

**New Instrument to Assess Attitudes toward Honour Killing:
The Relation between Gender and Education**

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Honour killing is an extreme form of domestic violence. Every year thousands of women become victim of honour killings around the world. In Pakistan, the situation is very grave, which is frequently reported in the media. With the goal of better understanding of attitude towards honour killing, a new instrument was developed, namely 'Attitude towards Honour Killing Survey.' The survey presents 11 scenarios about honour killing and assesses respondents' views about appropriate punishment. To test the instrument and examine two hypotheses about it, a sample of 302 adults filled out the survey. It was predicted that those with less education and particularly men would be more in favor of honour killing. Those predictions were supported by the study.

Keywords: honour killing, attitude towards honour Killing, scenarios, impact of education, gender differences.

Violence against women is a common phenomenon in Pakistan as in other parts of world. In South Asia, this violence takes various forms including domestic violence, acid throwing, harassment at work, dowry abuse, and the most gruesome- "honour killing." Honour killing is defined as the killing committed by a person to restore his perceived family honour damaged by a victim, usually female, for various reasons like refusal to have an arranged marriage, illicit relationships, deviant behavior against family norms, etc.(Muhammad, 2010).

The problem is especially rampant in Pakistan. Although it is difficult to determine an exact number, however, according to UN (2007) some 5,000 Pakistani women are murdered each year in the name of family honour (as cited in Muhammad, 2010). Victims are mostly married women, killed by their husbands or brothers often simply upon mere suspicion (Nasrullah, Haqqi, & Cummings, 2009). However, some victims happen to be unmarried teen-age girls who are known to have been buried alive for engaging in "inappropriate" behavior or expressing their intentions to marry men of their choice (Shah, 2008).

Patriarchal society and the Jirga system are mainly responsible for honour killing in Pakistan. Both the official and informal justice system have inherent weaknesses which encourage honour killing (Jafri, 2008).

In most of the cases of honour killing, media blames Islamic fundamentalism for these killings (Vatandoost, 2012). However, Honour killing is not Muslim specific but it is also practiced by Sikh, Hindu and Christian communities as well (Ziaullah, 2010). Hadidi, Kulwicki, and Jahshan (2001) studied the cases of 16 Jordanian and concluded that the Jordanian legal system took lenient view of honour killing.

Pakistani law treats honour killing like other murder cases. As the law permits compromise in the murder cases; heir of the victims can make compromise with the honour killers who at times happen to be relatives of the heirs of the victims, therefore such murders are hardly punished under the law (Hussain, 2006).

Najam (2006) has described various causes of honour killing i.e. selection of life partner, deviation against cultural norms, traditions, illegitimate relationship, etc. According to the study conducted by Glazer and Abu-Ras (1994), women also play indirect role in promotion of honour killing as they gossip and cast aspersion

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on the character of the victims which instigate relatives of the victims who resort to killing the victims to redeem honour of the family. Sheeley (2007) concluded from a study that majority of the people were of the opinion that honour killers should be punished; the sample of the study was taken from urban areas of Turkey.

Kulczycki and Windle (2012) found that in majority of cases victims of honour killing were often married adult women from a low socio-economic status who were mostly killed by their brothers.

To find out the point of view of university students in Pakistan, the response of the students was taken by describing a vignette of a woman, who was the victim of honour killing. A vignette was read to them in Urdu in which the situation was described to them that a man after returning from work saw his wife with another man in compromising position, who killed his wife to restore family honour and at the end the participants were given three choices i.e. Yes, No, Don't know for four close ended questions i.e. man did the right thing, the husband should have killed the man whom he saw with his wife, the man should have divorced his wife, the husband should have forgiven his wife. In this study 307 were male (51.1%) and 249 (48.9%) were female participants. One of the key findings was a gender difference. Majority (64.8%) of the men justified the killing of the woman. Half of the women (53.1%) in the sample also justified the act of honour killing. 44 men (15.2%) and 77 women (28.1%) replied that man should have forgiven his wife (M.A. Shaikh, I. A. Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010).

Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) conducted a research to assess the attitudes towards honour killing. According to the results, the main demographic variable in likelihood of positive attitude towards honor killing is traditional family with low level of education.

In a study conducted by Caffaro, Ferraris, and Schmidt (2014) on the perception of men and women regarding the honour killing in two countries, i.e., Turkey and Italy. The Turkish sample blamed victim more as compared to the Italian sample. Turkish men placed more responsibility on the victim and suggested less severe punishment for the perpetrator as compared to Turkish women. As the honour killing in the world is committed for various reasons but in this questionnaire only the opinion of people was asked on the part of extra marital relationship of women.

Objective: The purpose of this study was to assess responses to a new survey on attitude towards honour killing and to assess the relationship of education and gender with attitude towards honour killing.

Hypothesis:

1. The individuals with more education, compared with those with less education, would have less positive attitude towards honour killing.
2. The men would have significantly more positive attitude towards honour killing as compared to women.

Method

Participants

The participants consisted of a general population of 303 individuals, mostly college/university students living in Peshawar, Pakistan, belonging to different areas of Khyber PakhtunKhwa (KPK) like Bannu, Charsada, Mardan, Kohat etc. There were a total of 176 females and 126 males, averaging 22 years of age (male mean age is 24.77, *SD* =8.832, range = 16 to 60) (female mean age is 20.79, *SD* =2.617, range = 21 to 45)

Materials

A new scale was developed to measure attitude towards honour killing. The Attitudes toward Honour Killing (AHK) contains 11 scenarios portraying honour killing situations. These scenarios were based on reports of honour killings from the print media and other sources. For example, one scenario indicated a married woman was raped and her relatives killed her in order to redeem the honour of the family. Each scenario was followed by four responses that differed on the degree of severity of punishment for the victimized woman. These ranged from no punishment for the victim to honour killing was justified. The development of the AHK went through multiple stages. For example, ten academics evaluated the response options. The responses were then revised. Another group of 20 academics and professionals (doctors, teachers, & counselors) then assessed the responses

and more modifications were made. The third version was then evaluated by the 20 academics and they each approved the final revisions.

Procedure

The Heads of three colleges and two universities were contacted, who gave permission to sample their students. Students were approached in public places (e.g., libraries, canteens, playgrounds etc.) and general population was approached mostly in shopping areas of the city. Verbal consent was solicited from the prospective participants but sixteen declined to participate in the survey. Complete data was collected from 126 men and 176 women.

Results

With regard to hypothesized gender differences, a significant gender effect was indeed found ($t(237.19) = 5.47, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.634$) on AKH scale. The mean for men was 19.10 ($SD = 4.47$, range =21, min=11, max=32) and the mean for women was 16.43 ($SD = 3.71$, range=22, min=11, max=33). The role of education was also assumed to be linked to attitudes towards honour killing. The study sample was categorized into four groups as follows, Group 1=People having up to 8 years of education, Group 2=people having education from 10 years to 12 years, Group 3= people having 14 years of education, and Group 4= people having more than 14 years of education.

A one way analysis of variance ANOVA was examined. The assessed people had different levels of education, and their attitude towards honour killing was also different. The analysis was significant, $F(3,227)=10.522, p=.000$, the people who were more educated gave less positive response towards honour killing as compared to the people who were less educated. This association with education can be seen in Table 1. The table shows that there is a significant difference in attitude towards honour killing of people with different educational levels. The higher the education level of people, the less likely it is to have positive attitude towards honour killing.

Table1

One way ANOVA and Post Hoc analysis for pair wise comparison with bonferroni correction factor, showing Mean, Standard deviation, and F-values of different educational groups on Attitude towards honour killing scale of Male and Females(N=231)

Scale	1 primary/middle (n=20)		2 matric/F.A (n=36)		3 B.A (n=110)		4 Above B.A (n=65)		F	i-j	MD(i-j)	SE	95% CI	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD					LL	UL
AHK	20.25	2.73	19.81	4.94	16.45	3.9	17.25	3.34	10.522*	1<2	3.80*	0.926	1.306	6.293
										4<1	3.00*	0.986	0.377	5.623
										2<3	3.36*	0.74	1.392	5.332
										2<4	2.56*	0.8	0.431	4.693

Note: Between group $df = 3$, within group $df = 227$, group total $df = 230$; * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$ CI = Confidence interval; LL = Lower limit; UL = Upper limit, primary/middle=upto eight years of education, matric/F.A=range from 10 to 12years of education, B.A=Fourteen years of education, Above B.A=more than fourteen years of education.

The table shows that there is a significant difference in attitude towards honour killing among highly educated and less educated individuals.

Discussion

This study provides an initial assessment of a new instrument to assess attitudes toward honour killing. Based on the responses of more than 300 adults, the instrument appears to be a useful.

The results of each item in Attitude towards honour killing scale indicate that men and women have a significantly diverse attitude towards honour killing, There are various reasons of honour killing i.e., infidelity, marriage without approval of blood relation, elopement, etc. Honour killing in the society is carried out for different reasons i.e., adultery, marriage without consent of parents, elopement, etc. The results indicated that majority of the women were not in favor of honour killing and on all the 10 items the score of men ranged between 0% to 16.10% and the score of women ranged between 0% to 3.20%. They gave opinion against the killing but, on the item no 3, which was about adultery, even 20.4% women and 33.3% of men gave opinion in the favor of honour killing. The finding suggested that in the case of adultery even the man and women both in general population justified the killings up to some extent. The findings are also supported by other researches (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010); (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schmidt, 2014).

The responses of men and women on attitude towards honour killing were significantly different on the attitude towards honour killing scale. The reasons could be that the women being mostly the victim of honour killing have totally a different attitude about honour killing.

It was also hypothesized that education could influence attitude towards honour killing and the finding also suggested that there was difference between attitude of educated and less educated people towards honour killing (table 1). The finding suggested that in general population, the more educated a person was the more he/she had negative attitude towards honour killing. Education creates awareness regarding religion, rights of people, right and wrong and broadens vision of persons. This could be the possible reason that educated people have negative perspective about honor killing. It was also assumed that education would shape people's attitude towards honor killing and the finding also revealed that with higher education, people's attitude towards honor killing tends to become negative. The findings clearly show that education is associated with negative attitudes towards honour killing. The previous studies also support the findings (e.g., Nasrullah, Haqqi, & Cummings, 2009). A study conducted by Shaikh (2014) on Muslim American women also support the conclusions made by the researcher. As majority of these women believed education could play a key role in elimination of honour killing. Pakistani society is Patriarchal where men always try to dominate women. As females mostly suffer because of the standards set by men, this could be a cause for the difference in their views.

Limitations: The sample was taken using convenient sample technique consisting of the educated and much younger people as the mean age of male is 27.44 and the mean age of the female is 20.79. But the future studies should be designed by taking a larger sample from the various sects of society. The causes of honour killing like rage, societal pressures were not assessed. The questionnaire merely focused on the reasons for honour killing.

Conclusion: The study verifies that education can make the difference, it being the key factor. The study provides the hope that education can make the difference and educated society alone will respond effectively to the menace of honour killing.

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