Cultural Implications behind Honor Killings

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Psychology

with a Major in Clinical Psychology

at Union Institute & University

by

Tayeba Shaikh

July 12th, 2014

Approved:

Jennifer Ossege, Psy. D
Dissertation Chair

William Lax, Ph.D., ABPP
Dean, Psy. D Program

Lewis Mehl-Madrona, MD. Ph.D
Committee Member

Najma M. Adam, Ph.D., L.C.S.W.
Committee Member

UMI Number: 3637182

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI 3637182

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

DISSERTATION SIGNATURE PAGE

Cultural Implications behind Honor Killings

By

Tayeba Shaikh

Baccalaureate degree: St. John's University May 2007

Master's Degree: Union Institute & University August 2012

A Dissertation Approved on: July 12th, 2014

By the following Dissertation Committee members:

Dissertation Chair:	Jennifer Ossege, Psy. D./July 12, 2014
Dissertation Committee member:	Lewis Mehl-Madrona, MD. Ph.D/July 12, 2014
Dissertation Committee member:	Najma M. Adam, Ph.D., L.C.S.W./July 12, 2014
Dean of the Graduate College:	William Lax, Ph.D., ABPP/July 12, 2014

Graduate College
Union Institute & University
Cincinnati, Ohio

Copyright © 2014 by Tayeba Shaikh

Abstract

Honor killings are perpetrated for a wide range of offenses in several parts of the world, including marital infidelity, pre-marital sex, flirting, and divorce. This study investigated the opinions of 18 to 22 Muslim American women, born in the United States, aged 25 to 40, of South Asian nationality, regarding their perspectives on honor killing within their religious and cultural communities. Through the use of autoethnography, my study additionally created a personal narrative through having read research, listened to recordings, as well as engagement in interactive interviews on the topic of honor killings. The intent of autoethnography was to acknowledge the inextricable link between the personal and the cultural and to make room for nontraditional forms of inquiry and expression (Wall, 2006). As a first generation Muslim American woman, I explored how personal cultural experiences may have impacted views and reactions to the subject of honor killings. Through structured interviews as well as self-reflective, interactive research process, I aimed to investigate Muslim American women's attitudes and beliefs surrounding this highly sensitive practice of killing women and girls in order to regain family honor.

In order to better understand attitudes and beliefs surrounding honor killings among Muslim women in the United States, this study utilized the methods of structured qualitative interviews with Muslim Americans, as well as an autoethnography portion to help understand and explain my own attitudes and cultural influences regarding this topic. Through the structured interviews, participants answered questions about demographics and discussed their opinions about honor killings.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my Mom, Baba, brother and incredible support system. To my Mom, who taught me I could move mountains with the right amount of faith and strength, this is for you. To my Baba, who was and still is convinced that anything I touch could turn to gold if I remain optimistic and focused, this is for you. To my brother, who has continued to believe in me in moments in which I didn't believe in myself, this is for you. To my cousin, best friend and snail, I would be so incredibly lost without your faith, love, humor and patience, this is for you. Each of you provided endless amounts of encouragement, along with a shoulder for me to cry on, making this unbelievably challenging task seem possible. I lastly want to dedicate my research to the women who have lost their lives and the families who have been impacted by honor killings, your struggle and strength has been my inspiration.

Acknowledgements

There have been several people who have assisted in the research, development, and final product of my dissertation. First, I would like to thank Dr. Ossege, for your constant support and endless encouragement. You were at the core of this project, and without your guidance I would not have been able to see the light at the end of this very long tunnel. I would like to thank Dr. Adam, for helping me reach new heights in critical thinking and serving as a constant source of inspiration within the field. To Dr. Mehl-Madrona, thank you for the inception of integrating an autoethnography within my research, as it proved to be both fulfilling and rewarding. I would also like to thank Dr. Becker-Klein, who guided me through the trenches of the coding process. To my professors and colleagues, every moment I am in your presence, is a moment in which I am learning. Additionally, to each of the women who agreed to participate in my study, without you this dissertation would not be possible and for that I am eternally grateful.

Most of all, I would like to acknowledge my mother who lost her life before she could see the end of this journey. You have been and always will be my foundation. Your dreams were simply that I achieve my dreams, and without you I could never have completed this task. Thank you for raising me to be a confident, strong, self-aware woman who strives to make her mark in this world.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter I - Introduction

Honor killing is deemed to be one of the most extreme forms of violence perpetrated on women by men. Most commonly, this crime is premeditated and committed by a female's brother, father, uncle, or combination of male family members (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010). The concept of honor has cultural, social and moral underpinnings that determine its expression and perseveration. In order to better understand the research being done in this field, one must first truly understand the culture surrounding honor. This form of violence against women is committed in the name of an abstract notion of family honor. Among communities in which honor killings occur frequently, there is a strong sense of the concept of honor along with a shared belief that honor is the most fundamental value in life (Dogan, 20110). Within these particular communities, honor is linked with respect, esteem, and prestige thereby making honor a core element in the social fabric of society (Khan, 2006). It is these differing cultural interpretations of honor and shame, rather than religious beliefs which dictate what is perceived as honorable and to a great extent, determine what actions are required to be taken against dishonorable conduct (Dogan, 2011). From this perspective, the term "honor" has a gender neutral meaning that is deeply connected with reputation and is not compatible with violence or killing (Dogan, 2011). The societies in which honor inspires killing, has both collective and gender specific aspects, and appears to raise the expectation of retaliation with violence from the assumption that honor of the family or group is dependent upon the conduct of its members (Dogan, 2011).

Honor killings occur when mostly women and rarely men are killed after accusations of acts such as marital infidelity, premarital sex, and flirting (Nasrullah, Haqqi, & Cummings, 2009). Those who commit the killings seek to avenge the shame that they perceive their victims

as having brought to their families. These killings have been identified as gender-based violence, and have recently emerged as a pervasive global issue (Nasrullah et.al., 2009). Honor killings have contributed significantly to preventable morbidity and mortality for women across diverse cultures around the world. Honor killing is not a solely Muslim phenomenon, although the concept has increasingly become associated with Muslim societies in general due to continued misinterpretations of Qur'anic verses (Dogan, 2011). These killings are not limited to occurring within Muslim and Arab societies, but rather found in Western societies such as Spain, Green, and Italy as well (Dogan, 2011). Muslim communities however are more likely to exhibit the typical characteristics of honor killings due to the distorted interpretations of certain Qur'anic verses (Dogan, 2011). By culturally modifying and interpreting Qur'anic texts, societies have neglected and disregarded the true principles of Islam by such modification and interpretation, thereby reconstructing women's sexuality as a source of potential stress or threat with regard to family honor (Dogan, 2011). As honor killings have continued to occur globally, it has been difficult to estimate statistic as information has been reported through media as opposed to being systematically collected by an establish health agency (Nasrullah et.al., 2009).

Purpose of the study

The premeditated killing of women in the name of honor often occurs without consequence (Jafri, 2008). According to Jafri (2008), media reports, along with various studies by organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, show a surge in such killings during the last few years and has signaled the need for renewed attention in the matter. Through my research, I aimed to better understand Muslim American women's attitudes and beliefs surrounding honor killing and better understand the culture in which these acts are seen as

moral. I additionally sought to gain a stronger understanding of how culture, religion, gender and identity are expressed in societies around the world in which these killings are imbedded. This study will more specifically focus on the Pakistani culture, as I am incorporating an autoethnographic portion that allows for self-exploration of my own Pakistani roots. Kanuha (2000) explains communication between the indigenous researcher and native participants evokes feelings of empathy and emotions which insiders share from knowing their subjects on an intimate, yet subtle level.

Research Question

In this study, I did not aim to attack honor killings, but rather research it from a personal and cultural perspective as it relates to Muslim American women. This study investigated the attitudes, beliefs and cultural implications Muslim American women have within the scope of honor killing. I spoke with these women about their views of honor within the family, and how to go about restoring that honor if compromised. I spoke with them regarding cultural impacts of honor, and in turn, explored their perspective and attempted to understand their experience. I was also interested in discussing with participants how they envisioned breaking this tribal act of honor killing, if possible. I wanted to understand whether families who migrate to the West experience a conflict as they assimilate and blend their "eastern" culture with their "western" culture and explore their views on breaking this tradition of protecting a family's honor through these violent acts.

Chapter II - Review of Literature

Historical Perspective

The notion of honor is at the core of many conflicts within and between societies globally (Epstein, 2010). The practice of honor killings has persisted for centuries and continues to be prevalent in a number of regions around the globe other than present-day Pakistan or Islamic societies (Jafri, 2008). Honor killings occur with regularity in certain parts of the Middle East and South Asia, targeting women whose actions (actual or suspected) violate the honor of their family. Honor is a term of many definitions and conceptualizations. Honor as a phenomenon can be driven to cause violence inspired actions due to the perception that a man's honor not only depends on his own conduct but in large part on the appropriate behavior of female relatives (Dogan, 2011). When conceptualized from this framework, actions and behaviors are characteristically described as masculine or feminine as opposed to a general neutral concept (Dogan, 2011). Within the context of these societies, honor is deemed to depend on the sexual purity of females.

While in countries where Islam is practiced, these actions are referred to as honor killings. In non-Islamic countries, dowry deaths and crimes of passion have a similar dynamic in that the women are killed by male family members (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). These honor killings can be described as a manifestation of a global phenomenon in general, but have a higher concentration in Middle Eastern and North African nations in particular. The concept of honor is a heavy burden of responsibility given to members of the community, tribe, family or clan to protect (Gulketin, 2011). Within this context, honor can be viewed as existing within and is represented by the female body, her sexual activities in particular (Gulketin, 2011). Across the

span of a woman's life, from childhood and continuing into maturity and finally during old age, she first depends on her father and other male members of the family, then after marriage, the control of her husband and his relatives within these societies (Gulketin, 2011). These mechanisms of control upon a woman and her body dominate both her marriage and all her other relationships (Gulketin, 2011). Culturally, family honor is one of the core values of Middle Eastern and South Asian societies. Instances such as speaking with an unrelated man, rumored or actual engagement in premarital sex, extra-marital affairs, refusal of arranged marriages, or even females who have been raped, can be linked with sullying or destroying family honor (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007).

Across several cultures around the globe, including that of South Asia, an individual's identity is closely linked to their family unit. Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and Coptic Christians similarly subscribe to the belief that the family's honor is also a personal reflection on each member of the family (Plant, 2005). As a result, males from such groups have extremely strong responses to actions of other female family members that appear to dishonor the family, including acts of great violence (Plant, 2005). The practice of honor killing occurs when a female member of the family has brought a perceived level of dishonor to the family typically through acts that are sexual in nature (Plant, 2005).

Khan (2006) discusses honor as a major motive behind the murders of female blood relatives by male family members. The murderers are commonly men with whom sexual interaction is prohibited socially and religiously (fathers, brothers, sons, uncles). Because these killers are blood relatives of the female victims, they cannot directly fall into the category of crimes of passion (Khan, 2006). Thus the major distinction between the two acts is a lack of sexual relationship in honor killings. Honor killings can occur if a woman has a sexual

relationship with another man, but the killing would be committed by a direct family member since the cultural belief lies in honor only being restored when the woman who dishonored the family is killed. These killings are often committed due to issues of power and control, as male family members believe the dishonorable behaviors to stem from defiance and rebellion of the female (Khan, 2006).

Underlying Assumptions of Honor Killings

Males are not the only family members who are involved in fueling honor killings. Women in the family such as mothers and sisters have also been involved in such acts. An example of this took place in England, as a young Pakistani man strangled his sister while their mother helped hold the victim down (Plant, 2005). Another example includes a young woman's two aunts taking her for a walk through an open patch of land, stepping aside, and allowing the teenage brother of the young woman to quickly appear and shoot her in the head five times (Plant, 2005). In another case example, a mother hired a gunman to attend a divorce settlement with her daughter who was claiming to have been involved in an abusive relationship. The mother ordered the gunman to shoot her daughter after the meeting had adjourned. The mother then proceeded to leave quietly after the shooting (Plant, 2005). Given these examples, it is evident the carrying out of honor killings is not limited to only male family members (Plant, 2005).

Plant (2005) also discusses that aside from immediate family members, communities often times may enforce honor killing. In one case example from Israel, after stabbing his sister to death in public during the day, the killer explained he did not want to kill his sister and stated the community members pushed him to take such actions. This type of involvement from

communities is less common; however, there are cases in which trial councils decide the women should be killed, and send men to carry out the killing. This example showcases the killing may not have occurred if community's push for an honor killing had not been so influential with the brother.

Victims of Honor Killings

As Onal (2008) describes, child marriages are on the rise in countries like Pakistan and India, and more youth are being forced to participate in arranged marriages set up by their families. Reports of one case in 2002 describe a seventeen year old girl who ran away from home after being beaten for refusing to marry a cousin who was twice her age. Her sister was decided by the family to have an arranged marriage to a Kurdish cousin, but was killed prior to this as she was caught kissing an Iranian man from a different Kurdish clan. The girls' uncle and father committed the murders. When speaking to the surviving sister, she described desiring a life in which she would be able to travel the world, marry and have children, but discussed the familial restrictions that consist of marrying relatives such as cousins and becoming so "deep and intimate and incestuous that the members of it lose themselves" (Onal, 2008, p. 10).

Onal's (2008) research explores murders of Kurdish women that occurred in places such as North America and England. One example includes a nineteen-year old girl in May of 2007, who was taken to Iraqi Kurdistan from her home in Birmingham, England and stoned to death after her family found unfamiliar numbers on her mobile phone. In 2007, UK officials suggested that a dozen honor killings occur each year predominately in families of South Asian origin (Onal, 2008). The officially reported estimates of the numbers of women who die in honor killings range from five thousand to ten thousand a year (Epstein, 2010). According to the UN

Population Fund, an estimated total annually is five thousand deaths, reported by the secretary-general to the UN General Assembly in 2006 (Epstein, 2010). But these numbers underestimate the actual toll because most honor killings are recorded as suicides or accidental deaths, or even frequently not recorded at all (Epstein, 2010).

Honor killing can be described as behavior occurring within specific ethnic or cultural communities. The culture itself causes this criminal violence. Those who have survived honor killings describe the nature of their experiences in memoires such as *Honor Lost* by Norma Khouri, *Burned Alive* by Souad, *In the Name of Honour* by Mukhtar Mai, and *In Honor of Fadime: Murder and Shame* by Unni Wikan. Within these memoirs, the concept of honor is explored in historical and cross-cultural depth, linking cultures in which honor related violence occurs. In addition, these particular memoirs explore honor killings within the context of communities and culture in which this violence is embedded, along with implications for women, families and societies in which these acts are embedded.

Honor Killings in Various Parts of Pakistan

Looking specifically at Muslim countries around the world where these acts are commonly practiced, Pakistan is among one of the highest. My focus on Pakistan is additionally influenced by the culturally reflective portion of my research as a Pakistani-American woman. Women are killed due to a multitude of accusations and even being a victim of rape can be considered a form of a woman dishonoring her family (Goodwin, 2003). Under the law as it stands in Pakistan, women who have been raped can be charged with adultery or fornication. In order to prove *"zina,"* or sex before marriage, four Muslim adult males of "respectable" reputations have to be present and attest to the act of sexual penetration. This law in Pakistan

has made it almost impossible to punish the rapists, and instead the victim is prosecuted. Her legal complaint of rape is instead confession of illicit sexual intercourse for which she can be punished. In a case example used in Goodwin's (2003) book, she describes a sixteen year old girl in Pakistan who was virtually blind and employed as a domestic in the home of a local landowner. This young girl was raped first by her employer's son, and then by her employer and as a result became pregnant and gave birth to an illegitimate child. The victim's father registered a case of rape, however the judge acquitted both the son and then father due to a lack of four male witnesses. The pregnancy was deemed in court as evidence of fornication. Her sentence was three years of imprisonment, a public flogging, and a fine of 1,000 rupees. The judge explained he was giving the disabled teenager a "light sentence" because of her disability and young age (Goodwin, 2003). These honor based crimes have taken place in countries such as Pakistan, where it has been reported legal authorities often refuse to believe violence such as rape even exists. In a country where a woman's honor, purity and chastity must be preserved at all costs, even to death, women are subject to sexual assault almost daily, as Pakistan's newspapers attest (Goodwin, 2003).

Violence against women in Pakistan has become an issue that has recently received more attention, although these crimes have been underreported and have existed for centuries (Goodwin, 2003). One of the highest judicial authorities in Pakistan denied that rape is a problem in his country, stating, "rape in the West is a sickness. Our society is not a sick society" (Goodwin, 2003, p.51). According to Goodwin (2003), human rights lawyers indicate that almost fifty percent of the reported rapes in the country are gang rapes, usually carried out when someone wants to take revenge against a man, which often consists of raping the perpetrator's female relatives (Goodwin, 2003).

Honor Killings around the Globe

Although honor killings are not specifically limited to the Islamic World, they appear to be most commonly practiced in countries with predominately Muslim populations (Mayell, 2002). Apart from several Middle Eastern and South Asian countries, honor crimes and killing have occurred in part of South American and Africa (Mayell, 2002). Reports submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights show that honor killings have occurred in Bangladesh, Great Britain, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Pakistan, Morocco, Sweden, Turkey, and Uganda (Mayell, 2002). In countries not submitting reports to the United Nations, these crimes were condoned under the rule of the fundamentalist Taliban government in Afghanistan, and have been reported in Iraq and Iran (Mayell, 2002). According to Peristiany and Safilios-Rothschild (1969), who examine the Greek concept of honor and shame, the Greek concept of *philotimo* determines whether any action must be taken against dishonorable conduct or whether such conduct must be responded to with violence in order to restore honor (Dogan, 2011, p.426). Laws in both Ancient Rome and France allowed a man to murder his wife or daughter for illicit sexual relationships (Plant, 2005). Each region has different laws pertaining to these circumstances. For example, Haiti implemented French law, and this law currently remains in place. Some countries including Pakistan have modified their laws pertaining to honor killing, while countries such as Haiti have laws that have remained the same for years (Plant, 2005). Honor killings in Jordan are the most common and account for a quarter of all murders (Plant, 2005). Until 1991, honor killings in Brazil were deemed legal. A number of countries including India, Pakistan, Lebanon, Turkey, Egypt and Jordan have had open honor killings in communities (Plant, 2005). When analyzing the social background of "honor" as a cultural concept, we can create a foundation in which to begin to attempt to

understand the fatal consequences of certain cultural traditions in Turkey (Gultekin, 2011). These honor based killings have been documented globally in big cities and in diverse communities which provide evidence for these killings to not be limited or specific to only one ethnic group, region or social group (Gultekin, 2011).

This practice has continued to come to Western nations with immigration. Honor crimes in Europe and the United States most commonly occur within immigrant communities. Immigrant or refugee women in Europe are often not able to speak the language of their country of residence, rendering them more prone to unreported violence and abuse. These women are less likely to have access to legal or state support, or to even be aware of their rights. Countries like Germany, Sweden, Turkey and the United Kingdom have seen such crimes being committed within their borders (Tripathi & Yadav, 2005). The support for honor killings is not limited to tribal societies but also occurs among individuals residing in traditional communities among modern societies (Epstein, 2010). A poll by the BBC's Asia network, for example, found that one in ten young British Asians believe that honor killings can be justified. And in a poll of five hundred Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, and Muslims reported in 2009 by the online Women's E-news, one tenth said they would condone the murder of someone who "disrespected" their family's honor (Epstein, 2010).

These honor-based cultures are not limited to one country, but in fact Muslim countries have developed cultural expectations and norms around the term honor (Onal, 2008). Men who live in honor-based cultures are often perpetually fearful, suspicious, and angry, fueling the violence with which they react when they believe their accusations and anxieties have been confirmed (Onal, 2008). The British Home Office statistics report annually, about 12 honor killing cases occur across several different UK communities, including Sikh, Christian and

Muslim families (Dogan, 2011). The United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women in 2002 and 2003 show data that honor killing is not restricted to Muslim communities (Dogan, 2011). This same data shows in Upper Egypt, it was found that Coptic families (Egyptian Christian) were statistically as likely as Muslim families to commit honor killings (Dogan, 2011). Within the same context, it was reported that these killings take plan in Palestinian Christian communities in Palestine, in Indian among Hindu communities and in Yazidis communities, who reside in communities in northern Iraq and are often mistakenly regarded as devil-worshipers by many Muslims and Christians (Dogan, 2011). Aside from Pakistan, in Turkey and the UK, there is a strong correlation between honor-based codes and a reluctance to educate girls and young women, which has resulted in girls failing to finish their education, and instead being forced to have an arranged marriage at an early age (Onal, 2008). When analyzing some of the cultural expectations that exist within societies in which honor killings exist, it can be stated that girls are often faced with extreme hardships such as being forced into an arranged marriage, and thus unable to go against what their families have decided for their future (Onal, 2008).

During the 1990s, the international women's movement re-conceptualized violence against women as a human rights issue and put it on the agendas of various United Nations bodies, it seemed as though change was on its way (Onal, 2008). This was during the same decade in which there was a particular stigmatization of the Muslim world based on naming and publicizing the "honor crime." In 2000 two United Nations General Assembly resolutions condemned "crimes committed in the name of honor," as it was eventually rendered into acceptable language (Abu-Lughod, 2011). In defining these killings, most commonly a woman would be in violation of a sexual code and be killed in an effort for the family to restore honor to

their family. It can be considered as marking a culturally specific form of violence, distinct from other widespread forms of domestic or intimate partner violence, including the more familiar passion crime.

Honor, while an extremely important concept for society, can be mysterious and enigmatic during its implementation (Gulketin, 2011). There does not appear to be a generalized definition of "honor" in the traditional values system, which as a result, has been involved as part of several contradictions, restrictions and punishments (Gulketin, 2011). It is not possible to present a standard definition of honor, its implementation or its approach to gender (Gulketin, 2011). This particular ambiguity of honor is due to cultural and regional differences (Gulketin, 2011). Most commonly, within societies in which these honor killings occur, are committed in types of patriarchal societies where women are not just unequal to men, but have no moral agency (Tripathi & Yadav, 2005). Honor killing can be traced back an ancient practice in which men kill female relatives in the name of family honor for forced suspected sexual activity outside marriage, even when they have been victims of rape. These crimes are considered to be culturally sanctioned homicidal violence directed at women and girls around the world (Tripathi & Yadav, 2005).

In Europe there has been an increase in women and young girls wearing the Muslim veil, the hijab. This increase could be linked to Islamic fundamentalism on one end, but could just as easily be attributed to a hyper focus on Islam due to the rise of Islamaphobia in Europe. As a result, in France, this has led to the legal banning of all headscarves and other religious symbols in state schools, in the name of French secularism (Werner, 2005). Taking a look at how the rise of fundamentalism impacts honor killings in Europe is crucial for the research I am conducting.

It is extremely important to shed light on the transition from norms of honor to norms of equal dignity and how it has played out in the field of gender, killing and war (Lindner, 2006).

The Fight Against Honor Killings

Various national and international human rights organizations, universities, non-government organizations (NGOs), and research reports have published statistical data that have presented an extremely disheartening picture regarding violence against women at the global level (Khan, 2006). This type of violence is increasingly on the rise, as violent acts against women are a universal phenomenon in the world, "East" and "West", developing countries, and across boundaries of class, caste and creed (Khan, 2006). Khan (2006) describes Muslim women as 50% of the world's one billion Muslim population. This population is spread over 86 countries, with half a billion Muslim women being citizens of 57 Muslim states. These regions are affiliated with more than 200 languages, divided into three socio-economic classes (upper, middle, lower) and living mostly in semi-rural or rural areas, which are still under the strong clutches of feudal and tribal systems. The phenomenon of honor killing did not flood the media until about 15 years ago, and with these reports there seemed to be a consensus among the cases that such crimes/killings occurred mostly in uneducated, poor villages with long traditions of self-administered justice. In educated, urban classes, such killings were rarely reported (Khan, 2006).

Even among educated and modernized Muslim families, a bride is still expected to be a virgin. Several honor killings have been reported among societies in which women, who do not bleed on their wedding night face threats such as divorce by their new husbands, or death by their father or brother. Due to fear of women being killed, the solution for this problem has been sought in surgical restoration of the hymen. Khan (2006) explains gynecologists observe that

this procedure is simple and inexpensive and consists of stitching the remains of the hymen together. This practice has been observed in areas such as Egypt, Jordan and other Arab countries, but has recently become illegal because it has been labeled as "defrauding the husband."

Hurdles in the Eradication of Honor Killings

It appears evident that the practice and the reasoning behind honor killings will be difficult to erase, as it has occurred globally among several societies for centuries. The protection of women's honor is an important part of the symbolic glue of kin groups that are, in many societies, the essential political bodies that maintain social order (Epstein, 2010). Sociologists like Roger Friedland and Mounira Charrad, who have extensively researched the cultural, cognitive and social roles of women globally, argued that control over women and marriage ensures that tribal groups can fully regulate the relationships between clans (Epstein, 2010). This is not so different from the marriages negotiated between the royal houses and aristocratic families of many countries in the West up to the early twentieth century (Epstein, 2010). Charrad studied the tribal foundations of the former French colonies of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, similarly points to the political importance of tribal alliances created through the exchange of women (Epstein, 2010). In an effort to eradicate honor killings, different organizations including non-government organizations (NGOs) have become increasingly aware of this global issue, and this heightened awareness has brought a more proactive stance in attempting to put both legal and community parameters in place.

Several attempts by international human rights and women's rights organizations to impose penalties for honor killings have been challenged at the United Nations (Epstein, 2010).

According to ESCR-FEM, the online listserv for Women's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the UN Human Rights Council adopted a resolution in 2009 "promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms through a better understanding of *traditional* values of humankind" (Epstein, 2010, p.56). With regard to this proposed resolution, the vote came to twenty-six in favor, fifteen against, with six abstentions (Epstein, 2010). Originally, this resolution was proposed by Russia along with strong support from the Arab League and the Organization of the Islamic conference, a grouping of fifty-seven UN member states (Epstein, 2010). Across the globe, it appeared Human Rights organizations strongly opposed this proposed resolution, declaring this particular passage would set a destructive precedent by affirming a concept (*traditional values*) often used to legitimize human rights abuses (Epstein, 2010, p.56). Although there are many organizations around the world devoted towards improving the conditions of women with regard to crimes such as honor killings, it is important to recognize the specific difficulties, such as proposed resolutions, political power and cultural sensitivity with language.

With regard to hurdles in the eradication of honor killings specific to the region of Pakistan, there has been a great push towards involvement and awareness of honor related crimes in the past decade (Aurat Foundation, 2004). A non-profit organization named Aurat Foundation based in Islamabad, Pakistan, has created a Legislative Watch Program. In October of 2004, this organization released a text discussing how biased societal attitudes and cultural traditions have contributed in no small measure towards condoning practices such as honor killing. In countries such as Pakistan, the law does not always ensure justice to victims, but within the context of honor killings in the past, has often allowed the perpetrators to get away completely, or with minimal penalty. In Pakistan, before 2004, the law provided legal protection to many of those

who would commit honor crimes (fathers, grandfathers, husbands, sons, etc.) against maximum penalty. The law additionally allowed compromise between the parties on the basis of waiver or compounding of offences, including murder, on payment of compensation. Due to honor crimes being committed by close relatives, cases of this nature would get settled through compromises and criminals managed to escape any form of punishment, as the laws of Pakistan did not enforce any minimum mandatory punishment for murder. Instead, the courts were left with unlimited discretion to decide whether any penalty should be imposed on the perpetrators. Because of this lack of enforcement, most aggressors would get away with minimal or no penalty (Aurat Foundation, 2004).

In an effort to address these severe deficits in the law in Pakistan, Aurat Foundation collaborated with other concerned civil society organizations, jurists, constitutional experts, lawyers, human rights and political activists and drafted a legislative bill proposing a number of amendments in the Pakistan Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. Included in these amendments was specific language stating the perpetrators of these crimes do not escape punishment (*qisas* or *ta'zir*) for their crimes, the criminals become liable to some mandatory minimum penalty, and that no loopholes exist in the law which allow the courts to let them off with no penalty. In 2004, two bills were introduced in the National Assembly; a private members bill by representatives of the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) and an official bill by the government (Aurat Foundation, 2004). Unfortunately, the organization's director stated that the official bill, despite picking up some points of civil society, remains largely a cosmetic measure (Wagha, Aurat Foundation, 2012). The main and most fatal problem in the bill is that it has not made punishment for honor crimes mandatory. This defeats the purpose of introducing legislation in this regard. Honor crimes/killings legislation in Pakistan

have included a minimum penalty of 10 years with a maximum sentence of 14 years, but often times are left completely at the discretion of the courts.

Theories behind Family Violence

There are several individual and developmental theories that share perspectives which address issues of different influences on family violence (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). Some studies link biology to altered forms of family violence that come in four areas: head injuries, physiological reactivity, testosterone, and temporal lobe dysfunctions. This research has primarily been linked to male batterers who have a history of head injuries severe enough to result in concussion or loss of consciousness (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). Social information processing theories laid a much heavier emphasis on social cognitive processes in individuals who maltreat others (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). There is a strong emphasis in this theory that the perpetrator's judgments about the behaviors, thoughts, and feelings of family members and their limited response for dealing with frustrations, disappointments and negative emotions lead to a reliance on aggression (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). It appears that these acts are learned through association with others, and the subculture promotes a value system where violence is regarded as normal, and is expected of others in the case of dishonorable conduct (Dogan, 2011). The principle that the right to claim honor requires killing or violence in return is reinforced and transmitted from generation to generation (Dogan, 2011). These norms are then reinforced with social rewards and punishment. Community members who do not wish to follow the norms are in turn criticized, ridiculed, condemned, or excluded by the community, and those who follow them are admired and respected (Dogan, 2011). If these constraints and sanctions were not in place, the community or subculture would soon lose its

separate identity. To a certain extent, this explains why those living in the communities where honor killings are committed, often fail to adopt different thought processes, interpretations or understandings regarding the concept of honor and shame (Dogan, 2011). These killings are often justified by perceived social and moral infractions, and women are held in strict segregation to guard against these possibilities (Epstein, 2010). Additionally, an explanation of why honor killing is not solely a "Muslim phenomenon" and is interconnected with the social learning around the globe is provided (Dogan, 2011). Social learning theory proposes a popular explanation for family violence, which theorizes individuals learn appropriate situations and targets for aggression the way in which they learn everything else, through pattern of reinforcements and punishments that they experiences through observing (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). A related approach is the intergenerational transmission of violence thesis, which is rooted in social learning theory (Markowitz, 2001, p.207). This particular theory describes, through learning processes, witness and experiencing violence as a child leas to a greater use of violence as an adult (Markowitz, 2001). Cultural, or attitudinal explanations from this theory also point to how exposure to violence directly leads to the legitimation of its use as a means of problem solving and punishing wrongdoing (Markowitz, 2011). With regard to honor killings, these communities perpetuate violence that occurs in each generation, exposing children to this form of violence that may later be prone to learning these acts are acceptable and permissible.

The microsystem level theories include that of the systems theory (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). Systems theory in particular is strongly connected with analyzing families as dynamic, adaptive social systems with feedback processes taking place among family members in ways that maintain the stability of the system (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). In

attempting to maintain the stability of the system, families in which honor killings are committed, may link their homeostasis with preservation of honor. The loss of honor is equal to loss of life; and an ideal man lives for his honor (Dogan, 2011). If honor is compromised, immediate strain on the family system is created that can induce the conflict in which violence arises. The concept of honor that inspires violence and killing has both collective and gender specific aspects, and it is closely associated with the concept of shame (Dogan, 2011). Within these communities, the concept of honor that inspires violence and raises the expectation of retaliation with violence mainly emanates from the assumption that the honor of the family or group is dependent on the conduct of its members (Dogan, 2011). This system theory additionally supports the family dynamic in which the violence occurs. For example, deciding which family members would be involved in executing the killing or crime is determined in part by who is head of the family. As the responsibility of protecting the honor of female relatives has been assumed by men, the men are therefore obliged to supervise the conduct of their female relatives and remain vigilant at all times (Dogan, 2011). The killing of these girls and women are most commonly committed by their fathers, brothers, or male cousins (Epstein, 2010). This theory targets influences in families as bi-or multidirectional. Considering this perspective, maltreatment in families no longer is viewed as a simple matter; rather it results from everyday stresses and strains on the family system that induces conflicts (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). When looking at honor killings, it is an issue that ties in the family in its entirety, and can lead back to the culture within the home and/or society.

Application of exosystem level theories such as sociocultural theories can reduce the likelihood of violence as a response to stress (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). Social connectedness typically acts as a protective factor; however there is evidence that certain

communities' norms may exacerbate issues of domestic violence (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). In such contexts experiencing individual's peer group and community can contribute to the likelihood that violence will be viewed as an acceptable solution to difficulties within the family (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). There is evidence that different religious groups cross-culturally may also have tolerance for the use of aggressive tactics (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). This can play a role in the sanctioning of some forms of maltreatment (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). An example of how social connectedness impacts communities, in which honor killings occur, includes the acceptance of honor killing from a cross-cultural and global perspective. These communities may, in turn, demonstrate a certain tolerance to these killings and feel as though they are reclaiming the honor of their family, not murdering without ample cause.

When looking at the macrosystem level theories such as feminist theory, this perspective offers the assumption that domestic violence or violence within the family is a gendered problem. Hines and Malley-Morrison (2005) describe feminists as generally agreeing that characteristics of perpetrators, victims, and interactions among these perpetrators and victims, as well as expectations about families and society, are all profoundly influenced by gender and power. Violence against women and children has been associated with patriarchal norms around the world throughout history (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). Specifically in the United States, there is evidence that the greater the social inequality between men and women, the higher the levels of violence such as wife assault (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). When looking outside of the United States, cross culturally, male dominance within the family has been found to predict wife abuse, but physical abuse, child abuse, and a higher level of husband dominance in the family as well (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). In "honor societies," which

are characteristic of much of the developing world, girls and women are denied the protections that outside affiliations and affection might provide (Epstein, 2010). When deviating from the rules imposed by male authorities, such labels a female can receive include being called "contaminated" and elicit harsh sanctions (Epstein, 2010). At its most serious, "contamination" is decreed when a women or girl is believed to have sought or had a sexual connection outside marriage, whether she acts from a desire to choose her own mate or is a victim of rape (Epstein, 2010). This gender specific crime can occur within or outside the family, both regarding sexual contamination as punishable by murder in these societies (Epstein, 2010). Within these societies, great inequalities exist between genders, increasing the risk of violence against women and children due to these patriarchal norms.

Keeping an ecological perspective in mind, in order to better understand how people may maltreat family members or other intimates, there has to be a basic understanding of the genetic endowments of those individuals, the microsystem in which they are currently embedded, characteristics of the neighborhood within which their family functions, and the larger society that embraces all the separate neighborhoods. From this same ecological perspective, maltreatment can be explained as a product of the genetic endowments, behaviors, cognitions, and effects of the individual at the center as well as those at each ecological level (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005). Several family violence theories can provide a broader explanation of crimes such as honor killings, with regard to how and why they occur on both a micro and macro level among societies around the world.

Chapter III - Methodology and Research Design

I used two separate methods including an autoethnography coupled with structured interviews of 22 Muslim American women about their concepts and ideas surrounding the topic of honor. The autoethnography allowed me to engage in a personal journey where I documented and described my thought process through the methodology of an autoethnography. I answered and reflected upon the same eight questions that were provided to each participant. The personal, professional, and political emancipator potential of autoethnographic performances as a method of inquiry can be described as the coming together of the meeting of the "autobiographic impulse" and the "ethnographic moment" represented through movement and critical self-reflexive conversation in performance, articulating the intersections of peoples and culture through the inner sanctions of the always migratory identity (Spry, 2001).

The focus of an autoethnography is on the self, the personal experience that allows for an individual's narration. Within all autoethnographies is the central positioning of the author in relation to the social, cultural, or political with the assumption that the narrator-researcher's experience is illustrative of the wider phenomena. This form of methodology often creates a space for dialogue and debate that instigates and shapes social change (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). The autoethnographic section of this research allows for an added reflection of my personal beliefs and attitudes surrounding this topic. In addition to researching honor killings, I have also gathered data regarding how to execute an autoethnography. I have modeled portions of my research from the works of authors who have exemplified autoethnographic styles of writing such as, as Sarah Wall (2006), *An Autoethnography on Learning Autoethnography*, and Melanie Joy McNaughton (2012), *Insurrectionary Womanliness: Gender and the (Boxing) Ring.* These

authors have skillfully written autoethnographies that have investigated their subject through their personal journey. Researching these particular autoethnographies has given me a stronger understanding of how to integrate my personal reflection throughout this research.

While researching autoethnographies, I explored the challenges of this methodology. Five pitfalls that autoethnographers need to watch out for include: (1) excessive focus on self in isolation of others; (2) overemphasis on narration rather than analysis and cultural interpretation; (3) exclusive reliance on personal memory and recalling as a data source; (4) negligence of ethical standards regarding others in self-narratives; and (5) inappropriate application of the label "autoethnography" (Chang, 2008). In an effort to avoid these pitfalls, I balanced my research with findings from both my personal journey in the form of an autoethnography, as well as from the qualitative interviews I conducted.

In addition to implementing the autoethnography methodology, I used basic principles of narrative inquiry. The term narrative carries several meanings and is used in a variety of ways by different disciplines, often synonymously with story. Several questions were asked during this process such as; for whom was this story constructed, how was it made and for what purpose? What cultural discourses does it draw on – take for granted? What does it accomplish? (Riessman & Speedy, 2007, pp. 428-429). The major claim for the use of narrative in education research is that humans are story telling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. Therefore, this methodology demonstrates in writing the ways in which humans experience the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Although pure narrative inquiry was not implemented within the methods, basic principles were adopted throughout the autoethnographic portion in an effort to provide a detailed narrative of my journey throughout the course of research.

Rossman and Rallis (2012) describe qualitative research as quintessentially interactive. This methodology allows the researcher to remain involved and engaged with participants in the study. This reflexive capacity coupled with the ability to question and explore each participant's journey helps shape awareness of the researcher's interpretation of the interviews. Because the researcher is conducting the study and asking questions, there is room for growth in becoming aware of biased perspectives, interests, opinions, prejudices and assumptions. Qualitative research allows for the sharing of knowledge based on pure descriptions of the phenomena as opposed to preconceived notions of the subject (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). It additionally focuses on description, analysis and interpretation versus quantitative research, which tends to control and predict (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Participants

The sample in this study included 22 Muslim American women. These adults identified themselves as Muslim American women, aged 25 to 40, of South Asian nationality, and were required to be born in the United States. Originally, 24 women were interviewed, but two interviews were unable to be used as two women identified themselves as American, the demographic questionnaire showed these women had been born in countries outside of the United States. An autoethnographical portion including archived data and records were gained through literature on honor killing, as well as personal insight and journalistic interviews with professionals in the field within this study.

Procedures

Following Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, I began recruiting participants through convenience sampling. Participants were recruited by using a Recruitment Script (Appendix A) that was sent to local list-services, posted where Muslim American women were likely to be found, and were provided to organizations in the area who specialize in assisting Asian/Arab groups. I additionally utilized my personal network to maximize recruitment. Organizations were provided information and asked for their assistance in recruiting participants that may be eligible to participate in my study. Once potential participants were identified, I explained the study and answered questions for the participants, reviewed expectations for participation, as well as confirmed the required aspects of the study. After this procedure, if the participants were interested in continuing in the study, an interview was scheduled.

Participants were interviewed at a designated private area such as a library conference room, their homes, or other locations participants felt comfortable. Informed consent forms were carefully read, clarified and signed (Appendix B). Participants then engaged in face to face, one-on-one in depth structured interviews in order to describe their attitudes and beliefs regarding honor killings. The interviews were estimated to last between 60 to 90 minutes. Utilizing the same interview structure for each participant, and with their permission, I audio recorded the interviews. Additionally, I hired a transcriber for my recorded interviews prior to coding them. A contract was created to ensure privacy measures were agreed upon, and each interview once transcribed, was sent back via an encrypted password protected file. In the event the participant became visibly upset, or disclosed that she was upset, I would have immediately offered a break or to stopped the interview. No interviews were in need of such break or premature stopping point within the 24 interviews that were conducted for this study.

Throughout each interview, I took notes as needed and described the observed comfort level, non-verbal behavior and through the interview, as well as emotional reactions.

Participants completed a Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix C) that consisted of specific questions regarding their geographic location as well other pertinent background information. An Interview Questionnaire that contained a series of eight questions designed to promote a stronger understanding of the culture, beliefs and attitudes behind honor killings was completed by participants (Appendix D). Additionally, I continued to journal about any personal reactions to these interviews and answered the same questions as a parallel process for the autoethnographic portion of the study. I also traveled to Pakistan and recorded my reactions to my interactions with this topic in my readings, casual conversations and structured interviews with several academics from different Universities throughout the Islamabad, Pindi and Lahore area. At Quaid-i-Azam University's National Institute of Psychology Program, I met with Professor Dr. Anila Kamal and discussed her article, "*Attitudes about Honour Killing Among Men and Women – Perspective from Islamabad.*" Within this University, I spoke with Lecturer Irum Naqvi regarding her views of the concepts of honor and honor killings. In addition to Universities, I traveled to Aurat Foundation, a non-government organization (NGO) in Islamabad, Pakistan. I spoke with several directors and employees who discussed Pakistan's progression towards eradicating honor killings through changes within the law since 2004. I continued to travel to several libraries, including Higher Education Commission (HEC), and met with Director Muhammad Javed Iqbal in an effort to uncover the latest research on honor killings being conducted within the country.

After each interview was complete, I provided closure by debriefing with discussion and asked question number eight, "What was this experience like for you?" (Appendix D). In

addition to debriefing with participants directly following the interviewing, I provided them with a Mental Health Resource List (Appendix E) and allowed them the opportunity to seek further therapeutic services if necessary. At the close, participants received financial compensation for their participation in the form of a $10 Target gift card. Following the interviews, I studied the results and recorded comments, concerns and reflections. Lastly, I made phone calls in an effort to follow up with each participant and discuss any questions or concerns up to 2-4 weeks after the interview (Appendix F). I was able to speak to 7 out of the 22 participants, several participants were unavailable, at which point I left my contact information and requested a call back. Out of the 14 call backs, only 2 participants called back, left a voicemail requesting no additional information needed to be added, as well as no changes were requested.

The transcripts were analyzed using the constant comparative method which is the backbone of grounded theory research. After reviewing and listening to the recordings as well as having them transcribed, analysis began. Each transcription was saved on a password protected file, which was later reviewed by this researcher and a consultant on the committee (no identifying information was disclosed during these meetings). The constant comparative method (CCM) together with theoretical sampling constitute the core of qualitative analysis in the ground theory approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (Boeije, 2002). By utilizing CCM, the method of comparing and contrasting was able to be demonstrated through intellectual tasks during analysis, such as forming categories, establishing the boundaries of the categories, assigning the segments to categories, summarizing the content of each category, finding negative evidence, etc. (Boeije, 2002, p.392). Constant Comparative Analysis allowed for systematic comparison of the data to each other, which involved coding, recoding and analyzing data. Line by line

theoretical coding was performed as described in Glaser and Strauss, (2009) in an effort to identify what lay within the data. In an iterative manner, we went from coding to sorting to combining in categories until all 22 interviews were transcribed and coded at which point seven themes emerged. It was then under the framework of grounded theory, in which a theory was developed directly from the themes.

The autoethnographic findings included a process of journaling from the start of writing the dissertation proposal, developing the literature review, traveling to Pakistan, as well as recording and taking notes on observations and reflections of each interview. There was also journaling that took place during the coding and interpretation process. After all of the journaling was complete, I went back through my notes, journals, recorded interviews with academics in Pakistan, and began to document my autoethnography.

Materials

Each participant engaged in in-depth interviews, and initially completed a demographic questionnaire (Appendix C), in order to gather an understanding of where the participant is in the acculturation process. Participants were asked questions about their demographics as well as those relating to their definition and concept of honor, understanding of honor killings, and opinions and attitudes surrounding the current state of this subject.

Data Analysis

Audiotaped and transcribed interviews were gathered from interaction with participants (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Through analyzing the subjective experiences and views of Muslim American women, this research brought light to narratives of how cultural shifts impacted beliefs

about constructs such as gender, honor, and violence. The audiotaped and transcribed narratives where then formulated into an preliminary themes document in which a series of creating, combining and collapsing themes occurred, utilizing Constant Comparative Methods. Once the seven themes were generated through using CCM, this researcher then under the framework of grounded theory, was able to generate a theory derived from the data that previously collected, coded and formulated and transformed into themes. These seven themes were essentially a prelude to the theory that was created within this study.

Several strengths of grounded theory make it beneficial for this study. First, this method contains tools for analyzing and situating processes. Thus, the logic of grounded theory leads to (1) defining relevant processes, (2) demonstrating their contexts, (3) specifying the conditions in which these processes occur (4) conceptualizing their phases, (5) explicating what contributes to their stability and/or change and (6) outlining their consequences. The purpose of grounded theory is to construct middle-range theory from data, giving myself as the researcher an increased ability of having an abstract level of conceptualizing of my analyses (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). By applying modified grounded theory to these interviews, themes were identified and analyzed to produce significant and beneficial results to the focus population.

All transcripts were checked for reliability to ensure accuracy was recorded by the researcher during the transcription process. Analysis such as coding was utilized by the researcher to ensure analysis is thorough and accurate, as reported by each participant. Validity of this study was achieved through a hired consultant and committee members checking to ensure the accuracy of the interviews, the utilization of descriptions, as well as self-description (Creswell, 2012).

I also used an aspect of participatory action research methodology as part of this study. Participatory Action Research (PAR) has a unique foundation in action that differentiates this method from others whose primary aim is to research and investigate. PAR has change and action as an embedded and critical element of its approach and is described as having two objectives. First, to create knowledge and action that is directly useful to a group of people through research, adult education or sociopolitical action. Secondly, to empower people at a second and deeper level through the process of constructing and using their own knowledge (Walter, 2009). This particular type of participatory methodology is directly applicable to my research, as I focused on empowering the participants through self-reflection of their own narratives. In following this methodology, I invited them to engage in a phone call after 2 to 4 weeks of the initial interview, which allowed for opportunity to add, delete or change any expressed thoughts. At that time, I also engaged in a reflective conversation that promoted additional debriefing of this experience in its entirety. In the event the participant was unable to complete a follow up interview, I left my contact information, requested a call back, and still included their information.

Authoethnographers are described as individuals who utilize multiple techniques in order to facilitate their recalling, organize memories, and compose field texts as data. The techniques of data collection include, but are not limited to, (1) using visual tools such as free drawings of significant places, "kinsgrams," and "culturegrams"; (2) inventorying people, artifacts, familial and societal values and proverbs, mentors, cross-cultural experiences, and favorite/disliked activities; (3) chronicling the autoethnographer's educational history, typical day and week, and annual life cycle; (4) reading and responding to other autoethnographies and self-narratives; and (5) collecting other field texts such as stories of others, "storied poems," personal journals, field

notes, letters, conversation, interviews with significant others, family stories, documents, photographs, memory boxes, personal-family-social artifacts, and life experiences (Chang, 2008). Autoethnographers are commended to develop their own techniques of data collection to meet their research goals.

Commonly used data collection techniques for ethnography is participant-observation, in which researchers participate in the lives of their informants while observing their behaviors. In a similar fashion to this, autoethnographers observe their own behaviors and document their thoughts while living them. Rodriguez and Ryave (2002) argue that self-observation as a data collection technique is useful because it gives access to "covert, elusive, and/or personal experiences like cognitive processes, emotions, motives, concealed actions, omitted actions, and socially restricted activities" (p. 3) and brings to the surface what is "taken-for-granted, habituated, and/or unconscious manner that [they]...are unavailable for recall" (p. 4). Self-observation may be used in the form of self-introspection when autoethnographers are alone or in the form of "interactive introspection" while the researchers interact with others. In the interactive introspection, the researchers and the others can interview each other "as equals who try to help one another relive and describe their recollection of emotional experiences" (Chang, 2008). Although Rodriguez and Ryave's technique of "systematic self-observation" is originally suggested for studies that utilize multiple informants who are instructed to conduct their own self-observation, this technique can be applied to autoethnography that focuses on one informant, none other than self. Field journals or a self-developed recording form may be used to document unstructured or structured self-observation.

Interviewing is another vital data collection technique employed in ethnographic fieldwork (Ellis 2004; Fontana & Frey 2000; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). Through

interviewing with myriad informants, ethnographers gather information unavailable from participant observation. When applied to autoethnography, interviews with others fulfill a different goal. The interviews provide not only outsider perspectives, but also external data to confirm, complement, or dispute internal data generated from recollection and reflection. One caveat, however, is that face-to-face interview can hamper honest exchanges between interviewers—autoethnographers themselves—and interviewees. To obtain more candid perspectives on autoethnographers from interviewees, external interviewers or other creative alternatives such as email survey or questionnaire compiled by a third party may be adopted (Chang, 2008).

Self-Disclosure

As part of the autoethnographic portion, I answered the 8 questions that are listed in Appendix D. This allowed for an opportunity to reflect on what my own personal attitudes and beliefs were surrounding the topic of honor killings as a Muslim American woman. This self-reflective process assisted in helping to identify my biases such as believing individuals who are more exposed to education may give less cultural importance to concepts such as honor.

Social Justice and Diversity

Honor killings occur around the world and are a direct violation of universal human rights. This subject matter demands attention and gives a voice to women who do not have one. The topic of honor killings also touches on the social injustices that are taking place in the form of extreme violence against women. While investigating Muslim American women's beliefs and

attitudes regarding this topic, as well as my own, I hoped to increase awareness of these killings through my research.

Chapter IV- Results

This research consisted of two parts, the first including an autoethnographic portion in which I documented my personal journey surrounding the topic of honor killings. Through traveling to Pakistan, interviewing academics at Universities in the cities of Islamabad, Lahore and Pindi, as well as informally speaking with locals, and reflecting on all of these experiences. I organized my thought process through the methodology of an autoethnography. In addition to this piece, I used a qualitative research approach to interview 22 Muslim American women from South Asian decent in an effort to explore what their personal beliefs and attitudes surrounding the topic of honor killings were. I additionally aimed to gain a stronger understanding of how culture, religion, gender and identity are expressed with women who identify themselves as Muslim American through compiling research that consisted of an autoethnography alongside a qualitative research portion. This study investigated the attitudes, beliefs and cultural implications Muslim American women have within the scope of honor killing by discussing views of honor within the family, restoring that honor if compromised, cultural impacts of honor, all in an effort to explore their perspective and understanding of honor within the context of honor killings.

A. Autoethnography Results

Discovering the Autoethnography

Autoethnographer Carolyn Ellis defines autoethnography as "research, writing, story, and method that connects the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political" (Ellis, 2004). One of my first thoughts for my research project was investigating, is it possible to give women a voice while allowing myself to document the journey? The methodology of an

autoethnography allowed room for a personal narrative to be written along the way. Being a first generation Muslim American Pakistani woman is a label that I have struggled to understand in its entirety through the years. I have always thought of the concept of honor as a fascinating topic, one that I felt deserves to be studied because of all of the implications surrounding this one idea. Personally, I have viewed honor as a concept that is deeply rooted within the South Asian culture, and with this concept has come great misunderstandings. My curiosity was directly linked with understanding how first generation Muslim American women view honor, and what the implications of these views were. Although I had decided I wanted to give women who have similar backgrounds to myself a voice, I simultaneously desired a way in which I could process how this journey would impact me, as I suspected it would on a multitude of levels.

It has been evident throughout this process, that having a personal narrative integrated within this research set a unique layer of depth. Yes, I absolutely wanted to interview first generation Muslim American South Asian women, but I also wanted a venue in which I could document how the research, interviews, coding, interpreting and findings impacted me all along the way. Within an autoethnography, I would be able to document what the journey would be like to come to terms with honor killings existing in a place in which my parents called home. Being Pakistani is a large part of who I am, although it does not begin to explain my identity alone, I do identify myself as Pakistani. Through developing a dissertation in which I am exploring the concept of honor and the cultural implications surrounding this topic, I have uncovered my own personal views as well.

Writing the Literature Review

A large portion of the dissertation proposal is the literature review. For this particular literature review, I had to read quite a bit of literature on honor killings. At first, this process was exciting, motivating, and inspiring. These heinous crimes were being committed, and I was going to bring light to this in a way in which I felt had not been done before. Through my own experiences as well as qualitative interviews with women in America, I was going to research the concept of honor with first generation Muslim Americans, like myself. As I began to read the research, it became dark, painful and in part, traumatizing. Day in and day out, in an effort to understand these acts, I would read stories of women who were killed around the world, and the more I learned, the more I came to the realization that these crimes were occurring within Muslim countries, therefore linking these acts to my own culture and history was challenging. I began to specifically look at Pakistan, as I identify myself as an Muslim American Pakistani. The numbers were seemed to be increasing, but through research this skew in data appeared as more of these acts were being reported. This was a painful process to go through, as reading the different case studies made my stomach turn. How could a country where my parents are from, a country I have visited my whole life, have such a high number or honor killings? What did this mean for Pakistan as a nation? What did this mean for Muslims? What did this mean for me as a Pakistani woman? These were all questions that went through my mind as I pushed myself to continue to research this emotionally painful topic.

Although I did not have any personal experience with honor killings, there was a large part of me that was always struck by the gender differences with my own culture. I cannot generalize the entire South Asian region, but as in insider from within this culture, I can understand from a lens of my family culture as well as my own Pakistani Muslim community

growing up. The differences were stark, and within my own home, they were extremely noticeable between my brother and myself. As I continued to research honor killings, I began to develop my own personal understanding of what honor meant to me, and how this impacted my views on honor killings within the culture. I read several memoirs, scholarly articles and watched several documentaries immersing myself in the topic. It was becoming noticeably clear that there was limited research published on this topic, and I noticed how I felt the media was heavily involved in influencing individual's understanding of honor killings. I first realized this as I brought up the topic with friends, family, coworkers, and then traveled to Pakistan. The understanding, I found, was typically loosely interpreted from what was either found in the media, or a personal story someone heard. I also found there was a huge push to separate Islam from the culture of honor killings, as individuals became rather defensive when discussing this topic. Rather than having conversations surrounding the topic, it was fairly common to end in a defense of Islam, and how Islamically honor is crucial, but honor killings are not accepted or condoned by the religion. These conversations pushed me further into trying to understand the latest research and writings around this topic. I was hard pressed to find the type of research I was looking for, which was more a personal narrative of how these acts impacted "insiders" of the religion and culture in which these acts were predominately occurring. Thus, perpetuating the idea that I would have to conduct research in which I was able to not only give myself a voice, but simultaneously give women who were also first generation Muslim American from South Asia, a voice as well. It was my mission to create a space in which we all could be heard.

My Journey to Pakistan

Initially, I wanted to conduct all of my interviews with women in Pakistan. In my opinion, this would have significantly changed the course of my research. As I became

increasingly familiar with my topic and defining my research question, I was drawn to the combination of an autoethnography and qualitative research involving Muslim American Women. I later limited my sample size to women with a South Asian background, which excluded the entire Middle East among other countries, along with converts of Islam. Due to IRB consideration, it was recommended I stay within a smaller population of women. After having narrowed down the selected population, traveling to Pakistan to implement more of a journalistic portion of my research was underway. I set up several meetings with different universities within different cities of Pakistan including Islamabad, Lahore and Pindi. I had a sea of hopes and dreams, thinking I would travel abroad and talk about this extremely taboo topic, gathering as much information as I could, while enhancing my knowledge of this topic as well as my own research all along the way. And then…I arrived. The entire process of coordinating with Pakistan in an effort to schedule interviews was discouraging, but I had managed to set up some interviews with the deans of the following universities: Quadi-A-Azam University's National Institute of Psychology, Government College Lahore University and University of Punjab. When arriving to these scheduled meetings, I quickly found that punctuality was not a priority of the country. Prior visits to Pakistan included seeing relatives, going shopping or other tourist activities, none of which required promptness. As I continued to travel to these different universities, I often found myself waiting for hours upon hours for individuals to attend our meeting. More often than not, an assistant or secretary would be sent in to speak with me, it wasn't until I brought a male figure with me, did I actually have the meetings I intended to conduct. Within the universities that I traveled to, only one had a Ph. D. Program in Clinical Psychology (Quaid-A-Azam University). Amongst these universities, the most common program I was referred to was the Gender Studies department. There I met some women who

were heavily involved with gender identity, which was closely connected to the concept of honor and honor killings, in my opinion. Through these journalistic interviews, I recorded interviews with not only members from the academia field, but also the director of an extremely renowned NGO, called Aurat Foundation. This particular foundation in Pakistan has worked with victims of honor killings, publishing several articles about this widespread phenomenon through the years. After speaking with a director at this foundation, it came to my attention that NGOs like Aurat were advocating for women by continuing to educate the public through their newsletters, as well as hiring attorneys pro-bono to work with women and families who were victims of honor crimes and honor killings. These recorded interviews along with many candid conversations with relatives and community members gave me a small picture of how people within this region may initially think about honor as a concept, and their views regarding honor killings. It was clear that most of my dialogue began with some form of skepticism surrounding "what America must think." This really caught my attention, as I felt at times I could be viewed as an insider due to my cultural background, but was often labeled as an outsider from the West. For example, during an interview with a director from Quaid-I-Azam University, inquired why the interview needed to be recorded, stating "America already has their views about our country." This comment in particular felt multi-layered, as it portrayed the United States as a close minded country, and particularly for me, identifying as an American and Pakistani, an unease in being linked to this notion.

Experiencing Qualitative Interviews

The process in which I had to figure out who exactly I would be interviewing dates back to writing the dissertation proposal. I had high hopes of trying to get detailed interviews in Pakistan of women and families who have experienced honor killings/crimes. The further I

researched the topic, the more I realized this would be an extremely dangerous and challenging task. This was not a topic that has been historically discussed openly across cultures, I was unsure of how individuals and communities may react to the researching of this topic. I also found myself trying to formulate how to research this topic in a sensitive, proactive and accurate light. As I processed what it was I wanted to know, while solidifying my research question, I realized talking to women much like me, first generation Muslim American women, was the key to findings. How do other Muslim American women define honor, how has this impacted who they are, their beliefs, was religion and culture as intertwined for them as it has been for me? This is how I formulated the questionnaire in which I asked 8 questions surrounding the topic of honor/honor killings. One of my biggest concerns was predicting if women would even want to participate in such research, and if so, what would it mean for them? As I put the feelers out in the community and spread the word through family and friends, I had more than enough to meet my 18-22 goal of interviews. In total, I interviewed 24 women, but later found after two of the women had filled out their demographic questionnaire, they both did not meet the inclusion requirement for being born in the United States, rather came here in infancy, one from Germany and the other from Pakistan. Due to the IRB regulations of only interviewing those who fit my original criteria of women who were born in the United States, I decided not to use these 2 interviews, as these women had not disclosed prior to setting up their interview, that they were born outside of the United and migrated at young ages. I instead, maintained the 22 interviews I had aimed for.

All of the interviews took place in Ohio, Illinois and Michigan. I decided to travel to each of these women, while some interviews took place in libraries or coffee shops, the majority occurred in private homes. I found myself feeling nervous upon starting the interview, and then

becoming more comfortable as women started to tell their stories. The one thing I found to be most beneficial for me was the drive home. I used this time as a space for me to process the interview, think about their responses, and predict possible themes that may come out of these interviews. Eventually, I realized how similar some answers tended to be with some questions. For example, when asking women where they have received their knowledge regarding honor killings, every single one of the 24 participants reported mainstream media. Another example included a response of women reporting some tie to their family and respect when discussing what honor meant to them growing up in their homes. What I found to be most challenging occurred around my 15th interview. It finally hit me, while I was driving home from a long interview where a participant told her story of what her family perceives honor to be, and how she often feels as though she is dishonoring her family, and I was suddenly overwhelmed with sorrow. I started to think back to all of the interviews I had completed, and how these women were pouring out their stories to me, and I was a stranger in their home experiencing similar thoughts, but never sharing them. As a researcher, the research tends to be one sided, in the sense that the researcher is not typically collecting data on his/herself, but completing an auto-ethnography, I was hyper aware of my own thoughts, journaling, making videos of myself, voice memos, any type of record that would allow me to remember what it is I was feeling. It suddenly hit me that I didn't have the opportunity to connect with these women, at times normalize their process, but instead, listened intently, completed the questionnaire, handed them their gift card, and went about my way. I would be able to organize my thoughts, and honor their words in a way that allowed them a voice. Grappling with the idea that we as Muslim women around the world are often viewed as oppressed, here was an opportunity to give light to what

honor truly meant to these women and myself, and that in turn play an integral role in our identities, that became my mission.

The Process of Coding/Interpreting Results

Now that I had collected all of the interviews, I had to decide if I was going to transcribe them myself, or hire someone to do so. This appeared to be a difficult decision for me, because on the one hand I wanted experience of re-reading and sitting with my interviews in a way that would allow me a greater understanding of them, but also time played a significant factor. I discussed the pros and cons of transcribing the interviews myself versus hiring someone to do so, and the more I thought about it, the more I decided I would hire someone from the outside to transcribe them in fear of rushing through my own words quickly. While waiting for the transcriptions, I began to study the process of coding, a challenge that I had yet to fully grasp. Coding was an essential part in which I would review and make meaning of the participants' words, and felt a heavy responsibility to given these women a powerful, accurate voice. Working with my committee members, as well as hiring on a consultant, I became knee deep in the words of all of these women, sifting through their stories and trying to attach meaning to it all. I struggled with this process a great deal. I found myself, beginning one transcript, jumping to the next, and then giving myself space away from it all and then coming back to it. The more I struggled, the more I was motivated to devise a plan that would organize this process so that there may be an end in sight. We decided to do line by line coding, and go through each line of each transcript and put my personal thoughts electronically on paper. Prior to this, I had created a document that was entitled *Preliminary Themes List.* This list allowed me to predict what I thought the outcome of the themes may be. As I began to go through each line, there were times when I would double or triple code, as well as not finding a theme to put my line in. This forced

me to created new themes throughout the coding process, and then coming back to it and condensing the themes as well at the end. I would say from a researcher's perspective, this was the most grueling yet meaningful process of it all. To sit down with an interview and be able to pinpoint what the words mean and to develop themes out of all of the interviews was a moving process. I felt honored to hear everyone's stories, yet I felt an immense amount of pressure to "get it right." When beginning to code and interpret the results, there was a realization that there really is no "right," only your best judgment on understanding each participant's narrative. After continuing to consult with my methods committee members and work through each transcript, I had decided on 7 themes. The following themes were identified; education, media, family, religion, culture, respect, and self-respect. I called my content expert and through our conversations, processing, and bouncing ideas back and forth, we decided upon education and media really being the strong major themes to which the other five were influenced by.

As part of the autoethnography process, I spent time formulating my answers to the same eight questions I asked each participant. When defining honor, I linked this concept to being respectful, and taking an individualistic approach and describing honor as being honest with oneself. Prior to beginning this research, my main source of exposure to honor killings came from a combination of academic journals, documentaries and mainstream media. Growing up in my home, honor was extremely stressed from my mother, who taught me being modest was very much in sync with carrying your family name in a positive light. There was consistently the message of surrounding yourself with respectful people, as it was stressed "you are a reflection of the company you keep." Personally, Islam influenced my perception of honor, as I learned at an early age what honor meant from a religious perspective. For example, the lifestyle in which you choose to lead "should" be an honorable one, such as how one carries him/herself. When

looking at losing and/or regaining honor, my belief includes this journey as being an extremely personal one that can only be determined by oneself. Throughout this research process, I have spent time reflecting how the act of honor killing can broken. Although much depth would need to be taken into consideration, education would be at the forefront of this process.

B. Qualitative Results

This study included 22 interviews with women who identified themselves as Muslim Americans from a South Asian background. A demographic questionnaire was completed that included 9 questions, followed by a recorded interview in which 8 questions were asked by this researcher surrounding the topic of honor and honor killings. Once these materials were collected and the interviews were completed, this researcher utilized modified grounded theory, using the coding process in an effort to define theme statements. Seven theme statements were identified from this research.

The following information was gathered on each participant by using a demographic questionnaire:

Table 1: Demographic Questionnaire

Participant	Age	Primary language	Education	Ethnicity	Relationship Status	Residency	Years in the USA	Country	Referral Source
1	26-40	English	Bachelors	Pakistani	Single	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
2	26-40	English	Doctoral	Pakistani	Single	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
3	26-40	English	Doctoral	Pakistani	Single	Urban	All my life	USA	Community
4	26-40	English	Bachelors	Pakistani	Married	Suburban	All my life	USA	Community
5	≤25	English	Bachelors	Pakistani	Single	Urban	All my life	USA	Community
6	≤25	English/ Urdu	Doctoral	Pakistani	Single	Urban/ Suburban	All my life	USA	Community
7	≤25	English	High school	Indian	Single	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
8	≤25	English	Some college	Pakistani	Single	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
9*									
10	26-40	English	Doctoral	Pakistani	Married	Urban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
11	26-40	English	Masters	Indian	Married	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
12	26-40	English	Some college	Pakistani	Married	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
13	26-40	English	Masters	Indian	Single	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
14	26-40	English	Doctoral	Pakistani	Single	Urban	All my life	USA	Community
15									
16	26-40	English	Masters	Pakistani	Single	Rural	All my life	USA	Family/friend
17	26-40	English	Bachelors	Pakistani	Married	Urban	All my life	USA	Community
18	26-40	English	Doctoral	Indian	Married	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
19	26-40	English	Bachelors	Pakistani	Married	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
20	26-40	English	Masters	Pakistani	Married	Suburban	All my life	USA	Community
21	≤25	English	Some college	East Indian/ Bangalore	Single	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
22	26-40	English	Doctoral	Pakistani	Married	Urban	All my life	USA	Family/friend
23	26-40	English	Masters	North Indian	Divorced	Urban	All my life	USA	Community
24	26-40	English	Masters	Indian/Bengali	Single	Suburban	All my life	USA	Family/friend

* *unable to use data*

The following interview questions were asked and recorded with each participant:

Table 2: Interview Questions

Interview Questions
1. How would you define honor?
2. How much exposure do you have to honor killings? If any, where does it come from? (media, family, friends, academics etc.)
3. What did it mean to have honor growing up in your home?
4. Has religion influenced your perception of honor?
5. How does one lose their honor?
6. Is honor ever able to be regained?
7. Is it possible to break this tradition of honor killing? If so, through what process?
8. What was this experience like for you?

The following themes emerged from modified ground theory and narrative inquiry:

Table 3: Theme Statements

Theme Statements	Key Terms
Theme 1: Education is an essential component to ending honor killings.	*Education*
Theme 2: Muslim American women identify mainstream media as a primary information resource regarding honor killings.	*Media*
Theme 3: Family is a core value when discussing the concept of honor.	*Family*
Theme 4: Religion is considered a foundation for instilling values and morals.	*Religion, Values, Morals*
Theme 5: Religion, culture and tradition are concepts that are deeply interwoven and difficult to differentiate.	*Religion, Culture, Tradition*
Theme 6: The term "respect" was used in place of honor in the home.	*Respect*
Theme 7: Self-respect is an integral part of learning how to be honorable.	*Self-Respect*

Theme 1: Education is an essential component to ending honor killings.

Participants frequently used the terms "educate", "knowledge" and "power" when discussing how to end honor killings. Due to the fact that the majority of participants (n=20) felt as though there was a way in which to stop these killings, participants echoed each other in discussing the key to change includes education. Ideas ranged from specific education of geographic locations, to men, to women, to religious leaders. The general theme was that education is a necessity in trying to stop the act of honor crimes and killings. Participants repeatedly discussed education as a form of empowerment. One participant responded to being asked if she felt it was possible to break the act of honor killings, and if so through what process. She expressed:

> *I think so. I think, um, with education. I think one of the biggest things that I've seen is that in more rural areas, where there isn't a predominance of education, that's where you see the increased incidents of honor killings. –R12*

Another participant responded by agreeing that the act of honor killings can be stopped by explaining:

> *Yes. Well, like, of course the first thing I think that everybody probably says is that education for women is critical. Um, probably an infrastructure of some kind is important too. And I think education for men is important too. And especially, and I've been saying this for a while, psychology is really needed in that area. Or psychiatry. Either one would be good. Yea, or both. A combination, cocktail, whatever. Cause I think that is a huge part of a lot of issues and I think it could be helping a lot of problems in that area. –R16*

This participant began to describe her beliefs surrounding the process in which honor killings and crimes can be stopped. She spoke with conviction and dedication, and immediately sat upright when answering this question at the end of the interview. She responded with:

> *I do and I believe that it's about education. I think it has to be about people education themselves, um...self-education. Why do I believe in it? Why do I engage in it? What is it about someone else's conduct that's making me feel so disrespected? Taking a step back, um, because the South Asian cultures, that engage in this conduct always tie it back to religion, which again as I said I disagree with, but the other thing is they forgot is that if they were to educate themselves more, also Islam, says that it's every man for himself on the day of judgment. –R3*

Education became a strong theme throughout these interviews, as a majority of women felt this was a key factor in breaking the act of honor killings. During the interviews, participants identified a need of education of community members, religious leaders, self-education, changing family systems, and further religious education in order to understand honor killings are no permissible in Islam. There were also 3 participants who felt the acts of honor killings were irreversible and could not be eradicated through any means, including the education process.

Theme 2: Muslim American women identify mainstream media as a primary resource regarding honor killings.

Out of all 22 participants that were a part of this research, every single one of them had a component of mentioning mainstream media when asked what their specific exposure of honor killings came from. Commonly used terms included "news," "television," "programs," and "mainstream." One participant stated, *"[I have had exposure to honor killings] I would say*

basically just though media, through TV shows like 20/20 and Dateline...that kind of stuff...news programs." –R1

Another participant expressed her personal experience with how she came to learn about honor killings:

> *Just media. Mainstream media. I haven't done any reading up on it outside of what's on the front page of the news. Um, maybe not one part of the world but I always hear about it um, in South Asian culture...whether it's in, um, you know the US or England was the last one I read about...but its' people from that part of the world. –R20*

One participant disclosed her limited exposure of honor killings by stating:

> *Um, I don't think I have a lot of knowledge about honor killings. I think it's pretty limited and it's pretty superficial – the knowledge that I do have. Um, and I would say that, in terms of where it came from, a lot of it's probably coming from media. –R17*

Media was a theme that came up in all 22 interviews when describing participant's knowledge base of honor killings. There were some women who identified with academics, (books, articles, literature) as well as documentaries as means to education themselves on honor killings due to interest. The majority of participants disclosed their lack of experience with this topic, as none of the women reported personal experience with this topic.

Theme 3: Family is a core value when discussing the concept of honor.

Throughout the interview process, several participants would come back to the idea of incorporating their family values into different questions. For example, when asked to define honor, to describe what honor was like growing up in the home, how one can lose/regain honor, key terms that arose included "family", "parents", "carrying name", "respect" and

"expectations." Often when discussing honor, respect became synonymous with family and values, making it difficult to differentiate the themes of family and respect. When defining honor, this participant expressed:

> *I feel like honor is just having respect, family-wise honor is just having respect for everyone in your family and just being able to know that...you're there for one another, kind of. And just being able to know that like, you feel pride in your family and having honor for your family is just feeling like... it's just validation that you love them and you care for them and you respect them in all sorts of ways, basically. –R7*

Another participant also mentioned respect when discussing her concept of honor coupled with family values:

> *I think for me, personally, it would be more about kind of equating it with respect. And when I think of honor, some reason I think of respect of my parents and my parents' tradition and sort of protecting that. That's kind of how I would think of honor. –R18*

This participant struggled to define honor and stated, *"I don't think they ever defined it as honor but it was more, ah, the children are reflection of the family... and so I think that was across the board for myself." –R11*

Family values repeatedly came up during the interviews, as this seemed to be the basis of how these women identified honor and felt their religion guided them towards. For example, several women reported concern of what their community members, God, family and friends may think of them if they engage in "dishonorable acts." Although this term was defined in several different ways, the common thread became linked to the importance of respecting one's

family and upholding those values through modest behaviors. Modesty is a term that has been manipulated within the context of Islam at times by the media to represent oppression, these interviews had a very distinct feel of upholding and respecting family values as a strength and means of empowerment.

Theme 4: Religion is considered a foundation for instilling values and morals.

A commonality amongst the participants when being asked if religion culture or tradition has influenced their perspective on honor killings was the theme of concluding religion was heavily involved. When being asked to define honor as well recounting what honor was like growing up in their homes, several women described religion as heavily influencing their upbringing in a positive way. For example, common terms included respect, modesty, values and Islam. One participant expressed her views with regard to how religion influences her views by stating:

> *Oh, I'd say it [religion] definitely influences it. It's kind of the, sort of the underlying thread in my upbringing and... implementing the honor was that, you know, it all came back to religion because that's where we get all of our um, morals and ethics from. In knowing how to behave and what's right and wrong, it's kind of the guide for us. –R10*

Another participant enthusiastically agreed that religion has influenced her life in a positive way by explaining:

> *Absolutely, absolutely. Yea, I think it has in the sense that, you know your religion should be instilling values... in your behavior and in your thought process and um, how*

you treat other people and respect, to be treated yourself. And I think with Islam, I mean respect for women is so, it's driven into you. –R11

This participant discusses how Islam has helped her personally to instill a balanced lifestyle, using the example of how she chooses to dress modestly:

I think it's just, that religion is kind of a guideline or a foundation for a lot of people's lives including mine. And I think for me the ways that I define honor, some of them are based in religion. Just for example, you know, the way that I dress. I dress modestly and I think that that, for me personally, that's honorable to dress modestly and I not show certain parts of my body. And I think, um the idea to do that came from religion. So I think there are other things similar to that but yea absolutely. And I think religion and culture, in my case, especially, can be really highly correlated. –R17

As religion, culture and tradition can be so closely intertwined, there was a sense of urgency in most interviews by participants to clarify that the religion of Islam does not condone honor killings. When asking the question of how these three factors influenced perception of honor killings, it was apparent that the question may have been insinuating one has a greater influence than the other. As a researcher, I may have re-worded this question to appear less biased regarding how any of these factors may or may not influence one's perception of honor killings. For example, I may have asked what factors impacted their perception of honor, versus asking specifically if religion, culture or tradition were major influences. With specific regard to religion, participants found themselves discussing in several interviews the importance of differentiating a "cultural or tribal act such as honor killings" as an act that is not accepted or promoted in Islam.

Theme 5: Religion, culture and tradition are concepts that are deeply interwoven and are difficult to differentiate.

Participants struggled with differentiated culture, religion and tradition when being asked about the different influences in their life with regard to their views on honor killings. The majority of participants begun their answer by stating they do not condone honor killings, nor does their faith (Islam). This participant explained:

> *Well, since I'm very against honor killings in my culture and my tradition, my family's always been against it. And my culture and tradition has always been, I've always had like a really strong female based family. It's just always been like that. So that has had a huge influence on my life. –R16*

Another participant leaned on the side of opinion of honor killings being further influenced by culture as opposed to religion. Here she stated:

> *I think honor killings are more culturally based than religiously based because I'm pretty sure overall, in the general, I mean there's always a general census for Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, where you usually don't do that kind of stuff. And like, that is kind of wrong. But culturally, I feel like it's, even in India like how I was saying, it's kind of prominent, like not as prominent, but there it is kind of prominent compared to other countries. I feel like culture has a lot do with it [honor killings] rather than really religion. –R7*

Although it was challenging to separate these intertwined ideas of culture, religion and tradition, here a participant describes how she believes culture plays a role in influencing her perspective on honor killings:

> *Um, I think culture might play a role in me, um I don't want to say understanding them [honor killings] but understanding um...yea what the mentality of the men who do it, as awful as it is, I think I'm one step closer than somebody who maybe isn't familiar with the culture to have seen, I've never seen somebody who would commit an honor killing, but I've seen somebody to that kind of mentality. –R20*

Theme 6: The term "respect" was used in place of honor in the home.

All of the participants had to meet the requirement of being from a South Asian background in order to participate in this study. The majority of participants were from Pakistan and India, with some understanding or fluency of the languages Urdu/Hindi. As participants answered the question of what honor meant to them growing up in their home, it was evident that the word "honor" was rarely used in most of the participants' lives. More so, several participants agreed that their families used the word respect, or the Urdu word for respect, *izaath* in place of the term honor:

> *I definitely think that without it ever being openly discussed as something that would be a topic, you know which parents would feel like oh we need to talk about it, it was never really discussed in terms of the word honor ah, certainly I would say honor is really used interchangeably with the word respect. –R3*

This participant describes the intentions surrounding the topic of respect/honor, and delves into the deeper topic of gender roles. Throughout the interviews, a common theme that arose was when being asked about honor growing up in their home, multiple participants asked for clarification *"for myself or for my brothers?"* She describes further:

> *I think the intention behind maintaining your izaath or maintaining your honor is very good. I think that it does mean a lot and it does help a lot. I think the way that it's enforced on, you know, the young people of my generation at the time, I think the way that it was enforced was really counterproductive in a lot of ways. I think to the first part, I think the intention behind it is that you're growing up, especially for girls, there's a lot of negativity put on girls in every culture. –R17*

For the most part, participants strongly linked the word respect with honor, as terms were sometimes interchangeable in interviews, *"Um, I think basically was just, um, in our household it was just a lot of respect" You know, very important to respect elders." –R12*

As part of the South Asian culture, there is a strong emphasis on respecting your elders and family. This is not limited to those who are older, but during interviews several women commented on respecting their parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents and community members. Earning and gaining respect became a theme that emerged when being asked how one could lose honor and then asked if it is able to be re-gained. A common response for re-gaining honor became that of which revolved around respecting your parents, asking for repentance for your sins, as well as seeking forgiveness from those you have wronged through the means of respect. Respect consistently came up during interviews with these participants, as it appeared to play a positive role in their lives, and allowed for "accountability."

Theme 7: Self-respect is an integral part of learning how to be honorable.

During the interviews, the themes of respect and self-respect were often intertwined, but then there became a distinct difference in participants reporting respect centered around self-respect. It became clear that it was both important to several participants to have respect for others, family, community, God, but additionally to have respect for one's self. Self-worth was additionally mentioned in interviews, as participants described their religion as a means to strengthen and honor their self-worth and attain self-respect through their actions. This term was used throughout interviews with regard to how participants defined honor and what it mean to be honorable, lose and then re-gain honor. Self-respect was an idea that promoted and individualistic theme that started to emerge during the interviews:

> *But at the same time I think the term honor kind of implies that part of it should come from within you. So it's the things that you respect about yourself or that you respect about other people because of what's coming from inside of you and what just, naturally, you feel to be respectable. –R17*

With regard to what honor meant growing up in her home, this participant elaborated that she was taught a strong concept of self-respect by her family:

> *Um, honor growing up in our home was basically respect, you know, um...my parents were always like, you know, very liberal but they always taught me one thing: self-respect. And they were like you never want to have your head lowered in society and that was a big deal to them. And even when I went out and partied or whatever I always thought in the back of my head of my parents, you know? –R4*

One participant began to discuss the importance of being taught how she carried herself, *"It's essentially the, ah, the way that you conduct yourself, you know, a sort of value or dignity that reflects on your character, and yea, just respect also." –R14*

Chapter V – Discussion

The goal of this autoethnography and qualitative study was to aim to better understand Muslim American women's attitudes and beliefs surrounding honor killings and gain stronger insight into the culture in which these acts are seen as moral. Through the autoethnographic portion of this study, I additionally aimed to gain a greater understanding of how culture, religion, gender and identity are expressed in societies around the world in which these killings are imbedded. More specifically, I focused on American born Muslims who were of South Asian background, in an effort to further incorporate an autoethnographic portion that allows for self-exploration of my own Muslim American Pakistani roots. Several questions emerged throughout the qualitative portion of this study including but not limited to; how do these women define honor? How much exposure do they have to honor killings and where does this come from? What did it mean to have honor growing up in the home? Does gender play a role in these definitions and concepts of honor? Has religion influenced their perception of honor? How does one lose their honor? Is honor ever able to be regained? Is it possible to break the tradition of honor killing and through what process? How is the experience of being interviewed regarding the topic of honor killings? Throughout the coding process, it was clear that seven themes emerged relative to the qualitative portion of this study including key terms of; education, media, family, religion, culture, respect and self-respect. The results showed a consensus that education was an integral theme linked to honor and the one of few practical ways to eradicate honor killings. Education was commonly discussed by the majority of participants within the context of self-education, educating women, religious leaders, communities, and the world, as this was a means for empowerment. Each of the 22 participants in this study stated media in some form (mainstream) was their means of knowledge regarding honor killings. Essentially, each

participant reports the majority of their education regarding honor killings comes from such shows as 20/20, Dateline, local or international news. This was a strong theme that emerged as both education and media helped shape the remaining five themes: family, religion, culture, respect and self-respect. During the interviews, these were all key concepts that would arise when discussing how honor was defined and what it meant to have honor growing up in the home. Several participants shared similar thought processes when identifying the importance of have self-respect, self-worth and prioritizing respecting their families through actions and behaviors. These actions included embodying respect, family, religion and culture within their daily lifestyle.

With regard to the emphasis each participant gave the media when disclosing where the majority of their information about honor killing came from, several implications could be made. For example, the theory that was generated within the scope of this study, people's views on honor killings are determined in large part by the emotional coloring of stories and circulation. In the United States, individuals in large part receive their stories from the media. Within the context of this research, one may suggest beliefs and attitudes are shaped by the media. For example, participants discussed their personal views and beliefs regarding honor killing, with the caveat that the primary source for understanding was Western mainstream media. When taking a closer look at how the media portrays Islam in the West, one must first recognize the implications post-9/11 Islamaphobia as viewed by the media. In analyzing newspaper headlines between 1956 and 1997, it was found that the U.S. media depicted Muslims and Arabs more negatively than Western Europeans and Israelis did (Sheridan, 2006). Reports following September 11th showed stereotypical and sensationalist depictions of Muslims within the mass media (Sheridan, 2006). In addition, images of Muslims being promoted by the media and by

political leaders which in turn served to provide evidence for existing Isamaphobic prejudices (Sheridan, 2006). The media and entertainment industries have brought some visibility to this issue of honor killings, but misrepresentations have occurred when this subject is presented on television series, novels and films (Gulketin, 2011). The notoriety of "honor" crimes, although assisted by these industries, is deeply and fundamentally rooted in the communal patriarchal structure of rural communities, masculine mentalities, and other local values, which are reflected in these concrete cultural and historical subjects (Gulketin, 2011). As there continues to be an undertone of Islamaphobia within the media, it is essential to recognize the Western media's portrayal of Islam on honor killings, as all participants within this study disclosed media was the major source of their knowledge regarding honor killings. This theory can be taken a step further when analyzing in what context stories and circulation are influenced by. For example, one can infer that the emotional coloring of stories and circulation are directly influenced by education, media, family, religion, culture, respect and self-respect, the seven themes that emerged within this study. Individuals are influenced in large part by their stories, environment and the people that surround them. Therefore, people may additionally underestimate the degree to which stories and circulation influence their beliefs as well as their actions.

The autoethnographic findings shaped how the experience of interviewing Muslim American women from South Asian backgrounds was, and how to make meaning of it. I found that similar ideas were aligned for me when answering the very questions that were asked to each participant. As a researcher, there were several moving moments during the qualitative interviewing that allowed for strong self-reflect, to help shape how honor has impacted my life personally. The themes, language and concepts surrounding honor were relevant within my own scope of understanding and experience of honor and honor killings. I found more of the gender

roles arose for me, as there have been distinct differences that participants have touched on when discussing what honor meant growing up in their home. With that in mind, I reflected on my own experiences with gender differences within my culture and home, and how this stark difference first sparked my interest in the cross cultural concept of honor. Growing up, there were particular differences I observed within how males and females were raised both in my immediate family as well as my extended family. For example, females were encouraged to dress modestly, be mindful of the language that was used, and encouraged to spend time with other females as opposed to males.

Conclusions

While reviewing the findings and giving focus to the seven themes that emerged from the qualitative research portion of the study, it is imperative to give light to the patterns that evolved throughout the interviewing process. The goal of this study was to discover what meaning can be concluded from Muslim Americans with regard to the topic of honor. What are the key principles that have shaped and influenced these thoughts and ideas? Through investigative research, seven themes were found that appeared to be influential in navigating these thoughts, actions and behaviors. Discovering the themes of education, media, family, religion, culture, respect and self-respect helped bring insight to the very principles that were strategically involved in developing the idea of honor.

The participants in this study were all from South Asian background, thus limiting the geographic region of South Asia to this study, and leaving several Muslim states, as well as converts out of the study, as this posed as one of the limitations of the study. Additionally, through experiencing different culture, it may have been possible to see different interpretations

of the religion, as well as different cultural norms surrounding the topic of honor and honor killings. A majority of participants were enrolled in or completed a Bachelor's, Masters or Doctorate degree. This did not account for the population in which a college education or higher was not earned. Several of the participants also were middle to upper class, residing in homes and working within their professional careers, possibly skewing the results with regard to a lack of diversity in socio-economic status.

Limitations/Ethical Concerns

Participants engaged in in-depth interviews that explored their attitudes and beliefs regarding honor killing, as well as completed a demographic questionnaire that clarified details such as their age and how long they have resided in the United States. Although all research can be associated with inherent risks, the risks associated with my research was the possibility of evoking emotional distress when answering the interview questions. I addressed this by being sensitive to all concerns during interviews, as well as providing a follow up phone call 2-4 weeks after conducting the interview in an effort to mitigate potential harm to participants. In addition, since as the researcher I wrote the interview questions, it is unavoidable that in this research, a certain degree of subjectivity can be found. As a researcher, I acknowledged my personal set of beliefs and experienced and continued to be self-aware that some of these biases may surface. With regard to the interview questionnaire, the language surrounding the questions may have been biased. This researcher found extra caution was taken to acknowledge these biases through processing and journaling in the autoethnographic portion of my study.

Due to honor killings often being a taboo topic of discussion, this topic that may be difficult and/or unacceptable to express opinions and thoughts within the South Asian community. The

differences amongst cultural expectations may impact how forward and willing clients may be to speak with a mental health professional regarding this subject. Participants were also given the option to self-edit based on their own comfort and cultural values. Since I am a Muslim American woman, I believed the participants may have felt more comfortable in discussing these concepts to someone within the cultural boundaries. Allowing the participants to check in and debrief, as well as providing them with the opportunity to alter information provided in their interviews over follow up phone conversation is included to alleviate these concerns. In addition, participants were given a list of community resources that they could contact if they wished to pursue further professional help. Lastly, having participants located through various electronic list serves, as well as from different local organizations may create a skewed population of Muslim individuals. This study did not include a diverse population in terms of socioeconomic status. The majority of participants had a higher education degree, and was from a suburban area.

Recommendations

When discussing implications of future research, there is an entire body of literature to support the influence narratives have on culture-centric health promotion. It is possible to utilize these same foundational ideas of narratives in health promotion, and similarly expose with stories communities where honor killing exists to promote changes in behavior. For example, there is quite a bit of research that discusses different parts of the world in which women do not get pelvic exams or mammograms due to fear/beliefs etc. Applying the narrative theory, these communities were saturated with stories of women who benefited from these exams (receiving a pelvic exam/mammogram and having caught cancer before it spread) essentially success

stories. This narrative theory suggests saturating communities with stories can in turn change behaviors and beliefs. Recent trends in health promotion integrate narrative theory, locating culture within the narratives of cultural members, and suggesting that narrative may provide a sounding board for expressing and shaping health behavior (Larkey & Hecht, 2010). Most commonly, the terms "culturally appropriate" and "culturally sensitive" are used to described messages that are used to existing programs for cultural suitability, the narrative theory promotes the term "culture-centric" (Larkey & Hecht, 2010). This term is proposed to emphasize the centrality of the cultural viewpoint, referencing within-culture narrative messages reflecting valid understanding and communicating cultural essence with fidelity (Larkey & Hecht, 2010). This research emphasizes narrative or stories as a key medium for facilitating change (Larkey & Hecht, 2010). When applying this theory to communities in which honor killings occur, one could propose saturating these areas with narratives of mothers who were involved in their daughter's honor killing who are regretful, sharing their stories, or women who have survived honor crimes speaking to communities. With the central idea of allowing narratives to promote change within these communities, future research could be conducted in an effort to change behaviors through the power of narratives. The sharing of these narratives should in turn be approached with caution, as it is expected these communities are in need of greater attention on a micro level. For example, the recognizing and reporting of honor killings must first occur prior to sharing narratives, as community members may be more receptive to individuals who are deemed as insiders. Although narratives can be extremely powerful, communities in which these crimes occur are in need of additional research and insider collaboration in an effort to have these women's voices heard. Efforts to confront gendered and sexual violence under the rubric of honor killings support the claim of the crime's rise and singularity (Olwan, 2013). Further,

without ample attention to the larger contexts of gendered and sexual violence, they can play a dangerous role in furthering exclusionary politics and realities (Olwan, 2013). Powerfully manipulated by state officials and mainstream media, the current manifestations of the honor killing appear to discourse conceal, rather than disrupt the conditions that reinforce gendered violence within societies such as Canada, where these crimes have been committed (Olwan, 2013). The push for implementing feminist solidarity and alliance in combating gendered violence may be a place in which change can begin to develop. Envisioning radical feminist solidarities against the intricacies and intersectionalities of gendered violence requires challenging the exclusionary and dangerous contours of national logic (Olwan, 2013).

While completing the literature review, it was apparent that there is limited research on honor killings. Although there is ample research to define these acts, academic inquiry has rarely taken this a step further. A core discovery of this research implies with regard to the South Asian population, honor plays a central theme in these women's lives. From a clinical perspective, it appears imperative to give ample attention to this discovery, as it may be an integral part of working alongside this population in a therapeutic setting. An important direction for future research may be to shed light on how behaviors and values are informed by the concept of honor, as well as how this concept shifts over time, across generational cohorts, and even varies by geographical locale. Future studies in the direction of hearing the voices of women in geographic locations in which honor killings occur more frequently may be essential in the processing of promoting change. When looking at the data collected from the qualitative portion of this research, it is evident that educating the media may be essential, as all 22 participants stated the main source of knowledge regarding honor killings come from the media. Prompting education cross culturally in places not just limited to where honor killings have

occurred, but rather establishing education through different venues could also affect given participants strong mention of this topic. With regard to educating individuals and communities in which these honor killings occur, it is also essential to understand the highlighted cultures will have to undergo a slow transformation, as it has taken generations to adapt these crimes as an accepted form of violence. Honor killings can be viewed as a macro issue, and in an effort to promote change from within, insiders will have to create a micro solution including forms of natives lobbying against these crimes among their own communities. One of the first steps that can be proposed in this micro change is the reporting of honor killings within communities. It is essential that the first step in a slow transformation would entail recognizing this form of violence exists, as only insiders are accurately aware of how often and in what context these killings are occurring.

References

Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality and quantity, 36*(4), 391-409.

Chang, H. (2008). *Autoethnography as method.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 2-14.

Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage.

Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative Research (4th edition).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Doğan, R. (2011). Is honor killing a "Muslim phenomenon"? Textual interpretations and cultural representations.

Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 31(3), 423-440.

Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography.* Rowman Altamira.

Epstein, C. F. (2010). Death by gender. *Dissent, 57*(2), 54-57.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Transaction Publishers.

Goodwin, J. (2003). *Price of honor: Muslim women life the veil of silence on the Islamic world.* Boston, MA : First Plume Printing.

Gültekin, M. N. (2012). Tradition, society, and the concept of honor: stories on implementation.

Eurasian Journal of Anthropology, *2*(2), 70-84.

Hines, D.A. & Malley-Morrison, K. (2005). *Family violence in the United States: Defining, understanding and combating abuse.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jafri, A. H. (2008). In *honour killing: Dilemma, ritual, understanding.* Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

Kanuha, V. K. (2000). "Being" native versus "going native": conducting social work research as an insider. *Social Work*, *45*(5), 439-447.

Khan, T. S. (2006). . *Beyond honour: A historical materialist explanation of honour related violence*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

Khouri, N. (2003). *Honor lost: Love and death in modern-day Jordan.* Atria Books.

Lari, M. Z. (2011). *A pilot study on: 'Honour killings' in Pakistan and compliance of law.* Islamabad, Pakistan: Legislative Watch Programme for Women's Empowerment.

Larkey, L. K., & Hecht, M. (2010). A model of effects of narrative as culture-centric health promotion. *Journal of Health Communication*, *15*(2), 114-135.

Lindner, E.G. (2006). Humiliation, killing, war, and gender. In Fitzduff, Mari and Stout, Chris E. (Eds.), *The Psychology of Resolving Global Conflicts: From War to Peace . Volume 1: Nature vs. Nurture*, pp. 137-174. Westport, CT, London: Praeger Security International.

Mai, M. (2006). *In the name of honor: A memoir.* Simon and Schuster.

Markowitz, F. E. (2001). Attitudes and family violence: Linking intergenerational and cultural theories. *Journal of Family Violence*, *16*(2), 205-218.

Mayell, H. (2002). Thousands of women killed for family honor. *National Geographic News*, *12*.

McIlveen, P. (2008). Autoethnography as a method for reflexive research and practice in vocational psychology. *Australian Journal of Career Development, 17*(2), 13-20.

McNaughton, M. J. (2012). Insurrectionary womanliness: Gender and the (boxing) ring. *The Qualitative Report.*

Meetoo, V., & Mirza, H. S. (2007, June). "There is nothing 'honourable'about honour killings": Gender, violence and the limits of multiculturalism. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 187-200). Pergamon.

Murray, C. E. (2006). Controversy, constraints, and context: Understanding family violence through family

systems theory. *The Family Journal, 14*(3), 234-239.

Nasrullah, M., Haqqi, S., & Cummings, K. J. (2009). The epidemiological patterns of honour killing of women in Pakistan. *The European Journal of Public Health, 19*(2), 193-197.

Onal, A. (2008). *Honour Killing: Stories of men who killed.* London, England: SAQI.

Olwan, D. M. (2013). Gendered violence, cultural otherness, and honour crimes in canadian national logics. *Canadian Journal of Sociology, 38*(4), 533-556.

Plant, V. (2005). Honor Killings and the asylum gender gap. *Journal of Transitional Law & Policy , 15*, 109-129.

Riessman, C. K., & Speedy, J. (2007). Narrative inquiry in the psychotherapy professions. *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology*, 426-456.

Rossman, G. B., & Rallis, S. F. (2003). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research.* Sage.

Rossman, G. B., & Rallis, S. F. (2011). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research.* Sage.

Shaikh, M. A., Shaikh, I. A., Kamal, A., & Masood, S. (2010). Attitudes about honour killing among men and women – Perspective from perspective from Islamabad. *J Ayub Med Coll Abbottabad, 22*(3), 38-41.

Sheridan, L. P. (2006). Islamaphobia pre–and post–September 11th, 2001. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21*(3), 317-336.

Spry, T. (2001). Performing autoethnography: An embodied methodological praxis. *Qualitative Inquiry, 7*, 706-732.

Tabassum, S. (2012). *Marital disputes: Experiences of women in Pakistan.* Saarbrucken, Deutschland: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.

Tripathi, A., & Yadav, S. (2005). For the sake of honour: But whose honour. *Asia-Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law, 2*, 63-78.

Wall, S. (2008). An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(2), 146-160.

Werner, P. (2005). Honor, shame and the politics of sexual embodiment among South Asian Muslims in Britain and beyond: An analysis of debates in the public sphere. *International Social Science Review, 6*, 25-47.

Walter, M. (2009). Participatory action research. *Social Research Methods, 2nd ed., M. Walter, ed., Oxford University Press, Australia, 21.*

Wikan, U. (2008). *In Honor of Fadime: Murder and shame.* Chicago, Il: The University of Chicago Press.

Appendix A– Recruitment Script

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Dear participant,

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Tayeba Shaikh, MA. This study is conducted for partial fulfillment of the doctoral psychology program at the Union Institute & University in Cincinnati Ohio. The researcher conducting this study has provided his contact information and his faculty advisor below for your convenience.

The purpose of this study:

The purpose of this study is to research the cultural implications of honor killings by reviewing attitudes and beliefs surrounding this topic with Muslim American women from various ethnic/racial backgrounds.

If you agree to this study, you will be asked to do the following:

Participate in face to face, one to one in-depth interview which would be audio-recorded but completely confidential.

Complete a demographic questionnaire answering questions about age and status in the United States.

Review a transcript of your interview recording for accuracy

Your name will never be associated with the interview or the transcript

The total estimated amount of time that you will be involved in this study is about 60 to 90 minutes.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate without any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can refuse to participate at any time, and you can decline to answer any questions at any time. Simply tell the researcher that you wish to stop participating. All data collected before you stop will be destroyed and not used in the data analysis or results of this study. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent form for your records. A summary of the study results will be provided to you upon request.

Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:

Your identity in this study will be treated as confidential. Results of the study, including all collected data, may be published in the researcher's dissertation/final document, in future journal articles or professional presentations, and possible Internet sites and/or pages, but your name or any identifiable references to you will not be included. However, any records or data obtained as a result of your participation in this study may be inspected by the persons conducting this study and/or Union Institute & University's Institutional Review Board (IRB), provided that such inspectors are legally obligated to protect any identifiable information from public disclosure, except where disclosure is otherwise required by law or a court of competent jurisdiction. These records will be kept private in so far as permitted by law. All study data will be retained for a minimum of five years as required by the IRB and then destroyed.

Note: You may contact the individuals listed at the bottom of this form with any questions about this study. You may also contact the IRB Director at Union Institute & University with any questions about your rights as a participant at 800.861.6400, ext. 1153, or at irb@myunion.edu. In the event of a study-related emergency, contact the individuals listed at the bottom of this form and the IRB Director within 48 hours.

Principal Investigator: Tayeba Shaikh, MA, Doctoral Candidate

Telephone Number 513 259 4711

Email: tayeba.shaikh@email.myunion.edu

Faculty Advisor/Faculty PI/Dissertation Chair: Jennifer Ossege, Psy. D.

Faculty Telephone Numbers: 800-486-3116

Faculty E-mail: Jennifer.ossege@myunion.edu

Location of Study: 300 miles of the Greater Chicago area, includes regions but not limited to Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, etc.

Appendix B - Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Cultural Implications behind Honor Killings

Principal Investigator: Tayeba Shaikh, MA, Doctoral Candidate

Telephone Number 513 259 4711

Email: tayeba.shaikh@email.myunion.edu

Faculty Advisor/Faculty PI/Dissertation Chair: Jennifer Ossege, Psy D.

Faculty Telephone Numbers: 800-486-3116

Faculty E-mail: jennifer.ossege@myunion.edu

Location of Study: 300 miles of the Greater Chicago area, includes regions but not limited to Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, etc.

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Tayeba Shaikh, MA. This study is conducted for partial fulfillment of the Psy. D. program at the Union Institute & University in Cincinnati Ohio. The researcher conducting this study will describe this study to you and answer all your questions. Please read the following information and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether to take part in the study. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate without any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can refuse to participate at any time, and you can decline to answer any questions at any time. Simply tell the researcher that you wish to stop participating. All data collected before you stop will be destroyed and not used in the data analysis or results of this study. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent form for your records. A summary of the study results will be provided to you upon request.

The purpose of this study: The purpose of this study is to research the cultural implications of honor killings by reviewing attitudes and beliefs surrounding this topic with Muslim American women from various ethnic/racial backgrounds.

If you agree to this study, you will be asked to do the following:

- Participate in face to face, one to one in-depth interview which would be audio-recorded but completely confidential.
- Complete a brief demographic questionnaire answering questions about age and status in the United States.

- Will be contacted 2-4 weeks after the interview for a brief 10-15 minute follow up interview

The total estimated amount of time that you will be involved in this study is about 60 to 90 minutes.

Potential risks of being in this study:

- Loss of confidentiality if your name is associated with your responses.
- This potential risk is minimized through the use of number codes that will be written onto interview tapes and used in the transcript of your interview tape.
- *Recalling certain events of the past during the interview may cause you to become emotional.*
- *If you become emotional at any time during this study, you may take a break for a few minutes. You may choose to continue, reschedule, or withdraw from the study. All data collected before your withdrawal will be destroyed and not used in the data analysis and written report.*
- *If you become emotional at any time during this study and are in need of professional counseling, the researcher will have available the names and contact information of mental health professionals in your regional area that you could contact for support.*

Potential benefits of being in this study:

Participating in this study may or may not benefit you directly, but is will allow you the opportunity to make suggestions that may help others in similar situations in the future.

Compensation/ Costs:

You will receive financial compensation for your participation in the form of a $5 Visa card and also be entered to win a $25 Visa gift card when participating and donating your time for this research.

There is no cost to participate in this study, other than your time.

Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:

Your identity in this study will be treated as confidential. Results of the study, including all collected data, may be published in my dissertation/final document, in future journal articles or

professional presentations, and possible Internet sites and/or pages, but your name or any identifiable references to you will not be included. However, any records or data obtained as a result of your participation in this study may be inspected by the persons conducting this study and/or Union Institute & University's Institutional Review Board (IRB), provided that such inspectors are legally obligated to protect any identifiable information from public disclosure, except where disclosure is otherwise required by law or a court of competent jurisdiction. These records will be kept private in so far as permitted by law. All study data will be retained for a minimum of five years as required by the IRB and then destroyed.

If we communicate by e-mail during this study, please be aware that e-mail is not a secure form of communication. However, my computer has security software, and I am the only person who has access to my e-mail account. No one else will read our communications.

Termination of Study
Your participation in the study may be terminated by the investigator without your consent under the following circumstances: You fail to appear at a scheduled time for participation or fail to respond to a request to set up a time for your participation on two occasions. This study may need to be terminated without prior notice to, or consent of, participants in the event of illness or other pertinent reasons.

Subject and Researcher Authorization
I have read and understand this consent form, and I volunteer to participate in this research study. I understand that I will receive a copy of this form. I voluntarily choose to participate, but I understand that my consent does not take away any legal rights in the case of negligence or other legal fault of anyone who is involved in this study. I further understand that nothing in this consent form is intended to replace any applicable federal, state, or local laws.

Signatures

Participant Name (printed): _____

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Principal Researcher's Name (printed): _____

Principal Researcher's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Note: You may contact the individuals listed at the top of this form with any questions about this study. You may also contact the IRB Director at Union Institute & University with any questions about your rights as a participant at 800.861.6400, ext. 1153, or at irb@myunion.edu. In the

event of a study-related emergency, contact the individuals listed at the top of this form and the IRB Director within 48 hours.

Appendix C– Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your age?
    - 25 or under
    - 26-40
    - 41-55
    - 56 or older

2. What is your primary language?
    - English
    - Arabic
    - Urdu/Hindi
    - Spanish
    - Other (Please describe _____)

3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    - Grammar school
    - High school or equivalent
    - Vocational/technical school (2 year)
    - Some college
    - Bachelor's degree
    - Master's degree
    - Doctoral degree
    - Professional degree (MD,JD, etc.)
    - Other (Please describe _____)

4. How would you classify your ethnicity and/or race ?

    Please describe _____

5. What is your current marital/relationship status?
    - Divorced
    - Living with another
    - Married
    - Separated
    - Single
    - Widowed

- Would rather not say

6. Which of the following best describes the area you live in?
    - Urban
    - Suburban
    - Rural
    - Other (Please describe _____)

7. How long have you been living in the United States?
    - Less than 9 years (Please specify _____)
    - 10-19 years
    - 20-29 years
    - 30-39 years
    - More than 40 years
    - All my life

8. Where were you born?
    - United States
    - Other (list country: _____)

9. How did you find out about this study?
    - Electronic List Serve
    - Local Flyer
    - Family/Friend
    - Other (list specifically _____)

Appendix D– Interview Questions

Questions:

1. How would you define honor?
2. How much exposure do you have to honor killings? If any, where does it come from? (media, family, friends, academics etc)
3. What did it mean to have honor growing up in your home?
4. Has religion influenced your perception of honor?
5. How does one lose their honor?
6. Is honor ever able to be regained?
7. Is it possible to break this tradition of honor killing? If so, through what process?
8. What was this experience like for you?

Appendix E – Mental Health Resource Information List

Substance Abuse & Mental Health Service Administration (SAMHSA)
http://findtreatment.samhsa.gov/

For further information on local mental health treatment facilities and programs in your area, please utilize SAMHSA's Behavioral Health Treatment Services Locator website.

Click on *Mental Health Treatment Services Locator* to search more than 8,000 mental health treatment facilities and programs located in your area by address and/or zip code.

Or call the SAMHSA Treatment Referral Helpline

1-800-622-HELP (4357)

1-800-487-4889 (TDD)

Free and confidential information in English and Spanish for individuals and family members facing mental health issues 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

Appendix F– Follow Up Script, Phone Call (2 to 4 weeks after the interview)

I wanted to thank you for your participation in my study. How have the last couple of weeks been since the interview? Sometimes we know discussing topic such as this can bring thoughts, ideas and emotions and internal experiences occur that may need to be processed. What was your reaction to our discussion? Is there anything that you wanted to add to our discussion, or change about your responses? Would you like to go over the interview?