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Attitudes towards 'honor' violence and killings in collectivist cultures: Gender differences in Middle Eastern, North African, South Asian (MENASA) and Turkish populations.

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Abstract

This chapter reviews recent research on gender differences in attitudes towards ‘honor’ based violence and killings in collectivist cultures. A divergent pattern is emerging from these studies that do not align fully with the established attitudinal research into victim blame attributions for other forms of violence against women. While these more recent studies confirm that females are less approving of violence compared to their male counterparts, it is notable that a proportion of females endorsed the abuse and killing of women in the name of ‘honor’. The chapter concludes by discussing psychosocial explanations for these findings, including sexism and religiosity.

Keywords

‘honor’ based violence; religion; sexism; victim blame; violence against women

Introduction

Research has established that men and women perceive physical aggression differently. Overall trends show that males, in comparison to females, are more likely to condone and justify the use of interpersonal violence against women. Males are also more likely to blame the victim, to attribute less responsibility to the assailant, to consider violent behaviors less serious, and to recommend more lenient punishments for the perpetrator (Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016; Flood & Pease, 2009).

However, over the last few years, a less clear pattern is forming as a result of the growing number of studies that examine the attitudes of people from collectivist cultures in Middle Eastern, North African, South Asian (MENASA) and Turkish populations. More specifically, in terms of their attitudes towards ‘honor’ based violence (HBV) and killings¹ in accordance to their gender. This chapter reviews these more recent studies to ascertain whether there are gender-differences in attitudes towards HBV and killings similar to the established paradigm for general interpersonal violence, and if there is any consistency across populations. Psychological explanations for women’s attitudes in support of HBV and killings within collectivist cultures are also examined, as are the influence of sexism and religiosity.

The role of ‘honour’ in collectivist cultures

The use of aggression to defend honor has archaic and geographically-wide roots (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016). In contemporary honor cultures, there is a focus on collectivism that emphasizes the maintenance of strong bonds with both immediate and extended family. Collectivist honor cultures are inherently patriarchal and are thus, characterized by differential and unequal gender roles. Males and females maintain their families’ honor by adhering to

¹ The terms ‘honor’-based violence, ‘honor’ abuse, ‘honor’ crimes, and ‘honor’ killings are used throughout for succinctness and consistency; these terms differ across cited sources but they all refer to crimes committed in the name of so called ‘honor’.

these restrictive gender roles. Males are expected to act tough, show strength, and exercise control. Females, on the other hand, maintain an honorable reputation by demonstrating their purity, modesty, and obedience to their father and husband (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Vandello, 2016). As honor is maintained by a reputable public social image, male and female gender roles are enforced collectively by families and their wider community. Accordingly, social expectations demand that men use threats and aggression to acquire, defend or restore honor, even for perceived or slight insults (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). As males are clear beneficiaries of these honor codes, that maintain their social privilege and dominance, they are encouraged by other men to maintain the status quo by using ‘honor’ violence against women who are perceived to be acting dishonorably.

This chapter focuses on attitudes towards female victims and therefore defines “‘Honor’ Based Violence and ‘Honor’ Killing [as] ...all violence implicated against a female for the deviancy of her activities from the traditional cultural norms” (Elakkary et al. 2014: 77). ‘Honor’ based violence has been reported widely across collectivistic cultures, for example, in the Mediterranean, North America, and Latin America (Dietrich & Schuett, 2013; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). ‘Honor’ crimes more recently have been linked to Middle Eastern, North African, South Asian (MENASA) and Turkish populations both domestically (in countries of origin) and internationally, within diasporic communities. A number of recent high profile ‘honor’ killings in Western Europe and North America, committed by families who originate from MENASA and Turkish nations have been subject to considerable scrutiny. Consequently, ‘honor’ crimes committed by, or against, family members from minority ethnic groups in the West have become increasingly newsworthy (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Shier & Shor, 2016).

In Britain, the brutal rape, murder, and dismemberment of a 20-year Iraqi Kurdish woman living in England, as organized by her family, was widely reported by the media. Before she was murdered in 2006, Banaz Mahmud reported to the police her husband's physical and sexual abuse. She later reported death threats by her family for 'dishonoring' them when she left her husband and entered a new relationship (Dyer, 2015). Other disturbing 'honor' killings had previously been reported by the British press. In 1999, Rukhsana Naz, a mother of two children, was strangled to death by her older brother while she was 28 weeks pregnant, because she refused to have an abortion. Police investigations revealed that Ms. Naz's mother, who considered her daughter's pregnancy to be dishonorable, held her legs down and instructed her older son to murder her, while her younger son (a helpless witness to the murder) was forced to assist in the disposal of her body (Dyer, 2015). Another widely reported case was the 'honor' killing of Shafiea Ahmed, a 17-year-old British Pakistani. Ms. Ahmed's mother and father were charged with her murder. It also was revealed that, prior to her death, both parents had subjected her to physical, psychological, and financial abuse (Chesler, 2015; Gill & Brah, 2014). The complex dynamics underpinning these 'honor' killings brought to light the poor understanding of professionals in the criminal justice system in their attempts to effectively respond to and manage 'honor' based abuse in diasporic populations. The ruthless murders of these young women, nonetheless, served as an impetus to address 'honor' crimes both more seriously and explicitly in the UK. Similar symbolic cases have been the driving force behind policy change in other western countries, including Germany (Grzyb, 2016), Finland (Keskinen, 2009), Sweden (Wikan, 2008), and across North America (Chelser, 2009).

As a result of the increased media, social, political, and academic awareness of 'honor' crimes in Western Europe and North America, it soon transpired that the mechanisms underlying perpetrators' motivations for 'honor' violence and killings could be quite divergent

from other forms of interpersonal violence. In part, this was due to victims' family's endorsement and approval of the abuse, violence, and even torturous murder to restore their honor. Seemingly more paradoxical was that the victim's kin and community were often the instigators of the abuse, and in many instances, they organized or committed these murders themselves.

Perpetrator profile and motivations for HBV

Male kin are the most commonly reported perpetrators of 'honor' based violence and killings; that is, fathers, brothers, uncles, sons, cousins, etc. (Chesler, 2009). Yet, 'honor' based abuses, violence, and killings are also committed by female family members, including mothers, sisters, aunts, and female relatives' in-law (Elakkary et al. 2014; Keyhani, 2013). While males and females appear to inflict 'honor' based abuse differently, the evidence suggests women, particularly mothers, can be adept at inflicting hard psychological abuse, physical violence and 'honor' based femicide, within specific contexts, and that their role could be significant. More commonly, they condone the abuse committed by male relatives (Aplin, 2017; Chesler, 2015).

A range of motivations have been reported for inciting 'honor' crimes. These include sex outside of marriage (including infidelity), pregnancy outside of marriage, or more elusively, hearsay about contact with a male without family permission, and acting "too Western" (Aplin, 2017; Chesler, 2009; Dyer, 2015; Nasrullah, Haqqi & Cummings, 2009). If questioned by authorities, it is common for perpetrators to underplay the abuse, or to justify it without expressing remorse, and to claim that their abuse, violence or killing has restored family honor (Chesler, 2010; Dyer, 2015).

Victim characteristics and typologies of victimisation

For close to two decades, a substantial body of work has advanced explanations of ‘honor’ based victimisation against women, in terms of the cultural dimensions and universal perspectives of patriarchy and gender inequality (e.g., Gill, 2006; Grzyb, 2016; Meeto & Mirza, 2007; Sev'er, & Yurdakul, 2001). Other perspectives adopt a more holistic approach, including Doğan (2013, pp. 491) who postulates that “...*patriarchy alone cannot explain the whole dynamic behind honor killings, and especially honor killing cases where the victim is male, gay, and cases where the defendant is a female*”. Indeed, males represent a proportion of ‘honour’ violence and killing victims (Dyer, 2015). Males are most typically victimized by association with a ‘dishonorable’ woman (Chesler, 2010) or if he is perceived not to be heterosexual (Steinke, 2013). Overwhelmingly, however, the majority of HBV victims are adolescent and adult females. In a pattern established across many studies, Aplin (2017) calculated that 96% of the 100 victims in her study were female.

An array of abusive behavior is associated with HBV victimisation, including psychological torment, sexual abuse or physical assault (ranging from cutting off hair and beatings to acid attacks and mutilations), restraints (for example, imprisonment or kidnapping), and being forced into marriage (Aplin, 2017; Dyer, 2015; Kopelman, 2016; Zuhur, 2009). It is unsurprising then that victims report detrimental psychological, behavioral, and physical symptoms including anxiety, attempted suicides, and running away from home (Khan, Lowe, & Shamam, 2017; under review). A proportion of HBV offenses result in the victim’s physical torture and murder (Chesler, 2009).

Epidemiology of honor’ violence and killings

Globally, in what is considered to be a conservative estimate, it is reported that over 5,000 women are murdered every year in the name of ‘honor’ (United Nations Population

Fund, 2000). One-quarter of all honor killings worldwide are reported to occur in Pakistan (Nasrullah et al. 2009). In 2014 alone, more than 700 women were victims of ‘honor’ killings in this one nation (Fatima, Qadir, Hussain, & Menezes, 2017), with 1,957 murders estimated to have occurred between 2004 to 2007 (Nasrullah et al. 2009). In East Turkey, while it was estimated that approximately 25 to 75 ‘honor’ killings are committed per year (Sev’er, 2012), there are also reports that 231 were recorded in just 2007 (Council of Europe, 2009) and that 574 ‘honor’ killings were reported between 2003 and 2007 (Human Rights Presidency of Turkey, 2007). In Europe, the UK is reported to have the highest number of ‘honor’ killings at a rate of one homicide a month (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2014).

The number of non-fatal ‘honor’ violence cases are undoubtedly far greater (Al Gharaibeh, 2016). In Britain during 2010 alone, for example, 2,823 ‘honor’ abuse cases were reported across 39 police forces (Dyer, 2015), while over 11,000 cases were reported to UK police forces from 2010 to 2014 (Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation, 2015). One prominent British ‘honor’ based violence support organization reported that approximately 6,700 help seeking calls were received just in 2015, with 250 new reports each month (Karma Nirvana, 2016). These figures do not reflect the true extent of abuse experienced by victims. Due to the piecemeal manner in which data is collected and recorded (Khan, 2007) and inevitable underreporting, these figures instead most likely represent the tip of the iceberg. Yet, even as a vast underestimation, these findings indicate that HBV is both a global and prevalent problem, with often detrimental and potentially fatal consequences.

Attitudes towards ‘honor’ based violence and killings: Psychological explanations

Despite these ominous findings, it is only recent that empirical research has specifically explored people’s attitudes towards ‘honor’ violence and killings. Knowledge in this area is

valuable, not least because a plethora of psychological literature has established that people's attitudes and beliefs are strongly linked to their behavior (*see* Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Also, that people are strongly influenced to act in accordance with other people's attitudes and beliefs to protect family honor. This was explicitly demonstrated in a study of 39 'honor' killing prisoners in Turkey, who reported they felt ostracized, harassed, and under great psychological pressure by community members to commit the murder (Doğan, 2013). Notable efforts have been made to apply key attitudinal theories to explain people's attitudes in support of 'honor' crimes. For example, based on Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behavior, Roberts (2014) proposed a psychologically orientated motivational model of 'honor' based violence; its multifactor approach is innovative as it enables consideration of how both males and females may hold attitudes that endorse violence as an acceptable response to perceived dishonor.

This is pertinent because males' and females' attitudes towards 'honor' violence and killings are integral in explaining how they might respond if they are exposed to this form of interpersonal abuse, either as victim, witness, or instigator. In this way, a person's positive attitude towards 'honor' violence and killings, regardless of their gender, might indicate a proclivity for endorsing or committing 'honor' crimes, even if they themselves have been victimized. Likewise, if a person holds negative attitudes towards HBV, this may be a motivator to safeguard victims and make efforts to protect them. A victim who does not approve of this form of abuse may be more likely to make efforts to protect oneself and seek help. It is not only the latent stigmatizing beliefs of family and community members that are important. The attitudes of professionals working in social welfare, healthcare, and emergency services, who may come into contact with potential and actual HBV victims are also influential (Adana et al. 2011; Aplin, 2017; Dickson, 2014). Their professional positioning may act as the first line of defense for a victim experiencing abuse. How professionals respond to their

victimisation may therefore play an important part in the extent to which victims seek help (Can & Edirne, 2011).

It is acknowledged that a myriad of factors influences observers' attitudes towards interpersonal violence, including the level of blame assigned to a victim for being assaulted (Bryant & Spencer, 2003; Simon et al. 2001). This seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of victim blaming is strongly influenced by observer gender. Typically, when compared to males, female observers are more likely to be disapproving of physical aggression overall (Locke & Richman, 1999). Females are also more likely to blame male perpetrators (Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016; Witte, Schroeder, & Lohr, 2006; Yamawaki, Ochoa-Shipp, Pulsipher, Harlos, & Swindler, 2012), and disapprove of men who use physical violence against women (Feld & Felson, 2008). These gender differences are more recently being investigated across, and within, a number of collectivist honor cultures, in direct relation to 'honor' based violence and killings.

Gender differences in attitudes towards 'honor' based violence and killings

In Arab populations, Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) examined attitudes towards 'honor' killing in 856 school children across 14 schools in Amman, Jordan's capital. The children were aged between 14 to 16 years (mean=14.6 years), with a roughly equal number of girls (53%) and boys (47%). The sample was primarily Muslim (90.4%); the remainder were Christian (9%), Druze (0.2%), or without religious affiliation (0.4%). In line with traditional differences in attitudes, twice as many males (46.1%) than females (22.1%) supported the 'honor' killing of a female. Similarly, a study in Pakistan examined the attitudes of an older general public sample from the capital city, Islamabad (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Mashood, 2010). As Pakistan has the highest worldwide rate of 'honor' killing, attitudinal research conducted in

this country is a valuable resource. Participants were aged from 18 to 71 years (mean=35.4 years). Data from 601 participants (51.1% males and 48.9% females) showed that more males (64.8%) than females (53.1%) approved of a husband killing his wife as a result of witnessing her in an extramarital sexual liaison with a stranger. Significantly more males (65.2%) than females (55.8%) also believed the husband was in his rights to kill the stranger to defend his honor. Unlike the younger school children sample in Jordan, a majority of the females in this adult Pakistan sample approved of these ‘honor’ killings, and a majority proportion of the whole sample thought that the wife should not be forgiven (males=84.8%; females=71.9%).

In the Jordanian study, low educational attainment was a significant predictor of attitudes that endorsed ‘honor’ killing (cf. Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Although not directly investigated, one-third of the Pakistan sample had no formal education and one-quarter had only 5-9 years of education (cf. Shaikh et al. 2010). Other studies (e.g., Bagguley & Hussain, 2007) also suggest that education level may be associated with positive attitudes towards HBV. A study that explored similar attitudes in educated university students in Pakistan (male=523; female=466), is therefore useful for making comparisons (Shaikh, Kamal, & Naqvi, 2015). A majority of this younger, educated sample (aged 20 to 29 years, mean=22.7 years) did not believe that ‘honor’ killing was always justified (83.3%). Although far lower in number, this study found significantly more males (9.9%) than females (1.5%) believed there was a justification for the honor killing of females. The authors concluded that: “*Our study population – ostensibly more educated, cognizant of the rights of women, and belief in the rule of law – had alarmingly disturbing attitudes when it comes to extrajudicial killings in the name of crime based on misguided honor*” (pp. 423). These findings support the contention that attitudes supportive of HBV are likely to occur across many collectivist communities, regardless of education level (Brandon & Hafez, 2010).

Two studies were located that measured attitudes towards HBV in diasporic populations of British South Asians in the UK. The first was an attitudinal survey conducted on 500 young (aged 16 to 34 years), British South Asians (ComRes, 2012). Respondents described their ethnicity as Indian (40.8%), Pakistani (30.8%), Bangladeshi (12.4%), Mixed (6.6%) or other Asian (9.6%). Religious background was recorded as Muslim (51.4%), Hindu (21.8%), Sikh (10.8%), Christian (9.4%) and other (2.8%). Although low in overall endorsement, males (6%) were more likely than females (1%) to agree that there was ever a justification for 'honor' killings. There was no marked difference for this belief across ethnicity or religion. A comparably small percentage of males (8%) and females (5%) reported that in certain circumstances, it was right to physically punish a female relative if she had dishonored her family or community. Again, there was no notable difference in this belief across ethnicities or religions. When presented with a list of possible reasons that justified HBV, 18% of both males and females agreed that at least one was reasonable excuse for committing this form of abuse. There were no significant gender differences for reasons that justified HBV, which ranged from disobeying a father (8%), marrying someone unacceptable (7%) or wanting to end a marriage (7%). The second study to explore the attitudes of British Asians was conducted in an area of England that, in 2010, had the fourth highest rates for HBV across 52 police forces (Khan, Lowe & Shamam, 2017 under Editorial review). Similar to the previous study, the 216 participants in this sample (males=71; females=135) were also young (age range 16 to 54; mean=21.93 years). The ethnic profile was analogous with the previous study, and was recorded as follows: Pakistani (43.1%), Indian (41.9%), Bangladeshi (7.9%) or mixed (7%). The vast majority reported that they were Muslim (93.8%), while the remaining were Hindu (4.7%), Sikh (0.5%), Christian (0.5%) or other (0.5%). This study used a range of hypothetical scenarios to ascertain participants' approval of HBV across a range of situations (e.g., forced marriage, wanting to end a marriage). Principle component analysis revealed two attitudinal

themes, which were tested for participant gender: that is, *perceptions of forced marriage*, and *perceptions relating to dishonoring the family*. In this predominantly young and well educated sample (91.1% were educated to college level or above), only one (non-significant) gender difference was found; that males were more endorsing of forced marriage than females. Overall, no gender differences were found for tolerance of ‘honor’ abuse, and all participants responded in a way that demonstrated a low approval of this violence.

The inconsistent range of methodologies and approaches used in these studies permits only a superficial inspection of the descriptive findings. These findings showed gender differences in the approval of ‘honor’ violence and killings across all the studies. Overall, as might be expected, females were less condoning of this form of abuse against other females, when compared to their male counterparts. Regardless of gender, the level of endorsement was relatively low, with the exception of the older Pakistan sample and young Jordan population of school children. Approval of ‘honor’ violence and killings appeared to be influenced by nationality (which may reflect acculturation) and level of education. Also apparent across all studies was the high number of participants who ascribed to a religion, which was predominately to Islam.

With this in mind, studies that have explored the attitudes of trainee healthcare workers in collectivist, Islamic cultures may be of particular importance. These professionals in training are likely to have direct contact with HBV victims in practice settings, and are thus in a good position to provide emergency care and welfare support to populations vulnerable to, or victims of HBV. One such investigation recruited a young sample (aged 20 to 25, median=23 years) of final year nursing students in a predominantly “Moslem” area of East Turkey (Can & Edrine, 2011). A total of 225 students (males= 77.3% and females= 22.7%) were asked about their attitudes towards HBV victims, and attitudes towards screening patients for HBV. In line with

previous studies, there was a low endorsement overall and significantly more males (7.8%) than females (3.4%) agreed with the statement “I justify honor crimes”. It is noteworthy that, while not significant, almost twice as many males (15.7%) than females (8%) claimed to feel devoted to ‘honor’ rules. It was significant however, that more females (76.4%) than males (51%) supported nurses screening patients for ‘honor’ crimes. Furthermore, while a majority of all the nursing students thought ‘honor’ crimes are associated with religion (females=69%; males=56.9%), significantly more women (63.8%) than men (31.4%) thought these crimes were associated with male-dominated society.

Two studies that explored attitudes towards HBV in student populations, from collectivist and individualist cultures, also merit a review here. One study explored attitudes toward ‘honor’ killing in a total of 96 Turkish (predominantly Muslim: 86.5%) and Italian (primarily Roman Catholic: 63.2%) university students living in two main cities, Istanbul (female=59.4%) and Turin (female=66.2%) (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schmidt, 2014). The mean ages were similar for both the Turkish (21.2 years) and the Italian (24.6 years) samples. The study used three hypothetical scenarios to depict a husband’s ‘honor’ killing of his wife in response to her *alleged adultery*, *adultery*, and *adultery in flagrante delicto*. In response to three questions, and regardless of scenarios or culture, when compared to their female counterparts, males did not attribute (1) more responsibility to the victim, (2) less responsibility to the perpetrator, or (3) recommend less severe punishment. Yet, an interaction between culture and gender was observed; namely, that there were no gender differences in the Italian sample, for attribution of the husband’s responsibility and punishment, whereas Turkish males attributed less responsibility to the husband for the murder of his wife, and less severe punishment than did their female Turkish counterparts. The second study assessed Italian (66.5%= Roman Catholic 33.9%= atheist), Moroccan (100% Muslim), and Cameroonian

(100% Roman Catholic) University of Turin students' attitudes towards HBV. One hypothetical scenario was presented to depict a possessive father physically beating then confining his 17-year-old daughter as a result of the shame he felt for her living a modern lifestyle and dating a boy behind his back (Caffaro, Mulas, & Schmidt, 2016). Again, an interaction between nationality and gender was observed as follows: Italian males attributed less responsibility to the father than did Italian women and, in a departure from the established gender-disparity pattern, Cameroonian females attributed more responsibility to the victim, and less to the perpetrator, than their male counterparts. Also, the predominantly Christian Cameroon sample was more permissive of HBV, even when compared to the Moroccan Muslims.

Overall, there are gender disparities in the studies that explicitly explored attitudes towards 'honor' violence and killings in collectivist, predominantly Islamic populations. While these findings align with the gender differences found in the more established attitudinal research into other forms of interpersonal abuse, the emerging pattern is, to some extent, divergent. This is because, superficially at least, a proportion of women from collectivist cultures of honor highly endorse the use of abuse, violence, and killing other females (who were hypothetically their counterparts), in the defense of family honor. In an effort to explain what appears to be a victim-blame paradox, this chapter ends by considering a number of theories that unlock the interweaving psychosocial mechanisms that might be contributing to it.

Discussion and Conclusion

One account that has been used to explain victim-blame is the "defensive attribution" hypothesis (Shaver, 1970). This occurs because observers want to protect themselves from

blame should a similar fate befall them. This hypothesis is a robust model that has been usefully applied to female victim-blame attributions in a range of hypothetical scenarios including rape (Pollard, 1992) and domestic violence (Locke & Richman, 1999). This hypothesis has not yet been explicitly applied to HBV in the existing literature, but research into perceptions of female victims of other forms of violence provides a pragmatic exemplar from which HBV victim-blame can be postulated. Accordingly, HBV victim blame could be thought of as a rationalized form of self-protection; the more an observer perceives themselves to be similar to the victim, the less the victim is blamed by those observing them. Even at a cursory level, this theory falls short in explaining women from collectivist cultures' attitudes in support of 'honor' violence. Conflicting with this hypotheses, there was a high rate of endorsement for 'honor' killing from women in the Pakistan study (cf. Shaikh et al. 2010), the extent to which over half condoned a murder, and more than three-quarter thought the victim should not be forgiven. Likewise, in the Jordanian study of school children, one-quarter of the girls endorsed a woman's 'honor' killing (cf. Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013).

Perhaps a more plausible explanation is the "just world" hypothesis (Lerner, 1980). This asserts that: because the world is presumed by many to be a fair and just place, people implicitly believe that victims of violence must have acted in a way to deserve it. Just world beliefs have been used to explain female victim blame across a number of populations, including collectivist cultures. One study that applied this hypothesis assessed young (mean age=22 years) students' attitudes towards a female rape victim in Turkey (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Yalçın, & Glick, 2007). The findings showed that, regardless of gender, beliefs in a just world, as well as benevolent and hostile sexism, predicted less positive attitudes towards the victim. The influence of sexism was explored in another study of young (mean age=20.94) Turkish university students, in relation to their attitudes towards honor beliefs (Glick, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Akbaş Orta, & Ceylan, 2016). While benevolent sexism predicted women's honor beliefs, and

hostile sexism predicted men's honor beliefs, it was notable that Islamic religiosity predicted honor beliefs for both males and females, but more so for females.

Despite gaps in the extant literature, there are patterns forming from these studies that indicate avenues worthy of further investigation. For example, the importance of Islamic religiosity on women's attitude formation was noted by Glick et al (2016, p. 547) "... because women across the globe are typically as or more religiously devout and spiritual than men, any relationship between women's religiosity and honor beliefs assumes a special importance for understanding why women might accept honor codes." Other authors also recommend that research efforts do not underplay the powerful influence of religion on people's collective belief systems, or overlook evidence that indicates 'honor' crimes are particularly widespread in strongly patriarchal and collectivist societies where Islam is the prevailing religion (Grzyb, 2016; Vandello, 2016). To some degree, an open and transparent exploration of these factors would allow for a fuller consideration of what Aplin (2017: 2) refers to as the 'patriarchal bargain', that women from collectivist honor cultures are forced to engage in, "*in order to resist total male control, women become participants with a vested interest in the system that oppresses them. Rather than resist and rebel, women negotiate within this confined and limited space, as a form of self-protection*".

Much can be drawn by piecing together the findings of these attitudinal studies. While they demonstrate a pressing need for further research, they also indicate that across a range of ages and populations in a number of collectivist cultures, both males' and females' attitudes may play a part in maintaining the propagation of 'honor' based abuse. While, to some degree, this might have been expected for males, the support of honor violence and victim-blame against women by a proportion of females in these studies brings into question the naive assumption that women might always act as protectors, and effectively safeguard girls and

young women from harm (Aplin, 2017; Chesler, 2015). It would be useful if intervention approaches responded to these findings by designing culturally-aware programs which aim to effectively educate both male and female family members. It would also be prudent if emergency, health and welfare services revised training programs to increase professionals' awareness of the potential for latent support for 'honor' abuse in vulnerable families and communities, regardless of gender. The attitudes of practitioners are of vital importance, not least because these victims are at an even more elevated risk when they break the powerful and archaic codes of family honor to seek help, support, and protection from external agencies.

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