pothwari, two Balochi and one Pashto. Three participants had no formal education, five had education up to A/O level, two had GCSE passes, six had diploma certificates, six had undergraduate degrees, and six were postgraduate. Of the 28 study participants, sixteen were employed, two were self-employed, two were students, one was homemaker, and seven were retired. Twenty–three Muslim participants had no formal religious education or qualification, but most had attended the local mosque or Madrassa to learn the Quran in their childhood. Four participants had formal religious qualifications; two were full-time Imams in the local mosques, one was a part-time Imam and a Muslim chaplain in NHS trust, and one was a full-time Muslim chaplain in prison.

Table 2: Sociodemographic characteristics of the participants – UK

Characteristics		Number	%
Age, years	18 – 24	01	3.6
	25 – 34	03	10.7
	35 – 44	13	46.4
	45 – 54	04	14.3
	55 – 64	03	10.7
	65 or above	04	14.2
Gender	Male	22	78.6
	Female	06	21.4
Marital status	Married	24	85.7
	Single	01	3.6
	Widowed	03	10.7
	Divorced	00	00
Languages	Urdu	03	10.7
	Punjabi	06	21.4
	Mirpuri	07	24.1
	Sindhi	07	25.0
	Pashto	01	3.6
	Pothwari	02	7.1
	Balochi	02	7.1
Level of Education	No formal education	03	10.7
	A/O Level	05	17.9
	GCSE	02	7.1
	Diploma	06	21.4
	Undergraduate	06	21.4
	Post-graduate	06	21.4
Employment Status	Employed	16	57.1
	Self-employed	02	7.1
	Homemaker	01	3.6
	Student	02	7.1
	Retired	07	25
Formal Religious Qualifications	Yes	04	14.3
	No	23	82.1

2.7 Data analysis

A theory-led, critical thematic analysis approach was used to analyse the data (Lawless & Chen, 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Hayes, 1997). Critical thematic analysis (CTA) examines 'the interrelationships between interview discourses, social practices, power relations, and ideologies' (Lawless & Chen, 2019, p. 92). The thematically driven analysis was performed within a pre-identified theoretical framework - critical realist social constructionism. The critical standpoint was used as a part of the analysis process for linking everyday discourses and narratives gathered through various methods with wider socio-economic and cultural practices (honour and honour killings) embedded in unequal power relations (Lawless & Chen, 2019).

The aim of critical thematic analysis was to systematically uncover hidden relationships of causation and justification among the notion of 'honour'; its use as a justification to kill or attempt to kill women and girls and the wider underpinning social structures such as culture, patriarchy, clan, gender, sexuality, and religion. I used a cyclical and iterative approach involving identifying theories from the existing literature related to what honour is and how it is implicated in honour killings of women and girls, setting up the identified theories and examining them with empirical data.

I used qualitative data analysis software NVIVO version 11 to manage the data. First, all data were imported into NVIVO, and a data set was created. Then, the following six steps were followed to conduct the analysis. The analysis followed the following five steps:

1. Listening to the audiotapes, reading and re-reading of each item of the data set. I listened to the all-audio recorded interviews and focus groups and read all the transcripts three times.
2. Open coding: this was carried out at two levels. First, I identified the initial codes when listening to the audio recordings and reading the transcripts and field notes. Second, all the data items in the NVIVO were manually coded (see appendix 5 for the coding framework). Both coding steps were guided by Owen's (1984) analysis criteria, including recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness. In this context, recurrence denotes when the meaning is repeated in a transcript, not necessarily using the same words; repetition refers to the specific reappearance of keywords or phrases. Forcefulness means the significance that research participants give to their language or stress a point. Both sets of codes were compared and double-checked to ensure consistency.
3. Closed coding: in this step, I linked the codes with pre-identified theories, marked them as broader themes, and then checked for emerging patterns, variability, and consistency.
4. Reviewing and refining the theoretical themes, in this step, the theoretical themes were reviewed and refined for clarity and consistency with the theoretical framework. My reading and re-reading, together with the discussions with the supervisors, mainly shaped this step.
5. Writing a narrative of the analysis.

2.8 Reflexivity

One of the key ethnographic principles I applied was attentive to my "positionality" (as discussed in chapter 1) and reflexivity, which required being

explicit about my background, values and stance relating to the research topic, locations, and participants. As a research student, my main job was producing and co-producing knowledge about the participants and their culture. The production of knowledge processes has consequences (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) for the research participants and the data. *Inter alia*, the disclosure of my positionality was important to acknowledge my assumptions, power, privilege, and biases (Madison, 2011) to minimise the impact of those on research processes and findings.

Throughout the data collection, I kept a field diary in which I recorded whom I talked to, where, when, and who helped me access a person, what happened in the interaction, and my reflections on the interaction. I also recorded what worked, did not work, changed (if anything), and my decisions.

Being an insider and outsider

From the start, I was nervous about introducing the research topic, considering the sensitive and politically charged nature of it, when gaining access to the participants, negotiating access, and achieving my chosen sample size. I approached the topic of study and the research site in Pakistan as an insider because I was born, grew up and educated there, and it was where I belonged. I knew the languages and the culture of the area. However, when I first went into the field, I realised that I had been considered an outsider, studying, and living abroad. At the same time, an insider, whose *khaandan* (extended family) lives in Sindh, speaks Sindhi, people of my clan (Bhanbhro) are inhabitants of Sindh, and more importantly, my ancestors were from there.

My being perceived as an insider and outsider had both advantages and disadvantages. It created opportunities as well as hindrances in the field in

Pakistan. For example, when people considered me an outsider in the field, this created problems collecting data from police and district administration sources. However, the same role helped data collection with people and community members as they were open and did not hesitate to share their stories. Sometimes, people were concerned that I might share their information with the police or newspapers. I made it clear that everything they said would be published anonymously from time to time. They were assured that they would not be identified in any published material.

I was perceived as an outsider by some people because they perceived that after the fieldwork, I would go back to London (for people in the field, London is the country, not a city, they did not know the UK, but Britain (in Sindhi word *Bartania*) was famous after London. Seeking to be accepted as an insider, I dressed in a local dress *shalwar kameez* like those worn by local men rather than a t-shirt and jeans. Before going into the field, I practised and consistently introduced myself as a PhD student living in the UK for more than ten years. Thus, I explained that I did not know much about *karo-kari*, especially the nature of the incidents in this area. Though I was born, raised, and educated here in Sindh, Pakistan, this is my first visit to this area in my whole life. I emphasised that I appreciated their time and hospitality and was thankful to them for sharing their views, experiences, and relevant information about the subject. This introduction was a strategy to be accepted as someone who did not know much about the topic.

Similarly, my approach to the topic and the research site in the UK was such that I am going to study my people, considering that I shared language, culture, religion, and country of origin with the potential participants. However, when I recruited the study participants, I learned that what I had in common with them

did not matter much because most participants were of my ethnolinguistic identity, a Sindhi. Sindhi is an ethnolinguistic group of people who speak the Sindhi language and are native to Pakistan's Sindh province. By being considered as a Sindhi, I found it challenging to access non-Sindhi participants in the UK.

Being a Sindhi Pakistani

Being a Sindhi had a drawback because the term *karo-kari* (literally black male and black female) is a Sindhi-language expression for honour killings, predominantly used by the media in Pakistan. The overuse of the term *karo-kari* has created the impression that honour killings happen only in the ethnic Sindhi people (Bhanbhro, 2015). Thus, during the fieldwork, the non-Sindhi participants generally assumed that being a Sindhi, I knew all about honour killings. Therefore, I assumed they had nothing new to tell me. The impact of this assumption is picked up below.

During my fieldwork in the UK, I found the same perception was common in non-Sindhi speaking people from Pakistan. For example, one participant said, '*you are from Sindh, isn't it? You know more than me about the karo-kari because Sindh is the centre of this evil*' (Fieldnotes). One of the UK born participants said,

> '*I had never been to the Sindh but have been visiting Punjab annually and sometimes biannually. I have heard that Sindh is a backward area, there is no education and lot of corruption; therefore, honour killings are more common in Sindh than other parts of Pakistan*' (Rahib, M, 36).

Another male participant, who has lived in the UK for 15 years, originally came from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province of Pakistan, said that *'karo-kari is the culture of Sindhis*' (Muraad, 42).

While interviewing Sindhi males living in the UK, there was a pressure that as a Sindhi, I should try to change this misperception that in Pakistan, the practice of *karo-kari* exists only in Sindhi speaking people. A male focus group participant, who was born in Sindh Pakistan and had been living in the UK for the last 16 years, said that,

> *'karo-kari occurs in all ethnic groups of Pakistan; in fact, in Sindh, it came from Balochistan, and it also happens more in Punjab, but we Sindhis are blamed because of the Urdu media's biased reporting and some of our Sindhi people have played a role in it. They created TV dramas and documentaries in which Sindhi culture was shown as the reason behind karo-kari'* (Mustafa, 37).

In the same focus group, a couple of the participants instructed me that it is my responsibility to remove this stain *(karo-kari*) on the Sindhi nation (Jinsar, 45 & Saheb Khan, 45). While in Pakistan, being considered a British Pakistani, I encountered other challenges.

Being a British Pakistani

While conducting the fieldwork in Pakistan, being a British Pakistani was an obstacle in the data collection. For example, when I approached the leader of a religious political party, who was also the chairperson of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII), he agreed to give me the interview but on two conditions; first, the venue of the interview was the office of his political party, and second, the interview was conducted in the presence of members of his political party.

During the interview, the audiences were silent most of the time, while one of the people sitting in the room interrupted the discussions on honour killings and challenged me, saying that I am doing this research to defame the Pakistani culture in the Western countries. I was surprised when the young man from the audience commented that '*lagta hey tum foreign agent ho, jo ye masla chuna hey ki bahir Pakistan ko badnaam ker sako*' (it looks like you are a foreign agent. That's why you have chosen this topic [honour killings], to defame Pakistan to foreigners/westerners). The chairman diffused this situation by supporting me that,

> *'He is a student who wants to complete his PhD. Also, he is our guest; therefore, we should respect him. Many others, who are also of Pakistani origin, receive money from America and make films, dramas, and documentaries to malign Pakistan and Muslims'* (Khan Muhammad, 65, PK).

After this encounter, being a British Pakistani, I felt powerless and was concerned about my safety and security. Consequently, during the rest of the fieldwork activities, I accompanied my local gatekeepers, and before starting any activity, I explained the study and myself in detail to the participants. This strategy worked, and I did not face such issues anymore.

Being a male researcher

Being a man interviewing predominantly men and some women also allowed me to gain in-depth information from male participants, which might be difficult for a female researcher. However, being a male, some of the questions were turned back to me: if your wife or sister does something wrong, like having an affair with someone else, what will you do in that situation. My answer was that I

would not kill her but try to speak to her and listen to her problems. My answer astonished the people, and most of them kept silent to show courtesy, as I was considered a guest, and it would have been culturally inappropriate to offend a guest. However, one of the participants did not feel that way and said to me that '*you have become a foreigner and more education makes people beghairat*' (a person with no honour) (Kooral Khan, 50, PK). When I asked him what he meant, he explained that,

> *'see you are more educated than all of us, you even got education from London, but it seems you don't care about your izzat (honour), that's why you said you would not kill your woman if she would sleep with someone else, even we are uneducated, but we know how to safeguard our izzat/ghairat if our womenfolk do that there is no other option for a man but to kill them to save izzat'* (Kooral Khan, 50, PK).

Being a man, I anticipated friendliness while interacting with male research participants. However, sometimes I felt anxious to talk to men about certain issues like sexual intercourse due to cultural taboos. For instance, speaking about sexual intercourse was crucial to the research topic, as the women who are killed for honour (according to the participants, the genuine honour killings) are mainly accused of having sexual intercourse with men. During my initial interactions with the people in the field, I hesitantly asked people about sexual intercourse when they explained the cases of *karo-karo* (they called them genuine), where a man and a woman are caught on the spot for sexual intercourse. One of the participants instructed me that,

> *'In our moashro* (society)*, we do not say these words openly, you should use words like khraab ya gando kaam (literally means wrong act), or*

gunnah (literally means sin) or munnh karo (literally means black face)' (Bhooral, 48, PK).

Metaphorically all these terms mean having sexual intercourse. I followed this advice and used these emic terms confidently, facilitating a more natural conversation.

My standpoint

As I have explained above, my position in the field as one of them (community) had advantages and disadvantages. However, it had more advantages like accessing the participants, obtaining insider views, and being considered a guest from a foreign country; therefore, I chose to maintain this position. This experience was different when compared with anthropologists such as Malinowski. In his fieldwork, Malinowski (2010 [1922]) likened himself to a predator spreading his nets in the right place and waiting for what will fall into them. Before going into the field, I reflected on what I know about honour-based violence and honour killings. Because I am aware that my background knowledge could impact how I interview the research participants, I made conscious efforts to approach the data collection process as a researcher who had no or little knowledge about honour killings.

I employed Gibbs (1988) Reflective Cycle to make sense of my reflective accounts. The model entailed six criteria that helped me systematically and critically reflect on my research experiences to make more balanced and precise judgments. For example, when I was considered a foreign agent, I felt alone and worried about my security. My evaluation of the experience was that I am not trusted because honour killings is a sensitive issue. The current environment (two months after the honour killings of Qandeel Baloch) is not

conducive, especially interviewing politicians or religious leaders. In such situations, a gatekeeper's availability was useful; therefore, I took the local gatekeepers every time going into the field.

The reflective approach was crucial because it assisted me to put my assumptions aside and reflecting on what participants were saying without bias. For example, I had to assess my assumption of 'being one of them' or 'studying my own people' on both sites; I was not perceived the same as I assumed. Therefore, I decided to be open and listen to the participants about what they had to say about me, like who I was, rather than focusing on a particular identity marker. As Shah (2016) states, 'the field is not a neutral site, a medium or source of knowledge. It raises questions about outsiders and insiders, power and knowledge, and finally about the anthropologist as a mediator between different worlds of knowledge' (p. 220). It is well established in the literature that various factors include personal, cultural, emotional, and political variants that impact research somehow (Al-Natour, 2011).

I was received as both a local (insider) and a foreigner (outsider) in the field in Pakistan. These positionalities had an impact on the data in different ways. For instance, those who considered me a local did not openly respond to my questions or share their stories. On the other hand, those who identified me as a foreigner freely shared their stories and provided detailed answers to my questions.

The richness and quality of the data did affect my positions. Being an insider and being conversant with the topic, I realised that I was patronising the respondents. For example, when I listened to a couple of pilot interview recordings, I noticed in one of the interviews that I was trying to instruct the

respondent that 'when you people see that *karo-kari* is wrong, why don't you stop doing it'. Later, I made a conscious decision to excavate their views on the issue and put my views aside, which I rehearsed as a mock interview with my family members.

This chapter has described the theoretical framework underpinning the philosophy, methodology and research design of this thesis. It also included details of research sites, data collection and analysis methods, and the research participants. The next chapter describes the review of the literature.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter reports a review of the literature undertaken to provide background and initial theories for the study. My review surveyed the literature related to the honour killings of women and girls and, through this survey, clarified the notion of honour, its constituents and dimensions, and its relationship with honour killing. This chapter also describes the contested nature of the concepts, practices, actors, roles, and processes.

The chapter begins with the review methodology, search strategy, critical analysis and synthesis of evidence-based arguments extracted from the literature. This is followed by a critical discussion of the review findings and implications for this study's empirical aspect.

3.1 Review methodology

In line with the overarching theoretical framework of realist social constructionism used in this thesis, the purpose of the literature review was to develop provisional theories that help unpick the specific notions of honour that lie behind the phenomenon of the honour killings of women and girls. The specific aim was to explore and understand the literature on the notions of honour, their conception, configuration, expediency, consequence, and how it operates in women and girls' honour killings.

Realist researchers consider clarifying concepts an important first step in realist research (Shearn, Allmark, Piercy, & Hirst, 2017; Harris, Kemp & Sainsbury, 2012). However, there is no specific method recommended to achieve this goal. Therefore, given the literature review's purpose, I used a critical review

approach to develop ‘conceptual innovation’ as a theory or model (Grant & Booth, 2009). The approach focuses on each document’s conceptual contribution included in the review rather than a formal quality appraisal of the literature.

Based on initial literature searches and background reading, I was aware that the body of literature related to the notion of honour is dated and largely comes from ethnographic studies in the Mediterranean area. In contrast, the literature related to honour killings is recent but large, diverse, and complex. It includes predominantly primary qualitative and quantitative studies, conceptual, descriptive, editorials, reports, policy documents, and opinions papers. Hence, I used the critical review approach that served three key purposes of the review: 1) exploration: to search, select, deselect, and organise the most relevant documents from the large, diverse, and complex body of the literature; 2) analysis: to interpret and synthesis the information for developing interim models/theories to explain the phenomenon under study from the literature; and 3) application: to inform empirical components of my research (see figure below).

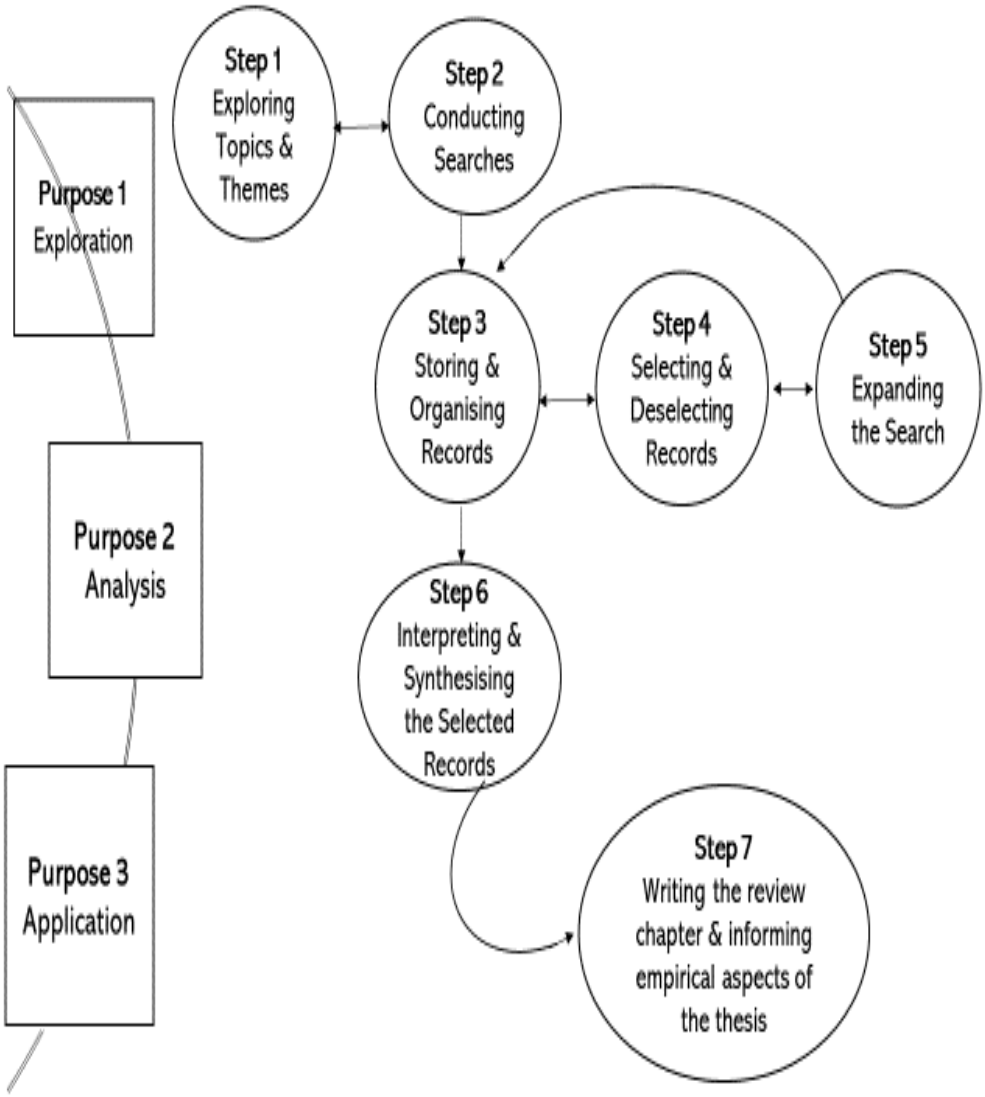


Figure 3.1: Summary of the review methodology adapted from Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2016.

The conventional systematic review method was deemed inappropriate for these purposes as it is a specific review methodology used for searching, appraising, and synthesising the findings of primary studies to answer a specific, often quantitative, research question (Grant & Booth, 2009). By contrast, the critical review method involves critical analysis and synthesis of a diverse body of literature, including empirical, theoretical, editorial comments

and policy papers, and it provides the opportunity to 'take stock' and assess what is useful for conceptual development (Grant & Booth, 2009, p. 93). Additionally, I used the principles of the critical interpretive synthesis approach to inform the critical review. The approach treats the literature as warranting critical examination in its own right by questioning its underlying assumptions and achieves synthesis through a dialectic process between research evidence and theory (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). The review method does not recommend any specific quality appraisal of documents but emphasises relevance (conceptual contribution) to the review question as a key inclusion criterion (Entwistle et al., 2012). This ensured the identification of relevant sources of information from a diverse range of sources. Further, the approach proposes an iterative and dynamic search strategy (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006; Entwistle et al., 2012) which was useful in locating a wide range of sources.

3.1.1 Search strategy

I used an iterative search strategy to retrieve published and grey literature related to the notion of honour and honour killings from a wide range of sources and databases. See the box below:

Box 1: Sources searched for literature
Databases Scopus, MEDLINE, Social Sciences Databases on Proquest and Philosopher's Index
Websites searched for published and grey literature. o Women Living Under the Muslim Laws (http://www.wluml.org/). o Crown Prosecution Service (https://www.cps.gov.uk/)

○ Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/) ○ International Honour Based Violence Resource Centre (http://hbv-awareness.com/) ○ United Nations (https://www.un.org/en/) ○ UN Women (https://www.unwomen.org/en) ○ World Health Organization (https://www.who.int/) ○ Amnesty International (https://www.amnesty.org.uk/) ○ Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (http://hrcp-web.org/hrcpweb/) ○ Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre (http://shirkatgah.org/) ○ Metropolitan Police Service (https://www.met.police.uk/) ○ Honour Crimes Project (https://www.soas.ac.uk/honourcrimes/) ○ Home Office (https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/home-office)
Reference and citation searches of key papers and authors.

Search terms

Violence against women	Honour/honor
Gender-based violence	Honour/honor-based violence
Patriarchal killings	Honour/honor related violence
Honour/honor culture	honour/honor killing,
Honour/honor-based culture	Honour/honor crime,
honour/honor and shame culture	Crimes of honour/honor
Sexual violence	karo-kari, kala-kali, siyahkari (honour killing)
Public health	

A combination of these search terms was used. All items within each term section were combined with OR, and then each section was combined with AND for different combinations of sections that produced the highest result.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The following inclusion and exclusion criteria were developed and applied to the identified items to select the most relevant sources for the review.

The study settings and population relevancy: Documents were included in the review that focused on the honour killings (including other forms such as *karo-kari, siyahkari, kala-kali*) of women and girls in Pakistan and the Pakistani community living in the UK. This criterion was applied because the concept of honour exists in almost all societies, and crimes of honour have also been reported in many countries and regions such as Albania, Brazil, Denmark, Egypt, Greece, India, Iraq, Israel, and the occupied territories, Italy, Jordan, and Turkey (Giordano, 2016; Coomaraswamy, 2005; Fazio, 2004). Following this inclusion criteria, I focused on studies relevant to the geographical study settings (Pakistan and the UK) and the population (Pakistani living in Pakistan and the UK's Pakistani community). Additionally, where the Pakistani community lives in other European countries and North America, their immigration patterns and experiences could have differed from the Pakistani community living in the UK; thus, these sources were not included.

Form of honour crime: honour-based violence and honour crimes are used as umbrella terms and include a range of harmful practices committed using the pretext of honour, such as domestic abuse; violence or death threats; sexual and psychological abuse; acid attacks; forced marriage; forced suicide; forced abortion; female genital mutilation; assault; blackmail; marrying without the

consent of the family and being held against one's will. Covering all these practices was beyond the scope of my study. Therefore, I focused on the honour killings of women and girls, which is defined in this thesis as follows:

> 'To save or restore honour the perpetrators (predominantly family members) killed (or attempted to kill) a woman or a girl perceived as having brought or tried to bring shame or dishonour to the social group that can be a family, lineage, kinship, clan, or community (c.f. Abu-Odeh, 2010; Werbner, 2007; Bhanbhro, Chavez & Lusambili, 2016).

Victims of honour killings: While my focus was the honour killings of women and girls, it should be acknowledged that the victims of honour killings also include men, boys, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people; but the incidents of women and girls as victims of honour killings are overwhelmingly more prevalent. For example, in 2014 in Pakistan, from 837 recorded cases of honour killings, 46 were male victims, and the rest were female victims (HRCP, 2014). Also, in cases of female honour killings, the perpetrators are mainly family members, whereas, in cases of male honour killings, the perpetrators are the male relatives (father, brother, cousin, uncle) of the women with whom the killed man was accused of involvement in dishonourable actions or behaviours such as having a pre-marital or extramarital affair. Honour crimes against LGBTQ people are not reported in Pakistan explicitly. Therefore, it is difficult to gather reliable data on this type of honour-related violence.

Conceptual relevancy: The conceptual usefulness of papers was used as one of the key criteria to select the most relevant papers, as one of the purposes of the review was to generate provisional theories. The 'conceptual richness' (Booth et al., 2013, p.4) is suggested in a literature review when the review's objective is

to generate a theory (Bridges et al., 2013). Booth and colleagues (2013) define the 'conceptual richness as a degree of theoretical and conceptual development that explains the researched phenomenon' (p. 4). The 'conceptual usefulness' of the items was weighed on the following criteria:

- Documents discuss the conceptualisation of the notion of honour in contexts of honour-related violence, particularly the honour killings of women and girls.
- Documents contain the context of the practice of honour killings.
- Documents describe underlying reasons, meanings, and intentions behind the practice.
- Documents discuss the historical development of the practice of honour killings of women and girls.

Study design: To include a wide range of sources, including theoretical papers, research reports, empirical studies, editorials and opinion pieces, no exclusion of papers was made based on the study type or research design.

Timeliness: No time limit was set for the searches because the literature on honour killings is relatively modern starting from the 1990s and gained impetus after the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001.

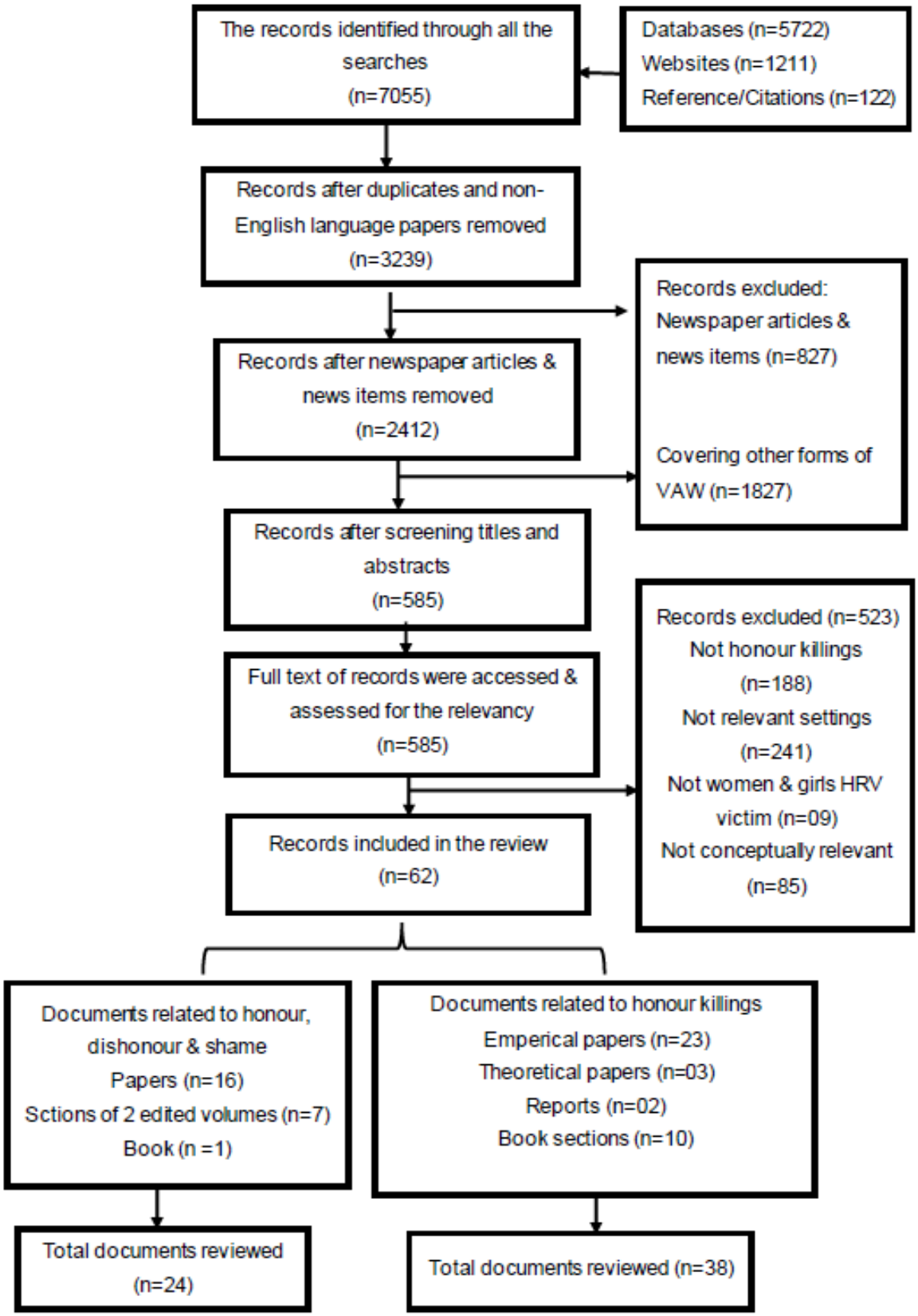


Figure 3.2: Modified PRISMA diagram illustrating the search results

Additionally, an alert was set up in the databases used to search for the notifications of any new papers that might come to light over my research's remaining period, i.e., September 2019 to December 2020. I received notifications for six more papers. The notified sources were read against the inclusion criteria. Of these, four papers did qualify and are included in the review.

3.2 Data extraction

I read the full text of each included article and extracted pertinent data using the following major themes and characteristics:

- The conceptualisation of the notion of honour and its corollary concepts, i.e., shame and dishonour
- Definitions of honour killings
- Background theories that explain the relationships between the concepts and the practice
- A cultural domain underpinning the concepts and practice includes norms, beliefs, values, customs, and traditions.
- Social structures that underlie the concepts and the practice include gender, class, caste, ethnicity, immigration status, historical background.
- Contextual factors include religious, economic, political, and legal.

3.3 Analysis and synthesis

All the included items were imported to qualitative data analysis software NVIVO version 11 to manage the review process. I read the papers critically to

identify the pertinent themes, patterns, categories, theories (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006) and characteristics of the documents. While reading, passages of text were selected and coded in NVIVO. While conducting this critical reading of the papers, I asked myself these questions:

- How well-developed are the themes or arguments in an article?
- What are the theoretical perspectives used?
- Is there any potential bias in the arguments?
- Are the interpretations presented convincing?
- If there is a comparison given in the article, is it appropriate?
- Are the conclusions supported firmly by the preceding argument?
- Does empirical evidence back up claims?
- Have any ethical considerations been adequately addressed in primary studies?

3.4 The literature search results

I searched the sources mentioned above in May 2017 and August 2019, using the search terms given above. As depicted in Box 1, the sources searched for the literature. The strategy-led database searches produced n= 5722, and the relevant websites n= 1211 items. Also, 122 records were identified from the papers and authors reference/citation searches. A total of 7055 records were identified through these searches, of which duplicates and non-English language n=3816, newspaper articles and news items n=827 were removed. The initial screening of 2412 was conducted by reading titles and abstracts. The 1827 articles covering forced marriages, female genital mutilation, femicide, domestic violence and gender-based violence were excluded.

The full text of 585 remaining documents was accessed. When the inclusion criteria were applied, 62 documents, including papers, books, book chapters and reports, were included in the review.

I organised these documents into two sets. The first set included papers addressing the conceptualisation of honour, dishonour, and shame; the second set included papers covering honour crimes, honour-related violence and predominantly honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and the Pakistani community living in the UK (see the Prisma Chart, Figure 3.2 above).

Overview of the selected studies

My research question had two interconnected parts. The first part explored the notion of honour that lies behind the honour-related violence and honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and the Pakistani community living in the UK. The honour and corollary concept of shame has been studied extensively by social scientists, particularly anthropologists in Mediterranean societies during the second half of the 20th century. The conceptual relevancy criterion qualified most Mediterranean studies; however, there were many documents. Therefore, a sample was selected based on their conceptual usefulness. After applying inclusion criteria on the Mediterranean studies, I selected the most relevant 24 documents, including sixteen articles, seven chapters from two edited volumes and a book covering empirical evidence and theoretical arguments on honour from 1964 to 2016. The details of these studies are given in appendix 6.

The first set involves mainly anthropological studies that analyse legal, theological, literary, and historical texts in Mediterranean societies, for example, Campbell (1964, 1965), Pitt-Rivers (1965, 1968), Peristiany (1965), Baroja

(1965), Bourdieu (1965), and Abou-Zeid (1965). These authors have pioneered studies of honour in Mediterranean societies by investigating the concepts of honour and shame as central cultural values shaping people's everyday behaviours and attitudes.

Other scholars carried out theoretical examinations of the works of earlier authors, the ancient Greek myths, and epigraphical accounts (Schneider 1971; Friedrich, 1977; Dodd, 1973; Ortner, 1978; Herzfeld,1980; Jowkar, 1986) and besides, investigated honour and shame within the cultures, in-person (Gilmore,1987; Delaney, 1987; Abu-Lughod, 1985). In this group, some anthropologists have attempted to trace the origin of the concepts of honour and shame using a political-ecological model (Schneider, 1971) and explore the association between women's sexual purity using a political economy approach (Ortner, 1978). Abu-Lughod (1985), in her ethnographic account of Egyptian Bedouins, explores the relationships between cultural ideals entailed in a code of honour and poetry as a public performance of power, vulnerabilities and passion for being a suitable member of the group. Whereas Herzfeld (1980), Gilmore (1987) and Delaney (1987) question the uniformity of the concept of honour and argue that though the conceptual pair (honour/shame) is highly significant in Mediterranean cultures, it glossed over a wide variety of local social, sexual, economic, and other value systems. Also, the lever terms translated as honour and shame may have different meanings in different cultures and contexts within a culture. For instance, in Andalusia term, *honora* has become effectively obsolete and that, instead, the term *verguenza* (shame) is used to assess the conduct of both men and women (Gilmore, 1987, p. 93).

The second set of studies on honour and its related practices, such as honour killings, have emerged in the 1990s with the appearance of this new genre of violence, termed 'honour-based violence' and specifically the honour killings of women and girls. These authors revisited the concepts concerning honour crimes and honour killings, with empirical and theoretical analysis which applied a variety of perspectives, including theological, historical, social, psychological, cultural, economic, and legal, to explain 'honour' and how it is used to justify the violence and the honour killings of women and girls in a variety of cultures. After applying inclusion and exclusion criteria, 38 documents, including empirical papers, reports and book sections, were included in the review. The details of these studies are given in appendix 7.

I reviewed literature from both sets to review conceptualisation, characteristics, and theories of honour and how honour is implicated in honour killings of women and girls. These are discussed below.

3.4.1 Literature relating to honour, dishonour, and shame

The earliest explanation of honour is that it developed in small scale herding and pastoralist face-to-face communities (Campbell, 1964; Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1968), where there was a weak or an absence of state structures (Schneider, 1971). It evolved as a social norm to perform both ideological (interpretive) and practical (actions) functions (Perstiany, 1965; Friedrich, 1977). The key roles of honour include: maintaining and assessing the social position of an individual, family or a social group in the social structure that is subjected to damage through their social and moral behaviours; specifically, the sexual conduct of women (Campbell, 1964; Perstiany, 1965; Abou-Zeid, 1965; Bourdieu, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1968), maintaining the distinctive group differentials

(Ortner, 1978), and protecting the economic basis of their culture, which is vulnerable to lose through theft, raiding, encroachment and rivalries on resources with neighbouring groups (Campbell, 1964; Schneider, 1971).

Furthermore, of all the anthropologists who studied honour in different contexts, Julian Pitt-Rivers was the one who attempted the most exhaustive definition of honour. He did acknowledge that since the notion is so complex, various dimensions have to be considered for its conceptualisation. His definition of honour is widely used: "a person's value in his own and others' eyes" that honour has three key aspects: a) honour as sentiments means it is a matter of feelings; b) manifestation of the feelings in conduct refers to tangible behaviours as the expression of the feelings; and c) the appraisal of the conduct by others refers to the reception and evaluation of the conduct by others (Pitt-Rivers, 1968, p. 503).

This conceptualisation shows honour as a personal attribute of an individual and a collective feature of the social group: family, lineage, clan, kinship, caste group, and nation. A man's honour (and in the discussion of honour killing of women and girls, it is almost always a man) is reflected in the family, group, a lineage with which he belongs. Since a person receives one's identity from affiliation to a social group, honour provides or manifests social status. Thus, validation of claims of honour from the group members becomes important. Though honour is a personal quality, as the value of a person in his/her own eyes, it ultimately depends upon recognition from the group members or people who matter to the person in the social group – the "significant others" (Moxnes, 1993, p. 168). This suggests honour operates within a close social group in which honour functions as i) a social standing source, ii) an instrument to social differentiation, and iii) a social asset of the social group, in this context called a

'norm circle'. A norm circle is a social group comprised of a set of individuals who hold normative beliefs, dispositions, and social expectations to endorse and enforce a social norm (Elder-Vass, 2012). Let us examine these in turn.

i) Honour: as the source of social standing

Honour is a source of the social standing of a social group that can be a family, a lineage, a clan, a kinship, a caste, or a community (Pitt-Rivers, 1965) within a set of norm circles. The norm circles matter to the family or social group members when making choices and decisions (Bicchieri, 2016) and impart validation to the social status based on honour (Pitt-Rivers, 1968, p. 503). More specifically, Simmel (1897) explains honour as a mechanism of 'social maintenance', a 'social requisite' that guides an individual's behaviour within one's social sphere (p. 681). The existence of a social circle becomes the *sine qua non* for the honour to operate as codes of conduct. In turn, family members' conduct becomes a yardstick for them to assess their social status.

All societies have rules of conduct. Those who conform to the rules are rewarded, and those who disobey are punished. Peristiany (1965) writes: "Honour and shame are social evaluations and thus participate of the nature of social sanctions: the more monolithic the jury, the more trenchant the judgement" (p. 9). Social groups who inhabit the ideas of honour, dishonour and shame as cultural ideals construct rules and practices to regulate the group members' conduct termed the honour value system (Shah, 2016; Baker, Gregware, & Cassidy, 1999). In the system, there are different rules of conduct for men and women. For instance, both honour and dishonour are predominantly acquired by men through women, specifically through female sexual conduct. Men are upholders, and women are carriers of family honour. Joseph (cited in Baxter, 2007) states that men who experience personal pride,

approval, and social standing within the honour system are recognised based on women's behaviour. Thus, the system places responsibility on men for caring, "monitoring, guiding and chastising" women family members because it is women's actions on which men's performance is judged (Baxter, 2007, p. 744). The honour value system gives men power and control over women to conform to the norms that regulate women's conduct. Yet, women, especially older women, also participate in enforcing the norms of honour, in particular policing the other women, especially young girls, to ensure they do not engage in dishonourable or shameful behaviours and using family honour to justify violence against them (Dogan, 2018; Shah, 2016; Gill & Brah, 2014). Women as the carrier of family honour greatly influence determining the social standing of a family through their conduct; any misconduct on their part can bring dishonour to the family, consequently the loss of family reputation (Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Kandiyoti & Kandiyoti,1987).

ii) Honour: as an instrument of social differentiation

The notion of honour plays both ideological and pragmatic functions (Friedrich, 1977) that internalise the honour norms and guide the behaviours according to the group's norms. This assumes that "honour is an instrument of social differentiation", through which continuous attempts are made to achieve both individual and that of the group's superiority or maintain the distinctive social structures or identity of one's group in the social sphere (Giordano, 2001, p. 687). For example, Schokeid (cited in Giovannini, 1987) describes that male control over women and girls' social and sexual conduct through the ideology of family honour has been intensified in Israeli Muslim Arabs as "a symbol of ethnic and religious" identity in opposition to the dominant Jewish majority. Further, this symbolic significance attached to the chastity of women aids to

align the Muslim Arab group with the wider Arab community where similar codes exist (p. 71). Similarly, it has been said that immigrant groups, especially Muslims in the UK and other Western countries, practice the same rules of female chastity, purdah, and segregation between sexes to separate their culture from the majority cultures (Metlo, 2012).

Moreover, Schneider (1971) argues that "honour as ideology helps shore up the identity of a group (a family or a lineage) and commit to it the loyalties of otherwise are doubtful members. Honour defines the group's social boundaries, contributing to its defence against the claims of equivalent competing groups" (p.17). In a similar vein, Shah (2016) contends that in many cases of honour-related violence and *karo-kari*, it turns out to be the reason for creating group identities (Shah, 2016). By highlighting the group differences, the groups want "to claim to social and moral superiority" alongside the fear of social decline is a case of tainted honour, where honour is employed as a tool of social differentiation and the significance of 'public opinion' increases substantially. The social standing of individuals and groups based on their honour within the social hierarchy is determined by public opinion, which plays an important role in social control (Giordano, 2001, p.688). For example, to avoid the negative public perception of caste-based groups in India, honour is used as a mechanism of social control of caste purity to protect female sexuality against contamination by lower-cate males (Ortner, 1978, p.20). This view recognises that the concept of honour is temporal and mutable but persists as a fundamental part of the struggle for the preservation of the identity of social groups that can be a family, a class, a caste group, and a community (Giordano, 2016, p. 695), within their concerned norm circles and/or external groups.

iii) Honour: as a social asset

This notion rests upon the assumption that honour is a form of a social property highly valued and fiercely protected by people (Bond, 2012). Social group members also see it as a "substitute for physical violence in defence of economic interests" in which "women are reduced to currency in the process" (Schneider, 1971, 17-18). Schneider's (1971) uses a socio-ecological theoretical approach to examine existing ethnographic research and argues that political and ecological forces interacted and produced the concepts of honour and shame as a code of conduct to govern the sexuality of women. These interactions concerned conflict for contested resources, which included cultivable land, water and grazing rights, paths of access to land and women. Therefore, infringement on land boundaries, water rights, and adultery was considered a breach of the honour code (p. 2). In Schneider's framework, a family is a corporate unit where women are regarded as contested resources and honour attached to them is a form of social property.

The family as a corporate unit developed as one of the social settings where male domination demonstrates itself evidently and unquestionably by "treating women as means of exchange" that enabled men to amass social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2001 [1998], p. 98). Honour was also used to control women's fertility by restricting their sexual behaviour to regulate productive and reproductive resources (Shah, 2016; Delaney,1987). Women were not only considered "competing resources" (Schneider,1971, p. 2) and means of reproduction and capital accumulation (Bourdieu, 2001 [1998]) for a family but they were also viewed as a delicate gender that required protection from pollution and defilement.

In sum, the social groups regarded honour as a social asset and women as the carrier of family honour and their docile bodies as sites of male domination's brute power (Foucault, 2012 [1975]). The symbolic embodiment of cultural ideals, such as honour and shame, reduces women to the status of objects or '*symbolic instruments*' for men to accumulate symbolic and social capital (Bourdieu, 2001 [1998], p. 43). This symbolic circulation of women "makes the female body, literally, an assessable, interchangeable object circulating among men like currency'" (Dardigna, cited in Bourdieu, 2001 [1998], p. 43). The currency has a value up until the honour attached to it is intact. Thus, undamaged honour makes the female body a useful commodity for men, which can be exchanged, bought, and sold in the social group's market. In extreme cases, it can be discarded or destroyed (as in honour killings) when the body is damaged, which means honour is no longer intact (Khan, 2006). This section is summarised in the following table:

Table 3: Summary of honour's functions in a social group

Theme	**Social groups**		
Honour	**Family (immediate and extended)**	**Concerned norm circle (s)**	**External Groups**
Source of social standing	Internalises the norms of honour	Endorse and enforce the norms	Irrelevant
	Exhibits the norms through the conduct	Approve or disapprove the conduct	Irrelevant
	The mechanism to govern the family integrity	Impart validation to the family integrity	Irrelevant
	Means to membership	Belonging	Set boundaries
An instrument of social differentiation	Adopt the distinctive features of the concerned norms	Maintaining identity	Sources for competition
	Shows the social differences	Claim social or moral superiority	Markers for the differences
	It helps to accumulate "symbolic capital."	A social platform to materialise the capital	A potential threat to the capital
Social asset	Property	Market for transaction	Irrelevant
	Claim the value of the property	Facilitate the claim and agree to transactions	Irrelevant
	Determines manliness of male family members to protect the property	Space to perform masculinity by defending the property.	Benchmark for comparing masculine power and authority
	Provides cover for economic gains	Provide justification or condemnation to the cover	Irrelevant
	Source of power to control on female family members	Endorsement to the power	In some situations, it becomes a reason for exerting control.

Some scholars challenged the dominant interpretation of honour seen by some anthropologists as an exclusive property of men associated with women's behaviours and bodies. For instance, Wikan (1984) says that it is absurd to believe that, unlike a man, a woman cannot gain value in her own and others' eyes, which is only male privilege. Further, she acknowledges that it is plausible to contemplate that a woman's worth is exclusively reliant on her sexual behaviour, so if she behaves badly, she loses her value, and that "women's ideas on this point should be identical with those of men" (p. 639). Similarly, feminist analysis of honour and shame has critiqued honour's exclusivity to men and shame to women and argued that women should not be constructed as a passive reservoir of male honour. However, as Stewart (2015, p. 183) argues, women's silence and passivity might be a form of contempt against male-controlled hierarchical social arrangements.

Nevertheless, women's agency and power exist within the system's parameters, in which notions of honour and shame play both ideological and pragmatic functions to control their sexuality, body and behaviours (Goodwin, 1995; Sen, 2005). As opposed to honour as a unitary social entity controlled by men, Mosquera (2016) suggests it is a multifaceted concept with four facets: morality-based honour, family honour, masculine honour, and feminine honour (Mosquera, 2016).

This leads us to the second set of studies that emerged from the 1990s with the appearance of honour-related violence and honour killings, in which relationships among culture, honour and the practice of honour killings are examined both conceptually and empirically.

3.4.2 Literature relating to honour killings

i) Essentialised notion of honour culture

It is not known who coined the combined term "honour culture", but an early example appears in research from American social scientists Nisbett and Cohen in 1996 in their book 'Culture of Honour: the psychology of violence in the South' (Nisbett & Cohen (2018 [1996]). In the Encyclopedia of Social Psychology, Cohen (2007) defines a culture of honour as "a culture in which a person (usually a man) feels obliged to protect his or her reputation by answering insults, affronts, and threats, often through the use of violence' (p. 213). Nisbett and Cohen's hypothesis that the violent tendencies and high rates of homicides in the Southern States of America were due to inherited culture of honour, in which honour norms are highly valued, and the affronts on one's reputation are answered with violence as a deterrence strategy.

The theory has been influential but has no longer been applied to explore the links between the concept of honour and the murder of women in the United States or other Western nations. Because of the historical tendency to use honour and shame as an 'othering label', the pair have been widely used to make cultural distinctions between Western and non-Western societies (Stewart, 2015, p. 181). Thus, the theory of honour culture has been applied predominantly to non-Western cultures. As it is assumed that the notion of honour has been obsolete from Western cultures, such as in modern America, "honour and chastity are seen as ideological leftovers in the consciousness of obsolete classes, such as military officers or ethnic grandmothers", writes American sociologists Peter Berger in 1970 (p.339). In Stewart's (2015) words, "honour once defined northern Europeans, then it defined others on the margins

of Europe, and now it is a problematic feature of 'others' within Euro-American societies" (p. 181).

The re-emergence of honour and shame is viewed as traditional baggage brought by immigrants from the Middle East and South Asia to the West. Cooney (2014) identifies the honour cultures that are predominantly concentrated in Muslim nations and among their emigrants to Western countries. The distinguishing features of these cultures are that they are rigid, collectivist and patriarchal, place a high value on family social standing, and are highly sensitive to the opinion of social group members (Khan, Saleem & Lowe, 2018; Abu-Rabia, 2011). Khan and colleagues (2018) categorise these features as "Asian collectivist honour cultures" (p. 288), in which men are authoritarian, aggressive, and violent and women are compliant, conforming, and passive victims (Khan et al., 2018; Idriss, 2017).

The honour culture framework gives men power that forces women to conform to prescribed social, moral, and sexual behaviours. If women do not comply with these specified rules of conduct, they are punished, and the punishment can be their murder. Therefore, culturally determined honour crimes, i.e., honour-related violence and honour killings, are common in these cultures. So far, this section has focused on the notion of an honour culture. I will now move on to discuss the practice of honour killings as an extreme form of honour crimes.

The existing literature provides two types of explanations, cultural and patriarchal.

ii) Cultural explanations of honour killings

This interpretation suggests that honour killing is a culturally motivated and sanctioned (Kurkiala, 2003; Kressel, 1981) form of social control over women's

sexual agency (Zia, 2019; Welchman & Hossain, 2005) in the form of punishment (Zia, 2019; Cooney, 2014; Dogan, 2014) in response to behaviours that are culturally defined as dishonourable or shameful. The act of killing is carried out to restore or protect highly valued honour, not just for an individual or a family but a collective (Payton, 2014; Khan et al., 2018; Idriss, 2010), that not only endorse the practice but reward the murderer in some cases too (Shah, 2016; Bhanbhro et al., 2013). Additionally, this explanation starkly separates honour killings from other murders with the view that honour killings are governed by "the specific logic of an honour culture" (Kurkiala, 2003, p. 6). As per the logic, if a woman does not conform to the norms set by her "cultural community", her immoral conduct brings dishonour to the entire social group, family, lineage, or the community. To ensure conformity to the norms for family honour protection, male family members have to kill her. Thus, these kinds of murders are seen as culturally authorised to maintain the particular social and moral order (Kurkiala, 2003, p. 7). In a similar vein, Dogan (2013) argues that the communities where honour killings tend to occur, in which a culturally "ascribed position determines the behaviour of people", that is controlled by the collective thinking of a community and they do not have individual agency, but they are agents of their cultures (p. 403).

This includes women as agents of the culture, and they too take part in enforcing norms of honour. For instance, Aplin's (2017) analysis of 100 honour-based abuse cases investigations between 2012 and 2014 in the UK reveals that mothers play a "massive" role in the perpetration of honour-related violence against their daughters (p. 1). Bates (2018) supports the findings with her examination of 162 cases of honour-based abuse from South England, in which she finds women, particularly mothers and mothers-in-law, are more involved in

honour-related violence than other forms of domestic violence. Women's role varies from controllers to collaborators, and in some cases, they are forced by their male family members to take part in the honour crime.

The evidence of cultural support to honour killings can be seen in the empirical studies. One example is an empirical study involving 377 male respondents from the Federally Administrative Areas of Pakistan to assess the cultural support to honour killings from the perspectives of *Maliks* (the chief of a village or clan). The authors suggest that honour killings are a product of "*Pashtun*" culture, specifically the *Pukhtunwali*[3], which places great value on family honour that is strongly tied to the virginity and chastity of women and expects strict adherence to the traditional ways of life, including restoration of honour with blood. The study found that 79.1% of the respondents strongly believed in women's sexual purity norms, and 73.5% endorsed honour killings for violation of the norms (Bangash & Muhammad, 2017). Shah (1993), in her seminal essay on *karo kari* (a form of honour killings), writes that her study participants express that they have grown up with the tradition. Even the survivor women do not question the custom of *karo kari,* but they put it down to fate (*qismat*). Similarly, Shaikh et al. (2010), in their cross-sectional survey with a convenience sample of 601 men and women, found that the majority of respondents (65% men and 53% of women) considered the killing of a woman justifiable and acceptable in the event of an extramarital sexual relationship as a measure to save the family honour.

[3] It is the code of conduct for Pashtun people. The key principle of the code includes that a Pashtun man is expected to defend his honour that is tied to his land, family, women and property.

Similarly, Lowe et al. (2018) did a study using vignettes containing a hypothetical scenario in which a husband, despite his marital infidelity, verbally abuses and physically assaults his wife after discovering that she has been unfaithful. The survey questionnaire was completed by 579 men and women from 'collective patriarchal honour cultures', namely India, Iran, Malaysia and Pakistan. The authors conclude that compared to the women participants, the men from all four countries were more supportive of 'honour-adhering attitudes' as a riposte to the perceived damage to husbands' social standing by their wife's infidelity. Pakistanis were the most supportive of all the study participants, and the Malaysian were the least (p. 238). A study of Indians and Pakistanis living in the UK found that comparatively, a small percentage of people supported honour-related violence against women. If she had dishonoured her family, 18% of both male and female respondents agreed that violence for the sake of honour was justifiable (ComRes, 2012).

Moreover, wider family and social group support provide moral justification to the murders committed on the pretext of honour. This is evident in the commissioning of honour killings by informal male-headed community councils, which allow the execution of women to violate sexual norms. This endorsement from the wider community can provide moral impunity to the perpetrators and justify the act (Zia, 2019; Jafri, 2008; Amnesty International, 1999).

This is further exemplified in a study undertaken by Zia (2019), in which she interviewed a local feudal lord (s*ardar*) who leads such tribunals (*jirgas*). The feudal lord sees "honour as a sensibility that is intrinsically associated with culture and tradition" (p. 369). The embeddedness of honour in cultural norms and values makes it part of people's everyday lives. Similarly, Eisner and Ghuneim (2013), in their attitudinal study, conclude that adolescents who

supported honour killings had “collectivist and patriarchal world views” that stress shared responsibility to safeguard the honour of the social group (family, lineage, clan), conformity to the group’s expectations, norms, traditions, and rejection of Western cultural values (p. 405 -407).

In the same vein, in 2007, a national public opinion survey was carried out with a stratified convenience sample of 200 respondents in Jordan; 2.5% of the survey respondents termed honour killings as “morally just”. Additionally, the survey revealed that 72% of the respondents attributed honour killing practice to “Jordanian culture”; 69% called it a tribal custom, and 22% believed that the practice is influenced by Islam (Sheeley, 2007). In Pakistan, Nasrullah, Haqqi, and Cummings (2009) analysed the data on women’s honour killings. The data were systematically collected by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) of newspaper reports from January 2004 till December 2007. The analysis revealed that in total 1957 honour killings occurred in four years; the major reason reported behind 1759 of the killings was extramarital relations.

In the cultural explanation of honour and honour killings, gossip has a central role. It is viewed as a necessary and sufficient device to ensure appropriate female behaviour that operates through public opinion (Glazer & Ras, 1994). This is ubiquitously represented in the Urdu language phrase as “*log kia kahein gey*” (what will people say) (Mehr, 2018). Conceptually, the notion of gossip is viewed as “a spontaneous collective sanction, the voice of public opinion enforcing conformity to community norms, a group binding, boundary-maintaining mechanism, an informal device for social control” (Gluckman cited in Glazer & Ras, 1994, p. 270). Studies were undertaken in the Middle East (Dodd, 1973; Glazer & Ras, 1994; Hasan, 2002) repeatedly mention that an offence against dishonour such as pre-marital or extramarital affairs may

receive only light punishment unless it is publicly recognised and acknowledged. It is presented so vehemently that in the "communities where honour killings tend to occur" (Dogan, 2013), the power of the fear about what others are saying is enough to provoke the honour killing of "their" women. It is considered unreasonable for a man who hears a rumour about his wife having an affair not to take action against her to save the family honour. The action could be killing her. Another significant aspect of the cultural interpretations is the association between religion, especially Islam and honour killings.

The links between religion and honour killings remain controversial and under-researched, with some of the protagonists of the cultural explanations arguing that religion (Iftikhar, 2016, Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001), specifically Islam has nothing to with it (Bangash & Samiullah, 2017, Idriss, 2010) whilst others see it as the cause of honour killings (Bruce, 2016; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Perlmutter, 2011). Yet, there seems to be no conclusive empirical evidence to prove or disprove any association with religion, particularly Islam (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Welchman & Hossain, 2005). A recent study of a large sample (n=25,723) of Muslims from 21 countries examined the relationships between Islam and honour-related violence. The authors argue that there is strong support for honour killings from people who regularly attend mosque, have extremist religious views, low literacy, and residents of rural areas (Beller, Kröger & Hosser, 2019). In contrast, Bangash and Samiullah (2017) surveyed 377 male respondents from the Federally Administrative Areas of Pakistan to investigate the relationships between Islam and honour killings. The authors conclude that though honour killings exist in both dominant sects of Islam (Sunni and Shiite) and all tribes of the area, the study respondents vehemently responded that Islam does not permit honour killings in any shape or form. The

respondents acknowledged that Islam has greater significance and influence on peoples' lives, but the local customs and traditions place a high value on honour norms that inspire honour killings. However, Chaudhary (2014), in his comparative analysis of honour crimes in Pashtun and Punjabi ethnic groups of Pakistan, contends that the "way Islam is practised (influenced by local cultures) supports honour crimes/killings" (p. 200) in different parts of the world.

The stories and reports related to honour killings coming from the Middle East and South Asia or immigrant communities living in Europe and North America are almost always linked with Islam (Abu-Lughod, 2011). In contrast, Giordano (2016) and Fournier, Mcdougall, and Dekker (2012), in their analysis of various western legal systems, argue that honour and its related practices has origin in western legal systems and are not associated with any particular religion. Additionally, analysis of the newspaper coverage and policy documents on honour-related violence and killings in the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, and the UK found that the issue of honour-related violence in general and honour killings, in particular, is routinely associated with Islam and represented in the media as being ingrained in the values of Islam (Hong, 2014; Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2009 & 2010). By contrast, it should be noted that honour-based violence and honour killings are also reported among Hindus, Sikhs, and Christians (Gill, 2008; Shafak, 2012). In sum, honour crimes and honour killings have origins in cultures, particularly pastoralist ones, some of which are now Islamic. As such, Islam has marked the way in which honour is viewed but is not the major cause of it. In contrast to cultural explanations, the following section describes a patriarchal interpretation of honour killings.

iii) Patriarchal explanation of honour killings

The patriarchal interpretation explains honour-related violence and honour killings as having little or nothing or little to do with any particular culture, but rather that the root cause of the problem lies with universal patriarchal structures that oppress women worldwide (Begikhani, 2005; Pimentel, Pandjiarjian, & Belloque, 2005; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Siddiqui, 2005). The notion of honour is an ideology of patriarchy, and honour-related violence and killings are tools to maintain control over sexuality, body, and behaviours of women for socio-cultural, economic, and political gains. Welchman and Hossain (2005) edited essays on the subject that interrogate violence committed against women in the name of honour in various contexts covering South Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe. In this collection, the authors argue that violence in the name of honour is situated on women's bodies; it controls women's sexuality and women's agency in naming and claiming their sexuality (Welchman & Hossain, 2005; Sen, 2005; Warraich, 2005). Gill (2008) did participatory observation and analysis of a roundtable discussion related to honour-related violence in the UK. Her findings suggest that honour-based violence is a complex social crime comprising different elements, all of which revolve around women's systematic subordination in the communities that practice and condone it. In another study, Gill (2006) examined British media reporting of honour-related violence, in which she conceptualises it as patriarchal violence in the name of honour and concludes that British media coverage has misrepresented ethnic minorities and engendered a sense of mainstream moral superiority by making honour killings an exclusive practice observed by minority ethnic communities.

Moreover, this interpretation universalises honour-related violence and honour killings by making it a 'subspecies' of gender-based violence (Reddy, 2014, p. 27). The protagonists of the view argue that it is necessary to avoid the 'inappropriate focus on the alleged cultural aspects of such violence, which treats the phenomenon as a species separate from wider domestic violence' (Aujla & Gill, 2014, pp. 155–159; Reddy, 2014, p. 28). Anthropologist Wikan (1999) argues that this is an 'old model' (p. 62), in which 'culture' is mis(used) in public discourse about immigrants and the notion of culture is seen 'as static, fixed, objective, consensual and uniformly shared by all members of a group' (p. 75). At the same time, Baumann (cited in Grillo, 2003) calls the old model an 'essentialist' version of culture, which means "a system of belief grounded in a conception of human beings as 'cultural' (and under certain conditions territorial and national) subjects, i.e., bearers of culture, located within a boundaried world, which defines them and differentiates them from others" (p. 158-160). Singling out honour-related violence draws attention to race, culture, and religion and puts the 'political spotlight' on the UK's immigrant population (Eshareturi, Lyle, & Morgan, 2014, p. 376). Aujla and Gill (2014), in their narrative analysis on honour killing cases, conclude that it is not straightforward to define honour killings in the context of cultural notions of honour and patriarchy. However, gender appears to be a critical aspect; therefore, instead of focusing on culture and religion, it is better to understand why and in what circumstances murders of women occur. Similarly, Gill and Brah (2014) did a detailed analysis of Shafilea Ahmed's[4] murder by her parents, in which they argue that the cultural specificities behind honour-related violence must be

[4] British Pakistani girl from England, who was murdered by her parents in a suspected honour killing in September 2003.

recognised. However, cultures of ethnic minority communities should not be blamed for honour crimes.

Further, they contend that “there is a difference between wholesale condemnation of the culture of a specific social group and condemnation of the harmful, illegal practices of members of that social group (p. 84). On the other hand, in spite of the above explanations, there is little discussion of the historical context behind honour related violence. Therefore, it would be useful at this stage to give a historical account of honour and its enforcement through violence.

Historical account of honour killings

The existing literature on honour killings of women and girls and the implications of the notions of honour through violence have depicted this as an ahistorical socio-cultural problem. As explained in the introduction chapter, the term honour killing was introduced in the late 1990s, and it got currency after the 9/11 incident in the USA when the label has been mainly linked with Muslim communities in their own countries and migrants in Europe and America. However, the notions of honour and their implications through violence has been a historical practice. Therefore, I reviewed archival material and published books and articles to inform a historical account of how women and girls were constructed as carriers of family and community honour and that the violation of honour norms has been enforced through violence. The archival research involved extracting information from archival sources such as manuscripts, documents, and newspapers to provide historically significant evidence related to the notions of honour and their relationships with violence and killings. Two key examples were found in the search.

i) The legend of Padmavati

This legend has many versions, and the earliest source is Malik Muhammad Jayasi's (1540 CE) epic fictionalised poem titled Padmavat. The poem describes the story of Padmini, also known as Padmavati. She was a legendary queen (Rani) of the Mewar kingdom of present-day India. Ratan Sen, the Rajput ruler of Chittor Fort, married her and brought her to his fort. When Alauddin Khalji, the ruler of the Delhi Sultanate in the Indian subcontinent, heard about the beauty of Padmavat, he attacked her kingdom to claim her. The Khilji army defeated the Rajputs and captured Chittor but could not capture the Rajput women because they performed Jauhar (mass suicide by self-immolation) along with Padmavati. The women committed mass suicide, avoiding being caught by a foreign invader and, in so doing, protecting the community's (Rajputs) honour.

ii) Soomra dynasty

When Alauddin Khalji, the Delhi Sultanate ruler, attacked the Jat kingdom of Sindh, the northwest part of the Indian subcontinent ruled by the Soomra dynasty (1026 -1356), which is now a province of present-day Pakistan, the rulers gave their women as *saam*[5] to another community called Abro. The women were sent to Abro to protect their honour in case the invaders defeated them. Soomra believed that their neighbouring community could defend women and not harm them or give them to the foreigners. When Khilji's army killed all Soomra men, they tried to find wealth and women. Khilji's army found wealth but not women. The army found out that the women were with the Abro

[5] A tradition practised during a war or conflict in which males of a social group sent their women to a different social group for a protection. As per the tradition the recipent social group will treat the women with outmost respect and provide mandatory protection, even if the women belong to their rival group.

community and went to war with them. Before going to war with Khilji's army, Abro dug a deep well inside the boundary wall of their palace and instructed their women and the women of Soomra that if they lost the war, then all women must commit suicide by jumping into the well so they would not be captured; the women had orders from their men that they should defend men's honour by dying, instead of surrendering to the invaders. According to the legend, Abro lost the war, and all women committed suicide as their men instructed them by jumping into the well.

These examples show that men have long considered women carriers of their (family, community, tribe) honour, and violence and killings have existed for the sake of honour in the form of suicide.

Similar examples can be found in recent history. For example, during the 1947 riots around the partition of India and Pakistan, thousands of women and girls were either killed by their families or forced to jump in wells or self-immolate to save the family and community honour (this is similar to the legends described above). Also, thousands of women were abducted from both sides of the border (Menon & Bhasin, 1996). Forced suicide is still used as a strategy to mask honour killings; for example, Batman, a town in Turkey, is known as a 'suicide city' because of the high rate of suicides by women in the name of honour (Kremen, 2014, p. 213). During the partition of India, it was violence that had no boundaries for many women; they needed not only to fear from 'miscreants', 'outsiders' or 'marauding mobs' but their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons could turn killers (Menon & Bhasin, 1998, p. 3). Both countries' political leadership commenced an urgent recovery operation to bring back women because of their symbolic value – that they "symbolised the honour of community and the nations". They needed to be brought back within the fold of

both for the honour to be properly restored (p. 21). Though women did return to their respective countries, many families did not take them back because they were treated as 'polluted' as they had been in sexual contact with men of the other community, and their honour was questioned (Butalia, 1997).

In conclusion, in the literature reviewed above, there is little or inconclusive empirical evidence. Besides, neither the cultural nor patriarchal approaches grasp the complexities and subtleties of crimes committed in the name of honour, including violence and honour killings. The cultural explanations do not explicitly recognise the cultural specificities that are used to justify violence and killings in the name of honour and essentialise the honour culture. In contrast, the patriarchal approach conceals more pressing and central structures of violence affecting women and political processes that shape it in those parts of the world where culture is often blamed for such violence. Thus, in my empirical analysis, I used an intersectional approach informed by the critical theories (of feminists, race and social practice, see details in the methodology chapter) to consider the interconnections between various factors, including gender, class, caste, race, ethnicity, migration status, and place. This is presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 4. The conceptualisation of notions of honour

The study findings are divided into four chapters, each covering an aspect of the research question. This chapter presents the findings related to participants' own understanding, conception, configuration, and application of *izzat* and *ghairat* and their related concepts of dishonour and shame. The second results chapter (chapter 5) presents the data on the honour system, its purpose, workings of power, and enforcement rules. The third results chapter (chapter 6) discusses the different levels of norm circles that enforce the honour system through the rules and practices. The fourth and final chapter (chapter 7) summarises the social forces presented in the three chapters of data as they manifest in acts of honour killings.

The participants' pseudonyms together with age (if applicable), gender and profession (if applicable) are used with verbatim English and translated quotations.

In all four chapters presenting findings, both research sites (UK and Pakistan) are included. This is done in an integrated but also with attention drawn to the difference in the context of the two sites. These differences are stark and include the rule of law, the criminal justice system, institutional and individual autonomy levels, and the political environment. For example, in the results, it is often necessary to point out how differences in behaviour at an individual level are driven by knowledge of the ways in which the legal system works; that the UK system has no history of formally permitting honour-based violence against women. This is a good illustration of the ways in which norm circles interact with each other. However, in both contexts, some social structures such as *biradri*

(extended family, clan or kinship) are considered necessary for social practices like honour killings. Another common feature is the rural households in Pakistan and their legacy in the UK. Bourgois (2003) argues that in rural households, it is the father who heads the family and defines his worth around the "respect" accorded to him by his family women (p. 288). Also, in both contexts, the notions of honour (*izzat/ghairat*) are still operating as a “modality” (Khan, 2018, p. 3) to exercise power and control over women and girls’ bodies, behaviours and sexuality. Therefore, in this analysis, I consider honour killings practice as a continuum because of the dynamic cross-border connections between Pakistanis and British Pakistanis. The dominant connections between both contexts are the underlying transnational features such as *biradri*, marriage practices including cousin, inter-family and *biradri* marriages.

4.1 Local terminology for the concept of honour

Various local terms are used for honour in different ethnolinguistic groups of Pakistan and the Pakistanis living in the UK. Of these, two terms are widely used: *izzat* and *ghairat*. Some authors have translated *izzat* as respect, prestige, and status and *ghairat* as honour (Shah, 2016; Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Chaudhary, 2011). Similarly, some authors have translated *izzat* as honour (Gill 2008; Alvi, 2001; Cheesman, 1997) and *ghairat* as shame (Alvi, 2001) and some authors have translated both *izzat* and *ghairat* as honour (Metlo, 2012; Jafri, 2008). Moreover, the UK public agencies such as the Crown Prosecution Service and the Metropolitan Police Service and charity organisations working on honour-related violence mainly recognise honour as *izzat* and *ghairat* together with *namus* [an Arabic term for honour]. Given that the authors in the

literature have widely used the term honour for both *izzat* and *ghairat*, I have adopted honour to translate *izzat* and *ghairat* in the thesis.

Izzat and *ghairat*

Although both *izzat* and *ghairat* are interpreted and understood differently by different people and social groups, they are generally used interchangeably. All non-Sindhi speaking male and female participants from the UK translated the term *izzat* as an honour in the study. In contrast, all Sindhi speaking male respondents from the UK [there was no female Sindhi speaking participant from the UK] used the term *ghairat* for the concept of honour. In comparison, all Sindhi and non-Sindhi participants from Pakistan used the term *ghairat* for the concept of honour.

Two male participants (one from the UK and one from Pakistan) doubted honour is an appropriate translation for the term *izzat*. For them, it meant prestige, respect, and social position; no participants expressed similar concerns relating to *ghairat*. Ghulam Jaffar [M, 62], a participant of a focus group interview from the UK, said, '*honour is not a right word for ghairat, but it is for izzat because both terms have the same meanings, but different applications*.' Similarly, in an informal conversation, Khuda Bux [M], a schoolteacher from Pakistan, remarked that,

> '[….] honour means *izzat* or respect, not *ghairat* as there is no right word for *ghairat* in English [language] because *angreez* [English people] do have honour and respect as all people do. Still, they do not have *ghairat* as their women are just wandering around half-naked and can have sex without getting married, so how do they get any *ghairat?'* [Translated from Sindhi].

In contrast to this opinion, another teacher Gul Muhammad [M] from the same school, said that *ghairat* is a natural feeling in all humans. In a similar vein, Imran [M, 40, UK], a mosque Imam and a chaplain, explained in English that,

> 'There are several layers to honour. Okay? And depending on who you are, where you are. Er…what your sex is, okay? Depending on your race, your racial er…gender…what your racial…erm… which part of…status is (honour). Your national status, okay? That can all impact on …er… but it is present in every single group of people'.

Gul Muhammad [M, PK] had similar views, saying that English people may express the emotions of honour differently; this is partly because Britain's laws are robust. Thus, people may avoid killing someone for an issue of honour or dishonour. By contrast, in Pakistan, laws are weak, and their implementation is questionable; therefore, people simply take the law into their own hands.

Some of the participants from Pakistan associated honour with blood. Some pointed out that, for example, the term *ghairat* is a combination of two Sindhi language words; *ghair* means 'other or outsider' (*parao or baahryon*) and 'r'at' means blood; so etymologically, the term *ghairat* means 'other blood' (*parao r'at*). As Khuda Bux [M] explained that the practice of cousin marriages is an example of *ghairat* in practice; he said,

> 'we have a '*riwaj*' (tradition) of inter-family marriages based on '*ghairat*', meaning we don't want to mix others' blood in our blood. If I give my daughter in marriage to a '*ghair*' [an outsider who is not from one's caste or biradri], people of my caste will call me a *beghairat*' (a person without honour)' [translated from Sindhi].

In summary, the study participants viewed the notions of *izzat* and *ghairat* as the defining factors of the value systems and social organisation across all ethnolinguistic groups of Pakistan and people of Pakistani origin living abroad. Both terms are used for honour, and both are closely intertwined and can be achieved by doing similar or sometimes the same things, yet these are two distinct concepts in scope and applications. I now turn to the definition of *izzat* and *ghairat* from the participants' perspectives.

4.1.1 Defining *izzat* and *ghairat*

Izzat

The study participants described *izzat* as an attribute of three kinds: a) an attribute derived from material and non-material possession, b) a personality trait, and c) a feature ascribed to women.

a) *Izzat* as an attribute based on material and non-material possessions

The first element of *izzat* is as an attribute of an individual or social group, one which is gained through a multitude of elements, such as level of education, family background, a large size of landholding, wealth and property, connections with politicians, Sardars (tribal chieftains), and state officials, having a good job, and a successful business. For instance, a participant from Pakistan, Niaz Ali [M, 47], said, '*izzat is connected to many things, job, money, position in society and education'*. While, for all Mirpuri speaking male and female participants from the UK, *izzat* is about being at a certain social level and being proud of one's family background together with '*dera'* (household), '*dada-potra'* (lineage) and the '*gotra'* (clan).

In the same vein, for the majority of male and female participants from Pakistan, *izzat* is an individual characteristic, but more often connected to a person's '*khaandan'* [usually means family, more specifically extended family, kin or lineage]*, biradri*, '*zaat', 'paat', 'qaum'* or '*qabeelo'* [the terms refer to the genealogical based endogamous groups consisting of several sub-caste and kinship groups]. The data suggests that the concept of *izzat* applies across social groups, including Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtun and Baloch, religious groups [Muslim, Hindu, Sikh], sects [Sunni and Shia] and genders [men, women] in Pakistan. However, traditionally, men are seen as defenders of the family *izzat*, whereas women are deemed the *izzat* (honour) carrier.

b) *Izzat* as a personality trait

This second attribute of *izzat* is associated with various personality traits, including self-respect, integrity, politeness, generosity, modesty, hospitality, obedience to one's parents and conformity to one's social group's customs and traditions. As Nuzhat [F, 30], a respondent from the UK, expressed her view in English that,

> 'it is just something that we are brought up with and just being careful how you carry yourself outside so that your family is not affected by your deeds or whatever you do…hmm…...meaning showing '*sharam o haya'* (shame and modesty), respecting others and listening to parents'.

Similarly, Mujtaba [M, 36] participant from Pakistan, explained that,

> 'there are many terms used in everyday life like '*ghairat*, *izzat*, *aabro*, (honour) *haya'* (modesty)*'*, the actual concept is '*haya'*, which applies to both men and women, as the Prophet (PBUH) said that '*haya'* is part of '*imaan*' means modesty is part of one's faith'.

He elaborated that,

> 'If a man sees a woman, he should show '*haya'* by keeping his eyes down, women should keep their eyes down too, meaning not look at '*na mahram'*[6] (anyone whom a woman is allowed to marry), both men and women should respect elders, so if someone does not have '*haya'* (modesty) that means he or she has no '*imaan'* (faith)' [translated from Sindhi]

The aspects of *izzat*, as mentioned above, infer that it is not a permanent attribute but an ever-changing notion. For instance, if a person's *izzat* in his social group is because of his job and he lost that job, then, in consequence, his *izzat* is diminished; but if the person gets the job again, that means he will regain *izzat* too. Moreover, *izzat* is also about to give and take, for example, *izzat* for Aziz Ahmed [M, 72, UK],

> '….is something I will give you. I will invite you home in your honour. I will do things. I will prepare a feast for you'.

So, *izzat* can be returned by inviting the person to one's house or doing something similar to reciprocating the gained *izzat*.

c) *Izzat* as a feature attributed to women

The research participants perceive this aspect of *izzat* as the most important facet. It constitutes an individual or social group's *izzat;* it is the female family members, particularly their social and sexual behaviour and body. The next most important are wealth and land. This feature of *izzat* is different from the

[6] The term denotes anyone who a woman is allowed to marry, often set in opposition to the term *mahram* which means anyone who it is permanently forbidden for a woman to marry because of blood ties, breastfeeding, or marriage ties.

above described two aspects because it is associated with women and girls, and *izzat* attached to women can be lost but not regained; instead, it is 'stained' and 'cleansed' or 'repaired'. This characteristic makes it more like the other important notion of *ghairat* (discussed in the next section).

The majority of male study participants repeatedly expressed the view that *izzat* is associated with female family members. For example, Ahmed Ali [M, 34, PK] explicitly referred to *izzat* as '*my nang* (women) *are my izzat*'. Similarly, Mushtaq Ahmed [M, 38, PK] and Rahib [M, 36, UK] believed that one's *izzat* is female family members. The data reveal that a trio of '*zun, zar, zameen*' (women, wealth, and land) was seen as an integral part of the value system for male participants from Pakistan. By contrast, none of the nine female participants from both research sites connected the izzat concept with women. However, concerning the notion of *izzat,* some of the female participants stressed that *izzat* is about how a person conducts themself in the public realm so that their respective family's reputation is not affected by their actions and behaviours.

This section has described the three key aspects of the notion of *izzat* an attribute derived from material and non-material possession, a personality trait and a feature ascribed to women; it has also indicated that the centrality of female family members to *izzat* is of crucial importance in the examination of honour killings. However, it also shows instability in the concept based on gender, with female participants holding *izzat* to be far less gender-specific than male participants. I will now move on to discuss the notion of *ghairat*.

Ghairat

The data show that most male participants considered women and girls as *izzat* of an individual or a social group. As we have seen, the notion of *izzat* is associated with many things, including family women. In contrast, for the males, the notion of *ghairat* is predominantly and strongly associated with women and, in particular, their social and sexual conduct. For many female respondents, this association between men's *ghairat* and women's behaviour is a strategy by men to control women. To explain the link Kooral Khan [M, 50] from Pakistan said,

> 'mostly people of our area attach their '*ghairat'* with their '*nang*' (women), and in most of the cases, men consider that their *ghairat* is offended when their womenfolk do something morally wrong, or any men sexually transgressed with their women' [translated from Sindhi].

This connection between *ghairat* and women's conduct was a recurrent theme in the data: virtually all participants perceived *ghairat* as internal and external to an individual and a social group that can be a family, *biradri*, caste or community. It is internal in the sense that it affects the person's or group's self-worth; it is external because it affects their worth in others' eyes. In both cases, the critical aspects of honour described by the participants include a) the notion of *ghairat* is an emotion, b) the expression of the emotion in behaviours, and c) assessing the behaviours by the members of one's social group. These aspects of *ghairat* resonate with Pitt-River's (1968) three key dimensions of honour.

a) *Ghairat* as an emotion

The study participants perceived that *ghairat* is a natural feeling of anger and aggression, predominantly experienced by men, but in some cases by women too, to protect *izzat*, which is primarily associated with women and secondarily with wealth and land. Zubair [M, 42], a mosque Imam from the UK, said,

> '*ghairat* is a natural thing that is present within every individual. It is mainly connected to …. what one holds most dear.... the things that are most valuable for the person' [translated from Urdu].

In the same vein, Bux Ali [M, 34], a participant from Pakistan, described,

> 'a thing that disturbs your inner [being], this could be your psyche, thoughts or it could be your values when something happens against these, I will give it a name of *ghairat*' [Translated from Sindhi].

Surprisingly, when the participants attributed *ghairat* to natural feelings, they meant it is in a person's genes and therefore immutable. For example, Imran [M, 40, UK] explicitly referred to a person's '*DNA as a key constituent of one's honour*'. It was echoed by Niaz Ali [M, 47, PK] as '*they [people] have inherited these things from generations*.' Likewise, Aziz Ahmed [M, 72, UK] emphasised that,

> 'This [*ghairat]* is something natural. It does not come about because of some job. This is natural for all humans. So, *no, it cannot be changed* [italics added]. You may want this to change as well. However, it cannot be changed'.

Interestingly, some of the male participants viewed honour as 'ego', and a few of them, together with all nine female study participants from different age groups and backgrounds, viewed *ghairat* as 'men's false ego' (*kuri/jothi anna*), which is stirred up for many things, but mostly for issues related to women and girls. Rukhsana [F, 38] from Pakistan questioned the men's notion of *ghairat* as,

> '…where is men's honour when they sit at 'hotels' [tea shops locally called as hotels] all-day idle and their womenfolk work in fields

> [agriculture] irrespective of harsh weather. Nevertheless, when they [men] see a *ghair mard* (an outsider man) even talking to them [women], the men will make that an issue of '*ghairat*' [translated from Sindhi].

Similarly, a group interviewee Ayesha [F, 48, PK], when asked about what first thing comes to mind when you hear the word *ghairat/izzat* or honour, responded, '*death of women for the sake of false ego. Ghairat is a false sense of ego for men*'. Another interviewee Zahir Khan [M, 52] of the same group, agreed with the statement and said,

> 'what I think *ghairat is the false sense of ego of men for women and girls* [italic added] like if someone's daughter or wife is having an affair, that hurts man's ego or false pride' [translated from Urdu].

While Ayaz Ahmed [M, 45, PK] alluded to the notion of 'honour' as a 'false ego' but emphasised that the people in his area,

> '[….] are uneducated agricultural class, so they have a false ego, especially in the '*Baroch*[7]' tribes, even in minor issues they fight. *Ghairat*! …leave it aside, sir, [referring to the interviewer], [translated from Sindhi].

b) *Ghairat* as the manifestation of feelings in conduct

The second dimension (using Pitt-Rivers' format) of *ghairat* is the manifestation of feelings in conduct, the tangible behaviour as the expression of the feelings. For example, in the case of the defilement of *ghairat*, a person may feel dishonoured or ashamed or angry, and the person expresses the sentiments

[7] this is a colloquial Sindhi term for Baloch, an ethnic group of Pakistan, the term is frequently used by the Sindhi and Balochi speaking participants and it is mainly used for the Baloch tribes that are resident of Sindh province. I will use both terms *Baroch* and Baloch in the thesis, where appropriate.

through violent behaviours towards people held liable for the violation. It was explained by Aalim Khan [M, 50, PK] as,

> '*ghairat* is an emotion of rage or anger, and it comes from your inside when someone looks at your '*nang'* (women) in the wrong way or your women damage your '*ghairat'* by doing something immoral' [Translated from Sindhi].

This statement suggests that when a man looks at someone else's 'woman' with malicious intent, such that the look may be interpreted as attempting to have a sexual relationship with her, or if the woman herself is involved in an illicit relationship, these are considered sources of dishonour for the involved woman's family. In turn, the male family members attempt to restore the lost honour by taking action against the involved people. Aalim Khan felt that it is one of the reasons people commit honour killings. He argued, *'that is why a ghairati manhu* (a person with honour) *commits murders or to be murdered for his women'*. In the same vein, a focus group participant Ayaz Ahmed [M, 45, PK], explained that,

> 'it [honour] is naturally embedded in our thinking like it is already decided if that sort of case happens, we will kill the female family members in the name of *ghairat*'.

In contrast, Mujtaba [M, 36] from the same focus group said that while *ghairat* is a natural sentiment of every person, this does not mean that it should be manifested by killing someone. He went on to say that,

> 'our society and religion have told us to do's and don'ts, such as if your wife has dishonoured you be involved with some other man and you do

not want to keep her in your house, simply you should divorce her' [translated from Sindhi].

A UK respondent Farooq [M, 45], said that he does not know what the English word for *ghairat* is, but it is,

> 'often referred to as *not washing your linen in public*. So, if you have a problem within the community, within the family or the house - you do not want to let the neighbours know'.

Rahib [M, 36] from the UK had a similar view, and he expressed in English,

> 'it [*ghairat*] is about keeping, especially the elderly community, or the older community, keeping their self-respect within their own…. among their own peers and within their own community. In whatever way or means that they find fit. So, denying things'.

The participants' views refer to the expression of *ghairat* works in different ways for different people. For some, it is about demonstrating the emotions of *ghairat* publicly through their behaviours and actions, whereas for others, it is about keeping those things away from public view. However, in all cases, the informants reported that primarily honour is about an individual or social group's worth in others' eyes.

c) *Ghairat* as an assessment of the manifested behaviours

This third dimension of *ghairat* is the appraisal of tangible behaviours, in other words, what other people think and say about the person, behaviours and actions he did or did not take to hold the family honour or in response to the inflicted dishonour. The other people, in this case, are the members of one's social groups: that can be a family, a lineage, a clan, a caste and a tribe; in this

thesis, it is described as a norm circle (this will be discussed in chapter 6). A participant summed up this aspect of *ghairat* as, 'it [honour] *is basically an opinion of what other people see in which light they see you and in which light you see yourself*' [Imran, 40, UK].

The majority of the study participants from both sites shared the psychological view that *ghairat* is a natural emotion. However, they had different views on its manifestations through actual behaviour, which depends on various factors, including social, cultural, economic, and political factors. It was explained by Mir Muhammad [M, 38, PK] as,

> 'how a man reacts to an insult or dishonour depends upon his social status, education, religious education, caste and many other factors, so I mean to say that *all people feel ghairat*, but how they show it differs in different contexts' [Translated from Sindhi].

Another respondent echoed this view:

> '…it not easy to just say who has it [honour] and who doesn't. Because depending on where you are, which family you are in, which town you are in…er…what kind of circles you have…They each have a different level of what honour means. So, for example, the honour for one family may be… may have something to do with, for example, abandoning old parents' [Imran M, 40, UK].

The analysis finds that the social group's understanding and expectations are the key factors determining how an individual or family expresses the sentiments of *ghairat* through actions and behaviours. So, the 'implications' of

notions of honour in 'honour killings' of women and girls are intersectional, depending on various factors, including caste, class, tribe, gender, sexuality, and place. This is apparent from an example given by the respondent that if a man of any Baloch tribes of north Sindh hears that his sister is having an illicit relationship with a man, in such a case, it is most likely the man will react harshly by killing the woman and her paramour too. According to the respondent, this is considered a typical course of action in Baloch communities, and it is an expectation from social group members that when a man's honour is 'stained', then he should 'cleanse' the honour by killing them both, irrespective of consequences, for example, whether he will go to prison or not. Further, the participant's example suggests that if in the same area a man from any *Smaat* [a large group identity of people in Sindh, often set in opposition to the *Baroch*/Baloch groups] communities, discovers a similar occurrence with his sister, he might not kill the couple. Instead, he may take some different course of action; for example, if his sister is unmarried, he will quickly arrange her marriage or try to hide it. Further, Mir Muhammad elucidated his point as, '*I do not want to rule out that people from Smaat groups do not do karo-kari* (honour killings)*, they also do, but as compared to the 'Baroch' communities they do less*'. So, the reason for dishonour and emotional outrage may be the same, but the response to it could be different by different people of the same area or culture.

In the same vein, Isma [F, 35] from the UK explained that many factors influence a man's behaviours and actions for dealing with the issue of honour. For instance, in the context of the UK, where, as stated above, the law is said to be stricter, people from the same *biradri* such as a doctor or a lawyer are less likely to kill a sister for family honour than would be a taxi driver or a

shopkeeper. This happens because educated people will not only think about their reputation in the *biradri* or community but also have social status from their job and education. So, people consider the impact that will have on their lives, career, family, and children. By contrast, a taxi driver or shopkeeper's reputation within the community could be more important than their business. Thus, along with a person's position in his community, other broader factors influence one's decision to address honour issues.

The data show that *izzat* is something a person possesses regardless of gender, class, or caste; *ghairat* is something a person feels and that he [in this context, it is usually a man] demonstrates that feeling by taking action. However, the manifestation of *ghairat* depends on social, cultural, economic, and political factors, including gender, class, or caste. Three male participants, Mustafa [37], Jinsar [45] and Deedar [42] from a UK focus group, expressed the view that the sentiment of *ghairat* is natural and universally present in all men and women. However, women do not have the 'power' to express it as men do. This powerlessness of women to demonstrate the emotion of *ghairat* as men do is central to the analysis of honour killings.

Furthermore, not all issues of *izzat* become matters of *ghairat* worthy of a harsh reaction for redressing it. However, the issues of *izzat* associated with women and girls have indeed related to *ghairat,* and the majority of them become sources of dishonour and shame for an individual or a social group. In turn, these issues warrant actions from social members, particularly males, against the people responsible for violating honour.

For male respondents', one of the critical aspects of their *izzat* was closely linked to women, particularly women's sexual and social conduct and protecting

that aspect of *izzat* was the sentiment of *ghairat* for men. These were vehemently repeated words by most male participants from both research sites. For instance, consider a man who has *izzat* in his social group because of having a good job with a decent salary, but who is fired on corruption charges; whilst this will damage his *izzat* within the concerned social groups, his *ghairat* remains intact. In this scenario, the person's social group members will not expect him to reclaim his damaged *izzat* by acting against his employer or, if applicable, the people responsible for the infamy, irrespective of the person is guilty or not. By contrast, if a man's wife had an extramarital affair with someone, his *izzat* is lost means his wife has brought dishonour and shame on the person and his family. In this situation, the man is expected from his concerned social groups to respond harshly to show his *ghairat* for restoring his *izzat*. Isma [F, 35], an interviewee from the UK, illustrated this,

> 'to show off that this is our ghairat…Men who think they have a strong sense of *ghairat* want to oppress their wives, sisters, daughters more. Because they do not want anyone else picking on them'.

The above sections described the understanding of *izzat* and *ghairat* from the participants' perspectives. Both are seen as interwoven concepts and strongly associated with sexuality, behaviour, and women's bodies. Now I turn to present the data on the concepts of dishonour and shame seen by the participants as an integral part of *izzat* and *ghairat*.

4.2 Dishonour and Shame

The data suggest that the term dishonour is related to shame and disgrace for an individual or a social group, mainly brought about by female family members,

through their actions and behaviours that are considered a violation of honour. It might even be to the extent that if a man rapes a woman, that would also be considered a source of dishonour and shame for the family of the raped woman. Talking about this issue, a mosque Imam said, '[your] *woman being raped is a dishonour to your family*' [Imran, M, 40, UK]. He thought that if a woman was raped, the family blood considered as [pure] was contaminated, which is viewed as dishonour. The breach of honour norms become a source of dishonour and shame for an individual or a social group that can be a family, *biradri*, lineage or a caste group. For instance, Nuzhat [F, 30], a respondent from the UK, said in English that,

> 'if women exposed themselves by wearing revealing clothes or too tight clothes, it can become an issue of dishonour for their families. The [family] men …. would be mocked as '*beghairat insan*' (a person without honour) by their biradri or community'.

Imran [M, 40], a mosque Imam from the UK, said that, also, if some women are very open with *na mahram* [anyone whom a woman is allowed to marry] and have no shame and modesty, these are behaviours that can cause dishonour to the women's families. Further, he stated that several things could become sources of dishonour, but 'sexual intercourse' by women before marriage or after marriage with another man or even a woman is 'raped' is regarded as one of the biggest sources of dishonour and shame for a family. Imran expressed his views in English as,

> '…. honour is …. keeping your bloodline pure…. that involves not marrying outside your caste. In relation to this, there is an interesting notion of soiling your land [field]. For example, there is an understanding

> that in the context of males and females, especially when it comes to bearing children, your woman is like a field. Okay? Yes, it is an understanding in the Islamic context that your woman is your garden and field. But also, there is a cultural understanding that the woman is the breeding ground. She is the breeder. She is the field, yes.
>
> And…and…therefore, the seed needs to be…er…the seed needs to be pure. That the women of your family should be bearing the pure seed of your own, if it is mixed with somebody else's seed, then it is defective [impure]. That becomes a source of dishonour. It is almost similar to the dishonour of your woman being raped. This is because of the notion of an external male, coming and …sowing their seeds into your female'.

This view was echoed by participant Khan Muhammad [M, 65], a religious, political leader and scholar from Pakistan. He said,

> 'so, a *nikah* (a marriage contract) means that the woman gives this place [womb] for the tilth to the husband, so, as to say that from now on, you [man] have the right to implant your seed. After marriage, if any woman has a sexual relationship with someone else or has 'spoilt' her womb or corrupted it [got pregnant], this is a crime. So, then there is the element of dishonour' [Translated from Urdu].

The data revealed a variety of reasons considered by the participants as sources of dishonour and shame. In honour-related violence and killings, the sources of dishonour refer to a woman's sexuality, including body, behaviours, clothes, communication, and virginity. These are mainly related to men exercising power and control over women and girls, restricting them from crossing three borders. These are sexual, bodily, and social and are

fundamental for preserving an individual or social group's honour. The reasons reported by the participants are shown in the below diagram 4.1. They range from matters that might be considered trivial to an outsider, such as talking to someone, to issues of grave concern such as having an illicit sexual relationship. As such, measures to address these issues are different.

The participants from Pakistan expressed their concerns as they thought that due to the rapid increase in mobile phone technology and people's access to this technology, '*karo-kari*' incidents have also increased. Some participants reported that they have noticed that many people have declared their women as '*kari*' (accused of bringing dishonour) for talking to a man on the phone or even having a mobile. Concerns regarding women's access to mobile phones were widespread as Niaz Ali [M, 47, PK] said,

> 'there are changes in it [*karo-kari*] with modernisation like nowadays mobile phones are involved in it. People are making a woman as *kari* for keeping mobile or talking to someone [on] a mobile' [translated from Sindhi].

Similarly, another male participant Wazir [34, PK], mentioned that,

> 'this mobile has also created problems for women…these days many young girls are killed over here for *karo-kari,* and the reason was that they had mobile and were talking to someone on the phone or their family found *ghair mard* (outsider man) number in their mobiles' [translated from Sindhi].

The most frequent reasons reported by the participants for bringing dishonour to an individual or a social group were having a sexual relationship and marrying without the family's consent, specifically a family man and marrying outside

one's social group. Some of the reasons illustrated in the diagram below were considered intolerable offences by most male participants. The sexual relationship before or after marriage was top of the list, followed by marriage without parents' permission. The people who can effectively defend their honour are locally known as "*ghairatwala insan*" (an honourable person) or "*ghairatmand*" (a person with honour), and "*mursmanhu*" (machismo). The term *beghairat* is placed in opposition to these terms, and it is deemed the most insulting term, which is translated as a person without honour, but as subtext, it explains a man's inability to protect or avenge his honour. Though the term applies to both men and women, often it is associated with men and words such as *besharam* (shameless) or *behaya* (immodest) are used for women. The terms *sharam* (shame) and *haya* (modesty) were ascribed to women and girls; *haya* was applied to both women and men, but more often to women and girls who maintained the family honour by not becoming involved in activities that brought dishonour or shame on their families.

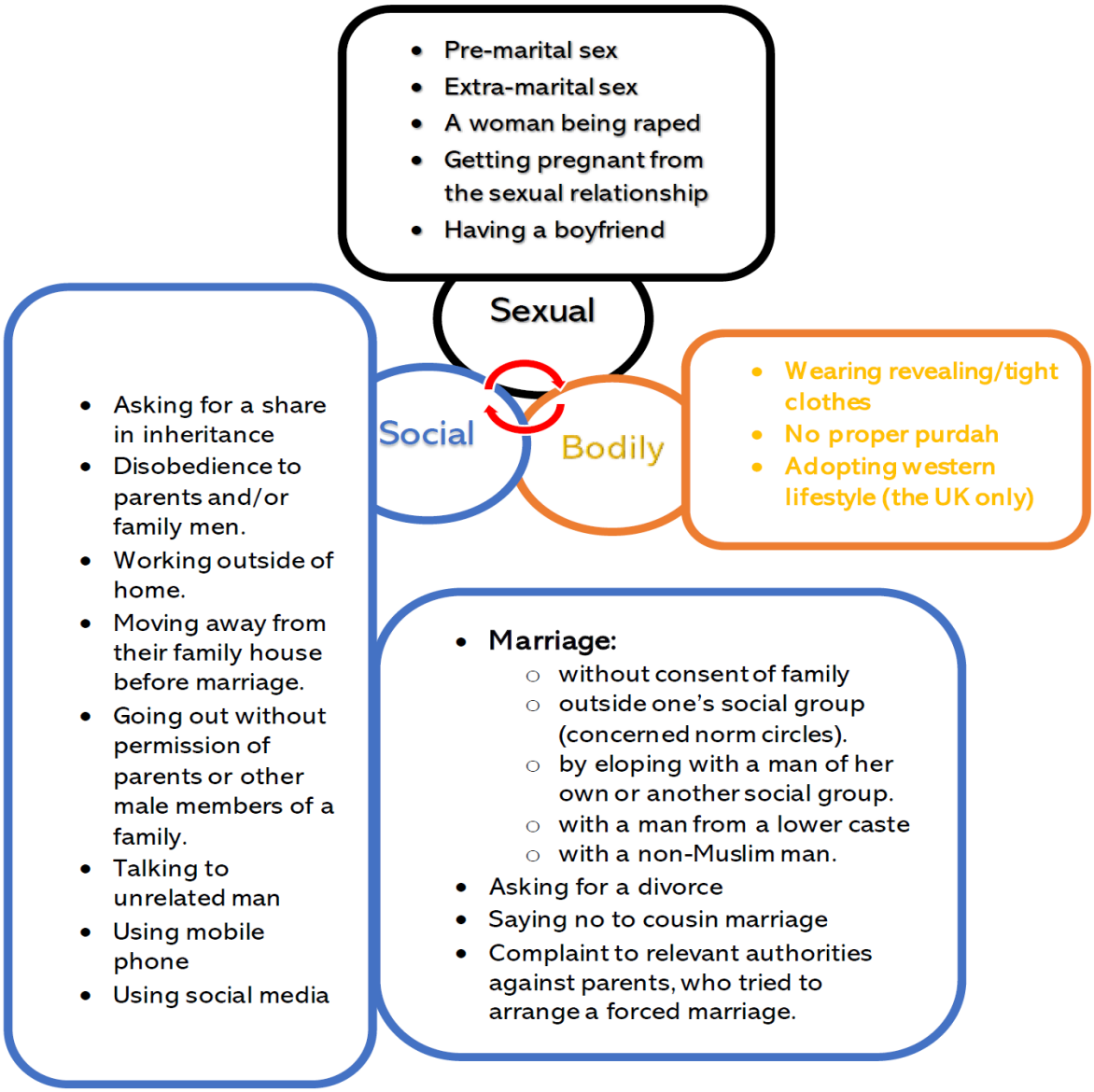


Figure 4.1 Women and girls' behaviours and actions are considered as sources of dishonour and shame.

In summary, though these notions of *izzat*, *ghairat*, dishonour and shame have different meanings and functions, they do not operate separately. The concepts are interconnected and underpin an organised set of social structures called the honour system. This chapter has described the local terminology for honour and the participants understanding of the key concepts that underlie the honour system. The following chapter moves on to discuss the honour system itself.

Chapter 5. The honour system and its rules of enforcement

The previous chapter presented empirical data on the participants' understanding of the key concepts *izzat*, *ghairat,* dishonour and shame that underpin the honour system. This chapter presents data relating to the power dynamics of the honour system that enable it to operate as enforcement rules through different social entities and their emergent powers.

As outlined in the methodology chapter, critical realist social constructionism is the overarching framework that informed the analysis. According to this, a social system (in this context, the honour system) is a network of social entities and practices underpinned by social and cultural structures that work together through rules creating emergent causal powers that perform specific functions. This explains how the honour system is structured and operates through social entities and practices.

The chapter begins by presenting the participants' perspectives on the social structures. It then describes the power dynamics and the system's rules that the system agents enforce through a three-pronged approach of surveillance, normalisation, and examination. The system agents include the individuals, social groups, and institutions that make up social entities called norm circles. The final section of this chapter discusses how the honour system constructs, regards, and treats women and girls as 'objects of honour', increasing their vulnerability to violence and killings for the sake of the honour attached to them. Therefore, the next section presents the participants' perspectives on the honour system.

5.1 The honour system: participants' perspectives

The study participants considered that the notions of *izzat*, *ghairat*, (honour), dishonour and shame work together to provide justifications and underlying mechanisms to support the rules and practices which make up the honour system. Their comments revealed a dialectic relationship between the system and its rules of enforcement in which the rules constitute part of the system that underpins actions, but those rules are in turn created by the agents that also constitute part of the system. Talking about the honour system Musadiq Hussain [M, 38, PK] said this 'system' is enmeshed in their daily life; children are brought up in this 'system', and this is not new, but the 'system' people have adopted for over centuries.

5.1.1 Power dynamics of the honour system

The honour system's power is emergent in that it can be attributed to individual members of a social group who are part of the system, but it does not exist due to qualities in the individual members themselves but, instead, by virtue of the system. As such, the honour system can be seen as an emergent feature of individuals in that it only exists because of their behaviour, but it also transcends the individuals and becomes an entity that has independent power over them. This power rests in agents of the system, and they apply it to ensure compliance with the honour system's norms and values by enforcing the rules and practices. Though the participants suggested that honour is a universal concept, its conception, social structure, and function vary from culture to culture, region to region, and class to class; different rules and practices can be applied in different cultures and contexts. The rules of the

system are informal and malleable, normative rather than deterministic. Members of a social group expect that most people in their concerned groups follow the rules; therefore, they should follow too.

For most participants, one of the three fundamental purposes of honour, which is associated with female family members' social and sexual behaviour, is to be a source of a social group's social standing. In order to maintain the honour-related social position, the group members are expected to keep the honour intact. To this end, various social practices exist in the system, which they can use to protect honour or repair it when it is damaged. So-called honour killing is one of these. It is a practice associated with the protection and restoration of honour. In their accounts of the events surrounding the practice of honour killings, a participant Kooral Khan [M, 50, PK), explained how the emergent causal powers of the system operate. He said that,

> '… what happens in the 'system' of *karo-kari,* when a man utters the words *karo-kari* from his tongue, that is the end of the story. Whether the incident is *haqi* (rightful) or *nahaqi* (unrightful), no one cares. The village people can ascertain whether the incident was 'genuine' or not, but the people will not do that. Instead, they will just comply with the system. What to do, sir [pointing to the interviewer]? If we do not conform and pay the compensation, there will be massive pressure from Sardars (tribal chieftains) and the accuser side. Suppose I am an accused person now my roads are blocked, and I am banned from going to [name of the town]. My movement is restricted. So, this is a 'system' of domination and violence' [translated from Sindhi].

This is a puzzling statement on the face of it – that no one cares whether the accusation is rightful or not. However, the phrase 'utters the words *karo-karo*' suggests the system's normative order in which people are expected to believe in and follow its rules, not question the event. Consecutively, the accuser man's concerned social groups will usually believe that there would have been a valid reason behind the incident; therefore, no one asks for any evidence. To explain this, Rab Nawaz [M, 48] from Pakistan, who has been involved in settling honour killings disputes, argued that,

> 'in the matter of killing for *ghairat* (honour), there is no need to prove it because a man usually has had already killed his woman and declared another man *karo.* His actions are enough proof, you see, no one can kill his woman on false allegations everyone has children killing his own woman becomes an obligation for a man to defend his honour over here it is our [men] duty to protect our *nang* (women)' [translated from Sindhi].

In the context of honour killings, the system wields power at least at three levels of norm circles, i.e., micro (household), meso (concerned social group) and macro (concerned people in positions of power). At the micro-level, the system grants power to men over women and girls because being a man and is considered that defending the family honour is his primary role. However, at a household level, women of the family can take responsibility or assist men in enforcing the norms and rules of honour, particularly older women, and can exercise attributed power over younger women and their children. Correspondingly, at the social group (meso) level, the accuser men use this power over the accused men in case of honour killings, and at the macro level, the people in positions of power apply this over all members of their respective social groups.

When talking about the use of power by women over other women, a few participants remarked that, in reality, most women do not have power as such [Wazir, M, 34, PK]. However, women who are a part of this society have not only embraced the concepts of honour and shame [Mir Muhammad, M, 38, PK], but they have internalised the discrimination against themselves, which these notions of honour and dishonour have masked [Malooka, F, 45, & Wazir, M, 34, PK]. In turn, some women can use it over other women and girls. As Shahmeer Khan [M, 62, PK] argued that '*the conditioning of society is such that women themselves have assumed the role of the defenders of family honour*'. For example, he described that one of his friend's family women got hold of another woman of their household to damage the family honour. The women themselves could not kill her, so they sent some boys to go and bring any man of the family as he could kill the woman. They managed to find the man who killed the woman.

This example infers that women have social agency, but it is constrained within the honour system's defined parameters. Since men specify the boundaries, it grants more power to men and works to their advantage because the system is patriarchal by nature.

Thus, the system operates through the rules and social practices to regulate social group members' social and sexual conduct, particularly female members. Primarily men use this power to control women from crossing three borderlines, which are essential for maintaining honour: these are virginal (sexual purity), bodily (body styles, attire) and social (behaviour, social mobility). The rules apply to both men and women; nonetheless, being in power, men use the system to uphold honour enforcing the rules as a 'disciplinary power' over women and girls. To this extent, this power is exercised through a three-

pronged approach that Foucault characterises as 'surveillance', 'normalisation' and 'examination' (Foucault, 2012 [1975], p.182). Foucault's three-pronged approach is about the systematic exercise of power. (This contrasts with Pitt-Rivers' (1968) characterisation, discussed in the previous chapter, which concerned honour manifested in sentiments precipitating action.)

a) Surveillance

The constant surveillance of women and girls by their families is one of the honour system's major tools to protect the honour associated with them. The family members vigilantly supervise the behaviour, activities, and social mobility of women. Male and female children are trained from an early age to behave in a certain way consistent with the honour norms and conform to the system's rules. The enforcement of the rules starts with the segregation of social spaces into male and female spaces. Social spaces in the Pakistan research site were demarcated into *zenana* (female space) and *otaq* (male space). Women almost always stay inside their houses (*zenana*), and men use a male guest house (*otaq*). During their early years, both boys and girls learn the norms of behaviour of their family, community, and culture, mainly from their families' women. When they can walk, they can move freely between male and female spaces. At an early age, the central part of this socialisation is teaching boys to be a 'man' and the protector of the family honour and teaching girls to be a good, obedient and '*izzatdar*' (person with honour) woman. With age, girls' mobility is restricted, and boys' mobility is expanded. According to the male and female research participants, girls remain restricted to women's spaces (*zenana*) before marriage at their natal houses and after marriage at their affine homes.

An important concept that emerged from the data was '*chadar aein char diwari*', which translated as a veil and four walls, but it is a tool of policing women's behaviour through a standardised system of rules, commands and prohibitions for women. Talking about this notion, an interviewee Mir Muhammad [M, 38, PK], said,

> 'with the concept of a woman being the family honour, the idea of *a 'veil and four walls'* also came into existence. Women had to live with this notion because women could not protect themselves. Men not only can protect them but are also responsible for all their needs such as food, clothing, and shelter' [Translated from Sindhi].

This argument shows that the concept of *a veil and four walls* is critical to policing women's behaviour, activities, and social mobility inside and outside the house. Kooral Khan [M, 50] from Pakistan illustrated this as,

> '…. the proper place for women is '*a veil and four walls*', so a *ghairtmand* (a man with honour) does not allow his womenfolk to go out and about. When a person gets unnecessary freedom, then the person becomes a '*zani*' (adulterous). These days men and women both are free. Thus, I cannot allow my women, *Rano* [pointing to another participant with a word of endearment used for a male] cannot allow his women to go out alone, sure, they [women] can go for grass cutting, shops or to a town, but there should be a male with them. If women are alone like some wise persons say, a jackal is prey for a lion, and if the jackal faces a lion, the jackal will not be spared. I mean to say a woman is a fragile thing if a man lays hands on her, what she could do. Therefore, strict purdah for

women is necessary; the best thing is to stay inside home' [Translated from Sindhi].

Hence, the idea that women are weak and cannot protect themselves, requiring protection from men, justifies constant surveillance of women for their protection. Talking about the monitoring of women by their families, a respondent Naziran [F, 30, PK] reported that,

> 'a huge problem for women is that they are constrained, and they have no permission to go out freely and get an education. Then there is strict purdah and restrictions on them. When women work in the crop fields near their homes, one or two of their male relatives would be supervising them sometimes carrying a gun as well' [translated from Sindhi].

Moreover, not only the concerned family members who keep an eye on women, but it could be their distant relatives, neighbours, or other members of their social groups. For instance, Nuzhat [F, 30, UK) expressed concerns about this and said,

> 'if I know that I am getting a lift from a male, I know that this person is perfect and has no bad feelings. So, I jump in his car, and he gives me a lift. If anyone from the community sees me, maybe it is my first time. And then, their mentality …they would go and say to my father that I saw your daughter with somebody'.

Interestingly, many women have internalised this and police themselves; for instance, Nuzhat talking about this also emphasised that,

> ‘Even though the whole community already knows me and respects me, and know I am not that type of a…[girl]. But I feel I have a duty towards all of this, so I make sure I do not just jump in…’

Further, she remarked about the acceptance of such ideas by women as a part of their daily lives, as she felt that,

> ‘that’s why I always say hats off to Pakistani women because they are always making sure that their husband, in-laws, parents, family, and community are happy, and they make sure that the assigned duties are also done well at the same time they are making sure that everyone is happy too’.

Thus far, it has been argued that policing women and girls' behaviour through elaborated rules, restrictions, and practices to avoid alleged violations of honour is an integral part of the honour system.

b) normalisation

This second “prong” of Foucault’s characterisation is termed ‘normalisation’ and has two dimensions. The first is the cultural process of creating usual standards in which women are perceived as chaste, virtuous, modest, pure, and virgin. The second aspect is the broader acceptance of the standards as cultural values, and more importantly, women's behaviour, body, and sexuality are evaluated against compliance and non-compliance with the normalised standards. Subsequently, women have adopted them as self-monitoring tools and keep them consistent with the three borders: virginal, bodily, and social and avoid crossing any of these borders. In case of crossing any of the borders, she becomes the source of dishonour.

In an informal conversation during the fieldwork, a government official from the provincial Women Development Department, Muneeba Begum, flagged up the issue of virginity. While commenting on it, she said that in several social groups, including her tribe, it is still common for the bride to prove her virginity by bleeding on the first sexual act with her husband. This test will confirm that her hymen was intact; therefore, she is pure, chaste and a woman of good character. In some groups, the bride is expected to show the sheets to her family in the morning. In different tribes, many women have become victims of '*siyahkari*' [literally 'black deed' but a practice of honour killing widely known as *siyahkari* in Balochistan province of Pakistan], because they had not proved their virginity by bleeding on the wedding night [Observation notes].

In contrast, when I asked about the virginity proof on the wedding night from a male interviewee from Pakistan, who has written books and papers on honour killings, his view was surprisingly different from the above explanation. He referred to another normalised practice, that of early marriages (child marriages). He believed that virginity rendered *siyahkari* an 'insignificant anomaly'. He argued that,

> 'all those are minor and nonsensical things. Because…when I am telling you that the age of marriage is seven years[8]. So, then a wedding night and the point of whether the bride is a virgin or not, well, children do not even know about that, do they? I am saying that where 'honour killing' takes place over there, early marriages must occur. Okay? Where early marriages take place, where is the question of things like virginity and

[8] This is the cultural age of marriage as the Pakistan's current law sets the legal marriage age at 16 for girls and 18 for boys. It is to note that this law is rarely enforced, as the Pakistani courts often apply Sharia (Islamic law) instead, which they interpret as allowing any girl who has gone through puberty to marry.

things like that? What are you going to see a girl who is just seven years old?

Moreover, who looks at these things? The husband, too, is seven years old. What I mean to say is that they cannot even perform a sexual act. They have no understanding of what a sexual organ is. So how are they going to look at things like virginity? [Translated from Urdu].

Similarly, there are normalised bodily and social benchmarks for women, which they have to perform in everyday life; one significant to these norms is women dressing, particularly in the UK Western lifestyle. Talking about women's accepted dress code Nuzhat [F, 30, UK] stated that,

'more important is how you speak? How do you dress? How do you welcome people when they come home? Your attitude...But, *the dress had a significant impact*… [italic added] overexposing yourself. Even if you are wearing English clothes, wear them a bit loose. And not exposing yourself like some people wear it more Western… I can give you a good example recently on Facebook when they posted pictures of [name of a person] the boxer…Did you see? His modern wife…wears Western exposing dresses. This is what the parents [of the boxer] mentioned that…. they said it is just not their honour. We have just told her to wear clothes. It does not matter if she wore English clothes, but the way she was exposing a lot…Being a Muslim person, it was an insult to her husband's reputation well and ours [the family] as well…the dress has a significant impact. How they [women] dress and everything …. that is a big thing….' what has she worn?'

Women have internalised and embedded discrimination in everyday life. A young female participant from the UK, Nargis [24], had strong views about this, and she explained as,

> 'So, *if you want to live with honour, lead an honourable life, then it is necessary that you dress appropriately and well* [italic added]. In the East, from our place, purdah was always part of our culture. Over there, it is not such an issue. All girls there go out wearing a scarf because they have been taught so from the beginning. And I don't see anything wrong with this. This is a very good thing, indeed. I am of the opinion that we should wear loose clothing and cover ourselves properly when we go out. I am not talking about covering one's face. Just a scarf to cover one's head, okay? You have to wear good clothes with full cover, right? That is the correct thing. This is not an issue from where we come. But out here in the West, this has become a big issue because you know the as a result of the culture, you know what sort of clothes women wear. People here, too, have objections about it. They have given them the freedom, and they are regretting it now too. Whether it is part of the culture or as a result of religious norms or even if one does not bring culture and religion into the picture, I think it is essential for females to cover themselves irrespective of anything else'.

The data shows that women and girls' behaviour, body, and sexuality, are evaluated against these normalised ideals by respective social groups, such as family, clan, or community.

c) examination

The third prong of Foucault's characterisation of power concerns assessing the behaviours, actions, and mobility against the expected standards to ensure adherence to honour norms. The honour system has placed a constant process of examination and re-examination, where men and some women carry out an assessment to determine how well women and girls are corresponding with the ways of behaving that they have decided for a good and pure woman. As Nargis [F, 24, UK] felt that,

> 'In the case of men, whatever they do, it is deemed as not very important. But where a woman is concerned, there are so many problems that arise. For instance, if she has not put on a scarf or a veil, then they [people] say that *she is a bad woman'* [italics added].

The theme of sexual purity has recurred throughout the data as a key parameter to evaluate women's worth and character. While talking about honour killings, a taxi driver in Pakistan said that a woman who cannot protect her family's honour and gets involved in immoral activities is a '*gandi aurat*' (dirty woman). He went on to say that such a woman is like a dead fish, so it is necessary to remove a dead fish from a pond; otherwise, that one fish can pollute the entire pond [Observation notes]. As mentioned above, that girl's sexual purity is evaluated on her wedding night. In the same vein, Shahmeer Khan [M, 62, PK] said,

> 'the woman who is alleged as '*siyahkari*' is worthless. She can be killed. She is the equivalent of dirt. She is soiled and used and dirty' [translated from Urdu].

Further, the data suggest that males use this approach to perform and prove their masculinity; locally, it was called '*mardangi*' that also means sexual potency. For most male participants, the ideal masculinity is underpinned by the notions of '*izzat'* and '*ghairat*' (honour) of an individual man or a social group that can be family, biradri, clan, community, and tribe. According to male participants from both research sites, one of the main characteristics of 'the man' or '*mursmanhu*' (a masculine man) is to be a '*ghairatmand*' (a man with intact honour). For men, masculinity's performance is linked to their ability to defend honour by tight control on women through policing and evaluating women's behaviour consistent with the normal standards. Commenting on the issue of masculinity Rab Nawaz [M, 45, PK] said,

> 'in our community, the masculinity of a man hinges on the notion of how strong he is in controlling his womenfolk. If the man heard a rumour or someone gave him a *tano* (taunt) about his sister's character that she is having an illicit sexual relationship with someone, then he will have no choice but to kill her, as this would be a challenge to his masculinity' [translated from Sindhi].

The patriarchal honour system has set up the subtle parameters for what it is to be a good and pure woman who is the holder of honour that not only they have fallen into, but they are actually policing themselves by internalising the honour norms to stay that way. Women feel intense pressure to adhere to that normalised standard of behaviour at all times because their life inside and outside a house is one of surveillance, normalisation and examination, surveillance by way of community gaze, constant supervision, and monitoring activities. The normalised standard of being a good and pure woman, speaking, acting, and dressing is acceptable in respective cultures.

In summary, the above described three-pronged method shows how the honour system has become the dominant way of controlling women's bodies, behaviours, and sexuality. There is constant surveillance of women inside and outside their homes. This surveillance combines effectively with normalisation or a normalised standard of how a good, pure, and honourable woman should behave, set for her by men. Moreover, both of these aspects work alongside a constant examination process, where men and other women evaluate how well women are adhering to the ways of behaving that the honour system has decided appropriate, i.e., to be chaste, virtuous, and pure.

In the above sections, I contend that honour is a concept or an ideology and a power system, particularly of the power of men over women and of the social group or norm circle over the individual. The agents of the system, the individuals, social groups and institutions that make up different levels of the norm circle, use the three-pronged strategy of surveillance, normalisation, and examination to create an environment in which women and girls have instilled the ideas of honour, dishonour and shame, in turn, they are regarded and treated as 'objects of honour'. From a very early age, women and girls learn through the system's three-pronged strategy to keep the family honour intact, which is attached to them by avoiding crossing the virginal, bodily and social borders. Thus, they must strive to achieve this and feel ashamed and guilty when they fail. It means women and girls grow up in a culture in which they are regarded and treated continuously as things, objects, and commodities. Consequently, the objectification (treating a person as a thing or an object) of women and girls not only increases their vulnerability to violence but is almost always used in justifying violence against them. Understanding this characteristic of the honour system is significant for analysing honour killings of

women and girls. The objectification is particularly relevant from a narrative, which was commonly maintained by many of the male participants, that is, a woman being a carrier of honour has no worth when she has no intact honour; in turn, she is no longer desirable to her family. If her family kills her in a bid to reclaim the honour, in that case, her murder is deemed by the concerned social groups as a justified course of action from the family. The following section presents some social groups' practices, demonstrating how women and girls are objectified.

5.1.2 Objectification of women and girls

I used Nussbaum's (1995) characterisation of objectification to analyse the data, that is, '*one is treating as an object what is really not an object, what is, in fact, a human being*' (p. 257). The person who treats another person as an object is known as an objectifier. In the context of honour killings practice, an objectifier is always a man. For example, the recurrent theme from the data '*zan, zar and zameen*' (woman, wealth and land) shows that a woman is regarded as a productive resource or commodity, which can be bought, sold, exchanged and destroyed (killed) when she loses her honour. Moreover, several practices exist in certain social groups in which women and girls are considered a 'commodity', which can be owned, bought, sold, and exchanged and are treated as something without autonomy and agency. This is particularly salient in the following description by a participant Kooral Khan [M, 50, PK], he said,

> '…*aurat* (woman) over here is like *mal dhago* (livestock). If you ask me honestly, I would say here women's value is less than livestock or property, because when we [men] lose property such as a piece of land

or maybe a favourite buffalo or bull, we do ponder about it later. However, in the case of a woman, once she is labelled as a *kari* [source of dishonour], then she has no value, no one will remember her at all, whether she is killed or sold off in a marriage, she is dead to her family' [translated from Sindhi].

Similarly, another participant, Ghulam Ali [M], a schoolteacher, expressed his views on women's social status in an informal conversation. He felt that women are treated like sheep and goats in his area as they are similarly sold, bought, and slaughtered [he referred to murders of women and girls]. He went on to say that the difference is that a woman's rate is more than a sheep, goat or cow because a woman could cost four hundred thousand (GBP 2000) to ten hundred thousand Pakistani rupees (GBP 5000), or some women may cost around fifteen hundred thousand rupees (GBP 7500). Women and girls are objectified in several ways; however, Nussbaum (1995) suggests seven notions involved in objectification and the data was analysed using these seven notions. These are illustrated in table 6 below.

Table 4: The customs and practices that show the objectification of women and girls

Notions of the objectification	The social practices that show the objectification of women and girls
Ownership - the objectifier treats the object as something owned by the person and/or another, which can be bought or sold. In the honour system, an objectifier is always a man, and an objectified person is always a woman.	The idea of ownership is apparent in practice locally known as *vekro* (selling) or '*takan te daywath*' (giving or taking for money) in rural areas of Sindh province, in which a man considers a woman as a commodity, which is owned by him or another man that can be bought and sold. In Balochistan and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces of Pakistan, the groom's family must pay an amount in advance and bear almost the entire wedding expense. This amount is called *Valvar* or *Sar* (bride's price or head money) for the Pashtun and *Laab* for the Baloch. These practices appear to be different types of marriage by a bride price, but the data suggest that these practices effectively involve buying and selling women and girls for marriages in the context of honour killings. Different mechanisms and rates exist in different social groups and regions; it could be approximately five to fifteen hundred thousand Pakistani rupees (GBP 2500 - 7500).
Instrumentality - the objectifier treats the object as a tool for his purposes.	*Sangchatti,* in Sindhi or *Vani* in Urdu, is a practice in which girls are given in marriage to an aggrieved family as compensation to settle disputes. The informal settlement practices, i.e., *jirga, faislo, or khair*, predominantly led by male members of the macro-level norms circle (discussed in the next chapter), decide the exchange of a girl reparation to an aggrieved

	group. The participants from the research site in Pakistan reported that the practice of *sangchatti* used to be the most common method to settle honour killing disputes. Since 2005 the Supreme Court of Pakistan declared the practice illegal. Several social groups continued to practice the custom, but it was reduced as local chieftains have banned the practice locally in their respective tribes. In this practice, girls have no say whatsoever because usually minor girls are given in the exchange, and the girls are emotionally manipulated by describing the potential repercussions by their families, such as the aggrieved family may take revenge by killing their father or brother. The custom is predominantly practised by men in which girls are nothing but a tool to serve their purpose.
Denial of autonomy - the objectifier treats the object as lacking in autonomy and self-determination.	The majority of female participants suggested everyday practices in which men deem women powerless and dependent on them. Therefore, a man does not allow a woman to go out alone. In some communities, the participants believed a woman must go out with a male family member (regardless of age) or an older woman. The participants shared an interesting concept that women in the Sindhi language are described as '*baar*' that means children. The underlying reason behind this description is that women lack autonomy and self-determination, the same as children. The belief underpins this practice is that women do not have freedom. Sometimes the role of a supervisor is shared with older women of the family.

Inertness - the objectifier treats the object as lacking in agency.	Forced marriage is a practice in which a woman or girl is married without her will. In this type of marriage, a girl's family deems that she cannot choose her husband because they believe being parents is their right to decide for her. All of the female participants from the UK commented that even Islam has allowed women to choose their marriage partners, but girls are not offered this choice in the community. It is because women and girls are regarded as the property of fathers and brothers before marriage and husband after marriage. This view suggests that women have no agency to choose or decide on their future.
Denial of subjectivity - the objectifier treats the object as something whose experience and feelings (if any) need not be considered.	The rape of a woman is one of the critical examples of this notion of objectification. The data suggest that a woman is usually considered someone's mother, daughter, sister, or wife and that someone is always a man, and she is his honour attached to her. So, when a woman is raped, her feelings and traumatic experience are mainly overlooked by people. Simultaneously, the focus is shifted towards the woman's family to view that the family's honour is sullied. The notion discussed earlier in the chapter that mainly families are concerned about others' views and opinions is described in the phrase 'what will people say' about any event, detracting from the victim woman's feelings and pain.
Fungibility - the objectifier treats the object as interchangeable (a) with	Exchange marriages are a form of marriage in which predominantly marriages occur between cousins, or a family prefers to marry their daughter or son within biradri, clan, caste or kinship

other objects of the same type and/or (b) with objects of other types.	group based on the exchange. For example, a father may arrange his son's marriage by giving his daughter (sister of the groom) in exchange for his son's bride's brother. In the context of the honour system, the participants perceived one of the major benefits of this type of marriage: the protection of honour by not allowing their women to mix with outsiders.
Violability - the objectifier treats the object as lacking in boundary-integrity, as something that it is permissible to break up, smash, break into.	Honour killings of women and girls is a perfect example of violability in which the perpetrators, who are always men, think that they are allowed to kill women under the pretext of honour.

The customs and practices described in the table show that these different types of objectifications are entrenched in everyday life and developed as social norms; thus, they are widely accepted. It was incredibly revealing that most male participants described women as sheep, goats, chickens, cows, livestock, fragile things, commodity, property, soil, and land. Some male participants believed that women have no brain; for some, a woman's brain is in her ankles. This perception of women is one of the critical factors that determine their social status in a community.

In contrast, two female participants were explicit about female objectification and the concept of 'ownership' of women by men. For example, a few female participants thought it was a fundamental problem that underlies women's low social and economic position and widespread violence against women in society. Besides, they believed that it is a pervasive 'mindset' that a woman is someone's mother, daughter, sister, or wife and that someone is always a man, and she is his '*izzat'* (honour). This 'mindset' is enforced and reinforced so that she is 'owned' by the man, or she is just a thing that holds his honour. So, if someone owns something, this means that it is an 'object'. This normative way of objectifying women and girls makes them vulnerable to violence and killings, and in turn, the objectifier uses it to justify the violence and killings.

This chapter describes the honour system and argues that it is a power and control system over women underpinned by izzat, ghairat, shame, and dishonour notions. The honour system operates through a three-pronged strategy of surveillance, normalisation and examination that regard and treat women as objects of honour. The ultimate power lies with the system, which is

emergent; thus, the system ascribes the power to its agents that form different social entities and enforcement rules. The key social entity involves different levels of norm circles: people who exercise power and control to inhabit, endorse and enforce the honour norms through rules and practices. The next chapter discusses the three levels of norm circles, which act as the honour system's building blocks.

Chapter 6. Norm Circles

The previous two chapters presented empirical data on the notions of honour and the honour system. The chapter discussed *izzat, ghairat*, dishonour and shame as the key concepts that underlie the honour system. These operate as a 'code of conduct' for a social group. The honour system also provides membership and validation for honour-related actions and behaviours to individuals or families within a tight-knit group. In the previous chapters, I identified the community or social groups that believe in the honour norms and are affected by the honour system's rules and practices as norm circles. Several norm circles exist in a given social setting that actualises the honour system's functions through the three-pronged strategy of surveillance, normalisation, and examination (described in the previous chapter) that, in turn, initiate the actions and behaviours of the individual members. The norm circles members use the system's emergent power to ensure conformity with the honour norms by enforcing the rules and practices. This chapter discusses the three significant types of norm circles relevant to the analysis of honour killings.

6.1 Norm Circles

A norm circle is a social group encircled around a particular set of norms and can be a family, clan, caste, tribe, lineage, and kinship group. The composition of a norm circle varies across cultures. Mujtaba [M, 36], a participant from Pakistan, explained that the honour system mainly works in a closed social group. The group consists of people and families who know each other and are also related through blood ties, marriage, lineage or belonging to the same clan

or caste group. The participant described the workings of this norm circle in the following way:

> '…. this all happens in a closed group like a *khaandan*[9], sometimes in caste groups and a neighbourhood. Let us suppose you are [referring to the interviewer] an outsider here. If you questioned someone's honour over here by giving him a *tano* (taunting) about his women's conduct, the man would be offended with your comments, and he will take it as an insult. Instead, I am related to the man in some way, or we have blood ties. I taunted him, meaning I commented about his women that they did something shameful in that case; the man may not respond to me or take my views as offensive. Still, *he will take it critically and think about addressing the matter* [italics added]. See, my point is, the ideas of honour and dishonour have significance in relatively tight social groups, in which people are somehow related like members of the same clan, caste or tribe. You see, I do not mean to say that the concepts of honour do not apply to distant relatives or people from different social groups or areas. I think they do. Nevertheless, their implications will be slightly different from members of a closed group' [translated from Sindh].

Many male and female participants from both research locations agreed that the honour system is meaningful and operates within tight-knit social groups and that these groups have at least two common characteristics. Firstly, group members are somehow related to each other by blood, marriage, lineage, and kinship. Secondly, group members matter to each other, which means when a group makes decisions and choices, the consequences will have a bearing on

[9] The term is interchangeably used for a nuclear, an extended family and a lineage.

the other group members. For example, a participant from the UK explained it as,

> 'So, there is always that kind of…thing at the back in your mind, particularly of a certain generation. The decision I am going to make, even though they think it's the right decision in their heart, is whether the wider society; the Asian community, the Pakistani community, or the Azad Kashmiri community, or the people from [name of the village], or if his all-immediate village people – if they will approve! And if somebody does not approve – then Oh my God, I have lost all honour and face' [Farooq, 45, M].

Moreover, most participants believed that physical distance among group members is not that important, especially in this digital age, when everyone is connected through mobile technology. The above respondent gave the following example,

> 'Where I live is quite a tightly knit community…. actually, in essence, three villages from Azad Kashmir around [name of a village from Azad Kashmir] that live there. Everybody knows each other. Everyone knows whose son is that… is he "Mr Choudhary's" son …They will look at him and say- don't you look like so and so…oh yes, I do look like … So, we know the detail. We know who has got the biggest Kothi or big house…they have built a big one…theirs is worth one crore… These are poor; they have not built their house yet …not what happens in here, but what is happening back home in Azad Kashmir…The kind of…the ins and outs of what everybody knows about each other is quite well-detailed. When we say our community…this is a community for us, and

things like *izzat*, *beizzati*, honour whatever you call them, play an important role in peoples' everyday lives in such tightly knit groups'.

Social groups such as a nuclear or extended family, lineage, clan, biradri, tribe, or caste-group are types of norm circles. Furthermore, an individual or a family belongs to more than one norm circle within a social setting. The data show that in a social setting, various norm circles exist that interact and intersect to utilise the honour system's emergent casual power to enforce any social norm. In particular, the norms that matter to an entire group bind them together in a norm circle. This intersection of the norm circles is explained by Mureed Khan [M, 48] from Pakistan in the following example,

> 'A man from a *Jat* family was declared *kala* (black) because of a Baloch woman, declared *kali* (black)[10]. Meaning both had an affair. The woman's male family members got together and approached the Baloch elders' council and reported the incident. Likewise, the accused man's family got together and contacted the *Jat* elders' council and reported their version of the incident. So…in the meantime, as this story unfolds, over here, a Baloch council sits while a Jat council sits there on the other side. See here…. in these matters, the ultimate power lies with the councils, particularly heads of these councils, *sardars* (tribal chieftains). Now *Jat* council will contact the head of Baloch council for a settlement' [translated from Urdu].

The data show that all members do not have the same power over an individual or family to follow a social norm in a given norm circle. Still, there is a network of

[10] The incident is a type of honour killings locally known as *kala-kali,* in Seraiki language, which means a blackened woman and man.

local norm circles that ensure compliance with a given norm. The above example illustrates that at least four separate but intersecting norm circles play their part: the norm circle of the woman's side, the involved man's side, and two norm circles consisting of elderly councils of the respective groups. It also suggests that the power in the system is centralised as in the example mentioned above; it lies with members of the respective councils, and within the council, the chieftain holds power over an entire social group, including the other council members. In the following section, I will describe three primary levels of norm circles that are significant to analysing the honour system and its implication in honour killings.

6.1.1 Micro-level norm circle

This norm circle primarily consists of individuals from a family (both nuclear and extended) or lineage. At this level, social interactions between individuals occur in small groups. It is the basic building block of the honour system, where individuals:

i) internalise the norms of honour through the three-pronged approach of surveillance, normalisation and examination as described in the previous chapter,
ii) display and enact them through actions and behaviours,
iii) govern the family integrity and social status associated with honour,
iv) provide the membership to its members in the concerned norms circles.

In this way, the norm circle works as a habitus (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977]) because its members foster schemas, dispositions, and beliefs around the

honour norms, which the members accept as social and familial norms that motivate them to think and behave. The fundamental social entity in which habitus develops is a family, where people live, grow up together, and where relationships between family members are shaped, maintained, and contested. In turn, habitus evokes any action to protect one's honour or restore if it is damaged. Several participants described this process, such as this example from a UK interviewee,

> 'In families, where the boys have seen their fathers talk about *izzat*, talk about *ghairat* and talk about honour. Obviously, it is learned behaviour…isn't it? Whatever the father did or whatever the teachings of the father and traditions have been - the children are going to follow it' [Isma, F, 36, UK].

A participant from Pakistan expressed similar types of views,

> 'Since birth, females are repeatedly told that they are family *izzat,* and the family *izzat* is in your hands; you have to protect it. When you hear this from older family women, men, even in schools and wider society, these things are reinforced. In the same way, boys are taught that you are the protector of the family *izzat*, you are family guardians, you are earners of the family etcetera' [Mir Muhammad, M, 36].

The data show that the micro-level norm circle has two essential functions:

1) to instil the norms and rules of the honour system to its members, in particular women and girls, by way of applying power and control through the three-pronged strategy of surveillance, normalisation and examination as described in the previous chapter and,

2) to take responsibility when members do not conform to the rules and norms, usually cooperate with other concerned norm circles.

Participants from Pakistan, Kooral Khan [M, 50] and Rustam Ali [M, 45], stated that matters related to honour are always taken up by male family members of an accused woman. For example, in female honour killings, the responsibility lies with the micro-level norm circle: the concerned family only and the male family members are deemed eligible actors to perform the practice. As one male interviewee Bhooral [48] from Pakistan put it,

> 'only her family can think about a *kari,* or only her family can blame a woman of being a *kari*[11] or a *garhi*[12]; *no other person or her relatives have the right to make anyone a kari* [italic added]. A long time ago, some other relatives could have labelled a girl as a *kari,* but nowadays, only a father, a brother and a husband have the right to make a woman *kari'* [translated from Sindhi].

Similarly, the UK participants believed that the immediate male family members did the actual deed of killing in most honour killings. Therefore, men are viewed as the main actors. For instance, Zuhra [F, 37, UK] said, '*men of the family tend to do the killings.'* One participant, Muraad [M, 42, UK], emphasised that 'well, I need to amputate my gangrene myself. This [dishonour] concerns whether I do something or not to another person involved, I will definitely cut off my foot' [translated from Urdu].

[11] The Sindhi language term *kari* literally means a blackened woman in context of honour killings, figuratively a woman who has brought, tried, or alleged of bringing dishonour to the family through her social and/or sexual conduct.

[12] The Sindhi language term *garhi* literally means a red woman in context of honour killings, figuratively a woman who has been declared as a pure or innocent woman.

Further, the participants explained that in the context of '*karo-kari*' practice, the expected actions depend on any woman's marital status and family structure. For instance, if a woman accused of bringing dishonour to the family lives within a joint family, the woman's husband, father-in-law, and brother-in-law will be equally responsible for taking actions needed as per the situation. Either they declare her a '*kari*' or not and kill her or send her back to her parents: it is the in-laws' responsibility only. Besides, in some cases of honour killings, the family women, such as the accused woman's mother-in-law and sister-in-law, take part in the event as an instigator, abettor, and collaborator with the family men, who carry out the actual act of killing. The participants emphasised that people from their biradri, caste and kinship group [other concerned norm circles] will expect the in-laws to take the actions required to address the issue of family honour. Sometimes wider group members may pressure the concerned family to do something. Still, the participants were of the view that it would be entirely the responsibility of the conjugal family of an alleged woman to initiate any action.

Correspondingly, if an accused woman is unmarried, the same responsibility lies with her father and brother to either kill her or have her married off quickly. If there is an extended family, then the woman's father's brother (s) and their son (s) would be involved; in many cases, maternal uncles and male cousins are also involved. Similarly, in some incidents, the woman's mother, sister, and sister-in-law (if her brother is married) plays the role of instigator, abettor, or collaborator with the family men who carry out the actual killing. These actors and their possible role in the practice of honour killings are described in diagram 6.1. Nonetheless, it is the prerogative of an individual to act but that the

individual has got it by virtue of the norms circles concerned to the honour norms, which in turn get power from the honour system.

The study respondents identified that the members of a micro-level norm circle are the primary actors of the practice of honour killings. When asked about who else is involved in honour killings, most participants believed that the entire community or a social group is complicit in some ways. For example, Ayaz Ahmed [M, 45, PK] explained that,

> '…. the problem over here is that there is no law and order…. as in other parts of Pakistan, even in other districts, the law-and-order situation is better; in this area, the law is under the Sardars' (tribal chiefs) thumb. So, if a falsely accused person for *karo-kari* will cry and say that he is innocent and falsely blamed for it, then where will he go, nowhere. The police will not give him protection, and a Sardar will not defend him, no one, because *this is the system in which everyone is involved* [italic added], people will advise the man to go and consult the concerned *Muqdam* (mediator) and try to get a date fixed for the informal settlement. No one, either educated or uneducated, rich or poor, no one will support him and tell him to let us go and challenge this case in court or do a press conference. No, no one, everyone will recommend him that in the end, it will be the settlement, so rather than risking your life or your relatives' lives and wasting time, you should go and ask for the settlement and try to arrange payment for the compensation' [translated from Sindh].

The above description suggests that the honour system's social order is one of the normative, in which the members have set expectations from each other for

conformity with the system rules. Another participant Niaz Ali [M, 47, PK], agreed with the statement above and said,

> 'Our society is blind regarding *karo-kari* practice and those people who do *karo-kari*, no one asks them that what they did was wrong, there is no question or challenge from neighbours, relatives and other people on such cases, that what you did was wrong rather people would say *wah-wah* (praise). This [*karo-kari*] is a 'cultural production'; therefore, people would not ask questions about *karo-kari*, but they would remain silent in these situations or praise the perpetrators that what they did was right' [translated from Sindh].

It is particularly revealing that this participant linked all three levels of norms circles, including the state institutions, with the honour killing practice. However, these types of views and concerns surfaced mainly concerning falsely accused men, and there was little or no concern about the cases of falsely accused women and girls. In female honour killings, the responsibility is reduced to the micro-level norm circle, that is, the concerned family only and the male family members are deemed eligible actors to perform the practice.

This section has shown that the micro-level norm circle encompasses individuals related through blood or marriage ties. This level plays a crucial role in the honour system, from development to adherence to the honour norms. Moreover, this norm circle level is central to the analysis of honour killings, as the members of this norm circle have the authority to enact honour-related matters and are considered the primary actors in the practice of honour killings. Now I move on to describe the meso-level norm circle.

6.1.2 Meso-level norm circle

The next level of norm circle, the meso-level, involves people from a neighbourhood, *paro* (a section of a tribe or a group), village, tribe, biradri, and members of other social groups. These contribute to making sure the required level of surveillance of women and girls is carried out, validating the expected standards, and, more importantly, evaluating the honour-related social standing of a group. As a participant, Zahir Khan [M, 52, PK] explained the significance of this level of norm circle,

> 'If a person's honour was tainted, say, for example, his wife had an affair with a man and the person is sitting there unaffected and cool, the people in the 'community' will go to him and say you must do this, you must do that. You must teach them a lesson. We support you fully in this matter because we have lost face in the 'community'. Our nose has been cut off; people are spitting on our face in the 'community', tribe, etcetera. And thus, everyone joins together in this. The 'community' encourages the person. Even if the person is sitting calmly and has even forgotten the entire matter, the 'community' will continue to hound him. That you should do this, you have to do that. They provoke him in this manner, and you know that we support you. Therefore, you need to reach a decision' [translated from Urdu].

Though the interview with the above participant was in Urdu, he frequently used the English term 'community'. Therefore, I asked him what he meant by the word 'community'. He responded that,

> 'the 'community' means a person's caste group, biradri or kinship, mainly *us ki apni* (the person's relatives), not a random person will talk to the

person that what you will do because your honour is hurt. Distant relatives or neighbours can laugh at the disgraced person, but they cannot influence his actions in any way. So, obviously, this would be those who know him very well; they are connected to the person somehow like by blood or marriage or caste/clan or maybe old neighbours' [translated from Urdu].

There are several types of meso-level norm circles such as clan, caste and kinship group and tribe; all these overlap and intersect with each other; however, for the participants, the most significant concept was a biradri (brotherhood). A common view amongst male participants was that if something happens that has harmed their honour in that situation, they will have to 'save face' concerning the biradri. Several participants expressed this as '*biradri ko kia mounh dikahon ga* [literal translation is what face will show to the biradri]. Most ethnolinguistic groups of Pakistan use the term biradri, which is translated in English as a brotherhood. People use the term to denote the number of social strata that can be formed upon the basis of profession, kinship, clan, tribe, or caste, or all four. The study's research participants defined biradri as a group of people who belong to a social group that can be ancestors, caste or kinship group and have formed a group separated from another group, which has a different common ancestor. Each of these groups is different biradri (s) (plural).

Several study participants asserted that one of the key tasks of a biradri is to recognise the honour of an individual or a family. Therefore, people of the same biradri have to be aware of their decisions and choices, particularly related to honour, that might affect the wider group. One interviewee argued what happens in a biradri, even if you do not wish to do something, but you have to do it because of others (members of one's biradri) [Badurdeen, M, 57, UK].

Another participant agreed to the statement and said that '*there was a song that Dilip* [Actor in Hindi films] *used to sing, people of the world, don't think I am an alcoholic. I do not drink; rather, I am made to drink*' [Aziz Ahmed, M, 72, UK]. This statement implies the possibility that an action can be attributed to wider norm circles rather than the individual agent. In the same vein Ayesha Khan [F, 46, PK] stressed that in '*the customary practice of 'siyahkari'* [local term for honour killing] *if there were no endorsements from the perpetrators' concerned social groups, an individual would not dare to do such things'*.

Moreover, concerning the role of the meso level norm circle in honour killings, several participants from the UK reported that the wider community or concerned social groups play a part in the practice of honour killing, but their role is limited. For example, Nazia [F, 33, UK] stated that,

> 'They [community members] do play a part to an extent; they have an influence and put more pressure on the family, of course, to take action. They do put pressure on the family, which is absolutely wrong. But it does not work like that; in the end, it is the individual or the family's preference'.

Talking about the involvement of biradri (clan or community) in honour-related matters, an interviewee said,

> [Biradri] put a lot of pressure. They will put a lot of pressure…that this is wrong…Pressure to basically speak to their daughter…But I do not think until today that I have come across anybody who has got that far as saying openly 'that kill your daughter or kill your son…It is more about speaking to the daughter…this word…is used most often…to control their daughter. But what happens with that is that the stress is put on the family and the parents' [Nuzhat. F, 30, UK].

The phrase 'speaking to the daughter' denotes euphemistically putting pressure on the concerned family to invoke them into taking action against female family members to avoid endangering the family honour.

More specifically, the role of non-family members in the concerned meso-level norm circles become one of a) provoking, b) supporting, and c) enforcing social sanctions on social groups involved in a case of honour killings.

a) Provoking

Members of meso and macro level norm circles provoke the affected family by spreading rumours about the women and girls, and then they go on to taunt and mock the male family members of an alleged woman. Zuhra [F, 37, UK] described it,

> 'For example, a girl has got married without the permission of her parents. The people [members of concerned norm circles] will not only start talking about this, but they will question the family. You know, like …., who did she get married to? What do you do know? How will you face the community? These things will be winding them up. Again, like you know, if something was going on and other people heard, they would like to get together and say to a certain person that your daughter was doing this, are you just going to let her go with it. It is just to show that they have got honour and respect within their family, and they have to deal with it, and they have to do something to keep everyone quiet, so it is like pumping up people, they will get together and say all sort of stuff to get that person to act on it'.

Several participants from Pakistan suggested that in many cases, a man is not offended or triggered as much by the actual incident that was the reason of dishonour, but, rather, others will provoke the man by giving him a *tano* (taunt) for not taking any action to settle the matter. Niaz Ali [M, 47, PK] elaborated as,

> 'people would say to him [the man] that you are a *beghairat* (a person without honour], your sister is like a loose woman, and so on. When the man's *ghairat* is challenged like this, the man would think about how he will face his people, 'community', and society. In turn, he may act in a bid to show people that he is a *ghairati* (man with honour)' [Translated from Sindhi].

Most male and female participants perceived that taunting and mocking by nonfamily members worked as fuel to the fire in matters related to honour and dishonour. However, the role of concerned norm circle members is to provoke an affected family or a social group and support them.

b) Supporting

A recurrent theme in the data was a sense amongst participants that honour killings happen because the perpetrators get support from their concerned social groups in various ways. For example, meso level norm circles praise and encourage the actions of the people who practice honour killings, but they recognise their behaviour as legitimate and consistent with the customs and traditions of the social group. A participant Mustafa [M, 37, UK], said, '*the killer will not get any punishment; instead, all his relatives and elders will appreciate the man that you did the right thing by killing them*'. Similarly, commenting on the broader support to the people who practice honour killings, one of the participants, Niaz Ali [M, 47], said that,

> ‘the society also admires him [the perpetrator of honour killing] that you did well and have uplifted your family's respect. Ideally, they [supporters] should discourage this act; instead, they encourage this sort of action in the society’ [translated from Sindhi].

Participants believed that the people who practice honour killings receive social and financial support from their concerned norm circles. For example, they collect funds to provide financial support to cover the police, court, and informal settlement expenses, and they go with them to court, police station, mediators, or Sardar and intervene to convince the warring groups for a settlement. Several male participants from Pakistan held the view that the support is reciprocal; for example, Ahmed [M, 36] and Mustaque Ahmed [M, 35] remarked that people see honour killings as a system in which if one family is in trouble, they think that it might be their turn next. Thus, they help each other in various ways, and one of the significant roles nonfamily actors play is to enforce the social sanctions on warring groups.

c) Enforcement of social sanctions

Social sanctions are an integral part of the honour system. Sanctions can be positive or negative. These are not inevitable but normative, meaning people in social groups support and expect each other to adhere to the measures. As described above, the social group members who conform to the honour system's norms and rules are praised, rewarded, and supported. On the other hand, those members who do not conform are vilified, disapproved, and shunned. When asked about the type of social sanctions levied on a man or a family who does not follow the rules, a participant Mureed Khan [M, 48, PK],

said, '*he will be not allowed to participate in weddings*.' Similarly, Farooq [M, 45, UK] stated that,

> 'the extended family would reject him. And, if they rejected him and he arranged his daughter or son's wedding, and no one from the extended family turned up, that would be a big symbol that his own people have rejected him, which means he has got no honour'.

In the same vein, a participant Imran [M, 40, UK], believed that choosing to act or not depends on the person's social group's reaction towards him when the person does not comply with the rules of the honour system. He stated that,

> 'If your [the man's] community is very backward, you know an insular sort of community; they will…punish that person. They will reject him. They will not talk to him. They will say…because they will see that person as being weak with a defect. Because he can't even…this guy cannot even look after his own house! Banish him away. Throw him out. All right, you can come for the *namaz,* prayers, but you cannot go forward'.

The participants viewed that both positive and negative sanctions are among the leading forces of the honour system that keep it together. For instance, some male participants believed that if the people of their concerned social groups do not support those who practice honour killings or participate in enforcing social sanctions, then the customary honour system will be weakened, and consequently, honour killings will be reduced.

In summary, the meso-level norm circle consists of people who have common ancestors, kinship, or caste. This norm circle contributes to inhabiting and endorsing the honour norms and play a significant role in honour killings by provoking, supporting, and implementing the social sanctions on the actors who conform and nonconform to the rules and practices of the honour system. More importantly, this level of norm circle acts as an agent between micro [primary actors that carry out the actual acts of honour killings] and macro [arbitrators, the people in the position of power that settle the disputes of honour killings] level norm circles to enforce and maintain the system. In the following section, I will describe the macro-level norm circle.

6.1.3 Macro-level norm circle

People who are in positions of power within a social setting, such as tribal chiefs (Sardars), mediators (Muqdam), *Wadera* (a powerful landholder), and community leaders, made up the macro-level of norm circle. In addition to this, certain social entities include faislo/khair/jirga [the process to settle disputes out of court by the community, particularly the community elders], police, district administration, criminal justice system, and laws are part of the macro norm circles. As we shall see, these circles are considered the ultimate arbitrators that govern the honour system and ensure the actual approval, implementation and upholding of the honour norms. Many participants from both research sites reported that Sardars, Wadera and police are co-adjuvants in running the honour system to gain political power and control over ordinary people of their respective tribes and social groups in Pakistan. For example, in an informal conversation Rubina Khan, who works in a United Nations agency in Pakistan, explained that:

> ‘Actually, the concept of ‘honour’ and the system is connected to patriarchy. The main purpose of this is to gain complete control over women. ‘*Izzat*/*Ghairat*’ (honour) makes men a murderer. However, it is defined with twists and turns that ‘*ghairat and izzat*’ involve respect, accomplishments, and social status. Still, in reality, it is entirely about controlling women socially, psychologically, physically, and economically even I would say controlling in every way.
>
> On the whole, this system *gives power to men from ‘top to bottom’ – from a house to the national assembly* [italics added]. Indeed, some people have more power and some less but more than women at all levels. Like *Sardar, Malak, Wadera, Rais*, these are in politics as well. These men have more power than ordinary men. They lead *jirga* to decide honour killings and settle matters out of court; these people run their parallel governments in some places. Even in the government that makes laws and appoint judges in courts, investigates honour killings, and commits murders in the name of honour, all are men. This top tier is powerful, and because of their vested interest, they support and maintain dated practices like honour killings’.

Talking about this issue, a focus group participant from the UK, Jinsar [45, M], said,

> ‘these days in some parts of Pakistan, this is the common system to kill someone for your own social and economic benefits, or the head of a village or area [*Wadero*] provokes people to make such killings. He [*Wadero*] does that so he can be part of the *faislo* (informal settlement), and through the decision of settlement, mostly the accused girl goes to

> the house of a *Wadero* and works as a maidservant there until the final verdict is announced. This does not apply to the accused man, but only to women, especially young girls. If the council decides that she is a *kari*, mostly the case, you will rarely find that a *faislo* has declared any woman a *garhi* (innocent), then the family males will kill the woman. Sometimes, suppose the woman's family is unwilling to kill her, the *Wadera* [Plural of *Wadero*] can order their goons to kill the woman, these days, the newspaper reports such incidents frequently. They [*Wadera*] do this because they want to show their power and control. *Wadera* always have benefits. After all, they create fights between two families or groups for maintaining their social status because the people will come to him for dispute resolution, and he can show off that he has the power. He can get votes and money as well. Police have a big role and then a '*Wadero*' and his people in the custom of *karo-kari*. The police will not act until it gets permission from the local '*Wadero*' [translated from Sindhi].

When asked about the role of influential people and social entities that make up the macro levels of norm circles, participants were unanimous that these people and the institutions play a significant role in the honour system from enactment to the enforcement of the honour norms. The majority believed that if these influential people did not support it, the system would not work, it could disappear. Some of them went on to say that no one would commit honour killings. Sardars (chieftains) are powerful, and most of them have support from the state institutions; whatever actions a Sardar will take, his people will be abided by those. One of them, Kooral Khan [M, 50, Pak], stated that,

> 'The *Sardari system* [the system in which tribal and social group chiefs are in control of the undertakings within their tribe] has devastated us. In

a *khair*, *Ameer* (the person who leads a *khair/faislo*) has the complete authority on all the matters in the *khair*, and it is up to him that he can add up 20 or 50 thousand rupees [GBP 100 to 250] for a small offence' [translated from Sindh].

In the UK context, the composition and operation of the macro-level norm circles are different from Pakistan for many reasons. Firstly, there are no tribal chieftains and *Wadera,* and secondly, the police and courts in the UK do not work under any politician or tribal leader. While some UK participants believed that though social structures like biradri, community, and clan played a vital role in matters of honour and related issues in the UK over time, their role is reduced. In this regard, Imran [M, 40, UK] stated that,

'here [UK], it is the law whatever a perpetrator of the crime has to support from his community….er… biradri, it will be the law of the land that will take its course. And the person will face the punishment of it'.

Talking about this issue, an interviewee Rahib [36, M, UK], said,

'you know we have so-called community leaders like certain elders in the community. Who does not have much influence on people, but they are only there to help if you need some help about something? Like, fill a form in, you know'.

Another significant aspect of the macro-level norm circles was the role of State and government institutions in the honour system. Concerns regarding the involvement of the institutions were widespread. For example, a journalist Aalim Khan [M, 50], who has been reporting on the honour killings for the last 30 years, remarked that the Supreme Court of Pakistan had banned the '*jirga* system' [out of court dispute settlement by the council of elders]. However,

despite this, the system continues to operate and, sometimes, people from police and district administration also participate in them. The participants considered the practices of informal dispute settlement, including *jirga*, *faislo* and *khair,* as bedrocks and sources of power through which the agents of macro-level norm circles exercise their power and control over other system actors. Talking about the involvement of the state and government in honour killings, a respondent Rukhsana [F, 38, PK] stated that,

> 'I would say a government does nothing […], in fact, these *Wadera* (landholders) and Sardar (chieftains) are part of every government, so the government is complicit. There have been strict laws introduced in recent years to deal with honour killings, but there is no proper implementation of the laws. Poor people are trapped in court cases; wealthy people give a bribe and get free from murder cases, so there is no justice here. Even I belong to this profession [law]. Still, it is not equal, and court cases take a long time, lawyers get fees so poor people have no choice but to go to these Sardars they give them quick date for a settlement also they [chieftains] enforce their verdicts on warring parties' [translated from Sindhi].

Interestingly, some of the male participants from Pakistan were particularly critical of the government's existing democratic system, and a common view amongst them was that crimes of honour exist because there is no Sharia (Islamic law) in the country. An interviewee Khan Muhammad [M, 65][13] , explicitly attributed the crime of honour killings to the existing structure of the

[13] A religious scholar and leader of a religious-political party, who was the chairman of the Council of Islamic Ideology Pakistan at the time of the interview. The Council is a constitutional body that is responsible for giving legal advice on Islamic issues to the government and the Parliament.

state and the government in Pakistan, and he emphasised that,

> ‘The reason for this crime [honour killings] is that the state does not allow its public who believe in the Sharia [Islamic law] to practice their living and conform their behaviour as per the laws of the Sharia. So, according to my Sharia, what the people understand and then say is a crime indeed. Nevertheless, the state does not consider this to be a crime. So, if that is not recognised, then my faith will not allow me to accept it. If the state recognises precisely what the people’s faith tells them, then there is no problem.
>
> Furthermore, this will not be a crime. If the punishments are not compliant with the religious texts, then this is a fault that the government has committed. That means that if they rule over people with a particular belief and do not give them the freedom to live their lives as per the rules set by their religious beliefs, then the government is causing this contentious dispute. Meaning I am a Muslim, and I have a government. It is an important matter that my government should be based on Islam. Now, if I try to impose my Islamic beliefs on others using the government's force, then the conflict will spread. There will be a widespread disturbance of public peace. It is my responsibility that I consider every religious concern. Look here that this sort of conflict is not to be mediated based on religion. That is the job of the ruling governments. Now, if a crime has been committed, the state should investigate the crime and prosecute it. That is the responsibility of the state. Nevertheless, if there is a prescribed punishment in my religion and the state does not fulfil that.

> Then what will happen? *Then it comes down to a personal matter* [italic added]. Now, what will be the treatment for this crime? The government should give the same punishment that has been laid down in the Sharia. Honestly, this conflict thrives and grows because of the governments' inability to consider religious laws.
>
> Moreover, suppose the governments do incorporate the religious code of conduct. In that case, all the followers of these conducts will be satisfied because they will then say that I am being treated under the rules of conduct that I believe. So then, where will the crime happen? If the followers feel satisfied, that whichever way my government treats me. It is according to the religious teachings of my religion. So then why will there be any conflict over there?' [translated from Urdu].

This view suggests that the Pakistani state does not incorporate Islamic laws and rules to govern the country. Therefore, the public takes matters, such as the violation of honour, into their own hands and enforce the punishment of such crimes as they deem appropriate.

In a given social setting, the individuals and social institutions that make up the above described three norm circles function as the honour system actors and are directly or indirectly involved in enforcing honour notions through violence and honour killings. They can be perpetrators, abettors, collaborators, instigators, supporters, mediators, and the leaders of informal settlement practices of honour killings. The variety of actors and their roles are described in diagram 6.1.

A range of people, both men and women, can be involved in honour killings of women and girls depending on victims' marital status and family structure. The

actors' specific roles and responsibilities in the actual incident of honour killings depend on their age, gender, employment status, and social standing. The diagram shows a typical set of actors. That said, the practice varies across cultures and communities within Pakistan and Pakistani people living abroad; hence, the actors who would participate in the honour killings differ. Men are at the centre of the system; they are the key agents who play a central role in implementing its rules and practices. For example, in all cases of honour killings of women and girls, the participants reported that men were the perpetrators. However, several participants discussed the role that women take in honour killings of women and girls. The following section discusses the participants' viewpoints concerning the involvement of women in the honour killings practice.

6.2 Women as actors in honour killings of other women

In some of the interviews, male and female participants considered that women play a critical role in honour killings. A lawyer and human rights activist from Pakistan, Rukhsana [F, 38], expressed her concerns regarding the role of women in the practice of *karo-kari* as,

> 'I want to tell you that I do not blame males only, but there are our sisters, who also take part in these things, like they do snitch or spread rumours against husband's sisters or husband's second wife, sometimes for neighbouring women due to jealousy. I do not know what they get from such things, but it happens, we women do these things, which makes me sad, but the issue is that *we are also human and part of this society, so we women also learn such vicious things from society* [italic added]. You know some mothers-in-law oppress their daughters-in-law and keep them under

> their control if she does not abide by her orders. She does not listen to her, then she is in trouble, her mother-in-law will provoke the woman's husband, and then-husband can beat her or, in some cases, declare her a *kari* and blame some man from the village for compensation. These things are true and happen over here regularly. For example, when a man has two wives, they become 'jealous' of each other, especially in village areas. Being a lawyer, I also observed such cases, and one wife is often involved in the murder of her husband's second wife' [translated from Sindhi].

On the other hand, some male participants from Pakistan believed that women are 'part and parcel' and have 'an integral role' in honour killing incidents. The rationale behind these arguments was that '*society has conditioned women in that way'*, said Shahmeer Khan [M, 62, PK]. Naziran [30], a female social activist, who runs a community-based organisation in Pakistan, explicitly referred to women as the fundamental reason for honour killings. She argued in a mixed group interview that,

> 'women have a big role. See, for example, if my mother-in-law does not like me and his son listening to her [this implies the son is obedient to her mother], she would say to him that your wife is roaming around the whole day. She might be engaged in a '*kharab kam*' [literally means a bad deed, figuratively means having an extramarital affair], and she does not do the house chores. So, what is this woman's use, meaning she would provoke her son to make his wife a *kari*? Then she will arrange her son's second marriage. I mean to say that women have a central role in this matter.

She went on to give another example in support of her argument that,

> ‘a man does not know what is happening at his house when he is out. So, when he returns home, his wife, mother, or both will tell him their versions of what happened during the day. When he was not at home, suppose his mother could tell him an outsider man came to the house and your wife did speak to him …meaning the women create suspicion. You see the sort of things women do in homes. Over here, most men wear clean, pressed clothes and go out for work or sit at ‘hotels’ (teashops) in the town, so they do not know what is happening in their homes behind their back.
>
> On the other hand, most of the time, women stay inside homes and talk with each other, sometimes argue, fight, and make stories and then pass them on to their men. If you ask me about the reality, women are the root cause of that [*karo-kari*] problem. How will he know if I do not tell my husband about my meetings and whom I am meeting with?’ [translated from Sindhi].

In contrast, female and male participants of the same group interview were critical of the arguments and insisted that,

> ‘…it is not like that only women are responsible, yes! Women do gossip, like backbiting and passing on other women's stories to their men, but why do men believe in them and kill someone just on rumours. Because I think it is for their interests like they will get compensation money or maybe a new wife, so they do all this for their benefits while using us [women], and we [women] fight with each other and blame each other [Malooka, F, 45].

Further, the male participant added,

> '…. [name of the participant] only blames on women…[laughter]… I already mentioned that over here [in the community], women are not as much at fault as men. Everything is in men's hands, they control them, they do whatever they like…yes, some women are powerful here too, but they are equal to a pinch of salt in a bucket full of flour [means negligible]. You can see in our district how many women are working in offices; I think a few. So, our society is a *mardano moashro* (masculine society), in which we [men] control everything…. whatever you [refers to the participant] may say' [Wazir, 34, PK].

Likewise, some UK participants indicated that women, especially mothers and mothers-in-law, take part in honour killings, but their role is more tactical. For example, Nargis [F, 24, UK] commented that,

> 'usually, fathers in the family resort to physical violence. When honour killing of a girl takes place, then it is the nearest kin who are involved. Either it is her father, or it is her brother. Mothers and sisters, even other females, indirectly play a role by saying no, you should not have done such a thing, thus pressurising the girl.'

In summary, women do take part in honour killings of their female family members. Still, their role is more of an instigator, collaborator, and abettor than perpetrators of actual honour killings. The previous chapter describes that the involvement of women in honour killings manifests their internalised discrimination and constrained social agency within the patriarchal system of power and control.

Further, most participants deemed ‘rumours’ a key catalyst in the honour killings phenomenon, and women play a critical part in spreading and using rumours to create suspicions about other women or instigate an incident of honour killings. The following sections will discuss rumours as a social device in honour killings.

6.3 Rumours as a social device

Interestingly, most male and female participants from both research sites viewed rumours and gossip as major catalysts for honour killings of women and girls in the UK and Pakistan. Some participants suggested that rumours are primary triggers for members of micro-level norm circles to act on female family members' alleged dishonour. Three participants felt that the disclosure of the information of an event makes the real difference in the context of honour and dishonour. For example, a participant of a group interview from the UK Abdul Rahman [M, 66] suggested that,

> ‘Let us assume that I have had an illicit relationship with a woman, and someone else comes to know about it. Then it makes a big difference to her respect. But it is not her fault. It is my fault because I did something illicit. Nevertheless, when someone else comes to know about it, they will say she is a bad woman. That is how it affects her family honour. This is the way in our community anyway’.

Several other participants believed that, in many cases, people resolve these issues secretly when they are still not known to their neighbours or relevant social groups. Moreover, many families try to prevent them from coming out, but when such things become a topic of public talk, violence, aggression, and

arrogance are set in these matters. Another participant of the same group interview Amir Bux [M, 73], added that,

> 'when other people know about the relationship, then they will now say that this woman is not good; she is a loose woman. So, now her husband or son or her brother or father will not tolerate this disgrace. You see, if the relations between the man and the woman would have been a secret, and others did not know about it, then the family may have put it under the carpet, but when these things become public, then not many people can be kept quiet.'

In these accounts of events surrounding the suspected role of rumours in honour killings, it is noteworthy that they were pervasive but hardly challenged by people. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the notions of honour are meaningful and effective in tightly knit social groups; in the same way, most participants viewed that gossiping or rumours are effective in close groups. They have a damaging impact on the lives of women and girls. A participant from Pakistan, Nawab Khan [M, 44], worked in a national human rights organisation, and his job was to keep the record of honour killings incidents reported in the newspapers. He explicitly referred to rumours as one of the key tools that people use to provoke others for enacting on the issue of honour:

> '…. mocking and taunting talk will take place. Like they [people of concerned norm circles] will say that his sister has run away and got married. Alternatively, this happened with his sister, and he has done nothing about it at all. Based on that, a man commits murder. It is just hearsay; it [murder] happens because of false gossips' [translated from Urdu].

The female participants from the UK viewed gossip and rumours as a critical catalyst for honour-related violence. One participant Nargis [F, 24, UK], expressed concerns about gossiping as,

> 'This is a real problem in our community. When someone's honour is called into question, everyone begins to talk a lot about it. People talk about it to one's face. People talk about it behind one's back. Mostly people just make up gossip. Without any knowledge and without knowing anything. Without tackling the issue or finding out what the problem is and what is happening to someone's daughter or sister or wife. Without actually investigating it, you just go and tell someone else. Immediately you get up and tell the second person, then the third and the fourth. The rumour gets worse as it gets bigger and bigger and can no longer be resolved. As a result, the person who is trapped is the victim, that poor thing's life gets ruined'.

Some female participants suggested that women play a crucial role in spreading rumours or gossip that harms other women and girls. For example, Isma [F, 36], a charity worker from the UK who has experience with female domestic violence victims, was particularly critical of gossiping. She said that,

> 'They [women] like gossiping about *izzat* and honour. Moreover, I think the part that women play in honour-based violence is gossiping. I think you know…Because news travels faster in the Pakistani community. It is through the women that usually it travels. They go from one house to another. They contact over the phone.… they do…Nowadays phone, WhatsApp, everyone is on it…News travels …like so and so the person has got engaged. The parents are unhappy… news travels, and by the

time it gets to the final destination, you do not know what the real story is? Even I heard my aunty say the other day that “their daughter-in-law has left the house”; “she does not live with her husband anymore” ... See…Things like that…If people have said it to me- “we saw someone doing this and that, and we saw her with a boy….” So, obviously, if the news has reached me...the word spreads… Furthermore, in some families, I am sure if this news gets to the girl’s brother or cousins or whoever - it might lead to direct violence. Mostly, the community end up doing loads of gossip. Some might be neutral gossip. But always tends to add more oil to the fire anyways…so it messes it up…’

Another participant Mir Muhammad [M, 38, PK], echoed this statement by saying,

‘Gossip plays a big role in honour killings, and women are mainly responsible for spreading it; for example, they spread gossip about a woman, and she is killed because of it, which means women played a part in it…isn’t it? In their [women’s] social circles, gossip circulates, and women know about each other’s affairs, lovers, etc. Nevertheless, again see that mainly men are working in our society. They remain out of their houses for work most of the time, and women are all the time at their homes. They have more interaction with other women in the neighbourhood so news like who is having an affair with who, or whose daughter did what things like that are in knowledge of women more than men when people give air to small stories in some situations and present it as a big issue due to their interests [make a storm out of nothing] that leads to killing and violence’ [translated from Sindhi].

As we have seen in this section, rumours and gossip play a critical role in flaring up honour issues and leading to violence and killings of women and girls.

In the context of honour killings the actors intersect and interact at three different levels of norm circles

Actors	If a woman accused of bringing dishonour to the family is married
Husband Father-in-law Brother-in-law	Instigate and carry out the actual killing of the woman.
Mother-in-law Sister-in-law The husband's second wife (in case he has multiple wives)	Can be an instigator, a collaborator, and an abettor in honour killings.

Actors	If a woman accused of bringing dishonour to the family is unmarried
Father Brother (s) Uncle (s) Cousin (s)	Instigate and carry out the actual killing of the woman.
Mother Sister (s) Sister-in-law (if the brother is married)	Can be an instigator, a collaborator, and an abettor in honour killings.

Actors	Either the accused woman is married or unmarried
People from a biradri, clan, caste, kinship, tribe, and community	Provoke and support to the family in honour killings. Cooperate to impose positive and negative sanctions on the warring groups.
People in the positions of power such as a Sardar, *Wadero*, *Rais*, *Muqdam*	Mediate and preside *jirga/khair/failso* (out of court settlement) for honour killings disputes. Sometimes they also instigate and enforce the verdict by ordering the killing of an accused woman.
Police, district administration, courts, and media.	The involvement of these actors varies from a case to case and social setting to setting.

Figure 6.1: Actors and the roles they play to enforce the rules and practices.

This chapter has described one of the crucial social entities of the honour system, the norm circles: the social groups that believe in the honour norms and adhere to the honour system's rules and practices. The three significant macro, meso, and micro levels of norm circles have been outlined, revealing how they interact and intersect to represent the honour system. In turn, the members of these circles use the system's emergent power to enforce rules and practices. Honour system agents exhibit their power and control through several social practices, of which the critical practice is honour killings of women and girls. The next chapter summarises how the social forces and structures presented in the previous three chapters of data manifest in acts of honour killing.

Chapter 7. Honour killings as a social practice

As we have seen in chapter four, the notions of *izzat* and *ghairat* (honour), dishonour, and shame underpin the honour system. In turn, the honour system functions through the emergent powers of social entities in this context, the norm circles. Individual members of the norm circles are the system's agents, and they use the ascribed powers to enforce and implicate the rules through social practices (see Chapter 6). This chapter turns to the acts of honour killings themselves as a manifestation of the social forces and structures presented in the previous three data chapters.

The honour system's social forces and structures are summarised in the below diagram, which illustrates that the system functions as a three-pronged approach of surveillance, normalisation, and examination to produce harmless, non-rebellious, "docile" female bodies. The women who follow the rules are expected to be satisfied with a life conforming to the normalised standards of being a chaste, modest, and obedient woman. In turn, male community members perceive women and girls as a vessel (object) of honour (see Chapter 5). In contrast, the system regards women and girls who do not conform to the prescribed rules and norms as defiant, disobedient, and deviant. In order to control the non-conforming women and girls, the actors that make up micro, meso and macro levels of norm circles reify the social forces through a range of social practices from forced marriages to honour killings to maintain the system. This is illustrated in figure 7.1 below.

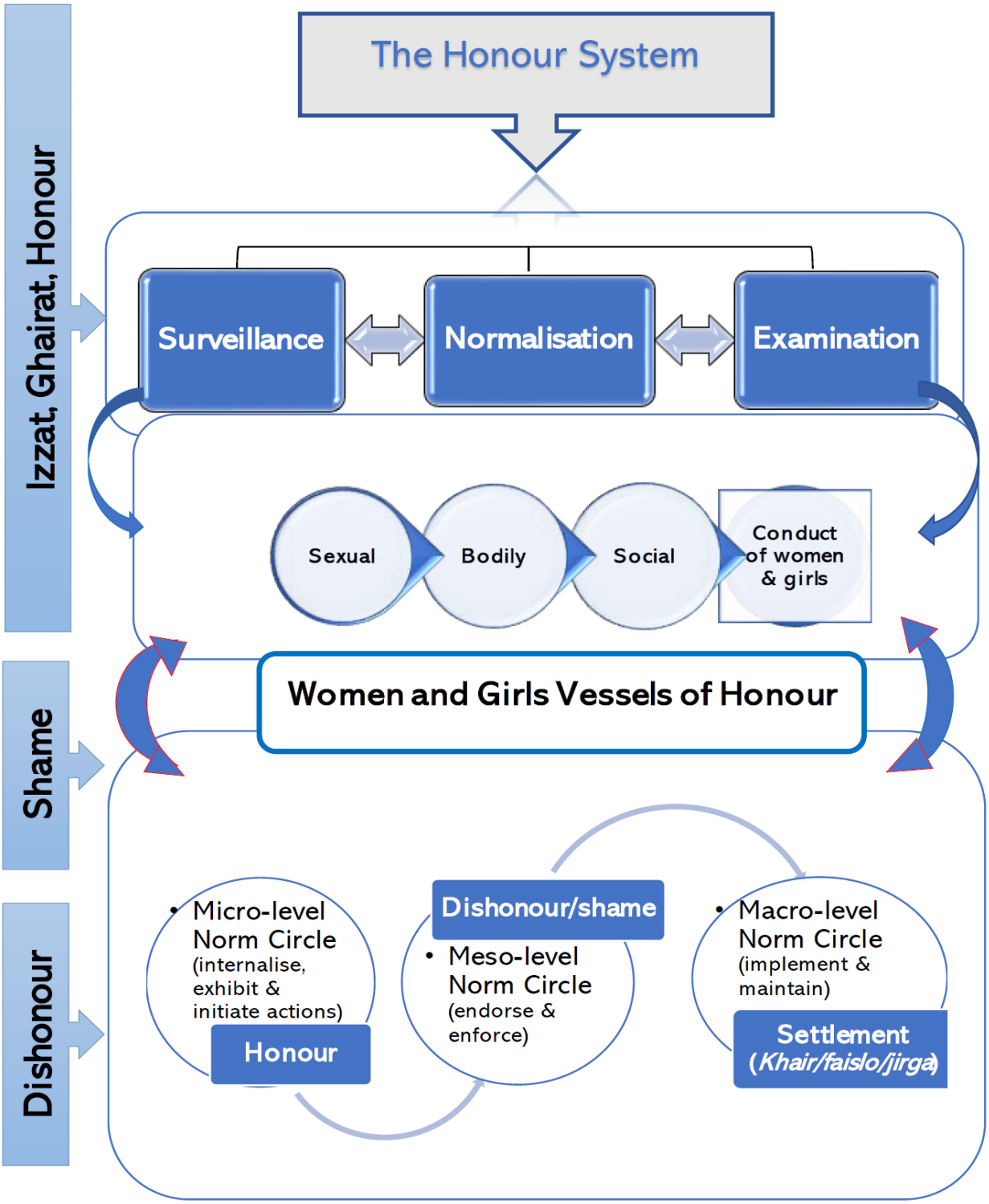


Figure 7.1: The honour system

The manifestation of the social forces and structures (described in the previous three chapters and summarised in the above diagram) by the system's agents is contingent on the given context. Hence, honour inspired behaviours and practices are also context-specific and vary across cultures. This study found a

variety of honour-related social practices that exist in both research sites; many of them centre on marriage and include child, cousin, exchange, forced, and love marriage, *takan te shadi* (marriage by paying money to the bride's family) and multiple marriages by a man. These are viewed as customary practices in their ways, procedures and practicality but can become the rationale behind honour killings of women and, in some cases, men too[14]. Honour killings of women and girls are seen as a manifestation of the honour system's social forces.

7.1 Honour killing: a manifestation of social forces

The data has shown that the participants referred to honour killing, including its local forms *karo-kari*, *kala-kali* and *siyahkari,* as an ancient custom or tradition (*rasam/riwaj*) of their forefathers that has been transferred from generation to generation. The terms '*rasam*' (custom), *riwaj* (tradition), *qadeemi/porano* (ancient), *abba-dada* (forefathers) were frequently used by the participants whilst referring to honour killings. Specifically, honour killing was seen as necessary and a customary form of 'punishment' for the people, particularly women and girls, to violate family honour. Instead, it was not considered a crime.

Honour killing is not an isolated behaviour of an individual; instead, it is the collective behaviour of a social group. As such, honour killing is a social

[14] Men are not killed by their family members for honour (it is not always the case as sometimes gay men are killed by their family for the sake of honour); if a man is killed on the accusation of bringing dishonour to a family by involving with the family woman, then he will be killed by the accused woman's family. In the case of female honour killings, perpetrators are mainly male family members, supported by their relevant norm circles (social groups) and the accusations of violating family honour against women and girls are hardly ever questioned by their relatives. The findings presented here are, in line with the thesis overall, focused on the practice of honour killings of women and girls who are killed by their family members.

practice. Social practice is a shared and standardised set of behaviours, consisting of various aspects, including actors (described in the previous chapter), actions, performance mode, and location involved in performing the practice. These aspects are central to the analysis and understanding of honour killings as a collective social practice, an organised form of the manifestation of the honour system's social forces and structures. The following sections examine the critical aspects of honour killings as a social practice, starting from actions.

a) The practice actions in the past and present

The actors perform specific actions, which are carried out in a sequence to adhere to honour killings. The activities in each incident are different, but the following paradigmatic examples of how the participants describe an incident of honour killings demonstrate an array of actions carried out by the actors to manifest social forces derived from the honour system. It is observed from the data that honour killings are one of the highly organised social practices of the honour system, which has support from all three levels of the norms circles. Though historically it has changed, the actors are still tools of power and control over women and girls.

Historically, the data from Pakistan shows that it used to be the case, for instance, that a father (micro-level norm circle) declared his daughter *kari* and killed her. He had two possibilities; first, if he had killed *karo* (the accused man) together with the woman on the spot, where both were found in a compromised position, then in the vast majority of such cases, the matter was considered settled. However, in a few incidents, the murdered man's relatives would question the claim's veracity and try to retaliate; in such situations, the dispute

can escalate between the groups, which could turn into a tribal feud (see diagram 7.2).

In the above situation, the perpetrator would have support from micro and meso levels of norm circles. The second option for the perpetrator would be to kill only the woman, his daughter. The man would get away somehow. In this situation, the woman's male relatives had to take '*saague*' (proof) of the woman and man of committing *zina* (adultery) to their concerned *Muqdam* (the mediator, macro-level norm circle). It is noteworthy that the proof was needed for adhering to the cultural requirements of proving that the couple had committed adultery, not the religious (Islamic) procedure in which four righteous witnesses are needed to testify that they have seen with their own eyes that the couple was having sexual intercourse. Having informed the mediator about the incident, they had to carry items as evidence, such as a *topi* (traditional cap), handkerchief, slippers, or something else of the accused man, similarly slippers, *shalwar* (loose trousers) or *pooti* (headscarf) of the accused woman. After receiving the items as proof and documenting the complaint, the *Muqdam* used to acknowledge by saying *laabaik* (accepted) and noting various details.

Next, the *Muqdam* had to inform the *kari dhur* (the accused side) and arrange *khair* (informal settlement) under the authority of a concerned Sardar (macro-level norm circle) to resolve the dispute. Many of the participants from Pakistan suggested that in the practice of *karo-kari* (honour killings), the perpetrators of honour killings are locally described as *garhi dhur* mean the aggrieved side or the accuser group because it is considered that both the involved woman and man had sullied their honour. So, by killing the woman, the perpetrators had

demonstrated that their honour was cleansed, and by registering the complaint to the mediator, they are asking for compensation for their lost honour from the accused person. Until 2005, the most common type of compensation was *sangchatti*, in which girls were given in marriage to an aggrieved family. However, after a ban from a Pakistani court, though practice still exists, it is reduced significantly and replaced with money as compensation.

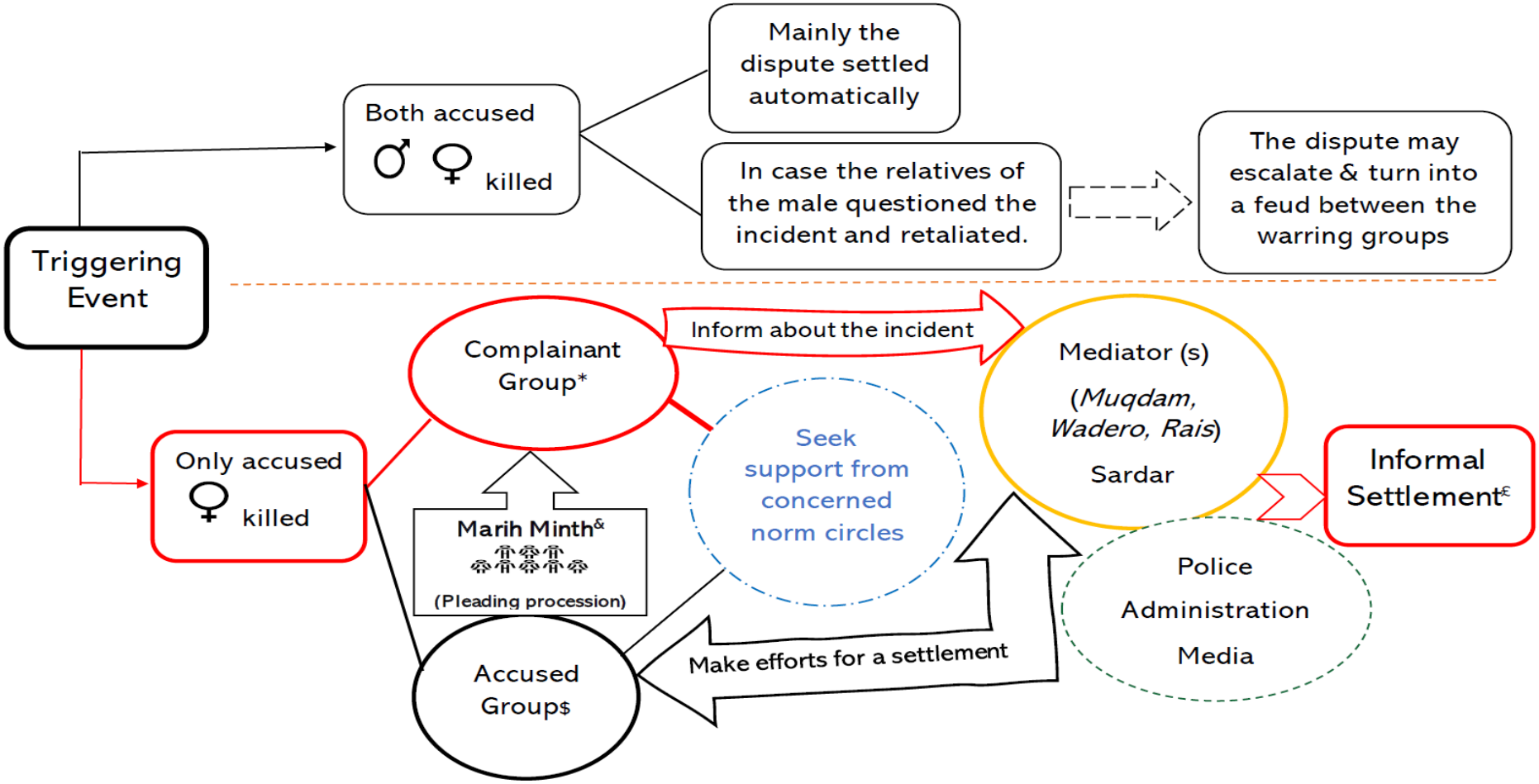
Male participants from Pakistan believed that predominantly both women and men were accused of zina (adultery) in the past, and the majority of them were killed. However, these days women are primarily killed for several reasons (see diagram 4.1 in chapter 4), including infidelity, and men are mainly spared from killing for the sake of honour; instead, the accused man will seek an informal settlement, in which he will pay compensation to the female victim's family for saving his life. It appears that some of these historical tactics and procedures have changed, as new methods have been adopted in line with the changes in the laws and society in general.

The following section presents examples from the data to explain the current situation and methods used to carry out honour killings.

This practical example describes the current situation of honour killings. It also has two possible scenarios (see diagram 7.2). The first scenario is the same as described in the above example except for one thing that is slightly changed: less likelihood of turning *karo-kari* incidents into tribal feuds due to recent changes in the law and the increased visibility of honour killings through mass and social media. Also, honour killings have become a common practice for

people to settle disputes informally and as quickly as possible to avoid further loss of lives.

In the second scenario, the husband killed his wife only, and the man ran away from the scene. In this situation, the killer will consult with his relatives (micro norm circle) and go into hiding to avoid being arrested by the police (macro-level norm circle). In the past, most perpetrators would have voluntarily presented themselves to police with the weapon used for the murder. Presently, the micro norm circle members will sit tight and do nothing except inform the relevant mediator (macro-level norm circle) and deal with the police if the police investigate the incident of honour killings. On the other hand, unlike previously, the man accused of being *karo* will go into hiding, and his relatives (micro norm circle) will go to the concerned *Muqdam* (mediator) to arrange the settlement. They will be not required to take any proof to the mediator, as used to be the case in the past. In the meantime, they will avoid coming face-to-face with the accuser group members to reduce the risk of further increasing the conflict or the compensation amount. The mediator and the accused group will convince the accuser group to agree to the settlement and communicate with the concerned Sardar to preside over the settlement. So, sooner or later, it will be an informal settlement. The following diagram 7.2 illustrates a typical case of honour killings in Pakistan.



*An accused woman's family and relatives are considered as the aggrieved/victim side; thus, they are a complainant group and locally known as *garhi dhur* (literal translation red side).
$ Similarly, an accused man's family and relatives are considered as the offender side, thus, they are an accused group and locally known as *kari dhur* (literal translation black side).
& A group of people including elders and women from an accused side that visit an aggrieved side for convincing them to agree for an informal settlement or pardon the offence. This group normally visits an aggrieved side before and after a settlement, but it can visit them as many times as required until the dispute is settled for good.
£ Informal or out of court settlement locally known as *khair/faislo/Jigra* in context of *karo-kari* (honour killings) disputes it is usually called *khair*.

Figure 7.2: Illustrates a typical case of honour killings in Pakistan

The UK data also showed that overtly or covertly, the concept behind such killings is the same *izzat/ghairat* (honour) as in Pakistan. Still, the methods of killing may be different in the UK from Pakistan. The difference is for several reasons: first, in the UK, the law is strict; if someone commits murders in the UK, it is less likely the person could get away with it and second, people do not have the kind of support they might have in Pakistan. Therefore, many reported cases where families have taken their women and girls, killed them in Pakistan and claimed that they have died of natural causes or committed suicide.

In the next section, I will discuss the performance mode of the practice.

b) Performance mode

The data found two divergent accounts of performance modes of actions in the context of honour killings. Firstly, in many situations, the performance mode of actions in honour killings is ritualistic. For example, some male and female participants from Pakistan described a tradition in which an accused unmarried young woman is made a bride in some communities. That is, she had to apply henna to her hands and feet, wear a bridal costume, stay inside a room as a bride traditionally would for at least seven days before her wedding day. In this way, the girl is made to believe that it is her wedding. When the time comes, however, she is killed. Altaf, an NGO worker from Pakistan, shared an actual event where he rescues the accused girl. He described how one of his female colleagues, a village resident, told him that one of her friends was accused of having an affair with a young man from the village and was labelled as a *kari* by her family. The girl was kept locked inside her house, and the family was

planning to kill her. There was a suspicion that arrangements of her killing were being disguised as her wedding.

Further, the participant said the superintendent of police for the district was his personal friend, so he called him and shared the story. Subsequently, the police officer raided the house in question and rescued the girl. When the respondent and his colleague went to see the girl at the police station, they saw that the girl was wearing a bride costume, jewellery and had henna on her hands and feet. When they asked the girl about this, she told them that her family had told her it was her wedding, but she knew that her family had declared her *kari* and planned to kill her. According to the respondent, his female colleague also confirmed that it is a custom in some groups before killing a single girl for honour; she is posed as a bride [Observation Notes].

Similarly, the data from Pakistan showed that during an informal settlement of an incident of honour killings, some of the rituals are strictly performed; these include: a) the proceedings of the settlement should be presided by the chieftain of the warring groups, b) people of the accused group sit on the floor, d) the accuser group's supporter use chairs, and e) at the end of the process prayers for peace are offered followed by a feast.

The everyday cultural rituals are deliberately evaded in the second account of performance modes of actions in honour killing practice. For instance, in most cases, if a woman is killed as a *kari* [for honour], she will be buried silently

without a proper funeral, and the rituals after the funeral, like *tado,*[15] are not observed. Similarly, if the accused woman is married and declared a kari, not killed but sent back to her parents, she will subsequently be married off without a proper divorce from her first husband. The reason was that following the proper divorce process was seen as a part of Islamic law (Sharia), whereas honour killings are a cultural custom and are viewed as against Islamic teachings and laws. So, once a woman is declared 'kari', her social connections with her family and the concerned norm circles are broken by cultural logic.

Similarly, Sharia dictates that if a woman is accused of adultery by her husband, it is proven only via a prescribed Islamic procedure. At least four witnesses are held to be righteous and were never known to neglect a religious obligation or indulge in sin, testifying that they all simultaneously observed the couple engaged in unlawful sexual intercourse without any doubt or ambiguity. They can say that they saw their sexual organs meet like the Kohl needle entering the Kohl bottle. Then the further process will occur as per the Sharia; for instance, when an unmarried male is found guilty of committing adultery with an unmarried female, both should receive one hundred lashes and banishment for one year. In the case of a married male committing adultery with a married female and both found guilty via the prescribed Islamic procedure, both should receive one hundred lashes and be stoned to death. Nevertheless, if it is proved that woman had been engaged in adultery, then the relationship between husband and wife is automatically broken, without the stipulated divorce process.

[15] literally mat or rug, figuratively the term is used for mourning period and when people come to offer condolences.

Thus, the practice of honour killing is firmly entrenched in cultural norms and values, although sometimes it is done with reference to religious and cultural obligations; at other times, these are circumvented, and a separate set of rules are applied. The discussion about the mode of performance of honour killing practice leads to another theme of location (place), where the actual honour killings are carried out. The following section discusses the location of the practice of honour killings.

c) The locations of honour killings

The locations denote geographical sites where the actors (people involved) perform the actions of honour killings. The location of honour killings varies from practice to practice and social setting to setting. However, the data suggest a common view amongst most participants from both sites that the justified location for honour killings should be carried out 'on the spot'. If carried out on the spot, it is deemed a haqi (rightful) type of honour killing. By this, they meant that the place where a man and a woman are caught 'red-handed' meaning engaged in an activity, which is considered the source of dishonour, such as sexual intercourse.

Interestingly, this view is consistent with the Islamic perspective on adultery; as mentioned above, at least four people must see a couple on the spot while having sexual intercourse. However, the majority of participants agreed that *haqi* (rightful) incidents of honour killings are infrequent. They amount to approximately one per cent of all honour killings incidents, and the rest are

nahaqi (unrightful). The incidents in which a woman is killed in her house or elsewhere merely on suspicion of having an illicit relationship with another man were considered *nahqi* (unrightful) honour killings.

Moreover, in the context of people living abroad, the ideal location for honour killings was considered to be the country of origin of the person who is reclaiming his honour so that the person can demonstrate the actions to his kith and kin (concerned norm circles). Similarly, some Pakistani male participants said that the actual place of the killing does not matter, but people in their area prefer to make honour killings in their village or area to show 'others' that they have restored their lost honour. If the killing were to occur elsewhere, sometimes other people of the village or area would not believe it had been carried out but create rumours that they have not killed the accused woman but instead sent her off to a city.

Thus far, the thesis has argued that honour killings are not a segregated action and behaviour of an individual like other forms of domestic violence. Rather, it is the collective manifestation of the honour system's social forces and structures as a social practice with a specific set of actors, performance methods, and locations. These aspects of the act of honour killings and its ritualistic nature distinguish it from other forms of violence against women and girls.

This chapter has described how the social forces presented in the previous three chapters of the data have manifested in the practice of honour killings. It presented the various aspects of honour killings as a social practice, including actions, methods, and location's significance. The next chapter synthesises the

empirical findings described in the previous three chapters and summarises this chapter with the wider literature.

Chapter 8. Discussion of findings and synthesis with relevant literature

This chapter critically discusses my findings (presented in the previous four chapters) and situates them in relation to relevant literature and discourses. It is divided into four main sections, each with sub-sections. The first section covers the honour system as an intersectional system of the rules, social entities and practices for patriarchal control and domination over women. It also covers the different aspects of honour, dishonour and shame that underlie the honour system in light of the relevant literature and the findings. Section 2 describes a key theoretical entity through which the system operates, norm circles. The findings provide empirical evidence to examine how the different norm circle levels interact and intersect to exert power. Section 3 uses an intersectional approach in order to consider the wider factors, i.e., ethnicity, class, caste, religion, in a given political and economic environment to understand how the system works. Finally, section 4 discusses the manifestation of the system's social forces and structures in acts of honour killings of women and girls.

8.1 The honour system

This study has shown that in the context of honour killings, notions of honour do not operate in isolation but exist within an organised system of social and cultural structures called the honour system. The essential notions that lie beneath the system are honour (*izzat* and *ghairat*), dishonour and shame. The system comprises structures of cultural (norms, values, beliefs, customs, and traditions) and social (gender, class, caste, kinship, and ethnicity) and operates through rules, social entities, and practices. The key features that make the

honour system real (having casual powers) and complex (works through multiple social entities) are illustrated in figure 8.1. The system is something that most members of any given social group believe in, and as long as they continue to believe in it, the system can exert power. If all members stopped believing in it, the system would stop operating. This study shows that (see chapters 4, 5, 6, 7) many social practices are used to enforce the system's norms and rules. One example of such a practice described in the data from Pakistan is *sangchatti,* a practice of giving women, mostly young women, in exchange to settle disputes linked to honour killings. Recent legal action in Pakistan against those involved in the practice has led to its decline. However, participants in this study said that the custom is still practised, although it is significantly reduced and replaced with another practice called *dandchatti,* the compensation in which the accused party pays money to the accusers instead of a young girl.

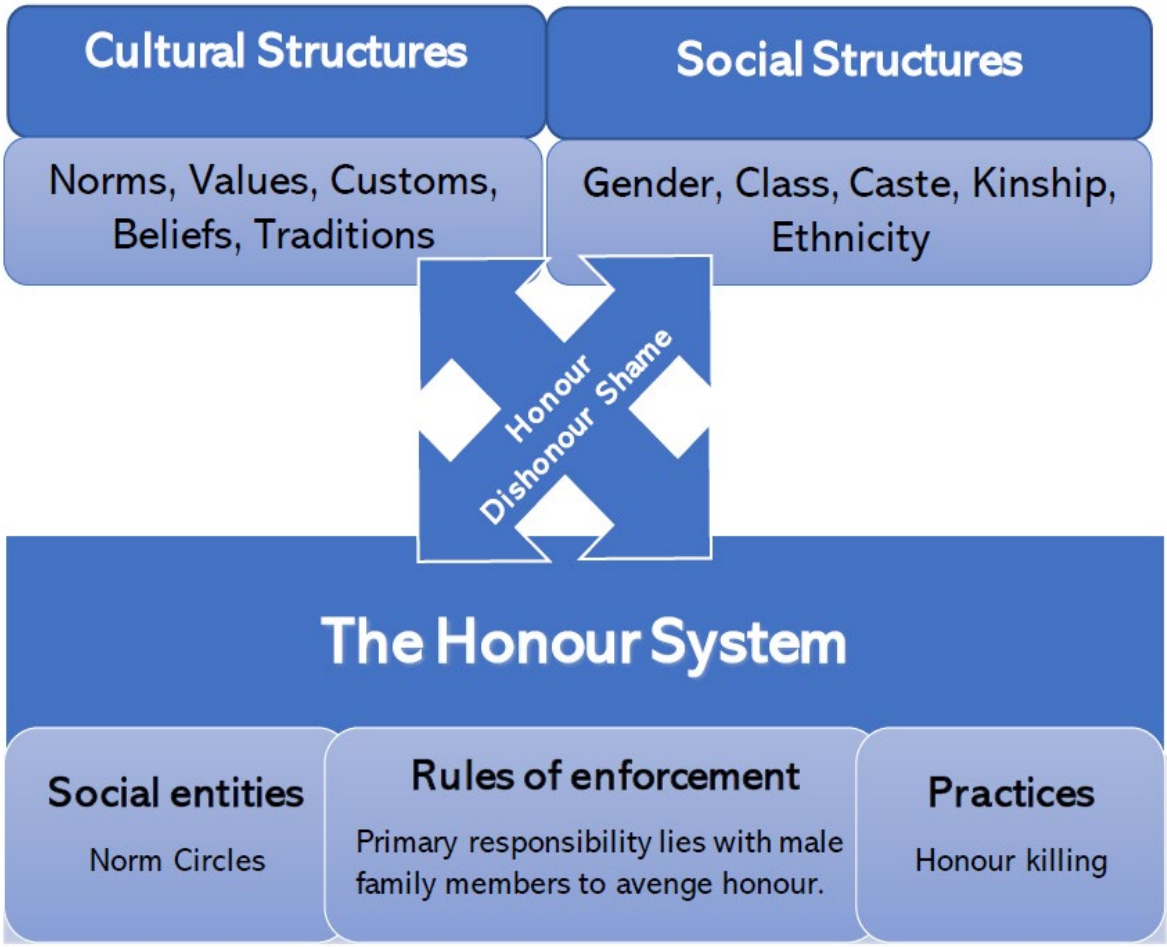


Figure 8.1: The cultural and social structures that constitute the honour system

In the same vein, the UK data show that social structures are used to enforce honour norms through violence such as biradri, lineage, clan, or community have been weakened or altered. For example, elderly adults or community leaders' influence on their families and groups has been drastically reduced; some study participants openly acknowledged that their children do not listen to them, and, for example, young male adults bring their girlfriends to a family home. They also reported an intergenerational shift in the conception of honour. For example, when it comes to honour, the older generation still thinks about their biradri (clan or community) and wants to keep it intact to fit in within their social group.

By contrast, the younger generation does not think about their biradri or community to the same degree as the older generation, but they are more concerned about their individual honour. For instance, if brothers find out that their sister is dating a boy, they will want to harm that boy, regardless of what caste or biradri they or he is from, and what religion he is, even if he is a Muslim or someone from their own biradri. The fact is that they are men, and their sister has done something which they think is wrong. Friends' views exacerbate the men's shame, and they want to avenge that their sister has done something, which they consider is a challenge for their masculinity and social standing in their peer group. Compared to their elders, they think more about upholding their personal honour than the biradri or community.

In addition, since the 2001 terrorist attacks in Western countries, there has been a "climate of hostility" (McKenna & Francis, 2018, p. 2) and scrutiny of Muslims, particularly young Muslims, that has threatened their identities and created an "identity vacuum", leading many young British Pakistanis to take up a new "transcultural" "British Islamic identity" (Hoque, 2018, p. 185). I contend that this shift in identity has led some to disengage with traditional social structures such as biradri, caste or community.

Finally, due to the UK's legal structures, people from the wider social group (biradri, clan, caste, or community) fear that they may go to prison for supporting someone in illegal activity. Therefore, it is reported that many women of Pakistani origin living in Western countries have been taken or invited to Pakistan for a family visit and killed there for family honour. An example was Samia Shahid, a 28-year-old woman from Bradford murdered by her ex-husband in Pakistan (BBC, 2016).

My findings concerning the structure and function of the honour system are consistent with that of Shah (2016, 2007), who argues that there is an institutionalised honour system in Pakistan in which the formalised structures make it possible for a man to kill and die for family honour. Baxi, Rai and Ali (2006) maintain that the system often works through non-state actors and mechanisms and state law is used to frame and regulate women's sexuality. For example, in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan, caste *panchayats* (village councils), *loya jirga* or *jirgas* (tribal or elder councils), police, lawyers, prosecutors and even trial judges uphold localised notions of honour and sovereignty often in breach of constitutional law or even of the rule of law. With the support of the above-mentioned state institutions, these informal mechanisms play a critical role in actualising the honour norms via social practices such as honour killings to preserve the patriarchal honour system (Shah, 2016; Bhanbhro et al., 2013).

The data has shown (see chapter 5 and figure 7.1) that the honour system is based on the narrative that women and girls are carriers of family honour, which is considered to be a precious social resource that serves three essential purposes: to be a source of social position; a means to preserve social differentials and a social property that has monetary value as well. Given the social, cultural, and economic value of honour that lies with women and girls, the system has constructed the rules and practices to protect itself. Similar findings were also reported by Bond (2012), Shah (2016), Bourdieu (2001 [1998]) and Schneider (1971), showing that social groups treat honour as a prized social asset that lies with female members. Shah (1998) and Bond (2014) argue that though the value of honour is abstract, it resides in an object that is a women's body. Thus, women are considered an object of currency

(honour), which can be exchanged, and in case of losing its value, can be destroyed. As summed up by Khan (2018), in the system, honour works as an influential "modality" not only to control women's bodies but also autonomy.

In summary, the honour system is socially constructed, but it operates independently of the person who exercises it (Foucault, 2012 [1975], p. 201). Simultaneously, it creates the habitus in which male domination and female subordination patterns are deeply rooted in mindsets, motivating people to think and behave to enforce the system's rules and practices. People believe it has existed for centuries and was practised by their forefathers and that they were born into it; thus, it is seen as a natural system. The system holds power, which can be ascribed to individual agents. The existence of power is because of the honour system, not the individual qualities of its agents, and they exercise it using the three-pronged approach of surveillance, normalisation, and examination (see chapter 5). Such an exercise of power is labour intensive, as men are required to invest their time, efforts, and resources to ensure the surveillance of women and girls, normalisation of honour norms, and evaluate their adherence with the norms for maintaining the honour system. This contention resonates with Locke's labour theory (described in chapter 3), which suggests that a person who has invested labour in anything deserves to call the property his own. In this context, family members invest in policing and evaluating female family members' behaviours for protecting the social property that is honour, which is intrinsically associated with female relatives.

8.1.1 The community conception of honour, local terms, and their characteristics

The community conception of honour

This research has shown consistency in understanding the concepts of honour (*izzat, ghairat*), dishonour and shame by male participants from both research sites. There is, however, diversity in the implications of these concepts. Male participants primarily associate the honour of an individual man or a social group with women and girls. In contrast, all nine female participants from both research sites perceived the notions differently from their male counterparts. Regardless of the internalised discrimination embedded in these notions against themselves (described in chapter 5), female participants understand the concepts of honour and their implications for both men and women. In addition, they perceive men's authority to enforce the rules and practices as 'arbitrary', while male participants see it as drawn from men's natural superiority, which makes them the ultimate upholder of honour. This finding is consistent with Galtung's (cited in Sharlach, 2008) work in which the author argues that violence against women in any form is, first and foremost patriarchal violence mediated by structural and cultural systems in a vicious cycle. Structural patriarchal systems are internalised and reproduced by the men, and cultural dimensions are reproduced among women.

Concerning internalised discrimination, Bhasin (2000) argues that women have espoused the norms and values that subordinate them to such an extent that, for example, during India and Pakistan's partition in 1947, many women were forced to commit suicide or self-immolate to avoid rape or sexual transgression by men of another community to intact sexual purity as well as family and

community honour. The notions of honour and shame are so ingrained and internalised by men and women that a forced death onto a woman may quite easily be regarded as a "willing sacrifice" even by women themselves (Menon & Bhasin, 1998, p. 46).

All social forces and structures underlie family honour centre on women and girls, particularly their bodies, behaviours, and sexuality. The community conception of honour *(izzat* and *ghairat*) is shown in diagram 8.2, to which we now turn.

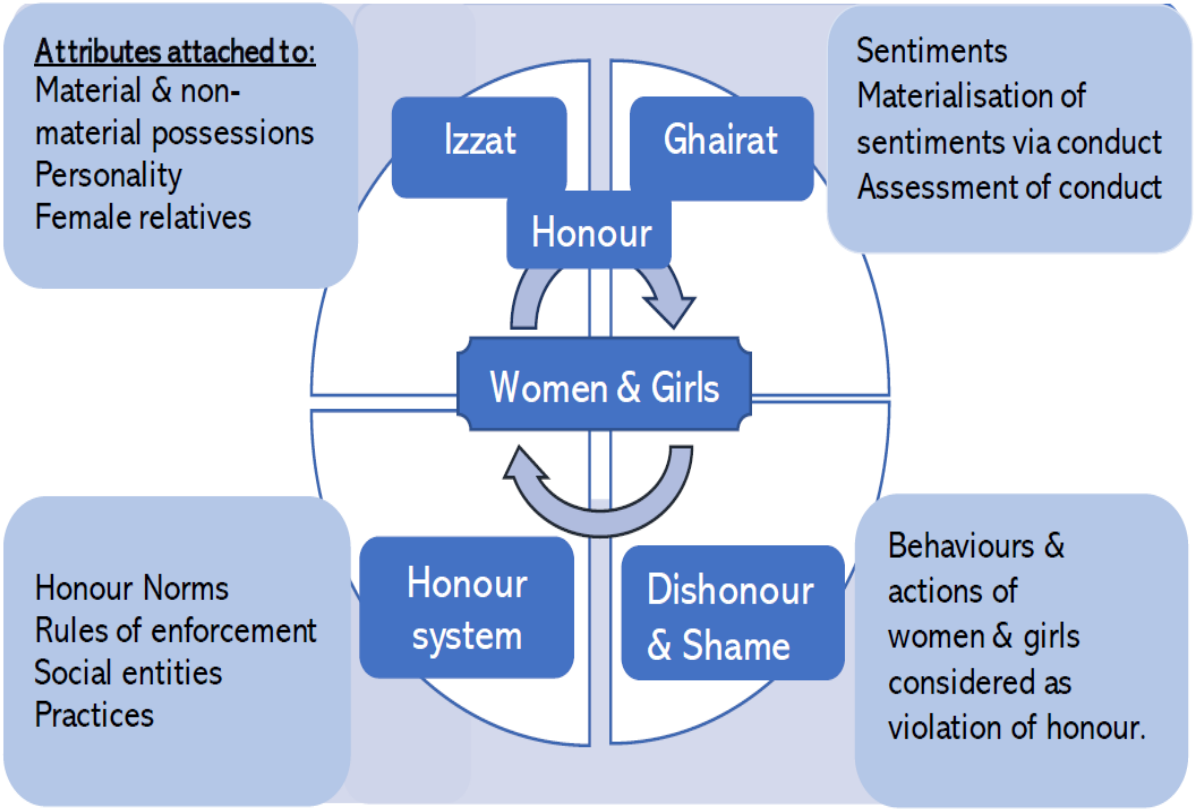


Figure 8.2: Community conception of the notions of honour

Local terms for the honour

Consistent with previous literature (such as Shah (2016), Bhanbhro et al. (2013), Metlo (2012), Chaudhary (2011) and Jafri (2008)), this study found *izzat* and *ghairat* are closely aligned with the English term honour. Each concept has

different characteristics but is interlinked (see the above figure 8.2). In the context of honour killings, both (*izzat & ghairat*) serve the same purpose to be used as a pretext and justification for the act of honour killings. However, these previous studies did not discuss the community's understanding, different characteristics, meanings, and functions of these terms in the context of honour killings.

The current study found that both concepts are understood differently (see chapter 4) but are seen as two sides of the same coin. *Izzat* is seen to be earned, lost, and regained; it can be increased and decreased depending on the situation, and it can be exchanged: a person gives *izzat* to someone and gets it in return. By contrast, *ghairat* is inherited, can be "stained" and repaired, but it cannot be uplifted or reduced and cannot be given or taken. This interpretation is consistent with some of the academic literature. For example, as Delaney (1987) states, "a woman who has sexual relations with any man other than her husband becomes physically polluted, and through her, the woman's husband's honour is stained" (p. 42). Thus, murders of women for family honour are acts of cleansing the 'stain' on men's honour (Hasan, 2002). So, the stains on their honour could be cleaned only by shedding blood (Pitt-Rivers, 1977; El Saadawi, 1980). In this study (chapters 4 & 5), participants stressed the sexual purity (virginity and chastity) of women and blood purity (intra-family or biradri marriages) for the preservation of family honour.

However, concerning women and girls, the two concepts' purpose and function converge into a single notion: family honour, which lies behind the honour killings of women and girls (see chapters 4 & 5). It means that the concepts of honour that underlie the honour killings of women and girls are attached to female family members, particularly their body, behaviour, and sexuality and are

used to exert power and control over them. Thus, in honour killings of women and girls, *izzat* and *ghairat* have the same meanings, functions, and implications.

Little attention is paid to local terms in the academic literature, translated by the English word 'honour'. There is, however, an ongoing debate about using the term 'honour' in association with violence and killing; some fear it may infer that the violence or crime is in some sense honourable (Dustin & Phillips, 2008) and might "exoticise" the honour crime (Gill, Begikhani, & Hague, 2012; Welchman & Hossain, 2005). Further, this type of representation of violent crime is associated with the essentialisation and stigmatisation of immigrant communities in Western countries (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010). In a discussion in the UK parliament, one female MP tabled a private bill (Crime - Aggravated Murder of and Violence Against Women Bill 2016-17) in which she argued that the use of the term honour combined with violence and killings assumes that violence, particularly against women and girls, is culturally sensitive. The sensitivity allows the perpetrator to use further coercion to prevent the victim from seeking help and intimidate local agencies of the state to stop them from pursuing and prosecuting these violent crimes.

This framing of honour violence has significant public policy implications. For example, a newspaper reported that while hearing a case of honour killings, a judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan observed that the widely used term *ghairat* in honour killings is a trait of 'arrogance', not honour. By stating that murder was committed on the pretext of honour, the murderer hopes to justify the crime and, consequently, a rise in social status (Iqbal, 2020). Similarly, there are reports that the Crown Prosecution Service in the UK may have avoided tackling honour crimes for fear of offending particular communities and cultures

(Summers & Turner, 2016). This suggests that the use of the term honour for various local terms concerning honour killings has disguised the true nature of injustice and violence carried out against women and girls by men. The widespread use of the English word honour instead of local terms has arguably undermined and misconstrued the importance of social values stated through local terminologies.

Thus, the blanket use of a cultural explanation of honour crimes per se has created hurdles rather than enablers to solve the problem. In this thesis, whilst I adopted the term 'honour killing'. I took a critical stance in which such essentialising of communities is questioned. One way in which this has been done is by keeping close contact with the two main terms translated as honour (*izzat and ghairat*) and by emphasising disagreement within the community, for example, between male and female respondents.

The data concerning the understanding of honour showed that honour is an innate trait of men. The below section discusses this dimension of honour.

A naturalistic account of honour

This study has shown that most male participants from both research sites generally perceived honour as a natural trait of men, which means the nature of honour is divine and genetic; thus, a man's power to defend his family honour is just and justified.

These findings are consistent with Pitt-Rivers' (1968) conception that honour is a sentiment that must be felt. My study findings suggest that honour is seen as an innate trait or an emotion itself rather than as a social entity; people relate certain feelings to it. Honour is not transferred from generation to generation via cultural norms, values, and traditions but inherited through blood. Elsewhere,

Strange and Crib (2014) state that people attach emotions to honour, making it worth 'killing and dying for' (p. 4). Similarly, Bourdieu (1965) defines honour as a pattern of thoughts and associated feelings that precipitate and sanction violence in a given situation.

The naturalistic account of honour has two aspects, i.e., genetic and divine. Genetic means it is in men's DNA, and divine infers that it exists in accordance with the intentions of the God who created nature. Men use both features to justify the violent behaviours precipitated by honour. Through the genetic explanation, individuals and social groups believe that when a female family member violates family honour, this hurts men's natural innate and subjective feelings. Many male participants thought that a man could not control his feelings; his reaction in defence of honour is instinctive. This belief views honour-related violence as an inevitable behaviour and the notions of honour as fixed.

This study's data suggest that adherence to the honour system's rules and practices is strongly normative and collective. This "normativity" and the honour system's "collectivist" aspects make it complex and resistant to change (Erturk, 2004, p. 166). In social groups where religious belief is strong, honour is considered an innate trait inherited genetically and understood as divine and immutable.

These aspects of honour were supported in my empirical research (see chapter 4), where most male participants explicitly expressed that *ghairat* is a natural feeling; therefore, it cannot be changed. While most male participants viewed honour as a natural feeling of anger and aggression, several participants also explicitly linked honour to religion but denied that the religion condones any

violence for honour. There are similarities between the male participants' attitudes in this study and those described by Dawood (1999), who exemplifies her conversation with perpetrators of *karo-kari* held in prison in Sindh, Pakistan. The author describes that when she asked the men, why did you murder the people? They replied, they did not commit any murders but reacted in anger.

Notably, all-female and two male participants said that women also have their own honour. However, they do not have the authority to enforce it on men, whereas they can enforce it on other female family members, particularly when mothers enforce it on their daughters and mothers-in-law on their daughters-in-law. This finding suggests that honour is a matter of power and control derived not from divine and genetic properties of honour but the patriarchal honour system. Some women also use a strategy in which they tactically choose to uphold the patriarchal honour norms and enforce them on other women for their own advantage at other women's cost. Kandiyoti (1988) identifies this approach by women as a "patriarchal bargain" in which women's strategies work under the patriarchal system's given constraints.

These taken for granted assumptions are deeply embedded in the social structures that define women's position in society and justify violence against women. Therefore, in the light of critical feminist theory described in the methodology chapter, these assumptions are disrupted by showing that honour is not a natural trait (innate and divine) or emotion in itself. Rather, individuals and social groups attach certain feelings, predominantly anger and arrogance, to justify their violent behaviours as intrinsic and immutable. The data and analysis in this thesis suggest that the behaviour dictated by the notions of honour are not innate or instinctual. Rather, they are social practices into which people have been socialised and educated by their culture and traditions

(Malinowski, 2001 [1927], p. 180). Since the traditions and norms have passed from generation to generation, people and social groups have believed them to be natural.

In summary, family honour is, at root, male honour that works at different levels – in the family, biradri, caste, community, or nation through the patriarchal honour system. In turn, the system attaches honour and assigns the responsibility of maintaining honour to female family members by requiring them to conform to the rules and practices ascribed in the system, such as preserving their sexual purity, avoiding contact with male strangers, and obeying male family members. The system also entitles male family members to defend or avenge family honour in defilement cases (Dodd, 1973). Thus, the construction of women and girls as objects of family honour is critical for analysing the practice of honour killings. The following section discusses this aspect of honour.

The making of women as vessels of honour

Chapters 4 and 5 show that the relationship between family honour and gender is when women and girls embody a family's honour. The examples from the archives presented in the literature review chapter show that this is a historical process in the Indian sub-continent in which women gradually lost their identity and became vessels of honour of an individual man or a social group (see chapter 3).

The historical examples from Pakistan and India suggest that women's autonomy began to diminish, and men's authority increased in correlation with periods of foreign invasions, as men began to take control and responsibility for protecting women. Historically, both Hindus and Muslims of India used the logic

of protecting women from external intrusions, especially the West (Ahmad, 2008). For example, the Muslim scholar Maududi (cited in Ahmad, 2008) regarded women as the 'mightiest fortress of Islamic culture', and he advocated that women should be saved from westernisation. Gradually, women became confined to the realm of honour for men, in which women were viewed as the epitome of family honour but weak and fragile. For instance, Pakistani school children are taught that men need to treat women kindly because they are men's helpers and cannot manage their affairs themselves.

Moreover, in Pakistani school textbooks, women are shown as helpless, tolerant, modest, pious, and domesticated figures supporting their fathers and brothers before marriage and husbands after marriage (Durrani, 2008; Ullah & Skelton, 2012). Generally, textbooks depict women in stereotypical gender roles, including cooking, cleaning, washing dresses, raising children, and taking the lead in domestic chores (UNESCO, 2004; Durrani, 2008; Ullah & Skelton, 2012). Except for the 18th constitutional amendment, passed in 2008 that had transferred the curriculum-making authority to provinces, it has been over a decade since there have been no significant changes in education policy in general or school curriculum in particular. Nonetheless, the current government of Pakistan has announced the Single National Curriculum (SNC) for the entire country, which is scheduled to be implemented stepwise from 2021. Pakistani physicist, author, and a leading authority on the curriculum development in the country, Nayyar (2020), has published a critical analysis of the new curriculum in the daily Dawn newspaper in which he said,

> "The courses on English, Urdu, Arithmetic, Science and Social Studies are hardly distinguishable from those prescribed in the 2006 National Curriculum — they have the same benchmarks and the same learning

> outcomes as before. But one area where major changes have been introduced is in the Islamiat [Islamic study] curriculum…. SNC looks like a 'madrassah-isation' of schools".

The analysis suggests that most textbook content will not be different from the existing textbooks, which depict women as fragile, modest and bearers of family honour.

My findings suggest that men keep women inside the four walls (household) and control a woman's life to save honour. Many participants use the term '*chadar aur chaar diwari*' (veil and four walls) as a euphemism for physical, social, and psychological control over women (see chapter 5). My findings echo those by Wadley (2010) in her rural North Indian study of the joint family system, in which she states that the community widely believed that men's honour is intact when they can control women to conforming customs and traditions as to be virtuous by maintaining social norms such as purdah (p. 15). My study (chapter 5) shows that the agents' disciplinary power ensures conformity with the honour norms. As Foucault (2012 [1975]) argues, power is dispensed through surveillance, normalisation, and examination for disciplining women to produce 'subjected and practised docile bodies', so the 'discipline is a general formula for domination' (p. 137-138). It could be seen that the notion of protection of women by men is used as a justification to maintain power and control over women, and it is empirically supported in the data (see chapter 5) in which women are considered delicate and unable to protect themselves.

The historical examples cited in the literature review (chapter 3) indicate that women had been ascribed the role of carrier of family honour long before the British colonial era. However, British rulers formulated laws that supported and

institutionalised men's power and control over women, such as the empire's law of 'adultery killings', which paved the way for men to actualise their claim for honour. These laws were supported by both local customs and colonial powers (Leader-Elliott, 1997; Spatz, 1991).

As described in the literature review chapter, the history of violence against women and girls was repeated during India and Pakistan's partition in 1947. Women and girls in both nations were assigned the carriers of cultural values, traditions, and community honour (Menon & Bhasin, 1996; Ansari, 1999). This echoes my findings that the male participants saw women as carriers of family honour and sexual purity as significant aspects.

Nevertheless, there were dissenting voices in the current study, mainly women who had a different view in which they linked *izzat* with personal conduct irrespective of gender and *ghairat* with men's ego. The system's construction of women as vessels of family honour and its discourse also gives centrality to women's bodies in the narratives and practices of preserving honour. Under this logic, where women are regarded as vessels of family honour, their 'private parts' are mainly seen as a point of honour and seat of shame. For example, in Pakistan, a commonly used term for the vagina is '*sharmgah*', which means 'place of shame'. This kind of discourse becomes embedded as a mechanism of power that reinforces the inferiority of women. If a woman breaches or is forced to breach the prescribed rules of conduct by losing her virginity or violating sexual norms of chastity, that means her 'place of shame' is polluted. This action becomes the source of dishonour and shame for her family, mainly male family members, and the woman becomes liable to customary punishment, which may be her murder by the family.

8.1.2 Sources of dishonour and shame

Dishonour and shame were secondary concepts to honour (*izzat* and *ghairat*). They were brought about by women's and girls' actions or alleged actions in a social group. By contrast, a male family member's same action or type is not viewed as a source of dishonour for the family, although it may be considered his personal dishonour.

The current study found that various behaviours and actions of women and girls were interpreted as sources of dishonour and shame for an individual man or a social group (see figure 4.1). The reported reasons behind honour-related violence and killings in Pakistan were also reported by Naseem et al. (2019), Shah (2016), Bhanbhro et al. (2013), Nasrullah et al. (2009), Patel and Gadit (2008) and Raza (2006). Similarly, in the UK, Hester et al. (2015), Dyer (2015), Siddiqui (2013), Dogan (2013), Gill (2009 & 2008) and Khan (2007) confirmed the UK based findings. Of all the reported reasons in the data, two of them, sexual purity (pre and extramarital affairs) and marrying without the family's permission, were considered inexcusable infringements for the family honour.

Similarly, an important theme came from the data: an acceptable marriage in Pakistan and for people of Pakistani origin living in the UK must be approved by one's parents, sanctioned by the religion, registered by the state, with the wedding ceremony witnessed by one's social group.

The present study found a range of dishonour and shame sources, which can be organised into three categories, i.e., sexual, social, and bodily (as shown in figure 4.1). In contrast to Pakistan, the UK findings suggest women's bodily or lifestyle practices, including dressing, purdah, and not being obedient to their parents, are considered primary sources of dishonour and shame for women

and girls' families. In particular, girls who have adopted a Western lifestyle are deemed to have behaved dishonourably. My findings are reflected in other studies. One example is given by Ridley (2015); this concerns Shafilea Ahmed, a British Pakistan girl whom her father and mother murdered as they believed that she was living a Western lifestyle and refused to marry the man from Pakistan whom they tried to force her to marry.

Similarly, my findings are consistent with Chesler's (2015) analysis of English-language media reports of 172 incidents involving more than one killing means a total of 230 victims of honour killings globally. Of these, 67 victims of honour killings were in Europe, 33 in North America and the rest in other countries. The reported reason behind 58% of honour killings was that the victim was “too Western”. Chesler said this phrase meant the woman was seen as being too autonomous, not obedient enough, refusing to observe purdah, having boyfriends, refusing to enter in an arranged marriage, wanting to choose one’s husband or asking for a divorce from an abusive husband.

One unexpected finding from the current study was how increased access to mobile technology was correlated with a rise in honour killings of women and girls. Male relatives perceive that the use of mobile phones by women in general, and smartphones by young girls, particularly for social media, facilitate a level of independence. Women's limited freedom via mobile technology access is viewed as negative by male relatives. They believed an autonomous young woman could easily elope with someone or bring dishonour and shame to the family by becoming involved with a prohibited activity such as having an affair. This finding is consistent with the Mobile Gender Gap Report 2020 that highlighted that family restrictions and lack of approval were significant obstacles for women in many countries, including Pakistan and Bangladesh, to

own mobile phones and use mobile-based internet (Rowntree & Shanahan, 2020). In addition, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) reports (2021) that many incidents of honour crime had occurred when mobile videos of girls surfaced on social media. For instance, a family member killed two teenage girls (aged 16 and 18) for family honour in a Waziristan village after a mobile video of the victims appeared on social media showing the girls with a young man.

This study has identified a multitude of reasons that become a source of dishonour and shame for a family; that said, it depends upon the context of a social group (family, clan, caste, lineage, community) to consider any of the identified sources as a necessary and sufficient reason to practise honour killing or take any other course of action to redress the lost honour. Now I discuss the social forces and structures (norm circles) that catalyse the actualisation of the notions in the acts of honour killings.

8.2. Norm Circles

The study shows the social entities (norm circles) that catalyse honour killings can be a *khaandan* (an extended family or lineage), biradri[16] (clan or kinship), *zaat/qaum/qabeelo* (tribe/caste), and community (summarised in figure 8.2). In these set-ups, a man is a part of a social group, such as a caste, kinship, or tribe, where the emphasis is not on the individual but the collective (Payton, 2014). In such social structures, men's honour is directly linked to their membership and identity with their family, caste group, tribe, or community — Pakistan's diverse ethnolinguistic groups are divided into these collectives,

[16] Means brotherhood, however, in Pakistan and the Pakistani diaspora it is used to denote a number of social strata including clan, kinship and caste.

which ascribe responsibility to man for the protection of his honour (Jafri, 2008, p. 66). In these collective social structures, the individual is not stronger than a family; likewise, a family is not stronger than a biradri, clan, caste, or kinship group (norm circles). As the study data show (chapter 6), a man is solely responsible for upholding his honour, and this honour is intrinsically attached to female members of the family. In dishonour and to redress it, the man has to operate in these social forces (norm circles).

In the findings, in chapter 6, three different levels of norm circles, i.e., micro, macro, and macro, are described. Based on the data presented in chapter 6, a theoretical model of norm circles is developed, which is presented next.

There is an ongoing debate concerning the use of theory to produce knowledge through various research methodologies (Collins & Stockton, 2018). Discussion of theory related to qualitative research is critical because certain qualitative methods such as grounded theory explicitly call for the development of theory based on study findings (Maxwell cited in Collins & Stockton, 2018). In contrast, certain qualitative methodologies, including ethnography, encourage researchers to utilise an existing theoretical framework to guide their qualitative studies (Saldana, 2015). The realist approach is method-neutral, meaning it does not impose the use of any particular method, though it starts with a theory and ends with a theory (Pawson, & Tilley, 2001). In this way, it is closer to the ethnographic approach utilising an existing framework than it is to grounded theory. Therefore, this study first identified and described relevant existing theories from the literature and then tested them through empirical research; consequently, new insights for the theoretical models were developed.

The theoretical development illustrates that the different levels of norm circles intersect and overlap in a social setting, but each has a particular set of actors and plays a significant role in the honour system (see Figures 6.1 and 8.3).

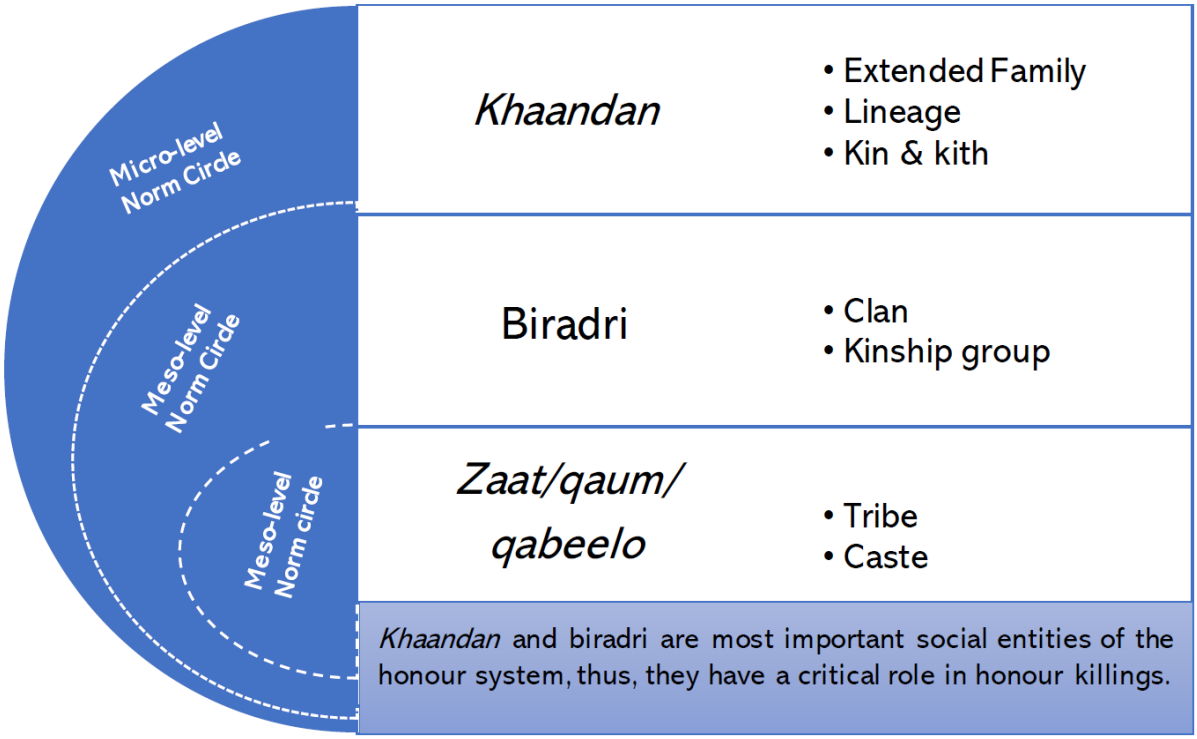


Figure 8.3: Social structures that facilitate honour killings.

Archer and Elder-Vass (2021) acknowledge a problem with the operationalisation of the norm circle (Archer & Elder-Vass, 2011). Given the normative heterogeneity in a social group, every individual is involved in a whole array of intersecting norm circles (as illustrated in above figure 8.3) such that they must "sometimes negotiate a path that balances normative commitments that are in tension with each other" (p. 143). However, it is not clear enough how individual members may negotiate such a route because endorsement and enforcement are too tightly cleaved together; thus, "On what basis do individuals choose which sanctions to confront and which sanctions to avoid when deciding on a course of action that involves choosing between competing norms?" (Carrigan, 2014, p. 1).

In a given setting, the social groups do not operate in isolation but overlap and intersect with each other to function and exert power. Of these structures, *khaandan* (extended family) and biradri are considered the most important.

Khaandan

Khaandan (extended family) as a unified social entity has great socio-cultural and economic significance in Pakistan's diverse cultures (Burki & Ziring, 2020). It forms the foundation of society and includes a wide range of relationships. A family consists of a married couple, their unmarried daughters, unmarried or married sons, and their sons' wives and children in its ideal or extended form. A family is a primary but profoundly male-dominated entity of a social organisation. Whether it is the father, grandfather, or paternal uncle, the eldest male in the family is the head of the family and makes all significant decisions concerning the family and its members. Regardless of age, a female family member's position in a family is secondary to that of men, and she is constrained to perform roles and duties defined by her male family members (Burki & Ziring, 2020; Khan, 2006).

One of the key strategies to constrain women's agency and behaviour is to regard them as family honour vessels, and it is the primary role of a family to instil girls from an early age to protect it. As a result of socialisation, women and girls internalise these ideas and behave as per the honour norms and rules. The study found that other norm circles, such as biradri, community or clan, ensure the enforcement of the norms and rules to maintain the honour system.

Biradri

The study findings suggest that all the social structures and entities such as informal settlement mechanisms (*jirga/khair/faislo*), laws, courts, and police that run and support the honour system are male dominated. This means the social structures are patriarchal by nature; hence, they grant men more power and work to their advantage. This finding is consistent with Baker et al.'s (1999) contention that the notions of honour are but a different way of knowing the 'operation of patriarchy', in which family members use violence to control women (p. 166). Therefore, I suggest that it is not correct to explain honour-related violence and killings in terms of binaries practised by social groups or communities with the honour culture or are explicitly patriarchal as some of the literature suggests (see the literature review chapter). The problem with the binary approach is that it ignores the wide range of social, cultural, and legal factors contributing to the manifestation of social forces through acts of honour killing. Let us now turn to these factors.

8.3 Intersectionality

The study findings suggest that in a given social setting, the honour system works through interconnections of various social, cultural, and legal structures to shape, justify, and maintain social practices such as honour killings (see also, Shah (2016, 2007) and Bhanbhro and colleagues (2013)). In addition, social structures such as caste, tribe and family set-ups, ethnicity and the complicit role of state institutions and law enforcement agencies play a central part in honour killings.

The study findings described in chapter 4 show that various factors determine how individuals or social groups manifest the sentiments of honour through their actions and behaviours. It means it is not only a part of a culture or community that believes in honour notions that influence individuals or groups to avenge honour. However, the decision to restore honour depends on various factors, including caste, class, tribe, and place and, in some cases, profession and level of education. For example, the data shows that one of the most frequent reasons reported by the participants for bringing dishonour by women to a family was marrying outside one's social group (caste, clan, or kinship). Also, such disputes were settled by a *jirga* (tribal or elder council). These findings are consistent with Shah (2016) and Aase (2002), who investigated honour killings in Pakistan, and they argue that honour killings of women and girls play a key role in starting, avenging, or settling tribal, caste and family feuds. Kaushal (2020) describes similar findings in her study that inter-caste marriage is one of the major reasons for honour killings in India, mainly decided and ordered by *khap panchayat,* comprising members of a particular caste.

These findings are in contrast to other studies such as Khan et al. (2018), Cooney (2013) and Chesler (2018), who all argue that it is the honour culture of some groups and communities that is tribal, patriarchal, collective, and regressive, which in turn is the cause of honour-related violence and killings. Moreover, the notion of honour culture is essentialised and vague, thus, inadequate to explain the honour killings phenomenon. Therefore, I argue that cultural and social structures (figure 8.1) make up the honour system of power and embody specific rules and practices that drive honour killings.

In addition, the findings slightly differ in framing the issue from some published studies (such as Khan et al., 2018; Cooney, 2013; Chesler, 2015) that do not

recognise the honour system as a part of many cultures, as this study identifies it but instead, they use the label of 'honour cultures' and single out particular cultures, such as Asian cultures. This is set in opposition to primarily Western "dignity cultures". Similarly, the essentialist culturalist discourse on honour and honour crimes sees women as mere objects of their cultures, not their agents and men's behaviours are determined by their culture, and they do not have self-control or agency. Hence, some authors suggest that the people of these fixed cultures are a "lost cause". Bringing change in these cultures is not possible as they are "frozen in the glory of the past" (Chesler, 2018, p. 30).

In contrast, my findings concerning the intersectional arrangement and operation of the honour system are consistent with those of Shah (2016, 2007), Abu-Lughod (2015), Rizvi (2004) and Volpp, (2000) that the cultures of minority ethnic groups are used as a primary denominator to define the crime of honour killings in the West in a way that has not only stigmatised the acts of violence but entire cultures and migrant communities.

Similarly, when responding to honour-related violence, it is not viewed as part of the larger struggle to counter violence against women and girls; instead, the cultural aspects of the crime are overstretched (Gill, 2014). That, in turn, deflects the discourse on the actual incidents of honour killings of women and girls to vague notions, i.e., 'crimes of the community' (Brandon & Hafez, 2008, p. 1) and culture (D'Lima, Solotaroff, & Pande, 2020).

Further, the notion of honour culture not only over-simplifies a complex problem but homogenises diverse cultural groups. Gill and Brah (2014) call for a balance in the two divergent views and suggest that it is necessary to question the cultural norms and values that conflict with human rights but also to resist

“wholesale” condemnation of a culture of a social group for a specific practice such as honour killings (p. 84). Moreover, honour is a universal concept; no single culture has a monopoly on it; however, its structures and functions vary from culture to culture (Pitt-Rivers, 1968). Thus, this study suggests an intersectional approach to examine and understand the notions of honour and their implications in honour killings in a given context.

In summary, honour violence is located within-group power dynamics such as extended family, lineage, caste, tribe, and class structures, regarded as encultured and normative, enabling members, particularly men, to enforce the rules and norms through violent practices. The system agents make up different levels of norm circles (figure 8.3) play the system's encultured and normative script to behave and act in specific ways to govern women's lives. Women who rebel against the system by not following its norms and rules are punished and sometimes murdered. So, the system manifests itself through acts of honour killings of women and girls.

8.4 Honour killings as a social practice

This study, consistent with existing academic literature, confirms that the honour system’s social forces could be manifested in many ways, and one of these are the acts of honour killings. As part of this approach, the study suggests that honour killing itself can manifest differently and for different reasons. This is in contrast to most previous studies on honour killings, which have used a paradigmatic definition of honour killing by Abu-Odeh (2010), that is, “the killing of a woman by her father or brother for engaging in or being suspected of engaging in, sexual practices before or outside of marriage” (p. 911). This thesis defines honour killings as the murder of women and girls who have or are

believed to have disregarded, rebelled against or failed to conform to the prevailing norms, standards, customs, and practices of the honour system that regulates their sexuality, body, and behaviours; the killings are performed by men, usually relatives by blood or marriage, in collaboration with other actors, sometimes including women. This definition encompasses many norms and behaviours (see figure 4.1) that could be used as to pretext for honour killing. It also suggests that the perpetrators are mostly men and could be fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, uncles, and cousins. Crucially, it adds to the standard definition of the involvement of other male members of a micro-level norm circle (social group) and family women (see chapters 6, 7 & 8, and figure 6.1).

The killing of a female relative by a man in the name of family honour is not an individual act; it is a collective social practice that emanates from the system and has a set of actors, ritualised actions, and performance mode and in many cases specified locations. Women often play a critical role as instigators, collaborators, and abettors in other family women and girls' honour killings. These findings are consistent with other research which found that honour is a property of a collective (social group) (Dogan, 2018; Bates, 2018; Aplin, 2017; Shah, 2016; Chesler, 2015; Payton, 2014; Idriss, 2010) and that it involved actions of honour killings carried out ritualistically (Sev'er, 2013; Perlmutter, 2011; Jafri, 2008; Shah, 1993).

Honour killing: a cleansing ritual

The study findings suggest that actors perform actions ritualistically to cleanse the stained family honour. Participants referred to women and girls accused of violating honour norms as 'rotten fingers', 'impure', 'dead fish', 'gangrene', 'dirty linen' and 'soiled field'. These terms suggest that these women are viewed as

the sources of pollution. Therefore, the killing of these women was seen as an act of cleansing honour. This finding broadly supports the work of other studies in this area describing honour killings as ritual killing (Sev'er, 2013; Perlmutter, 2011; Jafri, 2008; Shah, 1993). For instance, Jafri (2008), in the study of honour killings in Pakistan, contends that the act of killing a woman to cleanse honour of the family is a ritual in itself, which is the practice of removing the woman, who has 'polluted' herself and the social group with behaviour considered as a source of staining honour (p. 62). This mode of performance was the part of the ritual to claim that his honour was repaired. Similarly, a Sikh woman is killed with the ceremonial sword (Aplin, 2017), a woman in Sindh is killed with a traditional axe (Jafri, 2008; Khan, 2006; Shah, 1993). For example, in their analysis, Nasrullah, Haqqi, & Cummings (2009) found that an axe was used as a weapon of killing in 220 (12%) of 1768 incidents of honour killings (recorded from 2004 to 2007).

The study findings suggest that honour killing was seen as necessary and a traditional form of 'punishment' for the people, particularly women and girls, involved in violating family honour. These findings are consistent with the literature; for example, Cooney (2014), Dogan (2013), and Nisbett and Cohen (2018 [1996]) maintain that honour-related violence and killings are seen as a self-help method of punishment exist in stateless or weaker state structure societies and social groups. As discussed earlier (section 8.2.1), the weak state structures in which the honour system thrives and sustains itself using violent practices such as honour killings.

The customary and ritual elements of honour killing remain in pared-down form, but honour killings in Pakistan and the UK have become more prevalent due to i) a link to protecting cultural values against westernisation; ii) an increasing

number of reasons for which honour killing is performed, and iii) a reduced level of evidence and formal process behind each decision to undertake honour killing. In that way, it has become an even stronger tool of patriarchal oppression than before.

With regard to the third point, this study suggests (Chapter 7) that often no evidence is furnished to prove guilt, no eyewitnesses, no deliberations about the accusations and, of course, the woman is never asked or permitted to defend herself. It is enough for a man simply to have heard something stating that his wife was talking to an outsider man, or his sister wants to marry the man of her choice. Concerning the evidence to establish the guilt or veracity of the incident of violation of honour Shah (2016), in her ethnography 'honour and violence in Southern Pakistan', argues,

> "*In karo kari cases, the question of proof is a non-issue; it is the action itself that is the proof of guilt or innocence. For example, if a man and a woman are both killed as 'a pair', then there is no question that they were not karo kari*" (p. 150).

The current study confirms that many male participants from Pakistan defended (Chapter 7) the murder of a man and woman in a pair, caught 'red-handed' (engaged in an activity, considered to be the source of dishonour summarised in figure 4.1) and called it *haqi* (rightful) type of honour killing. As figure 7.2 shows, most honour disputes are automatically settled when an accused man and woman are killed. My interpretation is that the participants used terms *haqi* (rightful) and *nahaqi* (not rightful) to differentiate between 'genuine' (a man and woman caught on the spot while having sex and killed) and 'non-genuine (a woman is killed in her house merely on suspicion and the man is accused of

having an affair with her but not killed) incidents of honour killing. Shah (2016) quotes a tribal chief who defended the honour killings done by his tribesmen that, unlike other tribes, his men kill both men and women in couples, which is justified honour killing for them because it establishes the involved people's guilt (p. 150).

A surprising finding in the current study was that whilst the practice of honour killing was deemed the customary punishment, particularly for adultery, on the other hand, several participants believed that many honour killings of women and girls are committed for financial gains or as a cover for many other things. Shah's (2016, 2007 & 1998) research has similar findings.

In the same vein, a report on the role of the *jirga* (or tribal council) in *karo-kari* (honour killing) reveals that by being encouraged by *jirga* and other such mechanisms, people usually kill their women on the baseless allegations of *karo-kari* to extract money or other benefits from the men accused of being *karo* (National Commission on the Status of Women, 2016). Many participants from Pakistan also shared similar views and called honour killings a 'trade' in which women have been treated as a 'commodity' that can be bought, sold, exchanged, and destroyed. The informal settlement mechanisms such as *jirga, faislo* or *khair* are forums where this 'commodity' value is negotiated and settled.

Despite the pervasive nature of violence, it need not be accepted as an inevitable part of the human condition. Violence based on gender can be prevented by changing the factors contributing to it – whether these are attitude and behavioural factors or larger social, economic, political, and cultural factors. Violence against women committed by men using any excuse, honour or

otherwise – is related to the socio-economic and political structures of society. Shah (2016) argues that violence is not a cause, function, or effect of the honour value system but merely that on which perpetrators draw legitimacy from the system.

This thesis used an interdisciplinary approach including global public health, post-colonial and transnational perspectives to uncover and examine wider social, cultural, political and economic factors that shape, justify and sustain honour-related violence and killings, contributing to understanding other forms of gender violence. The key contribution of this thesis in the body of literature concerning gender violence is to shift the focus from behaviours and actions of women and girls that are largely considered reasons behind men's violence against women and girls towards focusing on changing social, cultural, political, and political-economic factors. It also highlights the wider social structures that make women and girls vulnerable to violence and enable perpetrators to commit crimes of violence against women and girls. Moreover, I argue in the thesis that if violence against women and girls is seen as a problem that can affect anybody regardless of ethnicity, colour, age, gender, rather than part of a particular community or culture, it will be treated more seriously by the police, judiciary, social, healthcare professionals, media and popular culture.

This chapter began by describing the honour system and arguing that honour, dishonour, and shame do not function in isolation but underpin an organised system of social and cultural structures known as the honour system. It went on to suggest that the system's power and the associated actions of its agents (norm circles) require legitimacy; thus, culture (customs, norms, values, and

traditions) and sometimes religion or both are used as sources to justify the power and its practices including honour killings. The theoretical development entails social entities (norm circles) that enforce and reinforce the system using different social practices. The chapter presented an intersectional perspective to consider wider factors (ethnicity, class, caste, and religion) in a given political and economic environment that shapes, justifies, and maintains the honour system. The chapter concluded that honour killing is a collective social practice that emanates from the honour system, which has a set of actors, ritualised actions, and performance mode and, in many cases, killings for the sake of honour are carried out at specified locations.

Chapter 9. Conclusion and Recommendations

9.1 Conclusion

This study set out to uncover and understand notions of honour from the communities' point of view and how they are implicated in honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and within the UK's Pakistani community. It achieved this aim by uncovering participants' views from the UK and Pakistan that notions of honour (*izzat, ghairat*, dishonour and shame) underlie an organised patriarchal power and control system called the honour system. The system comprises social and cultural structures (figure 8.1) and operates through different norm circles (figure 8.3). The system wields power and ascribes it to its agents, manifesting through the acts of honour killings of women and girls.

This thesis provides an original contribution to knowledge by offering in-depth insight into the notions of honour and the social structures that constitute the honour system and its power dynamics that shape, allow, and sustain the practice of honour killings. It also introduces a shift from an essentialised view of 'honour cultures' to the notion of the honour system and its social forces of power and control. The original contribution of this thesis is summarised in figure 9.1 below.

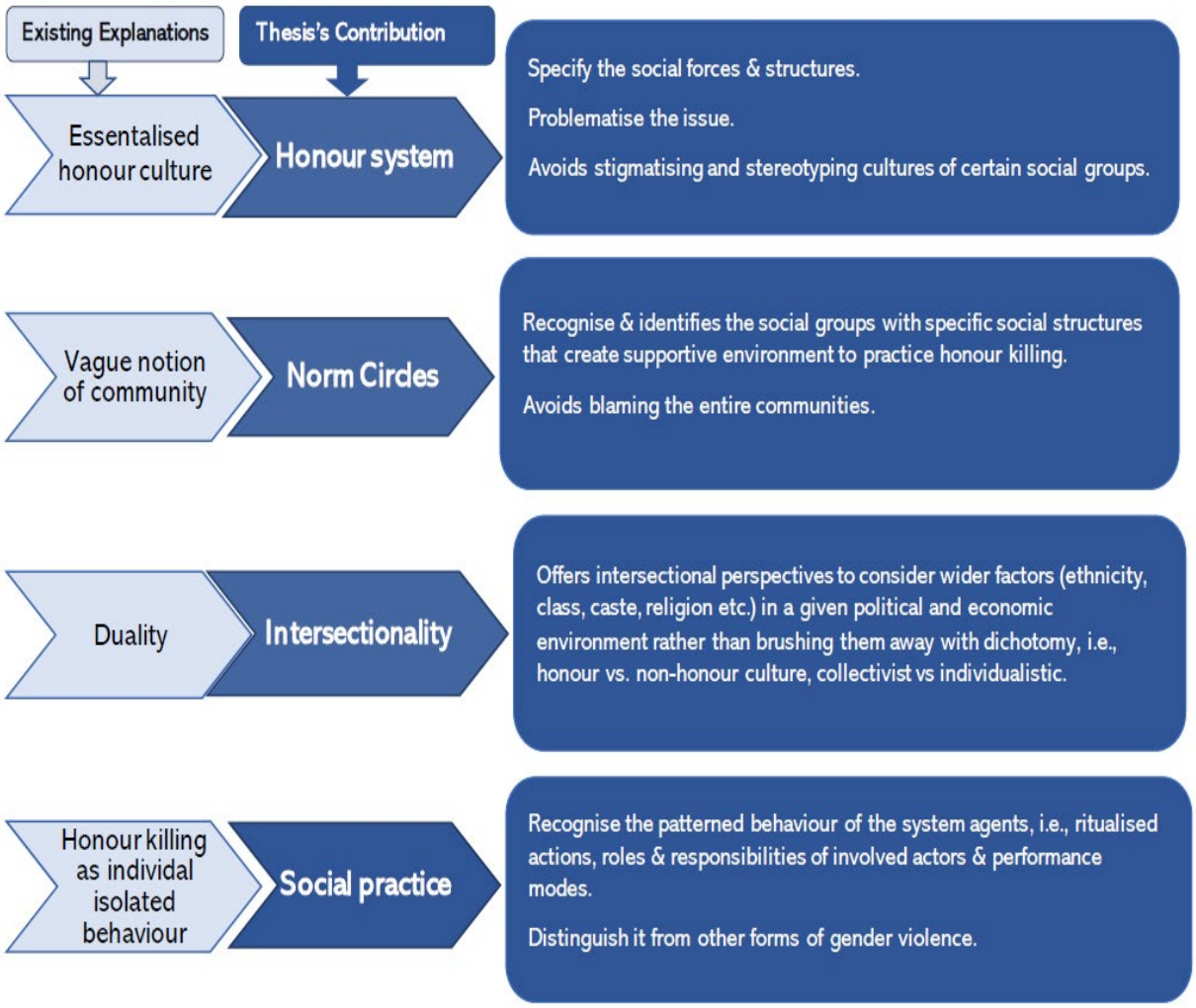


Figure 9.1: Summary of the thesis contribution

The study introduces the notion of the honour system, which is the established mechanism for honour crimes, as an alternative to the existing dominant explanation that the essentialised notion of honour culture of certain communities is a cause of honour violence, including honour killings. In a given social setting, the system comprises specific social structures and forces that can be dismantled through targeted social and legal interventions. This approach is consistent with Appiah's (2010) argument that the notions of honour that underlined the duel in England were dismantled through political, social, and legal measures that constitute a "moral revolution" (p.6). Yet, norms of honour still have significance in these cultures, despite related practices

disappearing. This shows how a system that manifested notions of honour through violent practices was dispensed with and came to be seen as unacceptable.

The honour system associated with honour killing is patriarchal in nature as it predominantly works to the advantage of men by providing them power and control over women and girls. The powers do not lie within individual men but are emergent from the system; thus, the system ascribes the power to its agents that form different social entities and enforcement rules. The study suggests a shift of focus from a vague notion of community to norm circle, the key social entity of the system that involves people who exercise power and control to inhabit, endorse and enforce the honour norms through rules and practices at different levels in a given social group.

The agents of the system, the individuals, social groups, and institutions that make up the different levels of the norm circles, use a three-pronged strategy of surveillance, normalisation, and examination to create an environment in which women and girls have instilled the ideas of honour, dishonour, and shame, in turn, they are regarded and treated as 'objects of honour'.

The women and girls who follow the internalised rules are supposed to be satisfied with a life conforming to the normalised standards of being a chaste, modest, and obedient woman. In turn, a woman is objectified through normalised, everyday customs and practices and perceived as the vessel of honour of an individual man or wider group, such as family, lineage, clan, kinship, community, and tribe. In contrast, women and girls who do not conform to the prescribed rules and norms are regarded as defiant, disobedient, and deviant. In order to control the allegedly non-conforming women and girls, the

agents of the system use the social forces and structures in the act of honour killings.

Honour killing is the killing or attempted killing of a woman by her family males in collaboration with other actors that could be a female family member as well, who have disregarded or are supposed to have non conformed or rebelled against the prevailing norms, standards, customs, and practices of the honour system that regulated their sexuality, body, and behaviours. The research has also shown that honour killing is not an isolated individual behaviour; instead, it is a social practice rooted in patriarchal cultures and operates within a tight social group as a tool to exercise power and control over women and girls.

Social practices, like honour killings, have been essentialised by some of the authors and have certainly become entrenched. Also, historical forces such as the British colonial rule in India, Pakistan's emergence as a Muslim majority country, the Islamisation of Pakistan's legal system in 1979 and the immigration of people to Western countries have increased the numbers and scope of honour killings. But the very fact of such a change shows that change is possible – including, hopefully, change to diminish or eliminate the practice.

9.2 The study strengths and limitations

Strengths

The study aimed to engage community members and produce empirical data on the topic, where previous studies on this topic mainly used secondary and tertiary data sources. The subject's sensitive nature inhibited researchers from engaging with communities and social groups where honour notions were puissant. As a Pakistani man speaking local languages and dialects, my status

enabled me to do fieldwork using ethnographic principles and methods and speak with community members in the UK and Pakistan. In this way, I directly heard their perspectives on the notions of honour and how they are implicated in honour killings of women and girls.

A second strength of the study was the selection of participants from diverse backgrounds, including Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtun, Baloch, and Kashmiri, with a mix of roles in the community such as community leader, cleric, head of a clan or tribe, councillor, human rights activist, lawyer, doctor, teacher, and the Muslim participants were selected from both Islamic sects, i.e., Sunni and Shia.

In addition, this study is a comprehensive examination of the social entities and their powers that shape, support, justify and maintain the honour system using violent practices such as honour killings.

Though the honour concepts are widely debated in various disciplines, a little discussion about their implications, particularly honour killings of women, girls, and men, moreover, the existing literature has not problematised the concepts; honour is often taken as a given, as an essential aspect of particular communities. This study challenges that essentialism by showing how the idea of honour has changed over time, for example, the types of 'crime' and levels of evidence. Also, honour is an evolving tool of patriarchal oppression exercised through different layers or norm circles of a community and challenged by some community members, such as the female participants in this study. As such, the study provides an important theoretical contribution to the notions of honour, which underlie an organised system of social structures, with the potential for both plausible explanations of the honour system and aiding change in the community's narratives and behaviour regarding honour killings.

The cultural or essentialist explanation makes honour violence seem inevitable; it is so much part of a culture that its elimination would only end with that culture. This study suggests that it should be possible to identify, examine and understand the specific social structures and underlying narratives that precipitate and justify honour killings. Those can be deciphered and transformed through targeted social interventions.

Inspired by the work of Shah (2016, 2007), Bond (2012), Elder-Vass (2012), Foucault (2012 [1975]), and Abu-Lughod, (2011, 1991), I developed a model that explains social structures that underlie and facilitate honour killings of women and girls. The model describes how:

a) Honour, dishonour, and shame are interconnected and underpin organised structures that constitute a patriarchal system of power and control called the honour system. The functions via a three-pronged system of surveillance, normalisation, and examination aimed to produce harmless, non-rebellious, docile female bodies perceived as a vessel of honour of an individual man or a social group, i.e., a family, lineage, kinship, community, caste, and tribe.

b) The system is 'patriarchal', 'real' and 'complex'; it is patriarchal in that it works for men's advantage and predominantly serves their interests. It is real because it has 'causal powers'; these are 'emergent' in that they arise from many interactions and intersections in the community, and it is complex because it is made of several layers of social structures and forces.

c) The system sustains itself through normative rules and practices, and honour killing is one of them.

This model may contribute to developing culturally specific and acceptable interventions to prevent honour killings with empirical knowledge of cross-cultural variability.

Limitations

Some limitations need to be noted regarding the study. Firstly, the topic under investigation is highly sensitive and politically charged. Despite the community engagement through ethnographic methods in the project, a full ethnographic study could have produced more in-depth, potentially nuanced, data from the prolonged observation of community practices.

Secondly, the data from Pakistan was collected in four trips between September 2016 and August 2018. The discontinuity in the fieldwork made it challenging to access the participants, and it may have impacted the data. For instance, the first trip I made two months after the honour killing of Pakistan's model and social media celebrity Qandeel Baloch during the field visit. It became challenging to focus the interviews on the social forces that precipitate such killings as the discourse tended to divide into two camps, i.e., for and against Qandeel Baloch. Similarly, the last trip was made during the general elections, so the general public and the participants were more interested in discussing current elections and politics than issues like honour killings. This gap in the data collection may have led to an incomplete picture of some of the issues.

In the UK, access to community events would have provided insider insights. Despite many attempts, I was unable to access such events. Another rich data source might be analysing the court proceedings about honour killing cases

from both countries and their comparison with proceedings of informal settlement mechanisms such as *jirga*.

I did not interview anyone who was known to have committed an honour killing because my primary interest was in the community perspectives. The perspectives of actual perpetrators might have some value, and future research could be enriched by hearing this point of view. However, as the analysis of this thesis shows, the perpetrators are not outsiders, as murderers are generally seen to be, but, rather, their acts are committed in line with community values. As such, their viewpoint is likely to be similar to that of other members of the community.

Some limitations of the norm circles approach should be acknowledged. Carrigan (2014) argues that Elder-Vass's account of norm circles misses independent variance of ideas and how this can shape individual "psychobiographies" on the one hand and the norm groups that emerge from a collection of individual psychobiographies generating a convergence in norm behaviour at the other. However, in the discussion, Archer and Elder-Vass (2012) argue that "norm circles may be hybrid entities, complexes of both people and intelligibilia; that the combination of these two produces a tendency for individuals to live according to particular cultural standards (i.e., socio-cultural interaction)" (p. 105-6).

9.3 Recommendations for research, policy, and practice

Research

This study has focused on a specific set of social structures and emergent powers, which may be researched, with the critical realist social constructionism lens shifting the essentialised model of honour culture to the honour system.

This study lays the groundwork for future empirical research into the subject by demonstrating that practices of honour killing are not timeless and essential to the communities in which it occurs. The essentialist view has confused and limited empirical research. More primary research on the subject is feasible, reducing the reliance on secondary and tertiary data sources. Further studies are required to develop an evidence-based and sensitive method that better encapsulates the communities' perspectives and relevant social structures and is utilised in honour crimes prevention strategy and policymaking. My study recommends that this is based on a broad interpretation of honour as an analytical category like a caste or class, which is crucial in the constitution of both a social group's identity and power structures in a given social setting.

This study has demonstrated that a critical realist social constructionist approach is appropriate for researching areas of complexity. This study has utilised social constructionism and critical realism as combined by the sociologist Dave Elder-Vass (2012), who proposed a single theoretical framework that combines both. The approach emphasises that social entities are socially constructed – but once constructed, they also have an independent existence and causal powers. More research is needed to apply this theoretical framework in different contexts to identify if it supports examining and explaining the construction, function, and causal powers of social entities such as the honour system. In this study, I have attempted to disrupt the taken for granted honour norms and values to make a case for change.

Policy and practice

The study recommendations should be considered context-specific because they recognise that the social structures that facilitate honour crimes, including honour killings, exist within certain social groups and political set-ups. These structures develop and influence the social, political, and cultural environment that supports and facilitates them to manifest through violent practices. Whilst these recommendations relate to Pakistan and the UK's Pakistani community, they may have implications for other social groups with similar social structures.

This study suggests that the following may support policy and practices to prevent honour killings.

- In Pakistan, the existing laws against honour killings criminalise the violence committed in the name of honour, and the legislation has made it unlawful for the victim's family to directly settle the matter with the perpetrator or use any informal forums such as *jirga, khair*, and *panchayat* to settle the honour-related disputes. Also, the punishment for a crime committed in the name of honour is life imprisonment, and judges no longer have the discretion to allow acquittals (Government of Pakistan, 2016). Despite the legislation against honour killings, its enforcement is questionable. For example, despite the ban, the informal settlement mechanisms of honour killing disputes such *as jirga, khair, faislo, and panchayat* not only operate but claim to dispense quick and cheap justice. Therefore, these structures should be dismantled.
- To keep an official record of honour crimes, including honour killings both nationally and globally.

- In the UK, cultural and religious sensitivity attached to honour crimes may be reduced by focusing on specific social groups with specific social forces that support honour crime instead of certain cultures and communities. This could be achieved by adopting the following,
    - To encourage conscious efforts to engage targeted social groups to bring change from within.
    - To ensure a change in attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours of community members, particularly young people, about honour notions.
    - To bring a clear understanding of young people concerning family honour and their communication skills to discuss these sensitive issues in a family.

The thesis journey led me to try several theoretical approaches to examine the phenomenon in its broader context beyond the dominant cultural and patriarchal explanations of honour killings. Being a man of Pakistani and Muslim background myself, and having lived over 15 years in the UK, I also found it hard to digest and relate to how plural and diverse notions such as 'Pakistani', 'Muslims', 'Asians', 'South Asians', 'immigrants', 'patriarchal cultures and families', and 'ethnic minorities' were all simplified and homogenised as honour cultures or honour communities. So, I strove to balance both explanations and used realist social constructivism and critical theory as an overarching framework, which allowed me to identify and examine the specific social structure and power dynamics that catalyse honour killings. As a researcher, this exposure has enabled me to appreciate the approaches' strengths and the necessity to tailor their applications to future research on the subject.

The critical stance (feminist, race, and social practice) that I adopted encouraged me to focus specifically on the male perspectives somewhat marginalised in the research related to honour-based violence and contrast them against dominant discourses associated with the understanding and implications of honour in honour killings. This enabled me to recognise how the social systems may ignore male community members' social agency for their potential contribution in bringing change from within.

My thesis provides a theoretical, empirical, and sensitive contribution to this body of work. It demonstrates the potential to critically examine the social and cultural structures and their relationships based on an exposition of understanding their causal powers but not deterministic forces that enable a change in the community's narratives and behaviour regarding honour killings.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guides (English, Sindhi & Urdu)

Date (day/month/year): _____ Time interview/focus group began: _____

Name of facilitator: _____ Time interview/focus group ended: _____

Introduction

Today, we will discuss some important issues to all of us in general and women and girls in your community, particularly the notions of honour and their relations to honour killings. I am interested in learning about people's opinions and practices in your community, including your own.

General information:

Where were you born?	
What is your qualification/Education level?	
Where did you get your education?	
Do you have any religious qualifications/education?	
Did you go to Madrassa - when you were a child?	
How long have you lived in the UK?	
What is your profession?	
Who is in your family?	
What is your mother tongue?	
Which part of Pakistan does your family belong?	
Do you have relatives/family/friends back in Pakistan?	

How often do you visit Pakistan?	

Main questions:

1. What does honour/ghairat (غیرت) mean to you?
   Probe: explain your reasoning behind it

   When did I say the word honour - what does come to your mind?
2. What do you think community/kin-group (برادری) honour/ghairat is?
3. Do you think is there a difference between an individual's honour and community honour?
4. In your opinion, what does make/constitute honour?
   Probe... what are community customs (*rasam*), values (*Iqdar*), and traditions (روایت) behind the notion of honour?
5. What do you think; who does hold 'honour' (who is considered *ghairatmand*)? And who does not (who is considered *baghairat*)?
   Probe: do women hold honour? If yes, what is the difference between male and female honour?

   Probe: if different or same, then how?
6. What are things/actions/behaviours that do harm one's honour?
7. What are things/actions/behaviours that do uplift one's 'honour'?
8. Is there any difference between respect (*izzat*) and honour (*Ghairat*)? If yes, could you describe the difference?
9. If someone's 'honour' is violated and/or damaged, what he is supposed to do? Or what does community/kin-group/clan expect him to do?
10. Are there any symbols that denote or relate to honour? If yes, what are those? Are those different for men and women?
    Probe: being upright, having a moustache. If yes, what are those?
11. What do you think about the killing of women and girls in the name of honour?
12. How do you think honour killing is justified in your community?
13. What ideally should happen in your community when someone feels that someone violates his honour?
14. How does a person handle violation of his family honour?
    Do you know any example……?
15. What are the ways to handle the violation of family honour?
16. What does the rumour/gossip system play in honour killing?

Do you know any example…...?

17. What is the role of kinship/community/kin-group in the maintenance and enforcement of honour? Do you know any example….?
18. How do people legitimise VAW in general and honour killings in the community?
19. What are community customs (*rasam*) and traditions (*riwaj*) based on honour/ghairat?
20. Could you identify actors/agents who are mainly involved directly and indirectly in cases of honour killings? Probe. Community leader, cleric, Feudal lord, politicians, police etc.
21. Could you explain the role of community/kin-group/ clan *(biradri* system) in honour killings?
22. Could you explain the role of religion (Islam) in honour killings?
23. What do you think Islam say about honour killings?

Thank you very much for your answers to my questions. These answers will be very useful indeed to my research project. Is there anything I have not asked about that you would like to add?

Interview Guide (Sindhi)

انٽرويو

تاريخ (ڏينهن، مهينو، سال): _____ انٽرويو يا فوڪس گروپ ٻڌڻ جووقت: _____

سهولتڪار جو نالو: _____

انٽرويو يا فوڪس گروپ ٻڌڻ ختم ٿيڻ جو وقت: _____

تعارف:

اڄ اسان ڪجهه معاملن تي بحث ڪنداسين، جيڪي اسان سڀني لاءِ عمومي طور تي اهم آهن پر انهن مان غيرت جي باري ۾ تصور ۽ انهن تصورن جو عورتن ۽ چوڪرين جي غيرت جي نالي ۾ قتل ٿيڻ وارن واقعن سان تعلق اسان جي بحث جو مک موضوع رهندو، جيڪو اوهان ۽ اوهان جي برادريءَ جي عورتن ۽ چوڪرين لاءِ خاص اهميت رکي ٿو. آئون ان حوالي سان اوهان جي ذاتي ۽ برادريءَ جي خيالن ۽ عملن جي باري ۾ ڄاڻڻ چاهيان ٿو.

عمومي معلومات :

اوهان تعليم ڪهڙي درجي تائين حاصل ڪئي آهي؟	
اوهان تعليم ڪٿان ۽ ڪهڙي اداري مان حاصل ڪئي آهي؟	
ڇا اوهان ڪا مذهبي تعليم يا تربيت به حاصل ڪئي آهي؟	

چا اوهان ننڍپڻ ۾ مدرسي ويندا هئا؟	
اوهان جو ڏندو ڪهڙو آهي؟	
اوهان جي گهر پاتين ۾ ڪير ڪير شامل آهن؟	
اوهان جي مادري ٻولي ڪهڙي آهي؟	

اهم سوال :

1. غيرت مان اوهان جو چا مطلب آهي؟

ضمني سوال: اوهان اهو سوال پڇڻ بابت پنهنجي مقصد جي وضاحت ڪريو.

2. اوهان برادريءَ جي غيرت چاکي ٿا سمجهو؟

3. چا اوهان سمجهوٿا ته هڪ فرد جي غيرت ۽ برادريءَ جي غيرت ۾ ڪو فرق آهي؟

4. اوهان جي خيال مطابق غيرت چا مان جنم وٺندي آهي؟

ضمني سوال: غيرت جي تصور جي پسمنظر ۾ برادريءَ جون رسمون، قدر ۽ روايتون ڪهڙيون آهن؟

5. اوهان جي خيال مطابق غيرتمند ڪير آهي؟ ۽ بي غيرت ڪير آهي؟

ضمني سوال: چا عورتن جي به غيرت ٿيندي آهي؟ جيڪڏهن ها ته پوءِ عورت ۽ مرد جي غيرت ۾ ڪهڙو فرق آهي؟

ضمني سوال: جيڪڏهن فرق آهي ته اهو اوهان ڪيئن بيان ڪندا؟ ۽ جيڪڏهن ٻنهي جي غيرت هڪ جهڙي آهي ته اوهان ان کي ڪهڙن لفظن ۾ بيان ڪندا؟

6. ڪنهن به فرد جي غيرت تي ڪهڙا عمل، شيون يا رويا منفي اثر وجهن ٿا؟

7. اهي ڪهڙيون شيون، عمل يا رويا آهن، جيڪي ڪنهن فرد جي غيرت کي هٿي ڏين ٿا؟

8. چا عزت ۽ غيرت ۾ ڪو فرق آهي؟ جيڪڏهن آهي ته مهرباني ڪري ان فرق کي لفظن ۾ بيان ڪريو.

9. جيڪڏهن ڪنهن به فرد جي غيرت جي خلاف ڪو عمل ڪيو وڃي ته ان شخص مان ان جي خلاف ڪهڙي ردِعمل جي توقع رکي سگهجي ٿي؟

10. چا غيرت سان سلهاڙيل ڪي علامتون به آهن يا اهي غيرت کي ظاهر ڪن ٿيون؟ جيڪڏهن آهن ته اهي ڪهڙيون آهن؟

11. عورتن ۽ چوڪرين کي غيرت جي نالي تي قتل ڪرڻ جي باري ۾ اوهان جي ڪهڙي راءِ آهي؟

12. اوهان جي برادريءَ ۾ غيرت جي نالي تي عورتن جو قتل جائز هئڻ جي باري ۾ اوهان جي ڪهڙي راءِ آهي؟

13. جيڪڏهن اوهان جي برادريءَ ۾ ڪو فرد پنهنجي غيرت کي نقصان پهچندي محسوس ڪري ته اصولي طور تي ان شخص لاءِ ڇا ٿيڻ گهرجي؟

14. جيڪڏهن ڪنهن شخص جي غيرت يا عزت کي نقصان پهچي ٿو ته اهو شخص ان صورتحال کي ڪيئن ٿو منهن ڏئي؟

15. جيڪڏهن خاندان جي عزت کي نقصان پهچايو وجي ته ان جي رد عمل ۾ ڇا ڪرڻ گهرجي؟

16. غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل جي واقعن ۾ افواهن ۽ الزام تراشين جو ڪهڙو عمل دخل آهي؟

17. غيرت يا عزت کي برقرار رکڻ ۾ برادريءَ جو ڪهڙو ڪردار آهي؟

18. عورتن تي تشدد ڪرڻ يا غيرت جي نالي تي عورتن جي قتل کي ماڻهو برادريءَ ۾ ڪيئن جائز قرار ڏيارين ٿا؟

19. غيرت جي بنياد تي برادريءَ جا رواج ۽ رسمون ڪهڙيون آهن؟

20. ڇا اوهان غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل جي واقعن ۾ سڌي يا اڻ سڌي طرح ملوث عنصرن جي نشاندهي ڪري سگهوٿا ؟

21. ڇا اوهان ٻڌائي سگهوٿا ته غيرت جي نالي تي عورتن جي قتل جي واقعن ۾ برادريءَ جو ڪهڙو ڪردار آهي؟

22. ڇا اوهان ٻڌائي سگهو ٿا ته غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل جي واقعن ۾ اسلام جو ڪهڙو ڪردار آهي؟

23. غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل بابت اسلامي حڪمن جي باري ۾ اوهان کي ڪيتري ڄاڻ آهي؟

منهنجي سوالن جا جواب ڏيڻ لاءِ اوهان جي مهرباني. اوهان جي طرفان ڏنل جواب منهنجي تحقيق واري منصوبي لاءِ انتهائي ڪارائتا رهندا. ڇا اوهان سمجهو ٿا ته اهڙي ڪا ڳالهه آهي جنهن بابت آئون سوال نه پڇي سگهيو آهيان ۽ اوهان

ان جي باري ۾ ڪجهه چوڻ چاهيو ٿا.

Interview guide (Urdu)

انٹرویو

تاریخ (دن،ماہ،سال):_____ انٹرویو یا فوکس گروپ کا وقت: _____

سہولت کار کا نام:_____

انٹرویو یا فوکس گروپ ڈسکشن ختم ہونے کا وقت: _____

تعارف:

آج ہم کچھ معاملات پے بحث کریں گے۔ جو ہم سب کے لئے عام طور پر اہم ہیں۔ لیکن ان میں سے غیرت کے بارے میں تصور اور ان تصورات کا خواتین اور لڑکیوں کے غیرت کے نام پرقتل ہونے والے واقعات سے تعلق ہمارے بحث کا خاص موضوع ہوگا۔ جو کہ آپ اور آپ کی برادری کی خواتین اور لڑکیوں کے لئے خاص اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔ میں اس حوالے سے آپ کے ذاتی اور برادری کے خیالات اور طریقوں کے بارے میں جاننا چاہتا ہوں۔

عام معلومات:

آپ نے تعلیم کس درجے تک حاصل کی ہے؟	
آپ نے تعلیم کہاں سے اور کون سے ادارے سے حاصل کی ہے؟	
کیا آپ نے کوئی مذہبی تعلیم یا تربیت بھی حاصل کی ہے؟	
کیا آپ بچپن میں مدرسے جاتے تھے؟	
آپ کے گھر کے افراد میں کون کون شامل ہیں؟	
آپ کی مادری زبان کون سی ہے؟	

اہم سوالات:

1. غیرت سے آپ کی کیا مراد ہے؟

اضافی سوال: آپ یہ سوال پوچھنے کے لئے اپنے مقصد کی وضاحت کریں۔

2. آپ برادری کی غیرت کس کو سمجھتے ہیں؟
3. کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ایک فرد کی غیرت اور برادری کی غیرت میں کوئی فرق ہے؟
4. آپ کے خیال کے مطابق غیرت کس میں سے جنم لیتی ہے؟

اضافی سوال: غیرت کے تصور کے پسمنظر میں برادری کی رسومات، قدر اور روایات کون سی ہیں؟

5. آپ کے خیال کہ مطابق غیرتمند کون ہے؟ اور بے غیرت کون ہے؟

اضافی سوال: کیا خواتین کی بھی غیرت ہوتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو پھر خواتین اور مرد کی غیرت میں کیا فرق ہے؟

اضافی سوال:اگر فرق ہے تو وہ آپ کیسے بیان کریں گے؟ اگر دونوں کی غیرت ایک جیسی ہے تو آپ اس کو کون سے الفاظ میں بیان کریں گے؟

6. کسی بھی فرد کی غیرت پر کون سے عوامل، چیزیں یا رویے منفی اثر ڈالتے ہیں؟
7. وہ کون سی چیزیں، عوامل یا رویے ہیں۔ جو کسی فرد کی غیرت کو اکساتے ہیں؟
8. کیا عزت اور غیرت میں کوئی فرق ہے؟ اگر ہے تو براء مہربانی اس فرق کو الفاظ میں بیان کریں؟

9. اگر کسی بھی فرد کی غیرت کے خلاف کوئی عمل کیا جائے تو اس شخص سے اس کے خلاف کون سے ردعمل کی توقع کی جاسکتی ہے؟

10. کیا غیرت سے وابسطا کوئی علامات بھی ہیں یا وہ غیرت کو ظاہر کرتی ہیں؟ اگر ہیں تو وہ کون سی ہیں؟

11. خواتین اور لڑکیوں کو غیرت کے نام پر قتل کرنے کے بارے میں آپ کی کیا راء ہے؟

12. آپ کی برادری میں غیرت کے نام پر خواتین کا قتل جائز ہونے کے بارے میں آپ کی کیا راء ہے؟

13. اگر آپ کی برادری میں کوئی فرد اپنی غیرت کو نقصان ہوتے محسوس کرے تو اصولی طور پر اس شخص کے لئے کیا ہونا چاہیے؟

14. اگر کسی شخص کی غیرت یا عزت کو نقصان پہنچتا ہے تو وہ شخص اس صورتحال سے کیسے نپٹے؟

15. اگر خاندان کی عزت کو نقصان پہچایا جائے تو اس کے ردعمل میں کیا کرنا چاہیے؟

16. غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل کے واقعات میں افواہوں اور الزام تراشیوں کا کتنا عمل دخل ہے؟

17. غیرت یا عزت کو برقرار رکھنے میں برادری کا کیا کردار ہے؟

18. خواتین پے تشدد کرنا یا غیرت کے نام پر خواتین کے قتل کو لوگ برادری میں کیسے جائز قرار دلواتے ہیں؟

19. غیرت کے بنیاد پر برادری کے رواج اور رسومات کون سی ہیں؟

20. کیا آپ غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل کے واقعات میں براہ راست یا بالواسطہ ملوث عناصر کی نشاندہی کر سکتے ہیں؟

21. کیا آپ بتا سکتے ہیں کہ غیرت کے نام پر خواتین کے قتل کے واقعات میں برادری کا کیا کردار ہے؟

22. کیا آپ بتا سکتے ہیں کہ غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل کے واقعات میں اسلام کا کیا کردار ہے؟

23. غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل کے حوالے سے اسلامی احکام کے بارے میں آپ کو کتنا علم ہے؟

میرے سوالات کے جوابات دینے کے لئے آپ کا شکریہ ۔ آپ کی طرف سے دیے ہوئے جوابات میری تحقیق والے منصوبے کے لئے انتہائی کارآمد رہیں گے۔ کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ایسی کوئی بات ہے جس بابت میں سوالات نا پوچھ سکا ہوں اور آپ اس کے بارے میں کچھ کہنا چاہتے ہیں۔

Appendix 2: Ethics Approval

Sheffield Hallam University | Centre for Health and Social Care Research

Date: 29072016

Ref: 2015/6-HWB-HSC-39

Dear Sadiq BHANBHRO

This letter relates to your research proposal:

Uncovering community notions of honour and their relation to honour killings

This proposal was submitted to the Faculty Research Ethics Committee for ethics and scientific review. It has been reviewed by three independent reviewers and has been passed as satisfactory. The comments of the reviewers are enclosed. You will need to ensure you have all other necessary permission in place before proceeding, for example, from the Research Governance office of any sites outside the University where your research will take place. This letter can be used as evidence that the proposal has been reviewed ethically and scientifically within Sheffield Hallam University.

The documents reviewed were collated into a PDF Portfolio:

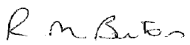
BHANBHROPortfolio2.pdf [dated 29/07/2016]

Please remember that you will need to keep a site file throughout the project which contains all the administration details of the project.

As the Chair of FREC is your supervisor I am signing on behalf of the FREC.

Good luck with your project.

Yours sincerely



Maria Burton

On behalf of Faculty Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Health and Wellbeing
Sheffield Hallam University
32 Collegiate Crescent
Sheffield
S10 2BP

0114 225 5498
m.burton@shu.a.cuk

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet (English, Sindhi & Urdu)

Uncovering community notions of honour and their relation to honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and within the Pakistan Community in the United Kingdom

Participant Information Sheet

Researcher: Sadiq Bhanbhro

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Background of this study:

The concept of 'honour' has been an indispensable reference in the lives of individuals and societies throughout human history. Similarly, violence has existed across societies throughout history and touches the lives of all people in some way. However, its patterns, extent and consequences exhibit noticeable differences among men, women, and children [1-3]. Violence against women (VAW) based on gender is a global problem, affecting one-third of all women in their lifetime [4]. Violence against women using the notion of 'honour' as a justification is considered a sub-category of gender-based violence (GBV). 'Honour' based violence is also known as crimes of 'honour' or 'honour' crime [5-7]; 'honour' related violence [8] and 'honour' based conflicts [9]. It is happening worldwide in various countries and cultures, but some regions are considered hotspots of 'honour' killings, such as South Asia and the Middle East. Pakistan is infamous for 'honour' killings in the South Asia region, which is on the rise and has become an increasingly common practice.

It is believed that the highest number of 'honour' killings occur in Pakistan and the Pakistani community living in the United Kingdom (UK). In 2015, at least 1100

women and girls were murdered in the name of 'honour' in Pakistan, constituting twenty-one killings every week [10]. The UK has the largest Pakistani community in Europe, with 1.7 million [13]. Twenty-nine cases of honour killings and attempted killings were reported in the UK between 2010 and 2014; 22 out of 29 reported cases where the victims' ethnicity is known, 15 were of Pakistani origin [11].

Little is known about HBV beyond its popular 'cultural explanation', for example, that it is endorsed by 'honour cultures' or 'honour-based societies', religion or patriarchal cultures and/or a combination of all these [12]. Additionally, there is little thoroughgoing analysis to uncover and explain what it is the 'honour' or 'honour culture' that lies behind killings of women and what are the markers of an 'honour-based society' or 'culture' and how these are different from societies and cultures that are not considered to be 'honour' based. In both countries, the UK and Pakistan, there has been little empirical research into HBV, including 'honour' killings and attempted killings; this lack of research is particularly dire in the Pakistani community, where the incidence of HBV are on the rise on both sides in the UK and their country-of-origin Pakistan.

What is the purpose of the study?

The study aims to uncover and explain community notions of 'honour' that are used to justify killings or attempted killings of women and girls in Pakistan and within the Pakistani community in the UK. In so doing, the study will seek:

I. to identify and uncover values, beliefs, norms, and traditions underpin the concept of 'honour', which is used to justify killing or attempting to kill women and girls.
II. to explore and explain the role of social structures such as culture, clan, patriarchy, gender, sexuality, politics, and religion as perceived by the community in shaping values of 'honour' and their enforcement through violence against women and girls.
III. to explore narratives that shape, maintain, and encourage the use of 'honour' to justify the killing of women and girls.

Why have I been invited to take part in this study?

I am asking you if you would be willing to participate because you are of Pakistani origin or a Pakistani and above 18 years.

Do I have to take part?

No, there is no obligation to take part. If you wish to take part and later change your mind, you will be able to withdraw from the study up to one month after participation, without giving a reason, simply by contacting the researcher (see contact details below).

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to participate in an individual or a group interview discussion with the researcher. The interview/focus group will be carried out face-to-face and arranged in a location and at a time convenient to you. It is expected that interviews will last approximately 45-60 minutes, and your interview will be audio-recorded without your permission so that we can transcribe it accurately.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This study aims to uncover and explain community notions of 'honour' that are used to justify the killings of women and girls. This is a topic that hasn't yet enjoyed much research attention in the given context. We believe that having a better understanding of these ideas and their implications will prevent women and girls' avoidable deaths. This study will provide an important theoretical contribution to the concept of honour in social sciences and the humanities, with potential for plausible explanations of honour-based cultures and aiding a change in narratives and behaviour in the community regarding honour killings.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no apparent risks and disadvantages of taking part. However, the issue under discussion may cause distress to some participants; in order to address the issues, which may arise during individual, or group interviews, adequate arrangements will be made available with collaborating organisation, i.e., Pakistan Gender-Based Reproductive Health Network (PGRN), Sindh and Pakistan Advice and Community Association (PACA), based in a city of North England.

What will happen to the information you collect in the study?

The information we collect from participants will be analysed and the findings presented in a PhD dissertation, publications, and conference presentations. The information will be securely stored for five years, in keeping with the university ethical guidelines for published research, after which it will be disposed of securely.

Will other people know what I have said?

The answers you give in the interview will be transcribed and transcriptions stored securely on a password-protected computer. I will analyse the transcribed data and, in reports and publications of the research, word-for-word extracts from participants' interview transcripts will illustrate the analysis results. To protect your identity, your name and any other identifying information you mention during the interview will be removed from the transcript. You will be assigned a pseudonym, which will be used in the thesis and publications so that no one reading these will be able to identify who has said what.

Who has approved the research?

The study is approved by the Health and Wellbeing Faculty Research Ethics Committee. Required permissions will be obtained from relevant institutions in Pakistan, such as police and district administration.

Will I get to know the results of the study?

Yes, the results of the study will be published and disseminated widely.

What do I have to do if I want to take part?

If you decide to participate in this study, please complete and return the reply slip at the bottom of this Information sheet in the enclosed Freepost envelope. Alternatively, you can contact Sadiq Bhanbhro directly via email or telephone, using the details below. You will then be contacted to make arrangements for your interview. You will be asked to sign a consent form when you arrive at the interview. Please keep this information sheet for your records and information.

Contact for further information:

If you need further clarification of any of the above information, you could contact the following people:

Sadiq Bhanbhro
Email: s.bhanbhro@shu.ac.uk
Ph: 07799233994 (UK); 0300-2826251 (Pakistan)
Address (UK): Montgomery House, 32 Collegiate Crescent, Sheffield S10 2DR
Address (Pakistan): Office of the Community Development Foundation near TCF School, Bismillah Town, District Jacobabad, Sindh Pakistan

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Reply Slip - Honour and Honour Killings Research Study

I have read the information sheet and would like to take part in an interview about community notions of honour and their relation to honour killings of women and girls in Pakistan and within the Pakistani community in the UK:

Name _____-

Phone number _____

Email address _____

Postal address _____

Participant Information Sheet (Sindhi)

شرڪت ڪندڙن لاءِ معلومات

پاڪستان ۾ رهندڙ پاڪستاني ماڻهن ۽ برطانيا ۾ رهندڙ پاڪستاني برادري جي ماڻهن جا غيرت بابت تصور ۽ انهن تصورن جو غيرت جي نالي ۾ عورتن جي قتل جي واقعن سان تعلق جي حوالي سان خيالن کي پڌرو ڪرڻ

تحقيق ڪندڙ : صادق ڀنبرو

اوهان کي هڪ تحقيق ۾ حصو وٺڻ جي دعوت ڏني پئي وڃي. ان تحقيق ۾ حصو وٺڻ يا نه وٺڻ بابت فيصلو ڪرڻ کان اڳ اوهان لاءِ اهو سمجهڻ ضروري آهي ته اها تحقيق ڇو ڪئي پئي وڃي ۽ ان ۾ڇا شامل آهي؟ مهرباني ڪري هيٺ ڏنل معلومات توجهه سان پڙهڻ لاءِ پنهنجي

مصروفيتن مان ڪجهه گهڙيون مختص ڪريوءِ جيڪڏهن اوهان چاهيو ٿا ته ان حوالي سان پنهنجي دوستن، مٽن مِائٽن يا پاڙيسرين سان به ڳالهه ٻولهه ڪريو. ڪابه ڳالهه جيڪڏهن واضح نه آهي يا اوهان کي ان متعلق وڌيڪ معلومات گهربل آهي ته مهرباني ڪري اسان کان پڇو. هن تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ يا نه ٿيڻ بابت فيصلو ڪرڻ لاءِ ڪجهه گهڙيون وقت مختص ڪريو.

ان لاءِ اوهان جي مهرباني

<u>هن تحقيق جو پسمنظر:</u>

انساني تاريخ ۾ غيرت جو تصور معاشرن ۾ فردن جي زندگيءَ ۾ انتهائي ضروري ۽ اٽٽر حوالو رهيو آهي. ساڳي طرح تشدد پڻ سموري انساني تاريخ دوران معاشرن ۾ موجود رهيو آهي ۽ ڪنهن حد تائين ان جا سمورن ماڻهن تي اثر ٿين ٿا، تنهن هوندي به ان جي مختلف قسمن، دائرن ۽ نتيجن جا مردن، عورتن ۽ ٻارن تي منفي اثر ٿين ٿا جن ڏانهن توجهه ڏيڻ جي ضرورت آهي. (1، 3) عورتن خلاف صنفي بنيادن تي تشدد عالمي مسئلو آهي ۽ دنيا ۾ عورتن جي آباديءَ جو ٽيون حصو عورتون پنهنجي حياتيءَ دوران تشدد کي پوڳين ٿيون. (4) غيرت بابت تصور کي جواز ڇاڻائيندي عورتن تي ٿيندڙ تشدد کي صنفي بنيادن تي عورتن تي ٿيندڙ تشدد جو هڪ ٻيو نمونو سمجهيو وڃي ٿو. غيرت کي بنياد بڻائي ڪيون ويندڙ تشدد واريون ڪارروايون "غيرت جي نالي ۾ ڏوهه" (1، 5) يا "غيرت جي بنياد تي تشدد (ڪارو ڪاري)" (8) ۽ غيرت جي بنياد تي تڪرار (9) جي طور ذڪر هيٺ ايندين رهيون آهن. اهو سڄي دنيا جي ڪيترن ئي ملڪن ، معاشرن يا ثقافتن ۾ ٿي رهيو آهي پر ڪجهه علائقا غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ تشدد جي واقعن جي ڳڙهه طور مشهور آهن، جهڙوڪ: ڏکڻ ايشيا ۽ وچ اوپر. ڏکڻ ايشيا واري خطي ۾ پاڪستان غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل جي واقعن جي ڪري بدنام آهي، جن ۾ ڏينهون ڏينهن اضافو ٿيندو رهي ٿو ۽ اهو اتان جي ماڻهن جو معمول بنجندو پيو وڃي. اهو سمجهيو پيو وڃي ته غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل وڏ ۾ وڏ تعداد ۾ پاڪستان اندر رهندڙ ۽ برطانيا ۾ رهندڙ پاڪستاني ماڻهو ڪري رهيا آهن. رپورٽن مطابق سال 2015ع دوران پاڪستان ۾ گهٽ ۾ گهٽ 1100 عورتون

۾ چوڪريون غيرت جي نالي تي قتل ڪيون ويون. (10) يورپي ملڪن مان برطانيا ۾ وڌ کان وڌ پاڪستاني برادريءَ جا ماڻهو رهندڙ آهن، جن جو تعداد 17 لک انسان جاڻايو وڃي ٿو. (13) سال 2010ع کان 2014ع تائين برطانيا ۾ غيرت جي نالي تي قتل يا قتل جي ارادي جا 29 واقعا رپورٽ ڪيا ويا، جن مان 22 متاثر ماڻهن جي نسل يا قوميت معلوم ٿي سگهي آهي ۽ انهن 22 متاثرن مان 15 پاڪستان ڄاوا برطانوي شهري آهن. (11) . غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ تشدد جي باري ۾ "روايتي وضاحت" کان وڌيڪ تمام گهٽ معلومات منظر عام تي اچي ٿي، مثال طور: "غيرتي معاشرن" يا "غيرت جي بنياد تي هلندڙ معاشرن" مذهب يا مرد جي بالادستيءَ وارن معاشرن يا انهن جي ڳڻ جوڙ يا غلط ترجماني ڪندي غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ تشدد يا قتل جي واقعن جي پڻپرائي ڪئي وڃي ٿي. (12) ان سان گڏ اهو به ته "غيرت" يا "غيرتي معاشرو" جيڪي عورتن کي غيرت جي نالي ۾ قتل ڪرڻ جي واقعن جي پسمنظر ۾ موجود آهن، انهن جي وضاحت ڪرڻ يا انهن کي منظر عام تي آڻڻ لاءِ ڪوبه تفصيلي تجزيو سامهون ناهي آيو ۽ غيرت جي بنياد تي معاشرو جوڙيندڙ محرڪ ڪهڙا آهن ۽ اهي انهن معاشرن کان ڪيئن مختلف آهن جن کي حقيقي طور تي "غيرت جي بنياد تي جڙيل معاشرو" تصور ڪري سگهجي ٿو، ان حوالي سان به ڪا تفصيلي تحقيق ناهي ڪئي وئي. پاڪستان ۽ برطانيا، ٻنهي ملڪن ۾ غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ تشدد (جنهن ۾ غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل يا قتل جي ارادي جهڙا ڏوهه شامل آهن) بابت تجربي جي بنياد تي تحقيق ٿيندي رهي آهي. اها ڪوٽ پاڪستاني برادريءَ ۾ اجان به وڌيڪ شديد آهي، جتي غيرت جي بنياد تي تشدد جي واقعن ۾ ٻنهي پاسي يعني برطانيا ۽ پاڪستان ۾ ڏينهون ڏينهن اضافو ٿي رهيو آهي.

تحقيق جو مقصد ڪهڙو آهي؟

هن تحقيق جو مقصد غيرت بابت ماڻهن جي تصورن کي ظاهر ڪرڻ ۽ وضاحت ڪرڻ آهي جيڪي پاڪستان اندر رهندڙ ۽ برطانيا ۾ رهندڙ پاڪستاني برادريءَ جي ماڻهن طرفان عورتن

۽ چوڪرين کي قتل ڪرڻ يا انهن تي قاتلاڻا حملا ڪرڻ جي جواز طور استعمال ڪيا وڃن ٿا.

هيءَ تحقيق ڪرڻ سان هيٺيون حاصلات ٿيندیون:

1. غيرت جي تصور کي اپاريندڙ قدرن، ويساهن، رسمن ۽ رواجن جو ظاهر ٿيڻ جيڪي عورتن ۽ چوڪرين کي قتل ڪرڻ يا قاتلاڻا حملا ڪرڻ لاءِ جواز طور استعمال ڪيا وڃن ٿا.

2. سماجي جوڙجڪ يا ڍانچن جهڙوڪ: ثقافت، خاندان، مرداڻي بالادستيءَ وارو نظام، صنف، جنسيت، سياست ۽ مذهب کي جهڙي نموني ماڻهن طرفان غيرت جو تصور جوڙڻ لاءِ سمجهيو وڃي ٿو ۽ پوءِ انهن طرفان انهيءَ غيرت کي بنياد بنائي عورتن ۽ چوڪرين تي تشدد ڪيو وڃي ٿو، انهيءَ کي ڳولڻ ۽ ان کي کولي بيان ڪرڻ.

3. اهڙيون روايتون ڳولي پڌريون ڪرڻ يا معلوم ڪرڻ جيڪي غيرت جي تصور کي جوڙين ۽ برقرار رکن ٿيون ۽ انهيءَ غيرت کي عورتن ۽ چوڪرين کي قتل ڪرڻ کي جائز قرار ڏيڻ واري عمل ۾ مددگار بنجن ٿيون.

هن تحقيق ۾ شرڪت ڪرڻ لاءِ مون کي چو دعوت ڏني وئي آهي؟

اوهان جيڪڏهن هن تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ چاهيو ٿا ته آءٌ اوهان کي اهو ئي چوندس ته توهان بالغ پاڪستاني شهري آهيوان ڪري ئي اوهان کي هن تحقيق ۾ حصيدار ٿيڻ جي دعوت ڏني وئي آهي.

ڇا هن تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ منهنجي ذميواري آهي؟

هن تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ لاءِ اوهان تي ڪابه پابندي نه آهي. اوهان جيڪڏهن هن تحقيق ۾ حصو وٺو ٿا ۽ اڳتي هلي اوهان جي سوچ ۾ تبديلي اچي ٿي ته اوهان هن تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ کان پوءِ هڪ مهيني تائين ڪوبه سبب ڄاڻائڻ کان سواءِ صرف تحقيق ڪندڙ کي هيٺ ڏنل ائڊريس يا فون نمبر تي اطلاع ڏئي، هن تحقيق کان الڳ ٿي سگهو ٿا.

تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ لاءِ مون کي ڇا ڪرڻو پوندو؟

اوهانکي تحقيق ڪندڙ کي هڪ انٽرويو ڏيڻ يا فوڪس گروپ ڊسڪشن ۾ شامل ٿيڻ يا ٻنهي سرگرمين ۾ حصو وٺڻ لاءِ مدعو ڪيو ويندو. انٽرويو يا فوڪس گروپ ڊسڪشن اوهان لاءِ موزون ۽ مناسب وقت ۽ جاءِ تي منتعقد ڪرايا ويندا ۽ اميد ته انٽرويو 45 کان 60 منٽن اندر مڪمل ڪيو ويندو. اوهان سان ڪيل گفتگو اوهان جي اجازت کانسواءِ رڪارڊ ڪئي ويندي ته جيئن اوهان جي طرفان ڏنل راين کي اصل حالت ۾ تحريري صورت ڏئي سگهون.

هن تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ جا ڪهڙا فائدا ٿيڻ ممڪن آهن؟

هن تحقيق جو مقصد ماڻهن (ڪميونٽي) جا "غيرت" بابت اهڙا خيال ڄاڻڻ ۽ ظاهر ڪرڻ آهي جيڪي عورتن ۽ ڇوڪرين کي غيرت جي نالي تي قتل ڪرڻ جهڙن ڏوهن کي جائز قرار ڏيڻ لاءِ استعمال ڪيا وڃن ٿا. هي اهڙو موضوع آهي جنهن تي مٿي ڏنل پسمنظر ۾ ڪڏهن به تحقيق نه ڪئي ويئي آهي. اسان کي يقين آهي ته هنن خيالن ۽ انهن جي اثرن بابت بهتر سمجهه عام ٿيڻ سان عورتن ۽ ڇوڪرين جي غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ قتل وارن واقعن ۾ گهٽتائي ايندي. ان کانسواءِ هي تحقيق سماجي سائنس (سوشل سائنسز) ۽ ادب، فلسفي، انسانيات جي علم (هيومنٽيز) ۾ غيرت جي باري ۾ اڳ موجود سوچ ۾ هڪ اهم نظرياتي اضافو ڪندي، جنهن ۾ ثقافتن يا روايتن تي آڌاريل غيرت جي تصورن جي منطقي ۽ اعتبار جوڳي وضاحت ٿيل هوندي ۽ اها غيرت جي نالي تي ٿيندڙ خونريزيءَ ڏانهن ماڻهن (ڪميونٽي) جي گفتگو، روايتن ۽ رويي ۾ مثبت تبديليءَ ڏانهن هڪ قدم اڳتي وڌائڻ ۾ مددگار ٿيندي.

هن تحقيق ۾ حصو وٺڻ سبب ڪهڙا نقصان ۽ خطرا آهن؟

هن تحقيق م شامل ٿيڻ سبب کي به خطرا يا نقصان نظر نه ٿا اچن، تنهن هوندي به بحث هيٺ ايندڙ مسئلن تي ٿيندڙ بحث مباحثي دوران شرڪت ڪندڙن جي راين يا سوچن جي اظهار سبب ڪنهن ماڻهوءَ جي دل آزاري ٿي سگهي ٿي، ان ڪري بحث مباحثي دوران امڪاني طور پيدا

ٿيندڙ مسئلن کي منهن ڏيڻ لاءِ سهڪاري تنظيمن (جن ۾ پاڪستان جينڊر بيسڊ ري پروڊڪٽو هيلٿ نيٽ ورڪ (پِي جي آر اين) ڪشمور، ۽ پاڪستان ايڊوائيس ائنڈ ڪميونٽي ايسوسيئيشن (پي اي سي اي) ۽ شِي فيلڈ شامل آهن) جا وسيلا ۽ سهڪار استعمال حاصل ڪيو ويندو.

تحقيق دوران گڏ ڪئي ويندڙمعلومات ڪهڙي استعمال ۾ آندي ويندي؟

اسان شرڪت ڪندڙن کان حاصل ڪيل معلومات جو تجزيو ڪري ان جا مک نقطا پي ايڇ ڈي مقالي ۽ ان جي اشاعت (پبليڪيشن) ۾ شامل ڪنداسين ۽ اهي ڪانفرنس ۾ پڻ پيش ڪيا ويندا. اها حاصل ڪيل معلومات يونيورسٽيءَ جي شايع ٿيل تحقيق جي حوالي سان اصولن ۽ ضابطن تحت پنجن سال تائين سنڀالي حفاظت سان رکنداسين ۽ ان کان پوءِ اها محفوظ طريقي سان ضايع ڪئي ويندي.

ڇا مون جيڪو ڪجهه چيو آهي ان بابت ٻين ماڻهن کي خبر پوندي؟

اوهان انٽرويوءَ دوران ٿيل سوالن جا جيڪي جواب ڏينداء، اهي رڪارڊ ڪيل اوزار تان ٻڌي تحريري صورت ۾ آندا ويندا، رڪارڊ ڪيل گفتگو ۽ تحريري صورت ۾ مواد جا فائيل پاس ورڊ هڏي ڪمپيوٽر ۾ محفوظ ڪيا ويندا. تحرير ڪيل مواد جو تحقيق ڪندڙ ٽيم طرفان تجزيو ڪيو ويندو، ۽ ان تجزيي کي اعتبار جوڳو بنائڻ يا منطقي انداز ۾ پيش ڪرڻ لاءِ تحقيق بابت رپورٽن ۽ اشاعتن ۾ شرڪت ڪندڙن طرفان انٽرويوءَ دوران ڪيل گفتگو لفظ به لفظ تحرير جي صورت ۾ آندي ويندي، جيڪا تجزيي جي نتيجن کي ظاهر ڪرڻ لاءِ استعمال ڪئي ويندي. اوهان جي سڃاڻپ کي ڳجهو رکڻ لاءِ اوهان جو نالو ۽ ٻي معلومات جيڪا اوهان انٽرويو دوران مهيا ڪئي هوندي (جنهن مان اوهان جي نشاندهي ٿي سگهي) ان کي تحرير ڪيل مواد مان خارج ڪيو ويندو. توهان جو هڪ فرضي نالو رکيو ويندو، جيڪو ڪنهن به مقالي يا اشاعت ۾ اهڙي نموني ظاهر ڪيو ويندو ته جيئن پڙهندڙ اهو اندازو لڳائي نه سگهي ته اها معلومات ڏيندڙ شخص ڪير ۽ ڪٿان جو رهندڙ آهي.

هن تحقيق جي تصديق ڪنهن ڪئي آهي؟

هن تحقيق جي تصديق هيلٿ ائنڊ وئيل بِينگ فيڪلٽي رسرچ اِٿِڪس ڪميٽيءَ طرفان ڪئي ويئي آهي ۽ پاڪستان ۾ پڻ لاڳاپيل ادارن جهڙوڪ: پوليس ۽ ضلعي انتظاميا کان گهربل اجازت حاصل ڪئي ويندي.

ڇا تحقيق جي نتيجن بابت مونکي جاڻ حاصل ٿي سگهندي؟

جي ها، تحقيق جا نتيجا ڇپائي وڏي پيماني تي پڙهندڙن تائين پهچايا ويندا.

جيڪڏهن آءٌ تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ ڇاهيان ته مونکي ڇا ڪرڻو پوندو؟

اوهان جيڪڏهن هن تحقيق ۾ شامل ٿيڻ جو ارادو رکو ٿا ته هن معلومات جي آخر ۾ ڏنل جوابي سلپ پري هن مواد سان گڏ موجود واپسيءَ جي لفافي ۾ بند ڪري هيٺ ڏنل ائڊريس تي موڪلي ڏيو، ان کان سواءِ اوهان هيءَ تحقيق ڪندڙ صادق پنپرو سان هيٺ ڏنل اي ميل، پوسٽل ايڊريس يا فون نمبر تي سڌيءَ طرح به رابطو ڪري سگهو ٿا. ان کان پوءِ اوهان سان رابطو ڪري انٽرويوءَ لاءِ گهربل انتظام ڪرڻ جو چيو ويندو. مهرباني ڪري هيءَ معلومات پنهنجي جاڻ ۽ رڪارڊ لاءِ سنڀالي رکندا.

وڌيڪ معلومات لاءِ رابطو ڪريو:

جيڪڏهن اوهان کي مٿي ڏنل معلومات بابت وڌيڪ وضاحت گهربل آهي ته اوهان هيٺين فردن سان رابطو ڪري سگهو ٿا.

صادق پنپرو

برطانيا ۾ رابطي لاءِ: مونٽگو ميري هائوس، 32 ڪاليجئيٽ ڪريسينٽ، شيفيلڊ ايس 10، 2 ڊي آر

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پاڪستان ۾ رابطي لاءِ ايڊريس: آفيس آف دي ڪميونٽي ڊولپمينٽ فائونڊيشن نزد ٽي سي ايف اسڪول، بسم الله ٽائون، ضلع جيڪب آباد، سنڌ، پاڪستان.

غيرت ۽ غيرت جي نالي تي عورتن ۽ چوڪرين جي قتل جي حوالي سان تحقيق ..... جوابي سِلپ

مون هن تحقيق بابت مهيا ڪيل معلومات چگيءَ طرح پڙهي ۽ سمجهي آهي ۽ آءٌ غيرت جي باري ۾ ماڻهن (ڪميونٽي) جي تصورن ، سوچن ۽ انهن جي بنياد تي پاڪستان اندر ۽ برطانيا ۾ رهندڙ پاڪستاني برادريءَ جي ماڻهن طرفان ٿيندڙ غيرت جي نالي تي عورتن ۽ چوڪرين جي قتل جي حوالي سان ٿيندڙ انٽرويو يا فوڪس گروپ ڊسڪشن ۾ شامل ٿيڻ چاهيان ٿو.

نالو : .....

فون نمبر: .....

اي ميل ائڊريس: .....

لک پڙهه لاءِ ائڊريس : .....

Participant Information Sheet (Urdu)

شرکت کرنے والوں کے لئے معلومات

پاکستان میں رہنے والے پاکستانی لوگوں اور برطانیہ میں رہنے والی پاکستانی برادری کے لوگوں کے غیرت بابت تصور اور ان تصورات کا غیرت کے نام پر قتل کے واقعات سے تعلق کے حوالے سے خیالات کو واضح کرنا

محقق: صادق بھنبھرو

آپ کو ایک تحقیق میں حصا لینے کی دعوت دی جا رہی رہے۔ اس تحقیق میں حصا لینے یا نہ لینے کے حوالے سے فیصلا کرنے سے پہلے آپ کے لئے یہ سمجھنا ضروری ہے کہ یہ تحقیق کیوں کی

جارہی ہے اور اس میں کیا شامل ہے؟ برائے مہربانی نیچے دی گئی معلومات توجہ سے پڑہنے کے لئے اپنی مصروفیات میں سے چند لمحات مختص کریں اور اگر آپ چاہیں تو اس حوالے سے اپنے دوستوں، رشتیداروں اور پڑوسیوں سے بھی بات چیت کریں۔ کوئی بھی بات اگر واضح نہیں ہے یا آپ کو اس متعلق زیادہ معلومات درکار ہے تو برائے مہربانی ہم سے پوچھیں۔ اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونے یا نہ ہونے کے حوالے سے فیصلا کرنے کے لئے چند لمحات مختص کریں۔

اس کے لئے آپ کا شکریہ۔

<u>اس تحقیق کا پسمنظر:</u>

انسانی تاریخ میں غیرت کا تصور معاشروں اور افراد کی زندگیوں میں انتہائی ضروری اور ناگزیر رہا ہے۔ اسی طرح تشدد بھی پوری انسانی تاریخ کے دوران معاشروں میں موجود رہا ہے اور کسی حد تک اس کے سب انسانوں پر اثرات ہوتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح اس کے مختلف اقسام، دائرے اور نتائج کے مردوں، خواتین اور بچوں پرمنفی اثرات ہوتے ہیں۔ جن پرتوجہ دینے کی ضرورت ہے۔ (1،3) خواتین کے خلاف صنفی بنیادوں پے تشدد بین الاقوامی مسئلا ہے اور دنیا میں خواتین کی آبادی کا تیسرا حصا خواتین اپنی زندگی کے دوران تشدد برداشت کرتی ہیں۔ (۴) غیرت کے حوالے سے تصور کو جواز بناکر خواتیں پر ہوتے ہوئے تشدد کو صنفی بنیادوں پے خواتیں پر ہونے والے تشدد کا ایک دوسرا پہلو سمجھا جاتا ہے۔ غیرت کو بنیاد بنا کر کی جانے والی پرتشدد کارروائیاں۔ 'غیرت کے نام پہ گناہ'۔ (1،5) یا 'غیرت پر مبنی تشدد (کارو کاری)' (۸) اور غیرت پر مبنی تکرار (۹) کے طور پر زیر بحث آتی رہتی ہیں۔ یہ پوری دنیا کے کئی ممالک، معاشروں اور ثقافتوں میں ہورہا ہے۔ مگرکچھ علاقے غیرت پر مبنی پرتشدد واقعات کے گڑھ طور مشہور ہیں۔ جیساکہ: جنوبی ایشیا اور مشرق وسطیٰ۔ جنوبی ایشیا والے خطے میں پاکستان غیرت کے نام پر مبنی قتل کے واقعات کے حوالے سے بدنام ہے۔ جس میں دن بہ دن اضافہ ہوتا جارہا ہے اور یہ وہاں کے لوگوں کامعمول بنتا جارہا ہے۔ یہ سمجھا جارہا ہےکہ غیرت کے نام پر مبنی قتل زیادہ تر تعداد میں پاکستان میں رہنے والے اور برطانیا میں رہنے والے پاکستانی لوگ کر رہے ہیں۔ رپوٹز کے مطابق سال 2015 دوران پاکستان میں کم سے کم 1100 خواتیں اور لڑکیاں غیرت کے نام پرقتل کی گئیں۔ (10) یورپی ممالک

میں سے برطانیا میں زیادہ سے زیادہ پاکستانی برادری کے لوگ رہتے ہیں۔ جن کی تعداد 17 لاکھ بتائی جاتی ہے۔ (۱۳) سال 2010 سے 2014 تک برطانیا میں غیرت کے نام پر مبنی قتل یا ارادہ قتل کے 29 واقعات رپورٹ کئے گئے ہیں۔ جن میں سے ۲۲ متاثر لوگوں کی نسل یا قومیت معلوم ہو سکی ہے اور ان میں سے 22 متاثریں میں سے 15 پاکستانی نژاد برطانوی شہری ہیں۔ (۱۱) غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے تشدد کے بارے میں 'روایتی وضاحت' سے بڑھکر بہت کم معلومات منظرعام پر آتی ہے۔ مثال کے طور پر: 'غیرتی معاشروں یا غیرت کے بنیاد پر چلتے معاشروں 'مذہب یا مرد کی بالادستی والے معاشروں یا ان کے گٹ جوڑغلط بیانیے تحت غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے تشدد یا قتل کے واقعات کی پچھت پناہی کی جاتی ہے۔ (۱۲) اس کے ساتھ یہ بھی کہ 'غیرت' یا 'غیرتی معاشرہ' جو خواتیں کے غیرت کے نام پرقتل کرنے کے واقعات کے پسمنظر میں موجود ہیں۔ ان کی وضاحت کرنا یا ان کو منظرعام پر لانے کے لئے کوئی بھی مفصل تجزیہ سامنے نہیں آیا۔ اور غیرت کے نام پرمعاشرہ جوڑنے والے محرکات کون سے ہیں اور ان معاشروں سے کیسے مختلف ہیں جن کو حقیقی طور پر'غیرت کے بنیاد پر جڑا ہوا معاشرہ تصور کیا جاسکتا ہے۔ اس حوالے سے بھی کوئی مفصل تحقیق نہیں کی گئی ہے۔ پاکستان اور برطانیہ، دونوں ممالک میں غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے تشدد (جس میں غیرت کے نام پر مبنی قتل یا ارادہ قتل جیسے جرم شامل ہیں) کے حوالے سے تجربے کے بنیاد پر تحقیق ہوتی رہی ہے۔ یہ کمی پاکستانی برادری میں اور بھی زیادہ شدید ہے، جہاں غیرت کے بنیاد پر تشدد کے واقعات میں دونوں جانب یعنی برطانیہ اور پاکستان میں دن بہ دن اضافہ ہوتا جارہا ہے۔

تحقیق کا مقصد کیا ہے؟

اس تحقیق کا مقصد غیرت کے بارے میں لوگوں کے تصورات کو ظاہر کرنا اور وضاحت کرنا ہے۔ جو پاکستان میں رہنے والے اور برطانیہ میں رہنے والی پاکستانی برادری کے لوگوں کی طرف سے خواتین اور لڑکیوں کو قتل کرنا یا ان پر قاتلانہ حملا کرنے کے غرض سے استعمال کئے جاتے ہیں۔ یہ تحقیق کرنے سے مندرجہ ذیل نتائج حاصل ہونگے۔

1. غیرت کے تصور کو ابھارنے والے اقدار، یقین، رسومات اور رواجات کا ظاہر ہونا جو خواتین اور لڑکیوں کو قتل کرنا یا قاتلانہ حملے کرنے کے جواز کے طور پر استعمال کیے جاتے ہیں۔
2. معاشرتی بناوٹ جیسا کہ: ثقافت، خاندان، مردانہ بالادستی والا نظام، صنف، جنسیت، سیاست اور مذہب کو جس طریقے سے لوگوں کی طرف سے غیرت کا تصور جوڑنے کے لئے سمجھا جاتا ہے اور پھر ان کی طرف سے اسی غیرت کو بنیاد بنا کر خواتیں اور لڑکیوں پر تشدد کیا جاتا ہے۔ اس کو تلاش کرنا اور اس کو واضح بیان کرنا۔
3. ایسی روایات تلاش کر کے شائع کرنا یا معلوم کرنا جو غیرت کے تصور کو جوڑتی اور برقرار رکھتی ہیں اور اسی غیرت کو خواتین اور لڑکیوں کو قتل کرنے کو جائز قرار دینے والے عمل میں مددگار بنتی ہیں۔

اس تحقیق میں شرکت کرنے کے لئے مجھے کیوں دعوت دی گئی ہے؟

آپ اگر اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونا چاہتے ہیں تو میں آپ کو یہ کہوں گا کہ آپ بالغ پاکستانی شہری ہیں۔ اس لئے ئی آپ کو اس تحقیق میں حصیدار بننے کی دعوت دی گئی ہے۔

کیا اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونا میری نمیواری ہے؟

اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونے کے لئے آپ پر کوئی پابندی عائدنہیں ہے۔ آپ اگر اس تحقیق میں حصا لے رہے ہیں اور آگے چل کر آپ کی سوچ میں تبدیلی آ جاتی ہے تو آپ اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونے کے بعد ایک ماہ تک کوئی بھی وجہ بتائے بغیر صرف محقق کو مندرجہ ذیل ایڈریس یا فون نمبر پر اطلاع دے کر، اس تحقیق سے الگ ہو سکتے ہیں۔

تحقیق میں شامل ہونے کے لئے مجھے کیا کرنا پڑے گا؟

آپ کو محقق کو ایک انٹرویو یا فوکس گروپ ڈسکشن میں شامل ہونے یا دونوں سرگرمیوں میں حصا لینے کے لئے مدعو کیا جائیگا۔ انٹرویو یا فوکس گروپ ڈسکشن آپ کے لئے موزون اور مناسب وقت اور جگہ پر منعقد کرایا جائیگا۔ اور امید ہے کہ انٹرویو 45 سے 60 منٹ کے اندر مکمل کیا جائیگا۔ آپ سے کی گئی گفتگو آپ کی اجازت کے بغیر رکارڈ کی جائیگی تاکہ آپ کی طرف سے دیے گئے آراء کو اصل حالت میں تحریری صورت دی جا سکے۔

اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونے کے کون سے فوائد ہونا ممکن ہیں؟

اس تحقیق کا مقصد لوگوں (کمیونٹی) کے 'غیرت' کے بارے میں ایسے خیالات جاننا اور ظاہر کرنا ہے جو خواتین اور لڑکیوں کو غیرت کے نام پرقتل کرنے جیسے جرائم کو جائز قرار دینے کے لئے استعمال کیے جاتے ہیں۔ یہ ایک ایسا موضوع ہے جس پر مذکورہ بالا پسمنظر میں کبھی بھی تحقیق نہیں کی گئی ہے۔ ہمیں یقین ہے کہ ایسے خیالات اور ان کے اثرات کے حوالے سے مثبت سوچ عام ہونے سے خواتین اور لڑکیوں کے غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والے قتل کے واقعات میں کمی آئے گی۔ اس کے علاوہ یہ تحقیق سماجی سائنس (سوشل سائنسز) اور ادب، فلسفے، علم انسانیت (ہیومنٹیز) میں غیرت کے بارے میں پہلے موجود سوچ میں ایک اہم نظریاتی اضافہ کرے گی۔ جس میں ثقافتیں یا روایات کے بنیاد پر غیرت کے تصورات کے منطقی اور قابل اعتبار وضاحت کی ہوئی ہوگی اور وہ غیرت کے نام پر ہونے والی خونریزی کی طرف لوگوں (کمیونٹی) کی گفتگو، روایات اور برتاؤ میں مثبت تبدیلی کی طرف ایک قدم آگے بڑہانے میں مددگار ہوگی۔

اس تحقیق میں حصہ لینے سے کون سے نقصانات اور خطرات ہیں؟

اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونے سے کوئی بھی خطرات اور نقصانات نظر نہیں آ رہے۔ اس کے باوجود بھی زیربحث معاملات پر ہونے والے بحث کے دوران شرکاء کے تبصرے یا خیالات کے اظہار کی وجہ سے کسی آدمی کی دل آزاری ہوسکتی ہے۔ اس لئے دوران گفتگو امکانی طور پیدا ہونے والے مسائل سے نپٹنےکے لئے مشرکہ تنظیموں (جن میں پاکستان جینڈر بیسڈری پروڈکٹو ہیلتھ نیٹورک (پی جی آر این) کشمور، اور پاکستان ایڈوائیس ائنڈ کمیونٹی ایسوسیئیشن (پی ای سی ای) اور شی فیلڈ شامل ہیں) کے وسائل اور مدد استعمال کی جائیگی۔

تحقیق کے دوران اکہٹے کی گئی معلومات کس استعمال میں لائی جائیگی؟

ہم شرکاء سے حاصل کی ہوئی معلومات کا تجزیہ کرکے اس کے اہم نقات پی ایچ ڈی مقالے اور اس کی اشاعت (پبلیکیشن) میں شامل کریں گے اور وہ کانفرنس میں بھی پیش کیے جائینگے۔ یہ حاصل کی گئی معلومات یونیورسٹی کی شایع کی گئی تحقیق کے حوالے سے قوائد و ضوابط کے تحت پانچ

سال تک سنبھال کر حفاظت سے رکھیں گے اور اس کے بعد وہ محفوظ طریقے سے ضایع کی جائے گی۔

کیا میں نے جو کچھ کہا ہے اس کے بارے میں دوسرے لوگوں کو پتا چلے گا؟

آپ انٹرویو کے دوران ہونے والے سوالات کے جو جوابات دیں گے، وہ رکارڈ کیے گئے آلات سے سن کر تحریری شکل میں لائے جائینگے۔ رکارڈ کی گئی بات چیت اور تحریری شکل میں مواد کے فائیل پاسورڈ لگا کے کمپیوٹر میں محفوظ کیے جائینگے۔ تحریر شدہ مواد کا تحقیق کرنے والی ٹیم کی طرف سے تجزیہ کیا جائیگا۔اور اس تجزئے کو قابل اعتبار بنانے یا منطقی انداز میں پیش کرنے کے لئے تحقیق کے بارے میں رپورٹوں اور اشاعتوں میں شرکاء کی طرف سے دوران انٹرویو کی گئی بات چیت لفظ بہ لفظ تحریری شکل میں لائی جائے گی۔ جوکہ تجزئے کے نتائج کو ظاہر کرنے کے لئے استعمال کی جائیگی۔ آپ کی شناخت کو خفیہ رکہنے کے لئے آپ کا نام اور دوسری معلومات جو آپ نے انٹرویو کے دوران فراہم کی ہوگی (جس سے آپ کی شناخت ہوسکے) اس کو تحریری مواد سے خارج کیا جائے گا۔ آپ کا ایک فرضی نام رکھا جائیگا۔ جوکسی بھی مقالے یا اشاعت میں اس طریقے سے ظاہر کیا جائیگا تاکہ پڑہنے والا یہ اندازہ نہ لگا سکے کہ یہ معلومات دینے والا شخص کون اور کہاں کا رہنے والا ہے۔

اس تحقیق کی توثیق کس نے کی ہے؟

اس تحقیق کی توثیق ہیلتھ اینڈ وئیل بینگ فیکلٹی ریسرچ اتھکس کمیٹی کی طرف سے کی گئی ہے اور پاکستان میں بھی متعلقہ اداروں جیسا کہ: پولیس اور ضلع انتظامیا سے مطلوبہ اجازت لی جائیگی۔

کیا تحقیق کے نتائج کے بارے میں مجھے معلومات حاصل ہو سکے گی؟

جی ہاں، تحقیق کے نتائج شایع کرواکر بڑے پیمانے پے قارئیں تک پہنچائے جائینگے۔

اگر میں تحقیق میں شامل ہونا چاہوں تو مجھے کیا کرنا پڑے گا؟

آپ اگر اس تحقیق میں شامل ہونے کا ارادہ رکہتے ہیں تو اس معلومات کے آخر میں دی ہوئی جوابی سلپ پر کر کے اس مواد کے ساتھ موجود واپسی والے لفافے میں بند کر کے مندرجہ ذیل پتے پر

بھیجیں۔ اس کے علاوہ آپ اس تحقیق کرنے والے محقق صادق بھنبھرو سے مندرجہ ذیل ای میل، پوسٹل ایڈریس یا فون نمبر پر براہ راست بھی رابطہ کر سکتے ہیں۔ اس کے بعد آپ سے رابطہ کر کہ انٹرویو کے لئے ضروری انتظامات کرنے کا کہا جائیگا۔ برائے مہربانی یہ معلومات اپنے رکارڈ کے لئے سنبھال کررکھیں۔

مزید معلومات کے لئے رابطا کریں۔

اگر آپ کو مذکورہ بالا معلومات کے بارے میں زیادہ تفصیلات درکار ہیں تو آپ مندرجہ ذیل افراد سے رابطا کر سکتے ہیں۔

صادق بھنبھرو

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پاکستان میں رابطے کے لئے ایڈریس: آفیس آف دی کمیونٹی ڈولپمینٹ فائونڈیشن نزد ٹی سی ایف اسکول، بسم اللہ ٹائون، ضلع جیکب آباد، سند، پاکستان۔

غیرت اور غیرت کے نام پر خواتین اور لڑکیوں کے قتل کے حوالے سے تحقیق ---- جوابی سلپ

میں نے اس تحقیق کے حوالے سے فراہم کی ہوئی معلومات اچھی طرح پڑھی اور سمجھی ہے اور میں غیرت کے بارے میں لوگوں (کمیونٹی) کے تصورات، خیالات اور ان کے بنیاد پر پاکستان اور برطانیا میں رہنے والی پاکستانی برادری کے لوگوں کی طرف سے ہونے والے غیرت کے نام پے خواتین اور لڑکیوں کے قتل کے حوالے سے ہونے والے انٹرویو یا فوکس گروپ ڈسکشن میں شامل ہونا چاہتا ہوں۔

نام: _____ ___فون نمبر: _____

ای میل ائڈریس: _____

رابطے کے لئے ایڈریس: _____

Appendix 4: The district and the city profiles

The district profile

The total population was 1,089,169, with 564,843 men, 524,307 women, and 19 categorised as transgender in 2017 (Government of Pakistan, 2017). The district is divided into three Tehsils (sub-divisions) and 37 union councils (the smallest administrative unit of the district government).

The common language spoken in this district is Sindhi, whereas the second language is Balochi due to the large number of Baloch tribes residing in this district. The majority of the people are Muslims. Also, there are a large number of Sindhi speaking Hindus residing in this district.

This is an agricultural district with most people earning their livelihood through farming (54%), while the second-largest group, 27.7%, depends upon casual labour. Only 7.6% of the people are associated with the services sector, 3.3% are associated with business, while 5% are not doing any work (United States Agency of International Development, 2014).

The City profile

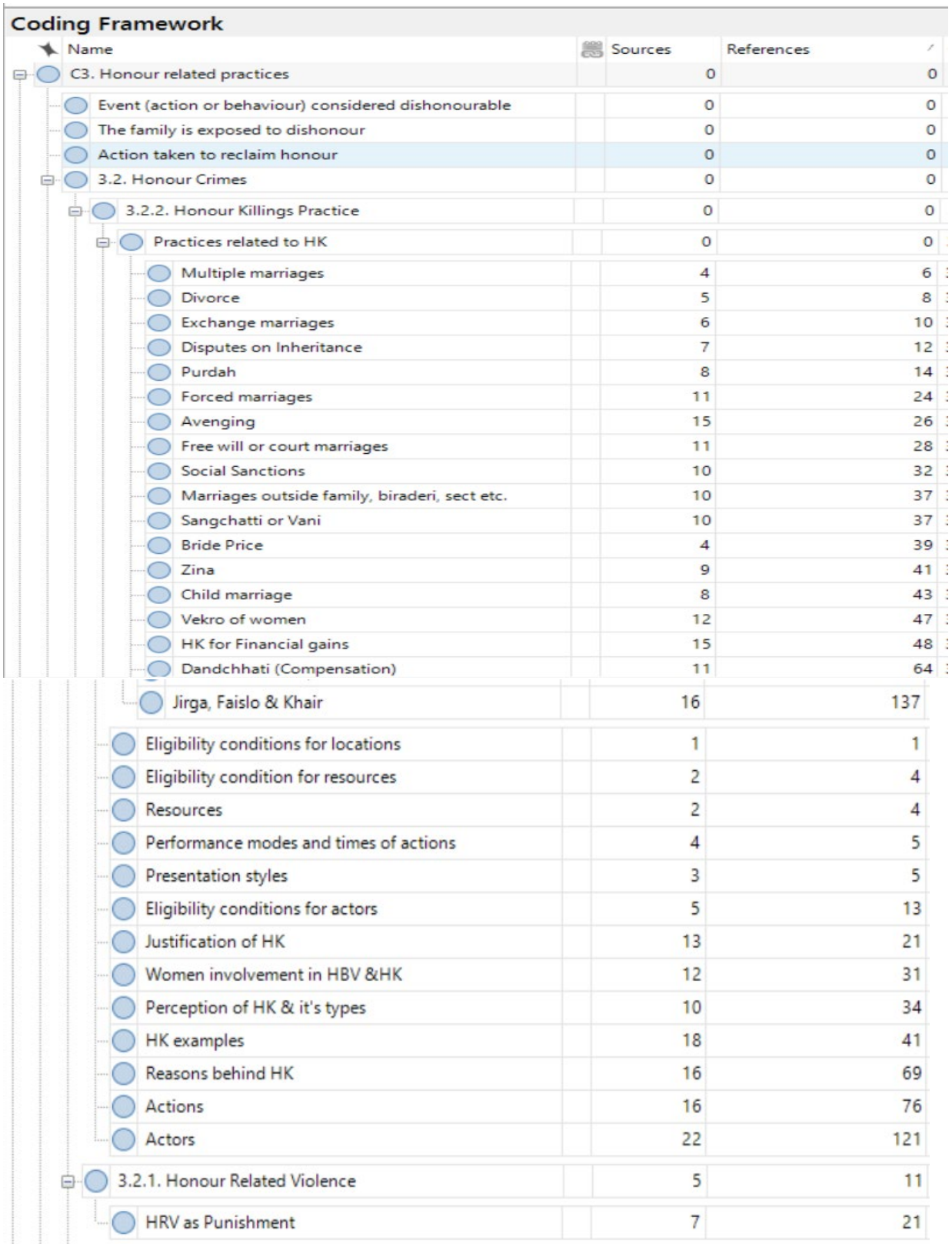
Historically, most Pakistani immigrants, who settled in the city, came from Pakistan's main four areas. The areas include Azad Kashmir (Mirpur district and Kotli), Peshawar and other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Attock district of Punjab province and the area around Rawalpindi Punjab (Woolley & Amin, 1995). More recently, around 2000 people from the Jhelum area of Punjab and Sindh province have also come to the city. People who migrated

from Azad Kashmir villages live in the same city areas with the same people they lived with side-by-side in Azad Kasmir villages. For example, people who belong to Kotli in Azad Kashmir live in the same neighbourhood of the city.

The UK Census (2011) suggests that the Pakistani community in the city identified Urdu as their main language, followed by Punjabi (Census, 2011). During my fieldwork, people said they mainly speak Mirpuri as the main language in their households and usually register Urdu as the main language in the Census. Of Pakistani origin people living in the city, 88.2% identified Islam as their religion, 2.6% Christianity, 0.2% Buddhism, 5.7% did not state any religion, and 3.1% stated no religion (Census, 2011).

Appendix 5: Coding framework

Coding framework taken from a screenshot of NVivo version 11



Coding Framework

Name	Sources	References
C3. Honour related practices	0	0
Event (action or behaviour) considered dishonourable	0	0
The family is exposed to dishonour	0	0
Action taken to reclaim honour	0	0
3.2. Honour Crimes	0	0
3.2.2. Honour Killings Practice	0	0
Practices related to HK	0	0
Multiple marriages	4	6
Divorce	5	8
Exchange marriages	6	10
Disputes on Inheritance	7	12
Purdah	8	14
Forced marriages	11	24
Avenging	15	26
Free will or court marriages	11	28
Social Sanctions	10	32
Marriages outside family, biraderi, sect etc.	10	37
Sangchatti or Vani	10	37
Bride Price	4	39
Zina	9	41
Child marriage	8	43
Vekro of women	12	47
HK for Financial gains	15	48
Dandchhati (Compensation)	11	64
Jirga, Faislo & Khair	16	137
Eligibility conditions for locations	1	1
Eligibility condition for resources	2	4
Resources	2	4
Performance modes and times of actions	4	5
Presentation styles	3	5
Eligibility conditions for actors	5	13
Justification of HK	13	21
Women involvement in HBV &HK	12	31
Perception of HK & it's types	10	34
HK examples	18	41
Reasons behind HK	16	69
Actions	16	76
Actors	22	121
3.2.1. Honour Related Violence	5	11
HRV as Punishment	7	21

3.2.3. Karo-Kari	19	146
Unverified stories of karo-kari	5	7
Kari a mark of disgrace	2	11
Treatment with Kari	5	34
Rituals	14	49
Rules	5	70
Reasons for Kari & Karo	14	98
Mental Health issues	9	16
Discursive Representation	15	33
Prevalence	14	44
3.1. Terms for honour related practices	12	45
Intergenerational Differences	12	48
Perceived Change	10	48
Trigger gossip	19	71
C1. Honour, Dishonour and Shame	0	0
1. Defining Honour, Dishonour & Shame	0	0
1. Defining Honour, Dishonour & Shame	0	0
Shame	9	19
Constituents of honour	16	38
Local Terminology	13	46
Izzat	19	66
Sources of Dishonour	27	109
Dishonour	28	169
Ghairat	30	176
1.2. Participants' understanding	0	0
1.2.1. First thing in mind for honour	9	9
1.2.3. Honour as sentiments	19	72
1.2.2. Constituents of honour	16	72
1.2.5. Evaluation of the behaviours by others	25	105
1.2.4. Behaviours as the expression of the feelings	25	137
1.4. Functions of honour	0	0
1.4.3. Honour as a social asset	7	10
1.4.1. Honour as source of social standing	13	66
1.4.2. Honour an instrument to of social differentiation	21	138

1.3. Norm Circles	18	70
1.3.3. Actual Norm Circle	0	0
1.3.1. Proximal norm circle	17	43
Normativity	15	98
1.3.2. Imagined Norm Circle	25	120
C2. Social and Cultural Structures	0	0
2.1. Social Structures	0	0
2.1.9. Urban vs Rural	2	2
2.1.6. Politics	8	26
2.1.8. Technology	10	29
2.1.1. Gender & Sexuality	22	77
Homosexuality	2	4
HK of Men	3	8
Actions & Behaviours of Men	3	11
Women as honour	10	17
Objectification of Women	4	20
Women as commodity	16	27
Women Agency	14	32
Status of Women	14	46
2.1.5. History	17	78
2.1.7. Education	23	79
2.1.2. Class	20	81
2.1.4. Ethnicity	28	152
2.1.3. Caste, Clan & Tribe	20	181
2.2. Cultural structures	0	0
2.2.3. Patriarchy	17	61
2.2.1. Culture	31	130
2.2.2. Religion	29	181
2.3. State structures	0	0
NGOs	5	20
Government	11	31

Media	20	48
Police	16	103
Laws & Courts	15	115
2.4. Habitus	25	103
Locations	3	4
UK Places	5	9
PK Places	22	95
Positionality	14	56
2.4.1. Fields of power	22	103

Appendix 6: Details of the included studies on honour from 1964 to 2016, presented in date order with most recent first.

Author (s) & year	Title	Type of source	Key themes	Reason for inclusion
Giordano (2016)	Honour between different cultures and legal systems: Social status, reputation, struggles for recognition.	Theoretical paper	The article discusses how some social groups use honour as a tool to preserve distinctive features. The author challenges the assumed link between honour killing and Islam and argues that no specific religious belief is associated with the social practices as distinctive social structures, i.e., tribal, semi-tribal, kinship systems and the resulting patriarchal power.	The article is conceptually relevant to my study as it discusses the notion of honour and its significance in different societies and legal systems.
Mosquera (2016)	On the importance of family, morality, masculine, and feminine honour for theory and research.	Content analysis of academic literature and reports.	The article presents an approach drawing on literature and reports explaining and understanding honour with four facets: morality-based honour, feminine honour, masculine honour, and family honour.	This paper is conceptually useful and also discusses the same population of interest as does this study.
Stewart (2015)	Honour and shame.	Theoretical paper	The paper critically evaluates the use of the term honour historically and contemporary. Specifically, it presents the arguments from class, gender and migration perspectives.	The article is conceptually relevant as it presents the historical-comparative analysis of honour and shame in Euro-America and immigrant communities in Europe and North America.

Baxter (2007)	Honour thy sister: Selfhood, gender, and agency in Palestinian culture.	Theoretical paper	The paper critically examines honour as a moral ideology among West Bank Palestinians, specifically its relations with sexuality and gender within a family setup.	This paper is selected because of its conceptual relevancy to the thesis as it presents an interesting view of how men's performance is judged based on family women's behaviour.
Giordano (2001)	Mediterranean honour reconsidered.	Theoretical paper	The author surveys the relevant literature and revisits the framing of honour in Mediterranean communities, where the pair of honour and shame are highly valued.	This article is relevant to the study because it describes that in a social group, honour plays a role in social control.
Baker, Gregware & Cassidy (1999)	Family killing fields: honour rationales in the murder of women.	Theoretical paper	The authors propose a theoretical framework for cultural and personal honour systems to understand intimate male violence.	Conceptually relevant paper as it explicitly argues that honour is a different way of understanding the function of patriarchy.
Moxnes (1993)	Honour and shame.	Theoretical paper	The paper examines honour and shame as a conceptual framework that characterises the Mediterranean culture from theological perspectives.	This paper contains the relevant argument for my study that describes how a person's social group recognises his honour.
Delaney (1987)	Seeds of honour, fields of shame.	The book chapter drew on an ethnography.	The book section provides a detailed account of ideas, sentiments and practices related to honour and shame in a Turkish village.	The chapter provides Islamic beliefs concerning notions of honour and shame—specifically, arguments about how honour is

				used to control women's fertility.
Gilmore (1987)	Honour, honesty, shame: Male status in contemporary Andalusia.	The book chapter drew on an ethnography.	The chapter discusses honour and shame in relation to male social status in Southern Spain. It also talks about how the overuse of the English term honour undermines the local terms encompassing various norms, values, and practices.	For my study, this chapter is useful because it suggests that honour applies to evaluate the conduct of both males and females.
Giovannini (1987)	Female chastity codes in the circum-Mediterranean: Comparative perspectives.	The book chapter drew on historical and current academic literature.	The chapter presents comparative perspectives on female chastity, also discusses several harmful practices, i.e., female seclusion, veiling, the crime of honour and rituals of virginity display carried out in the name of honour	The section covers the relevant examples of honour applications—for example, the use of honour by a social group to maintain the specific features.
Jowkar (1986)	Honour and shame: a feminist view from within.	Theoretical paper	The author criticises the concepts of honour and shame and challenges both notions' patriarchal explanations and applications. The article includes other analytical categories such as sexuality, gender and class to re-examine the notions of honour and shame.	This paper provides feminist perspectives on the notions of honour and shame and their implications for women.
Abu-Lughod (1985)	Honour and the sentiments of loss in a Bedouin society.	Qualitative paper	The author studies honour among Egyptian Bedouins and introduces another dimension by contrasting honour as a public performance of strength and emotions expressed in songs and poetry, thus situating	The article is conceptually relevant with the aspect of honour explored in this study that honour is a sentiment manifested in many ways.

			honour and shame in the anthropology of emotions.	
Wikan (1984)	Shame and honour: A contestable pair.	Theoretical paper	In this article, the author challenges some anthropologists' dominant interpretation of honour as an exclusive property of men associated with women's behaviours and bodies.	The author's critique on the exclusivity of honour to men and shame to women is significant for constructing data collection instruments to gather the participants' perspectives on this exclusive nature of honour and shame.
Herzfeld (1980)	Honour and Shame: Problems in the comparative analysis of moral systems.	Theoretical paper	This article presents a comparative analysis of the moral systems of the Mediterranean societies. More specifically, it critically evaluates honour and shame.	The paper is conceptually relevant to my study's aspect of the use of local terms for honour *izzat* & *ghairat* is explored.
Ortner (1978)	The virgin and the state.	Theoretical paper	The article analyses the association between women's sexual purity using a political economy approach. The author presents various examples from different cultures, where the sexual purity of women is controlled and managed by men using honour.	The author provides useful insights for my study, particularly concerning honour for justifying male protection and guardianship to control women.
Friedrich (1977)	Sanity and the myth of honour: The problem of Achilles	Theoretical paper	The author analyses the ancient Greek myths related to Achilles' honour and discusses the structure, rituals, and codes.	The paper is conceptually useful for my study because it discusses two major honour functions, i.e.

				ideological and pragmatic.
Dodd (1973)	Family honour and the forces of change in Arab society.	Theoretical paper	The author discusses the idea of honour and its etymology in Arabic. Then, the article examines the applications of honour in people's daily lives, particularly the sexual purity and chastity of women and the roles and responsibilities of family men to maintain family honour.	This paper discusses many relevant arguments to my study, and one of these is the importance of an honour-related offence being public.
Schneider (1971)	Of vigilance and virgins: Honour, shame, and access to resources in Mediterranean societies.	Theoretical paper	The author uses the political-ecological model to examine the existing ethnographies on honour and shame to evaluate the association of honour and shame with access and protection of resources and intra-community conflict.	The conceptually relevant aspect of this paper for my study is that social forces interacted and produced the concepts of honour and shame as a code of conduct to govern the sexuality of women.
Pitt-Rivers (1968)	Honour.	Theoretical paper	This article conceptualises honour comprehensively and presents a theoretical basis for further empirical research.	The article is theoretically relevant and useful, thus, extensively used in my thesis.
Peristiany (1965)	Introduction.	Introduction of an edited volume	This is an introduction to an edited volume on honour and shame in Mediterranean society. The author talks about the development of the notion of honour in face-to-face pastoralist communities.	For my thesis, this section provides a historical background of honour.

Abou-Zeid (1965)	Honour and shame among the Bedouins of Egypt.	The book chapter drew on an ethnography.	The chapter covers how the values of honour and shame were employed by Bedouins of the Western Desert of Egypt. Finally, the author discusses the use of both concepts for a variety of modes of behaviour.	This chapter is conceptually relevant because it describes the implications of honour and shame for both males and females. It also talks about the function of honour in other social structures such as a clan and community.
Bourdieu (1965)	The sentiments of honour in Kabyle society.	The book chapter drew on an ethnography.	The author discusses the significance of honour in Kabyle society.	My interest in the chapter is due to the symbolism presented that denoted values of honour, such as a man can manifest his honour by expressing that he has got a moustache.
Pitt-Rivers (1965)	Honour and social status.	Book chapter	This section presents different theories that explain honour in different cultures. Also, the chapter discusses how honour is enforced through violence.	This chapter is directly related to my study in two ways. First, it provides a theoretical framework to conceptualise honour and second, it provides insights into its enforcement through violence.
Campbell (1964)	Honour, family, and patronage: A study of institutions and moral values	Book	The book is an ethnography of a community in which honour is highly valued.	For my study, a section of the book is used to trace the historical development

	in a Greek mountain community.			of honour in closed communities.

Appendix 7: Details of the included studies on honour killings, presented in date order with most recent first.

Author (s) & year	Title	Country/ Region	Type of source	Key themes	Reason for inclusion
Beller, Kröger & Hosser (2019)	Disentangling honour-based violence and religion: The differential influence of individual and social religious practices and fundamentalism on support for honour killings in a cross-national sample of Muslims	26 countries	Empirical paper – quantitative	The study analysed the Pew survey data "The World's Muslims" to examine the association between religion (Islam) and honour-related violence. The authors argue that increased support for honour killings was strongly associated with the frequency of mosque attendance, religious fundamentalism, a lower educational level, and living in a rural area.	The study was the first of its kind with a large sample (n= 25,723) investigating the relationship between Islam and honour killings.
Zia (2019)	Can Rescue Narratives Save Lives? Honour Killing in Pakistan	Pakistan	Empirical paper – based on an interview with the influential landowner in southern Pakistan who serves as a mediator to settle honour crimes.	Based on the survey of global feminist literature and an interview, the author bids for a new 'praxis' to examine and understand honour crimes. The model in which Muslim men contribute as a rescuer of women when they are the target of male violence perpetrated under the claim of saving culture, religion, or honour.	The study setting, population, and discussion on honour killings of women and girls in southern Pakistan were relevant to my study.
Lowe, Khan, Thanzami, Barzy &	Attitudes toward intimate partner "Honour"-based violence in India, Iran,	India, Iran, Malaysia & Pakistan.	Empirical paper – quantitative	The paper suggests that the study found that the male participants endorsed honour-related violence more than the	This was a comparative study on the subject conducted in 4 countries,

Karmaliani (2018)	Malaysia and Pakistan			female participants across all four nations. Also, the Pakistani participants were most approving and Malaysians were least endorsing of honour-adhering attitudes.	including Pakistan. The study setting, population and subject were relevant to my thesis. It also provided a multi-country perspective on honour related violence.
Khan, Saleem & Lowe (2018)	"Honour"- based violence in a British South Asian community	UK	Empirical paper – quantitative	The study explored attitudes towards HBV, victimisation experiences and awareness of support services in a local community of South Asian males and females in the north of England.	The paper qualified for two inclusion criteria: the study was conducted in the UK, and the second target population included the UK's Pakistani community.
Dogan (2018)	Do women really kill for honour? Conceptualising women's involvement in honour killings	Turkey	Empirical paper – qualitative	The analysis is based on the five testimonies of female perpetrators of honour killings. The author argues that women's involvement in honour killing is not limited to a patriarchal explanation, but women commit such violent crimes because their particular situation and circumstances do not leave them any choice apart from killing.	This paper was conceptually relevant as it conceptualises women's involvement in honour crimes. This is one of the few papers that discuss women engagement in honour related violence. Due to scarcity of the literature on the topic, this paper was deemed suitable for the literature review.
Bates (2018)	Females perpetrating honour-based abuse: Controllers,	UK	Empirical paper – quantitative	The HRV police case files analysis revealed that females are more involved in	Relevant to one of the study settings, the UK, and discusses women

	collaborators or coerced?		secondary data analysis	perpetrating HRV than other forms of domestic abuse. However, the primary perpetrators are still mostly male. In addition, women's role in honour crimes varies; they can be controllers, collaborators, and instigators instead of actual perpetrators.	involvement in honour crimes.
Bangash & Muhammad (2017)	Honour killing in federally administered tribal areas of Pakistan: A perceptional study in Khurram agency.	Pakistan	Empirical paper – quantitative	The survey found that the study respondents had a strong belief about the sexual purity of women. It also has a significant association with honour killing. It also revealed that strict adherence to customary ways of life, including belief in the restoration of honour with blood, intolerance to rumours about dishonouring, and public perception of dishonour were behind the practice of honour killings in all tribes and sects residing in the study area.	The study was included in the review because of its setting (Pakistan), population (Pakistani) and the subject (honour killings).
Aplin (2017)	Exploring the role of mothers in 'honour' based abuse perpetration and the impact on the policing response	UK	Empirical paper – mixed methods	The paper argues that mothers take part in honour crimes; they inflict violence, sometimes to induce an abortion; they inflict hard psychological abuse and condone the violence inflicted by other male relatives.	This is the only study that explored the role of mothers in honour crimes against their daughters. Also, the study setting, target groups and the topic meet the inclusion criteria.

Bangash & Samiullah. (2017)	An overview of the religious perspective of honour killing in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata) of Pakistan	Pakistan	Empirical paper – quantitative	The study investigates the community perspectives on the role of Islam in honour killings. The authors argue that honour people perpetrate honour killings due to a lack of true knowledge of Islam. In contrast, to the view in the literature that Islam condones honour killings.	The study setting (Pakistan), target groups (Pakistani) and the topic (honour killings) meet the inclusion criteria.
Idriss (2017)	Not domestic violence or cultural tradition: Is honour-based violence distinct from domestic violence?	UK	Empirical – qualitative	Drawing on the 30 qualitative interviews with various stakeholders, the author argues against honour-related violence's essentialist cultural explanation. Also, the paper presents the distinctive features of HRV that makes it different from domestic violence.	Conceptually relevant – presents characteristics of HBV, which makes it distinctive from DV. The study setting (UK) was also relevant to the thesis.
Chesler (2015)	When Women Commit Honor Killings.	Worldwide	Empirical – analysis of news items related to honour-based violence	Drawing on the newspapers' coverage & statistics on honour killings, the author argues that honour killings are a Muslim phenomenon because of their traditional and tribal thinking. The paper also investigates the role of women in honour killings.	The paper is included in the review because it discusses women involvement in honour killings.
Dyer (2015)	Honour killings in the UK.	UK	Research Report – case studies	The author argues that the notion of honour works as a 'code of conduct' in certain communities. It also describes that honour killing is a cultural practice, and there is no association of honour killing with a particular religion because it	Meet the inclusion criterion: Setting (UK), population (UK's Pakistani community) & the subject (honour killings.

				has been reported in Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim and Sikh communities.	
Hester et al. (2015)	The depths of dishonour: Hidden voices and shameful crimes.	UK	Research Report – qualitative	The study found that over two-thirds of interviewed participants (n=36) had experienced either, or a combination of, forced marriage and honour-based violence. The honour-based violence included domestic abuse (physical, sexual, emotional, financial) and coercive control perpetrated by their husbands, often collaborating with their families.	The study mainly focused on forced marriages as a form of honour related violence, and it was aimed at investigating the police response to HBV incidents. The study was the first of its kind on the subject and provided relevant insights for my study.
Gill & Brah (2014)	Interrogating cultural narratives about 'honour'-based violence	UK	Empirical paper – Case study	The authors critically examine the cultural narratives behind honour-related violence, such as in the context of HRV, non-Western cultures are seen as inherently uncivilised. The authors argue that instead of blaming a culture for violence in its entirety, studies should use intersectionality to examine the relationship between culture and violence.	The article provides theoretical insights to analyse the dominant binary discourses related to HRV, such as Western and non-Western culture, honour and non-honour culture.
Payton (2014)	"Honor", collectivity, and agnation: Emerging risk factors in "honour"-based violence	UK	Empirical – case file analysis	The study analysed 40 case files of women's self-reported experiences of HBV. An NGO documented the cases. The article discusses relationships between notions of collectivity, agnation and honour crime.	The article was suitable for the review because it discusses two major and distinctive aspects of HRV, i.e., its collective nature and

					involvement of agnates.
Chaudhary (2014)	Interpreting honour crimes in Pakistan: The case studies of the Pukhtun and the Punjabi societies	Pakistan	Empirical – case studies	The study compares the two incidents of honour crimes that occurred in two different ethnic groups of Pakistan. The author argues that honour crimes in Pakistan should be examined within their local cultural context, even in the same country and among the followers of the same religion, because honour-related violence against women differs between two cultures and value systems greatly.	This study qualified key inclusion criteria such as setting (Pakistan), population (ethnolinguistic groups of Pakistan) and the topic (honour killings). As a result, the article provides interesting insights into the intersection of culture, gender, class and ethnicity.
Gill (2014)	'All they think about is honour': The murder of Shafila Ahmed.	UK	Book section – case study	This book chapter draws on a case study to challenge the culturalist explanation of honour crimes in the UK. The discourse singles out South Asian, particularly Muslims, and treat their cultures as intrinsically uncivilised and violent.	The essay provides relevant theoretical insights for the analysis.
Reddy (2014	Domestic violence or cultural tradition? Approaches to 'honour killing' as species and subspecies in English legal practice.	UK	Book section – case studies	This book chapter discusses the notions of honour killings as 'species' of its own or 'subspecies' of domestic violence. The author argues that honour killing is a form of broader cross-cultural gender-based violence. Thus, it should be considered as a subspecies of domestic violence.	The discussion in the chapter about the framing of honour related violence, particularly honour killings, was relevant to my study. Also, the study setting and population of the study meet the inclusion criteria.

Eisner & Ghuneim (2013)	Honour killing attitudes amongst adolescents in Amman, Jordan.	Jordan	Empirical paper – quantitative	The survey examines the attitudes of students towards honour crimes in Jordan. The study found that most students supported honour crimes, particularly those with 'collectivist' and patriarchal worldviews. Also, the students were in favour of severe punishment for people who violated family honour.	This is one of the few studies that examined people's attitudes towards honour crimes. The study is also the first study conducted with adolescent students on the subject. Besides, the paper provides empirical evidence on relationships between Islam and honour crimes.
Bhanbhro, Wassan, Shah, Talpur, & Wassan (2013)	Karo kari: The murder of honour in Sindh Pakistan: An ethnographic study	Pakistan	Empirical paper – Qualitative	The study found that honour killings were driven by customs and traditions and patriarchal feudal social structures, the complicit role of state institutions and law enforcement agencies. Also, various interest groups are involved in shaping and maintaining the harmful practice of honour killings.	The paper meets the inclusion criteria such as setting (Pakistan), population (Pakistani living in Pakistan) and the subject (honour killings). The articles are also empirically and conceptually significant and relevant to the review.
Dogan (2013)	Honour killings in the UK communities: Adherence to tradition and resistance to change.	UK	Theoretical paper	The paper discusses the wider social structures and distinctive features of UK communities, i.e. Muslim, Hindu and Sikh, which provide a conducive environment for honour killings rather than religious beliefs.	The article examines honour killings in the UK communities from sociological perspectives.

Dogan (2013)	Did the coroners and justice act 2009 get it right? are all honour killings revenge killings?	UK	Empirical paper – Qualitative	Drawing on the empirical evidence, the author argues that following the Coroners and Justice Act 2009, the Law Commission and the government dismissed honour killings without considering the available evidence. It was left outside the scope of the defence of loss of control by assuming that in honour killing cases, the defendant must have acted in a considered desire for revenge.	The article provides empirical evidence and theoretical insights into the widely considered honour killing as a revenge killing.
Chesler & Bloom (2012)	Hindu vs Muslim honour killings	India & Pakistan	Theoretical paper	The paper presents honour killing as an Islamic issue. The authors went on to classify honour killings as Muslim vs Hindu (Sikh) honour killings. The authors didn't provide any evidence of such classification except a few media reports; however, the article is a part of a series of papers that promote this type of understanding.	The article is theoretically relevant to the study as it discusses honour killings from a religious perspective.
Idriss (2010)	Introduction.	General	Book section	This is an introduction to an edited volume. The author argues against the misconceived understanding of honour killing as a Muslim problem and explains that honour killing also occurs in Hindus, Christians and Sikhs.	The author uses socio-legal perspectives to discuss honour killings.

Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal & Masood (2010)	Attitudes about honour killing among men and women--perspective from Islamabad	Pakistan	Empirical paper – quantitative	This cross-sectional survey found that nearly 60% of the respondents favoured killing a wife by her husband upon finding her in bed with another man. Despite the public nature of the survey, a majority of men and women respondents considered honour killing a justified action to save the family honour.	The study qualified all inclusion criteria, including the relevant setting, respondents, subject, and empirical evidence.
Nasrullah, Haqqi & Cummings (2009)	The epidemiological patterns of honour killing of women in Pakistan	Pakistan	Empirical – quantitative	The study analysed secondary data collected by HRCP from newspaper reports (Jany 2004 - Dec 2007). The analysis suggests that 1957 HK events occurred from 2004 to 2007. Adults (over 18 years) constituted 82% of deaths, with 88% (1257/1435) married. Alleged extramarital relation was the major reason for the killing (92%; 1759/1902). Husbands (43%; 749/1739), brothers (24%; 421/1739) and 'other' close relatives (12%; 200/1739) were the perpetrators in known HK events.	The article meets all inclusion criteria, including country, target group, topic and relevant empirical evidence.
Gill (2009)	Honour killings and the quest for justice in black and minority ethnic communities in the United Kingdom	UK	Empirical paper – qualitative	The author examined criminal justice response and a round-table discussion of stakeholders concerning honour killings. It is argued that the official response to these crimes is often	The paper is suitable for the review as it discusses the important aspect, the criminal justice

				insensitive to women's cultural circumstances.	response, to honour crimes in the UK.
Gill (2008)	'Crimes of honour' and violence against women in the UK.	UK	Empirical paper – qualitative	The article examines the official response to the honour killing of Banaz Mahmod. The author argues that the official UK criminal justice response is often at odds with the day-to-day reality of honour-based violence that women encounter.	The paper uses the same data (Gill, 2008); however, it examines the honour killing case and the police response. The article provides empirical evidence and contextual insights for honour crimes against Black and ethnic minority women in the UK.
Jafri (2008)	Honour killing: Dilemma, ritual, understanding.	Pakistan	Book (empirical)	The study discusses the notions of honour and honour killings, both theoretically and empirically, in Pakistan. The book contextualises and analysis the various discourses in the country. The author concludes that honour killing is a message in the context of Pakistan.	The study presented in the book meets all inclusion criteria and provides robust theoretical insights to analyse honour killings from a different perspective.
Shah (2007)	Making of crime, customs, and culture: The case of Karo Kari Killings of Upper Sindh	Pakistan	Book chapter (empirical)	The author examines the case studies of *karo-kari* (honour killing) and argues that presenting honour killings as a 'cultural violence' based on tribal culture and age-old traditions essentialises the killings and masks the socio-political, economic and legal structures	The article is conceptually rich and provides empirical evidence on karo-kari, a type of honour killing prevalent in Pakistan.

				that shape and maintain the violence for the sake of honour as a mechanism of power and control.	
Sheeley (2007)	Reclaiming honour in Jordan: A national public opinion survey on "honour" killings	Jordan	Empirical paper – quantitative	This paper presents the results of a national survey on honour killings in Jordan. The study found that 72% of the respondents attributed honour killings to “Jordanian culture”, 69% to traditional customs, and 22% to Islam.	This article was included in the review because it has a large national-level sample and assessed the influence of Islam concerning honour killings.
Gill (2006)	Patriarchal Violence in the Name of ‘Honour’	UK	Theoretical paper	The article examines the UK media presentation of honour related violence. The author argues that the media misrepresent ethnic minorities concerning honour related violence. Usually, the media reporting purport cultural and moral superiority between ethnic minority and white population.	The article is theoretically relevant to the review and proposes a nuanced, intersectional approach to understanding honour-related violence.
Welchman & Hossain (2005)	Introduction.	General	Book section	This is an introduction to an edited volume in which the authors discuss essays from various countries on honour crimes. The authors problematise the term ‘honour killing’ and examine the different debates, policies, and practices.	This is a theoretically robust book section and provides a comprehensive definition of honour crimes and honour killings.
Siddiqui (2005)	There is no “honour” in domestic violence, only shame! Women’s struggles	UK	Book section – empirical case studies	This chapter analyses the case studies of honour violence. The author investigates the implication of honour and shame	The book section meets the inclusion criteria such as the setting, population and

	against “honour” crimes in the UK			in women’s daily lives. The author uses an intersectional approach to examine the intersections among various social structures, including gender, multiculturalism and race to examine honour violence.	subject. It also provides a theoretical understanding of honour crimes from an organisation perspective, which deals with victims of honour crimes.
Sen (2005)	‘Crimes of honour': Value and meaning	UK	Book section	The author presents a different perspective by analysing the schema of honour and dishonour dynamics. It also discusses state institutions complicit role in the crime of honour. Finally, the author also critiques the structuring of honour crimes as an Islamic practice.	This book section is theoretically relevant to the literature review. However, it also provides a broader perspective to examine and understand honour crimes.
Warraich (2005)	'Honour killing’ and the law in Pakistan	Pakistan	Book section	The chapter contains a social and legal history of honour crime in Pakistan. The author argues that social, historical and legal analysis of honour crime indicates that the crimes cut across class, caste, ethnicity and political lines in Pakistan.	This book section provides a detailed analysis of the historical, social and legal context of honour crimes in Pakistan.
Asae (2002)	The prototypical blood feud: Tangir in the Hindu Kush Mountains	Pakistan	Book chapter (empirical)	This book section presents an ethnographic account of a blood feud where family honour plays a central role. The author discusses honour killings of women that happen in tribal blood feuds.	The study was conducted in the Tangir valley of Pakistan. The chapter examines honour killings of women and girls in the context of blood feuds.

Dawood (1998)	Karo-kari: A question of honour, but whose honour?	Pakistan	Empirical – case study	The author discusses the cases of *karo-kari* (honour killings) that occurred in Sindh, Pakistan. The author interviewed the perpetrators and the other people who were, directly and indirectly, involved in the murders for the sake of honour.	This article was relevant for my study in all aspects, the setting, target group and topic. Moreover, it provides perspectives of the actual perpetrators of *karo-kari*.