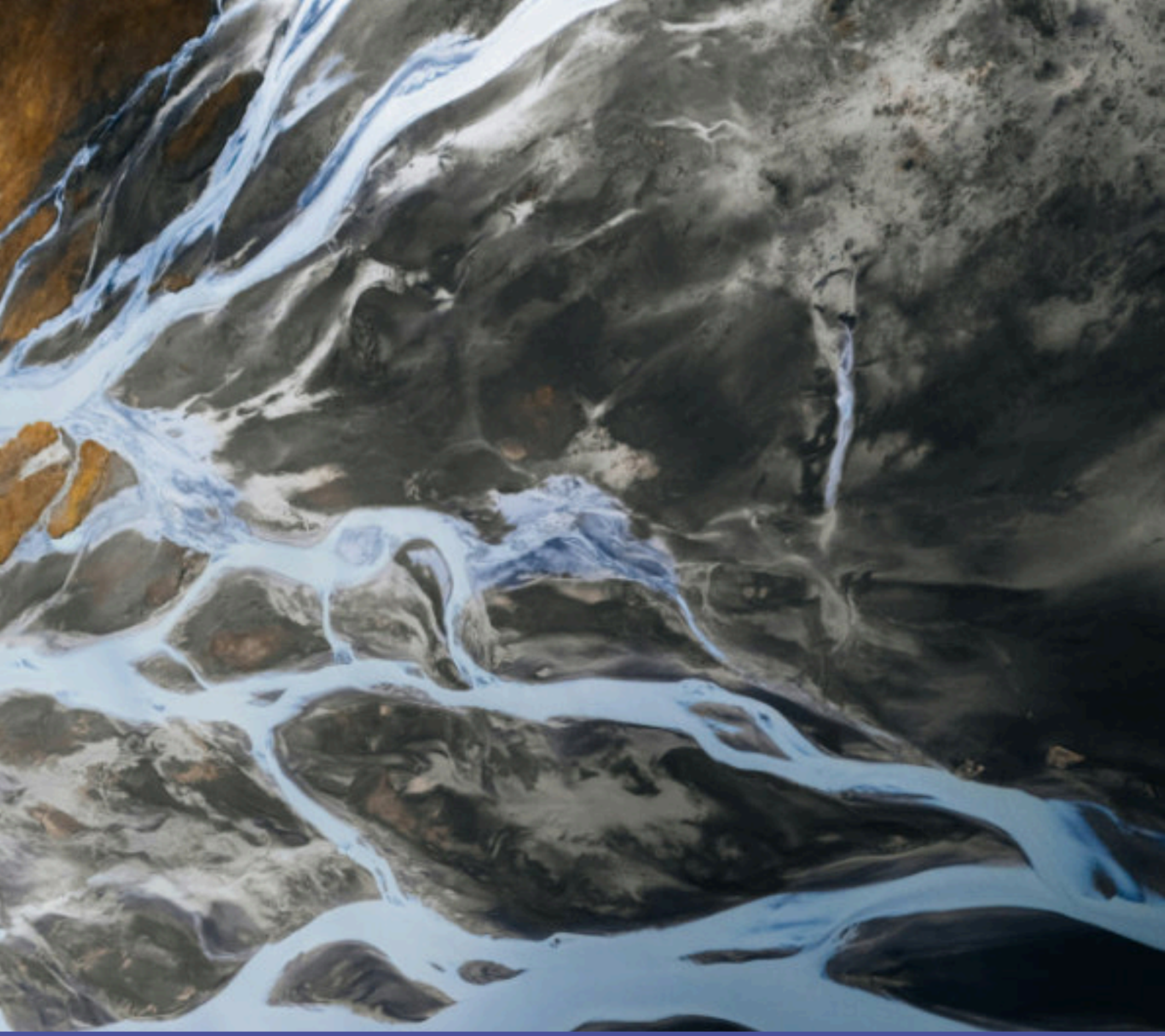

Honour, Violence and Gender

An international research review

SWEDISH SECRETARIAT FOR GENDER RESEARCH

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Preface

Dear reader,
A unique, dense, comprehensive, international research review on honour and violence awaits your attention. The review is the first of its kind. What is unique is the intention of describing the understanding of the broad subject, rather than focusing on specific parts of it, in combination with the scope: the extensive time period, the number of articles and that it spans several different research disciplines.

As you begin reading, you will enter a dialogue with 30 years of global research on critical theories, forms of violence, concepts of honour, risks, consequences and much more. This text will require your dedicated interest, openness and reflexivity, but I dare promise, it will be well worth it.

For example, you will dwell into research claiming the seemingly simple idea that violence and inequality promote each other, and thus, if inequality is countered, violence is countered.

The way honour and violence are understood and approached by researchers varies a lot, just as other related concepts do, such as collective, control or coercion. Perhaps you will even start a list over how the understanding of honour and violence varies, only to find it to be almost as long as there are researchers interested in the issue.

In a specific context – Swedish social services, Indian urban planning or Canadian migration policy for example – different aspects of honour and violence seem to be included or excluded. How and why this is done will determine who are perceived as perpetrators and victims, how the causes and consequences of violence are interpreted and what measures are considered necessary at different levels.

In a sense then, comparing is knowing what we do not know. When comparing research from different countries in this review, one lesson learned can be that what someone claims to know in a particular context is not the same as what is possible to know. The latter is foremost a crucial, research-based perspective still awaiting its role as a ground for politics and policy.

These are but a handful aspects this international research review can highlight, for someone keen on understanding the complexities of the social phenomena of honour and violence. I hope you gain your own insights as you read.

Gothenburg 2025-03-05
Fredrik Bondestam
Director
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Sweden

Acknowledgments

This review would not have been possible to write without the collaboration of many. The authors wish to express their deepest gratitude to all who have been included and contributed to this research review.

The expertise of Elina Nybergh and Sanna Hellgren Landbris, librarians at KvinnSam, Gothenburg University Library, has been invaluable for the work with database searches, and for important and interesting methodological discussions throughout the work.

Members of the international reference group have followed the work carefully and continuously, read drafts, contributed with comments on texts from their respective expertise and participated in digital meetings, discussing the research review. The members are:

- Rachael Aplin, PhD, Senior Lecturer and Course Lead in Criminology, Leeds Law School, UK.
- Suzan Ceylan-Batur, PhD TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Department of Psychology, Türkiye.
- Tahira S. Khan, PhD, International Studies from University of Denver, with regional specialization in the area of South Asian politics and religion. Dr. Khan is a Visiting Faculty at History Department Columbia University New York, US.
- Gökce Yurdakul, Professor of Diversity and Social Conflict at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the Head of Research Department Gender, Sexuality and Migration, Berlin Institute of Migration and Integration Research, Germany.

All colleagues at the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research, for their input and encouragement during the work, and for their work with layout and design of the review.

Analysts at the Swedish Gender Equality Agency and the steering group for the overall government assignment, with whom we had regular dialogue.

Background: International and national understandings

'Honour' is a word with several connotations, but this report is focused on its negative consequences, more specifically, gender-based violence as a means to uphold or restore honour.

This report, as will be described further below, is the result of an assignment by the Swedish government. Accordingly, it may be appropriate to take international and national understandings of honour-based violence as a starting point for the report. We begin at the broadest international level, which is the UN's *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), before looking at the European Union's *Istanbul Convention on the Rights of Women*, *Conventions on the Rights of the Child* and finally a short description of the Swedish context.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

CEDAW was ratified by Swedish authorities in 1980. The articles aim at abolishing discrimination against women in the family, across education, labour and judicial systems and institutions, as well as in politics and law. Thus, the Convention is sensitive towards multi-layered forms of discrimination at the micro (individual and family), meso (groups and public/civic organisations) and macro (norms, policy, law; institutions) levels. The Convention does not distinguish between diverse sources of discrimination and does not mention honour as a cause of discrimination per se. Instead, it encourages sensitivity towards all forms of discrimination, at all levels of social life. The Convention brings to light all the areas in which women, globally, are denied equality with men. The formulation of Article 1 shows the path: *The term 'discrimination against women' shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.*

CEDAW is focused on women's freedoms and rights in broad terms, for example including promoting gender equality. The goal of Women's freedom in all respects presupposes equality in a more general sense – that all men also have equal rights regardless of geographic residence, socioeconomic conditions, religion, ethnicity, race and so forth. If the goal of equal rights for women and men (gender equality) is to become reality, global universal equality (including for and between men) is required, i.e. general equality. Otherwise, women's rights will be (and remain) dependent on the unequal socioeconomic living conditions that we witness from a global perspective today.

By highlighting the need for basic human rights for all women around the globe, CEDAW provides indispensable guidelines for work with gender equality for countries that have ratified the Convention.

The Istanbul Convention

The Istanbul Convention was ratified by Swedish authorities in 2014. While there are points of similarity between the Istanbul Convention and CEDAW, the profound difference is that CEDAW focuses on *discrimination* and the Istanbul Convention on *violence*. Apart from this crucial difference, neither convention distinguishes between diverse sources of discrimination or violence. In the opening parts of the Istanbul Convention, it is stated that no women should be exposed to domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, forced marriage, honour-based crimes, or female genital mutilation. Paragraph 5 states that culture, custom, religion, tradition or so-called 'honour' shall not be invoked to justify any act of violence. Further, Article 42 states that "culture, custom, religion, tradition or so-called 'honour'" are not regarded as justification for any of the acts of violence covered by the Convention. Importantly, the Istanbul Convention distinguishes between forced marriage, honour-based crimes and female genital mutilation. Moreover, the Istanbul Convention mentions manifold aggravating circumstances that can be applied to all forms of violence against women, domestic and honour-based alike.

The Istanbul Convention has a strong focus on women and girls exposed to gender-based violence but does offer protection to boys as well, with the exception of provisions on female genital mutilation, forced sterilisation and forced abortion. The Istanbul Convention provides indispensable guidelines for work against men's violence against women, including honour-based violence, for all countries in the European Union that have ratified the Convention.

Convention on the Rights of the Child

The Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified by Swedish authorities in 2020. The Convention points to the State Parties' responsibility to ensure the rights to every child in their jurisdiction, without discrimination of any kind. This responsibility applies irrespective of the characteristics of the child or their parent(s) or legal guardian(s), including their race, skin colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status. *The Convention on the Rights of the Child* focuses on the rights of children in all areas of their life, but it also contains State Parties' responsibility to protect children from violence. Honour-based violence is not specifically mentioned in the Convention, but it does include "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child" (Article 19). The

only specific form of violence mentioned is the "illicit transfer and non-return of children abroad" (Article 11). The Convention also states that "children belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language" (Article 30).

The Swedish context

Shortly after the turn of the millennium, the murders of three young women in Sweden elevated honour-based violence to a specific policy field (Eldén, 2003). The murders raised questions about the shortcomings of society, and the country's institutions were criticised for failing to prevent the killings by not listening more openly to the victims' experiences (Wikan, 2003, 2009). Since then, work to combat honour-based violence has been intense, and in recent years several new laws have been passed. For example, the presence of an honour motive in cases of violence and murder, collective or personal, has previously been the argument for more severe sentencing (Prop. 2021/22:138).

Cultural, gender-based and intersectional perspectives

What follows is a brief overview of three perspectives that have characterised both research and policy as well as practical work with those exposed to honour-based violence in Sweden.

In 2010, *The National Centre for Knowledge on Men's Violence against Women* (NCK) in Sweden published an analysis of three different perspectives on the understanding of honour-based violence since the early 2000s. The analysis identifies three perspectives: cultural, gender-based and intersectional, respectively (Carbin, 2010). Carbin emphasises that actors representing these three perspectives strongly agree that all violence against women must cease. What is not agreed upon is the causes of violence and what is required for it to end (Carbin, 2010).

Carbin (2010) further highlights that the three perspectives are aligned in their understanding of violence as deriving from patriarchal power, although the gender-based perspective emphasises the sameness of violence across cultural boundaries, while the cultural perspective avoids emphasising the patriarchal features of Western societies. The intersectional perspective goes beyond this culture-gender division and sees the categories as, in various ways, interconnected across various global contexts and situational settings.

Hence, this report is not conducted in a vacuum, but rather in relation to both international and national understandings of honour-based violence. Before we present

the aim, methodology and results of this review, a brief description and discussion of the assignment from the Swedish government that frames it will be provided.

The assignment

The Swedish government's sixth gender equality policy objective, to end men's violence against women, covers honour-based violence and oppression, among other topics. Combating honour-related violence and oppression, the concept used in the policy objective, has been a priority area in the Government's action programme to prevent and combat men's violence against women (2021-2023). This programme stated a continued need to develop scientific knowledge and well-functioning methods for preventing honour-based violence and oppression as well as to support and protect victims. The Swedish government hence assigned responsibility to the Gender Equality Agency to conduct a knowledge and research review to deepen and consolidate existing scientific knowledge in this area (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2023).

One part of this assignment was directed to the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research at the University of Gothenburg: to conduct an international research review on honour-based violence. Other parts of the assignment, such as mapping methods and strategies, have been conducted by the Gender Equality Agency and are thus not elaborated on here. The time frame for the full contract is two years (2024-2025), although the international research review was completed by the end of 2024. This is to allow for other tasks within the assignment to use the international research review as a starting point for formulating the focus of in-depth studies to be carried out in 2025.

The political and bureaucratic process for these procedures in Sweden is, in short, that the government formulates and directs assignments to institutions, such as governmental authorities, which execute the assignments independently and later report back to the government. This assignment was formulated by the Swedish government in Swedish. Since it was only formulated in Swedish, and the assignment is to conduct an international research review, issues regarding language and concepts have arisen in the process from day one. Below is a direct translation of parts of the assignment relevant for the research review. The assignment is formulated by the Swedish Government.

The knowledge and research overview should include Swedish, Nordic and international research on honour-related violence and oppression and consistently have a child rights, LGBTQI and disability perspective. The knowledge and research overview shall include research on child marriage, forced marriage and female genital mutilation and other types of acts that may typically have honour motives. The knowledge and research review should further include a mapping of evidence-based and established methods and strategies for prevention, risk management, protection and support of particularly vulnerable groups and include economic consequences of honour-related violence and oppression and economic violence in honour-related contexts.

The assignment is formulated by the Swedish Government and is hence political in nature. In directing part of the assignment to the Swedish Secretariat for Gender

Research, it moved from a political context into a professional, academic one. The institutional collaboration that has resulted in this review demanded our independent interpretation of the assignment. To start working on this assignment, we needed to pay close attention to the concepts and specifications stated. This is elaborated on in the Method section.

The Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research

The Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research at the University of Gothenburg is a research-driven organisation with a focus on Swedish, Nordic and international collaboration. We contribute with research-based knowledge about the conditions for a free knowledge society, a fair and just working life and an equal Nordic Region. We use gender perspectives and power-critical analyses. We operate in collaboration with and conduct commissioned research for a range of actors at the national, Nordic and international levels. The secretariat employs about twenty people with expertise in research, investigation and analysis, coordination, collaboration, communication and project management. Several of the secretariat's researchers have completed PhDs and have expertise in fields such as Work Science, Sociology, Gender Studies, Philosophy and Education.

For this assignment, our long-term collaboration with the national library for gender research, KvinnSam, has been critical. KvinnSam is a university-wide research infrastructure based at the University of Gothenburg.

Aim

This review aims to provide a comprehensive overview of international research on honour-based violence, with a focus on understanding its various manifestations and causes, identifying exposed groups and uncovering gaps in research. As shown in the introduction, honour-based violence is described and conceptualised in different contexts. This, in combination with the consequences of honour-based violence, both as a lived reality and political concept, shows the necessity of this review.

The review is guided by scoping review, which is used as a model to address open questions and allow exploration and clarification of concepts and definitions within the literature. This broad-based approach allows different disciplines, perspectives and understandings of honour-based violence to emerge, contributing to knowledge development, knowledge exchange and further exploration of honour-based violence. By focusing on important parts of the literature, this review provides a broad and unique overview for both researchers and policymakers.

This research review describes scientific discourses, conducted in English, in which the study object is presented in relation to honour. This represents a significant constraint, as important non-Western perspectives may have been excluded, potentially influencing the overall findings. It describes what English-speaking researchers' study and publish

with regard to honour-based violence, how they understand honour-based violence and how they explore the consequences and underlying factors of these kinds of violence. It does not answer the question: what is honour-based violence?

Method

Search strategy and selection criteria

The methods for conducting literature reviews are many, with blurred borders and shifting terminologies between the different approaches. Scoping reviews, mapping reviews and evidence and gap maps (EGMs) are three methodologies that aim to provide a bigger-picture perspective and address broad research questions, rather than, for example, addressing specific questions about the effectiveness of interventions. All three approaches build on systematic and transparent methodologies for literature searches, but they also all have unique characteristics (Campell et al., 2023). Of the three methodologies described above, the design of this literature review most closely resembles the scoping review, which, accordingly, has become the model for our design. Our choice leans on the insight that a scoping review is more likely to address open questions and allow exploration and clarification of key concepts and definitions within the literature, compared to the other methodologies. Further, a scoping review is preferred when the purpose of the review is to identify knowledge gaps, scope a body of literature or investigate research conduct (Munn et al., 2018), which is what the government assignment requires.

Scoping reviews require rigorous and transparent methods to ensure that the results are reliable (Munn et al., 2018). Hence, the literature search strategy for this review was based on a systematic approach. The literature search was conducted in April 2024 using multiple databases. Based on the nature of the topic, four international databases were selected for the search: Scopus, Web of Science, ProQuest Social Sciences and Gender Studies Database (ProQuest Social Sciences is a collection of nine databases). The chosen databases represent both broad multidisciplinary databases and subject-specific databases. The literature searches were limited to scholarly articles and chapters published from 1994 onwards, as the research review aims to compile the current state of knowledge (see Appendix I for a detailed description of the search strategy). During test searches, the time period for the search (1994-2024) was deemed to be sufficient to cover changes, development and patterns. The search terms were chosen with the aim of identifying all relevant literature, and the overarching concepts of 'honour' and 'violence' were expanded with synonyms and related terms, resulting in two search blocks. No restrictions were imposed on language, but the search terms were only in English, resulting in articles without an English title, abstract or keywords being excluded (see *Methodological reflections* below for further elaboration regarding language).

The literature search provided a total of 6,393 results, which were downloaded into the reference management software Zotero. After duplicate removal (3,024 duplicates were removed), 3,369 references remained to be reviewed according to inclusion and

exclusion criteria in Rayyan, a software specifically designed to conduct and coordinate systematic literature reviews. A total of 3,369 references were reviewed by the three authors in a blind peer review process, which means that the reviewers were unaware of the other's decisions and, accordingly, made decisions on each reference independently. The articles' titles, abstracts and keywords were reviewed. For the majority of the 3,369 articles, the three reviewers agreed on the decision of inclusion/exclusion. In cases of disagreement among the reviewers, discussions were informed by the eligibility criteria, which emphasised the relevance of honour and violence as key themes, ensuring a systematic and unbiased selection process.

Eligibility criteria: Peer-reviewed articles published between 1994 and 2024 in any of the included databases; no geographical, disciplinary or methodological restrictions; set in an empirical context post 1950; discussion of 'honour' and 'violence'

Six exclusion criteria were decided on by the researchers, guided by the aims of the research review:

- Publication type (books, news articles, conference papers, policy briefs, think tank pieces were excluded).
- Topic (articles unrelated to honour-based violence, for example medical articles testing different drugs, were excluded).
- Analysis of fiction (articles analysing literature, film or other fiction were excluded)
- Historical articles (articles set in an empirical context before 1950 were excluded as the research review aims to compile the current state of knowledge).
- Exegesis (articles interpreting religious texts/scripture were excluded).
- Book chapters (book chapters often do not have abstracts, hence being difficult to review by the same criteria as peer-reviewed articles. This exclusion criterion was informed by technical as well as practical limitations, due to the time frame of the assignment).

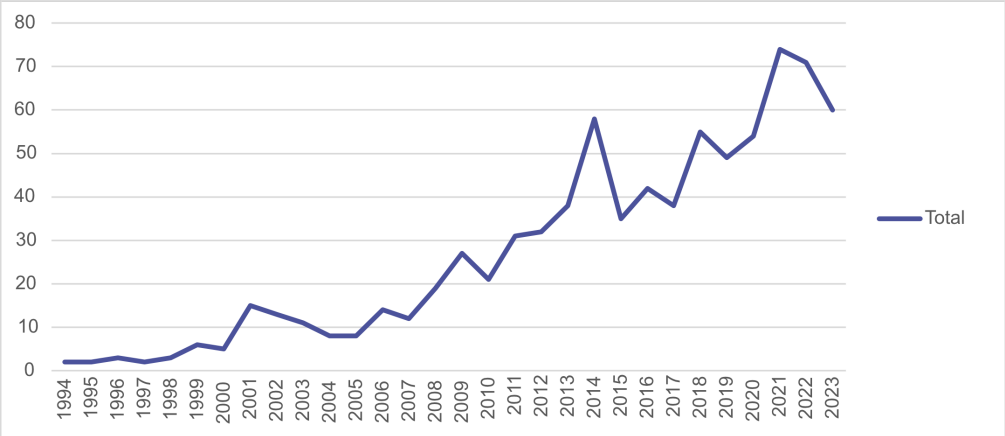


Figure 1: Publication pattern over 30 years of research, visualised as number of published articles per year

Findings

Search outcome

In total, 831 articles met the eligibility criteria and were hence identified as relevant for this research review. These articles were reviewed based on their abstracts, and there is a possibility that some would have been excluded based on the full text of the article, for example due to low scientific quality or weak methodology. The 831 articles reveal several connected research fields, all pertaining to the interplay between a variety of forms of honour and violence. This overall picture was shared by the three authors of this report after reviewing the abstracts and was also confirmed by bibliometric analysis conducted by librarians involved in the project (see Part I and Appendix II for more details). The relatively high number of included articles (831) was a result of the search strategy and wide-ranging scope of the assignment. This also posed a challenge for the authors, who needed to encompass geographical and disciplinary breadth and shifting understandings of honour-based violence while at the same time delimiting the material to make it manageable for them and understandable for readers.

As a way of quality assessing the review, an international reference group was put together. To make sure that the geographical and disciplinary breadth was handled correctly the group encompassed four researchers with comprehensive knowledge about honour-based violence within different disciplines and geographical settings. The group represents the disciplines Social Psychology, Criminology, Sociology and Political Science, and the researchers work in Germany, the UK, the US and Türkiye (see page 2 for more information). The members of the reference group have been reading and commenting on drafts for the review throughout the work and participated in two digital meetings to make sure that their important input and feedback are included in the final review.

The material and further selection of articles has been structured into three parts. The first selection was based on the blind mode review by the authors, identifying themes and reoccurring patterns. To operationalise the categorisations, the authors used a bibliometric tool to organise the 831 articles into clusters based on their inter-relatedness, or so-called link strength (see page 16 for map and Appendix II for bibliometric details). To represent the main patterns, the authors reviewed the clusters and retrieved the three articles with the highest link strength from the six largest clusters. From one of the clusters (number 2) the authors retrieved five articles, due to it being the largest and because two of the articles in that cluster needed to be included for full-text reading. In the first case this was because the article in question was the most referenced in the whole literature review (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996) and in the other because of the article's bridge function, that is its links to several of the other clusters (Vandello et al., 2008). These decisions resulted in the inclusion of 20 articles for full-text reading based on their centrality to their respective clusters and hence the literature search.

The second selection was based on geography. This is an international research review, and the decision was motivated by an interest in differences and similarities between countries and geographical regions. Two of the authors organised articles in country-specific groups. This grouping resulted in 596 abstracts being reviewed a second time to describe patterns and dominant discourses for the respective countries, and this makes up Part II of this report.

The third selection was based on recurrent themes identified through the review of all included articles, full-text readings of the 20 central articles and country-specific descriptions revealing *Conditions for change and prevention* as a highly relevant theme in the material. In total, 56 articles focusing on aspects of this theme were retrieved as full texts for the third part of the report.

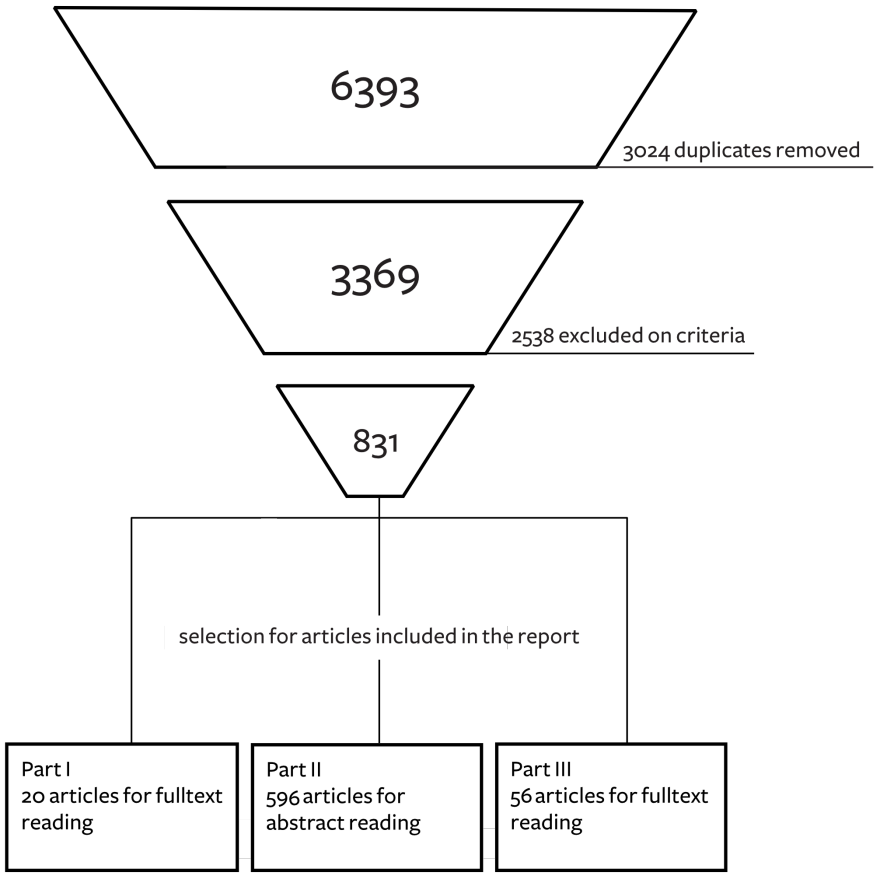


Figure 2: Visualising the process of excluding articles leading up to the number of included articles in the review

Methodological reflections

Our methodological reflections on this literature search and its findings relate to three main themes. The first is the idea of trying to 'capture the phenomenon' rather than 'a

wording/a language/a discourse', the second is language, publication type and publication patterns and the third is reflections on managing the normative assumption of the assignment.

Firstly, we started with the aim of trying to 'capture the phenomenon' rather than 'a wording/a language/a discourse', meaning that we wanted to search the international research field to find research discussing and describing situations that can be understood as examples of 'honour-based violence', whether or not the researchers themselves applied those exact words or described them as such. In carrying out these searches it became clear that the scope was too wide and resulted in too many irrelevant references, even after continued work to try and narrow down the search blocks. We then decided to abandon the idea of 'capturing the phenomenon' and instead focus on research descriptions that included variants of the word 'honour'. This resulted in a literature review that captures international research in which the researchers themselves understand, describe and conceptualise their study object in relation to honour. International research on, for example, female genital mutilation, gender-based violence or femicide, in which the researchers did not present, describe or conceptualise their study object in relation to honour, was not identified by the search procedure applied. It is important to be aware of this limitation of the search and findings in this review.

Regarding language, publication type and publication patterns, it should be noted that the search was carried out with English search terms. Although not limited to 'English only' articles, the overwhelming majority of search results were articles written and published in English. This outcome may reflect the search strategy, publication patterns in different parts of the world and global inequality in scientific knowledge production. When examining methods for conducting systematic searches in several languages, the research group could not identify a common praxis, resulting in methodological challenges beyond the time frame for this assignment. This language limitation poses a significant constraint, as it may have resulted in the exclusion of important non-Western perspectives and potentially influenced the overall findings. Further, this research review includes only peer-reviewed articles, excluding knowledge found in policy papers, reports from government agencies and NGOs, dissertations, books and book chapters. This limitation in the search was informed by the time and resources available for the project, as well as the need to review and assess material through similar scientific criteria, such as methodology, aim, theoretical perspectives and empirical sample. One consequence of this decision is that other forms of knowledge production are not included in this review. Hence, this review represents just one of many ways to examine and share international research and knowledge on honour-based violence. The limitations mentioned (English search terms and peer-reviewed articles only) reflect methodological and time constraints in the project and might be one explanation for the poor representation of research from the Global South in this review. We are aware that this means this report (as Western academic practices often do) risks contributing to a continuation of colonial power structures, reflected in the experiences and voices included as knowledge producers. We sincerely hope that a multilingual project, which focuses on the wider literature outside of English-speaking research articles, can be

conducted in the future. In this way, researchers may be able to see the global picture presented by research on honour-based violence while learning from the research that has been conducted in countries in the Global South.

Thirdly we find it important to briefly elaborate on a few specifications and concepts included within the assignment from the Swedish government. It is specified that 'the knowledge and research review shall consistently have child rights, LGBTQI and disability perspectives.' We agree that these are important perspectives to include when analysing the broad international research field. At the same time, it is problematic to try to decide in advance the perspectives to be used consistently in a research review. Identifying knowledge gaps is always part of conducting a research review. These perspectives have been apparent throughout the work, and are used, where appropriate, in the analysis of the material. Attention given to specific search terms related to the appointed perspectives in the search strategy is also explained further in Appendix I, Search Strategy and Method, and the perspectives are elaborated on in relation to the analysis. The assignment also states that 'The knowledge and research review shall include research on child marriage, forced marriage and female genital mutilation and other types of acts that may typically have honour motives.' The normative assumption of 'acts that may typically have honour motives' presented a difficulty from the outset when examining the international research field on honour-based violence. A multitude of forms of violence is represented in the research field, and many different forms and understandings of honour in a variety of geographical and historical spaces are being studied to deepen the understanding of honour and violence. This is an interesting finding and at the same time a methodological challenge, since limiting articles becomes difficult, which results in the inclusion of many articles.

These observations and reflections point to an important aspect regarding research reviews in general and honour-based violence in particular. The research review as a mean to collect, describe and assemble a large amount of research to give a broad picture, point out knowledge gaps and clarify key concepts is undoubtedly very important and appropriate. However, to capture a broad, contested and weakly defined concept such as honour-based violence, methodological limitations need to be made clear and transparent to show what is not included, not only when reviewing articles but also per default. The research review needs to make clear the default assumptions and norms in research communities when it comes to global publication patterns, dominance of the English language, hegemonic discourses (dominant perspectives), exclusion patterns and citation practices.

The structure of the report

This review builds on a literature search with a relatively high number of included articles, with disciplinary, methodological, geographical and epistemological variety among them. The aim of the review, 'to provide a comprehensive overview of international research on honour-based violence', asks the authors to do justice to this plurality while offering a deeper picture and understanding of some of the central

themes in the research field. To achieve this, the research review presents international research in three parts. Part I describes central themes in the field that reflect patterns, conceptual use, flows of ideas and theoretical underpinnings central to the forming of the international research field. Part II assumes the task of describing the main patterns and research interests in a country-by-country analysis based on abstracts from 596 articles, representing countries with at least ten article occurrences in the collected data. In this part of the review, the main objective is to let the broad varieties, as well as similarities, emerge. Finally, Part III delves into questions regarding conditions for change and prevention. In this part, four different but connected themes relevant for change and preventative work are presented. The report ends with a conclusion that presents identified knowledge gaps and key messages for policy, practice and research.

We wish to underscore that it has been a challenge to isolate consistent language in undertaking this research review, since researchers use varying concepts to describe the manyfold phenomena of honour and violence according to their disciplinary conventions. To manage this conceptual plurality, we use the terms applied by the authors when describing the included studies. However, for general or analytical purposes, the concept of honour-based violence is used. Hence, within this report the concept of honour-based violence covers all forms of violence, from psychological abuse to honour killings.

Part I: Central themes highlighting a research field

PART I

Central themes highlighting a research field

We begin by describing how we arrived at the selection of the 20 articles that form the basis of the text in this part. During the blind review by the three authors, all included articles were labelled and categorised according to the study object/research question, country, form of violence, discipline and method (when possible). In this way, central themes were identified, and patterns and dominant strands that define the research field of 'honour' and 'violence' emerged. The relatively high number of included articles complicated the structured organisation of the articles. As a complementary tool, the authors used bibliometrics to organise the 831 articles into clusters based on a citation analysis (see Appendix II for bibliometric details). The main patterns and themes that we identified through our initial, manual review of the included articles were supported by the bibliometric map, which ordered the articles into 19 different clusters.

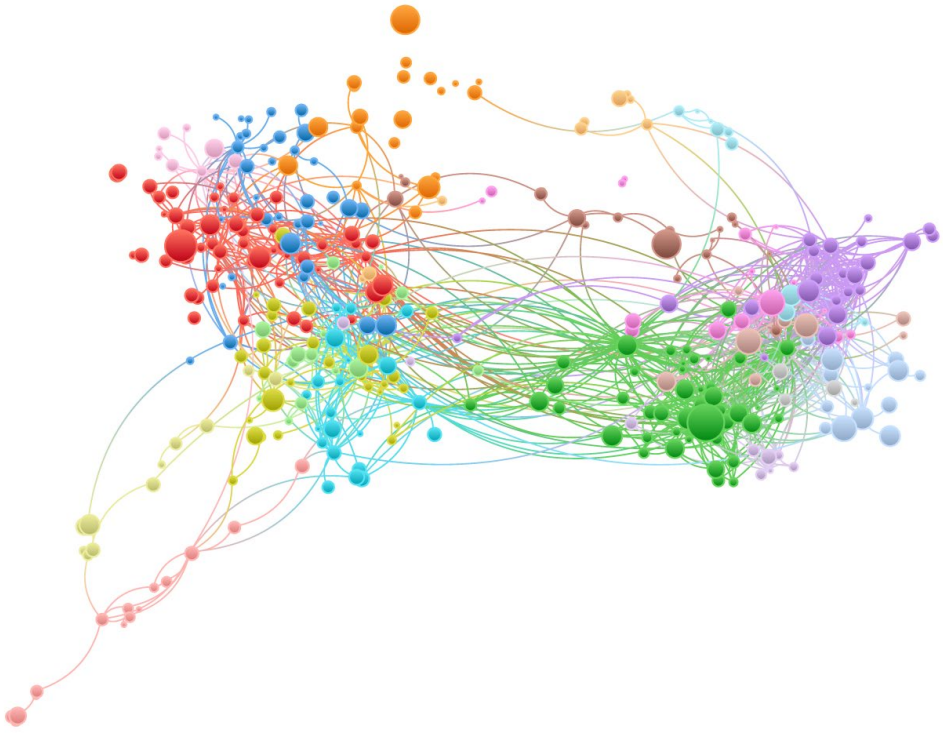


Figure 3: Visualizing the 19 different clusters in different colors and sizes. The figure is based on a citation analysis and is created in Vosviewer.

Hence, for this part of the review the authors have used the bibliometric citation analysis map as a tool to identify central themes, each containing large numbers of articles. This approach has given us a broad overview of the main patterns and themes within the international research field, revealing differences and similarities in definitions, disciplinary perspectives, understandings of honour-based violence and

knowledge gaps. Wording, concepts and terms used in the articles are used when citing articles in the text to allow for the visualisation of different conceptual contexts.

In the following section, we describe the overarching patterns in the 6 largest clusters, which together comprise 20 titles to be read in full. The oldest article was published in 1996, and the most recent in 2020. In the presentation of the individual clusters, the articles are briefly described one by one. Their specific features are then summarised before we describe the implementations posed and further research suggested in the articles.

CLUSTER 1

Socioeconomics and social change

Cluster 1 comprises the largest central field according to the bibliometric map described above. The problems are presented with significant complexity and nuance, from the problem descriptions to the definitions, discussions and analyses. The analysis of this cluster is based on the following articles:

- Meetoo, V. & Mirza, H.S. (2007). "There is nothing 'honourable' about honour killings": Gender, violence and the limits of multiculturalism. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 30: 187–200.
- Sev'er A. & Yurdakul G. (2001). Culture of honor, culture of change: A feminist analysis of honor killings in rural Turkey. *Violence against Women*, 7: 964–998.
- Sedem, M. & Ferrer-Wreder, L. (2015). Fear of the Loss of Honor: Implications of Honor-Based Violence for the Development of Youth and Their Families. *Child Youth Care Forum*, 44: 225–237.

The articles represent the disciplines of Sociology, Political Science, Psychology and Gender Studies. The perspectives and theoretical frameworks are based in feminist theory, and intersectional perspectives are applied. The lines of argumentation are grounded in political philosophy, and qualitative research methods are used, including policy analyses, case studies, theory studies and in-depth interviews.

In the first article, Meetoo and Mirza (2007) explore and discuss the impact of two public discourses on domestic violence against women from ethnic and religious minorities in a British context. The discourses are *multiculturalism* and *islamophobia*. The article is based on political philosophy, reports and existing research literature. It takes an intersectional perspective, problematising the intersection of race, class and gender. *Multiculturalism*, the authors explain, is underpinned by notions of "respecting diversity and valuing cultural difference" (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007, p. 188). This, they argue, is the reason for non-intervention in cases when domestic violence is perceived to be rooted in religious and ethnic practices. Put simply, multiculturalism leads protective agencies and social services to neglect the needs of women who are exposed to honour-based violence. Thus, multiculturalism amplifies risk for exposed women, who are rendered invisible to the systems that are supposed to help them. Another problem with

multiculturalism is that it allows perpetrators to use honour as a mitigating circumstance, an excuse, for violence and femicide. *Islamophobia*, on the other hand, takes a different position vis-à-vis vulnerable groups and violence. Islamophobia highlights 'other' cultures, religions and ethnicities as violent just because they are not British. In short, the Islamophobic discourse strengthens and essentialises ethnicity in the Western construction of difference. This amplifies the tendency for women to be put at risk through inaction caused by "generalised and simplified explanations of honour crimes" (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007, p. 195). In short, ethnicised women face a *gender trap* as multiculturalism makes them invisible whilst islamophobia culturalises and exploits their potentially vulnerable position. The researchers suggest that appropriate enforcement of the Human Rights Act (2000) be used to develop a "more equitable and culturally neutral perspective where women's rights are ensured and privileged over patriarchal cultural practices" (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007, p. 198).

In the second article, sociologists Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) explicitly examine the cultural and material circumstances under which honour norms, honour-based violence, and honour killings are likely to occur in rural regions of Türkiye. In this study the researchers emphasise the socioeconomic dimension of honour-based violence, arguing that poorer and underdeveloped regions in Türkiye are more possessive of their honour, compared to other regions. The authors review news articles in Turkish newspapers to define and discuss the prevalence of honour-based violence. Drawing on a materialist feminist perspective, the study demonstrates that political and economic progress, as well as cultural changes in rural Türkiye, does not necessarily lead to the end of the patriarchal social orders of the rural communities where honour killings are practised. Sev'er and Yurdakul's research findings underscore the urgent need for structural changes in Türkiye to combat honour-based violence. These changes include strengthening laws and enforcement to protect women's rights, promoting gender equality through educational initiatives and addressing underlying socioeconomic factors that contribute to honour-based violence. Overall, these findings emphasise that tackling honour-based violence requires a multifaceted approach that goes beyond surface-level changes and addresses deep-rooted societal norms and economic disparities. They highlight that social change may be the most crucial factor to achieve cultural change.

The third article, by Sedem and Ferrer-Wreder (2015), relies on a more individual methodology compared to the other two articles in Cluster 1. It builds upon in-depth interviews with 23 female and male persons who have experienced honour-based violence, as victims, witnesses or perpetrators. The participants were recruited through a conveniency sample. The empirical material is based on interviews with persons who were living in or, as in a few cases, had recently left Sweden. It is centred around adolescent girls who had been the focus of honour-based conflicts and female and male members of their families. Some of the female and male participants had been directly involved in an honour killing in Sweden. The study concludes that living with honour-based norms creates a fear of losing one's honour and/or life, manifesting for the participants in different ways. Through the interviews, Sedem and Ferre-Wreder (2015)

explain the importance of viewing the roots of honour-based violence in the light of socioeconomic, historical and political factors – including gender and identity politics – since these are key explanatory factors connected to honour norms. The researchers emphasise that socioeconomic financial and material aspects go along with honour-based violence, forced marriage and child marriages. It is important to note that while honour killings are often associated with rural and tribal areas in the literature, this study reveals that they also occur in urban settings. This highlights the complexity of the issue and the need for a comprehensive approach to address it.

Summing up

All articles in this cluster are aligned on the common traits of honour-based violence as it is generally presented in anthropological, sociological and social psychological literature from the 1960s onwards, although only Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) go that far back in their references (e.g. Peristiany 1965). By foregrounding Meetoo and Mirza's (2007) description, which in turn leans on Faqir 2001 (included and described in Cluster 3), we get a common definition of honour-based violence. Honour-based violence, including its most extreme expression, honour killings, are severe acts of violence perpetrated against women when an honour code is believed to have been broken and perceived shame is brought upon their families. Women carry the burden for the shame of violations of men's sexual 'honour'. They can be killed if they have fallen pregnant as a result of incest or rape. Being suspected of an offence against the honour code is enough to justify violence in the name of honour. This gendered dimension reflects the patriarchal structures that position women as the carriers of family honour, thereby holding them accountable for maintaining or restoring it through compliance with restrictive social norms. Further, honour-based violence is characterised by the collective legitimation or sanction of this violence within a family and its community. The collective nature of honour-based violence underscores the role of community norms in both justifying and perpetuating this violence, indicating that it is not merely a private issue but a socially sanctioned practice.

This cluster does not ask so much what and when but more how and why, focusing on the roots of honour-based violence and honour killings. The articles in this cluster make explicit the links between societal actions, the socioeconomic traits of communities that practice honour-based violence and multi-layered power relations at micro, meso and macro levels in British, Turkish and Swedish contexts, respectively. Even early research on honour-based violence points to material inequalities and the social circumstances in which people live as a breeding ground for honour-based violence and that honour-based violence is not inherent to certain groups or people (for example Kurds or Muslims). All authors plea for urgent legal, social and economic change.

Explicit implications and recommendations in the articles

Meetoo and Mirza (2007) recommend that human rights law be applied to inspire an equitable and culturally neutral perspective in the enforcement of women's rights over patriarchal cultural practices. Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001), from a similar juncture, emphasise that ending honour killings and increasing gender equality requires changes to all public institutions through legal, educational and social reforms. While Meetoo and Mirza (2007) and Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) advocate for systemic change at the societal and institutional levels, Sedem and Ferrer-Wreder (2015), although seemingly more interventionist, underscore the need for a holistic, multi-level approach. Sedem and Ferrer-Wreder (2015) pinpoint the importance of practitioners building trust with families to break isolation and promote mobility. Further, according to Sedem and Ferrer-Wreder (2015), support for families will inevitably be required to promote awareness in the early stages of child raising, education and support in the practice of contextually relevant conflict resolution skills.

Further research

Sedem and Ferrer-Wreder (2015) are the only researchers who explicitly suggest further research in this cluster and encourage researchers to embrace the intersections between culture and gender, sexuality and human rights in efforts to "provide a foundation for evidence-based interventions" (2015, p. 234).

CLUSTER 2

Emotions and reactions to insults

The articles in Cluster 2 are centred around the study of male honour beliefs and the culture of honour. In other words, and in contrast to Cluster 1, this cluster centres around men's perceptions of honour and, primarily, their violent effects on other men. In this research the concepts 'male honour beliefs' as well as 'masculine honour beliefs' are used. The analysis of this cluster is based on the following articles:

- Vandello, J.A. & Cohen, D. (2003). Male Honor and Female Fidelity: Implicit Cultural Scripts that Perpetuate Domestic Violence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5: 997–1010.
- Cohen, D., Bowdle, B.F., Nisbett, R.E. & Schwarz, N. (1996). Insult, Aggression, and the Southern Culture of Honor: An "Experimental Ethnography". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 5: 945–960.
- Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Manstead, A.S. R. & Fischer, A.H. (2002). The role of honour concerns in emotional reactions to offences. *Cognition and Emotion*, 16/1: 143–163.
- Leung, A. K.-Y. & Cohen, D. (2011). Within- and between-culture variation: Individual differences and the cultural logics of honor, face, and dignity cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 100/3: 507–526.

- Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Fischer, A.H., Manstead, A.S. R. & Zaalberg, R. (2008). Attack, disapproval or withdrawal. The role of honour in anger and shame responses to being insulted. *Cognition and Emotion*, 22/8: 1471–1498.

The contributions stem from the disciplines of Psychology and Social Psychology. The data collections comprise questionnaires, experiments and vignettes. These methods strictly apply controlled investigations to the cognitive and emotional processes underlying honour-related behaviours, as well as cross-cultural comparisons of responses to honour threats.

Since the articles in this cluster revolve around one paradigmatic theory, that of Robert Nisbett and Dov Cohen (1996), it is relevant to briefly describe it here. The theory aims to explain the greater prevalence of honour culture in the Southern US compared to the Northern US. Nisbett and Cohen (1996) discuss how the development of honour cultures, particularly in the American South, was influenced by historical economic conditions, such as herding economies and the need for self-defence. The researchers argue that these historical roots continue to shape honour-based practices in various regions. It builds upon the established anthropological finding (e.g. Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1965) that a reputation for toughness is necessary for men due to the precarious conditions of the herding economy and production. It coincides with the absence of a body of law that can protect them and a lack of welfare subsidiaries to support them if their properties and wealth are destroyed. The culture of honour in the Southern US, Nisbett and Cohen argue, derives from settlers who primarily came from herding economies on the fringes of Britain, where lawlessness, instability and clan rule had characterised life as long as could be remembered and family honour was strong. This toughness was radicalised after immigration, because law enforcement in the South was either inadequate or corrupt. In short, every man had to be the sheriff on his own estate or household. Nisbett and Cohen's theory not only explains the historical roots of honour culture in the Southern US but also aims at providing a framework for exploring honour norms in other societies characterised by similar economic and social conditions. Although Nisbett and Cohen (1996) established a new stream of research and understanding of honour-based violence, called male honour beliefs, the phenomenon they investigate is the same as in the other clusters, with other concepts and in diverse contexts.

The first article, by Vandello and Cohen (2003), has a broader scope than the other articles in this cluster, as it seeks to explore the links between male honour beliefs and men's violence against women in intimate partnerships. By linking honour beliefs to the dynamics within intimate relationships, this study broadens the discussion of honour culture beyond male-to-male aggression, highlighting the impact of honour norms on gender relations and family dynamics. Vandello and Cohen state that male strength often requires female deference and fidelity. This dynamic, they argue, suggests that honour cultures create social norms where male dominance and female subordination are intertwined with family honour, reinforcing traditional gender roles and perpetuating cycles of violence. Thus, male honour beliefs are used as a justification for control,

violence and murder of other men (homicide), as well as women (femicide). Further, honour is coupled with family cohesion and traditional gender roles, which exert significant pressure on women to stay in relationships despite danger or harm. Using a questionnaire, they examined the advice persons in non-honour and honour groups, respectively, would give to a woman who was exposed to violence by her partner. Honour groups were defined as groups in which honour and reputation significantly shape social behaviour, while non-honour groups were defined as groups that do not prioritise these values to the same extent. This distinction, the researchers explain, allows the study to examine how cultural norms influence attitudes towards partner violence and women's autonomy. The honour groups were represented by two honour cultures: Latin Americans in Brazil and White Southerners in the US. The researchers found some evidence that cultural differences informed the kind of advice the participants deemed relevant to give to the women. Both the honour and non-honour groups expressed intolerance to violence, but persons in the honour groups were more likely to advise women to stay in a relationship despite exposure to violence. This outcome reveals a complex interplay between disapproval of violence and cultural norms around family and gender. It suggests that, in honour cultures, maintaining family honour may take precedence over individual well-being, leading to conflicting advice that ultimately supports the perpetuation of harmful relationships.

In the second article in this cluster, Cohen et al. (1996) investigated how male university students from honour and non-honour settings in the US responded to insults. The study used a controlled experimental design in which male university students were insulted by a confederate in a hallway scenario, allowing researchers to observe variations in their emotional and behavioural responses. The study compared male students from the Southern US, characterised by a strong culture of honour, with those from the Northern US, where honour norms are less prominent. They found that US Southerners who were insulted in front of others saw themselves as diminished in their masculine reputation and status. In honour cultures, masculinity and reputation are closely linked, and therefore public insults threaten an individual's social status. Thus, aggressive or domineering behaviour becomes a way of reasserting one's status and strength and restoring honour. As a result, the study shows that insults produced more aggressive or domineering behaviour in the honour group. They also found that the Southerners who were not insulted were more polite than the Northerners, but that insulted Southerners were much more aggressive than any other group. The greater politeness among Southerners who were not insulted may reflect a cultural emphasis on respect and cordiality, suggesting that honour norms not only promote aggression in response to insults but also encourage polite social interactions for the purposes of maintaining one's reputation. This finding suggests that the cultural norms within honour societies condition individuals to respond to threats with aggression, reinforcing the cycle of violence and maintaining the social code of honour.

In the third article, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002) study how ethnically Dutch and ethnically Spanish university students reacted towards threats to their family honour and their autonomy. The study aimed to investigate cultural differences in emotional

responses to honour-related threats, focusing on how individuals from honour and non-honour cultures react to threats to family honour and personal autonomy, The Dutch students represented non-honour values and the Spanish students represented honour values. The study showed that the Spanish respondents reacted more intensely when their family honour was threatened. In contrast, the Dutch students reacted more strongly to insults concerning their autonomy and assertiveness. The intense reaction of the Spanish participants to family honour threats, highlights the collective nature of honour cultures, in which an individual's self-esteem is closely tied to family reputation. In contrast, the Dutch emphasis on autonomy suggests that non-honour cultures prioritise individual assertiveness and personal integrity over familial reputation. The researchers found it interesting that women in the two groups reported more intense anger and shame in response to threats compared to all the men. The finding that women in both cultural groups reported more intense anger and shame in response to threats may reflect the gendered expectations in honour and non-honour societies. In honour cultures, women bear a significant responsibility for upholding family honour, while in non-honour cultures, social expectations regarding women's behaviour might amplify their sensitivity to threats related to their autonomy. The study concludes that violations of family honour have a greater impact on self-esteem in honour cultures than do violations of other aspects of honour.

The fourth article, by Leung and Cohen (2011), challenges the theory presented by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) by studying individual variations within cultural contexts. The primary focus of the study is to develop a new model that can catch such variations, the CuPS approach (Culture x Person x Situation). This approach aims to offer a dynamic understanding of how cultural values influence behaviour. It posits that the behaviour of individuals results from the interaction between cultural norms, individual personality and situational contexts. The empirical interest is the study of individual similarities and differences of culturally informed responses and reactions to aggressions and insults, as well as to favours. The question in focus is how individuals manage norms of exchange, reciprocity, punishment, honesty and trustworthiness. The cultural contexts, three in total, are described as ideal types of dignity, face and honour cultures. In *dignity cultures*, individual autonomy and self-worth are not contingent on social approval, leading to less emphasis on retaliation or reciprocity in conflicts. *Face cultures* prioritise harmony and respect, often emphasising the avoidance of conflict and the preservation of social stability. *Honour cultures*, meanwhile, place high value on strength, reputation and response to threats, often legitimising aggressive retaliation to protect one's status. The sample was comprised of university students, among which Northern Anglo-Americans represented the culture of dignity, Asian Americans the culture of face, and White and Latino US Southerners the culture of honour. The study found that individuals did not always respond exactly according to group expectations. While most participants from honour cultures were more likely to endorse reciprocity in both aggression and favour exchanges, those from dignity cultures displayed less reciprocity, indicating a lower inclination to engage in retribution or reward exchanges. *In face cultures*, however, although high value is placed on strength and reputation as in honour cultures, the response to threats differs.

The most important difference is that honour cultures are more competitive and cultures of face more cooperative; face can be gained and even conferred, but the main focus is not losing face. These variations suggest that cultural values significantly shape individuals' responses, but they also reveal the flexibility and complexity of cultural norms when applied to real-life situations. The study concludes that the more individuals connect with their cultural values, the more likely they are to comply with the virtues of that culture. Moreover, those who were most helpful, honest and likely to behave with integrity in their 'own' culture were least likely to do so in another culture. This finding indicates that cultural norms are not uniformly internalised; an individual's personal connection to a set of norms plays a critical role in shaping their reactions. This finding underscores the situational nature of cultural values, demonstrating that behaviours such as honesty and integrity are context dependent and can shift based on the cultural expectations surrounding honour, face or dignity. This variability points to the importance of considering individual differences within cultural research on honour.

In the fifth article, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2008) aimed to explore emotional and behavioural responses to insults among students from honour and non-honour cultures, examining how cultural norms influence reactions such as anger and shame and subsequent behaviour. Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2008) studied how ethnically Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch/Turkish-Dutch male and female university students responded to insults. The Dutch students represented non-honour culture and the Moroccan-Dutch/Turkish-Dutch students represented honour culture. In non-honour cultures, like that of the Dutch, personal autonomy and individualism are prioritised, often leading to a less intense focus on social reputation. In contrast, Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch honour cultures emphasise family reputation, social respect and defence of personal and family honour, which can shape emotional and behavioural responses to perceived insults. In honour cultures, emotions such as anger and shame are closely linked to social standing and reputation. The experience of shame may indicate a perceived threat to one's honour, while anger serves as a motivating force to restore social status. The study shows that all the students experienced anger and shame in response to insults but that the emotions of anger and shame resulted in different behaviours, such as aggression, disapproval or withdrawal.

Summing up

The main interest in this cluster is male aggression, primarily towards other men but also towards women, as instigated by insults. The articles test and support the hypothesis that honour culture can explain aggression and violence as a response to insults. Cohen et al. (1996) empirically evaluate this theory by demonstrating that males from the Southern US exhibit heightened aggression following insults, while Vandello and Cohen (2003) expand the theory's application by linking male honour beliefs to violence in intimate relationships. Meanwhile, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002, 2008) and Leung and Cohen (2011) explore the emotional and cultural variations within honour dynamics, adding layers of complexity to the original framework. The studies contribute to the theory presented by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) of the logics and roots

of honour in the Southern US by testing the theory (Cohen et al., 1996), combining it with the research field of men's violence against women (Vandello & Cohen 2003), developing specific details (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002, 2008) and/or partially developing it (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Generally, the studies in this cluster test, sustain and develop Nisbett and Cohen's (1996) theory, which seems not to be falsified by these studies but rather sustained and developed. The cluster contributes to our understanding of honour cultures by highlighting how the concept of honour drives aggressive responses to perceived threats, whether in male-to-male interactions or within intimate relationships. This emphasis on aggression as a mechanism for defending honour offers valuable insights into the cultural logic underpinning honour-based behaviours. The sustained support for Nisbett and Cohen's theory across diverse contexts has practical implications for developing culturally sensitive interventions to address aggression and violence in honour-based groups.

Explicit implications and suggestions for further research in the articles

None of the articles in this cluster pose explicit implications or offer explicit questions for further research.

CLUSTER 3
Migration and boundaries

The research in Cluster 3 resembles Cluster 1, although it has its own objectives. Unlike Clusters 2 and 5, which primarily focus on the psychological or cultural aspects of honour-based violence, this cluster emphasises the intersection of social factors, particularly how migration and cultural norms influence the experiences and perceptions of honour-based violence. This intersectional approach provides an understanding of how honour-based violence is shaped by broader societal structures and discourses. The analysis of this cluster is based on the following articles:

- Korteweg, A. & Yurdakul, G. (2009). Islam, gender, and immigrant integration: boundary drawing in discourses on honour killing in the Netherlands and Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*/2: 218–238.
- Mayeda, D. T. & Vijaykumar, R. (2016). A Review of the Literature on Honor-based Violence. *Sociology Compass*, 10/5: 353–363.
- Christianson, M., Teiler, Å. & Eriksson, C. (2020). "A woman's honor tumbles down on all of us in the family, but a man's honor is only his": young women's experiences of patriarchal chastity norms. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, 16/1, open access.

The studies are grounded in Sociology and Gender Studies (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009), Sociology (Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016) and Nursing (Christianson et al., 2020). The methodologies are qualitative and comprise a text-analytical approach (Korteweg &

Yurdakul, 2009), literature review (Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016) and individual in-depth interviews (Christiansson et al., 2020).

In the first article, Korteweg and Yurdakul (2009) reveal that Dutch and German news coverage of honour-based violence reinforces stark social divisions between Muslim immigrants and the majority society in the Netherlands and Germany. Through an analysis of newspaper stories on honour killings in both countries, they demonstrate that journalists, politicians and other media figures depict these crimes as a form of gender-based violence rooted in Islam, ethnicity or national origin. This portrayal presents religion, ethnicity and national origin as homogeneous, unified and ahistorical forces that inherently lead to gender inequality. The authors argue that honour killings should be viewed as human rights violations, similar to other forms of violence against women, and should not be reduced to Muslims' cultural practice. They emphasise the diversity within immigrant communities and religious practices, challenging the notion of a monolithic Muslim culture. Furthermore, Korteweg and Yurdakul highlight the efforts of immigrants themselves in combating honour-based violence, highlighting the active role played by these communities in addressing the issue. The authors' critical and nuanced approach to honour-based violence in Western European countries provides a more comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding gendered violence towards immigrant women and immigrant integration in the Netherlands and Germany. The article reveals how media discourses in the Netherlands and Germany construct boundaries between immigrant communities and the majority society through the lens of honour killings. The authors of the article examine how these narratives contribute to Islamophobia and reinforce cultural stereotypes. The concept of 'bright boundaries' refers to the stark distinctions drawn by the media between immigrant communities and the majority society, depicting them as fundamentally different in terms of cultural and religious values. By reinforcing these boundaries, media narratives contribute to the othering of immigrant groups and perpetuate Islamophobic sentiments. Other newspaper stories constructed less sharp divisions by approaching honour killing as a violation of human rights, similar to other forms of violence against women.

In the second study, Mayeda and Vijaykumar (2016) analyse reviews in research literature in relation to dilemmas concerning the intersections of honour-based violence, patriarchy/masculinities, racism and socioeconomics. Mayeda and Vijaykumar (2016) aim to synthesise existing literature on honour-based violence, highlighting the complexities and dilemmas that arise from the intersection with issues of gender, ethnicity, race and socioeconomic status. They conclude that honour-based violence disproportionately impacts younger women and adolescent girls from particular ethnic backgrounds. The researchers show that younger women and adolescent girls are often caught at the crossroads of patriarchal control, cultural expectations and socioeconomic constraints, making them more exposed to honour-related violence. These vulnerabilities are further compounded by systemic issues like racial discrimination and economic instability, which limit access to resources and support. They outline the recurring dilemma that must be managed: how to make violence within and against

marginalised minority groups visible without simultaneously stigmatising those same groups. This article poses several implications and suggestions for further research, which will be described below.

In the third article, Christianson et al. (2020) aim to understand the experiences of women in honour cultures in Sweden, particularly focusing on how honour-based violence is perceived and navigated by those at risk. The study is based on interviews with women who are identified as living in honour cultures in Sweden. Using in-depth interviews allows the researchers to capture the personal narratives and subjective realities of women in honour cultures, offering insights that quantitative data might overlook. This method highlights the voices of those most affected, providing a more grounded understanding of honour-based violence. Christianson et al. (2020) highlight that the sensitivity of the topic and risk of further violence contribute to its invisibility, making it challenging to address honour-based violence in research and policy. This difficulty underscores the importance of listening to the testimonies of those directly affected. They also stress that the immigrant background of the women in their study, having roots in the Middle East and East Africa, requires nuanced and socially situated understandings of violence against women, which can be achieved by listening to women's own accounts of their reality without downplaying their testimonies. The authors stress the importance of understanding honour-based violence in context, arguing that women's accounts should be taken seriously to avoid oversimplification or cultural stereotyping. They advocate for a perspective that recognises the diverse backgrounds and unique experiences of these women, acknowledging the influence of factors like migration, cultural norms and socioeconomic status. By focusing on women with immigrant backgrounds from the Middle East and East Africa, the study sheds light on the intersection between honour-based violence, migration and cultural adaptation, emphasising the need for socially situated understandings of these women's lived realities.

Summing up

The research in this cluster focuses on the impact of migration, as well as perceptions of boundaries (ethnic, cultural, religious and political majority/minority) and how they are expressed in policy and media. The articles in Cluster 1 critique the culturalisation of honour-based violence, which erroneously attributes responsibility for such acts to specific ethnic and religious groups, such as Muslim immigrant communities, in Western European countries. These studies show that Western media outlets, such as in Germany and the Netherlands, refer to honour-based violence as a discursive practice that accentuates a stark social divide between an imaginary 'West and Islam'. While the articles in this cluster vary in their scope and research objects, they share a critical stance towards Western right-wing political narratives that reduce violence against women to cultural forms of gendered violence, such as honour killings. Moreover, this cluster offers insights into the lines of division of gendered violence as both a lived experience in immigrant communities and a marker of ethnicised boundaries between Muslim immigrants and other groups in Western Europe. This critical perspective challenges the

oversimplification of honour-based violence and calls for a more comprehensive approach to addressing gender-based violence across all communities, regardless of cultural or religious background. This cluster uniquely contributes to the literature by addressing the dual nature of honour-based violence as both an immediate, personal experience and a constructed social boundary that reflects broader cultural, ethnic and political tensions. By investigating how honour-based violence is framed within policy and media discourses, as well as the outcomes for individuals, these studies illuminate the complexities surrounding migration and integration. While Cluster 3 shares Cluster 1's broad definition of honour-based violence, it distinctively frames honour killings primarily as a manifestation of patriarchy, moving away from simplistic associations with Islam. This shift in focus allows for a better exploration of the structural and social factors underpinning honour-based violence.

Explicit implications and recommendations in the articles

Mayeda and Vijaykumar (2016) argue that researchers should play an active role in conceptualising intervention programmes that challenge culturally specific forms of hegemonic masculinity linked to honour-based violence. Hegemonic masculinity encompasses perceptions of masculinity that are taken for granted within society. They stress the importance of avoiding uncritical portrayals of cultures or men from the studied ethnic groups as the sole source of the problem. Korteweg and Yurdakul (2009) encourage further identification of the discursive forces that hinder or facilitate immigrant integration in the Dutch and German contexts. Discursive forces point to the importance of actors' perceptions of a given phenomenon and their ability to establish them as a norm.

Explicit suggestions for further research in the articles

Only one of the studies, by Mayeda and Vijaykumar (2016), explicitly suggests areas for further research. The researchers call for more empirical research with a focus on exposure to honour-based violence in migrant and non-migrant settings. Mayeda and Vijaykumar (2016) stress the need for empirical research on honour-based violence in both migrant and non-migrant settings, with a focus on countering Orientalist framings that often depict honour-based violence as an exclusively 'Eastern' – often Muslim – problem. They argue that such research should challenge simplistic cultural stereotypes and address the complexities of honour-related violence across diverse contexts.

CLUSTER 4
The unpredictable impact of social change

Cluster 4 examines the complex and often unpredictable ways in which social change impacts violence against women, particularly in the context of honour-based violence. By exploring the dynamics of social change and its impact on violence against women,

the articles shed light on the intersections between cultural norms, legal systems and social policies. The analysis of this cluster is based on the following articles:

- Baker, N. V., Gregware, P. R. & Cassidy, M. A. (1999). Family Killing Fields: Honor Rationales in the Murder of Women. *Violence Against Women*, 5/2: 164–184.
- Hayes, B. E., Freilich, J. D. & Chermak, S. M. (2016). An Exploratory Study of Honor Crimes in the United States. *Journal of Family Violence* 31: 303–314.
- Faqir, F. (2001). Intrafamily femicide in defence of honour: The case of Jordan. *Third World Quarterly*, 22/1: 65–82.

The articles are based in Law, Criminal Justice and Sociology. The methodologies applied are a theoretically led literature review (Baker et al., 1999), analysis of documentations of criminal court cases in the US (Hayes et al., 2016) and a reflection on honour killings in Jordan (Faqir, 2001).

The first article, by Baker et al. (1999), seeks to contribute to better theoretical frameworks for understanding the cultural and contextual patterns of male violence. The researchers argue that all patriarchal violence, be it honour-based or not, is rooted in men's desire to control women's behaviour. They argue that the locus of honour has shifted in the English-speaking West, including the US, from the traditional extended family to the individual man. Killers in traditional (honour) societies are fathers, brothers and cousins, and in modern societies they are husbands, but their motives are the same. The researchers claim that the transition from the traditional, extended family to modern individual relationships may make family life more dangerous for women, as they are more isolated with their partner. The study provides a novel perspective by suggesting that as societies shift from extended family structures to more individualised relationships, the home may become an even more dangerous environment for women. This is because, the authors argue, in modern contexts, male partners may feel a heightened need to assert control over women seeking individuality and independence. It is suggested that violence increases in societies where women seek individuality, as opposed to more traditional societies in which they are more subordinate. Thus, modernisation and societal change does not automatically decrease gender-based violence as long as male dominance persists.

The second article, by Hayes et al. (2016), is focused on the identification and description of the characteristics of honour crimes in the US over a 24-year period. The study highlights a stark contrast between the elevated level of media attention on honour crimes in the US and the scarcity of academic research on the topic. The researchers suggest a need for scholarly inquiry that moves beyond media narratives to uncover the complexities of honour crimes within US society. The researchers searched for records of honour crimes in public systems in the US and identified only 16 honour killings over a 24-year period. The victims were daughters/stepdaughters, spouses/partners other family members (for example cousins). The analysis of these cases revealed that the primary motivation for honour crimes in the US was often linked to separation from a partner and/or the perpetrator's perception of the female or male

victim's 'Westernised' behaviour. Perpetrators included not only current or former partners but in many cases male relatives from the victim's family of birth. This reflects a complex interplay between individual relationships and cultural expectations. Overall, the researchers concluded that the characteristics of honour crimes in the US bear some similarities to international contexts, but differences also emerged. Some aspects, such as male relatives' involvement in acts of violence to control perceived transgressions, mirror patterns observed in international honour crimes. Differences emerged in the US context, including a stronger emphasis on 'Westernised' behaviour as a trigger. These findings suggest that honour crimes in the US may be shaped by unique cultural, social and individual factors.

The third and last article, by Faqir (2001), aims to scrutinise honour killings in Jordan and the societal prerequisites for them to end. Faqir poses a wide range of interconnected arguments, linking honour killings to broader themes of gender-based violence, societal resistance to changing gender roles, globalisation and the interplay of religious, nationalist and tribal patriarchal structures in Jordan. Faqir argues that gender-based violence in Jordan is the product of male resistance to changing patterns of social conditions and behaviour. Male resistance is provoked by the changing role of women due to globalisation, which is seen by some as destabilising societal structures. Consequently, Faqir argues that honour killings are indicative of the rapid change of gender roles in Jordan and the resistance to this change within traditional patriarchy, be it Islamic, nationalist or tribal. In other words, for patriarchy, resisting globalisation or Westernisation has become synonymous with preserving women's honour. Thus, Faqir identifies that honour killings are a symptom of the absence of participatory democracy and respect for human rights.

Summing up

All articles in this cluster conceptualise honour-based violence as a form of violence, where perpetrators rely on cultural norms to justify their exertion of power and control. The perpetrators assert their right to use violence against women who are seen as subordinate within familial and kinship networks, reinforcing patriarchal privilege and authority. Violence, the use of physical force to inflict injury on others, with the purpose of maintaining privilege, even at the cost of femicide, is part of the institutionalisation of patriarchy. Most women experience violence in one way or another in their lifetime. Such violence can include rape, both within and outside marriage, beating, childhood sexual assault and incest, harassment in the workplace and even femicide. Thus, violence cuts across all cultures. The common trait is the impact of social change on violence against women, but differing settings bring various kinds of problems to the surface. Each study contributes to our understanding of how social change can influence violence against women. Baker et al. (1999) contribute a theoretical framework that situates honour-based violence within the transition from traditional to individualised family structures. Hayes et al. (2016) provide an empirical analysis of honour crimes in the US, identifying both commonalities and distinctions with international cases, and,

finally, Faqir (2001) explores honour killings in Jordan, linking them to broader issues of patriarchal resistance to globalisation and a lack of democratic institutions.

Explicit implications and recommendations in the articles

Only one of the articles poses implications of their research. Hayes et al. (2016), who studied honour crimes (honour-based violence and honour killings) in the US, state that all work in combating honour crimes must build upon the participation of the involved parties and be culturally sensitive, in an effort to achieve both retributive justice and structural change. Hayes et al. emphasise a dual approach to justice in dealing with honour crimes. Retributive justice is necessary as perpetrators of honour crimes may seek support from extended family members. In parallel, restorative justice aims to empower victims, build community resilience and limit the recurrence of honour crimes. This dual strategy underscores the need for a comprehensive approach that addresses both immediate and structural factors influencing honour-based violence. Hayes et al. (2016) stress that supportive programmes must be culturally competent, incorporating the input and perspectives of community members. This suggests that interventions must be designed in consultation with those directly affected by honour crimes, ensuring that they are contextually relevant and effective in fostering change. It is also crucial to consider how structural forces impact women's experiences and the options available to them. Although the current focus is gendered violence affecting women, it should be noted that there are also male victims of honour-based violence, especially in contexts of forced marriage. Further, Hayes et al. (2016) pinpoint that Western cultures need to concentrate less on negative perceptions of ethnic groups and more on women's suggestions of ways to respond to violence. Structural reforms must occur so that the focus is on identifying ways to help victims while holding perpetrators accountable for their behaviour.

Explicit suggestions for further research in the articles

One of the articles in this cluster calls attention to the fact that knowledge of the causes and origins of violence towards women, including femicide, is incomplete and requires further research (Baker et al., 1999).

CLUSTER 5
Individual differences within and between groups

Cluster 5 explores how individual differences within and between groups contribute to variations in masculine honour beliefs, focusing on how these beliefs shape behaviour and attitudes in response to honour-based situations. The articles in this cluster are interrelated as they stem from one university, one discipline (Social Psychology) and one research group. This cluster is closely related to Cluster 2, which is also focused around a specific researcher and study, specifically Leung and Cohen's (2011) study of cultural

and individual differences to understand how honour manifests at the individual level. The analysis of this cluster is based on the following articles:

- Saucier, D. A., Miller, S. S., Martens, A. L., O'Dea, C. J. & Jones, T. L. (2018). Individual differences explain regional differences in honor-related outcomes. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 124: 91–97.
- Saucier, D. A., Stanford, A. J., Miller, S. S., Martens, A. L., Miller, A. K., Jones, T. L., McManus, J. L. & Burns, M. D. (2016). Masculine honor beliefs: Measurement and correlates. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 94: 7–15.
- O'Dea, C. J., Castro Bueno, A. M. & Saucier, D. A. (2017). Fight or flight: Perceptions of men who confront versus ignore threats to themselves and others. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 104:345–351.

The methods applied in Cluster 5 are questionnaires, vignettes and experiments.

The first article, by Saucier et al. (2018a), investigated the extent to which individual differences in masculine honour beliefs explain regional differences. The sample was 206 males from the digital Amazon platform Mechanical Turk (MTurk). The participants were from urban, rural and suburban areas from Northern and Southern US. The participants answered questions related to their emotional reactions to insults, endorsement of violence, aggressive responses to infidelity and the war on terror. The results clearly indicate that there are regional differences in honour-related responses at a collective level, but also that individuals within regions do not always conform to these regional differences. While masculine honour beliefs may have developed in regions traditionally defined by cultures of honour, there is variation in the adherence to these beliefs both between and within honour and non-honour cultures. The authors claim that this study extends the notion of cultures of honour beyond their regional boundaries and exemplifies the usefulness of conceptualising honour as a psychological construct within individuals.

The second article, by Saucier et al. (2016), aims to develop a measurement for masculine honour beliefs inspired by previous research on the Southern culture of honour. The sample included white, male, US Southerners aged 19-67, a demographic traditionally associated with stronger adherence to honour-based norms, allowing for an exploration of how these beliefs vary at the individual level. The study concludes that masculine honour beliefs should be conceptualised in terms of individual difference rather than difference between groups. The reason given is increasing interconnectivity, via the Internet, mass media communication and other, which extends the transmission of honour beliefs beyond regional boundaries. This enables variabilities in endorsements of male honour beliefs that legitimatise aggression and violence to be captured. By conceptualising masculine honour at the individual level, researchers can examine the effects of honour not only between cultures but also within them. The Male Honour Beliefs Scale allows masculine honour beliefs to be examined as a factor in understanding men's motivations for aggressive behaviour, particularly in response to provocation in different regions and settings and across cultures.

The third article (O'Dea et al., 2017) examines the correlation between male honour beliefs and perceptions of threats/insults and social expectations. The data used a vignette and a survey, which was completed by 131 persons digitally. The participants were recruited via the Amazon software Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and consisted of 45 men and 83 women, and three who identified as 'other'. The findings revealed that men with stronger male honour beliefs are more likely to perceive confronting a threat as an honourable action and view non-confrontation negatively, reinforcing the expectation that men must defend their honour. It concludes that male honour beliefs significantly influence the choice to confront or walk away from a threat. Thus, men are expected to defend their honour, and social perceptions of men are affected by their choice of whether or not to confront an antagonist

Summing up

The articles in this cluster build on the definition of honour cultures proposed by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) in Cluster 2, whose research focuses on regional differences in honour-related behaviour in the US. However, Cluster 5 extends this framework by emphasising the role of individual differences within and beyond these regional boundaries. The authors argue that higher levels of endorsement of masculine honour beliefs are associated with more negative emotions and more aggressive responses to insults, provocation, terrorist threat and romantic rejection. They are also associated with support for war and intrusive security policies, risk taking, depression, perceptions of weakness in seeking mental health services, greater concerns around males being physically strong and negative perceptions of women who have been raped. Conceptualising honour as an individual psychological factor, the authors in Cluster 5 shift the focus from cultural and regional explanations to an examination of how personal beliefs shape responses to various social situations. This psychological perspective allows for the exploration of honour dynamics within diverse cultural contexts, recognising that honour beliefs are not uniformly distributed, even within traditionally defined honour cultures. The catalyst for this stems from the fact that our contemporary, interconnected world facilitates interactions between individuals who are 'strangers' to each other. The basic research question is thus whether and how this dynamic influences individual norms across cultures and whether it leads to more individualised patterns and norms. These questions might need further exploration.

Explicit implications and recommendations in the articles

The articles in this cluster pose no explicit implications of their research.

Explicit suggestions for further research in the articles

One of the articles (Saucier et al., 2018a) suggests that researchers need to more broadly examine forms and manifestations of honour as individual differences that may or may not be linked to regions traditionally defined as 'cultures of honour.'

CLUSTER 6

Challenges, research gaps and theory development

This sixth and last cluster focuses on the complex issue of honour killings, addressing challenges, research gaps and theory development across diverse cultural and disciplinary contexts. The articles explore various aspects of honour killings, including their cultural underpinnings, social dynamics and public perceptions. The analysis of this cluster is based on the following articles:

- Kulczycki, A. & Windle, S. (2011). Honor Killings in the Middle East and North Africa: A Systematic Review of the Literature. *Violence Against Women*, 17/11: 1442–1464.
- Cooney, M. (2014). Death by family: Honor violence as punishment. *Punishment & Society*, 16/4: 406–427.
- Caffaro, F., Ferraris, F. & Schmidt, S. (2014). Gender Differences in the Perception of Honour Killing in Individualist Versus Collectivistic Cultures: Comparison Between Italy and Turkey. *Sex Roles*, 71: 296–318.

Cluster 6 is based in the disciplines of Public Health, Sociology and Psychology. The methods applied are both qualitative and quantitative, comprising one systematic review (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011), one sociological and theoretical strategy (Cooney, 2014) and one questionnaire study (Caffaro et al., 2014).

The first article, by Kulczycki and Windle (2011), is a research review on studies of honour-based violence in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA region). The article states that honour killings continue to occur in many, if not all, countries of the MENA region. The review reveals many gaps and deficiencies in the literature and shows that very little is known about the incidence, correlations and predictors of honour killings in the region. Moreover, little is known about the characteristics of victims and perpetrators, public opinion or paths to reducing and eliminating the brutal acts of honour-based violence and honour killings. Additionally, Kulczycki and Windle (2011) pinpoint that the studies included in the review were characterised by poor methodological quality and weak generalisability.

The second article, by Cooney (2014), addresses honour communities in general. Cooney posits that honour-based punishment increases relative to the social distance between the parties involved and the social inferiority of the offender. For example, perceived social inferiority of the offender of the honour norms prompts harsher punishment compared to incidents in which the victim and offender are more equal or the offender is in a superior position. These twin principles explain variations in the occurrence and severity of honour violence, as acts against individuals considered distant or inferior are more likely to provoke harsh punishment. These principles help to explain when and where honour-based family violence occurs, as well as its likely severity or lethality. The twin principles of social distance and inferiority are key predictors of specific trends in honour-based violence: when and where it will occur, who the perpetrators and targets are and the severity of a given incident.

The third study, by Caffaro et al. (2014), consisted of a questionnaire to Italian and Turkish male university students. The study shows that the effects of gender and culture on the perception of honour killings is profound. Participants from more explicit honour cultures, represented by Türkiye in this study, attributed greater responsibility to victims and less responsibility to assailants and proposed less severe punishments for assailants compared to those from non-honour cultures, in this case the Italian participants. Interestingly, a gender difference emerged among the Turkish participants, with women attributing more responsibility to the assailants and advocating for harsher punishments than men. This suggests that even within honour cultures, gender perspectives can vary, potentially reflecting shifts in attitudes among women towards traditional honour norms. Northern Italian participants consistently viewed the described violence as criminal, indicating a more clear-cut rejection of honour-based violence. The few Turkish participants who did not see the incidents as criminal highlight the cultural variance in defining and condemning honour-related violence. In conclusion, although laws have changed in both countries, and both condemn honour killings, attitudes towards honour killings were more lenient among the Turkish participants, both male and female.

Summing up

The contributions of the articles, in line with Clusters 1, 3 and 4, are focused on honour norms, honour-based violence, honour killings and the unpredictable impact of societal change on the social and cultural conditions that inform peoples' lives. The three articles in this cluster focus on family honour and, by and large, share the definition described in Cluster 1. The articles in this cluster focus on breeding grounds for honour-based violence and the impact of social change in one respect or another. Kulczycki and Windle (2011) conclude that an end to honour killings may be inseparable from the campaign for democratic rule, while Caffaro et al. (2014) explicitly investigate the impact on honour norms in Türkiye and Italy, two countries undergoing social change. Finally, Cooney (2014) offers a new sociological theory on the study of honour killings, explaining the societal circumstances under which they are likely to prevail.

Explicit implications and recommendations in the articles

Only Kulczycki and Windle (2011) pose some implications of their research. They identify that ending honour-based violence and honour killings will require a concentrated effort on many fronts, with more concerted local struggles required to improve the position of women. Thus, partnerships and coalitions must be built, along with facilitating proactive community deliberation. Although the struggle to end honour killings may ultimately be inseparable from the campaign to achieve democratic rule and achieving greater gender equality, work towards curtailing this practice must continue, and it has to happen incrementally. Kulczycki and Windle (2011) stress that while the ultimate goal is comprehensive change, progress must be made through small,

achievable steps to gradually shift societal attitudes and norms surrounding honour-based violence.

Explicit suggestions to further research in the articles

Kulczycki and Windle (2011) state that too little original research on honour-based violence is conducted in the research field, leading to erroneous interpretations of the problem, which remains deeply sensitive and difficult to study. Cooney (2014) encourages researchers to test the conclusions of his theoretical approach, that honour-based violence is most likely and most lethal when a highly subordinated woman with a record of 'deviant' (independent) conduct, who is also a member of a highly organised family, is accused of an unauthorised relationship with a lower status stranger and cultural outsider.

CLUSTERS 7-19
Central themes of the remaining clusters

In presenting and analysing the six largest of the 19 total clusters, several themes from the overall research field have been omitted. We underscore that their omission is solely a result of time constraints. Some examples of key themes from the remaining 13 clusters, which comprise fewer articles and are smaller than the clusters already analysed, are provided below.

Cluster 7 pertains to honour crimes against girls in Britain, Cluster 13 highlights the role of customs and laws in honour-crimes in the MENA region and Cluster 10 focuses on public health problems such as hymen restoration in Sweden, as well as honour killings in Pakistan. Finally, Cluster 15 encompasses the interrelation between masculine honour beliefs, violent responses to insults and adherence to terrorism, ultra-right-wing ideology, school violence and school shootings. It should be noted that several of these themes, as well as those included in Clusters 1-6, overlap.

PART I

Summary

The following is a summary of all 20 articles included in the six main clusters. At the first glance, the clusters seem to reveal disparate concepts and a wide variety of focuses and conceptualisations within the research field. When the concepts are categorised into ideas, contexts and violence the following emerge:

- Ideas: honour norms, honour values, honour ideology, family honour, masculine honour beliefs.
- Contexts: culture of honour, honour culture, honour communities, honour groups.
- Violence: honour-based violence, honour-based family violence, honour-related violence, honour-related responses, honour killings, honour crimes, honour-based punishment.

These were eventually distilled into connected aspects of patriarchy, which result in violent outcomes for women, girls, boys and men alike. These aspects are ordered into the two subfields of *family honour* and *male honour beliefs*, respectively. It should be noted that international research seldom mentions LBTQI perspectives.

The aspect of *family honour* is most prevalent in Clusters 1, 3, 4 and 6. It revolves around collective legitimisation of violence against girls and women, including femicide, mainly in the MENA region and among minorities who have migrated to countries in the West from the MENA region, Pakistan and India. The studies that investigated family honour were generally based on the common definition of honour-based violence, and honour killings as its most extreme expression (predominantly femicide). It consists of severe acts of violence, perpetrated mostly against women, when an honour code is believed to have been broken and perceived shame is brought upon the family. It is characterised by collective legitimation or sanction within a family and its community. In the broadest sense, the researchers define honour norms and honour-based violence, including honour killings (both femicide and homicide), as an extreme expression of the institution of patriarchy. Thus, honour-based violence and honour killings thrive at the crossroads of patriarchal control, cultural expectation and socioeconomic constraint. These vulnerabilities are further compounded by systemic issues like racial discrimination and economic instability, which limit access to resources and support. Most studies on family honour put girls and women at the centre of vulnerability and stem from Sociology, Gender Studies and Law.

The study of *male honour beliefs* is most prevalent in Clusters 2 and 5. The main focus is violence between men, although some studies also include violence against women. This strand of research has its roots in social psychology and is generally motivated by higher rates of homicide in the Southern US, compared to the Northern states. This is usually understood in terms of individuals' aggressive responses to perceived insults. These studies generally apply a comparative approach

between regions where the culture of honour is perceived to be strong and weak, respectively. Male honour beliefs have primarily been studied in the Southern US by American researchers, but since 2008 European scholars have conducted similar studies in European countries. These European studies compare ethnic groups of residents, with Southern and Eastern Europeans and/or migrants from the MENA-region representing honour groups and Northern Europeans representing non-honour groups. A growing body of research seems to slightly change the focus of this type of study, embracing the thought that our rapidly changing global societies sometimes change individuals' perspectives and emotional responses with regard to honour in a way that makes it important to study differences not only between groups, but also within groups.

Taken together, the two subfields offer valuable knowledge on honour and violence. While the research of male honour beliefs certainly has a stronger focus on violence between men compared to family honour research, it nonetheless asserts that honour cultures create social norms where male dominance and female subordination are intertwined with family honour, reinforcing traditional gender roles and perpetuating cycles of violence. Thus, the commonalities between the study fields of male honour beliefs and family honour are strong, although the knowledge interests within these naturally differ across the micro, meso and macro levels because they stem from different disciplines.

Causes and conditions: Why do the ideas, contexts and violence exist?

A track that runs through all the articles, implicitly or explicitly, is the link between social norms, personal emotions and interpersonal interactions, societal conditions and livelihoods and socioeconomic conditions, both in the past and in the present. In short: the multi-layered power relations at the micro, meso and macro levels that determine material inequalities and individual social circumstances are the breeding ground for honour-based violence.

Every study on *family honour* in the clusters provides a unique contribution to our understanding of the numerous ways in which social change influences violence against women and girls. The research reveals these complex roots in terms of both immediate, personal experiences and constructed social boundaries that reflect broader cultural, ethnic and political tensions.

Honour killings are a symptom of the absence of participatory democracy, social welfare that is accessible to everyone on equal grounds and a normative base for the promotion of human rights. Accordingly, honour-based violence needs to be understood as a manifestation of patriarchy and a form of intimate partner abuse and, as such, viewed as a violation of human rights.

The roots of honour-based violence are understood in light of socioeconomic, historical and political factors, including gender and identity politics, as these are key explanatory

factors for honour norms. Honour-based violence and honour killings can thus be seen as a result of the intersection of culture, historical and political factors, migration and cultural adaptation. Within research on *family honour* and the impact of social change on violence against women, the variety of study contexts bring various problems to the surface. One example is the paradox presented by modernisation: in some contexts the social and economic changes that modernisation brings about mitigates honour norms and honour-based violence, while in others violence increases. In other words, societal change is not an automatic solution for eliminating violence against women, especially if male dominance persists in one way or another. This paradox will be studied in more detail in Part III. We also find explanations at the individual level within the psychosocial subfield of the research area. Such explanations state that psychological and social mechanisms contribute to the perpetuation of honour-based aggression, particularly in situations in which men feel their honour is threatened. However, even researchers studying psychosocial factors take as a natural point of departure the assumption that masculine honour beliefs derive from historical and economic conditions that continue to shape honour-based practices in various regions. In such regions, public institutions are weak in terms of representing a form of participatory democracy that can offer a normative base for the enforcement of human rights.

Explicit implications in the articles

While some researchers advocate for systemic changes at the societal and institutional levels, others recommend the application of human rights law to inspire an equitable and culturally neutral perspective when enforcing women's rights over patriarchal cultural practices. Several researchers emphasise that legal, educational and social reforms are needed across all public institutions to end honour killings and increase gender equality. The importance of individual and familial interventions, with a holistic, multi-level approach, is also underscored.

The research on *masculine honour beliefs*, with its emphasis on aggression as a mechanism for defending honour, offers valuable insights into the cultural logic underpinning honour-based behaviours. This psychological perspective allows for the exploration of honour dynamics within diverse cultural contexts, recognising that honour beliefs are not uniformly distributed even within traditionally defined honour cultures. This strand of research challenges researchers to focus on practical implications for developing culturally sensitive interventions to address aggression and violence in numerous ways within groups that practise honour beliefs to varying degrees and in diverse ways.

Explicit interventions suggested in the articles

Mayeda and Vijaykumar (2016) emphasise that researchers should play an active role in conceptualising intervention programmes that challenge culturally specific forms of hegemonic masculinity linked to honour-based violence. They stress the importance of avoiding uncritical portrayals of either cultures or men from the studied ethnic groups as the sole source of the problem.

Hayes et al. (2016), who studied honour crimes (honour-based violence and honour killings) in the US, state that all work to combat honour crimes must build upon the participation of the involved parties and be culturally sensitive, in an effort to achieve both retributive justice and structural change. Hayes et al. (2016) also underscore that retributive justice needs to function effectively, firstly because perpetrators of honour crimes may seek support from extended family members to excuse their crime, and, secondly, because it may serve to empower victims and strengthen communities to limit honour crimes. In parallel, restorative justice aims to empower victims, build community resilience and limit the recurrence of honour crimes. This dual strategy underscores the need for a comprehensive approach that addresses both immediate and structural factors influencing honour-based violence.

Moreover, Hayes et al. (2016) stress that supportive programmes must be culturally competent, incorporating the input and perspectives of community members. Accordingly, interventions must be designed in consultation with those who are directly affected by honour crimes, ensuring that they are contextually relevant and effective in fostering change. Hayes et al. also note that albeit honour-based violence primarily affects women, male victims of honour-based violence exist too, especially in the context of forced marriage.

Gaps in research and needs for further research

The articles pinpoint a variety of gaps in research and encourage further research that builds upon original empirical materials, which can lead to evidence-based interventions that allow for individual nuances to be perceived. Researchers also underpin the importance of further theoretical development as well as the development of in-depth knowledge of the causes and origins of violence at the macro, meso and micro levels.

ORIGINAL RESEARCH

A lack of original research on honour-based violence leads to erroneous interpretations of the problem, which remains deeply sensitive and difficult to study (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). Furthermore, empirical research with a focus on directly communicating with persons exposed to honour-based violence, in both migrant and non-migrant settings, is encouraged (Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016). Research should challenge simplistic cultural stereotypes and address the complexities of honour-based violence across diverse contexts (Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016).

EVIDENCE-BASED INTERVENTIONS

Multidisciplinary research encourages researchers to embrace and investigate the intersections between culture and gender, sexuality and human rights in their efforts to provide a knowledge-based foundation for interventions (Sedem & Ferrer-Wreder, 2015).

VARIATIONS IN INDIVIDUAL MANIFESTATIONS OF HONOUR BELIEFS

Social psychologists encourage researchers to examine personal manifestations of honour more broadly (Saucier et al., 2018a; see also Leung & Cohen, 2011). These

researchers argue that individuals who live in regions that are defined as cultures of honour can differ in their endorsement of honour norms.

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

Several researchers pinpoint the need for theoretical development. Greater nuance is requested in the study and interpretation of different honour cultures around the globe (Cooney, 2014). Cooney (2014) prompts researchers to ask: under which social conditions is violence most likely and most lethal and, accordingly, under which conditions it is less likely and less lethal? Other researchers, such as Baker et al. (1999), Kulczycki and Windle (2011), Mayeda and Vijaykumar (2016), Leung and Cohen (2011) and others, encourage further theoretical development, which is necessary in a globalised world of rapid economic, political and social change.

CAUSES AND ORIGINS OF VIOLENCE

Several researchers express the urgent need to develop knowledge about the causes and origins of violence towards women, including femicide, which is incomplete and requires further research (Baker et al., 1999; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Hayes et al., 2016; Cooney, 2016). Moreover, Korteweg and Yurdakul (2009) encourage further identification of the discursive forces that hinder or facilitate immigrant integration in the Dutch and German contexts.

Part II: Overview of research by country

PART II

Overview of research by country

While the first part of this scoping review captures central themes and clusters in the research field, the second part presents research relative to geographical contexts. It introduces research on honour-based violence in 13 countries, summarised to illustrate flows and patterns across a broader range of relevant articles. In offering an overview of the main themes, fields of interest and recurring strands of thought in the collected data, this approach shows the breadth of data across these countries and reveals similarities and differences in understandings and conceptualisations of honour and violence within and between countries. It can highlight blind spots and assumptions in specific contexts, pointing to the importance and opportunities of shifting perspectives.

In the review of the 831 articles included in this scoping review, some countries stand out as empirical contexts for study. As a result, we decided to look at these countries more closely. This led to the decision to include countries that appear as an empirical context for research in ten studies or more. The decision to exclude countries that appear as an empirical context in fewer than ten articles is by no means intended as a reflection on the value of those articles or of research about those countries. It was a pragmatic decision to allow for an overview of international research within a limited time frame. All in all, this part of the report is based on the review of 596 abstracts, providing a country-by-country analysis of research related to honour-based violence, focusing primarily on countries presented in at least ten articles in the collected data. Variances in the abstracts are reflected in the descriptions of the included studies. The concepts, terms and definitions of honour-based violence used in the abstracts will be applied accordingly in the descriptions. Abstracts used to exemplify strands or themes for each country are referenced in the text.

The world map below indicates countries that appear as research contexts in at least ten articles in the collected data. Looking at this map, readers will notice that these are mainly countries with a strong connection to the English language or European countries that have adhered to English publication patterns. This is the result of a scoping review focused on English-language publications, due to the limited resources available for this report. We acknowledge that the emphasis on English-language abstracts naturally limits inclusion to countries with strong ties to English-language research dissemination, as a result of historical, colonial or academic publication patterns. Furthermore, only focusing on English-language publications risks excluding research about countries in other primary languages, such as Turkish or Arabic-speaking countries, where honour-based violence is extensively researched. Another important aspect to keep in mind when using geographical borders to visualise research is that nation states and their borders, both formal and informal, are often contested and might be understood differently depending on who describes the map and the world. War, occupation, expulsion, colonialism and imperialism are some of the global forces that shape borders and boundaries, both past and present. This chapter refers to nation state borders. This is not intended as a value judgment about the research within these

nations but rather as facilitating a structured understanding of the themes across regions. The country descriptions are organised according to world regions. Each country description starts with a summary, followed by a short quantitative introduction of all included abstracts. Thereafter, a brief analysis of the identified main patterns and themes is provided. The disciplinary categorisations that introduce each country description are based on indexing of the academic journals in which the articles are published by Scopus. For example, the subject area 'Social Sciences' contains subfields such as law, criminology and political science.

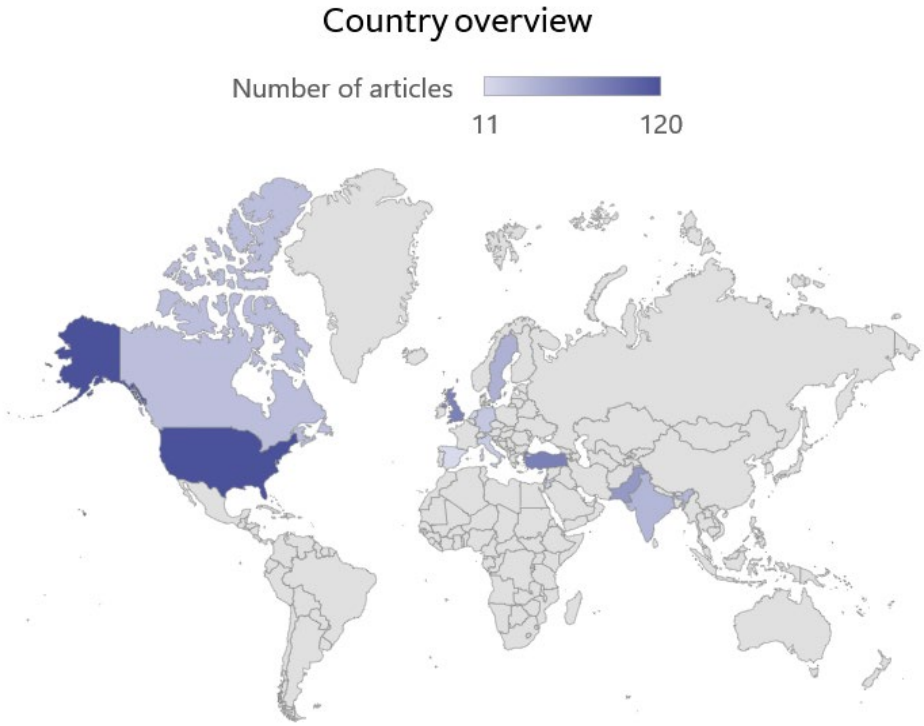


Figure 4: This map shows the countries used as empirical contexts in 10 or more articles included in the material. The number of articles is indicated via the different shades of purple and ranges from 11 (Spain) to 120 (US). The map was created by the authors using Excel/Bing.

Europe

Germany

The largest strand of research in the German material pertains to political and media discourses around honour-based violence, often directly linked to the relationships between majority and minority populations, multiculturalism, integration and gender equality.

Germany is often compared with other countries in cross-cultural studies. Some of these articles focus on social norms and codes as well as culture of honour among individuals. Other studies investigate discourses, state responsibility and policies, especially on gender equality and immigration in European countries.

Young men and masculinities are frequently studied in German research on honour-based violence.

Research that includes Germany as an empirical base comprises 26 articles. The emphasis on Social Sciences is strong, followed by the Arts and Humanities, Psychology and a smaller number of contributions from Economics, Agriculture and Biology and Medicine. The earliest article dates back to 2003, and the most recent articles were published in 2023. G. Yurdakul is the most productive author on this topic with 3 published articles.

Of the 24 articles, 8 are studies comparing Germany with other countries. Some of these articles focus on social norms and codes as well as culture of honour among individuals. In these, Germany is presented as a liberal 'dignity culture', in which individual autonomy and self-worth are not contingent on social approval, as opposed to an honour culture, which places high value on strength, reputation and responsiveness to threats (see p. 23 for a more detailed description of dignity and honour culture). In these comparative studies, Germany also represents a country with a low incidence of violence and is compared with Türkiye, Poland, Brazil and Russia (Gul & Schuster, 2020; Szmajke & Kubica, 2003; Zdun, 2008).

Some of the cross-cultural articles investigate political and media discourses, as well as the responsibility of states to protect immigrant women who face honour-based violence and ensuring immigrant women's equal access to gender equality policies in European countries. When compared to the Netherlands and Britain, Germany is represented as a negative case. In these studies, authors show that immigrant communities, especially Muslims, are portrayed by German politics and media as violent towards women and girls in their families (Yurdakul & Korteweg, 2020). As a result, German state authorities have attempted to limit immigration from predominantly Muslim countries in the name of protecting women and girls.

Another strand of research looks at honour-based violence in criminal legislation, focusing on issues such as the judicial interpretation of honour killings in Germany over time (Kasselt & Oberwittler, 2014), a comparison of legal and judicial outcomes in India and Germany in relation to legal responses and sentencing in murder cases (Chattoraj & Meier, 2018) and German legislation on forced marriage and its potential impact on victims and offenders (Braun, 2015).

The largest strand in the German material is research studying political and media discourses around honour-based violence, often directly linked to discourses about the relationship between majority and minority populations, multiculturalism and integration. These discourses are described as not only shaping public perceptions but also having significant implications for immigration and integration policies by reinforcing racialised understandings of honour and gender. One example is an article examining German newspaper articles on forced marriages and honour killings over a period of ten years (1998-2008), in which the author argues that constructions of social, religious and spatial differences serve to homogenise the space of liberal democracy, as well as excluding Islam, thereby undermining the principle of equality with regard to liberal democratic citizenship (Ehrkamp, 2010). Another example is an article identifying the dominant and competing frames of 'honour killing' as articulated in the course of parliamentary debates and within the broader public sphere. The author explains the presumed link between 'honour killing' and 'failed multiculturalism', drawing attention to the institutional and discursive context within which these themes have been debated. This analysis reveals the significance of this broader context in shaping the way multiculturalism is understood and practised in culturally plural societies (Ercan, 2015).

Some articles place particular focus on how discourses on honour-based violence are linked to understandings of gender equality and inform approaches to immigrant integration (Yurdakul & Korteweg, 2020). A few articles focus on discourses about Islam, representations of Muslims, honour-based violence and gender equality (Yurdakul & Korteweg, 2009; 2013; Petzen, 2012; Ramm, 2010). One illustrative point made is that discourses concerning 'honour crimes', particularly pertaining to gender, are a vehicle by which Muslim groups are defined, condemned and assigned responsibility as a threat to supposedly stable European values of gender equality and sexual emancipation. According to the author, racialised notions of gender and sexuality have come to define acceptable and unacceptable ways of being European (Petzen, 2012).

Other research in Germany has focused on young men and masculinities through a variety of approaches. Researchers have shown an interest in young men's honour endorsement and whether this is linked to aggressive behaviour (Kollek & Soellner, 2023), as well as culture of honour as one of several potential risk factors for violence (Windzio & Baier, 2009). As another object of study, young men's attitudes towards the so-called 'culture of honour' in Germany and Poland are compared. Like in other comparative studies, Germany is presented as a 'liberal', 'non-honour culture' (Szmajke & Kubica, 2003). There is also an interest in young men as perpetrators of

honour killings, with interviews conducted between the researcher and perpetrators (Kizilhan, 2011).

The Turkish community, one of the largest minority groups in Germany, is another frequent object of study. Examples are studies that include Turkish immigrants within empirical material as well as in discourse analyses of representations of Turks in Germany. Some examples of the former include studies that examine honour endorsement among young men with different ethnic backgrounds (Kollek & Soellner, 2023) and the socialisation and beliefs of Turkish men convicted of honour killings (Kizilhan, 2011). Some examples of discourse analysis include examinations of how Turkish immigrants in Germany are represented in the media in relation to honour-based violence (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Kosnick, 2011) as well as discourse analysis of policy. One example of the latter is the 'Muslimification of Muslims', which includes honour-based violence as a key aspect of a discourse that stigmatises Muslims. The authors argue that this representation superficially separates Muslim/Turkish and Western/German social spheres and value systems. According to the author, this binary is characteristic of Germany's immigrant integration politics, which makes commitment to so-called 'German values' a precondition of belonging to Germany (Ramm, 2010).

Italy

A dominant theme in the Italian articles is the study of the connection between masculine honour endorsement and legitimisation of the Italian mafia in the general population. The phenomenon omertà is central in this field of work. Omertà is described as linked to the concepts of honour and masculinity. To fit ideological constructions of manliness, individuals should display indifference toward illegal activities and should not collaborate with legal institutions.

Another, much smaller, strand examines anti-violence resistance to honour-based violence.

Research that uses Italy as an empirical context comprises 22 articles, with a strong emphasis on Social Sciences, followed by Psychology, Arts and Humanities and Medicine. The earliest article dates back to 1999, with the most recent articles published in 2024. G. A. Travaglino is the most productive author with 9 article contributions, followed by D. Abrams with 7.

The main strand of research in the Italian context pertains to criminal organisations in Southern Italy, especially Sicily, and how honour culture and violence have influenced social and economic structures in these parts of the country.

A dominant theme in the Italian articles is the connection between masculine honour endorsement and legitimisation of the Italian mafia in the general population. One group of researchers investigates different aspects of this connection in a variety of ways

across a number of articles. How Italian criminal organisations endorse masculine honour to exert social control is one of the main themes. Honour culture in Southern Italy is described as being deeply intertwined with organised crime, particularly in Sicily, where mafia organisations exploit masculine honour codes to exert social control. The literature suggests that criminal organisations strategically use cultural codes of masculinity and honour to suppress resistance and maintain dominance (Travaglino & Abrams, 2019). The phenomenon of omertà is central in this field of work. Omertà is described as linked to the concepts of honour and masculinity. To fit ideological construction of manliness, individuals should display indifference towards illegal activities and not collaborate with legal institutions (Travaglino et al., 2016). This honour-based control extends to economic structures, influencing trust systems, social contracts and perceptions of crime and punishment, as seen even in rural settings among Sicilian peasants and Sardinian herdsmen (Cottino, 1999).

Another, much smaller strand, examines anti-violence resistance against honour-based violence. This is exemplified by two articles, one focusing on operators of women's shelters in South Tyrol (Northern Italy) and the other on Indo-Pakistani women in Italy and their perceptions of and resistance to honour-based violence. The first article shows that the anti-violence operators who work in the women's shelters generally relate honour-based violence to the experiences of young migrant-origin women. The authors discuss the operators' definitions of honour-based violence, which present a variety of dichotomous categories that reveal a process of othering and evoke the lexicon of the international conventions on gender discrimination and gender-based violence (Rocca & Zinn, 2019). The second article focuses on the sizeable Indo-Pakistani minority in one Italian city and discusses different aspects of honour-based violence as a phenomenon in Italy. The author claims that as racialised Islamophobia escalates, the protection of migrant/ethnic women from honour-related violence becomes more complex. The article questions who is entitled to 'defend' women and where and when these women can raise their own voices in resistance (Bonfanti, 2022).

Two of the articles compare Italy with other countries in the Global South (Morocco, Cameroon and Türkiye). Both articles are based on surveys examining the perception of honour-based violence in the countries involved. In both articles, Italy is represented as an honour culture, but one that is 'more liberal and more individualistic' than the countries with which it is compared, also described as honour cultures but as more conservative and marked by greater collectivism (Caffaro et al., 2014; Caffaro et al., 2016).

The Netherlands

More than half of the included articles about the Netherlands apply cross-cultural approaches, in which the Netherlands is compared to other countries (Germany, Spain, Britain, Türkiye, France and the US) in terms of attitudes and values regarding honour-based violence and media discourse and representations of honour-based violence in different countries.

Several articles investigate how honour-based violence is understood as a political concept or symbol that can be used to strengthen or weaken boundaries between minority and majority groups.

Minority women and minority organisations as political subjects and knowledge builders are visible in several of the included articles.

Research that uses the Netherlands as its empirical context comprises 15 articles, with a strong emphasis on Social Sciences, followed by Psychology and smaller contributions from the Arts and Humanities and Medicine. The earliest article dates back to 2000 and the most recent article was published in 2023. Korteweg and Yurdakul are the most productive authors with three co-written articles.

Honour-based violence is understood and described in diverse ways in this material. It is described as a set of values and attitudes that can be studied through cross-cultural surveys. It is also understood as specific forms of violence, such as forced marriage, or as a culture, resulting in specific consequences regarding gender-based violence. Finally, honour-based violence is understood as a political concept that can be used to strengthen or weaken symbolic boundaries between minority and majority groups that demarcate belonging and non-belonging in Dutch society.

Of the 15 included articles, 8 describe cross-cultural approaches, in which the Netherlands is compared to other countries (Germany, Spain, Britain, Türkiye, France and the US). When studying attitudes, values and consequences of honour beliefs, samples of ethnically 'Dutch' persons represent a supposed 'liberal', 'non-honour' group, which are compared to samples supposedly characterised by a stronger 'honour culture', such as Spain and Türkiye (see, for example, Novin et al., 2015; Cihangir, 2013; van Osch et al., 2013; Mosquera, 2011).

Articles discussing and comparing the Netherlands to Germany, France or Britain make up another form of comparative study, one that focuses on differences and similarities in political, media and juridical aspects of the handling of honour-based violence. One example is an article comparing political debates in the Netherlands and France with regard to politics and laws pertaining to headscarves (Roggeband, 2016). Another article shows how ideas of gender equality can be used to include Muslim communities in the

larger population, as in the Netherlands, or to inform stigmatisation of Muslim communities, as in Germany (Yurdakul & Korteweg, 2013). Another study shows how boundaries between immigrants and the majority population are constructed in the media and to what extent political actors from immigrant backgrounds have been involved in shaping responses to honour-based violence (Yurdakul & Korteweg, 2009; Yurdakul & Korteweg, 2020). These articles show that even in cases of geographical, cultural and/or political proximity between countries, understandings and handling of different forms of honour-based violence might differ greatly. One example is research showing how understandings of 'gender equality' inform distinct approaches to immigrant integration in the Netherlands, Germany and Britain.

In the material, we also identify studies that examine specific forms of violence, such as forced marriage, intimate partner violence and rape, in the context of minority groups and migration. These articles focus on preventing intimate partner violence amongst married migrants (Bartels, 2021), reducing dropout rates for Moroccan or Turkish girls from trauma treatment after rape (Gouweloos et al., 2011) and interventions against forced marriage (Phillips, 2012).

Minority women and minority organisations as knowledge builders/producers are visible in several of the included articles. Examples include a case study involving Stichting Platform Islamitische Organisaties Rijnmond (SPIOR), a Muslim-identified organisation that works against forced marriage (Phillips, 2012), analyses of selective inclusion of ethnic minority women's organisations in political debates surrounding head scarves (Roggeband, 2016) and exploration of the life stories of fourteen Dutch ethnic minority women who have deviated from feminine honour codes (Ahmad, 2023).

Spain

The main concept that appears within the Spanish studies is 'the culture of honour', and the main focus of the included articles is on attitudes, values and norms in relation to the culture of honour.

Out of the 11 included articles, five are comparative cross-national studies focused on the categories of nationality and gender.

Research with Spain as its empirical context comprises 11 articles, with an emphasis on Psychology, Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences. The earliest articles date back to 2000 and 2002, followed by a gap until 2011. Since then, publication output has been more or less consistent over the years, with the most recent articles published in 2022.

The main concept that appears in the Spanish studies is 'the culture of honour', with the main focus being attitudes, values and norms in relation to the culture of honour. Studies on the roles of women and men in the culture of honour endorsement in

families (Lopez-Zafra et al., 2020) is one example. The relationships between a culture of honour, jealousy, infidelity and victim blaming (Canto et al., 2012; Canto et al., 2017) is another. All articles contribute to the Spanish sample, which explores the 'culture of honour'.

Of the 11 included articles, five are based on comparative cross-national studies, focusing on nationality and gender as categories. One study examines attitudes towards violence against women in the Moroccan immigrant population in comparison with native Spanish people (Arnoso et al., 2022). Two articles compare the role of honour regarding emotional reactions and sex roles between Spanish and Dutch people (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002; Mosquera, 2011), while one article analyses the acceptance of gender violence in Spanish and Cuban populations (Valor-Segura et al., 2014). Another article explores honour concerns in eight different countries, with Spain being one (Guerra et al., 2013).

One article stands out in the material; it provides an analysis of the life stories of men serving sentences for gender violence in relation to, for example, patriarchal systems and the concept of a culture of honour (Rodríguez-Espartal, 2021).

There are relatively few articles in the sample that use Spain as an empirical context, and they are similar with regard to their scope and research questions. Honour culture in Spain is a dynamic construct, and perspectives on Spain as an honour culture fluctuate depending on the comparative cultural context, suggesting that honour norms in Spain are partially shaped by social comparison.

Sweden

The greatest number of articles in this material concern practical work in social institutions related to social services and schools, health care and public health and the police. These articles focus on the experiences, challenges and needs of professionals working closely with young people in Sweden.

Another common theme includes articles describing the prevalence and consequences of honour-based violence, as well as exploring underlying factors, mainly focusing on young people.

A third strand encompasses articles studying the political, policy and discursive aspects of honour-based violence in Sweden. Several of these articles take as their point of departure a number of widely publicised honour killings that occurred in the beginning of 2000. They discuss questions related to the culture and politics of honour killings as well as media coverage and representations of honour-based violence.

Research that uses Sweden as an empirical context comprises 44 articles, with a strong emphasis on Social Sciences, followed by Medicine and a smaller number of contributions from the Arts and Humanities, Nursing and Psychology. The earliest article dates back to 2002, with the most recent article published in 2024.

In the material about Sweden, three sub-categories can be identified. The first category, which includes the most articles, is concerned with practical work in social institutions related to social services and schools, health care and public health and the police. These articles focus on experiences, challenges and needs of professionals working closely with young people in Sweden. In the case of social services, one example is an article investigating selective parenting programmes for parents with foreign backgrounds (Gustafsson, 2020). Another example is an article identifying factors affecting social workers' capacity and experiences regarding work in the area of honour-based violence (Olsson, 2022). Another article examines the complexities of working with honour-based violence in terms of both lived experiences and stereotypes (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024).

In a professional context, school nurses, counsellors, principals and teachers are the subjects of many of the articles. Examples include professional experiences in counselling teenage girls who worry about problems related to the protection of their family honour (Alizadeh et al., 2011), honour-related dilemmas that school principals encounter in daily practice (Norberg & Törnsén, 2013) and dilemmas of school staff when it comes to reporting concerns about child welfare to social services (Högdin, et al., 2023). One article explores school officials' narratives about how schools involve and collaborate with families, social services, the police and other agencies, showing that school officials' explanations for child abuse differ according to a family's background (Odenbring et al., 2015). Another article describes the experiences of Swedish school nurses in suspecting, identifying and reporting child abuse (Sundler et al., 2021). Two studies in the Swedish material explore preventative work and changing attitudes amongst young people, one by examining participants' attitudes towards honour, masculinity and virginity before and after attending an attitude change programme (Rexvid & Schlytter, 2012) and the other by evaluating a pedagogical drama project on honour-crimes targeted at secondary school students (Berhanu & Beach, 2006).

One article explores perspectives of midwives and counsellors at youth health clinics in counselling young immigrant women worried about problems related to the protection of 'family honour' (Alizadeh et al., 2010), and three articles examine the handling of requests for hymen restoration (Juth et al., 2013; Juth et al., 2015; Essén et al., 2010).

The second category are articles describing prevalence and consequences and exploring underlying factors of honour-based violence, still focused on young people. One study investigates associations between restrictions regarding choices of future partner, child maltreatment and mental health problems among adolescents in Sweden (Bengtsson et al., 2022). Other articles study the implications of honour-based violence for the development of young people and their families (Sedem & Ferrer-Wreder, 2015) or

investigate the nature of honour-related domestic violence, focusing on the forms of violence involved, how they relate to each other and differences and similarities in non-honour-related domestic violence (Björktomta, 2019). One article examines the prevalence and patterns of honour-based violence and oppression, situating honour-based violence at the intersections of gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status (Baianstovu & Strid, 2021). Two articles study the concept of child abuse, including various forms of honour-based violence, for example by examining economic abuse from child and youth perspectives, including in the context of honour-based violence (Bruno, 2022). The characteristics and extent of child abuse, including sexual abuse or coercive control of girls' sexuality, in relation to standards regarding honour and virginity are also studied (Linell, 2017).

The third strand encompasses articles on the political, policy and discursive elements of honour-based violence in Sweden. Several of these have a number of widely publicised honour killings in the beginning of 2000 as their point of departure. Examples include discussions on issues related to the culture and politics of honour killings (Mojab & Hassanpour, 2002a) and honour killing in relation to politics and theory, as well as the exercise of gender power and the production and reproduction of male violence (Mojab & Hassanpour, 2002b). One article focuses on media coverage and representations, examining how value conflicts involving gender equality are at the core of multicultural tensions in Sweden (Hellgren & Hobson, 2008), while another shows that by presenting a culturalised interpretation of killings, the discourse conceals possible connections between the male violence perpetrated by immigrants and more common incidents of violence perpetrated by non-immigrants (Reimers, 2007). The construction of differences and boundaries between minority and majority groups in Sweden is in many ways the focus of several articles, which discuss and problematise boundary-setting processes, stereotypes, representations and policy discourse (Rabo et al., 2021; Carbin, 2014; Ålund & Alinia, 2011; Hoppstadius, 2018).

The research about Sweden has a clear emphasis on the needs of service providers and the challenges they face related to their work on honour-based violence. Connected to this is a focus on children and young people, specifically concerning schools and social work, and largely in relation to girls and young women. This is identified as an area of interest for researchers in many of the articles. Hence, age, alongside gender and ethnicity, seems to be an important categorisation.

The United Kingdom

One major strand in research about the United Kingdom is the various ways in which police work on honour-based violence. Risk assessment, case handling, reporting and cultural competence are some of the key themes.

A related strand is the provision of services, with a focus on the role of community practitioners, in recognising and assessing the needs of victims of honour-based violence. Some research has a specific focus on health practitioners, including public health nurses, health visitors and school nurses. One strand within the theme is the discourses surrounding honour-based violence and how these can impact service provision.

Honour-based violence within different minority societies in the UK is explored in various ways. The South Asian minority is by far the most studied minority group in the UK material.

Research that uses the United Kingdom as an empirical context consists of 82 articles, with a strong emphasis on Social Sciences (49 articles), followed by Psychology (29 articles), Arts and Humanities (9 articles), Medicine (8 articles) and smaller contributions from Health professions, Nursing and Neuroscience. The earliest article dates back to 2003, with the most recent articles published in 2023. A. K. Gill is the most productive author with 8 articles published, followed by M.M. Idriss with 5 articles.

One major strand in the UK research is how police approach honour-based violence in various ways. One example includes the handling of risk assessments by police, often studied in relation to the Domestic Abuse, Stalking and Honour Based Violence form, a standardised risk assessment tool implemented across most UK police forces. Researchers show a high level of interest in if and how this tool works in practice (Turner et al., 2019; Turner et al., 2022), as well as exploring risk factors contained in the risk assessment tool (Almond et al., 2017). Researchers show interest in how victims of honour-based violence and abuse experience interactional justice, that is, if they feel respected by justice officials and informed about the progress of their case and the justice process in general when reporting violence to the police (Mulvihill et al., 2019).

There is also an interest in exploring the subject of reporting abuse to the police. One example is an article focused on the perceptions of and barriers to reporting female genital mutilation by victims and survivors to the police in England and Wales (Gangoli et al., 2018).

Police officers themselves are also the subject of studies (Aplin, 2022a, 2022b; Myhill, 2023). One article raises issues about cultural competence and considers the benefits, limitations and potential impacts of 'ethnic matching' of South Asian police officers to victims, or conversely allocating non-South Asian officers in reported cases of honour-

based abuse and other crimes (Aplin, 2022b). Another article focuses on the 'officer effect', investigating whether victims' responses to the Domestic Abuse, Stalking and Harassment and Honour-Based Violence risk assessment are influenced by the officer that completes the assessment (Myhill, 2023).

The provision of services is also a subject of research, studied through the lens of community practitioners in recognising and assessing the needs of victims of honour-based violence. An example of this research interest is a study of priority services for victims of honour-based violence/abuse, forced marriage and female genital mutilation that explores different dimensions of victim and multi-agency practitioner experiences (Gill et al., 2018). Some research has a specific focus on health practitioners, including public health nurses, health visitors and school nurses (Dickson, 2014; Peate, 2013; Baloch, 2023). Some research also proposes interventions as recommended by individuals exposed to honour-based violence, to improve support for victims (Idriss, 2018). One strand within the theme of service provision relates to how work is organised and the discourses surrounding honour-based violence, and how these impact service provision. One discussion encompasses grounds for differentiating honour-based violence as a sub-category of gender-based violence, and how this could affect risk management (Payton, 2014). This is a theme that is also raised in regard to policy (Eshareturi et al., 2014).

Another strand within the UK research is identifying characteristics of victims, perpetrators and abuse, and this is investigated in a number of ways. Women as perpetrators of honour-based abuse is also explored, with a focus on the different roles of women, discussed in relation to gender and relationships to victims (Bates, 2018). In relation, the role of mothers in honour-based abuse is also investigated, with studies finding that mothers can play a fundamental role in the perpetration of acts of violence against their daughters. The impact of this involvement on police response, including underreporting of incidents perpetrated by women, is also studied (Aplin, 2017). Honour-based abuse is a concept commonly included within a broad understanding of violence in the UK. Masculinity and men and boys as victims are also themes explored (Gill & Begum, 2023; Idriss, 2022).

Honour-based violence in different minority societies in the UK is examined in various ways. The South Asian minority, often not defined with any greater specificity, at least on abstract level, is by far the most researched minority group in the UK material. A broad variety of issues are studied, such as how South Asian women interpret their experiences of domestic violence and to whom they report it, as well as how notions of honour and shame serve as both tools to constrain women's self-determination and independence and as catalysts for domestic violence (Gill, 2004). Other themes are also investigated, such as honour as a cultural barrier to reporting child sexual abuse (Gilligan & Akhtar, 2006) and seeking mental health services (Gilbert et al., 2004). British South Asian men who are survivors of child sexual abuse are also examined in relation to institutional forms of racism entrenched in service provision and research (Gill & Begum, 2023). Another minority group studied is the

Kurdish diaspora in the UK (Hague et al., 2013; Gill et al., 2012; Gill et al., 2013). Honour-based violence in the diaspora is examined in relation to understandings of honour and shame. The relevant articles investigate the sociocultural norms and values that underly honour codes (Gill et al., 2013) and challenge dominant understandings of honour-based violence as well as the institutional structures that underpin its context-specific practice as a method for controlling and subjugating women (Gill et al., 2012; Hague et al., 2013). Implications and recommendations for policy and practice are presented (Gill et al., 2012; Hague et al., 2013).

Middle East

Israel/Palestine

The ongoing severe violence in Gaza and the West Bank during the writing of this report (autumn 2024) and the historical context of the area make the interpretation of this material challenging.

With almost half of the included abstracts describing a sample of one or several minority groups in Israel, honour-based violence appears to be understood as prevalent mainly among non-Jewish minorities in Israel.

Honour killings are the most extensively studied form of honour-based violence in Israel/Palestine, with research exploring motivations rooted in preserving family honour, often tied to women's behaviour.

Research with Israel/Palestine as an empirical context comprises 36 articles, with a strong emphasis on Social Sciences, followed by Psychology, Arts and Humanities and a smaller number of contributions from Medicine, Business and Economics. The earliest article dates back to 1994, with the most recent articles published in 2023.

The ongoing severe violence in Gaza and the West Bank during the writing of this report (autumn 2024) and the historical context of the area make this material difficult to interpret. This is, to say the least, a contested territory, where historical and contemporary borders, boundaries, occupation, displacement, colonialism and war can frame the area in different ways.

The included material could be divided into two separate clusters based on university affiliation, but since these descriptions build on specific empirical contexts, we have chosen to describe articles studying Israel/Palestine in one section. The abstracts do not provide all the information needed to divide these articles into subgroups. Thus, we decided to respect the authors' own understandings, formulations and descriptions of

the empirical context studied, for example the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Historical Palestine, Palestine or Israel.

The same goes for the various groups being studied. In the abstracts, a variety of terms are used to describe the sample: Arabs in Israel; Palestinians in Israel; Palestinian-Arab women in Israel; Bedouin population; Bedouin-Arab community; various Arab subgroups; Israeli Arabs and Muslim populations; Israel's Arab community, including Muslims, Christians and Druze; Arab women in Israel; Muslim women in Israel. The included samples are difficult to define in greater detail from the abstracts. This broad and variable terminology means it is challenging to make overarching statements about these studies. With almost half of the included abstracts describing the study sample as one or several minority groups in Israel, honour-based violence appears to be understood as prevalent mainly in the non-Jewish minorities in Israel. The articles focus on, for example, challenges and needs regarding service providers and social work (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1999; Al-Krenawi, 2011; Eisikovits, 2008; Sigad & Tener, 2022.) and attitudes to and experiences of honour-based violence (Ne'Eman-Haviv, 2021; Meler, 2023; Allassad Alhuzail, 2023).

One theme in the literature on honour-based violence in Israel/Palestine is the conflict between cultural customs and state law, particularly around family honour killings. Studies highlight the legal complexities in addressing honour-based violence, where service providers must navigate between respecting cultural values and enforcing state laws. For example, Rabia (2011) discusses how legal systems sometimes struggle to address honour killings, illustrating the ongoing tension between cultural autonomy and legal accountability.

Another strand is articles focusing on honour-based violence in Palestinian society or from a Palestinian perspective. These include studies into incidents of publicly disowning male relatives who have transgressed social or sexual norms (Hamamra & Mayaleh, 2023), the emotional and social effects of honour killings on family members of murdered women and the restoration of honour through honour killings (Khatib al., 2020) or resurgence of a new feminist and anticolonial movement in response to an honour crime (Stagni, 2024).

Honour killings are the most extensively studied form of honour-based violence in Israel/Palestine, with research exploring motivations rooted in preserving family honour, often tied to women's behaviour. Studies document honour killings as connected to patriarchal values, social expectations and, in some cases, socioeconomic factors, which shape these violent responses within various communities (Gibb et al., 2019; Dayan, 2021). The relationships between attitudes, personality traits and honour killing are also studied (Ne'Eman-Haviv, 2021).

In comparison to women and honour-based violence, there is little focus on men and masculinities, which are the focus of two articles, specifically on masculinity and its role in honour-based violence, especially within Bedouin and Arab communities. One study (Allassad Alhuzail, 2023) explores how masculinity is constructed among

young Bedouin men, highlighting the societal expectations around honour and strength. Another study (Khoury-Kassabri, 2016) examines how concepts of family honour contribute to violent behaviour among young at-risk Arab and Jewish males, reflecting how masculinity is intertwined with social identity and the reinforcement of honour norms.

Jordan

In this material Jordan is described as a country with a high prevalence of violence against women in general, specifically honour crimes and honour killings. Hence, there is an interest in several of the included studies in identifying 'the roots' of this violence through exploring the Jordanian context at a macro level.

The most common focus is honour killings, regularly described as a type of femicide. Articles examine these murders through court cases, autopsy files and criminal records, giving detailed descriptions of the violence, victims and perpetrators.

Jordan's geographical location, neighbouring areas of conflict and war, is reflected in articles examining the situation for refugees, highlighting the complex interplay of patriarchy, tradition and religious practices, combined with the added vulnerabilities of displacement from war.

Research with Jordan as an empirical context comprises 20 articles, predominantly with a focus on Social Sciences, followed by Arts and Humanities and a smaller number of contributions from Medicine, Nursing and Psychology. The earliest article dates back to 2001 and the most recent to 2023.

Jordan is generally described as a country with a high prevalence of violence against women, specifically honour crimes and honour killings. Hence, there is an interest in several of the included studies in identifying 'the roots' of this violence through exploring the Jordanian context at a macro level and the interplay of traditions, societal norms, religion and law. A great deal of focus is put on laws, legislators and the use of criminal law, exploring, for example, the role of legislators in perpetuating these crimes by not using appropriate legislative mechanisms (Hayajneh & Alshdaifat, 2022). Other articles expose how gender inequality in Jordan and the gap between its social and legal codes affects punishment of honour crimes (Kaplanian & Gill, 2019). Articles discussing democratisation and activism highlight the use of criminal law as a form of political legitimation and the implications of gendered legal systems' on the prospect of democratisation (Warrick, 2005). Opportunities and difficulties in raising support for democratic protests against a law that grants reduced penalties for honour crimes and the marriage rape law are also discussed (Nanes, 2003; Al-Atiyat, 2019).

In the Jordanian material, the most common focus is honour killings, regularly described as a type of femicide (see, for example, Salameh et al., 2018; Faqir, 2001; Mahadeen, 2017). Articles examining these murders through court cases, autopsy files and criminal records, provide detailed descriptions of the violence, victims and perpetrators. One study, for example, reveals that most murders of women in Jordan are committed by an assailant who is either a partner or male relative, usually a brother (see, for example, Kulwicki, 2002; Al Gharaibeh, 2016). The home is the most dangerous place to be for a threatened woman, and extra-marital pregnancy is one of the strongest motivators for honour killings (Salameh et al., 2018). Sentencing varied significantly, from no sentence to life with hard labour. The harshest punishments were handed down in cases in which victims married without family consent, and reduced sentences were applied in cases where the victim was a single, pregnant woman (Hadidi et al., 2001).

The material also includes a couple of articles studying attitudes among young people in Jordan, examining traditional stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes towards women (Abutayeh, 2021), attitudes towards honour crimes amongst a sample of year 9 students (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013) and university students' perceptions of the seriousness of family violence, including crimes of honour (Araji & Carlson, 2001).

Jordan's geographical location, neighbouring areas of conflict and war, particularly the war in Syria, is reflected in a strand of articles examining the situation of refugees in Jordan exposed to various forms of violence, including honour-based violence and everyday practices of upholding honour (Lokot, 2021). Articles highlight the complex interplay of patriarchy, tradition and religious practices, combined with the added vulnerabilities of protracted displacement through war, which prevents Syrian girls from accessing education and makes them more likely to enter into early marriage (Hattar-Pollara, 2019). A literature review points to several sources that indicate that early marriage has been increasing in Jordan since the beginning of the war in Syria, especially among Syrian refugees, and that young refugees are particularly vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence and early marriage (Gausman et al., 2020).

Honour-based violence appears mainly to be part of gender-based violence/violence against women in the Jordanian material. The detailed focus on honour killings could be understood as mirroring the high prevalence of violence against women described as a backdrop in many abstracts. All in all, inclusion of macro perspectives situates honour-based violence at the intersection of traditions, societal norms, religion, law, poverty and war.

Türkiye

In the Turkish material, honour-based violence is often discussed as an aspect of gender-based violence. Honour killing is a commonly reoccurring research focus.

Another common theme is cross-cultural comparisons, with Türkiye presented as an honour-culture, described as collectivistic, often compared with dignity cultures, which are described as individualist.

One strand of research in the Turkish material investigates attitudes towards honour. Many of these studies investigate attitudes to violence against women in the name of honour.

Türkiye is presented as an empirical context in 83 articles, with a strong emphasis on Social Sciences, followed by Psychology, Arts and Humanities, Medicine and a smaller number of contributions from Health professions, Economics and Biochemistry. The earliest article dates back to 1998, with the most recent articles published in 2024. A.K. Üskül is the most productive author with 11 article contributions, followed by S.E. Cross with 8.

In the Turkish material, honour-based violence is often discussed as an aspect of gender-based violence. Honour killing is a commonly reoccurring research focus (see, for example, Cesur- , 2012; Toprak & Ersoy, 2017, Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001), often using the term *femicide*. 'Intimate partner femicide in the name of honour' and 'domestic femicide' are other reoccurring concepts. Such honour killings, where the perpetrator is an intimate partner, are studied closely (see, for example, Yilmaz et al., 2015b; Nur, 2021). One explored theme is the identity of victims, described as mainly young women, and how they are murdered (Nur, 2021). There is also an interest of studying perpetrators. This research relies on interviews with prisoners convicted of honour killings to examine and identify the patterns and dynamics of honour killings (Doğan, 2016) as well as perpetrators' previous experiences and motives (Doğan, 2020).

The depiction of honour killings in the media is another related theme. One example is a study that aims to understand whether media depictions of femicide reinforce prevailing perceptions of honour and whether this results in the replication of violence. The article suggests that media often employs patriarchal language when reporting on honour killings, inadvertently reinforcing norms that justify violence in the name of honour. By framing perpetrators as protectors of familial honour, media discourses may legitimise such violence and desensitise the public to its impact on women's rights (Adak, 2022).

Another common theme is cross-cultural comparisons, with Türkiye always presented as an honour culture, described as collectivistic, often compared with dignity cultures,

which are described as individualistic. Examples include comparisons with the US, Italy, Germany and Britain. Some researched issues include gender differences in the perception of honour killing in individualistic versus collectivistic cultures (Caffaro et al., 2014), preferred responses when honour is at stake (Ceylan-Batur & Üskül, 2022), how people in different countries perceive and respond to threats to their reputation as opposed to their self-respect (Günsoy et al., 2020b) and judgments of marital rape (Gul & Schutser, 2020).

Many of the studies in the Turkish material concern attitudes towards honour, especially within psychology and social psychology research. Many of these studies investigate attitudes to violence against women in the name of honour (see, for example, Baysan et al., 2021; Yilmaz & Aslan, 2022; Alan Dikmen & Ilknur Munevver, 2020; Yeşilçiçek Çalik, 2018). The samples almost always comprise university students and academics. Attitude scales are used and studied together with factors that may affect these attitudes. Gender, gender roles, family type and demographics are commonly studied factors. For instance, one article shows that being male, occupying a masculine gender role, belonging to an extended family and being born in a rural area are all factors correlated with more accepting attitudes of violence against women in the name of honour (Yilmaz & Aslan, 2022). Another example is an article that examines the role of justifications for violence (honour-based vs non-honour-based conflict), honour concerns (feminine, masculine, family, moral integrity) and fundamentalist religious orientations in predicting tolerance to violence against women in Türkiye, as identified as an honour culture (Ceylan-Batur et al., 2023b).

North America

Canada

The minority group of South Asians makes up the empirical sample in most articles investigating prevalence and consequences of honour-based violence in Canada.

Investigations of how to work within and develop culturally informed services for minority groups is a reoccurring theme in the material. The need for culture-specific and/or cross-culture competence among service providers is examined.

Other articles discuss and examine political and media discourses, exploring honour-based violence as a symbol that has assumed a central place in Canadian national discourses and consciousness.

Research that includes Canada as an empirical context comprises 33 articles. The emphasis on Social Sciences is strong, followed by Arts and Humanities and a smaller number of contributions from Psychology, Medicine and Health Professions. The

earliest article dates back to 1996, followed by a gap until 2009. Since then, publication output has been consistent, with the most recent articles published in 2023.

In the Canadian material, honour-based violence is represented in three strands of research: as a lived reality for mainly South Asian women and girls, as a practical challenge for service providers and as a discursive/political challenge for Canadian society. These three strands of research are intertwined in interesting ways in the Canadian material.

The minority group of South Asians, not specified in more detail in the abstracts, makes up the empirical sample in most articles investigating occurrence and consequences of honour-based violence in Canada. Our assumption is that South Asians comprise one of the largest immigrant groups in Canada, hence the focus on this group in articles related to honour-based violence. The concept of 'family honour' is frequently referenced, and a key research interest of the studies is how ideas connected to family honour affect South Asian women and girls. Examples include how social norms risk elevating exposure to honour-based violence among South Asian women (Hawa et al., 2018), how various psychosocial factors affect South Asian women's experiences of intimate partner violence (Tasbiha & Zaidi, 2023), dating abuse (Couture-Carron, 2020) and help seeking from authorities (Blum et al., 2016).

One of the key strengths of Canadian research on honour-based violence is its application of intersectional perspectives, which examine the intersecting influences of culture, gender and age on the experiences of South Asian women and girls (see, for example, Tashiba & Zaidi, 2023; Zaidi et al., 2014; Blum et al., 2016). Young people in general, and young minority women in particular, are the focus of many of the included articles. Examples include the exploration of South Asian youth experiences and perceptions regarding relationships, sexuality and dating and connections to ideas of family honour (see, for example, Zaidi, 2014; Zaidi, 2016). Other studies focus on experiences of different forms of honour-based violence among minority youth, such as emotional abuse and control, financial abuse and forced marriages (Blum et al., 2016), and second-generation South Asian Canadian women and girl's stories of survival and resistance in relation to honour-based violence (Mucina, 2021). One article focuses on the concept of 'excessive control' as a form of abusive psychological behaviour, as recognised in the Youth Protection Act. The article aims to offer an understanding of the phenomenon of excessive control and proposes a definition of excessive control in the context of honour-based violence (Jimenez, 2022).

Articles discussing how service providers work with honour-based violence and intimate partner violence in minority communities are common in the material. These articles examine the need for, and use of, service providers' culturally specific or cross-cultural competence, whilst acknowledging challenges and risks of the impact of cultural and racist stereotypes (Aujla, 2021). Multiple intersecting cultural elements are examined, and cross-cultural training as well as intervention models are explored in this research (see, for example, Milani et al., 2018; Helms, 2015). Hence, discussions on how to

understand, work in and develop culturally informed services for minority groups is a reoccurring theme in the material.

A couple of articles include discussions of cultural knowledge and service providers' expertise and needs regarding the handling of different forms of violence in relation to the politics of honour-based violence. By merging findings from interview studies of service providers with political policies and debates, these articles call for renewed approaches to discussions about culture (see, for example, Abji et al., 2019; Abji & Korteweg, 2021). This brings us to the third strand of research in the Canadian material, namely articles discussing and examining political and media discourses on honour-based violence.

In articles discussing and examining political and media discourses, honour-based violence is explored as a symbol that has assumed a central place in Canadian national discourses and consciousness. Discourses on honour-based violence are explored with regard to reproducing national boundaries and transnational relations of power (Olwan, 2013; Olwan, 2019), in relation to broader political negotiations, including discussions on national identity and citizenship (Zine, 2009), and as building on ethnocentric explanations with consequences both for understandings and teachings about violence (Gill, 2022; Train, 2021). The role of the media in the construction of boundaries between different forms of violence, and hence between groups of people, is also studied. One example is the description of 'honour killings' framed in terms of culture and ethnic background, while such factors tend to be ignored when it comes to (supposedly) more culturally neutral concepts of 'family/spousal murders' (see, for example, Sheir & Shor, 2016; Mason, 2015). The discursive framework that emerged in media reporting on the suicide of a gay Ottawa teenager in 2011 and an honour killing in 2009 is examined in one article, demonstrating how the transgressive figures of an immigrant and queer person are composed in a particular way through journalistic attitudes and understandings of religion (Mosurinjohn, 2014).

All in all, the Canadian research, as it appears in this scoping review, examines honour-based violence as a problem for south Asian minorities (in particular women and girls) and as a contested field in regard to Canada as a nation state, west/east geographic dynamics, racism and right-wing politics.

The United States

Most articles that use the United States as an empirical context examine 'male honour beliefs' and/or 'culture of honour'. Differences between the Southern and Northern US are explored and examined through regional differences in culture of honour, while researchers interested in male honour beliefs have also studied how these beliefs manifest.

A couple of articles discuss honour-based violence or the culture of honour amongst minority communities.

Honour killings are the most studied form of honour-based violence. Similarities and differences between honour killings and other types of homicides are also explored.

Research with the United States as the empirical context comprises 120 articles, with a strong emphasis on Psychology, followed by Social Sciences, Medicine, Arts and Humanities and a smaller number of contributions from Health Professions, Economics and other fields. The earliest article dates back to 1995. Since then, the publication output has been consistent, with notable peaks in 2018 (13 articles), with the most recent articles published in 2024. D. A. Saucier is the most productive author with 14 articles published.

Almost two thirds of the articles that use the US as an empirical context examine 'male honour beliefs' and/or 'culture of honour'. These concepts are sometimes used interchangeably, in other instances one of the concepts is the subject of focus. Often, male honour beliefs are understood as being part of a culture of honour. In general, honour-based violence is not used as a concept in these articles, but the interrelatedness of the culture of honour, male honour beliefs and violence raises questions over the differences and similarities between concepts and definitions.

The studies on culture of honour take as a point of departure Nisbett and Cohens' article from 1996 (Cohen et al., 1996), where differences between the Southern and Northern US are explored and examined through regional differences in cultures of honour, with historical roots going back to the immigration of Scotch-Irish herding communities. Findings from these studies show that cultures of honour have negative consequences at all levels of society and are connected to a higher prevalence of intimate partner violence, school violence and mental health issues, such as depression (Gul et al., 2021; Foster & Bock, 2024a; Foster et al., 2021a). Some studies focus on what they call female honour beliefs, within cultures of honour. They examine the consequences of female honour beliefs, showing that female honour beliefs are associated with higher levels of aggression, greater desire to seek retribution and disclose experiences of sexual abuse (Crowder et al., 2022; Foster & Bock, 2024b, Foster et al., 2022a), reluctance to seek out screenings for sexually transmitted infections (Foster et

al., 2022b) and reluctance to receiving screenings and vaccinations for human papillomavirus infection (Foster et al., 2021b; Foster et al., 2023a).

Male honour beliefs are described and defined in terms of the need to earn, defend and maintain one's masculinity. This if often done by degrading, and exhibiting aggression towards, women and individuals perceived as feminine (Katzman et al., 2024). Male honour beliefs also often centre around the idea that aggression, for example in response to insults or threats, is sometimes justifiable and necessary (Saucier et al., 2016). Both men and women can hold male honour beliefs, but the most common sample in the studies is men from different parts of the US, who are also compared with men from other countries (see, for example, Günsoy et al., 2020b; Novin et al., 2015; Uskul et al., 2015). Researchers interested in male honour beliefs study how male honour beliefs manifest, mainly through surveys and experimental studies that test male honour beliefs and their connection to aggression (Cohen et al., 1996), men's reactions to threats and slurs (O'Dea et al., 2017; Saucier et al., 2015b) and the perpetuation of male honour beliefs (Vandello et al., 2008). Several studies also examine consequences of male honour beliefs. Specific consequences described in the material include a link between male honour beliefs and violence against women and intimate partner violence (Katzman et al., 2024 and Brown, 2018) and negative perceptions of transgender people (Michalski et al., 2022). Several studies also explore how male honour beliefs impact men's own lives, showing that male honour beliefs are associated with men avoiding prostate cancer checkups and treatment (Foster et al., 2023:b) and not disclosing experiences of sexual abuse due to the perceived stigma and risk of the loss of masculinity (Foster et al., 2023c), as well as increased risk of suicide (Bock et al., 2021). Male honour beliefs are also studied in relation to gun violence, security measures and political ideologies (see, for example, Matson et al., 2019; Saucier et al., 2018b; Martens et al., 2018), connecting honour to broader societal trends associated with aggression and self-defence.

There are a couple of articles that discuss honour-based violence or the culture of honour amongst minority communities. For example, two articles discuss the need for intersectional or multilevel perspectives when examining South Asian women's experiences of intimate partner violence, as well as risk and protective factors including family honour (Tasbiha & Zaidi, 2023; Sabri et al., 2018). Arab-Americans are sampled in three articles examining gendered expectations within families and communities (Aboulhassan & Brumley, 2019) on embodied virginity (Abboud et al., 2015) and conceptualisations and responses to childhood sexual abuse (Haboush & Alyan, 2013). Latino/Latinx minorities are studied in regard to honour-endorsed intimate partner violence (Dietrich & Schuett, 2013) and adolescents' perceptions on relationships, sexuality and contraception (Barral et al., 2020; Killoren et al., 2024). One article focuses on Somali refugees' perceptions regarding female genital mutilation/cutting in the US (McNeely et al., 2016).

Honour killings are the most studied form of honour-based violence in the US, with one review looking into honour killings between 1990 and 2021. The review focuses on

primary and corollary victims of 26 honour killings in the US and the findings contribute to knowledge that recognises similarities between intimate partner homicides and honour killings (van Baak et al., 2022). Other articles also explore similarities and differences between honour killings and other types of homicides, for example, comparing the roles of honour and shame in honour killings and anti-LGBTQ homicides (Henry et al., 2018) or comparing honour killings, domestic violence homicides and hate homicides committed by far-right extremists (Hayes et al., 2018).

South Asia

India

Honour and honour-based violence are studied regarding families, communities and society at large, with varying definitions, descriptions and consequences of honour-based violence presented in the studies. Many of the articles understand honour-based violence in terms of violence against women and relate this to broader descriptions of themes such as gender inequality, poverty, the caste system and patriarchy in India.

The main form of honour-based violence studied in this material is honour killings, mostly defined as murders of women due to the offenders' beliefs that she has dishonoured her family or community.

One reoccurring topic in the material from the Indian context is the focus on marriage, and specifically inter-caste marriage, as a risk factor regarding honour-based violence. Another dimension that is prevalent in the material is the urban/rural divide, especially in articles studying women's resistance and activism against honour-based violence and other forms of violence and control in urban and rural contexts.

Research with India as an empirical basis comprises 40 articles, with a predominant focus on Social Sciences, followed by Arts and Humanities and a smaller number of contributions from Psychology, Medicine, Business/Economics and other fields. The publication volume has remained steady over time, beginning with the earliest article from 2006 and the most recent from 2023 and 2024.

Honour and *honour-based violence* are frequently occurring terms in relation to families, communities and society at large, with varying definitions, expressions and consequences of honour-based violence presented depending on the context. Many of the articles understand honour-based violence in terms of violence against women and relate the term to themes such as gender inequality, poverty, the caste system and patriarchy in India. In these contexts, specific forms of violence related to honour, such as early marriage and dowry murder, are described alongside other forms of violence

against women such as rape, domestic violence and infanticide (see, for example, Gandhi et al., 2021 & Standish, 2014). In these articles, specific forms of violence are understood as honour-based, but some articles also define honour-based violence based on the motive of the offender. One example of this is fathers striking or disowning their daughters due to an infringement of honour codes in the family (see, for example, Ashokkumar, 2023). In other words, the specific form of violence is not honour based per se, but it is considered honour based due to the motive of the offender; in another context, with a different motive, this form of violence (striking one's child) is not necessarily understood in terms of honour-based violence. This is by no means specific to India but serves as an example of how similar expressions of violence can have different interpretations depending on context. Lastly, some of the articles apply an understanding of honour-based violence as something that happens after someone has been subjected to violence. For example, victims of sexual violence who cannot talk about this violence because of the risk of destroying their family's honour and being exposed to further violence (see, for example, Vinay et al., 2022; Mishra, 2023). Here, sexual violence is not understood as honour-based violence per se, but the consequences of sexual violence are linked to concepts of honour, making disclosure more difficult and affecting victims' mental health.

The main form of honour-based violence studied in this material is honour killings, most commonly defined as murders of women due to offenders' beliefs that she has brought dishonour to her family or community (see, for example, Sneha et al., 2020). Honour killings are related to human rights, and an ongoing struggle between universal human rights and cultural relativism is described by Singh (2020). The legal status and juridical aspects of honour killings are also discussed, with some studies highlighting, for example, the insufficiency of laws to curb honour killing (Sneha et al., 2020) and the importance of sentencing laws (Chattoraj & Meier, 2018). Socio-political contexts, including the role of the state and its institutions, are explored in a couple of articles, which point to a lack of effective law enforcement by police and the failure of the criminal justice system in combatting honour-based violence (Subbbalakshmi & Sivakumar, 2016; Afshan et al., 2019). The most common, and assumed, victims of honour-based violence in the material are women and girls, but some articles discuss men and boys, both as victims and offenders (see, for example, George, 2006; Broom et al., 2012; Pujar et al., 2023). One article studies queer relationships and how the criminal justice system together with the police can be used by families to enforce and maintain heteropatriarchy and gender role conformity (Banerjie, 2022).

One reoccurring topic in the material from the Indian context is the focus on marriage, and specifically inter-caste marriage, as a risk factor for honour-based violence. Inter-caste marriage is discussed in relation to an increase in honour killings in India, changing patterns with regard to how people choose their partners and the functioning of endogamy for upper caste families and the role of family honour (Nallathambi, 2023; Ashok & Rupavath, 2022; Goli et al., 2013). These articles describe, in different ways, changes in Indian society, such as modernity, the influence of Western values and

educational and economic growth, linking these to trends in partner/marriage choices and the prevalence and risk of different forms of honour-based violence, mainly for women.

Another dimension that is prevalent in the material is the urban/rural divide, especially in articles studying women's resistance and activism against honour-based violence and other forms of violence and control in urban and rural contexts. The urban setting is described as a site of risk, specifically in regard to sexual violence and rape but also in terms of honour killings and acids attacks. Links between women's social mobility, socioeconomics and ideas about 'respectable' femininity and honour are explored (see, for example, Gupta, 2024; Sen et al., 2020). In rural areas, honour is described in terms of a daily cultural code, pivotal in organising gender relations. Here, the theme of social mobility is also present as it pertains to rural women in relation to honour (Mishra & Rayaprol, 2023).

Ideas about honour, gender-based violence and honour-based violence seem to be deeply intertwined in the Indian material, spanning a multitude of social issues and themes. Honour-based violence appears closely knit with the caste system and the urban-rural divide.

Pakistan

The largest strand in the material about Pakistan is research about honour killings, studied with a variety of approaches.

Another strand of research is honour-based violence in relation to the extensive gender inequality in Pakistan. Women's rights violations at the institutional levels are investigated in different ways, with socioeconomic and demographic differences commonly cited.

Media representations of Pakistan, honour killings and women's rights are recurring strands in the material. Media as a platform for value contestation and value promotion is also studied.

Research that includes Pakistan as an empirical focus comprises 63 articles, with a strong emphasis on Social Sciences, followed by Psychology, Arts and Humanities, Medicine and a smaller number of contributions from Health professions, Economics and Business. The earliest article dates back to 1999, with the most recent articles published in 2024.

The largest strand in the material about Pakistan is research about honour killings. Honour killings in Pakistan are analysed through various critical lenses, including legal frameworks, cultural traditions and socio-political influences. Legislation, penalties in criminal law and lawyers' and victims' narratives are studied (Nasif & Ahmed, 2022), as is traditional justice in relation to legal principles (Ishaq & Bashir, 2023). Honour killings are also studied in relation to the role of sociocultural institutions, such as represented by politicians as lawmakers (Afshan et al., 2019). The issue of honour killings is also

studied in the context of religious texts, for instance in the light of fundamentalist Islamic teachings and/or scripture (Muhammad et al., 2012). The relationships between illiteracy, education and honour killings in rural tribal areas are another study object (Bangash et al., 2018).

According to some authors (Hadi, 2020; Ishaq & Bashir, 2023), honour killings are widespread in Pakistan, with more than a thousand women killed in the name of 'honour' every year (Hadi, 2020). This phenomenon is described as an outcome of gender inequality in Pakistani society. Issues such as underreporting and evasion of punishment by perpetrators are explored through investigations of institutional misogyny and gender inequality within authorities (Hadi, 2020). The prevalence of honour killings is also studied in connection with the identities of perpetrators and victims, alleged motives and weapons used. The authors used newspaper reports to extract this data and reflect on the limited availability of published data, noting that many cases are likely to go unrecognised (Nasrullah et al., 2009). The main focus in most articles is on women and girls as victims and men as perpetrators.

There are also a number of studies that explore attitudes towards honour killings in Pakistan (Huda & Kamal, 2022; Huda & Kamal, 2020; Rahim et al., 2018; Shaikh et al., 2015). Attitudes of university students are the most commonly studied, and gender is always a highlighted factor. Some other factors investigated in relation to this are demographics, whether participants live in rural or urban areas, age and belonging to an extended family system or nuclear family (Huda & Kamal, 2022).

Another strand of research is honour-based violence, described as an outcome of gender inequality in Pakistan (Ashraf et al., 2017; Hadi, 2020). Women's rights violations at the institutional level are investigated via a variety of methods, with socioeconomic and demographic differences commonly cited. The state of women rights in rural areas is described as far worse than in urban areas. Socioeconomic measures, such as better education facilities and opportunities of employment and proper social and political participation are suggested to help achieve change in social norms and customs (Ashraf et al., 2017). Socioeconomics and ideas about social standing are also described as important factors in regard to honour norms and early marriage, with authors stating that neither shame and honour, nor female sexuality and chastity can be separated from socioeconomic hierarchies and inequalities (Miedema et al., 2020).

How honour codes determine and restrict women's everyday lives, and the consequences of this, is another related theme. One example is an article that explores women's access to health and family planning services. It studies how women's mobility is restricted due to honour codes, and hence also their access to health services, employment and educational opportunities (Khan, 1999). Another example is an article focused on how intersecting socio-class and socioeconomic inequalities and patriarchal norms of *izzat* (honour, respect) perpetuate disadvantageous conditions for women entrepreneurs producing or selling goods and services (Shah et al., 2024).

Media representations of Pakistan, honour killings and women's rights are a reoccurring strand in the material. The media as a platform for value contestation and value promotion is studied. One example is how news reports, articles and editorials from a prestigious English language newspaper discussed and analysed the honour killing of social media sensation Qandeel Baloch, constructing liberal and traditional values about women's issues in Pakistan (Hussain & Umer, 2019). Qandeel Baloch was a Pakistani model, actress and feminist activist, and Pakistan's first social media celebrity. In 2016, she was murdered by her brother. Her death sparked public outrage and a policy debate around 'honour killing', digital rights and sex-positive sexuality across Pakistan and its diasporas (Shroff, 2021). This case appears in many articles on media and discourses about honour killings. The debate that followed this honour killing about the role of media in presenting a security risk through constant surveillance and scrutiny is also an issue discussed (Nisar et al., 2020). The case and media representations are also used to elaborate on these discourses (see, e.g., Rizwan, 2022; Shroff, 2021). One example is an article that centres on Qandeel Baloch's life and legacy in the context of the economic entanglements of honour, racialised ethnicity, coloniality, sexual violence and social media at the intersections of globalised anti-blackness and honourable brownness as a matter of global capital (Shroff, 2021).

PART II

Summary

Honour as a Social Control Mechanism

Consistently, the material shows a variety of understandings, expressions, consequences and explanatory models of honour-based violence. Common to all is how honour functions as a social control mechanism, regulating community behaviour by enforcing conformity to social norms and punishing deviations. Through this regulation, honour-based violence serves as a means to sustain norms through collective punishment and sanctioning. This is a feasible way to understand honour-based violence in an overarching sense, but it still leaves some questions for further exploration. For example, if collective punishment and sanctions are at the core of understandings of honour-based violence, questions such as what constitutes 'the collective' must be discussed. The country descriptions point to the need of further study of the collective criteria of honour-based violence at micro, meso and macro levels. The nuclear family, extended family, community, region, state and criminal organisations are some of the collectives described in the material. In the US context, for example, a culture of honour is discussed not primarily as a family culture, but rather as one grounded in the Southern US. In the Italian context, it is often criminal organisations that endorse masculine honour codes to exert social control. Other examples include how societal honour codes determine and restrict women's everyday lives in Pakistan or how the concept of 'family honour' affects South Asian women and girls in Canada.

Still, a common theme is how factors such as culture, religion, tradition and patriarchy set the boundaries and frame cultural definitions of honour-based violence. There are numerous examples of this, including honour-based violence as an expression of the stark gender inequalities in Pakistan, the justification of violence in combination with honour concerns and fundamentalist religious orientations as identified as an honour culture in Türkiye, honour-based violence as a political concept used to strengthen or weaken symbolic boundaries between minority and majority groups in Dutch society, honour killings as defined with regard to femicide in Jordan or fluctuating interpretations of honour culture depending on the comparative cultural context, as in Spain. All these approaches to understanding honour-based violence, and many more described in this part of the report, highlight the complexities and intersectional aspects of honour and violence and thus the need to be careful and thorough when investigating and discussing a 'culture of honour' and honour-based violence.

Colonial and imperialist influences are visible in this part of the report, which positions the question of honour-based violence on geographical and historical continuums. The focus on South Asian minorities in the UK is one example of the influence of colonial traces in the material, another is the impact of global inequality and war, which forces migration and produces large minority communities.

A correlation between male honour beliefs and nationalist, right wing extremist and pro-gun violence attitudes is also found in the studies, pointing to the intersection between gender, honour and nation.

Discussions about legislation are also included in the material, which highlight the challenges posed by parallel existence of common law, state law and traditional law in many countries. Protections against honour-based violence differ between legal systems. Legislation can serve to further honour-based violence, for example through weak implementation, or restrict queer people.

The multitude of cultural understandings of both honour-based violence and 'the collective' present in the reviewed material point to the need to utilise both particularistic and universal perspectives. In other words, both the local and the global contexts need to be taken into consideration when trying to understand and prevent honour-based violence. Another aspect to consider is the collective versus the individual. Even though these aspects are never completely separated, the collective aspects of honour-based violence prompt us to ask questions about individual agency. Many studies investigate individual attitudes, acts and psychological aspects of honour and violence, and the main experiences described in the reviewed research seem to point to a complex schema that results in individuals, often but not always men, acting violently towards others, often female partners or daughters, due to a perceived offence to their honour. This violence may also be associated with a perspective of family honour as an extension of personal honour. Further investigations of the interconnectedness between the individual and collective, as well as further interrogations of honour, are required.

Although the dominating tracks of research in the 13 countries described in this section focus on different forms of violence, for example the focus on honour killings in Türkiye and Pakistan, honour-based abuse in the UK and dowry murders in India, some generalisations about research on honour-based violence can be extracted.

Firstly, and most prominent, honour-based violence is understood and described as an aspect of gender-based violence or violence against women. While this includes specific expressions of honour-based violence, for example forced marriage, dowry murders and control, these are seldom the sole object of study. Honour killings are an exception, with several articles focusing on this specific form of violence. However, even in these cases honour killings are often investigated and studied in relation or comparison to other forms of gender-based violence.

Secondly, the violent and negative consequences of living in communities with strong honour norms are studied and described in many articles. Severe consequences of violence and abuse are presented, such as reluctance to disclose sexual violence or child abuse and difficulties leaving destructive relationships. Other reoccurring examples of consequences of an 'honour culture' or 'honour norms' include hiding pregnancy, hesitancy in seeking medical or mental health care and aggression towards others.

Thirdly, honour-based violence is presented as a symbol for defining boundaries. The material shows that discursive strands in media and policy play a big part in understandings of honour-based violence. Media framings of honour-based violence in many of the included countries often seem to reinforce stereotypes and processes of 'othering'. However, there are also examples of media representations that challenge stereotypes. In policy discourse, policies related to honour-based violence often reflect societal attitudes towards minority groups and the broader framing of honour-based violence as a 'cultural issue.'

A number of studies, across the majority of countries, investigated mobility in relation to honour-based violence, as a factor that can both weaken and strengthen honour as a mechanism of social control. The main forms are transnational- and national migration and economic mobility. Transnational and national migration is a reoccurring form of mobility discussed in relation to exposure to honour-based violence. The focus on migrant minority groups in European countries and Canada mirrors demographic patterns, cultural contexts and political systems in these countries. Honour norms in relation to differences within migrant minority groups, changes that occur over time, such as generational shifts, and the effects of inclusion or exclusion from the majority society are important research questions investigated in a number of articles. The rural/urban divide described in many Asian studies, such as India, presents a picture of mobility and honour-based violence, where honour-based violence is presented as mainly a 'rural' phenomenon. At the same time, urban areas, such as big cities, restrict women's mobility through the risks of sexual violence, acid attacks and social control. In this way, urbanisation seems to be both a blessing and a curse when it comes to the exposure of women and girls to honour-based violence. Another type of mobility described in the material is economic mobility, exemplified by inter-caste marriage in India as a sort of economic mobility connected to risks of honour-based violence. Regarding the idea of honour as a social control mechanism, characterised by collective punishments and sanctions, mobility represents an opportunity for people to be part of many different groups. However, prevailing conditions restrict these opportunities in an unequal way for different members of society.

Who are those of interest to researchers?

Across all the studied countries, the main victims described are women and girls. A few articles focus on men and boys with minority backgrounds as victims. We learn little or nothing about many groups from reading the article abstracts. Young people are mainly described as victims and perpetrators. Older individuals, regardless of gender and their potential vulnerability, are absent from the material. There is very little research about queer people. No research was found about people with intellectual or physical disabilities.

Honour-based violence as a symbol for boundary-making is a prevalent theme. The included literature shows how honour-based violence plays a part in controlling borders and boundaries between different categories of people, specifically minority and majority groups within and between countries. As previously discussed, honour-based

violence is often used as a symbol when it comes to defining boundaries and meaning. Discourses on honour-based violence often reflect societal attitudes towards minority groups, where honour-based violence is used as a symbol to draw boundaries between an *us* and a *them*. This is most present, and most researched, in Western countries. The majority of the cases investigate women and girls from ethnic minority populations as victims. A boundary is drawn between white majority populations and migrant, mainly Muslim, minorities. This can also be seen in Middle Eastern countries, where the same boundary drawing is seen, for instance in Türkiye between the majority population and the Kurdish minority. This dynamic is less obvious, yet still present, along other lines. In most of the Asian countries, gender inequality within institutions, socioeconomic hierarchies and social inequalities are often a focus. The rural-urban divide is another common boundary, with poor women and girls from rural areas presented as the victims who fare worst. Honour-based violence as a symbol is placed elsewhere than in the majority population, irrespective of whether the boundary is drawn along lines of ethnic majorities/minorities or urbanity/rurality, where the former always present modernity and the latter represent traditionalism.

Youth is another key theme in the material, usually with regard to young women and girls, but young men and boys are also present. Some of the research, in Canada, Italy, Sweden and the UK, focuses on professionals working with young people. Their experiences and needs, and the challenges they face working with honour-based violence, are studied. How young people themselves understand their situation, needs and challenges is present to a much lesser extent. In the few cases in which this theme is present, the focus is on unsuccessful interventions by professionals. The needs and wants of young people, both victims of honour-based violence and others living in honour contexts, is an area that requires greater focus, specifically what is important to them, how they would like to be met and what kind of support they need. Suggestions for other kinds of services or support presented by these young people should be highlighted. Although youth and children are represented in the material, a majority of the studies are interested in the ability of adult professionals to carry out their work. Other parts of this report, refer to several studies that suggest a greater focus on victims' needs.

Some of the research from Jordan, Türkiye and Pakistan focus on young people's attitudes towards honour-based violence, violence against women and traditional stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes towards women. The research reveals varied perceptions, with some young people endorsing traditional views on family violence and honour-based violence and others expressing critical attitudes towards these practices. Such findings suggest that young people's attitudes are shaped by a complex interplay of education, socialisation, urban/rural geography and exposure to shifting gender norms, hinting at the possibilities for continuity *or* change with regard to cultural perspectives on honour-based violence. The findings not only highlight generational differences but also reveal that shifts in cultural attitudes operate along much more complex lines than just those of age and generation. This research also reveals that honour norms can be

shaped and changed and that the 'honour cultures' presented in the material are not monolithic but rather exhibit large intragroup differences.

Masculinity and femininity in relation to honour and violence

A common theme in the material is honour-based violence as an expression of gendered violence, of which women and girls are the main victims and men are the main perpetrators. However, a gendered perspective of honour-based violence does not render it a binary issue. Applying an intersectional feminist understanding of gender, by which ideas about masculinity, femininity and queerness are always interrelated with conditions at the micro, meso and macro levels, honour-based violence appears to structure the opportunities and lived realities for everyone. The heterosexist understanding of gender that underpins ideas of honour for men and women limits opportunities for self-expression universally. As a social control mechanism, honour systems not only restrict women and girls' sexuality and behaviour through expressions of violence but also define expectations of male behaviour and exclude LGBTQ persons. Honour systems play an essential role in controlling ways of life for everyone. Common aspects of honour-based violence covered in the material are a high degree of restrictiveness, an ever-present threat of losing one's honour and expressions of violence if norms are broken or rumoured to be broken. As a social control mechanism, these serve as effective means of keeping heterosexist, restrictive norms that define how men and women are expected to behave in place.

In the studies, there is significant interest in how men think and behave. Many of the studies investigate men's relationships to and interpretations of honour, including honour endorsement and propensity for aggressive behaviour. Masculinity is both an explicit and implicit theme in the material, particularly in the many articles on male honour beliefs and cultures of honour in the US and Italy, with masculine honour endorsement and legitimisation of the mafia being of particular interest in the latter. Male honour beliefs are described and defined with regard to the idea that masculinity needs to be earned, defended and maintained. This is often done by degrading, and exhibiting aggression towards, women and other individuals perceived as feminine. This strand of research focuses on restrictive norms of masculinity and honour and the consequences thereof. The consequences of male honour beliefs for women, including violence against women and intimate partner violence, is one aspect explored. Male honour beliefs and how these relate to negative perceptions of transgender people is another.

While anyone can hold masculine honour beliefs, it is mainly men who are sampled, although women are also included in some studies. While research has been conducted on how masculinity norms and honour codes affect women and people perceived as feminine, less is known about women and queer people's own perceptions. For instance, there is no investigation of how women perceive or are impacted by honour codes in the context of organised crime and mafia legitimisation in the Italian case.

With regard to men and masculinity, young men are the main group of interest in the research. In Europe and Canada, young men, especially from migrant minority groups, are a source of interest as perpetrators, or potential perpetrators, of violence. In the West, there is an interest in investigating whether young men from so-called 'honour cultures' are more prone to violence than young men from 'non-honour cultures'. This is studied in vastly different contexts, including comparisons between the Southern and Northen US and between ethnic German men and Turkish German men. As described earlier, the defining of boundaries between majority and minority populations is a recurring point of departure.

While the reliance on abstracts has limitations, some themes regarding the struggles of navigating masculinity are seen. Research on young men and honour endorsement reveals the complexity of navigating masculine identity within minority communities and the broader majority society. Young men often experience pressure to embody culturally specific notions of honour to maintain social respect within their communities, while simultaneously adapting to the expectations of the dominant society. The intersection of gender, ethnicity and social status creates a situation in which adherence to honour values can be either rewarded or stigmatised, depending on the context.

Unlike men, masculinity and honour, femininity is not an explicit research strand; while there are examples in which femininity is studied closely and by the same methods, it is to a much lesser extent. At the same time, ideas about femininity appear extensively in the research, but these are often implicit. Restrictive, narrow ideas of 'acceptable' femininity and what constitutes a 'good, honourable woman' are described as dictating and restricting not only the lives of women but also others' lives regardless of gender. The definition of 'an honourable woman' differ throughout the world, but the research shows that gender norms restrict ways of life universally. The severe consequences this can have are a recurring theme. Explicit consequences presented in the research include forms of physical and psychological violence against women who are seen as deviating from context-specific norms of honourable femininity. There are also consequences for those who do not deviate from these ideas but rather do everything they can to live up to restrictive norms of femininity. Since the normative lines for acceptable femininity are narrow, women silence and hide everything that risks falling outside of these lines, in order to conform to being an 'honourable woman' and avoid punishment for deviating from these norms. As shown previously, this leads to severe consequences. Research on many of the included countries points to consequences such as hiding experiences of sexual violence, remaining in abusive relationships, hiding pregnancy and not seeking medical care. In some cases, such as India and Pakistan, research focuses on severe consequences at the meso level, such as restrictions on women's mobility due to honour codes. This restricts opportunities for employment, education and economic independence, for instance, because working outside the home can result in the 'loss of honour'. Honour-based violence as a mechanism of social control serves to perpetuate gendered hierarchies and inequalities.

Part III: Conditions for change and prevention

PART III

Conditions for change and prevention

As shown in Parts I and II, research on honour, gender and violence is a broad, nuanced and complex field. Researchers' different disciplines, geographical contexts, theoretical frameworks or methodological approaches describe, frame and explain honour-based violence in various interconnected ways. In this third part of the review, the focus is on conditions for change and prevention. This is a reoccurring theme throughout the material and a highly relevant one for everyone working to end honour-based violence.

To prevent something, one must know what it is that is to be prevented. This requires understanding and taking into account the complexities, differences and incidents of exposures that pertain to violence.

This part broadly addresses the subject of conditions for change and prevention and highlights strands in the material that tackle the theme from different perspectives. Two reoccurring strands from Parts I and II will be explored in depth and in direct relation to questions of prevention, namely *Continuity, diversity and change*, and *The effect of discourse on service provision*. In addition to these two strands, articles focusing on *Perpetrator studies and knowledge building* and *Reporting and disclosure* are included in this part. These four sections provide opportunities for reflection on social change and prevention at the macro, meso and micro levels. The included articles for each strand are described under the respective headings.

Continuity, diversity and change

The ultimate aim of all preventative work on male violence and honour-based violence against girls and women is the abolition of violence of all types, forms and contexts. Prevention of honour-based violence requires a profound understanding of its various expressions and manifestations, as well as the social forces and dynamics that underpin it. This section examines 19 articles that pose research questions addressing these forces.

The selected articles explore the relationship between family honour-based violence and the socioeconomic and other conditions prevalent in various countries and regions. During the initial selection phase, articles whose abstracts contained the terms 'economy', 'socioeconomy' or 'socio-demographic' were identified, yielding 83 articles. A subsequent review of the full texts revealed that 19 of these articles directly investigated factors shaping the conditions for honour-based violence. In total, 61 articles that provided only general observations on the origins of honour-based violence, such as its prevalence in areas characterised by resource scarcity and widespread poverty were excluded, and a further three were excluded that studied male honour beliefs and not family honour. By contrast, the 19 selected studies on family honour offer robust empirical and theoretical evidence, including interviews,

ethnographic research, surveys and questionnaires, as well as secondary materials such as statistical data, registry studies and media reports. These studies span a range of disciplines including Criminology, Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, Medical Sciences, Psychology, Public Health and Sociology.

The empirical contexts examined in these articles include Afghanistan, Burkina Faso, Ghana, India, Nepal, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Senegal, Southern US, Switzerland, Türkiye and the Palestinian Territories (referred to as the West Bank, Gaza and the Occupied Palestinian Territory in the articles).

The prevalence of honour killing is difficult to determine, but many articles state that it is a growing phenomenon. The United Nations Population Fund estimates that 5,000 women are killed annually in the name of honour (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011), which may be an underestimation of the actual rate. The recorded number of honour killings has risen worldwide from 1989 to 2009, which may be due to an increase in reporting rather than occurrence (Heydari et al., 2021). At the same time, Ince et al. (2009), Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008) and others state that there is an increase in the killing of women in regions that are traditionally associated with a culture of honour. Several studies that report increased rates of femicide reject the labelling of these murders as honour killings (by custom and family; for example, Cetin, 2015; Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008; Yilmaz et al., 2015; Ince et al., 2009). Whether the increase in femicides is related to honour killing or other reasons will be elaborated on below.

The text below examines the organisation of honour-based groups and systems in diverse cultural and linguistic contexts. It subsequently describes various forms of honour-based violence and analyses the causes as identified in the articles. The section concludes with a brief summary.

Family honour and honour-based violence

As shown in the Background, as well as in Parts I and II of this report, *honour* is a word associated with many meanings. Fundamentally, it is a concept that describes norms that aim to enforce order in tightly knit groups under harsh conditions. While there are local variations in meaning, as we will see below, it can be generally characterised as "the public recognition of one's moral worth, prestige and social standing" (Heydari et al., 2021, p. 89). By establishing and maintaining their honour, individuals secure their place in a community.

We stated previously that this report deals with the negative aspects of honour. Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) explain that honour also has a positive expression, "where one's honourable deeds are looked on as a valued possession. Neither the rich nor the poor are exempt from trying their very best to lead honourable lives and to protect their own as well as their family name from insinuations or open charges of dishonour" (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001, p. 971f). By contrast, the negative aspects of honour occur under extraordinarily harsh living conditions, in which honour tends to become an obsession

and a standard by which people are judged (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). These negative sides of honour are more common among poor people in tightly knit and rigidly stratified groups/societies, who seem to be more possessive of their honour (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; see also Bangash et al., 2018).

Consistent between family honour and honour-based violence, including honour killings, is that the violence is perpetrated within groups in which social cohesion – the forces that hold groups together – revolves around patriarchally structured honour (Hasan 2002; Heydari et al., 2021; Ince et al., 2009; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). In such groups, there is a high rate of violence against women (Gibbs et al., 2019). Two articles in particular provide detailed descriptions of this dynamic: Hasan (2002), and Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001). Hasan (2002) examines previous research and conducts interviews with women who have been exposed to honour-based violence in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) examine the cultural and material circumstances under which honour norms, honour-based violence and honour killings are likely to occur in rural regions of Türkiye, reviewing news in Turkish newspapers in the light of sociological theory. The two articles present various aspects of honour conveyed by the Arab and Turkish languages respectively, both of which have many words for honour, revealing the cultural importance of honour in these linguistic contexts. It is important to understand that the concept of honour contains a richness of words and nuances in most honour-centred groups and that the concepts are characterised by both continuity and change, depending on the factors that influence them.

SHADES OF HONOUR AND SHAME

In the Turkish context, Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) present the gender-neutral concept *onur,* which refers to an individual's own sense of honour. This is important to note because articles written by Turkish-speaking researchers use this word when describing what other researchers will generally call gender-based violence or male violence against women (see, for example, Ince et al., 2009). Thus, in the Turkish context, researchers assign the term *customary killing* to the phenomenon that other researchers call *honour killings*. We do our best to reconcile these meanings in the text that follows. Another gender-neutral Turkish concept is *izzet* the noun for generosity. (Izzet is also central in Hindi and Urdu languages, according to Goli 2013 and others).

The Arab and Turkish languages have similar, gendered words for honour that are bound to family honour. The words sound different, but the meanings of the words (the concepts) are the same. *Sharaf*/*seref* refers to the pride and recognition a male achieves through his accomplishments or those of his male kin, while *I'rd*/*namus* refers to a woman's chaste, sexual behaviour, before and after marriage.

The concept of *female shame* bears a heavy hereditary connotation, according to Pitt-Rivers (1974), as cited by Sev'er and Yurdakul: "[The] shame of mother is transmitted to the children, and a person's lack of [namus] may be attributed to his birth, hence the power of

insults, the most powerful of all [relating] to the purity of the mother. After this, the greatest dishonour of a man derives from the impunity of his wife." (2001, p. 973).

Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) and Hasan (2002) explain that the control exerted through I'rd/namus is far more extensive than that of a jealous or possessive partner or husband. That is because it stems from every person in a woman's social network, herself included, while the latter stems from an individual man only.

Virginity is the pivot of I'rd/namus for an unmarried girl or woman. If a man unlawfully defiles her, the only way she can purify her family honour is by killing him or herself. In the same vein, men can kill the woman or girl who sullied his family honour (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). We will return to this important aspect of family honour, namely the defining importance of blood kin and family ties, which serve as the logical basis behind honour killings.

Hasan (2002) states that the basis for legitimating violence against women is the implementation of "the codex of laws binding chiefly on women and determining their behaviour, actions, desires and even their thoughts" (Hasan, 2002, p. 2). Thus, being a woman fosters submissiveness. *Hishma,* in Arabic, and *Haysiyet,* in Turkish, are words that refer to the shame and embarrassment felt by a submissive woman or girl in the presence of her agnatic male relatives and/or husband (Hasan, 2002; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). In the past, Hasan (2002) explains, hishma was only associated with a woman's sexual behaviour, but, in line with structural changes in Arabic and Palestinian society, it has become more holistic, now representing a general codex of family honour. I'rd, has elevated the number of behaviours that are perceived as a threat to male domination (Hasan, 2002). This is salient as it relates to increasing rates of honour killings, to which we will return later.

Overall, there is a radical difference between male and female honour in family honour contexts. Men are characterised by their honour and women by their shame. Male honour is associated with self-worth and social worth (Araji & Carlsson, 2001; Heydari et al., 2021); it fosters activity and is determined by a man's achievements, courage, generosity, class standing, social status and family origin (Hasan 2002). A man with sharaf/seref keeps his promises, sticks by his word and stands up against injustice, for himself and his kin. By contrast, I'rd/namus fosters passivity, chastity and purity in the female body and mind (Hasan, 2002; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). It might be superfluous to state that in real life, not all men embody sharaf/seref and not all women embody I'rd/namus.

The immediate reasons for honour killings of girls and women are extramarital sexual relations, marriage outside of one's clan or caste, love marriage, property dispute, false accusations, pregnancy out of wedlock, infanticide and lenient laws (Huda & Kamal, 2019; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001).

Generally, the articles that we have studied define honour killings as murders that are legitimised by an extended family or kin group with the purpose of preserving family

reputation (for example, Gibbs et al., 2019). A few articles provide more detail, defining an honour killing as the murder of a girl or woman by *her male agnatic relatives*, that is by her own family or blood kin, including brothers, father, uncles, cousins and adult sons (e.g. Heydari et al., 2021; Hasan, 2002; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Her husband is not permitted to kill her if she has brought shame upon her family, unless he is her cousin and thus her blood kin. Otherwise, he must leave her killing to her agnatic male relatives. When a husband and wife are not blood relatives, the husband's family i'rd/namus is not sullied by her deeds, only that of her agnatic family (Hasan, 2002). If a husband kills his wife, and she is not his blood relative, he is obliged to pay a blood ransom for her. In the case that shame is brought upon her, he can send her back to her family and is entitled to compensation for the bride price and other expenses, but he must not kill her (Hasan, 2002). In traditional Palestinian society, Hasan explains (2002), a husband who wants to murder his wife out of jealousy or possessiveness in the name of I'rd/namus must restrain himself and let her blood kin carry out the ritual of blood purification. Similarly, if the woman's family wants to harm her and her husband does not agree, he is not permitted to protect her from her blood kin. Accordingly, a husband who does not respect the right of his wife's kin to purify themselves might himself be punished by them (Hasan, 2002).

Accordingly, an honour killing is an act of public purification of a family's bloodline through murdering the woman who sullied the family's honour (Hasan, 2002). However, processes of change and growing condemnation of honour-based violence and honour killings have changed public practices in many contexts, limiting public acts to narrower circles in which this violence is socially accepted. Thus, these processes of purification are increasingly concealed by false claims, for example that the victim disappeared, committed suicide or encountered with an accident (Hasan 2002; Yilmaz et al., 2015). A study from the south-eastern Turkish province of Diyarbakir investigated outcomes for a sample of perpetrators following an honour killing (Yilmaz et al., 2015). In 13 incidents the perpetrators fled the crime scene to avoid state punishment, in 11 they surrendered to the police and in nine they tried to conceal evidence of the crime, such as by taking the victim's corpse to the countryside, burning the corpse, taping the mouth of the victim closed or attempting to pass the murder off as a suicide by hanging. In one case the perpetrator lost consciousness at the crime scene (Yilmaz et al., 2015). In this Turkish context, the perpetrators would have been aware of the state- governed penalties they faced, including imprisonment from 4.20 years to aggravated life imprisonment. Excluding sentences of aggravated life imprisonment, the average duration of imprisonment was 15.68 years. In total, 20 perpetrators were sentenced to aggravated imprisonment and four to aggravated life imprisonment. Reduced sentences were given in several cases on a variety of grounds, including perpetrators being under 18 years old, being subject to probable unjust provocation and cooperating during trial, including confession and admission of guilt (Yilmaz et al., 2015).

In addition, it should be mentioned that the dependency of women on men is not only expressed through the notion of sexual virtue but is also deeply anchored in the economic order of the honour system, in which women have no rights (Hasan, 2002).

Inheritance is a basic trait of mutual dependency in honour systems, and thus important for the economy. Islamic law gives a woman the right to half the inheritance of her brother, while the traditional law of honour system demands that she give it up to her brothers. This practice appears to be the cornerstone of patriarchal politics (Hasan, 2002). In exchange for her submissiveness, her brothers are obliged to support and protect her, including after marriage, should her husband beat her or otherwise treat her badly. A sister who claims her lawful right to inherit is perceived as morally reprehensible, which can result in *aib* (shame) and her consequently being shunned or ostracised (Hasan, 2002).

PRACTICES OF MARRIAGE

Early marriage is a practice that is tightly tied to honour cultures, and as such is mentioned in several articles, for example Cakmak and Altuntas (2009), Hasan (2002), Nallathambi (2023), Nambiar (2023), Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001), and Miedema et al. (2021). Nevertheless, the motives underlying practices of early marriage differ worldwide. Here we explore the relevance to the rise of honour-based violence and honour killings.

Against the backdrop of I'rd/namus and its potential consequences for family honour, early marriage has become an established practice intended to prevent shame and safeguarding the female body. Despite the prohibition of early marriage in many countries, it still prevails, both in countries where it is legal and in countries where it is prohibited (Miedema et al., 2021). The common understanding of the social practice of early marriage in honour contexts is that it is intended to prevent violence. It also functions as an economic transaction between families in an asymmetric power relationship in which the woman's family is inferior to that of the man. Thus, arranged marriages function as an opportunity for the woman's family to upwards mobility in the social hierarchy (Nallathambi, 2023). Accordingly, women in honour-centred groups seldom have the freedom to choose their husband (Goli et al., 2013) because arranged and early marriages are typically foundational to honour systems, while love marriages are perceived of as a threat to the system (Hasan et al., 2002; Goli et al., 2013; Nallathambi, 2023; Nambiar, 2021).

EARLY MARRIAGE

In the context of extensive international and national efforts to end early marriage, Miedema et al. (2021) conducted a comprehensive study within the Social Sciences to map, explain and provide an understanding of the dynamics of early marriage in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa through the lens of honour and shame. The countries included in the study are Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, Ghana, Burkina Faso and Senegal. The article contributes to the understanding of continuities, diversity and change by shedding "light on the different ways in which shame and honour 'operate' depending on time and place" (Miedema et al., 2021, p. 330).

Miedema et al. (2020) note that early marriage is "considered to have negative effects on young people's health and well-being, educational attainments and futures, especially that of girls" (Miedema et al., 2020, p. 329). In the article, the researchers seek to identify the cross-cutting dynamic of early marriage as a means to overcome the shame associated with young single women's sexuality, protect family honour and social standing and/or secure young women's social and economic future. The authors further argue that child marriage is indeed a manifestation of gender inequality, but the qualitative focus group studies, that the article builds upon, reveal that the occurrence of early marriage is interconnected with "poverty and general lack of life choices and comprehensive sexuality education" (Miedema et al., 2020, p. 329).

While previous studies and efforts tend to focus on material factors, Miedema et al. (2021) argue the need to study early marriages through the lens of honour and shame, which shape the practice.

The article deploys qualitative and quantitative methods, including semi-structured questionnaires, focus group discussions and non-participatory observation. It included a sample of 30 local partners identified between two and four villages located in the same district, but with sufficient distance between them to avoid spillover effects, that had not yet been subject to measures aimed at reducing early marriage (Miedema et al., 2021). The participants included village leaders, heads of households with daughters or daughters-in-law between 12 and 17 years old and all girls aged 12–17 in these households. It also included school principals and teachers, male and female students between 12 and 17 years old and staff at the nearest health facility.

The key similarity between the articles is the practice of child marriage as being of particular importance for young women and their position in the community. Some unique features of the countries also appeared, for example concerns about pregnancy in Ghana, Burkina Faso and Senegal, sexual harassment in Bangladesh, and marriage and shame/honour in relation to caste in Nepal and Pakistan. The authors acknowledge the existence of important differences between countries in terms of the nature and manifestations of shame and honour, however they argue that regardless of setting, the themes of shame, honour, female sexuality and chastity cannot be separated from socioeconomic conditions (Miedema et al., 2021).

INCREASING HONOUR KILLINGS IN INDIA AND MIXED LOVE MARRIAGES

Goli et al. (2013), Nambiar (2021) and Nallathambi (2023) study the impact of honour and shame on changes in the caste system in India. Utilising data from a national survey in 2005, Goli et al. (2013) offer insight into the prevalence of inter-caste, inter-religious and inter-class marriages in India, analysing the socioeconomic factors that influence them and the effects upon honour-based violence against women. The prevalence of honour killings in India is increasing due to rapid modernisation and the constitutional ban of the caste system and religious discrimination in 1948, which has gained increased attention since the beginning of the 2000s. In the early 2000s, the government began offering 1,000 USD to inter-caste couples to promote inter-caste marriage. This is a

huge sum for many Indians, equivalent to a year's salary for those in the poor strata. The supreme court of India has also engaged with the problem and "has asked the central and state governments to take more preventive measures against honour killings" (Goli et al., 2013, p. 194).

The government renunciation of the caste-system occurred alongside major structural transformations in the Indian economy. Each caste has its own set of rituals, customs and values, so the ban raised social and economic turmoil and deep generational and class conflicts (Goli, 2013; Nallathambi, 2023; Nambiar, 2021). Increased education, employment, urbanisation, modernisation and technological development have given rise to a new middle class, and mixed marriages across caste, religious and class lines have become more widely accepted, although deeply conservative values persist (Goli et al., 2013; Nambiar, 2021; Nallathambi, 2023). Socioeconomic development and globalisation have also contributed to the rapid increase in inter-caste marriages, as young women rebel against status marriage systems and insist on marrying for love (Goli et al., 2013). Higher castes in particular have maintained traditional practices of endogamy, which has resulted in an increase in honour killings in response to children marrying across caste, religious and class lines (Goli et al., 2013; Nambiar, 2021; Nallathambi, 2023). In groups characterised by honour as a pivotal moral value, in India and elsewhere, marriage functions as a vehicle for upward mobility; honour killings are usually committed when a woman enters into a relationship with a man from a lower social caste or class without the permission of her family (Nallathambi, 2023).

Thus, the rapid shift of social systems from the caste system to a system based on economic class, which is characterised by even greater inequality, has introduced generational rifts that are shaking society (Goli et al., 2013; Nambiar, 2021; Nallathambi, 2023). Such rapid change has created opportunities for mobility, but the traditional norms that have been disrupted have not yet been replaced by other norms and forms of social cohesion. For example, paradoxically, changes in marriage patterns in India have not only led to an increase in the age at which women marry but also resulted in the near-universal adoption of dowry as a condition for marriage (see also Part II, India). In this precarious societal context, honour-based violence and honour killings are increasing (Goli et al., 2013; Nambiar, 2021; Nallathambi, 2023). The age of women involving in mixed marriages is between 25 and 29, likely because they are from higher, educated classes in urban areas (Goli et al., 2013), meaning that they have access to the necessary educational and employment conditions to exercise their individual values and mobility.

All the authors concur on the critical importance of promoting mixed marriages in India, even as generational conflicts increasingly result in devastating outcomes, such as honour killings of brides and grooms. Nallathambi (2023) stresses that a community's collective consciousness cannot transform overnight, necessitating government-led initiatives, including: (i) psychosocial interventions aimed at preventing or mitigating honour-based violence in India, (ii) the proposal of a distinct legal act by federal and state governments to address honour-based killings as perpetrators often evade legal

repercussions, (iii) the establishment of specialised police units equipped to handle honour-based violence, (iv) the provision of legal protections for individuals engaging in inter-caste (or mixed) marriages and (v) the integration of inter-caste marriage education into school, college and university curricula.

Searching for further understandings

HONOUR KILLINGS IN TÜRKIYE AND THE IMPACT OF MODERNISATION

There seems to be consensus among researchers that honour norms and honour-based violence thrive when people are subject to impoverished life conditions. Several articles include Türkiye as an empirical setting, offering the opportunity for a deeper analysis into the varying historical and contemporary factors that not only shape honour norms and honour killing but also intimate partner violence and suicide seen through the lens of the Turkish example.

The rate of femicides is increasing in Türkiye. To prevent these murders, "sophisticated multidimensional resolution entailing cultural, political and economic dimensions are required" (Ince et al., 2009, p. 539). Unfortunately, several articles state, the focus in Türkiye is instead on punitive legislative perspectives guided by ethnocentric, culturalist and sexist prejudices against Arab and Kurd minorities, hampering the necessary preventive development (e.g. Ince et al., 2009; Heydari et al., 2021).

Researchers studying honour norms and honour murders in a Turkish context struggle to contextualise it within the history of modernisation, which has a formal starting point with the rise of the secular republic in 1923. Several articles problematise cultural and religious explanations of honour killings in Türkiye and investigate the role of social, economic and political factors behind honour killings in relation to the process of modernisation in the country during the previous century (Cetin, 2015; Ince et al., 2009; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Modernisation has generally been thought of as a force that fosters strong individuals and makes life better for everyone, including women (Cetin et al., 2009; Ince et al., 2009). So, why are honour killings increasing in most regions of the world after more than 100 years of modern development, education and rising living standards? It seems as if researchers working between 2001 and 2023 have become increasingly interested in studying what seems to be a backlash against women in the wake of modernisation, neoliberal economics and globalisation.

Several studies trace the occurrence of honour-based violence and honour killings to the military coup d'etat led by Kemal Atatürk in the 1920s and the modernisation project that followed (Sev'er & Yurdakul 2001; Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008; Ince et al., 2009; Yilmaz, 2015). The coup overturned the old religious government of the Ottoman Empire and its Sultans, which was replaced by a secular, democratic republic (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008). Following a series of legislative reforms modelled after European countries, Türkiye was "set apart from primarily Moslem states that have retained much closer links between religion and other institutions including politics, education, and justice systems" (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001,

p. 967). During these processes of change, equal rights were promoted for Turkish women, with polygamy, betrothal and bride prices outlawed, and equal rights were written into the law in areas such as education, employment, divorce and the right to vote in parliamentary elections. The family was put at the centre of society and penalties for violence among close family members were increased, raising them above those for harming persons outside the family (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001).

Despite the efforts of the Kemalist state, economic growth in Türkiye has not kept pace with ambition since its founding as a secular democracy. Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) write that the position of women in the gendered division of labour has remained unchanged over time. Rural women continue to be relegated to the home and/or unskilled jobs in small businesses dominated by men, and urban, well-educated women are constrained by cultural expectations, lower retirement ages compared to men and other factors (Sev'er and Yurdakul, 2001). In sum, despite "the rhetoric of equality, an overwhelming emphasis is placed on caregiving, nurturing, and self-sacrificing roles of women" (Sev'er and Yurdakul, 2001, p. 969). In addition, in marriage, all material property goes to the husband. Furthermore, in the mid-1990s, 37 per cent of Western Turkish men and 57 per cent of Eastern Turkish men reported that they have the right to punish a woman who challenged them (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). The cultural preoccupation with the female body and her chastity prevails throughout Türkiye, and it is particularly fierce among the rural, illiterate parts of the population in the east, who suffer under the worst socioeconomic conditions in the country (Cakmak & Altuntas, 2009; Ince, 2009; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Yilmaz, 2015).

The researchers state that the dictatorial state modernisation in Türkiye has perpetuated rather than changed the traditional subordination and objectification of women, contributing to their continued victimisation through rituals like 'customary killing' (honour killing in English-speaking contexts; hereafter referred to as 'customary honour killing' within the Turkish context), by which a woman is murdered or forced into suicide to redress her perceived moral failings (Ince et al., 2009).

Modernisation reshaped Turkish women over the century, moulding them into asexual beings in the public sphere and, simultaneously, over-sexualised beings and commodities in the private sphere (Ince et al., 2009; Sever & Yurdakul, 2001). The researchers claim that customary honour killing is connected to the same mentality that governs the modernising, patriarchal elite. The researchers demonstrate the reasonableness of attributing customary honour killings in contemporary Türkiye to the specific modernisation process that occurred in the country and preserved the subordination of women.

To end honour killings, Heydari et al. (2021) argue that, in line with the other researchers above, we need to understand their true causes, as they cannot be explained by focusing only on shallow and orientalist explanations of religion and sexism. They present a feminist Durkheimian analysis of honour killing as a form of informal social control. In that light, honour killing represents a 'dark side of modernity', in which the

marginalisation and stigmatisation of social groups and minorities play a crucial role. Such processes create centripetal forces in groups, resulting in more tightly knit communities in which honour codes that legitimate honour-based violence are generated. The authors show that an effective approach to combat honour-based violence requires that sexism and religious fundamentalism, as well as systematic exclusion and stigmatisation, be addressed simultaneously.

REVOLT KILLING

Cetin (2015), who studied the increasing femicide rates in Türkiye based on a literature review and statistical data, contributes to new understandings of femicides by introducing the concept of 'revolt killing'. He starts with a well-known Turkish story of the femicide of Ayse Pasali by her husband, from whom she had submitted her petition for divorce prior to the murder. She had asked for protection by the authorities but was let down. Statistics show that the demand for divorce or separation is one of the most common reasons for femicide in Türkiye. Cetin claims that killings like the one of Ayse Pasali are often understood as customary killings (honour killings in international research), which tends to be misleading. Instead, the explanations should be sought in the tension between tradition and modernity and the new status of women in Türkiye over recent decades, which has also weakened the traditional status of men that defend the patriarchal system (Cetin, 2015; see also Ince et al., 2009).

The motivation, Cetin (2015) explains, is found in the fact that the media and newspapers tend to label diverse instances of femicide as individual or customary honour killings, and that such killings are more common in metropolitan areas of Türkiye, compared to tribal, rural regions. Hence, the article suggests that the term *revolt killing* better conceptualises femicide in recognition of the impact of social change on women's status as individuals. Revolt killing comprises the nature of the tensions between tradition and modernity, which many women experience. To summarise an important discussion that is too long for this review, Cetin suggests that the individual honour killing (*onur* killing in Turkish as we understand it) should instead be understood as revolt killing.

A possible explanation is given by Ince et al. (2009), who suggest that women who were once totally dependent on men in economic terms currently have more opportunities than ever to step out of the circles of patriarchal control. Increasing migration towards the cities has also increased women's mobility and decreased the legitimacy of family-centred patriarchal systems (Cetin, 2015; Ince et al., 2009). The male response from fathers, husbands and brothers, whose economic and social authority has been diminished, has been to exhibit greater violence towards women, escalating the problems of customary honour killings (Ince et al., 2009) and intimate partner violence/individual honour killings (Cetin, 2015).

INCREASING RATES OF SUICIDE AMONG TURKISH WOMEN

The increasing rate of suicide among Turkish women in the West and the East, from the 1990s onwards, inspired sociological research presented in two articles by van Bergen et al. (2021) and Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008). van Bergen et al. (2021) study attempted suicide and suicide among young Turkish women in Europe and Türkiye, and Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas (2008) conduct a case study of female suicide in the Batman region of Southeastern Türkiye.

van Bergen et al. (2021) conducted a literature review of 9 studies on attempted suicide in Europe (Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland), 17 studies on attempted suicide in Türkiye and 10 studies on suicide in Türkiye. The women in the cases were all young, most were not participants in the labour market, some had mental illnesses and they were all exposed to poverty. To briefly summarise the study's conclusions, van Bergen et al. (2021) identified the causes as being exclusion and marginalisation; in the European countries the women were perceived as too religious, and in Türkiye, they were perceived as being too secular. As so often in this section, rapid changes and disruptions to social cohesion in both the European and Turkish settings are reasonable explanations (van Bergen et al., 2021).

A similar explanation is suggested by Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008), who studied the increasing rates of suicide among Turkish women in the Batman region of South-East Türkiye. The region has long been associated with honour killings of women. The Batman region registers a higher number of suicides among women than men, which is the opposite of such occurrences worldwide. Further, according to Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008), the media reported that in 2002-2007 as many as 1,806 women were victims of 'moral law murders' by family members across the whole Southeastern region, while NGO's, academics and journalists have linked these cases with 'honour suicide' (forced suicide by the family).

The increase of suicide among women is not so much based in historical and cultural concepts of honour and shame, the researchers argue, but rather in the contemporary instability caused by conflict, violations of human rights, rapid urbanisation, globalisation and migration: "As villages were burned and towns were evacuated, hundreds of thousands of people sought refuge in cities like Batman, Diyarbakir and Sanliurfa. But jobs were scarce, decent housing unavailable, and the old social rules no longer applied." (Karacay, Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008, p. 9).

From interviews, a pattern of economic, political and social turmoil emerges. An extended explanation is dedicated to one of the interviewees, a psychiatrist who noticed that most of his female patients who had attempted suicide were migrants. The psychiatrist explains that forced migration creates traumatic stress in people, especially when they are met only by chaos: "The traditional social structure was broken, and there was nothing in its place" (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008, p. 9). The researchers find explanations for the increasing suicide rates in sociologist Émile Durkheim's work on suicide, and explain, in the same vein as the psychiatrist, that internal migration breaks

important bonds between the individual and their social system. Such breaks cause anomie. Anomie is a concept coined by Durkheim to explain suicides that occur outside of contextual social or ethical norms as a specific response to the rapid modernisation processes of Europe in 1800-1900 (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).

Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008) ask whether these suicides are related to honour norms, arguing that tribal relationships in which honour norms are shaped and thrive have started to dissolve. Traditions and cultures are not static, and tribal relationships are in fact weakening in Türkiye. Nevertheless, the nonverbal rules of these tribes, despite being at the edge of extinction, are still intense and vivid to migrant families in the cities (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).

As so many researchers have explained, the Turkish process of modernisation challenges the traditional understandings of the causes of customary honour killings, and while these are still relevant, additional explanations are required. According to *Kamer*, an NGO that promotes the rights of women and supports women exposed to violence by close family members, several women who later committed suicide had sought support from the organisation, stating that their lives had been threatened by husbands or fathers (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008). This shows us that femicide must be simultaneously understood as a matter of continuity, diversity and change in the intersections of tradition, modernisation, urbanisation, migration, war and so forth.

The impact of socioeconomic factors, war and occupation

As we have seen above, a combination of socioeconomic factors, specifically illiteracy, low education and poverty, has profound importance for the existence of family honour and its practices.

While several researchers include this in the background to their articles (for example Heydari et al., 2021), one study investigated the impact of socioeconomic factors on attitudes towards family violence in general and honour killing in particular, namely by Araji and Carlsson (2001). In a survey of a random sample of 953 university students at two universities in Jordan in 1995, Araji and Carlsson (2001) studied student experiences of male violence against girls and women, including crimes of honour and their perceptions of the seriousness of the violence. The aim was to study the impact of a range of demographic factors on the students' perceptions of such violence. These factors included the students' gender, whether they lived in a rural/urban setting, their father's and mother's education and occupation, their total family income, the size of their family and the number of brothers in their family. The results indicated that violence is common in Jordanian families, primarily against women. Further, the study shows that social class and socioeconomic status play a role in perceptions of violence, and in quite complex ways. In general, the higher occupational status of parents was associated with more negative perceptions of violence by students (Araji & Carlsson, 2001).

In a study conducted in an illiterate, tribal context in Pakistan, Bangash et al. (2018) consider the complex, educational, sociopolitical and cultural contexts in which honour killings occur. They took their point of departure in reports showing that rates of honour killing are highest in the more agrarian provinces in Pakistan. The aim of the study was to explore the impact of illiteracy on the prevalence of honour killings (Bangash et al., 2018). The study was carried out by interviewing 377 randomly selected respondents. The findings pointed to a significant correlation between education and honour killings. The study showed that literacy among men and women results in a decrease in honour norms and accordingly also rates of honour crimes. Less educated people reported greater adherence to norms of honour and honour killings, as well as a fear of sending women to educational institutions, seen as putting the continuation of honour norms over subsequent generations at risk. By contrast, more educated persons, especially literate women, reported less adherence to normative order and less fear of sending females to educational institutions (Bangash et al., 2018).

In yet another study of attitudes towards honour killing in Pakistan, Huda and Kamal (2019) state that honour killing can be traced to almost all parts of Pakistan. The study in focus aimed to determine the attribution of responsibility for honour killings among respondents – was it the victims or the perpetrators? The study assessed attribution in different occupational groups for seven scenarios. Some were incidents reported by participants and others were published in newspapers. The incidents were presented in interviews with 245 male and 209 female lawyers, social activists, police officials, journalists and perpetrators. The results indicated that men were more likely to attribute responsibility to victims than women, while participants living in rural areas were more likely to justify honour killings by attributing responsibility to victims than participants in urban areas (Huda & Kamal, 2019).

In a study examining the increasing number of honour killings among Arab subgroups in Israel (excluding the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem), Dayan (2021) investigates the impact of culture and religion on the one hand and socioeconomic factors on the other. The methodological approach of the study differentiated between Arab subgroups based on correlated social characteristics, which enabled a comparative analysis. National data on honour killings of women among these groups during the period 2010–2015 were used for the study. Given that Arab subgroups in Israel share cultural values, such as collective identity, family honour and patriarchal norms, Dayan (2021) concludes that differences in the prevalence of honour killings point to the significant role of socioeconomic conditions.

The patterns identified by Dayan (2021) indicate that poverty and the pressures of rapid modernisation have contributed to rising rates of honour killings of women. An example of how modernisation can have such an impact is given by Hasan (2002), who studied honour systems in Palestinian groups in Israel. Hasan (2002) shows that a shift towards an increasingly capitalist society has given Palestinian women in honour systems access to employment and wages, however this has not increased their freedom, rather, in some cases, the opposite. Hasan reports that some women must hand over their

wages to their father in exchange for being permitted to work, and are given pocket money (Hasan, 2002). Going to work can increase threats to women – and can result in honour killing – as they risk interacting with strangers on their way to and from work, potentially endangering family honour (Hasan, 2002). Banks (2013) shows a similar development for women in poor families in Dhaka, Bangladesh in a study that aimed to investigate the impact of wage labour on the prevalence of honour-based violence. By taking on greatly underpaid work in the textile industry, they are adding a new form of hard labour to their already precarious lives in their families (Banks, 2013). The examples of unqualified labour by women, including in factories, restaurants and the like, seem to increase their exposure to honour-based violence, while university education and work in higher status occupations mitigates honour norms and decreases incidents of violence.

WAR AND STATE OCCUPATION

A survey by researchers at medical and public health institutions conducted in two territories characterised by long-standing war and conflict, the Occupied Palestinian Territory and Afghanistan, revealed patterns linking honour killings and poverty (Gibbs et al., 2019). The study is based on the hypotheses that honour killings are more likely to happen in families where women and girls are exposed to greater levels of violence generally, in areas where patriarchal norms are strong and where levels of poverty are high. The data in the study consisted of 1,461 interviews with women in Afghanistan and 535 with women in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. The results revealed that married Afghan women associated honour killing with borrowing due to hunger and the need for close economic ties with others to access money in emergencies. Moreover, women associated honour killings with pervasive violence within the family, intimate partner violence and violence by a mother-in-law. Unmarried Afghan women associated honour killing with close economic ties to others to enable easier access to money in emergency situations, pervasive violence by parents and/or siblings, childhood trauma and patriarchal norms. In the Occupied Palestinian Territory, intimate partner violence and borrowing money were perceived as risks for married women. For unmarried women, borrowing because of hunger was associated with a higher risk of exposure to violence. The study concludes that honour killings are associated with pervasive patterns of violence at all levels of everyday life, as well as with patriarchy and poverty. The researcher recommends further research to address the root causes and opportunities for prevention of honour killing (Gibbs et al., 2019).

Hasan (2002) shows that Palestinian women in honour-centred families in Israel face difficulties when seeking refuge from their families due to a threat of honour killing, because the Israeli Police and judges do not protect them. Instead, Hasan (2002) writes, the institutions of the Israeli state contribute to the maintenance of family honour among Palestinians. The mechanism behind increasing rates of honour killings in the area, Hasan (2002) claims, is the Israeli laissez-faire and culturally relativist approach to multiculturalism, which contributes to the continuity of tribal and customary law. Hence, mobility and independence from the family, which are so important to escaping

the grip of patriarchy, become impossible. There is no freedom to gain for the person who has nowhere to go. By preventing the establishment of Palestinian legal institutions across the lines of local communities, or clans, the Israeli state contributes to maintaining the clan-based economy, law and honour-based violence in isolated parts of the Palestinian community.

SOCIOECONOMIC PATTERNS AMONGST VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS IN THE PROVINCE OF DIYARBAKIR, TÜRKIYE

One study investigated customary homicides (honour killing) across 9,961 cases in the Diyarbakir Criminal High Court 2007-2012 (Yilmaz et al., 2015). Of these cases, 28 were treated as customary homicides (the same as honour killings internationally). The cases were analysed with regard to the gender, age, marital status, occupation and education level of the perpetrators and victims, as well as the location the homicide took place, motives, methods, relationships between the victims and perpetrators and the dates of the homicides (Yilmaz et al., 2015). The research was conducted by forensic scientists and criminologists.

The study revealed that both victims and perpetrators were at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder, primarily measured by gender and occupation. Of the female victims, ten were housewives, six were unemployed and one was a worker. Of the male victims, four were farmers, three shopkeepers, two workers and two were unemployed. All the perpetrators were male. Of the perpetrators, 12 were farmers, ten shopkeepers, six unemployed, three drivers, two workers and one was a student. Nine perpetrators were illiterate, while the others had some degree of education. Two of the perpetrators were ex-convicts.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, URBANISATION AND MARGINALISATION

In a quantitative study of 6,002 fifteen-year-old pupils in Swedish metropolitan cities, Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm, Strid et al. (2021) show that inequalities and intersecting forms of isolation at the micro, meso and macro levels lead to segregation in various areas. The pupils answered a comprehensive survey examining the prevalence and patterns of honour-based violence through self-reported experiences. The analysis draws on intersectional feminist studies of violence and situates honour-based violence at the intersections of gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. The paper finds higher levels of various forms of violence and control, including physical, psychological and sexual, among young people who live with honour norms. The prevalence of violence increases with each of the forms of isolation explored in the paper. The concepts of isolation and mobility are developed within and between groups at the family, community and societal levels. Several of the findings described above could be understood in the light of the forces of isolation and mobility respectively. Forces of isolation create tightly knit social groups by pressing them together, while forces of mobility, under some circumstances, can serve as a mitigating influence, limiting the patriarchal and hierarchical power of honour norms. The Swedish researchers are not the first to have applied combinations of feminist and Durkheimian

theory to identify the mechanisms – the roots and causes – underlying honour-based violence, as shown in the subsections above.

In the following section, Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008) reason about the impact of ideas on behaviour. As stated at the beginning of this section, change requires knowledge of an alternative. We would add to this that our desires are meditated by the ideas that guide our thoughts and actions.

What we think matters for what we do

For women at-risk in Eastern cultures, the bounds of modern liberalism can be questioned in terms of their opportunities to recognise the women's situation (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008). As explained in the above section, suicides among women in the Batman region can be understood as anomic, but, as the researchers state, anomie cannot fully explain the phenomenon of honour suicide in itself, given that it is the result of structural turmoil (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008). Understanding that, we must also address the ideas that motivate actions when trying to formulate solutions and ways out for vulnerable persons living in this turmoil. Accordingly, Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008) question the impact of dominant, modern liberal theories, which cannot in themselves guide work against honour killings effectively. The reason is because liberal ideas position the individual at the centre of society, demanding widespread acceptance of the norms that confer independent agency, choice and individual autonomy. These high standards of individual autonomy require a developed welfare state beyond the family, to which an autonomous individual can turn in lieu of family. Only in developed state welfare systems can individuals access autonomy. Such agency, characterised by autonomous choice, is not accessible for most women in regions where honour norms are strong, for instance the Batman region (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).

By only focusing on *individual freedom*, capability and agency, Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008) argue, liberals neglect to consider the importance of *interdependency*, freedom and agency. The so-called capability approach, developed by the political philosopher Martha Nussbaum, pinpoints this and the realities of interdependency, such as norms of taking care of others and not only oneself. The problem with an approach based exclusively on individual freedom is that in conservative social contexts, which honour systems are per definition, there is an emphasis on gendered dependency between family members. In such contexts, women's choices arise from traditional obligations. At the moment of action in that specific context, she does not have the necessary freedom for individual choice, no matter how much one could wish for it. It is only the liberated individual, empowered by access to the necessary socioeconomic resources, that can identify themself as the 'I' who can make relatively free choices. The traditional woman in Batman is no such person. She is first and foremost a daughter, a sister, a wife or a bride in her husband's family. That is why her choices depend on those of her kin. Consequently, the liberal understanding of the individual underestimates the strength of interdependency regarding choice and preferences.

Hence, in some circumstances, for a woman to preserve her self-respect or her kin's honour is to be able to pursue her own perception of the good (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).

It is important to consider the complexity of existing cultural practices and the depth of cultural diversity, which for non-Western societies might include freedom of religion. Some liberal feminists think that they advocate for the rights of 'brown' women by protecting them from 'brown' men only (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008). This is related to questions of what constitutes justice or a just society. By considering this approach in their public policies, policymakers could surmount the challenging factors that lead Batman women to kill themselves.

Problems such as poverty, low levels of education, armed conflict and violations of human rights must be solved and the patriarchal grip overcome. "The other important problem of modern liberal equality theories is that most of them display a defective understanding of independent agency choice and individual autonomy. If we consider this problem within our patriarchal framework of conservative case boundaries, we can easily see that by allowing women's agency, in other words by letting Batman's women pursue their own good (i.e. to save her family's honour or to save her own self-respect), we would not adequately challenge the deeply entrenched gender discriminative practices of this region" (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008, p. 19-20). This is why Karacay Cakmak and Altuntas (2008) question the bounds of modern liberalism for Eastern cultures; it is necessary to fully recognise the situation of individuals and enable adequate support for a life of safety and freedom of choice.

We will now provide some final thoughts before summarising this section on *Continuity, diversity and change*. We present a list of implications presented by the authors of the articles, as well as suggestions for future research, as formulated in the articles.

Implications: Continuity, diversity and change

The following is an overview of the implications suggested by the researchers who conducted the studies. The implications are presented under the following themes: *Protection of women at-risk*, *The role of policy for social change*, *Law* and *Education*. We then provide a summary of this section.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AT-RISK

- Provide women at-risk with access to the individual help they need, such as safe housing and safe passage to other cities where they can live more freely. The development of witness protection programmes is also important (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001).
- Women's shelters are needed for women who see suicide as their only way out or an alternative to honour killing. Governments need to take precautions and not leave this responsibility to NGOs (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008; van Bergen et al., 2021).

- Culturally and gender-sensitive services for survivors of domestic violence and early intervention and/or detection processes for young women at-risk are required (van Bergen et al., 2021).
- The research reveals that female employment represents not so much a choice but, rather, an absence of choice in the context of the high costs of urban living and the insecurity of urban livelihoods in traditional settings. Given the precarious situation of women workers, it is important to support household solidarity and cooperation between spouses to prevent honour-based violence and other types of gendered violence (Banks, 2013).
- The close connections between all forms of family violence and 'honour killing' suggest that prevention efforts should be targeted at preventing violence in families more generally, as well as 'honour killing' specifically (Gibbs et al., 2019).

THE ROLE OF POLICY FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

- Eliminate the social and economic roots of honour killing (Sev'er and Yurdakul, 2001).
- All types of discriminatory policies, primarily ethnic discrimination, must be abandoned and the primacy of democracy and human rights established (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).
- A sole focus on sexism and fundamentalism as causes of honour killing can backfire by further stigmatising certain groups, increasing reliance on social informal control through traditional codes of honour. An effective approach requires combatting the exclusion of minorities and stigmatisation (Heydari et al., 2021).
- Governments must quickly implement economic policies to combat economic underdevelopment, unemployment and income distribution-related problems (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).
- Juridical and political action are required to prevent human rights violations against women in honour contexts and prevent suicidal actions (van Bergen et al., 2021).
- Prevention of 'honour killings' needs to be an explicit development goal to be achieved by changing patriarchal gender norms, reducing poverty and removing the impunity of perpetrators (Gibbs et al., 2019).
- In Israel, the elimination of honour killings requires change at the societal level, where poverty and rapid modernisation have led to higher rates of femicide among diverse Arab subgroups (Dayan, 2021). Further, the Israeli government should end policies of occupation, segregation and violence at all levels and stop blaming people for a culture they cannot change under conditions of occupation (Hasan, 2002).
- Mixed marriages need to be encouraged to overcome prevailing barriers among Indian communities that negatively affect socioeconomic progress within Indian society. Mixed marriages can be promoted as a critical indicator of socioeconomic integration in society (Goli et al., 2013).
- National and local politics must play a vital role in reducing isolation and increasing mobility within and between communities, families and individuals. Reducing

isolation helps prevent honour-based violence and challenge honour norms (Strid et al., 2021).

- Applying concepts such as the right to individual choice as a means of reducing early marriage and advancing women's emancipation in international development efforts is ineffective. Instead, initiatives that engage people and caregivers so that communities may revise narratives of respectability, marriageability and social standing should be developed (Miedema et al., 2021).
- Concepts of the right to individual choice for women in regions where there is limited access to welfare outside the family should be developed according to Martha Nussbaum's capability approach. Nussbaum urges the recognition of not only individual freedom, capability and agency, but also *interdependency*, capability and agency while caring for both oneself and others (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).
- In spite of juridical regulations and precautions established to prevent violence against women, femicide has not stopped. This proves that the problem is structural in nature. Thus, ending this problem requires additional reforms and the establishment of new policies with the ultimate aim of reconstructing society (Cetin, 2015).

LAW

- Sentences for honour killings and honour-based violence in Türkiye should be reduced, because inflicting the maximum punishment may provide a disincentive (Yilmaz et al., 2015).
- State governments should encourage inter-caste marriages and provide legal protection for them. Federal and state governments in India should propose a separate legal act to prevent or stop honour-related killings, which are often difficult to prove in court due to a lack of conclusive evidence, allowing perpetrators to avoid prosecution. Police stations should have a special cell or team of experts to deal with honour-related violence or murder (Nallathambi, 2023).

EDUCATION

- Suicide prevention efforts should address cultural attitudes underlying violence against women and girls through community education programmes, cultural- and gender-sensitive care provision and jurisdiction. School education, education campaigns, religious bodies and mosques must be used as an instrument of policy for redefining honour in society (Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).
- Stakeholders such as government institutions, nongovernmental organisations, universities, and the media need to be educated to understand the impact of illiteracy, poverty and low education (Bangash et al., 2018; Huda & Kamal, 2019; Yilmaz et al., 2015).
- In India, awareness of inter-caste marriage should be included in curricula in schools, colleges and universities. The education system should also collaborate with the national social welfare department to create a caste desensitisation programme to reduce honour-related violence (Nallathambi, 2023).

- Provision of equal opportunities should be implemented through the incorporation of reading materials in syllabi regarding social equity, harmony and integration with emphasis on gender equity (Bangash et al., 2018).

FUTURE RESEARCH ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLES

- Future research could explore what findings on the direct effects of poverty, immobility and isolation mean outside of the Israeli and Arab contexts studied by Dayan (2021). Dayan states that we are far from understanding the particular way these observed social factors interact and influence the frequency of honour killings. Further qualitative and quantitative analysis is needed. Furthermore, the mapping and investigation of additional social factors that may play a role should be pursued (Dayan, 2021).
- Further research is needed to investigate variable relationships that have not been assessed. For example, the researchers were unable to identify whether alcohol plays a role in family violence in Jordan because most students reported that their families spent little or no money on alcohol/drugs. This suggests that alcohol may not be a correlate in Jordan, unlike the US for example (Araji & Carlsson, 2001).
- To understand gender problems, future work must take into account economic conditions and other social categories such as race, culture, ethnicity or class (Karacay Cakmak & Altuntas, 2008).
- Future studies of early marriage should include further cross-cultural ethnographic research to identify differences in degrees and manifestations of shame/honour and the context-specific ramifications of a potential loss of honour for young women depending on their location, family members and broader community (Miedema et al., 2021).
- Research that aims to explain honour-based violence must take into account interactions between individuals, families and society as a whole. Thus, the focus must shift from culture or sex/gender to a feminist intersectional understanding of violence, combined with theories of integration, to reveal how exposure to honour-based violence and oppression is based on more complex notions of social categorisation and structural inequality and processes of integration by which mechanisms of isolation, in various forms, affect exposure to honour-based violence. In contrast to approaches to violence that focus only on cultural or sex/gender, the researchers approach conceptualises violence and captures violent practices as being transformed by the crossing of multiple borders, that is, by mobility (Strid et al., 2021).

Summary

As indicated by the title of this section, honour-based violence is characterised by continuity, diversity and change. Honour-based violence often stems from similar value systems, and while there are common structural factors that result in this type of violence, the contexts in which it occurs are empirically diverse. In other words, honour-based violence has both universal and context-specific characteristics. In any case, to prevent and eliminate honour-based violence, it is essential to identify and

address the conditions that enable it to thrive and the contexts in which it can be dismantled.

Most articles mention that social and legislative measures, at both national and international levels, that aim to further progress in combating violence against women and girls are insufficient if not combined with other efforts. That is because addressing honour-based violence requires multifaceted solutions that incorporate cultural, political and economic dimensions, as has been outlined in the summaries in the previous parts of this report. For example, most policies in the studied countries emphasise legislative reform, which is commendable but, as previously stated, insufficient on its own. So, what is it that the researchers are unsatisfied with? What else is needed? Generally, it is argued that the conditions from which honour norms and honour-based violence arise are known, understood and recognised.

The conditions from which honour norms and honour-based violence arise are, in Western political discourse, often understood as expressions of specific cultures, religions and sexism. The articles in this section argue that common explanations for honour-based violence, based on culture, religion and sexism, are insufficient. For example, although both religion and sexism are key factors in the justification of honour killings, neither is a sufficient explanation of the phenomenon. The common view that honour killings are practised by Muslims (in the East) and not Christians (in the West) is criticised as being both orientalist and stigmatising and exacerbating the real factors that contribute to honour killing. Religion is commonly an expression of strong collective cohesion, which is the case of honour systems and other tightly knit groups. Hence it is the result, rather than a predictor, of social cohesion. When the societal conditions change, so does religion. History is teeming with examples of this. The researchers generally identify important similarities and differences between countries in terms of concepts and manifestations of shame and honour, arguing almost universally that the problem of honour-based violence must be understood in the light of socioeconomic hierarchies and inequalities that shape absolute patriarchy, traditional culture, fundamentalist religion and honour norms, as well as the violence they legitimate. Accordingly, targeting absolute patriarchy, traditional culture and fundamentalist religion will be unsuccessful if the conditions from which honour norms and honour-based violence remain untouched. Unfortunately, it is exactly this dynamic that is described in all the articles, in one way or another. As such, rates of femicide and honour killings continue to increase.

Notwithstanding this increase, several researchers argue that all killings described as honour killings have other key underlying causes and could have been perpetrated in different contexts. The researchers emphasise the following explanations for increasing rates of honour killings and femicide in general:

- Illiteracy and low education
- Poverty
- War and occupation

- Migration
- Urbanisation
- Patriarchy
- Precarious labour conditions for men and women, in which women face worse conditions in the tension between traditional/patriarchal/family-collective life conditions and modern/individualist values and demands
- Old economic and social institutions are destroyed and new have not yet arisen which results in anomie

The research in the articles in this section reflect the researchers' commitment to understanding and explaining the socioeconomic conditions that foster honour norms and honour-based violence, as well as the changes these norms are currently undergoing. Overall, the studies conclude that honour norms and honour-based violence are most deeply entrenched in regions marked by limited resources and widespread poverty, specifically the immobility effects resulting from poverty. One example is honour-based violence and honour killings in high-caste contexts in India due to a generational shift that has resulted in an increase of inter-caste love marriages. It is reasonable to suggest that complex and interrelated mechanisms are found in the intersections of various forms of isolation, seclusion, marginalisation and stigmatisation that result in segregation.

One important sociocultural factor in the prevalence and increase in honour killings is changing economic conditions, for example in Türkiye, Bangladesh, the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Sweden and other countries. This is a common characteristic with diverse expressions and logics depending on the context.

Several articles deal with disruptions of culture and norms in the wake of rapid economic change. Researchers state that rapid modernisation and social change driven by neoliberalism has destroyed old social orders without replacing them. Thus, much of what is usually understood as honour-based violence has anomic roots and causes. It is not, they argue, a result of culture or religion but the undermining of a normative order that liberal individualism cannot replace, either in socioeconomically deprived areas in developing countries or in European metropolitan areas.

Further, it is important to mention the boundaries between gender-based violence in general and honour-based violence in particular. Several articles in this section highlight such boundaries by adhering strictly to definitions of honour-based violence and honour killing. The central understanding in the research of the difference between general gender-based violence and honour-based violence in particular is that honour-based violence is, most commonly, committed towards women and girls by their own blood kin, usually male family members, who do not approve of their sexual behaviour. By contrast, other gender-based violence is, most commonly, perpetrated by a partner as an individual act. Whether due to passion, tradition or religion, it is still an individual act. The research mentions that men can also be victims, although this is rarer because the

murder of a women by her own blood kin has a 'cheaper price tag' for the family. In the case of adultery, for example, murdering a man who has been involved in an affair could trigger an avalanche of vengeance and blood feuds. Hence, women are sacrificed at the altar of honour.

Finally, it is important to note that the destruction of the economic, political and social fabric of society because of war, migration, urbanisation and segregation has contributed dramatically to the increased power of local communities that apply codes of honour for social control, both in the East and in the West. These conditions resemble the conditions of poor societal integration at large, by which entire societies lack the power and/or the will to offer equal life conditions for everyone in accordance with wordings in Human Rights conventions, which could embrace everyone, child and adult, alike.

Effects of discourses on service provision

Two of the clusters presented in Part I of this report – Clusters 1 and 3 – describe research strands focused on discourses surrounding honour-based violence and how these impact policy measures. The studies highlight an ever-present dilemma: how to recognise violence against and within ethnic minority groups without stigmatising the very same groups. This can be seen as an important point of departure in the research in this section as well, but with a focus on practical implications for victims and service providers. This strand of research is interested in how operative service providers work, how victims and service providers are affected by discourses and representations surrounding honour-based violence and what is needed to better meet the needs of victims.

As stated in the previous chapter, discourse affects how we think and what we do. This is not a one-way effect but rather an interactive process – what we do affects our thoughts and discourse. In this section, articles that investigate practical work against honour-based violence and how that work is affected by discourses surrounding honour-based violence are examined. This can be understood as the next step in a trickle-down effect, where discourses influence policy that in turn influence practical work performed by operative service providers, such as school staff, police, anti-violence staff, NGOs. This dynamic, of course, also occurs the other way around: what is done in practical work can also influence discourse on an issue. This can be seen in interactions in work at all levels, but this section will focus specifically on the effects of discourse on service provision.

This section builds on 10 articles selected for their focus on the effects of discourse on service providers' work against honour-based violence. In the first step, all abstracts coded as being focused on discourses on honour-based violence (138) were read, guided by whether the study object was the effects of discourses on practical work. In total, 45 abstracts where coded in this category. It was apparent that most of these studied effects at the policy level, a theme covered earlier in the report. Overall, 13 abstracts focused on

effects at the service-provision level. After reading the full texts, 10 articles remained, which are covered here. The articles included in this section are from a variety of disciplines: Social Work, Education, Anthropology, Criminology, Sociology, Law and Cultural Geography. The vast majority of these studies use qualitative methods. Many of these studies are based on interviews with professionals and some on interviews with victims. One article includes an observation study in addition to interviews. Some of these studies explicitly link the empirical studies to in-depth theoretical frameworks, while others mainly investigate how concepts are understood and affect service provision. The loci of the empirical studies are exclusively Western Europe and North America, namely Canada, Finland, the Netherlands, the UK and Sweden. These are all countries that have seen an increase in migration in recent decades and have relatively large immigrant ethnic minority populations. All these studies share a focus on how minority and majority groups in society can live together in Western countries.

A variety of forms of violence are present in the studies. Most investigate practical work aimed at giving support to victims of what is broadly defined as honour-based violence. One study (Phillips, 2012) investigates an NGO's interventions against forced marriage. The service providers covered in the studies include anti-violence operators (Abji & Korteweg, 2019, 2021; Della Rocca & Zinn, 2019; Lidman & Hong, 2018), social workers (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024), police, local councils, women's refuges, hospitals and sexual assault referral centres, NGOs (Walker, 2020) and school staff, including principals, school nurses, counsellors and student health teams (Odenbring et al., 2015) and student welfare staff (Gruber, 2011). In most of the articles, the victims interviewed or referred to by service providers are young women from ethnic minority backgrounds; in one case the victim is a man. In the two articles focused on school staff (Gruber, 2011; Odenbring et al., 2015), the focus is on children, mainly girls, as victims of honour-based violence and other forms of domestic violence.

Discourses based on simplified representations

Understandings of honour-based violence, not least in politics and media, have direct consequences for practical work and victims of honour-based violence, in terms of the kind of support offered and to whom. The articles consistently critique simplified understandings of the phenomena honour-based violence, arguing that it often leads to stereotyping and limited or counter-productive support for victims. It also leads to stereotypical notions of, for example, who is seen as a 'typical victim of honour-based violence', resulting in some victims being excluded and certain instances of violence being mischaracterised as honour based. The articles focus on different understandings and concepts, but a common trait is that the authors call for more nuanced discourses and accuracy in the use of concepts, as these have direct consequences for how service providers can support victims of honour-based and other forms of violence.

Culture and the culturalisation of honour-based violence are recurring themes in the articles (Walker, 2020; Baianstovu & Strid, 2024; Abji & Korteweg, 2019, 2021). Walker describes the 'culturalisation of violence' as a process through which culture is credited

as being the sole and principal cause of violence, and that has resulted in 'honour'-based violence being commonly (mis)understood and (mis)interpreted as an imported cultural practice unique to particular black, Asian and minority ethnic communities living in the West (Walker, 2020). Furthermore, she claims that the culturalisation of violence has real and significant implications for legislative and policy responses to honour-based violence/abuse – responses that frequently fail to adequately address the intersectional needs of victims/survivors (Walker, 2020).

Baianstovu and Strid (2024) elaborate on the concept of culturalisation in a similar way. They describe some understandings of honour-based violence as focused solely on culture, assuming that culture is the most important factor in explaining violence among people from parts of the Middle East and Africa. Such perspectives explain honour-based violence as a form of embodied culture, where individuals risk becoming representatives of a fixed culture. It is argued that this contributes to reinforcing boundaries between 'us' and 'them' by cementing honour as an inherent cultural essence that exists outside of socioeconomic generative mechanisms. In this way, the cultural perspective has become culturalism, namely a culturally based racism, which serves to create a moral distinction between better and worse people. While biologically based racism legitimises moral differentiation through biology, culturalism does so through culture. Both have colonial and postcolonial roots. The cultural perspective that dominates media debates and politics in contemporary Sweden, the locus of this study, is referred to in the paper as culturalisation (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024). It is argued the stereotypes constructed by culturalising images of nation, gender, age, religion and sexuality constitute forms of violence in themselves and decrease service users trust in society and its institutions. The stereotypes that develop hinder social workers' capacity to provide support for those exposed to violence (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024).

Abji and Korteweg (2019; 2021) argue along similar lines when they use the concept of *culture talk*, described as "an attempt to politicise culture" in the interest of Western imperialism. Culture talk reinforces the idea that certain cultures are barbaric and require Western intervention, thus acting as the direct opposite of cultural relativism in its rendering of the superiority of Western culture (Abji & Korteweg, 2019). Culture talk has been used to explain acts of terrorism as the presence of Muslim minorities grows in the West and to justify the War on Terror. As a response to violence against women, culture talk positions Muslim, immigrant and racialised men as being more prone to violence, rendering women from these communities 'imperilled' subjects who require saving through state surveillance and punitive controls (Abji & Korteweg, 2021). The authors show, through previous research as well as their own findings, how these uses of culture impede women's ability to access social, civil and human rights. When inequality is combined with cultural stigmatisation, immigrant women and girls experiencing violence may fail to seek help, risk having their needs misunderstood, face overt and covert discrimination from service providers or fear being ostracised by their own communities in trying to access services (Abji & Korteweg, 2021).

At the same time, Abji and Korteweg state that culture must not be taken out of the equation. They use the phrasing "culture as meaning-making" to target the ways in which culture is dynamic and continually shifting, rather than being a static, deterministic or unitary force (Abji & Korteweg, 2021). It is argued that culture, as an analytical category, show socially embedded processes of meaning-making in which every act of violence and every response to violence has a multiscalar context. In this context, culture is elaborated on as a continual and complex set of processes, through which we can understand our own subjectivity, our sense of relationship with others and the relationships between individuals, institutions and social, political and economic forces (Abji & Korteweg, 2021).

Abji and Korteweg argue that culture as meaning-making informs all practices of violence, whether perpetrated by majority or minority members of society. These processes of meaning-making also condition all responses to violence at the individual and institutional levels. The authors argue that analytical attention towards processes of culture as meaning-making will give additional insight into the multiscalar forces associated with state power, the political economy and migration regimes that shape expressions of and responses to gender-based violence in all its forms (Abji & Korteweg, 2021).

Phillips (2012) discusses Edward Said's ideas about Orientalism. One of Said's foundational claims is that the Orient is 'almost a European invention' (Said, 1978); he describes the Orient as an invented, discursive construct. Phillips (2012) argues that 'intolerant others' – who force their daughters and sisters into forced marriages and sometimes kill those who refuse or who break their codes of honour – are inventions of this type. European identity has historically been defined by contrasting the West with an imagined 'East', often portrayed as morally and sexually divergent. This dynamic, rooted in Orientalism, has evolved over time. While earlier depictions emphasised sensuality and decadence, modern representations focus on moral rigidity and homophobia. The focus on moral and sexual attitudes and customs persists in the assertion that sexual attitudes lie at the heart of a gulf between East and West, North and South, or Black and White. This gulf is articulated through a series of representations and debates about marriage, veiling, female circumcision, polygamy, women's roles and same-sex sexuality (Phillips, 2012). Attitudes towards sexuality are described as being mobilised to define and widen gaps between Muslims and others. Muslim minorities in Western countries are often portrayed as illiberal outsiders, characterised by narratives that emphasise their moral and, in particular, sexual practices as being intolerant and careless of individual rights concerning sexuality and relationships (Phillips, 2012). Phillips, like many other authors in this field, quotes Sherene Razack with respect to function of these discourses: "The body of the Muslim woman, a body fixed in the western imaginary as confined, mutilated, and sometimes murdered in the name of culture, serves to reinforce the threat that the Muslim man is said to pose to the West" (Razack, 2004, p. 130).

The related concept of 'othering' is also central in several of the articles (Phillips, 2012; Gruber, 2011; Rocca & Zinn, 2019). Efforts to tackle 'honour-related' violence are closely linked to safeguarding values that belong to 'us.' Those outside 'us', the 'others', are depicted as not sharing universal values and as having made no contribution to the advancement of human rights and gender equality. Rather, they are seen as a threat to these values (Gruber, 2011). Gruber, who interviews school staff in Sweden, describes how this reasoning creates a divide between civilised 'Swedes' and cultural 'others' whose values are considered incompatible with 'our' civilisation. In other words, the 'others' are associated with cultures whose values are unacceptable to 'us' (Gruber, 2011). Gruber states, with reference to previous research, that there is a problematic discourse in media and policy documents, in which 'honour-related' violence is normalised as common in some cultures, that is 'traditional' or 'patriarchal' cultures. Migrant men are represented as violent in this discourse, while migrant women are represented as oppressed by men from these cultures and as victims of this violence. Thus, it not only presents 'Swedish' men and women as being modern and equal in their relationships but also obscures the violence of 'Swedish' men against women.

Gruber's analysis also shows how nation and gender are constructed in relation to 'honour-related' violence and 'Swedish' gender equality. She finds the presence of strong military language in the quotations from her interviews hard to ignore. Terms like 'barricades', 'attacking' and 'protecting' suggest that something important is at risk, that there is a war in which 'our' values are under threat and require defence. Efforts to combat 'honour-related' violence are woven together with a defence of the values that belong to 'us' (Gruber, 2011).

Consequences for service provision and victims

In many of the studies that investigate how discourses affect service provision, the researchers point out that their aim is not to criticise service providers. On the contrary, it is present in the interview studies that there are many operative service providers committed to supporting victims exposed to honour-based violence with the best possible tools available. Yet, narratives and discourses affect all levels of governance, from policy to guidelines for social workers. This, together with structural conditions for service providers, often marked by a lack of time and resources, may lead to restrictions in what these tools are and limitations in the types of support that can be envisioned by victims and service providers alike.

Several of the articles feature cases in which professionals wrongly characterise domestic violence as honour-based violence, solely based on the race of the victim and/or perpetrator (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024; Walker, 2020; Odenbring, 2015). One aspect brought up in a number of articles is the effect of the discourse of culturalisation that results in honour-based violence being equated with the culture where it takes place – if it is an ethnic minority culture in a Western country.

One study consists of interviews with victims/survivors and operative service providers, such as police, local councils, women's refuges, hospitals, sexual assault referral centres and anti-violence NGOs, in 'rural' areas in South West England (Walker, 2020). These locations are conceptualised as 'safe white spaces' to relocate black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) victims/survivors away from the reach of their 'problematic' cultures. Many of the service providers interviewed appeared to regard the physical removal and relocation of BAME victims/survivors as the most viable solution. The need for BAME victims/survivors to relocate was often connected to the assumed problematic nature of their culture as a whole. One service provider stated: "A person can flee a 'normal' domestic situation and … they can still integrate into the local community. Whereas with honour-based violence, they can't do that, they have to stay away from everything to do with their own culture" (Walker, 2020, p. 383). The findings show that victims of honour-based violence, or perceived honour-based violence, face extensive victimisation. The impact of culturalised narratives means that BAME victims/survivors are at risk of re-victimisation not just in one sense but two: first, by a system that forces them to make an impossible choice between their physical safety and cultural identity, and, second, by relocating them to a 'safe white space' in which, as the cultural 'other', they are seen as a 'problematic service user'.

One concrete effect of the culturalisation of violence is that it often places BAME victims/survivors in a tough position in which they are forced to make an impossible choice: stay in a violent situation or seek help and accept re-victimisation and the reality of being without community and family. This was the reality faced by the BAME victims/survivors interviewed in this study. When culture is seen as the underlying problem, the priority becomes the physical removal of women of colour from their 'problematic' cultures. All but one BAME victim/survivor in the study – who never sought professional support at the time of their abuse – were advised to cut all ties to family, friends and cultural communities (Walker, 2020).

The interviews provided evidence of victims/survivors being relocated to rural areas and told to cut all ties with their cultures and families, even when the offender was a spouse who acted alone and the violence was not legitimised by the rest of the family. Many of the victims/survivors stated feelings of severe social as well as cultural isolation. Many struggled to maintain their cultural identity after having been forced to cut ties with their former lives. The cultural isolation appeared particularly acute for those relocated to rural communities, where there is often an increased pressure on BAME 'outsiders' to 'fit in'. Furthermore, while issues in rural areas can affect the ability of any victim or survivor to resettle, such as limited access to social housing and employment opportunities, access to multicultural facilities is also likely to be more limited in rural areas, which can further compound the difficulties of resettling for BAME victims/survivors. An inability to access multicultural facilities, such as places of worship and food or clothes shops, was often linked to a deeper loss of cultural identity and heritage (Walker, 2020).

Rocca and Zinn (2019) also investigate the consequences of stereotyping discourses in relation to anti-violence operators' perceptions of honour-based violence. Their article examines how anti-violence workers at three women's shelters in Italy perceive 'honour-based violence' through interviews (Rocca & Zinn, 2019). The Italian context is described as one in which honour was once deeply rooted in the culture but is now seen as less prominent. Despite this, shelter workers reflect on how honour still plays a role in gender-based violence. They describe it as a distinct but related phenomenon to that experienced by the young migrant-origin women they worked with at the shelters who were victims of honour-based violence. The authors describe how two interrelated ways of defining honour, as rooted in traditional Italian culture and related to the experiences of young migrant-origin women, present a set of dichotomous categories. Here-there emerges as the first dichotomous category, casting a temporal elsewhere 'here', in South Italy, and a geographical elsewhere 'there' in the Global South. Here, in the Italian context, honour is implicit because it is rooted in the past. The here-there dichotomy by which so-called honour-based violence manifests corresponds to the implicit-explicit, present-past and modern-traditional dichotomies. This set of dichotomies reveals how anti-violence operators attribute honour-based violence to a cultural 'other'.

The study also analyses how anti-violence workers use othering as a self-defence strategy. They view cases of honour-based violence among young migrant women as more dangerous and emotionally distressing than cases involving women victims of domestic violence by Italian partners, whose suffering is perceived as being more closely related to Italian society and its specific discriminating factors.

Two factors – the danger and psychological conflict experienced by young women facing honour-based violence – trigger a high level of emotional distress in the operators, who struggle to understand why the victims they encounter place so much importance on honour, leading them to see honour-based violence as stemming from a system of meanings that is 'other' to their own. This distancing allows them to avoid the emotional and professional challenges posed by honour-based violence and how it conflicts with their existing understanding of gender-based violence and women's empowerment.

Despite their struggles, operators try to adapt their principles to the experiences of different women. However, the complexity of honour-based violence, involving psychological distress, family dynamics and transnational issues, can lead them to search for easier responses to this phenomenon. These are based on stereotyped understandings of culture among 'others', which mirror the common representation of gender-based violence within non-Western countries.

The authors claim that discourses in Italy and the rest of the Western world are populist and based on reductionist representations. These also relate to religion, especially Islam, in which Muslim women are viewed as victims by definition. Such a perspective represents them as subjects without history, as well as the main object of the current clash of civilisations discourse. This risks excusing discriminatory migration policies,

another effect of said discourse (Rocca & Zinn, 2019). Rocca and Zinn claim that inter-cultural variations instead need to be understood in all their complexities. A bundle of factors shape migrant women's engendered identities and the options they require to empower themselves: legal status, age, education, language competence, economic circumstances, relationships with their family of origin and religion (before and after leaving their countries), political and social engagement in their countries of origin or in Italy, social network in Italy and the specific perception on gender relationships in their contexts of origin (or those of their parents). Additionally, the nature of the Italian welfare system, in its relationship to the moral construction of gender within the 'traditional' Italian family as well as to the neoliberal economic crisis, determines the structures of inequality that affect migrant women who turn to Italian social and health services (Rocca & Zinn, 2019).

The authors call for further analysis in different contexts to provide new perspectives that can inform the understanding and application of CEDAW and the Istanbul Convention. They claim that women's shelters can play a significant role in providing intercultural spaces in which to develop anti-violence ethics and practices and offer alternative forms of solidary, helping to overcome the risk of slipping into neocolonial, paternalistic and dichotomous understandings of women's experiences (Rocca & Zinn, 2019).

Lidman and Hong (2018) investigate how honour-related violence is understood and managed by professional service providers in Finland. The authors emphasise the need to consider collectivity as an influential factor and introduce the concept of 'collective violence'. Through a survey, they investigate 111 Finnish anti-violence professionals' perceptions of honour-based violence and collectivity. The types of violence studied in this paper are perpetrated in communities that identify themselves, or are identified, as not being fully integrated into wider society. Acts of violence and control may be accepted, or even encouraged, if they are seen as a means for restoring honour, fighting shame and valuing shared social norms. In the media, as well as in policymaking, this type of violence is usually linked with Muslim immigrant communities, which the authors argue is problematic (Lidman & Hong, 2018). They point to the fact that different Muslim communities do not unanimously agree on meanings and content of honour. They also highlight that honour is an essential concept among many other cultural groups. The concept of collective violence is described largely based on, but not limited to, its honour-related dimensions (Lidman & Hong, 2018).

The authors reflect on the dilemma introduced in this chapter: linking concepts of honour, culture and violence leads to the labelling of minorities and is likely to endanger peaceful societal dialogues. At the same time, fear of being perceived as racist may also lead to exaggerated sensitivity, even resulting in a reluctance to admit the reality of violence. Lidman and Hong claim that it is crucial to articulate clearly that comparable dynamics of violence also occur among Christian minorities. The risk of violence increases when the decisions and behaviours of an individual conflict with collectivist

norms. In the study, collectivity is understood as both the context and one of the causes of honour-related violence (Lidman & Hong, 2018).

The findings of the survey demonstrate that honour-related violence and collective violence are poorly recognised in Finland and there is a lack of adequate structures to deal with these issues within both services for victims and the criminal justice system. In practice, the level of knowledge and experience also varies between professions and individual professionals. The results show that anti-violence operators who work as mediators do not have enough information on how collectivity, social pressure and perceptions of honour may influence victims and perpetrators. The authors claim that this variance is problematic from the perspective of victims' rights as it does not guarantee equal opportunities for individuals exposed to violence in accessing support. It is worth noting that even though many survey respondents felt capable of identifying different types of collective violence themselves, they estimated the general level of recognition among anti-violence professionals to be low. Nevertheless, the authors argue that all Finnish anti-violence workers need more education in the matter. This education should be regular, nationwide and mandatory, or at least easily accessible.

According to the researchers, it is evident that Finland has to improve its efforts in dealing with honour-related violence and collective violence, in terms of both prevention and punishment. New and more efficient measures to tackle different kinds of collective violence must be developed. This includes creating a reliable system for collecting statistics on honour-related crime and collective violence that occur in Finland. There is certainly a need to discuss whether the criminal code should be amended, or how it could be implemented in the contexts of forced marriage, female genital mutilation and forms of collective violence. Given the likelihood that the risk of violence persists even after a perpetrator has been sentenced, it is necessary to reconsider not only means of prevention in general but also how to handle recidivists and protect victims.

In conclusion, this paper encourages policymakers and legal authorities in particular to openly discuss the connections between cultural perceptions and violence without assigning labels. With this in mind, it is important to note that the elements of collectivity are relevant not only in cases of honour-related violence but should be considered in other cultural contexts as well. Multi-profession cooperation between the police, NGOs and the social, health and education sectors needs to be developed to better meet the requirements of collective violence and distinguish it from other types of violence.

Phillips (2012) argues that Muslims in Western countries are routinely portrayed as non-liberal minorities through depictions of homophobia, honour killings and forced marriages within their communities. He argues that this poses a practical challenge to confront non-liberal practices where they exist, without demonising an entire faith community. It also raises conceptual questions about mainstream Western values. In the context of forced marriage, liberal principles, such as the right of individuals to choose

their own partner and to decide whether or not to marry, seem to clash with postcolonial sensibilities, including the valorisation of multiculturalism which might recognise the rights of minorities to practice different marriage customs (Phillips, 2012). Phillips studies a Muslim non-governmental organisation that campaigns against forced marriage in Europe. The organisation is originally Dutch but has expanded into several European countries: Belgium, Spain, the UK, France, Germany and Italy. The organisation and its national and local partners have worked primarily with young would-be brides and grooms and their families, with the aim of supporting young peoples' choice of marriage partners and to ensure that marriages are entered into freely and happily, or not at all. The organisation also devotes considerable attention to media campaigns, complementing its work on forced marriage with press releases and public relations campaigns, the main aims of which are to raise awareness of the organisation's work among potential clients, and to communicate progressive and reformist movements within European Muslim communities to the wider society (Phillips, 2012). In his case study of this organisation, based on interviews and documentary research, Phillips seeks to answer the following questions: How is forced marriage being addressed within European Muslim communities through practical interventions? How are hegemonic constructions of Muslims as non-liberal others, characterised through practices such as forced marriage, being contested through representational politics?

Phillips points out the pros and cons of the organisation's work. The organisation has been praised for confronting forced marriage as, if not exactly a Muslim issue, an issue that affects Muslims and can be addressed in part by Muslim communities, and for abandoning the 'mantra' that forced marriage 'has nothing to do with Islam' (Phillips, 2012). According to Phillips, it can be argued that the organisation's interventions have been conservative, too concerned with consensus and anxious of potential conflict, particularly in their focus on mediating between parents and children in children's choice of marriage partner, rather than addressing the possibility that they may not want to marry or that they may want to find a same-sex partner. Some of the organisation's tactics have also been described as heavy-handed and insensitive to national and local contexts, as the organisation has expanded very rapidly. Phillips also claims that the organisations are not 'mere puppets of the governments that fund and work with them', but neither are they entirely autonomous, as their work is framed within a wider political context, which the author argues requires some critical awareness (Phillips, 2012).

The approach in this study can be seen as an example of what the author highlights as crucial: It is first after having disentangled real social problems from the discourses that cloud them, that it may be possible to speak to practical questions concerned not only with specific issues such as marriage but also broader questions about the governance of diversity (Phillips, 2012). Phillips argues that, by drilling through Orientalist constructions of intolerant and sexually and morally different otherness, it becomes possible to address the very real challenges of forced marriage faced by young men and women across Europe. At the same time, this approach can help to promote and articulate socially progressive interpretations of Islam. Challenging deeply entrenched worldviews allows for a rethinking of issues related to moral and sexual difference, as

well as the ways in which these matters can be regulated for the benefit of the most vulnerable members of society. It can also contribute to a fairer and more positive representation of the minority groups associated with these issues (Phillips, 2012).

SIMPLISTIC UNDERSTANDINGS CAN TREBLE VICTIMISATION

Walker argues that by forcing BAME victims/survivors into an impossible choice between professional support and their cultural identity, the culturalisation of violence removes their voice and agency, and therefore constitutes a more *symbolic* form of violence. Through the conflation of culture and violence, as well as the depiction of rural areas as safe 'white spaces', BAME victims/survivors are at risk of double victimisation by a system in which they become the cultural 'other'. In turn, this double victimisation produces a third form of victimisation. In viewing culture as the fundamental problem, not only are cultural attachments seen as inhibiting active engagement in collective (white) British citizenship, but the reluctance of BAME victims/survivors to relinquish such attachments is also seen by service providers as compromising their ability to adequately safeguard these victims/survivors from further harm and abuse. Consequently, these BAME victims/survivors – at least those unwilling to denounce their cultural identity – are constructed not simply as another service user with a problem but rather a 'problematic service user' (Walker, 2020).

One of Walker's conclusions is that it is a willingness of a victim or survivor to cut ties and be 'saved' that makes them deserving and an unwillingness to do so that makes them problematic. Yet, as this study shows, severance from cultural heritage and identity is both inherently flawed and equally traumatic for BAME victims/survivors. Not only does it neglect the intersectional needs of BAME victims/survivors, but in problematising culture as a whole, it also fails to acknowledge the importance of community and communal identity, as well as the development of personal support networks that can help to aid a victim's ongoing journey to survival. The author claims that culturalised narratives of violence will continue to result in policy, legislative and support responses that are destined to fail to meet the intersectional needs of those they are designed to protect (Walker, 2020).

Similar statements about how stereotypical and culturalised representations among service providers have negatively affected the support offered to victims are present in other studies as well. In a study by Baianstovu and Strid (2024), consisting of interviews with victims and social workers in Sweden, several consequences of stereotypes based in culturalisation are identified. One of the interviewed victims, a girl who reported experiencing honour-based violence, is critical of the culturalist discourse. She is grateful for the help she received but describes herself as "something as unusual as a successful honour case." During her years in sheltered housing, she saw girl after girl leaving care before their placements had formally ended because of stereotypical misunderstandings about their victimisation and needs. The main reason, she says, is that the other girls were faced with the demand that they never see their families again, which they could not bear. She, on the other hand, was never faced with such a demand: "They just said,

'Right now it is dangerous for you to see your family, but if you want to later, we'll support you the best we can"' (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024, p. 560).

Just like Walker, Abji and Korteweg (2019; 2021) emphasise the risk of revictimisation when victims of honour-based violence receive insufficient support from service providers. They claim that there is a high price for such a simplistic treatment of culture. The lack of recognition of cultural specificities by mainstream gender-based violence agencies can lead to 'revictimisation' in the form of shelters that are ill-equipped to handle women's needs. One advocate in their interview study, which focuses particularly on anti-violence operators who have long worked with the South Asian community in Canada (Abji & Korteweg, 2019, 2021), stated that many of the South Asian women she worked with had described their experience with different agencies as violent, in the sense of the woman being oppressed or not receiving information that could potentially have helped her. They claimed that it would have been better for them to live with their abuser than to be – in their terms – abused by these agencies.

The authors argue such concerns about revictimisation point to the critical need for more nuanced approaches to culture in anti-violence work, approaches that take seriously the systemic violence inflicted in categories such as 'honour' killing and 'honour'-based violence, without altogether rejecting recognition of the cultural specificities of violence. In other words, and to echo the concepts used by the authors, these concerns point to a need to move from monolithic culture talk to paying attention to nuanced processes of culture as meaning-making (Abji & Korteweg, 2021).

STEREOTYPES DETERMINE WHO GETS PROTECTION

Some of the studies identify the consequences of narrowly stereotyping who is seen as a 'real victim' and a 'real perpetrator' (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024; Abji & Korteweg , 2021). Abji and Korteweg state that in addition to the stigmatising and racialising effects of culturalisation, their study participants indicated that simplistic accounts, characteristic of culture talk, obscured the multiscalar nature of violence. This included problems associated with funding and the structural organisation of services that address gender-based violence within a system organised around narrow yet culturally dominant definitions of both the perpetrators of violence and their victims (Abji & Korteweg, 2021).

The study conducted by Baianstovu and Strid (2024), consisting of interviews with victims of violence and social workers in Sweden, identify several consequences of stereotypes based on culturalisation. The authors argue that society and social work overlook a wide range of experiences of honour-based violence, which can prevent certain groups of victims from seeking help. The empirical material reveals that boys, black women, men, adult women, older people and LGBTQ people are left unprotected, while young, feminine and heterosexual girls are protected (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024).

Help and support systems are tailored to the needs of young, heterosexual girls but only those who fit certain ideals about who is 'a victim'. The interviewed professionals point to the fact that young women who are not considered quiet and submissive but instead dress defiantly, drink alcohol, are sexually active and otherwise challenge gender norms, are excluded from the role of victim. A further consequence of these gender stereotypes is that boys lack access to support, and victims of violence by women may remain unprotected. The general experience is that the public systems' focus on young girls makes them blind to the exposure of LGBTQ persons to honour-based violence. The study shows that LGBTQ people in Sweden face difficulties accessing appropriate support. This is expressed by victims as well as social workers in social services and shelters, who fit the narrative of the culturalist discourse. NGOs working with LGBTQ people say they encounter young men whose families have cut ties with them because they have violated honour norms, leaving some to see no other option than to prostitute themselves for food and housing. A social worker at an NGO working with LGBTQ issues describes the situation:

"We ask people to turn to the social services but, unfortunately, we know that the treatment can be disastrous, to be honest. I have tried to call around and ask questions: "How does it work now at the social offices, is there any experience of caring for LGBTQ people?" The reactions are like "When it comes to honor-based violence, we can only help [heterosexual] women." (FG53) (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024, p. 561).

Organisations focused on LGBTQ issues point to a problem that they would like to see highlighted, namely that LGBTQ people with Swedish names and backgrounds who experience violence in patriarchal family contexts suffer similar pressures to LGBTQ people in honour contexts (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024).

SCHOOLS HANDLE CHILDREN'S NEEDS BASED ON STEREOTYPES

One study examines the development of school efforts against 'honour-related' violence and oppression in the 2000s in Sweden (Gruber, 2011). It is based on group or individual interviews with 26 student welfare staff working at 13 different compulsory and secondary schools. The study highlights how these efforts are influenced by concepts of national identity and 'Swedishness'. The analysis shows that violence in families is not seen as a general issue for all students but rather a concern tied to specific ethnic backgrounds, with 'honour-related' violence attributed to certain migrant minority groups. Consequently 'honour-related' violence is attributed to 'others' and not seen as a problem for ethnically 'Swedish' students and parents. In other words, violence against children committed by ethnically 'Swedish' parents' is not represented as an expression of patriarchal oppression (Gruber, 2011).

The student welfare staff did not frame 'honour-related violence' as child abuse, despite primarily discussing violence involving children and teenagers under 18. Instead, they compared it to adult men's violence against women. The categorisation of violence varies based on whether the victim and perpetrator are considered 'Swedish' or 'immigrants'. 'Honour-related' violence is linked specifically to certain 'immigrant'

groups, which also characterises the training and measures implemented. School staff attended specialised training sessions focused on 'honour-related' violence, but no sessions on abuse and violence against children that also cover 'honour-related' violence. They followed action plans specifically designed to address 'honour-related' violence and oppression, with targeted measures to combat this type of violence. As a result, threats and violence against children are not a common concern for school staff, parents or students. It is seen instead as an issue affecting specific immigrant groups only (Gruber, 2011).

The author argues that national identities are based on certain constructions of gender and ethnicity, differentiating men and women as 'Swedes' and 'others'. Based on these theories, she shows how the schools' attempts to combat 'honour-related' violence not only foster a national community but also shape and maintain various national identities and categories. The analysis shows that gender is central to students' positioning in relation to the national community. 'Immigrant boys' are very much seen as an object for correction, while 'Swedish' girls are idealised and seen as role models for 'immigrant girls'; 'Swedish' boys are almost invisible in the material. Besides being referenced in comparisons of different categories of violence, their absence from the discussions is striking. The conceptual combinations of 'Swedish' and 'patriarchal', and 'immigrant' and 'gender equal', seem to be inconceivable, including for school staff, according to the interviews (Gruber, 2011).

The author finds that the schools' efforts against 'honour-related' violence go beyond addressing violence and threats and have evolved into a broader project promoting and defending 'Swedish' values. The study claims that this focus aligns with the schools' broader role in fostering national citizenship, which has historical roots and has become more pronounced in recent curricula. The schools' approaches to national education function as a tool for both inclusion and exclusion. Measures against 'honour-related' violence, intended to protect victims, also serve to sort students and parents into categories of inclusion or exclusion from the national community. This creates divisions between the 'us' and the 'other' and between 'gender equality' and 'patriarchy'. Uncertainty among staff about what constitutes 'honour-based' violence seems to further reinforce the nationalist content of the schools' actions. Instead of relying on past experiences and their own assessments, school staff tend to lean towards problematic guidelines to do the 'right' thing (Gruber, 2011).

In another study, staff in three different schools in Sweden are interviewed about the criteria used to classify students as victims of domestic violence and determine if they need support, as well as how school officials describe their collaboration with other actors such as families, social services or the police to support students (Odenbring et al., 2015). At two of the three schools, participants talked about pupils with parents who have origins in the Middle East, the Far East and Eastern Africa being exposed to honour violence. Common to these narratives of honour violence was the impression that these students were subject to a greater degree of control by their families than their peers. These narratives were also connected to professional culture

and material context, referring to problems the schools have to face: pupils positioned within discourses on honour crime cultures and general urban segregation. In the material, there were also examples of what the respondents frame as issues pertaining to honour, which according to the authors can include parents simply asking for advice (Odenbring et al., 2015).

The authors describe that professional categorisations of honour-based violence include various forms of violence against children, such as abuse and severe neglect, however they also include some forms of violence that can clearly be explained by violent behaviour on behalf of parents. This violence is framed and understood in terms of cultural explanations developed outside of Sweden. When Swedish parents abuse or neglect their children, it is understood and explained in terms of social, psychological and psychiatric problems, whereas immigrant parents' behaviours are framed and explained in terms of culture or ethnicity. This is thus constructed as belonging to a specific category of honour violence (Odenbring et al., 2015). Without diminishing the seriousness of individual oppression experienced in the name of honour, the authors argue that discourse in Sweden on honour-related violence, which school officials promote through their professional culture, risks situating patriarchy solely outside Sweden, rendering violence between Swedes invisible. Violence and control in a Swedish context among people identified as Swedes could therefore be normalised as an exception to a general rule, while violence among immigrants is connected to and constructed as an aspect of culture. The risk is that the discourse on honour-related violence puts the gaze on the 'other' and thus locates gender oppression in specific cultural places, where it is said to constitute a legitimate practice. The authors argue that this is a contradictory discourse in regard to Swedish schools' obligation to prevent ethnical and cultural stereotypes (Odenbring et al., 2015).

Implications: Effects of discourses on service provision

IMPLICATIONS

- A potentially useful way forward for both researchers and service providers is to see culture as an expression of fine-grain processes of meaning-making rather than uniformly shared values, (Abji & Korteweg, 2019).
- The discourse in Sweden on honour-related violence, which school officials promote through their professional culture, might risk situating patriarchy outside Sweden and render violence between Swedes invisible. The authors argue that this is a contradictory discourse in regard to schools' obligation to prevent ethnical and cultural stereotypes (Odenbring et al., 2015).
- National education in Sweden works as a tool of both inclusion and exclusion. Actions that are designed to protect and assist students who are victims of 'honour-related' oppression or violence also serve to categorise them, determining whether students and parents are excluded or included in the national community (Gruber, 2011).
- Honor-based violence is simultaneously a lived reality and catalyst for stereotypes constructed through culturalising images. These stereotypes are obstacles to social

workers' capacity to support those exposed to violence. Intersectional approaches to understanding honour-based violence have the potential to capture clients' self-perceived and complex formulations of the causes and character of their situation, thus increasing opportunities for appropriate support (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024).

- The disentanglement of real social problems from discourses that cloud them should be a matter of informing practical policies. In the context of sex education, for example, this includes gender equality and anti-discrimination policy, and immigration and asylum cases in which issues such as forced marriage and homophobia are cited (Phillips, 2012).
- Women who have experienced honour-based violence should not remain the objects of debate but instead be active subjects. An intercultural understanding of gender-based violence (in its relation to honour) is needed, alongside deconstructions of common assumptions in debates (Rocca & Zinn, 2019).
- Knowledge from organisations for migrant-origin women with experience dealing with gender-based violence in relation to honour should be considered. Women's shelters and other organisations that support survivors could play a significant role in constructing intercultural spaces of women of different origins to develop anti-violent ethics and practices and overcome the risk of slipping into neocolonial, paternalistic or dichotomous understandings of women's experiences (Rocca & Zinn, 2019).
- Solutions tend to focus either on civilising missions designed to alter cultural values and teach 'them' to be more like 'us' or the removal and separation of victims/survivors from their 'problematic' cultures. Both approaches are flawed. Culturalised narratives depict BAME victims as passive, ignoring their agency. In reality, many survivors value their culture and experience a profound loss when it is gone (Walker, 2020).
- Anti-violence operators in Canada call for more nuanced and complex solutions than those proposed in policies and laws promoted in regulations like Bill S-7. The recognition of such complexity echoes long-held concerns by feminists studying violence against women in that the situated, structured and cultural components of this type of violence need to be considered simultaneously for it to be curtailed (Abji & Korteweg, 2019).
- Multiscalar models need to be operationalised. Anti-violence operators have discussed the need for risk assessment tools and safety planning guidelines that take serious consideration of multiple perpetrators at the family and community level while also recognising that the multiscalar violence, including state violence, that women encounter in their daily lives can deter them from seeking and receiving support. Service providers express a preference for collaborative service provision over the existing 'silo' approach (Abji & Korteweg, 2021).
- Families and communities should be recognised as complex sites of individual and collective trauma as well as spaces of healing and resiliency. Due to the multiscalar nature of violence experienced by many women, the idea that the solution lies in leaving one's family or community obscures the multiple sites of violence that racialised and immigrant women may encounter (Abji & Korteweg, 2021).
- Integrating the voices, experiences and insights of survivors of violence was an approach suggested by interviewed service providers that offers a concrete strategy for addressing the mismatch between service delivery to support victims of gender-

based violence and South Asian women's needs in Canada. An intersectional approach is suggested, one that recognises a multiplicity of voices and experiences rather than privileging individual voices as speaking for the collective
, 2021).

FUTURE RESEARCH

- Future research and policy should include consideration for how culture, and its associated institutions and networks of support, can be harnessed to aid the recovery of BAME (Black, Asian, Minority Ethnicities) victims/survivors. Such approaches would both reduce the cultural pathologisation of BAME communities that depicts them as inherently violent and relieve victims/survivors of the forced (and false) choice between personal safety and cultural identity (Walker, 2020).
- There is a need for more research on how school officials collaborate with parents and other professionals to support victimised students (Odenbring et al., 2015).
- Further research is needed on how schools prevent and support youth who have been exposed to domestic violence, not least to gain a broader view of how schools can handle these kinds of situation (Odenbring et al., 2015).
- A number of themes should be investigated in further research: the affinities and differences between honour-centred norms and other patriarchal norms in segregated groups; the conditions under which honour norms arise, persist and/or transform; how honour-based violence can be prevented at universal, selected and indicated levels; and the influence of the discourse of culturalisation on policy and legislation (Baianstovu & Strid, 2024).

Summary

This strand of research is mainly interested in service providers, their perceptions, skills, knowledge and approaches to handling actual and suspected cases of honour-based violence and cases of gender-based violence and child abuse categorised as honour-based violence. The needs of victims' visions for improved service delivery are not key focuses in the articles.

The studies show that stereotypes and narrow, sometimes incorrect, understandings of honour-based violence born from stereotyping discourses can have severe effects for victims of honour-based violence, or other forms of violence perceived as honour-based. Examples from several of the studies in which victims of gender-based violence were cut off from their families completely, even when the extended family did not legitimise the violence, show the severe consequences of service provision based on stereotyping and narrow conceptions of honour-based violence. Similar patterns can be seen in articles about schools in Sweden, where child abuse by Swedish parents is interpreted through social, psychological or psychiatric lenses, while similar behaviours by immigrant parents are framed in cultural or ethnic terms, often being mischaracterised as honour-based violence. Discourses surrounding honour-related violence risk situating patriarchy outside Sweden, thereby rendering violence within Swedish communities invisible. 'Honour-related' violence is ascribed to 'others', and

violence within Swedish families is not viewed as patriarchal oppression. A consequence in schools is that immigrant boys are frequently targeted for correction, while Swedish girls are idealised and presented as role models for immigrant girls. Swedish boys, meanwhile, are largely absent in these narratives. Education thereby acts as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion.

There is also evidence, from several of the Western countries explored, that victims of honour-based violence are often made to cut all ties with anything related to their culture or religion. Some examples include service providers giving victims new names that have no connection to their culture, preventing them from praying or keeping them from their communities altogether. This is all done to 'keep victims safe', but is very much an expression of the culturalisation of violence, by which honour-based violence is associated with the minority culture of the victim.

At the same time, culture must not be taken out of the equation either. In cases in which victims have been removed from their cultures, they express that one of the most difficult aspects is not being able to express their culture, for instance through language or clothes. Victims' accounts of this deep need for cultural expressions show that culture plays an important part in people's lives. Yet, culture can be taken into the equation without culturalisation of violence, which is shown to present a risk of treble victimisation for migrant minority victims of honour-based violence and perceived honour-based violence in the Western world.

Discourses surrounding honour-based violence tend to place it 'elsewhere' through distinctions and othering. This is seen in relation to migrant groups in the Western world. When these discourses are not addressed or discussed they remain unchallenged, leading to severe consequences for victims of honour-based violence as well as those perceived as potential victims and those who are excluded from conceptualisations of victims of honour-based violence.

Honor-based violence is both a lived reality and a product of stereotypes that racialise and culturalise ideas of nation, gender, age, religion, societal practices and sexuality. Understanding violence through the lens of culture as a nuanced, context-driven process reveals that such patterns are shaped by all these intersections, which operate on micro, meso and macro levels. Taking that into account can give us a better understanding of violence in all its complexities.

The culturalised and racialised stereotypes linking honour-based violence to specific communities entrap people in cycles of violence and segregation, creating norms that reinforce this violence. If not met properly when seeking help, this is bound to lead to deeper mistrust and further isolation for victims. Structural conditions for service providers, like limited resources, time and learning opportunities, affect this further. As stated earlier, many of the researchers point out that the purpose of their studies is not to criticise service providers. Discourses, how we talk about issues and what we take for granted affect all levels of governance. This, together with structural conditions for service providers that present significant barriers, demonstrates the critical need to

address the structural and discursive obstacles to improving measures to end honour-based violence.

Perpetrator studies and knowledge building

This chapter builds on 16 articles that focus on perpetrators and honour, either perpetrators of various forms of honour-based violence or how ideas of honour are linked to perpetrators and crime. During the initial selection phase, articles were identified whose abstract contained the terms 'perpetrator' or 'offender', which yielded 97 articles. Of these, 77 were excluded as they only briefly mentioned perpetrators in background information for investigations of, for example, laws or attitudes or in descriptions of honour-based violence. Following a subsequent full-text review of the remaining 20 articles, it was found that four did not pertain to perpetrators and one was written in German. This resulted in the inclusion of 16 papers, interview studies, surveys and theoretical articles with perpetrators as the study object. The 16 articles included in this section are mainly criminological. The empirical contexts covered in the articles are Sweden, the US, the UK, Australia, Brazil, Pakistan, Iran and Türkiye. Four of the included articles are written by Recep Doğan and build on the same empirical material from Türkiye, and six articles discuss female perpetration. Various types of violence are present in the articles, focusing on perpetrators of honour-based violence. The majority of the perpetrators were found guilty of honour killings (i.e. fatal honour crimes; van Baak, 2018), murder committed in the name of honour (*namus*; Doğan, 2014), infanticide, (Doğan, 2018), honour murder (Rezaie et al., 2015) or murder (Grip & Dynevall, 2024), however other forms of violence, such as threats, rape, assault, physical violence and 'hard' control (Aplin, 2017; Bates, 2018; Grip & Dynevall, 2024), are also present in the studies.

This section will start by providing an overview of articles focused on male perpetrators of honour-based violence, followed by those focused on female perpetrators. After that a short description is provided of articles exploring the role of honour for perpetrators of other crimes, followed by a summary of suggested implications, interventions and further research.

Men as perpetrators of honour-based violence

Seven articles study men as perpetrators of honour-based violence. Three are based on an interview study with 34 men convicted of honour-based violence in Türkiye (Doğan, 2014a, b; Doğan, 2016). One is a survey study, comparing convicts and non-convicts in Pakistan (Rahim, 2017), one is a study based on open-source data on honour crimes in the US (van Baak et al., 2017) and one builds on data from an interview study with 45 male honour murderers in Iran (Rezaie et al., 2015). The final is an interview study with 16 prison and probation clients convicted of honour-based violence in Sweden (Grip & Dynevall, 2024), the results of which are not divided by gender; the sample consist of 15 men and one woman, hence its inclusion in this chapter focusing on male perpetrators.

MARGINALISATION, VIOLENCE, MENTAL HEALTH AND CRIMINALITY

Most participants in Grip and Dynevall's (2018) study describe marginalisation and extreme vulnerability in childhood, such as poverty, political oppression and armed conflict. Education is also a factor included in the studies by both Doğan (2014a) and Grip and Dynevall (2018), which showed that perpetrators generally had a low level of education. Rezaie et al. (2015) also include education as a factor in their study, concluding that official education and literacy can be effective in reducing honour killings. Grip and Dynevall (2018) state that a low level of education among perpetrators of honour-based violence has been noted by previous scholars but has not been assumed to hold explanatory power. In regard to economic status and socio-economic marginalisation, most respondents in the study by Grip and Dynevall were engaged in the labour market, having jobs in, for example, the transport and restaurant sectors. In the sample in the study by Doğan (2014a), almost half of the male defendants (47%) earned 1,000 Turkish Lira or more per month, more than the minimum wage in the country. This finding leads Doğan to conclude that "the relationship between the economic status of the defendant and the probability of killing in the context of honour killing is totally irrelevant" (2014a, p. 403). At the same time, respondents in the study describe traditional ideas about gender roles, asserting that men are supposed to be the breadwinner in the family. The ability to earn money by fair and honest means is seen as an important part of being an honourable man; being unable to do so is seen as dishonourable and can be seen as a potential stress factor.

A history of violence, both in childhood and as an adult, is another common factor among perpetrators of honour-based violence. Most of the participants shared experiences of varied and repeated violence, oppression, trauma and control during childhood, both by family members, mainly parents, and by other adults, like teachers (Grip & Dynevall, 2018). "Honour-based violence appears to be influenced both by a process of normalization and acceptability of violence, and the transmittance of particular expressions of oppression and violence" (Grip & Dynevall, 2018, p. 8).

Doğan (2014b) discusses signs of poor mental health among the participants in his study. Several participants describe behaviour patterns that indicate 'a disturbed mind' at the time of the killing and four tried to commit suicide before or after the crime. Doğan mentions the difficulties in seeking help for distress caused by dishonourable conduct, highlighting that only 13 out of the 34 participants mentioned that they spoke to someone about their thoughts and feelings prior to the crime. One third of the participants in the study by Grip and Dynevall said that they had experienced mental illness prior to the crime, such as anxiety or depression, or had attempted suicide. Other participants also described stressful circumstance including integration challenges, financial problems, conflicts with children and pressure from in-laws.

Grip and Dynevall (2018) found that a majority of the participants had a history of criminal or antisocial behaviour. Past crimes directed towards women, including forced marriage and assault, were common. They conclude: *"*… past delinquency, which is considered a strong risk factor for individuals' engaging in crime in general, appears to

be of relevance also for honour-based violence*"* (Grip & Dynevall, 2018: 9). Comparisons between perpetrators of honour-based violence and perpetrators of other types of violence are explored in a study by Rahim (2017), who looked at 'criminal thinking', such as shifting responsibility to others for one's own antisocial acts, justifying criminal acts or entitlement. Rahim suggests a correlation between honour killers and high level of 'criminal thinking' (Rahim, 2017).

HONOUR AS AN EXPLANATION AND CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS AMONG PERPETRATORS

Doğan (2014b) finds different understandings of honour among his 34 interviewees. Some tie their understanding directly to their personal circumstances and use honour to defend and justify their actions. Others give more general responses, in accordance with their ideals on honourable men and women. Others describe honour as sacred and an essential element of life, or emphasise the fragile quality of honour, focusing on men's responsibility and the heavy burden of protecting honour. Finally, one group of perpetrators describe honour as gender-neutral, conceptualising it using words like respect, reputation and prestige (for a more detailed description on the specific concepts and definitions of honour in the Turkish context, see page 80). Meanwhile, the interviewees in the study by Grip and Dynevall (2024) describe honour culture as a concept from the past, or as a problem that exists within specific families that adhere to traditional values but not their own. At the same time, many participants, according to Grip and Dynevall, describe a culture of honour in their social circle in Sweden "included controlling how to dress, restricting women's freedom of movement, raising children authoritatively, and demanding that married women have sex with their husbands" (2024: 13). In van Baak et al. (2018), four of the 16 offenders justify their crime by stating that their honour had been violated, without linking honour to a specific culture or religion. Only one of the participants in Grip and Dynevall (2024) explicitly described his motive as being the restoration of honour, although a couple of others discussed honour dimensions or violations of honour before the crime.

PERPETRATORS' NEUTRALISATION OF THEIR CRIME

A reoccurring theme in several of the articles is 'neutralisation techniques' by perpetrators of honour-based violence. Van Baak et al. (2018) investigated 16 honour killings in the US to explore the different ways the perpetrators justified their crimes. Findings suggest that neutralisation techniques are used by perpetrators, often including more than one technique. The most common technique was denial of victim, allowing the offender to assert that the victim caused his/her own victimization. "The use of neutralization techniques suggests the offender had a commitment to conventional norms, as those not bonded to societal norms or those who lack a belief that certain behaviour is wrong would not need to neutralize their guilt" (van Baak et al., 2018: 198). Doğan (2014b) finds that a common way of neutralising killing in his sample is to appeal to higher loyalties, such as the defendant's cultural norms. However, denying the victim and other techniques were also present during the interviews. Doğan suggests that, in the context of honour killing,

neutralisation techniques are culturally shaped and differ from those described in recent criminological literature on violent men: "In the interviews the defendants did not reject legal and religious norms that established that killing is wrong. Indeed, they accepted that killing was wrong and a sin, but they asserted strongly that the killing was the only option in their circumstances" (Doğan, 2014b, p. 381).

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY/COLLECTIVE

Another way of exploring driving forces is provided in a study by Doğan (2016), which focuses on the events preceding a killing to determine the instigating factors. In his interviews 'the community' is present in aspects such as rumours, reputation and pressure on the one hand and lack of support on the other. Most of the participants stated that murders were instigated or fuelled by a rumour about a female relative being involved in 'dishonourable conduct'. The role of the community and/or extended family, in sharing gossip and rumours, seems to play a key role for the participants in this study. Almost half of the interviewed perpetrators reported experiencing pressure and/or threats from their community and/or extended family to restore their family honour in the time leading up to the murder(s). In comparison, none of the participants in the study by Grip and Dynevall (2018) expressed that their own families had encouraged or instigated the crime. Rather, the majority described that their crime and imprisonment had caused shame for themselves and their families.

The samples and contexts differ between the interview studies in a couple of ways, specifically the empirical context (Sweden/Türkiye) and migration. While the participants in Doğan's articles mainly describe themselves as Turks (46%) or Kurds (31%), the participants in Grip and Dynevall's study (2018) all had experiences of transnational migration. Even though most participants in Grip and Dynevall's study (2018) were integrated in the Swedish labour market and saw themselves as Swedes, the experience of migration and the fragmentation of family were described as challenging. Grip and Dynevall suggest that the lack of a family network, or the absence of a collective, in a migration context could be a risk factor for honour-based violence, due to limited social control exerted by family members or access to social support in times of personal crisis. The participants in Grip and Dynevall's study also expressed their values in relation to their nuclear family rather than clans or close-knit extended families and stated their responsibility as a husband and father as keeping the nuclear family together. Grip and Dynevall (2018) found that separation was a shared experience by most of the participants, often following infidelity. Meanwhile, several of the participants in Doğan's study (2016) who were convicted of killing their wives described divorce or separation as being another possible remedy in their eyes, with one stating that "everything would have been different if they had made more effort to divorce" (Doğan, 2016, p. 67).

Women as perpetrators of honour-based violence

Three articles study women as offenders. One is an interview study with five women convicted of honour killing in Türkiye (Doğan 2018) and one is a study that uses police casefiles and interviews with police officers from the UK (Aplin, 2017). The third article also uses police casefiles from the UK and Wales, exploring the correlation between victim, perpetrator and abuse characteristics, and female perpetration (Bates, 2018).

Even though most victims of honour-based violence are women and most perpetrators are men, attention has also been focused on female perpetration in cases of honour-based violence. Women seem to play an important, and also sometimes active, role in these crimes to a greater extent than in other cases of domestic violence, and female perpetration is cited as a distinctive feature of honour-based violence (Bates, 2018).

Doğan (2018) relates to, and criticises, previous research that describes women's involvement in honour killings with an emphasis on either patriarchy or hegemonic masculinity, arguing that women's involvement must instead be understood and explored through the overall dynamics of honour killings. The small sample (five participants) and limited form of violence (honour killings) means the findings are not generalisable, but they still offer interesting insights with regard to female perpetrators of honour killings in Türkiye. In four of the five cases, women can be understood as playing active roles in the murders, rather than only passive roles as suggested in previous research. In all five cases, the women and girls (the youngest was 16 at the time of the killing) are described as being victims of sexual violence, domestic abuse or family violence, and as demonstrated by the narratives in the study, the killings mainly arose from a combination of anger, frustration, fear and desperation. Doğan (2018) suggests that women's involvement in honour killings cannot be understood by mono-causal explanations based on patriarchy or hegemonic masculinities, rather a broader understanding of the particular circumstances of the female perpetrator is required.

Bates (2018) investigates female involvement in perpetuating honour-based abuse. The concept of honour-based abuse is commonly applied in the UK and to highlight that not only physical violence is included in the concept. Bates explores the frequency of female perpetration, the relationships between female perpetrators and their victims and what roles women play in perpetuating abuse. Bates shows that women were involved in some role in 50 per cent of the included cases, usually alongside other perpetrators (mostly men). In most instances the female perpetrator was the victim's mother, although in some cases mothers-in-law, aunts or sisters were also involved. Through careful investigation of the empirical material, Bates shows that female perpetrators play varying roles in honour-based abuse; she highlights examples of women who direct or collaborate in abuse as well as some who are coerced, i.e. who are themselves victims of abuse or control. Bates suggests that honour-based abuse arises from strongly patriarchal cultures and values, and the evidence in the article strongly supports keeping the patriarchal context and gendered nature of honour-based abuse centre-stage. However, the study shows a greater involvement of females alongside males in perpetrating honour-based abuse compared with other forms of domestic abuse. This

calls for further exploration of the variety and multitude of female involvement in honour-based abuse, suggesting that women's roles are more varied than current conceptual and policy understandings allow.

The other article that focuses on female perpetrators is by Aplin (2017), who explores the role of mothers in honour-based abuse. Findings are drawn from 100 investigations of honour-based abuse in the UK and interviews with specialist police officers. Of the included cases, 76% involved female perpetration in varying forms, with the largest proportion being mothers acting either independently or in concert with a male perpetrator. Aplin found that mothers inflicted most of all direct acts of violence against daughters. In 10% of cases, pregnancy outside marriage was a key trigger for honour-based abuse, usually violence intended to induce or encourage abortion. 'Hard' psychological abuse, such as policing, control and surveillance, was also found to be mainly inflicted by mothers. Hence, Aplin (2017) suggests that mothers play a dominant role in honour-based abuse. At the same time, the interviews with specialist police officers show that stereotypes about women in general, and mothers specifically, make it difficult for police officers to identify female perpetrators, and hence they risk failing to safeguard victims.

Perspectives and knowledge from research on perpetrators

CULTURE OF HONOUR AS AN EXPLANATION OF CRIME

Two articles study crime (homicide and domestic violence) and explores whether 'culture of honour' is used as an explanation and justification by perpetrators. Campello de Souza et. al (2016) conducted a comparative study of male perpetrators and non-perpetrators in Pernambuco, Brazil. The sample consists of 120 perpetrators of lethal, non-lethal and non-violent crimes, and 40 non-perpetrators. Their study shows a difference in motivations between perpetrators who had committed homicide and those who had been convicted of other crimes, with the former group mainly reporting 'honour' as a motivation and the latter reporting 'material gain'. This suggests that "perpetrators of homicide show a clear tendency to explain their actions by means of a need for moral satisfaction" (2016, p. 120). Unfortunately, the article does not elaborate on the concept of honour or culture of honour but points to important intersections between masculinity, violence and honour. Rodriguez-Espartal (2021) conducted an interview study with Spanish men imprisoned for violence against women. Rodriguez-Espartal suggests that expressions linked to the presence of a culture of honour is a common backdrop to the participants' narratives. This reflects patriarchal, dominant and macho patterns in aggressive behaviour towards women, which was associated with a lack of forgiveness for damage done to their family, their reputation as men or shame endured. Rodriguez-Espartal (2021) links her result to previous research and findings that "establish this culture of honour as the justification and legitimization of certain violent behaviour towards women" (2021, p. 347). Other characteristics among the imprisoned men in the study included stereotypical and traditional understandings of gender and strong feelings of jealousy and a desire to control women.

HONOUR-SHAME NEXUS

Two other articles explore the honour-shame nexus in relation to female perpetrators, one concerning 'women who kill' and the other British Asian girls as perpetrators of crime. Gill and Walker (2019) adapt a theoretical approach to explore how the actions of women who kill can be shaped by wider socio-cultural factors underpinned by an honour-shame nexus. The honour-shame nexus includes an understanding of honour as fragile and requiring protection, with individual honour being intimately bound to collective honour. Shame, or the loss of honour, is understood as having two integral features, first, it can be felt even in the absence of others and, second, it can be felt not only as a result of faults in one's own actions but also in the actions of others. Gill and Walker suggest that the honour-shame nexus allows for an examination of female violence without reducing women's actions to stereotypical notions of women who kill. The article discusses three cases in the UK where women have been convicted of murder, one honour killing of a daughter by her mother and two cases of women murdering their husbands. They tend to show how a broader conceptualisation of the honour-shame nexus can offer complex psychosocial explanations for multiple forms of violence. They demonstrate how honour can be a powerful driver of violent behaviour for both men and women, showing the importance of contextualising women's actions and how they are governed by expectations or codes intimately connected to honour, fear of dishonour and shame. In the second article, Toor (2009) discusses British Asian girls as offenders of crime (not honour-based violence) and the consequences of living in families and communities with strong honour norms. Toor (2009) shows how ideas and norms surrounding honour and shame affect female offenders, stating that knowledge of how honour affects individuals is important when working with young offenders in general but especially young female offenders, since honour norms disproportionally affect women and girls. The fundamentals of honour and shame, as a form of social control within Asian communities, can help explain both why Asian girls refrain from engaging in deviant and criminal activities and the stigma attached to those who do. The shame brought upon their families manifests a unique and severe form of 'double deviance' for criminal Asian girls. Toor (2009) argues that criminality can be seen as a dishonourable activity like other forms of dishonourable activities, hence potentially invoking honour-based violence as punishment from families and communities. Notions of honour and risks for cultural punishments can also be factors contributing to criminality, as exemplified by one interviewee who engaged in fraud and deception to fund a private abortion so that she would not have to reveal her pregnancy to her family, risking bringing shame to her family and being subjected to honour-based violence.

MULTI-PERPETRATORS

Salter (2014) focuses on multi-perpetrator domestic violence, meaning that a person's intimate partner draws other people into participating in their physical and/or sexual victimisation. The article builds on case review studies of victim reports and available literature on multi-perpetrator domestic violence. It takes an interest in collective acts of criminality and violence perpetrated by boys and men to defend their sense of masculine

prestige. The article highlights how cultural linkages between masculine honour and female subordination can be strengthened by social and economic marginalisation and investigates multi-perpetrator domestic violence in gangs and organised criminal groups and in ethnic minority communities. Salter (2014) suggests that the "social organization of some families, communities, and peer groups appears to promote MDV *[multi-perpetrator domestic violence, author's comment]* when legitimate opportunities have been foreclosed by disadvantage and masculine honour is associated with the capacity to control and dominate girls and women" (2014: 107).

Multi-perpetrator domestic violence overlaps significantly with research on organised abuse in abusive groups and families, suggesting that domestic violence perpetrators draw on the support and engagement of abusive relatives and peers to legitimise their violence. Salter suggests that shared misogynist and pro-violence attitudes, in combination with the use of violence to control girls and women, appears to serve as a means of establishing and displaying masculine identity and status. The article states that multi-perpetrator domestic violence is very serious and has grave consequences. The findings suggest that multi-perpetrator domestic violence is related to ideas about masculinity, violence and honour, and is exacerbated by socioeconomic marginalisation.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF HONOUR KILLINGS

Barmaki (2021) conducts a literature review into the psychological explanations of honour killings. Factors explored in the article include gradual enragement of an 'honour killer', connections between emotions of honour and shame, the punitive consequences of shame and the connection between honour killing and mental and personality disorders.

Barmaki suggest that the period leading up to an honour killing is characterised by the gradual enragement of the eventual perpetrator, often instigated by exaggerated rumours, which place a great deal of stress on the affected family. The eventual perpetrator experiences an increase in anger, shame, frustration and desperation during this period. Barmaki also states that this period of enragement sometimes lasts for years, exemplifying the case of a boy who learned about his mothers' adultery at the age of 9-10 who, after years of exacerbated emotional turmoil, killed his mother when he was about 18 years old. Barmaki draws connections between childhood trauma and honour killers, suggesting that psychologists should pay extra attention to incidents in which a subject witnesses or becomes aware of a female family member's sexual indiscretions during childhood, as well as the secrecy that this might have fostered and connections to disorders in adult life. This reasoning can be linked to findings from Grip and Dynevall (2024), whose study participants described experiences of other childhood trauma, such as violence, oppression and control.

Implications: Perpetrator studies and knowledge building

IMPLICATIONS

- The participants' narratives support an intersectional approach to understanding honour-based violence (Grip & Dynevall, 2024).
- The way perpetrators of honour-based violence portray themselves with regard to honour culture is important knowledge for the identification and prevention of re-offending(Grip & Dynevall, 2024).
- The lack of social support network may contribute to incidents of crime (Grip & Dynavall, 2024).
- Within professions that include responsibility for safeguarding (police, child social care, health, education), there must be reconsideration for the role played by mothers, avoiding the assumption that mothers are secondary victims who automatically protect their children (Aplin, 2016).
- To construct a more detailed picture of reality, particular attention needs to be given to events leading up to a murder and the broader cultural norms that govern different understandings of women's honour (Doğan, 2018).
- The effects of crime and punishment on the families of offenders are often forgotten in the administration of justice and punishment (Toor, 2009).
- Ethnicity and culture are additional dynamics that need to be considered in the appraisal and development of restorative justice for girls, especially Asian girls who are heavily bound by familial and community notions of *izzat* and *sharam* (Toor, 2009).
- Official education and literacy can be effective in reducing and eventually eliminating the abhorrent and misogynist tradition of honour-murder (Rezaie et al., 2015).
- Women's roles are more varied than current conceptual and policy understandings allow (Bates, 2018)

INTERVENTIONS/MEASURES

- An expanded conception of the roles of individuals appears important for preventative measures and treatment, for example acknowledging that someone can both be Swedish and live in an honour culture. To increase responsiveness, treatment could benefit from covering issues that perpetrators feel are important to the course of events, rather than impose an external narrative on honour-based violence (Grip & Dynavall, 2024).
- Challenging norms – both targeting specific norms and addressing how norms are reproduced – remains important. Recidivism prevention also needs to take other risk factors for violence into account, as well as develop strategies to manage violent tendencies and interpersonal relationships, including the development of parenting strategies (Grip & Dynavall, 2024).
- It is essential that men are involved in the development of new masculinities with gender perspective as an analytical tool (Rodriguez-Espartal, 2021).

- Local authorities should be able to support any person who is at risk of committing an honour killing or similar crime by providing financial aid to help them relocate and establish themselves in their new environment (Doğan 2014b).
- Addressing the issue of honour killings requires a variety of methods and the development of a multi-agency response (Doğan 2014a; b).

FUTURE RESEARCH

- Future studies should focus on detailing the process of how 'cultures of honour' contribute to an increase in homicides, the mechanisms that produce such a culture and transmit it between generations and the possible interventions that might be made in locations where such a culture is prevalent to reduce the occurrence of homicide (Campello de Souze et al., 2016).
- Much more primary and qualitative research is required on perpetrators' experiences and perspectives, to develop methods to address men's violence. This needs to be carried out together with the provision of women-centred services (Doğan 2014a, b).
- Future research should draw on cases of domestic violence that resemble honour crimes, to see if techniques of neutralisations are applied in the same way (van Baak et al., 2017).
- Future research should provide specific and feasible policy implications for offenders' use of denial and justifications in incidents of domestic violence (van Baak et al., 2017).
- Future research should be helpful in establishing guidelines to promote proactive community discussion about honour crimes (van Baak et al., 2017).
- More research is needed to identify the varied roles women play in honour-based abuse, using methodology better designed to explore meanings and motives (e.g. qualitative interviews; Bates, 2018)

Summary

Patriarchy, hegemonic masculinity, culture and honour are backdrops that appear throughout the included articles, sometimes challenged as explanatory models and sometimes used as points of departure. However, these articles also provide several alternative concepts and approaches to honour and violence that need further exploration but could be important in knowledge development and preventative work against honour-based violence. For example, Doğan uses the concept of 'honour that inspires violence', acknowledging multiple understandings of honour and noting that far from all of them inspire violence. Multi-perpetrator domestic violence is another concept that widens the understanding and conceptualisation of honour-based violence, which is also present in research on female perpetration of honour-based abuse. The honour-shame nexus strives to incorporate knowledge of different consequences of honour and shame on the perpetuation of violence. Two other important contributions to knowledge development and conceptual reflections related to perpetrators are the

framing of criminality as a 'dishonourable activity' and the conceptualisation of the process of 'enragement' that precedes an honour killing.

In the included articles, gender as a heteronormative binary construction is a dominant theme. Participants' descriptions of men and women and their respective roles in both family and society, as well as expectations of behaviour and sexuality, align with stereotypical ideas of men and women. Traditional, conservative ideas about men as primary breadwinners and women as primary caretakers are present in participants' descriptions of honourable men and women in articles by Doğan (2014b), Grip and Dynevall (2021), and Rodrigues-Espartal (2021). Heteronormative ideas are in no way specific to the interviewees in these articles but rather align with dominant gender regimes throughout the globe. Whether adherence to these ideas and norms differs in samples of men and women convicted of honour-based violence compared to other samples is not explored in the included articles.

Pregnancy, and the risk of pregnancy, outside marriage is present in several of the articles, especially those discussing women as offenders. Aplin's (2017) suggest that mothers are responsible for their daughter's shameful behaviour. In Doğan's (2018) study, one participant is convicted of honour killing by leaving her newborn baby outside in the cold to avoid bringing shame on her family, while another, in a study by Toor (2009), engages in criminal activity to pay for an abortion without her family knowing.

Throughout the included articles in this section, the question of what characterises a crime as honour-based arises, and several answers are presented. Since many studies build on case files and court verdicts, understandings grounded in legal processes and law enforcement are predominant. However, the researchers' own definitions and understandings of honour also affect the studies. As a reader of the articles, it is not always clear why certain examples should be understood in an honour context, for example a mother hitting her daughter for not picking something up from the floor (Aplin, 2017), conservative ideas about sex within marriage or chastity norms (Grip & Dynewall, 2023), a husband killing his ex-wife in an act of rage (Rezaie, 2015) or a woman killing her rapist (Doğan, 2018). That is not to say that these examples have no connection to ideas and norms around honour, but they raise questions about understandings and boundaries of the concept of honour-based violence. A myriad of other aspects are visible in the sample of this material, such as minority status, experiences of migration, low levels of education, strict gender roles and experiences of aggression and violence. The need for thorough epistemological and theoretical transparency in articles discussing perpetration of honour-based violence is clear.

Similar to patterns in the research field as a whole, honour is present in this section as a declared motive by perpetrators, an ascribed motive by police, the courts, victims or relatives and as a contextual factor affecting criminality and consequences of criminality. Considering the material as a whole, articles studying perpetrators are few, disparate and hard to compare due to major differences in samples, empirical context,

forms of violence, aims, method and theoretical understandings of honour-based violence and honour. However, the generated knowledge and identified knowledge gaps are of great importance for future practice and research. If a general motivation in all violent crimes is the desire to avoid or eliminate shame and replace such feelings with pride or honour (as suggested by Gilligan, 1996; cited in Grip & Dynevall, 2024), endeavours to explore and research perpetrators of honour-based violence must always include intersectional approaches at the micro, meso and macro levels to generate knowledge on violence prevention.

Reporting and disclosure

Central to preventative work, and seen throughout this review, is the question of underreporting and 'honour norms' as barriers to the disclosure of experiences of different forms of violence. Barriers to reporting and disclosure of gender-based violence and sexual abuse are well recorded in previous research on violence, but the influence of honour norms in this regard is less well examined.

The 11 articles included in this section focus on if and how honour norms in families and communities affect people's capacity and willingness to report or disclose experiences of violence. During the initial selection phase, articles were identified whose abstracts contained the terms 'reporting' or 'disclosure', yielding 123 articles. Of these, 107 articles were excluded as they only briefly mentioned reporting, for example in background information. A subsequent full-text review of the remaining 16 articles revealed that five of them related to reporting by authorities or media, resulting in the inclusion of 11 articles investigating reporting and disclosure, either through interview studies, surveys or theoretical articles, with reporting or disclosure as the study object. The 11 articles included in this section are mainly based in Criminology, Psychology, Sociology and Social Work. The empirical contexts covered in the articles are Canada, Pakistan, the US, the UK and Vietnam.

So far, this report has indicated that closely knit groups with strong patriarchal honour norms might increase silence of victims of violence. Most of the articles in this section do not study reporting or disclosure of honour-based violence specifically; despite many articles describing underreporting and challenges related to disclosure as an aspect of honour-based violence, this is seldom specifically studied. Instead, the 11 articles included in this section study the relationship between honour and reporting or disclosure of other forms of violence (mainly sexual abuse and domestic violence). Honour norms are therefore investigated as barriers, or risk factors for victimisation.

Sexual abuse, honour endorsement and gender

Four articles investigate the relationship between disclosure of sexual assault or rape and honour ideology/norms. McLean et al. (2018) present a psychology study carried out in the US that uses vignettes to examine how women's endorsement of honour values

influences the perception of rape and tendency to recommend reporting or disclosure of experiences of rape. In a similar study, published four years later, Crowder et al. (2022) further investigate the impact of honour values on women's tendency to disclose incidents of sexual assault or seek retribution. The other article exploring disclosure of rape is an anthropology study, building on interviews with young women and girls as well as members of their social networks in Vietnam (Houng, 2012). The study examines the social management of rape within kin groups, showing how rape disclosure is often bound up with notions of family honour and assumptions about kinship, gender relations, social belonging and shared responsibility. Foster et al. (2023c) build on a survey study examining how beliefs about masculine honour, which centre around men being viewed as strong, fearless and antifeminine, may lead to heightened stigmatisation of men who have been sexually assaulted.

The four articles centre around the sociocultural mechanism behind underreporting, showing, for example, that the closeness of a victim's relationship to the perpetrator (for example stranger, acquaintance or husband) in relation to their level of honour endorsement influences their perceptions of and tendency to disclose assault. The closeness of the relationship between the victim and perpetrator affects how the sexual abuse is perceived. In cases in which the perpetrator was the victim's husband, sexual assault was less likely to be considered rape; women who endorsed an honour ideology were more reluctant to disclose such an experience, especially to the police (McLean et al., 2018). Crowder et al. (2022) found that women who endorsed honour values more strongly were likely to recommend that a victim disclose such an incident to confidants (similar across the acquaintance and husband scenarios). They suggest that honour-endorsing women are more motivated to pursue revenge/retribution by disclosing incidents of sexual assault to authorities, linking feminine honour values with increased anger and desire for retribution. Foster et al. (2023c) show that masculine honour endorsement is linked to higher levels of stigma and a stronger belief that one's masculine identity would be damaged by sexual assault, which is correlated with higher support for concealing assault. These results were found in both men and women. Men who endorsed masculine honour in the sample also reported that they would conceal their sexual assault and personally seek revenge due to their own beliefs about the damage to their masculinity and the shame they would anticipate feeling at having been assaulted. Findings in the study show how such masculinity beliefs may fuel stigmatisation of men who have been sexually assaulted and serve as a barrier to them seeking help (Foster et al., 2023c). In the interview study in Vietnam, disclosure of rape is shown to be understood as a family decision, where the role of kinship carries considerable weight, and the notion of family honour is used as a patriarchal tool to restrain a victim from pressing charges against the perpetrator (Houng, 2012). In this study, Houng explores "how the notion of family honour is manifested not by acts of violence but through efforts of negotiating a settlement and/or finding ways at the family and kin level to deal with social consequences caused by the rape of a family member" (2012, p. 39).

All four articles reveal nuances in the association between honour contexts and disclosure of sexual abuse. The role of the community or family, for example with regard to reputational concerns, stigma or dishonour, was present in all articles. "These nuances demonstrate that further research is needed to disentangle the complex nature of honor ideology and its relation to perceptions of sexual violence to assist researchers and clinicians seeking to help survivors of sexual assault" (McLean et al., 2018: 465).

Disclosure of child sexual abuse and minority communities

Two articles study disclosure of child sexual abuse, one within Arab minority communities in the US (Haboush & Alyan, 2013) and one within Asian minority communities in the UK (Gilligan & Akhtar, 2006). Both articles are interested in the manner in which culture impacts the conceptualisation, experience and disclosure of child sexual abuse. Gilligan and Akhtar (2006) conducted an interview study focusing on experiences and beliefs within the Asian community in Bradford, UK. Haboush and Alyan (2013) present a theoretical article comprised mainly of general research related to child sexual abuse, consequences of migration and cultural characteristics of 'Arabic culture'. In conclusion, Haboush and Alyan (2013) highlight the importance of psychologists' cultural competences, both in general and in relation to child sexual abuse but note that empirical data on if and how characteristics of Arabic culture impact the manner in which child sexual abuse is perceived and disclosed is lacking. Gilligan and Akhtar (2006), on the other hand, state that there is under-reporting of child sexual abuse in Britain's Asian communities and varied capacity amongst professionals to respond with cultural competence and secure access to appropriate services. Aggravating factors for the disclosure of child sexual abuse include, for example, lack of basic knowledge about both child sexual abuse and the existence and nature of services available to respond to it. Fear of public exposure if child sexual abuse is disclosed and of being met by cultural insensitivity from professionals also hampered disclosure. Finally, cultural factors also appeared to inhibit the willingness of individuals and families to disclose child sexual abuse. The study emphasises the need for both practitioners and policymakers to give greater priority to ensuring that services are relevant and culturally competent without basing practice in generalised assumptions about ethnicities, cultures or religions. Gilligan and Akhtar argue that the recognition that professional responses to 'child protection' issues must always be socially and culturally constructed is central to ongoing discussions about competent responses to child sexual abuse: "Only culturally competent practice which facilitates and empowers children, young people and non-abusing carers to seek relevant services will provide effective protection for them" (2006, p. 1374).

Intimate partner violence and risks of reporting

Three articles investigate barriers to disclosing and reporting intimate partner violence. One is based on a national survey conducted among women in Pakistan (Andersson et al., 2010), one is a synthesis of published studies on the influences of sociocultural

norms on women's decisions to disclose intimate partner violence (Güler et al., 2023) and one is a multi-method study on dating abuse (Couture-Carron, 2020).

In their study of people in Pakistan, Andersson et al. (2019) suggest that women in this context refrain from disclosing abuse, as doing so risks dishonour and potentially separation or divorce, which might result in them losing their children. The reasons given by women in the focus groups for not reporting abuse include perceptions of violence as 'normal' or 'not serious', fear of consequences for reporting and a lack of trust in the response of authorities. The researchers note a big difference between attitudes towards disclosing abuse to a family member, such as a mother, and reporting abuse outside the family. Very few participants stated that women should report abuse to the police or other formal bodies, which was closely associated with bringing dishonour to the woman's family. This distinction, between telling a family member and someone outside the family, was particularly apparent in the men's groups. A consistent finding in all provinces studied was that women who had previously discussed the topic of violence against women with community elders were more likely to tell someone about violence they had experienced themselves.

Güler et al. (2023) identify various forms of stigma as the most common sociocultural factors affecting disclosure of intimate partner violence, including condemnation by one's family or community, intolerance of divorce within society and attitudes within the community that confer responsibility on victims. Further, nearly all the studies underscored that perceptions of gender roles and power imbalances between women and men within family and society structures influence women's decisions to disclose intimate partner violence. Several studies highlighted that intimate partner violence against women by their husbands is normalised in many sociocultural contexts, and that intimate partner violence in a sexual context was not considered a form of intimate partner violence across a number of studies. A desire to preserve their family honour also influenced women's decisions not to disclose intimate partner violence. Finally, the wellbeing of children is also shown to impact willingness to disclose intimate partner violence, and women tend to stay in abusive relationships out of concern for their children's well-being. The sociocultural norms identified, such as stigma around intimate partner violence and gender roles, are not specific to women with 'collective roots', and the researchers state that "to prevent intimate partner violence against women and develop culturally appropriate resources, further research is needed to improve our understanding of the influences of sociocultural norms on intimate partner violence disclosure among women from different cultural backgrounds who are residing in individualistic countries." (2023, p. 2).

Couture-Carron (2020) explores barriers to disclosing dating abuse among South Asian Muslim minorities in Canada. Respondents in the study describe cultural norms that forbid or discourage dating as affecting experiences of dating abuse. Couture-Carron identify three consequences arising from this. First, these cultural norms may prompt fears of negative reactions by parents, leading to young women hesitating or refraining from disclosing abuse. Second, they may raise fears of severe reactions to such

relationships from within the community, preventing women from disclosing abuse or seeking help. Finally, traditional norms forbidding dating may promote strong relationship attachments when young people do date, leading to difficulties leaving abusive relationships. Couture-Carron suggests that since it might be difficult for women in these communities to seek support from informal sources, such as their parents, formal sources of support may be particularly important.

Honour as a justification for gender-based violence and abuse

Gangoli et al. (2018) investigate barriers to the reporting of female genital mutilation by victims and survivors to police in England and Wales. The article builds on 14 interviews with adult survivors and victims of female genital mutilation. All of the respondents were first-generation immigrants and had experienced female genital mutilation at a young age in their country of origin. None of the respondents had reported their experiences to the police, and all of them stated that they did not support the practice of female genital mutilation.

In this article, female genital mutilation is identified as a form of honour-based violence, in which the concept of honour acts as a justification for gender-based violence and abuse. Unlike other forms of honour-based violence, for example forced marriage, the article presents female genital mutilation as something of which wider family members may be unaware. This means there are few cases in which relatives can report female genital mutilation, as it is very difficult to speak to police without knowing 'for sure' that female genital mutilation has taken place or could take place. The respondents recognise that a cultural code of protecting one's family and community, as well as a higher degree of secrecy, makes it particularly difficult to report female genital mutilation. Barriers to reporting female genital mutilation described by the respondents include fears of retribution from the wider community, concerns about interference in private family life, bad experiences with the police and social services in the past and a lack of trust in the sensitivity of police to cultural and ethnic norms. Another barrier identified in the article is the potential of conflicting understandings of female genital mutilation between the community and the state, where the former might see it as a cultural practice or a rite of passage and the latter as a violation of children's rights or a form of honour- or gender-based violence. Not being able to recognise oneself in descriptions, understandings and language related to one's own life and experiences might affect willingness to disclose. For example, the term 'mutilated' invoked a feeling of dissociation for one of the respondents in the article, implicating negative images of her body, parents and culture, to which she did not necessarily adhere.

Another way of approaching questions related to reporting/disclosure, honour and barriers is offered by Donovan et al. (2024). Their article explores reporting and disclosure of family abuse among queer persons in the UK through survey data, interviews and focus groups. Donovan et al. suggest that the dominant understanding of family abuse is narrowly constructed, focusing on abusive behaviours of racially minoritised communities, such as honour-determined abuse. This construction acts as a

barrier to queer people, from any community, in seeking and securing the support they need. It also affects service providers' competence, skills and knowledge in responding appropriately to queer people victimised by family abuse. Donovan et al. link the mainstream association of family abuse with racially minoritised and/or faith communities and specific forms of violence, such as honour-based violence, with under-reporting of family abuse targeting queer people. They challenge the reductionism of assuming that only racially minoritised communities value family honour, status and value, which they argue is detrimental to understanding how family abuse might operate in non-minoritised families and communities.

Implications: Reporting and disclosure

IMPLICATIONS

- It is crucial to acknowledge the diversity of women's experiences, cultural contexts and sociocultural norms to increase reporting and disclosure of different forms of violence (Couture-Carron, 2020; Andersson et al., 2010; Güler et al., 2023).
- Privacy and discretion are critical to encouraging victims of violence to seek help (Couture-Carron, 2020; Gilligan & Akhtar, 2006; Foster et al., 2023c).
- Family abuse should be identified as an aspect of domestic abuse, recognised as a possible social problem across all communities, that is targeted at any family member whose presentation of their gender and/or sexuality is seen as a threat to their family's perceived status, value and/or standing in their neighbourhood and/or community, including their faith community (Donovan et al., 2023).
- Female genital mutilation should be seen as a generic form of gender-based abuse/gender-based child abuse to ensure survivors feel less conflicted about their experiences (Gangoli et al., 2018).
- Negative views of men who have been sexually assaulted held by those who endorse masculine honour norms may present a barrier to men seeking support in honour-endorsing regions, such as the Southern US (Foster et al., 2023c).

INTERVENTIONS/MEASURES

- Community-based dialogue, community engagement and local organisations are vital in supporting victims to seek help. These need to take into account family and community reactions and fear of dishonouring one's family, as well as the implications of that fear (Couture-Carron, 2020; Andersson et al., 2010; Güler et al., 2023; Gangoli et al., 2018).
- There is a need for organisations that provide support to be open and able to respond appropriately to LGBTQ service users (Donovan et al., 2023).
- There is a recurring need to target different groups through outreach and education interventions, including older women who might perpetrate or participate in committing or concealing violence. Boys and men, as future husbands and fathers, are also identified as important groups to reach, as are faith leaders (Gangoli et al., 2018; Gilligan & Akhtar, 2006).

- The development of culturally competent practice must be prioritised at all levels, including training in how to deal with disclosures (Gilligan & Akhtar, 2006).
- Outreach initiatives, such as community centres, community organisations and schools, may promote collectivist values and thereby prove to be particularly effective tools in prevention and reporting strategies (Haboush & Alyan, 2013).
- The police approach to female genital mutilation should move towards a focus on partnership and community engagement, prioritising 'prevention' rather than 'prosecution' (Gangoli et al., 2018).

FUTURE RESEARCH

- More research needs to specifically examine how different cultural contexts (or aspects of particular cultures) shape survivors' experiences of and responses to dating abuse (Couture-Carron, 2020).
- Further research is needed to improve our understanding of the influences of sociocultural norms on the disclosure of intimate partner violence among women from different cultural backgrounds who reside in culturally individualistic countries (Güler et al., 2023).
- Future cross-cultural research is needed to examine the complex ways in which societal and cultural factors influence disclosure of intimate partner violence to healthcare providers among women from different demographic and cultural backgrounds (Güler et al., 2023).
- Further research is needed to disentangle the complex nature of honour ideologies and their relationship to perceptions of sexual violence, providing knowledge for researchers and clinicians seeking to help survivors of sexual assault (McLean et al., 2018).
- Future research will need to tackle the relationship between abiding by cultural norms and private endorsement (McLean et al., 2018).
- Research should investigate the effectiveness of approaches such as the Written Response Interview Protocol (WRIP; Heydon & Powell, 2018 in Foster et al., 2023c) for honour-endorsing men (Foster et al., 2023c).
- Additional research is needed to fully understand the impact of stigma around homosexuality in cultures of honour and how honour-endorsing men deal with the trauma of victimisation (Foster et al., 2023c).
- Future research should consider exploring the possibility that peers and family may be the primary route for disclosure for those who endorse honour as well as the possible implications of this dynamic (Foster et al., 2023c).
- Future research should explore the links between honour endorsement and male victims of sexual abuse in a different honour cultures, such as those in the Middle East (Foster et al., 2023c).
- Subsequent research should continue to unveil ways in which honour norms can be pre-empted or addressed to encourage male victims to disclose incidents of sexual assault and seek help from the appropriate sources (Foster et al., 2023c).

Summary

The articles included in this section explore honour contexts with regard to vulnerability, highlighting cultural perspectives that might make reporting or disclosure of experiences of certain forms of violence (mainly sexual abuse and intimate partner violence) even more difficult, or difficult in other ways than in non-honour contexts. Honour norms enhance risks of bringing dishonour to one's family or to stigmatise experiences of intimate partner violence or sexual abuse. In several of the included articles in this section, the nature and closeness of the relationship between a victim and perpetrator are a key factor in both the perception and disclosure of violence. Sexual abuse and intimate partner violence by husbands within their marriage are not understood as violence and hence more seldom reported.

Honour-based violence tends to be described and understood as collectively sanctioned violence conducted to resurrect honour or punish deviant behaviour, but some of the violence presented in the articles in this section exhibit the opposite dynamic. Child sexual abuse, for example, is not seen as honourable, nor is it sanctioned or demonstrated publicly but rather presented as a shameful act of violence. In the articles included in this section, honour norms function as an aggravating factor that inhibit reporting and disclosure among victims, their families and the wider community.

Honour contexts are also always intertwined with other factors that affect the consequences and possibilities to reporting or disclosure of experiences of violence, such as socioeconomic inequality, education and gender roles. Other factors presented in the studies that affect service provision, as well as reporting and disclosure, are a lack of trust in public authorities, immigration status, police (non)handling of rape cases, negative representation of minorities in media, stereotypical attitudes among health professionals and alienating language. A recurring theme in the included articles on reporting and disclosure is the dialectic relationship between those supposed to report and those supposed to listen, mainly service providers. The need for critical reflection about normative assumptions and stereotypes, and how this might affect reporting or disclosure of experiences of violence, is discussed in several of the articles. Many articles call for discussions on cultural competence in both community and professional contexts that include an understanding of how majority cultural norms risk overlooking significant barriers to disclosure, help seeking and preventative measures.

PART III

Summary

In this part, conditions for change and prevention are highlighted. To remind ourselves, in order to prevent something, we need to know what it is that we wish to prevent. To change something, we need to know what we want instead. Both statements are relevant to the summary in this part. The scope is broad, and the need for social change at the individual, group and societal levels is shown.

Firstly, several articles show that socioeconomic issues, such as poverty, low education and illiteracy, play a crucial role in perpetuating honour systems based on male domination and acts such as honour killings. Under such conditions, honour systems based on male domination tend to endure. Honour killings are associated with pervasive patterns of violence, patriarchy, poverty and other forces that make life precarious and create tight bonds within groups. The combination of socioeconomic factors is shown to have profound importance for the existence of family honour and its practices, such as early and same-group marriage. It is also correlated with greater acceptance of honour killings as a practice and fear of sending women to educational institutions.

Isolation, as opposed to mobility, within and between families, communities and societies reinforces borders and thereby reinforces honour norms. In other words, reducing isolation co-exists with reduced expressions of honour-based violence. A higher degree of mobility and reduced isolation within and between families, communities and societies destabilises and challenges honour norms, disrupting patterns in the emergence, existence and expressions of honour-based violence.

Many studies mention that national and international social and legislative measures that aim to further progress in combating violence against women and girls are insufficient when not combined with other efforts. Addressing honour-based violence requires multifaceted solutions that incorporate cultural, political and economic dimensions, which is shown in several parts of this report. Most policies emphasise legislative reform, which is commendable but insufficient on its own.

It should also be mentioned that some articles identify the destructive impact of poverty, conflict, war, migration, lack of education and precarious labour conditions, while still ultimately suggesting solutions that presuppose individual agency and choice. Some argue that stakeholders need to understand the impact of social equity, including in terms of gender, through the study of human rights, and women's rights in particular.

Global patterns shape prevalence and expressions

We can see how global forces such as colonialism, war, conflict, migration and economic inequality play a significant role in how honour is understood and is determining where honour-based violence grows and thrives. Processes at the micro, meso and macro levels all play important roles, and this section shows how these different levels are interrelated.

War has a negative impact on poverty and literacy as it tends to undermine the prerequisites for prosperity, education and well-being.

One example is a study about the occupied Palestinian territories in Israel, which shows that Israeli Police and judges do not protect young Palestinian women who seek refuge from their families due to the threat of honour killings. The author concludes that the Israeli state contributes to perpetuating a culture of family honour. Hence, the mechanism behind increasing honour killings in the area is isolation caused by Israeli laissez-faire and multiculturalism/cultural relativism, which contribute to the continuous application of tribal and customary law.

Hence, mobility and independence from the family, which is critical to escaping the grip of patriarchy, become impossible. There is no freedom to be gained for the person who has nowhere to go. By preventing Palestinians from establishing legal institutions among local communities and clans, the Israeli state logic contributes to maintaining the clan-based economy and law and honour-based violence in isolated parts of the Palestinian community.

Other examples of how patterns of colonialism, war, conflict, migration and global economic inequalities come into play are shown in the various articles in this part, not least in many articles about perpetrators. They show that male perpetrators generally have a low level of education, and that official education and literacy can be effective in reducing honour killings. Many perpetrators also describe experiences of marginalisation and extreme vulnerability growing up, such as poverty, political oppression and armed conflict, as well as exposure to violence by adults and personal childhood trauma. Poor mental health and a history of criminal behaviour are also common traits among perpetrators. Research on multi-perpetrator violence in gangs and organised criminal groups highlights how cultural linkages between masculine honour and female subordination can be strengthened by social and economic marginalisation.

Generally, less is known about women as perpetrators. The diverse roles of female perpetrators in honour-based violence, including as controllers, collaborators or victims who are coerced, is highlighted in the material. One study emphasises that such violence stems from patriarchal cultures and values, supporting the need to maintain the centrality of this context in understandings. It also reveals a higher involvement of women in honour-based violence compared to other forms of domestic abuse. This calls for further exploration of the variety and multitude of female involvement in honour-based violence, suggesting that women's roles are more varied than current conceptual and policy understandings capture. Mothers can play a dominant role in honour-based violence, but stereotypes about women in general, and specifically mothers, makes it difficult for police officers to identify them as perpetrators, and hence they risk failing to safeguard victims. Similar risks among social workers are highlighted, showing how stereotyping compromises the safeguarding of victims in different ways.

Imagining better conditions for change and prevention

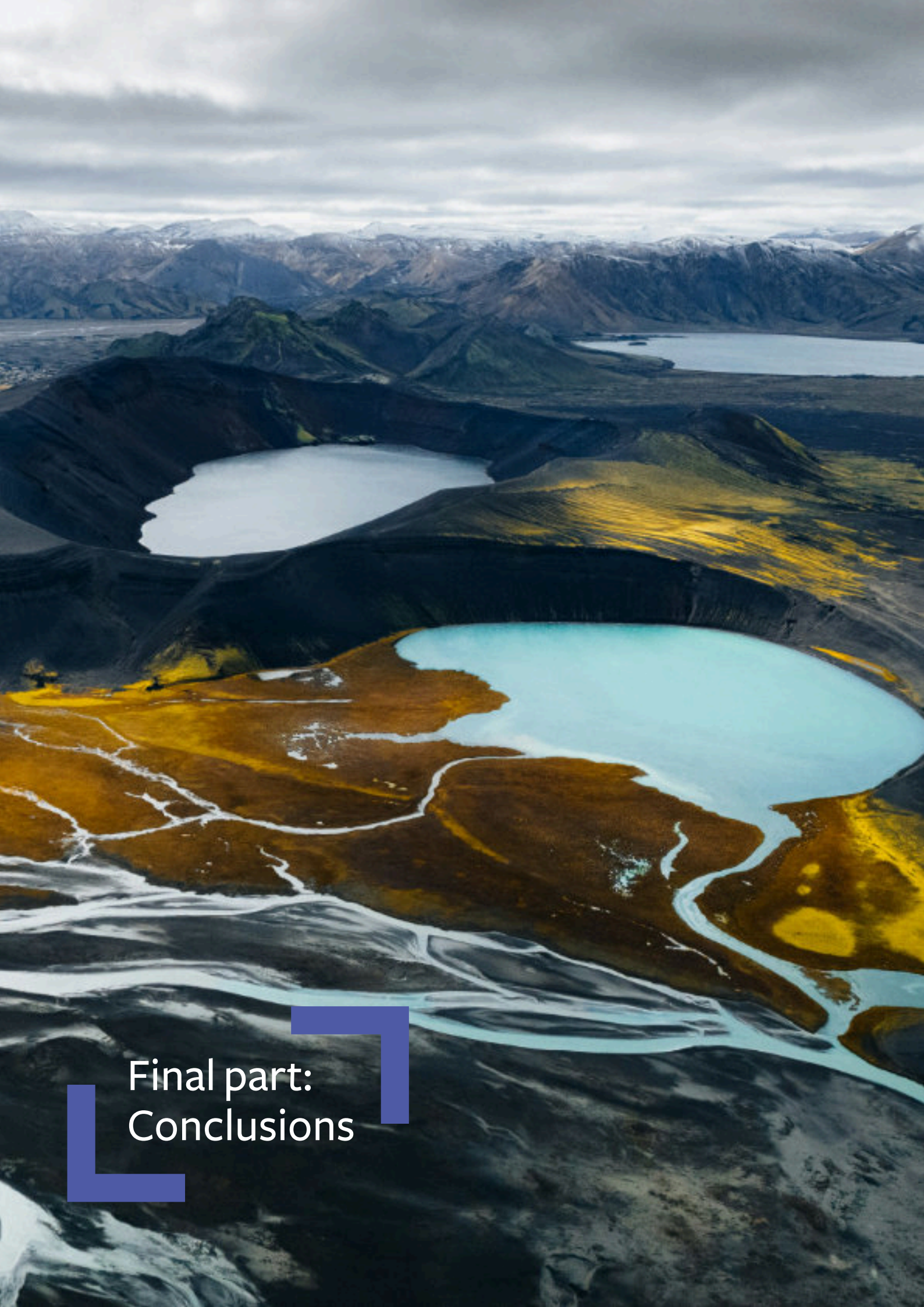
The discourses on honour-based violence can be seen to have political, practical and symbolic effects, not least in the Western world. In Parts I and II, discourses surrounding honour-based violence and how they influence policy are discussed. In this part, we focus on the concrete effects this can have for service provision, as well as for victims and perceived victims of honour-based violence. The making of difference is once again present, as shown in recurring articles, and is especially prevalent with regard to how discourses affect service provision. As mentioned in Part I, honour-based violence thrives at the intersection of patriarchal control, cultural expectations and socioeconomic constraints. In the Western world, we can see how these issues are further enhanced by discourses built on culturalised and racialised ideas of honour-based violence. This has direct consequences for victims of honour-based violence, in the sense that they are victimised not only by perpetrators of violence, but also by the state and service providers that are supposed to help them.

Looking at the effects of discourses on service provision, we see several examples of how Western countries try to prevent and handle honour-based violence, which in all the countries studied is perceived as an 'immigrant issue'. We also see evidence of how this is done in insufficient and harmful ways. Service provision is based on simplifications, stereotypes and processes of othering and culturalisation. The consequences of this can be severe for victims. This is evident for young women who receive 'help' that is ultimately detrimental, for example being forced to cut all ties with their culture and families or being labelled a victim of 'honour-based violence' on the basis of their ethnicity even when the violence was not honour-based. It is also evident that the stereotypical image of a victim excludes many people. As in most of the articles in this research review, it is predominantly girls and young women who are presented as victims. Boys, white women, black women, men, adult women, older people and LGBTQ people are often left unprotected.

Related to this is the section on underreporting, which examines the impact of honour contexts on reporting, highlighting cultural perspectives that make reporting or disclosure of certain forms of violence (mainly sexual abuse and intimate partner violence) even more difficult, or difficult in other ways than in non-honour contexts. Honour norms promote fear of dishonouring one's family and stigmatisation of experiences of intimate partner violence or sexual abuse. Honour contexts are also intertwined with other factors affecting disclosure of experiences of violence, such as socioeconomic inequality and gender roles as well as a lack of trust in public authorities, and negative representation of minorities in media.

This part of the review shows that there is a wide range of complex aspects at micro, meso and macro levels that need to be considered. It is also clear that this is not being done, resulting in measures and initiatives to prevent honour-based violence that are insufficient or even harmful. In sum, there are many aspects of social change that need to be considered in order to prevent honour-based violence. Isolated measures are not

enough; they need to be combined with significant other efforts. Using all means available to eradicate poverty, precarious labour conditions, war and conflicts, and culturalised stereotypes is a big call, but based on the reviewed research, it would greatly improve the conditions for change and prevention. The bigger picture and ways to implement measures at different levels to achieve these goals should be highly relevant for everyone working to end honour-based violence.



Final part: Conclusions

FINAL PART

Conclusions

We began this task of conducting a scoping review that aims to provide a comprehensive overview of international research on honour-based violence with a focus on understanding its various manifestations and causes, identifying exposed groups and uncovering research gaps. One year later, at the conclusion of this process, we ask: what is the current state of our knowledge?

First, to recall our initial methodological reflections, it is important to remember that the research included in this review is a reflection of studies and publications by English-speaking researchers on honour-based violence. It therefore captures their particular areas of focus and how they understand and conceptualise the phenomenon of honour-based violence. It should also be remembered that the database search conducted in April 2024 was based on the term 'honour', and terms associated with honour, limiting the search results. We do not say this to undermine the results of this research review, rather because these are important limitations to keep in mind when summarising our current knowledge. It also emphasises the importance of methodology, as highlighted throughout this review. Methodological aspects should be considered when interpreting the results of this literature review as well as when reflecting on the research included in this report.

Second, we should be mindful of the influence of language. While working on this report, the myriad of concepts, terms and wordings used in descriptions, studies and discussions of honour-based violence served as both a complicating factor and as an asset for research and knowledge building. It is humbling to try and capture the many nuances, complexities, particularities and universalities derived from the multitude of geographic, disciplinary, methodological, epistemological and theoretical perspectives within the international research field.

Regardless of context, interpretations of the concept of honour-based violence include an openness and flexibility, allowing for a diversity of content and meaning. This might be a result of necessity, not least since the relationship between honour and violence cuts through human life and behaviour in profound ways and hence needs to be context sensitive. However, this research review shows that this flexibility also carries risks, specifically of creating or reinforcing boundaries between categories of people built on stereotypes and prejudice, which is often not only discriminatory or anti-democratic but also counterproductive when these understandings are used to inform preventative measures, policy and politics. The research included in this review shows with great clarity that honour-based violence persists at a global level and may even be increasing. Further, it shows the dynamic character of honour-based violence as a result of inequality, patriarchy, war and poverty that has damaging consequences for individuals, communities and society at large. It also shows that major incentives are needed at all levels to reverse this development.

A delta of research

Featured on the cover of this report and recurring throughout the text are photographs of river deltas. This is not a coincidence but rather an allusion to a way of visualising research and knowledge on honour-based violence. The streams of research, sometimes clearly interconnected and other times seemingly more disparate, contribute to a system of knowledge building in which they feed of and into one another. Indeed, it is an impossible task for researchers to span all aspects of this system, from the psychological to the sociocultural and structural levels. Thus, researchers focus on aspects of the whole, which is why a review like this one, which presents a wide range of research approaches, is so valuable.

In this review, we have approached the international research field from three different angles: identifying central themes, providing a geographical overview and focusing on thematic areas. These different approaches highlight research and knowledge in specific ways. Part I of the study delves deeply into articles identified as having high centrality in the field to describe key themes and understandings of honour and violence, indicating that two dominant strands of research, namely 'family honour' and 'classic honour', might have more contact points than first assumed. Taken together, the two subfields offer key knowledge on honour and violence. Although research into male honour beliefs certainly has a stronger focus on violence between men compared to family honour research, it is still stated that honour cultures foster social norms in which male dominance and female subordination are intertwined with family honour, reinforcing traditional gender roles and perpetuating cycles of violence. Thus, the common features of the fields of male honour beliefs and family honour are strongly linked, although their knowledge interests differ at the micro, meso and macro levels due to the focuses of the disciplines involved.

Part II of the review describes the breadth of research interests in and between countries, revealing, for example, a focus on migrant minority groups in European countries and Canada. Many of these articles discuss the challenges of counteracting the gender trap by which multiculturalism tends to render ethnicised women invisible whilst islamophobia culturalises and exploits their potentially vulnerable position. Meanwhile, articles studying honour-based violence in, for example, Pakistan and Jordan generally rely on the concept of gender-based violence, presenting it as a consequence of poverty, low levels of education, weak democracy, strong patriarchy and gender inequality. We also see that highly publicised murders of young persons in several European countries at the beginning of 2000, and the subsequent media and political handling of these murders, have made a deep impression on research in these countries. Research also shows that the framing of these murders as honour-killings, and the political, policy and practical consequences, while sharing certain similarities, differs between countries due to demography, gender equality politics, migration laws and the function of the welfare state.

Finally, Part III of the review focuses on questions of prevention and change from interconnected perspectives, showing how reducing isolation co-exists with reduced

expressions of honour-based violence. A higher degree of mobility and lower degree of isolation within and between families, communities and societies destabilises and challenges honour norms, in turn disrupting the emergence, existence and expression of honour-based violence. Reducing isolation reduces the prevalence of honour-based violence. Articles included in Part III also point to honour contexts as a possible source of vulnerability in regard to reporting or disclosure of experiences of certain forms of violence (mainly sexual abuse and intimate partner violence). They also indicate that culturalised and racialised ideas of honour-based violence in the Western world have direct consequences for victims of honour-based violence in the sense that they are victimised not only by the perpetrators of the violence but also by the state and services that were supposed to help them.

No clear-cut direction is apparent in the research field as a whole. However, no matter what angle of approach, we see that researchers in the field are invested not only in describing honour-based violence but also in understanding, exploring and describing its roots and causes. Naturally, how these roots and causes are studied differs depending on the academic discipline. This is a strength that has fostered a breeding ground for important and explorative research, which is crucial to grasping the complexity of the phenomenon of honour-based violence. How the different streams in this delta of research influence and inspire each other will be determined by scholars in the field, but the ways in which the knowledge generated can influence and inspire policy and practice, and how this subsequently informs future research, is a joint task.

The image of the research field as a flood delta, points to the need of both universal and particularistic perspectives. In-depth studies that apply contextual sensitivity to individual streams are of equal importance to studies that take on universal questions of human rights and gender equality, or global patterns of inequality, war and migration. Perhaps the most important is, however, to relate these perspectives to each other. This also speaks to the transferability of knowledge and research between contexts, and the need and opportunities to see how particular, local preconditions affect the prevalence, consequences and forms of honour-based violence, whilst simultaneously linking them to universal considerations. The beginning and end points of knowledge that might be important in different times and places are, like the water in the flood delta, circular rather than linear.

Manifestations of violence

Throughout the articles included in this review, concepts of individual and collective honour, and the relationship between them, are presented as important factors for human identity, activity and socialisation.

One way to summarise the understandings of honour-based violence in the included articles is through the concepts of *family honour* and *classic honour* (*masculine honour beliefs).* Family honour revolves around collectively legitimised violence against girls and women, including femicide, mainly in the MENA region and among minorities that

have migrated to countries in the West from the MENA region, Pakistan and India. The studies investigating family honour are generally based on the common understanding that honour-based violence, the most extreme expression of which is honour killings (predominantly femicide), encompasses severe acts of violence that are perpetrated against women when an honour code is believed to have been broken and shame is perceived to have been brought upon the family. It is characterised by collective legitimation or sanction within a family and its community. In the broadest sense, the researchers define honour norms and honour-based violence, including honour killings (both femicide and homicide), as an extreme aspect of the institutionalisation of patriarchy. Thus, honour-based violence and honour killings thrive at the crossroads of patriarchal control, cultural expectations and socioeconomic constraints. These vulnerabilities are further compounded by systemic issues like racial discrimination and economic instability, which limit access to resources and support. Most of the studies on family honour put girls and women at the centre of vulnerability and stem from Sociology, Gender Studies and Law.

The study of *Masculine honour beliefs* is mainly focused on violence between males, although some studies also include violence against females. In the US context, this strand of research is based in social psychology and is generally motivated by the higher rates of homicide in the Southern US compared to the Northern US. The higher rates of homicide are explained through individuals' aggressive responses to perceived insults. These studies generally apply a comparative approach between regions where cultures of honour are perceived to be strong or weak respectively. *Male honour beliefs* have primarily been studied in the Southern US by US researchers, but since 2008 European scholars have started conducting similar studies in European countries. The European studies compare ethnic groups of residents, in which Southern and Eastern Europeans and/or migrants from the MENA region constitute honour groups, while Northern Europeans constitute non-honour groups. A growing body of research seems to shift the focus of this type of study by embracing the thought that our rapidly changing global societies sometimes change individuals' honour endorsement and emotions in a way that makes it important to study differences not only between but also within groups.

Another way to summarise how honour-based violence appears in the included material is as an aspect of gender-based violence or violence against women. This can include honour-based violence as specific forms of violence, for example forced marriage, dowry murders and control, or as an example of gender-based violence. Honour killings stand out from this pattern, with several articles focusing on this specific form of fatal violence. However, even honour killings are often investigated and studied in relation or comparison to other form of gender-based violence. Secondly, many articles study and describe the violent and other negative consequences of living in communities with strong honour norms. Severe consequences of violence and abuse, such as barriers to the disclosure of sexual violence or child abuse and challenges leaving destructive relationships, are present. Other reoccurring examples of the consequences of an 'honour culture' or 'honour norms' are, for example, hiding pregnancies, hesitancy in seeking medical or mental health care and aggressive behaviour towards others. Thirdly,

honour-based violence is explored as a symbol that contributes to meaning- or boundary making. Media and policy representations and discourses of honour-based violence seem to play a big part in the understanding of honour-based violence. The media framing often seems to reinforce stereotypes and processes of 'othering', even if there are also examples of media representations that challenge stereotypes. In policy discourse, policies related to honour-based violence often reflect societal attitudes towards minority groups and the broader framing of honour-based violence as a 'cultural issue'. Economic violence also runs through all the included studies, although always in the background and never as the primary focus. Economic violence is an intrinsic and defining feature of honour-based violence. As with honour systems, it inhibits women's autonomy throughout their lives. Thus, depending on a woman's age and marital status, it is fathers, brothers, husbands and sons who hold authority. This is perhaps the most obvious explanation for the lack of individual economic agency afforded to women in honour contexts. Accordingly, the dependency of women on men lies not only in their sexual virtue but is deeply anchored in the economic order of the honour system in which she has no rights. Harmful practices such as forced marriage and child marriage are tightly intertwined with these forms of economic violence.

Throughout the review, examples of honour-based violence include physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence, as well as several forms of harmful practices, such as forced marriage, female genital mutilation, acid attacks, child/early marriage, dowry murders and forced suicide. This leads us to the conclusion that honour-based violence is marked by continuity, diversity and change. While always based in similar values, it is subject to empirically diverse contexts and conditioning factors. In the work presented in this report, discourses of honour-based violence have been shown to contribute to othering and the making of difference, such as minority and majority groups, poor and rich, urban and rural, traditional and modern, Muslims and non-Muslims, men and women, young and old, migrants and non-migrants. Honour-based violence manifests as a consequence of poverty, marginalisation, inequality and patriarchy, and as something that has grave consequences at the micro, meso and macro levels. Hence, honour functions as a social control mechanism, regulating community behaviour by enforcing conformity to social norms and punishing deviations. Through this form of regulation, honour-based violence can be seen as serving as a means to sustain norms through collective punishment and sanctioning.

Exposed groups

Everyone is affected by honour as a mechanism of social control, but in closely knit groups, marked by low mobility and strong patriarchal and honour-based norms, the risk of violence increases. This said, some groups appear frequently in the material, others less so and some are entirely absent. This review reveals the same patterns as those present in research on gender-based violence in general, namely that women and girls are the main victims. Importantly, these groups are intersected by a variety of other dimensions, affecting vulnerability and risk of exposure to violence, which in the

included articles are predominantly socioeconomic status, age and ethnicity. Dimensions of functionality, sexuality, legal status and religious belief are less commonly elaborated on. In fact, the sexuality of women and girls, specifically those who define as non-heterosexual, is not covered in the included articles at all. Research primarily focuses on the exposure of women and girls to family honour violence, although men can also be victims to honour-based violence and honour killings. By contrast, research about male honour beliefs focuses largely on men's exposure to homicide and other aggressions, although women's exposure to gender-based violence is also mentioned.

Men are often studied in relation to aggression and as potential perpetrators, although they are also sometimes present as victims. This applies to exposure to explicit violence as well as consequences of male honour beliefs and masculinity ideals, for instance not disclosing sexual violence committed against them or seeking health care. Just like for women and girls, socioeconomic status, age and ethnicity are the primary dimensions that intersect with gender described in the reviewed research. Age is a dimension that appears regularly. The men studied are often young adults, while boys and older men are less present. Men's religious beliefs, or lack thereof, are less elaborated on, while functionality and legal status are absent. Men's sexuality is often not explicitly investigated as a main focus, although this dimension is present in the strand of research about male honour beliefs, which focuses on restrictive masculinity norms, including heterosexist ideals, honour and their consequences. How masculinity norms and male honour beliefs relate to negative perceptions and degrading of women, transgender people, gay men and men perceived as feminine are explored.

As shown here, gender is the most researched dimension in this field, and honour-based violence is understood as an example of gendered violence. As stated earlier, understanding honour-based violence as a gendered problem does not mean that it is binary. From an intersectional feminist understanding, gendered ideas about masculinity, femininity and queerness are always interrelated to conditions at the micro, meso and macro levels. In this light, honour-based violence structures the opportunities and lived realities for everyone. Honour systems not only enforce control over the sexuality and behaviour of women and girls through violence, but they also control how men are expected to behave, and exclude LGBTQ persons. Norms surrounding honour-based violence covered in the material are highly restrictive and confer an ever-present threat of lost honour and violence if they are broken or rumoured to be broken. As a mechanism of social control, they serve as an effective means to keep in place heterosexist and restrictive attitudes that defines how men and women are expected to behave and promote an ideology that only two genders exist and that they are static. This latter point brings us on to LGBTQ perspectives in research.

Knowledge and inclusion of LGBTQ people in research is scarce and some conclusions are implied rather than explicitly studied in the reviewed articles. For example, it can be inferred that lesbian, gay and bisexual people face hardship in the contexts presented in the research, which are defined by restrictive, heterosexist and cisnormative attitudes that define 'acceptable' masculinity and femininity. The same goes for transgender

people, non-binary people and other queer people who are unwilling or unable to conform to these restrictive norms about gender, masculinity and femininity. With very little research about any of these groups in the material, the knowledge about how LGBTQ people feel, navigate or strategise with regard to these norms and ideas about honour is scarce. It could also be difficult to even approach the idea of having a deviant sexual orientation or gender identity when living in a strongly heteronormative context such as an honour context. This may also be why there is a lack of research about LGBTQ people in honour contexts. That being said, heterosexist norms about how men and women are expected to behave and perform masculinity and femininity persist all over the world. LGBTQ people being forced to conceal their identities for their own safety is not unique to contexts defined by strong honour norms.

Life conditions – the breeding ground of honour norms and violence

We have seen that research on honour-based violence is conducted in many disciplines. One might assume that this variety of disciplines, worldviews and perspectives would offer contradictory results and fierce debate, but this is not the case, as the Delta metaphor illustrates.

The research that we have identified, read and analysed, offers breathtaking variations of profound thinking guided by curiosity and the will to know, which contributes to complementary insights across disciplinary borders into the tremendously complex field of human action which the field of honour and violence consists of. That said, this diversity does present various understandings of the conditions from which honour norms and violence arise. Different academic disciplines focus on *different aspects* of *the same phenomena*, in this case honour and violence. While they share universal traits, their manifestations vary and differ in particular contexts. Hence, one important conclusion is that we always need to consider the plurality of *cultures of honour*.

The common stream that runs through all the articles, implicitly or explicitly, and thus unites the bulk of research, is the multifaceted nature of the links between social norms, personal emotions, interpersonal interactions, societal conditions, livelihoods and socioeconomic conditions, which apply now and in the past. Multi-layered power relations at the micro, meso and macro levels that determine material inequalities and other social circumstances are the breeding ground for honour-based violence. The research presents these complex roots and causes as both immediate, personal experiences and constructed social boundaries that reflect broader cultural, ethnic and political tensions. Sociologists highlighting the role and conditions of society, economy, material production and livelihood is neither new nor surprising, but these same factors are also referenced by social psychologists studying male honour beliefs, although their central focus is individual and interpersonal implications of honour beliefs in terms of emotional and reciprocal reactions.

This stream can then be divided into the focuses of family honour and male honour beliefs. Research on *family honour* includes honour-based violence against women and girls and honour killings. These are compounded by systemic issues like racial discrimination and economic instability, which limit access to resources and support. The study of *masculine honour beliefs* is mainly focused on violence between men and homicide, although some studies also include violence against females. The norms and violence associated with both concepts thrive at the crossroads of patriarchal control, cultural expectation and socioeconomic constraints.

These two streams break down into a myriad of different focuses and research interests at the micro, meso and macro levels. Some studies focus on a single level while others focus on the interplay between them. Notwithstanding the many different factors that condition honour-based violence, and without reducing the richness and power of this diversity, we will mention some common factors revealed in the research. These are combined with the awareness that they are not as distinct in our lived experiences as they appear in analytical efforts to understand and explain them.

Overall, the researchers agree that religious and sexist explanations of honour-based violence are misdirected, as these are ultimately subject to the same structural conditions that shape honour norms and honour-based violence. Hence, an effective approach to combat honour-based violence requires that such factors, as well as all types of sexism and fundamentalism, are simultaneously addressed, at the individual, group and societal levels.

We also find explanations for honour-based violence at the individual level within the field of social psychological research. Such explanations state that psychological and social mechanisms contribute to the perpetuation of honour-based violence, particularly in situations in which men feel that their honour is threatened. However, as previously stated, even social psychological research takes as a point of departure the understanding that masculine honour beliefs derive from historical, economic conditions which continue to shape honour-based practices in various regions. Such regions are recognised as having weak public institutions in the sense that they cannot sustain participatory democracy that offers a normative basis for human rights.

Notwithstanding the global increase of honour killings and femicide in general, several researchers also study in detail whether apparent honour killings can be explained by other motives. Suggestions include 'revolt killing' and states of anomie. Let us have a brief look at these arguments.

The researchers assert that increasing rates of honour killings and femicide in general stem from combinations of many factors, specifically illiteracy, low education, poverty, war, occupation, migration, increasing urbanisation and unregulated wage labour that produces precarious labour conditions for men and women. Women face worse conditions in the tension between collective values, associated with tradition, patriarchy and family, and the modern individualistic values and demands. The shift towards a more individualistic social model has resulted in the collapse of previous economic and social institutions that have not been replaced by any new institutions with the power of

offering new moral orders. Some researchers pinpoint that this is an effect of the neoliberal global order, which seemingly, creates anomie. Anomie comes from the ancient Greek word *noma*, meaning norms. *Anomie,* accordingly, refers to distorted norms, and refers to the absence of social cohesion.

Although the studies conclude that honour norms and honour-based violence are most deeply entrenched in regions marked by a lack of economic resources, arising from the immobility effects of poverty, war and other social conditions, socioeconomics is only one cause. This is evidenced by honour-based violence and honour killings in high-caste contexts in India associated with inter-caste love marriages. Higher-caste families are not necessarily poor, but they are part of the rigid and immobile social order of the caste system. Such orders also create the kind of tight bonds that feed patriarchy, honour and violence. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the conditions of honour-based violence can be analysed, explained and understood by the interrelated mechanisms that arise from isolation, seclusion, marginalisation, stigmatisation and segregation.

The concept of mobility encompasses the research interest of many articles, with low mobility being a sign of limited resources. We see that while mobility is not a resource in itself, it can have empowering and deliberating effects, while a lack of mobility has the opposite effects, including submission, objectification, oppression and slavery, either within the family or, increasingly, in the precarious labour markets. Accordingly, forms of mobility that undermine social systems and networks can increase or decrease honour norms and honour-based violence. Thus, the influence of mobility must always be investigated and analysed within a specific context. Ultimately then, honour-based violence is a symptom of the absence of participatory democracy and welfare outside the extended family. Participatory democracy and welfare must be accessible to everyone on equal grounds in the presence of a normatively valid base for the promotion of human rights.

Knowledge gaps and new arenas for future research

The broad and complex research field included in this report provides crucial knowledge but also highlights knowledge gaps. These knowledge gaps, described and summarised in the previous three parts of this review, reflect the wide scope of disciplines, geographical areas and research interests within the field. In the following section, we will summarise the knowledge gaps and identify possible new arenas for future research.

Knowledge gaps

- The experiences of people exposed to honour-based violence need to be further examined in general and, in particular, in regard to minority categories, such as LGBTQ people, people living with physical and/or intellectual disabilities, undocumented migrants, children and elderly people. These categories must be included when developing future research, policy and practice.
- Young women, and young people in general, are presented as vulnerable in many articles. However, studies focusing on resistance and agency amongst young people living in families or communities that adhere to honour norms are largely missing. Children's exposure to honour-based violence is implicit in many articles, for example through studies on socioeconomic inequality, family abuse and consequences of war. An explicit focus on a children's rights perspective is largely missing in the research.
- Perspectives on honour-based violence captured by research conducted in languages other than English are not included in this review, which constitutes a specific knowledge gap in this context.
- Knowledge and inclusion of LGBTQ people in the research field is generally limited. Differences in exposure and consequences of honour-based violence within this group, such as between homosexual men and lesbian women, and the experiences and perceptions of transgender, non-binary and other LGBTQ people about norms and concepts of honour are largely missing.
- Disability as a factor that affects life opportunities and vulnerability is absent in the international research field.
- Recommendations on how to prevent honour-based violence are present in many of the included articles, although studies on specific evaluated or evidence-based methods are few. Moreover, there are limited studies exploring the applicability of universal violence prevention methods and interventions developed in research on violence against women, such as femicide, gender-based violence and sexual violence.
- Many articles point to the need for culturally competent service provision, but what does it mean? What does a culturally competent service provision look like? Who determines it, how do we know when we have achieved it and whose culture should be in focus? These questions, and others that are related, require empirical exploration that takes local contexts into account, includes multiple voices, experiences and knowledge and maintains a critical perspective on power inequalities at the micro, meso and macro levels.
- Discourses on honour-based violence have political, practical and symbolic effects, as is evident from the included research in this report. There is a lack of knowledge about how these effects on societal integration in a globalised world defined by rapid economic, political and social change affect social cohesion, gender equality, human rights and democracy building.

New arenas for future research

One of the main contributions of this review is to present the multitude of perspectives and aspects of honour-based violence encompassed in the research field. This opens up other intersections to explore and points to new research questions. For example:

- Masculinity, from a variety of perspectives, is the focus of many studies on male honour beliefs in the US, while studies conducted on migrant groups and in Eastern countries tend to focus on family honour. At the same time, patriarchy is a common denominator between the two. Connecting research and knowledge from studies on 'classic honour' and 'family honour' would enhance our understanding of the complex field of honour-based violence. This can be done through integrating masculinity as a field of interest into research on family honour or studying collective aspects of male honour beliefs in classic honour.
- Further development of the research covered in this review could shed new light on the relationship between honour and criminality. Societies governed by norms of dignity, face or honour are associated with strict attitudes of compliance and deviance/criminality, by which criminality is seen as dishonourable. Yet, research shows that defending and resurrecting honour is a motivation for many violent crimes, even in societies with a low degree of family-honour endorsement, not least in criminal organisations and gangs. So, how is honour integrated and maintained in these collectives, and in what ways can a gender perspective and research on honour and violence provide more knowledge on this topic?
- This review focuses on honour-based violence, but despite this wide scope, it limits understandings of honour to established contexts and interpretations. In what ways does honour affect gender-based violence in 'non-honour cultures'? We know that gender-based violence, including sexual violence, murders and psychological violence, is a global problem. What does honour mean, and how do these meanings affect violence and prevention of violence in contexts with strong norms of individualism?
- Research on tightly knit groups should be expanded to include a broader variety of contexts, both urban and rural, in both the Global South and Global North. This could enhance understanding of exposure to different forms of violence and consequences of isolation globally. What other tightly knit groups can be identified and what can we learn about vulnerability, resistance and policy development from those contexts?
- Within the included material, it is mainly women and girls who are described as victims. A few articles focus on men and boys from minority backgrounds as victims, while we know little or nothing about many other groups. Older individuals, regardless of gender or potential vulnerability, are absent from the material. There is very little research about LGBTQ people. No research was found on people with intellectual or physical disabilities. All of these dimensions, and particularly the intersections between them at the micro, meso and macro levels, require further research.

Key messages

Throughout the report, the reader will find summaries of needs for future research and implications, as stated in the included articles. Hence, here we will apply the broad perspective that a research review makes possible to present key messages for policy, practice and research.

Policy

- Apply democratic and human rights standards in all policy development, inspired by the provisions of the Convention of the Rights of the Child and international constitutions and in accordance with democratic constitutional rights for adults as well as children.
- Be thorough with concepts and language.
- Include people from different social categories and backgrounds, as well as their experiences, knowledge and needs, when developing measures and policies.
- Counteract inequality, marginalisation, segregation and poverty.
- Ensure gender equality in all areas.
- Develop policies to reduce isolation within and between communities, families and individuals.
- Ensure that necessary resources and conditions are available for everyone working to end honour-based violence.

Practice

- Listen to the needs of people exposed to honour-based violence and allow space for variety, nuance and complexity.
- Challenge prejudice in regard to race/ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality, disability, religion and gender identity.
- Build culturally competent organisations that acknowledge culture as an important and dynamic (rather than static) aspect in all people's lives.
- Facilitate community engagement that works to reduce isolation and increase mobility within and between communities, families and individuals.

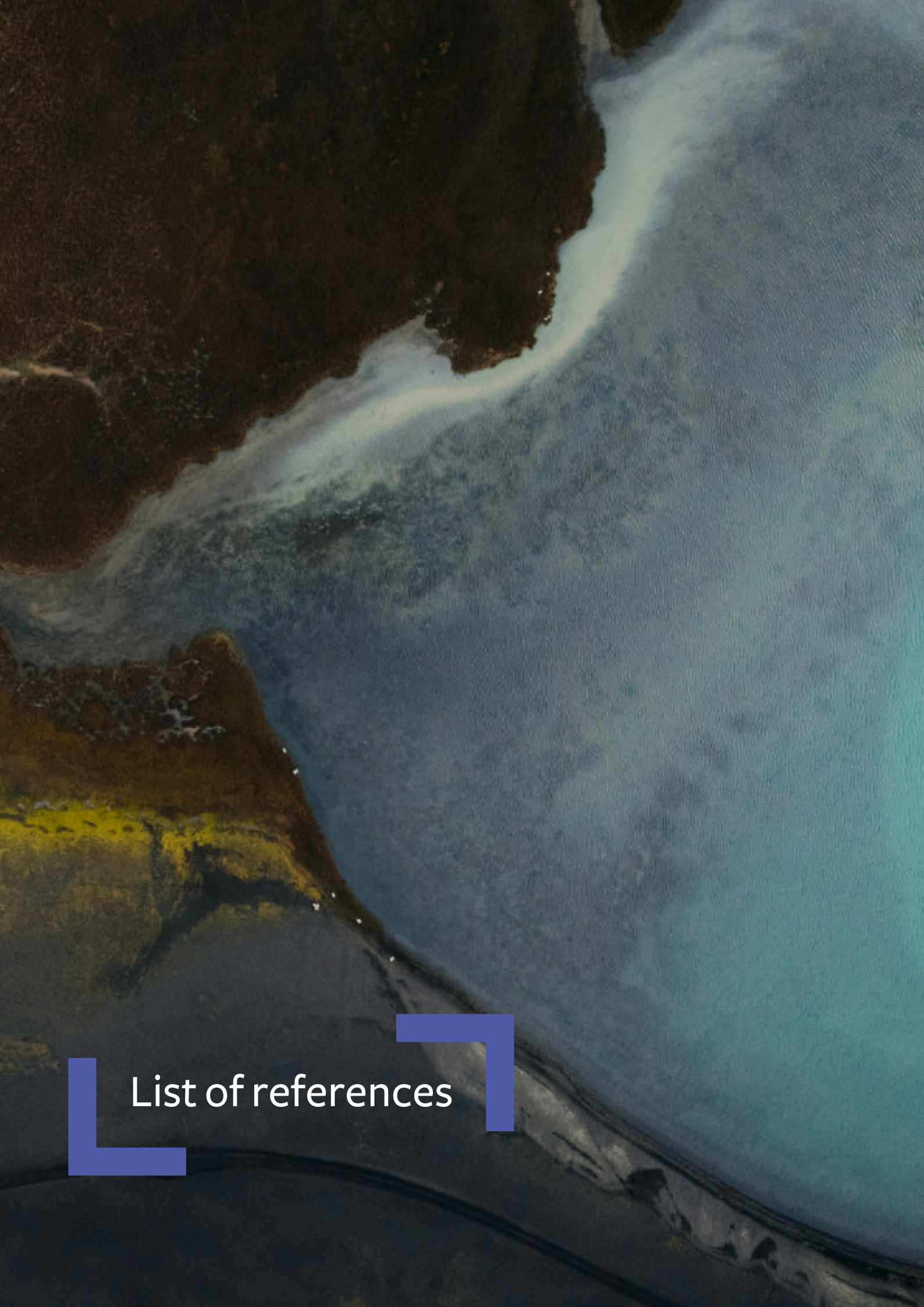
Research

- Inspired by the knowledge gaps identified above, further research should build on original empirical material to better contribute to knowledge building on the experiences and perspectives of:
    - A child rights perspective
    - LGBTQ people

    - Disability
    - Ethnic and religious minority groups
- The complexity and context sensitivity of honour-based violence calls for intersectional and multidisciplinary perspectives and analyses.
- There is a need for further theoretical development and the development of in-depth knowledge of the causes and origins of violence at the macro, meso and micro levels.
- Connect research and knowledge from different disciplines and geographic areas to further enhance understanding of honour-based violence.
- Embrace the intersections between culture and gender, sexuality and human rights to provide a foundation for evidence-based interventions.

Finally

For all parts of the report, decisions guided by the overarching aim of the review have been made by the authors of this report, resulting in the specific disposition and content of the review. There are, of course, several other routes that could have been taken, and many more themes than are presented that deserve attention. The review could easily have been developed to include a Part IV, Part V, Part VI….. Fortunately, research and knowledge building neither starts nor ends with this review. Honour, violence and gender, the relationship between them and their global reflections and expressions prompt us all to simultaneously examine, challenge and critically engage in research, practice and policy development. This report can function as a stepping stone for everyone interested and invested in contributing to the erasure of honour-based violence.



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Appendix I: Search strategy and method

Database Searches 4-5 April 2024

The literature search strategy for this review was based on a systematic review approach. The aim of a systematic review is to report on all accumulated research on a specific research question. The method is characterised by a detailed description of how the search and selection of literature are carried out to ensure reproducibility and transparency and reduce bias in the process.

The search strategy was developed in consultation between the report authors and the librarian. The librarian was responsible for database searching and reference management. The report authors were responsible for defining the selection criteria and carrying out the selection. Searches were carried out in international article databases. The review of all the references from the database searches at title and abstract level was carried out by the report authors without knowledge of the others' decision. Documentation of the searches was mainly done by the librarian.

Search terms

The search terms were aimed at finding all the relevant literature. Each concept was expanded with synonyms and related terms. From all the words within a concept, a search block was formed using the Boolean operator OR, and the blocks were combined into a search string using the Boolean operator AND. The search blocks were combined in the databases with proximity operators to increase accuracy and provide results on various forms of honour-related violence and oppression. The words had to be found in the abstract or the title of the publication within a maximum of five words or, alternatively, as keywords in which descriptions of honour-related violence and oppression occurred.

Search terms used: (dishonor OR dishonour OR honor OR honour OR honorable OR honourable)

NEAR/5

(aggress* OR "arranged marriage*" OR assault* OR battered OR chastity OR "child abuse" OR "child marriage*" OR coercion OR coercive OR "control* behavior*" OR "control* behaviour*" OR "control tactic*" OR "conversion therapy" OR crime* OR crip OR disabili* OR disown* OR "early marriage*" OR feminin* OR feminicide* OR fidelity OR filicide* OR "forced marriage" OR gender OR "genital cutting" OR "genital mutilation" OR harassment* OR "harmful practice*" OR heteronorm* OR homicide* OR homosex* OR hostile OR hostility OR infidelity OR intersection* OR killing* OR lgbt* OR "male domination" OR maltreatment OR masculin* OR murder* OR offence* OR oppression OR patriarch* OR punishment* OR purity OR queer* OR rape* OR reputation* OR respect* OR revenge OR sexualit* OR "sexual abuse" OR

shame OR “social control” OR “social exclusion” OR “social marginal*” OR “socio economic marginal*” OR “socioeconomic marginal*” OR suppression OR threat* OR violence OR violent* OR virgin*)

The search terms have been adapted to fit the search interfaces of the different databases.

Selected databases and limitations

The literature searches were limited to scholarly articles and chapters published since 1994, as the research question aims to compile the current state of knowledge. Based on the nature of the topic, four international databases were selected for the search: Scopus, Web of Science, ProQuest Social Sciences, and Gender Studies Database (ProQuest Social Sciences is a collection of nine databases).

The chosen databases represent both broad multidisciplinary and subject-specific ones. Scopus is the largest database and has the broadest geographic and linguistic coverage. It also includes the Medline index, so the medical field is well represented. Web of Science is about half the size of Scopus and has a narrower selection of journals. The databases overlap partially, but not completely, so it is reasonable to search both to cover the subject area. ProQuest Social Sciences is a collection of databases focusing on Sociology, Social Work, Education, Psychology and Criminology. In addition, the Gender Studies Database was searched. The Gender Studies Database contains selected references from scholarly journals in gender and equality research that may be relevant to the topic of honour-related violence.

SCOPUS

(TITLE-ABS-KEY(dishonor OR dishonour OR honor OR honour OR honorable OR honourable)) W/5 (TITLE-ABS-KEY(aggress* OR "arranged marriage*" OR assault* OR battered OR chastity OR "child abuse" OR "child marriage*" OR coercion OR coercive OR "control* behavior*" OR "control* behaviour*" OR "control tactic*" OR "conversion therapy" OR crime* OR crip OR disabili* OR disown* OR "early marriage*" OR feminin* OR feminicide* OR fidelity OR filicide* OR "forced marriage" OR gender OR "genital cutting" OR "genital mutilation" OR harassment* OR "harmful practice*" OR heteronorm* OR homicide* OR homosex* OR hostile OR hostility OR infidelity OR intersection* OR killing* OR lgbt* OR "male domination" OR maltreatment OR masculin* OR murder* OR offence* OR oppression OR patriarch* OR punishment* OR purity OR queer* OR rape* OR reputation* OR respect* OR revenge OR sexualit* OR "sexual abuse" OR shame OR "social control" OR "social exclusion" OR "social marginal*" OR "socio economic marginal*" OR "socioeconomic marginal*" OR suppression OR threat* OR violence OR violent* OR virgin*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1993 AND PUBYEAR < 2025 AND (LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE,"ar") OR LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE,"ch"))

WEB OF SCIENCE

TS=((dishonor OR dishonour OR honor OR honour OR honorable OR honourable) NEAR/5 (aggress* OR “arranged marriage*” OR assault* OR battered OR chastity OR “child abuse” OR “child marriage*” OR coercion OR coercive OR “control* behavior*” OR “control* behaviour*” OR “control tactic*” OR “conversion therapy” OR crime* OR crip OR disabili* OR disown* OR “early marriage*” OR feminin* OR feminicide* OR fidelity OR filicide* OR “forced marriage” OR gender OR “genital cutting” OR “genital mutilation” OR harassment* OR “harmful practice*” OR heteronorm* OR homicide* OR homosex* OR hostile OR hostility OR infidelity OR intersection* OR killing* OR lgbt* OR “male domination” OR maltreatment OR masculin* OR murder* OR offence* OR oppression OR patriarch* OR punishment* OR purity OR queer* OR rape* OR reputation* OR respect* OR revenge OR sexualit* OR “sexual abuse” OR shame OR “social control” OR “social exclusion” OR “social marginal*” OR “socio economic marginal*” OR “socioeconomic marginal*” OR suppression OR threat* OR violence OR violent* OR virgin*))

PROQUEST SOCIAL SCIENCES

((ABSTRACT(dishonor OR dishonour OR honor OR honour OR honorable OR honourable) NEAR/5 ABSTRACT(aggress* OR "arranged marriage*" OR assault* OR battered OR chastity OR "child abuse" OR "child marriage*" OR coercion OR coercive OR "control* behavior*" OR "control* behaviour*" OR "control tactic*" OR "conversion therapy" OR crime* OR crip OR disabili* OR disown* OR "early marriage*" OR feminin* OR feminicide* OR fidelity OR filicide* OR "forced marriage" OR gender OR "genital cutting" OR "genital mutilation" OR harassment* OR "harmful practice*" OR heteronorm* OR homicide* OR homosex* OR hostile OR hostility OR infidelity OR intersection* OR killing* OR lgbt* OR "male domination" OR maltreatment OR masculin* OR murder* OR offence* OR oppression OR patriarch* OR punishment* OR purity OR queer* OR rape* OR reputation* OR respect* OR revenge OR sexualit* OR "sexual abuse" OR shame OR "social control" OR "social exclusion" OR "social marginal*" OR "socio economic marginal*" OR "socioeconomic marginal*" OR suppression OR threat* OR violence OR violent* OR virgin*)) OR (TITLE(dishonor OR dishonour OR honor OR honour OR honorable OR honourable) AND TITLE(aggress* OR "arranged marriage*" OR assault* OR battered OR chastity OR "child abuse" OR "child marriage*" OR coercion OR coercive OR "control* behavior*" OR "control* behaviour*" OR "control tactic*" OR "conversion therapy" OR crime* OR crip OR disabili* OR disown* OR "early marriage*" OR feminin* OR feminicide* OR fidelity OR filicide* OR "forced marriage" OR gender OR "genital cutting" OR "genital mutilation" OR harassment* OR "harmful practice*" OR heteronorm* OR homicide* OR homosex* OR hostile OR hostility OR infidelity OR intersection* OR killing* OR lgbt* OR "male domination" OR maltreatment OR masculin* OR murder* OR offence* OR oppression OR patriarch* OR punishment* OR purity OR queer* OR rape* OR reputation* OR respect* OR revenge OR sexualit* OR "sexual abuse" OR shame OR "social control" OR "social exclusion" OR "social marginal*" OR "socio economic marginal*" OR "socioeconomic marginal*" OR

suppression OR threat* OR violence OR violent* OR virgin*))) AND (at.exact("Article") AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND pd(19940101-20240404) AND PEER(yes))

GENDER STUDIES DATABASE

(dishonor OR dishonour OR honor OR honour OR honorable OR honourable) N5 (aggress* OR "arranged marriage*" OR assault* OR battered OR chastity OR "child abuse" OR "child marriage*" OR coercion OR coercive OR "control* behavior*" OR "control* behaviour*" OR "control tactic*" OR "conversion therapy" OR crime* OR crip OR disabili* OR disown* OR "early marriage*" OR feminin* OR feminicide* OR fidelity OR filicide* OR "forced marriage" OR gender OR "genital cutting" OR "genital mutilation" OR harassment* OR "harmful practice*" OR heteronorm* OR homicide* OR homosex* OR hostile OR hostility OR infidelity OR intersection* OR killing* OR lgbt* OR "male domination" OR maltreatment OR masculin* OR murder* OR offence* OR oppression OR patriarch* OR punishment* OR purity OR queer* OR rape* OR reputation* OR respect* OR revenge OR sexualit* OR "sexual abuse" OR shame OR "social control" OR "social exclusion" OR "social marginal*" OR "socio economic marginal*" OR "socioeconomic marginal*" OR suppression OR threat* OR violence OR violent* OR virgin*)

Database	**Publication types**	**Results**	**Date**
Scopus	Articles, book chapters	2123	04/04/2024
Web of Science	Articles, book chapters	1527	04/04/2024
ProQuest Social Sciences	Articles	2255	04/04/2024
Gender studies database	Articles	467	04/04/2024

Total: 6369
After duplicates removed: 3369
Limitations: 1994-2024, scholarly articles, book chapters.

Results

A total of 6369 hits were downloaded into the reference management software Zotero and, after duplicate removal, 3369 references remained to be reviewed for inclusion and exclusion decisions in Rayyan (3024 duplicates removed).

The searches were performed in all the databases and downloaded into the reference management software Zotero and delivered to the authors in the Rayyan screening tool.

A total of 3369 references were reviewed by the authors in *blind mode,* which means that the reviewers could not see the others' decisions, and they made decisions on each reference independently. This was to avoid being influenced by the others' decisions and to base the selection on the selection criteria, thus ensuring the scientific quality of the report. In this first screening, the reviewers decided on category inclusion or exclusion for each reference based on the title and, if available, abstract and keywords. When in doubt, the category was chosen. After the blind mode was switched off the authors discussed and jointly decided on the references in which the reviewers made different assessments.

During the review in Rayyan the authors of the report decided to exclude book chapters from the review. The authors decided/judged that the number of included references intended for full-text reading articles, 831, was too extensive and further limitations were applied.

Appendix II: Citation analysis

To provide an overview of the 831 titles identified in the search results, a citation analysis was conducted using the network visualisation program VOSviewer. The goal was to gain insight into the field, identify potential subfields and determine which titles are central to the network and how they are related based on citations. VOSviewer clusters the titles based on their citation link strength, creating a visual representation of their relationships. However, it is important to note that these clusters do not necessarily represent distinct subfields within the broader field. The program relies on 'raw' citation data, meaning it cannot discern the reasons behind citations – whether they are made for supporting evidence, critiques or other purposes.

The DOI numbers of the included titles were used to retrieve citation data from the OpenAlex database. Out of the 853 titles, 726 DOI numbers were successfully matched in OpenAlex. To simplify the visualisation, a minimum citation threshold was set: only documents cited at least four times were included in the map. This reduced the number of articles shown to 476. However, some articles, although cited four times, had no meaningful connections to others in the network and were excluded from the analysis, leaving a final citation network of 358 articles.

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