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WHY HONOR IS WORTH MORE THAN A LIFE

A LITERATURE REVIEW ABOUT 'SO CALLED' HONOR VIOLENCE

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ABSTRACT

Background: In honor culture the family's honor is valued by the girl's or the woman's social and sexual behavior, in her virginity, and is therefore dependent on how well she can manage the deeply rooted traditional norms that describes what is acceptable or not. Anyone who violates these norms and rules must be punished, and the most extreme form is killings, 'so called' honor killings, sanctioned by the community. This is because family honor means everything, more than a life. Oppression and violence in the name of 'so called' honor prevent girls and women to make choices about their own life. It restricts them in their everyday life, and is an act of serious discrimination and violation against human rights. More research is needed in this field.

Aim: The aim of this literature review was to investigate the factors behind the violence and oppression practiced in the name of 'so called' honor.

Method: The study was conducted as a qualitative literature review based on guidelines for systematic literature review. Nine articles based on research in Jordan, Lebanon, Occupied Palestine, Pakistan, Turkey and Yemen were studied and analyzed with a content analysis.

Result: The findings showed three themes that highlight reasons behind the 'so called' honor violence; *social institutions*, *social dynamics* and *welfare state*. The honor values are set by the cultural, traditional and patrilineal values well embedded in the social behavior. The honor values compound reputation, family loyalty and female chastity, and are stronger in less developed regions with a tribal structure, and where the welfare state is weak.

Conclusion: The factors behind the honor violence have traditional and sociocultural traits, but can be explained by economical and social problems. In poor socioeconomic settings, honor is the family's insurance for their well-being. Further in-depth research is needed to find out more about this correlation.

Key Words: honor culture, honor values, honor violence, honor killings, collective society

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INTRODUCTION

“A 17 year-old youth confessed to trampling and stabbing his 13-year-old sister to death after hearing from his friends that a man gave her his phone number.”

“A 19-year old man turned himself in after torturing, strangling and stabbing his older sister, a 22-year old university student, because he ‘suspected’ her behavior.”

“A 30-year old mother of six was stabbed to death with a switch blade by her brothers, 44 and 19, after she had been missing from her husband’s house for ten hours.” (Mansur, Shteivi & Murad, 2009, p.10-11).

These were all women who did not follow the strict traditional and social norms. Women who had broken the unwritten laws; they had violated the family honor. They were all women who had to be punished, maybe by a brother forced into the act. The family honor had to be restored because honor is everything, even more important than a life (Mansur et al, 2009).

In honor cultures the family’s honor is respected out from the girl’s or the woman’s behavior and how well she can manage the deeply rooted traditional norms (Husseini, 2009; Mansur et al, 2009). Norms that deciding what is acceptable or not. The one who violates these must be punished, and the most extreme form is killing, ‘so called’ honor killings, which are always sanctioned by the community (ibid).

Oppression in the name of honor prevents girls and women from making choices about their own life. This restricts them in their everyday life, and is an act of serious discrimination and violation against human rights (Mansur et al, 2009).

A number of research studies have been conducted about honor culture and its consequences. Mansur et al (2009) argue that few of them aim to see the reasons behind the oppression and the violence in the name of ‘so called’ honor, something that is of great value in order to combat it. This study focuses on the factors behind the ‘so called’ honor violence that continues to influence societies in some parts of the world.

BACKGROUND

Violence and oppression against women is a form of discrimination and an often hidden public health problem all over the world, in all socioeconomic classes. Not only the woman, her family, also the society as a whole bear the consequences. Violence counteracts development and promotes other forms of violence, and it also prevents women from living to their full potential (Commission on Human Rights, 2002; Husseini, 2009; Nasrullah, Haqqi & Cummings, 2009; United Nations, 2006). United Nations (2006) defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". “So called’ honor based violence is an extreme form of discrimination against women and gender based domestic violence. The impact on the women’s well-being is apparent (Hamdan-Mansour, Arabiat, Sato, Obaid & Imoto, 2011).

Honor culture and honor values

This study addresses the honor culture within kinship societies with a patrilineal and collective structure, where collective values are based on the individual as an inseparable part of the group, with a responsibility and loyalty towards the group, the tribe and the family (Chinthio & Ericsson, 2006). This is in contrast to the individual honor culture, where individual values are prized. In a patriarchal structure the oldest male is the head of the family and holds the power, and therefore has the control over the subordinate women and children (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Badayneh, 2012; Chinthio & Ericsson, 2006; Commission on Human Rights, 2002; Faqir, 2001; Hellden & Carbin, 2010; Lari, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009; Sakallı, 2001). However, in a patrilineal society, the blood relation persists throughout the whole life, that means that the paternal family has a responsibility even after marriage. This responsibility has a function of support for the woman and prevention of negative treatment from the husband or his family, but it also means that she is controlled by both her paternal family and her marital family (Lari, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009). Social institutions is the system of norms and rules that has become a norm of behavior, such as in traditions, social norms and cultural practices, that in the honor culture are based on collective and patrilineal values. These norms describe what in the public's eye is an acceptable behavior. Within patrilineal societies the woman's ability to reproduce is essential and her only asset (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Commission on Human Rights, 2002; Critelli, 2010; Faqir, 2001; Hellden & Carbin, 2010; Hussein, 2009; Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011; Lari, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009). The family's honor is closely connected to reputation, female chastity and virginity. Based on patrilineal and tribal values women are seen as a man's property; property that may be exchanged, bought or sold from her father's house to her husband's house. A woman's chastity has the function of a symbolic capital for the family and therefore it is important to protect it. She needs to be delivered 'untouched' to her husband. Sexuality, especially the girls' and women's is therefore central and is monitored by both the family and the community (ibid). The family's reputation and honor is valued according to the behavior of girls and women and how they manage traditional ethical norms.

Honor is not a stable state; it can be lost or gained. When shame is brought upon the family, the family honor is lost. Honor is valued in a social context in other people's eyes, and honor is often connected to men, and shame to women. The social pressure to protect and restore the honor is an element in everyday life (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Arnold, 2001; Commission on Human Rights, 2002; Hussein, 2009; Lari, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009).

Honor violence

Commonly the girls or women know that there is no alternative but to follow the norms and rules, but if she violates them, the family may feel compelled to restore the honor. It can be expressed in forced and early marriages, restrictions in daily life, or in the most extreme form, forced suicide or murder (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Arnold, 2001; Hussein, 2009; Lari, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009). Often, it is only rumor and suspicion about a shameful behavior that triggers a violent act (ibid) and Hussein (2009) argues that it is usually the conflict between culture, urbanization and youthful rebellion. An honor killing is always planned, and often not seen as a crime. It is widely accepted and something the society expects to happen or even puts pressure on to happen. The perpetrator is often treated as a hero after (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Faqir, 2001; Hussein, 2009; Mansur et al, 2009).

The 'so called' honor related violence has similarities with gender based violence. The mechanism and structure are the same, and both take place in close relations. The difference is, that the 'so called' honor related violence is practiced within some cultures, within 'so called' honor cultures, and the victim is normally a young woman and the perpetrator a young

brother, although, victims can be male and the perpetrator a women (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009). The concepts of ‘so called’ honor violence and honor related violence includes oppression, honor crimes and honor killings.

Human Rights

The honor culture has high expectations and responsibility on how women should live their lives (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Commission on Human Rights, 2002; Hussein, 2009). In addition to physical and psychological effects, it prevents and restricts girls and women from participating in social, political and economic life. It prohibits empowerment, and further on impairs human capital, and social and economic development of society (Commission on Human Right, 2002; Hamdan-Mansour et al, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009).

United Nations (2006) defines honor related violence as ”a harmful traditional practice”. Human Rights declare all people equal who have equal rights before the law. Additional to that, no traditional, cultural or religious values may be used as a reason for discrimination, that The Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) clarifies (Committee of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2012). Nevertheless discriminatory acts against women are practiced around the world. In many countries ‘so called’ honor crimes are considered under the law as a mitigating factor, and the offender often evades justice with a very low penalty (Faqr, 2001; Hussein, 2009; Lari, 2011; Mansur et al, 2009). Since the collective sanctions of the ‘so called’ honor violence, CEDAW has had little impact (Faqr, 2001; Mansur et al, 2009). According to the Convention of Children’s Rights, parents have the responsibility to protect children from all forms of violence (Ouis & Myhrman, 2007).

The extent of the problem

Violence in the name of ‘so called’ honor is a global problem but more prevalent in the Middle East and Asia (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan), where Jordan and Pakistan have been more often observed. The practice can also be found in South America and in parts of Africa. Through immigration it has become a growing problem in Europe and North America (Commission on Human Rights, 2002; Hellden & Carbin, 2010; Hussein, 2009). The extent of the problem has increased in recent decades, but because many crimes go unreported, the official figure is uncertain. According to United Nations Population Fund, 5,000 women every year are killed in the name of ‘so called’ honor (United Nations Population Fund, 2000), but many more are affected. The number is an estimation due to the difficulties in collecting accurate data (Commission on Human Rights, 2002).

Theoretical framework

To understand ‘so called’ honor violence, Hellden & Carbin (2010) declare it can be viewed from three perspectives. The cultural perspective explains honor violence with cultural values and the gender perspective explains the violence of men’s superior relationship over women. Miller & Petro-Nustas (2002) believe in the cultural and gender perspective, and that ‘so called’ honor violence is rooted in old traditional patriarchal and tribal cultures, where the family is a respected institution. They can also see a link to religion, but Faqr (2001) argues that the tribal and patriarchal values have developed into religious values and therefore the two have been intertwined, although Islamic law or the Quran doesn’t condone honor killings (Abu-Lughod, 2011). Also Cinthio & Ericsson (2006) see a link to the patriarchal mindset. They relate honor to honorable, in the meaning divine and blessed, which they believe has a close connection to status and power. The intersectional perspective compounds several aspects of power relations such as gender, ethnicity and social class. Mansur et al (2009), however, believes that honor repression is rooted in poverty and social problems.

This study intends to provide understanding about the factors behind the ‘so called’ honor violence. Understanding why it exists is a key factor in finding solutions to combat ‘so called’ honor violence.

AIM

The aim of this literature review was to investigate the factors behind the violence practiced in the name of ‘so called’ honor.

METHOD

The method used was qualitative literature study (Bryman, 2008) based on the guidelines for systematic literature review (ibid). This means a structured review and analysis of previous research in examining the existing knowledge base and to give a deeper understanding in previous research on the factors behind honor violence.

Data collection

The articles for the literature review were searched in the databases SAGE Journals and Academic Search Elite, which are databases for health, social- and behavior science and have a content of full text articles in the field of ‘so called’ honor related violence. Used search terms were *honor killings, honor crimes, honor violence, honor related violence, honor culture, dignity culture, family violence, domestic violence, early marriages, teenage marriages, cultural norms, cultural traditions, traditions, patriarchal societies and patriarchy*. Mesh terms were used to find search terms adapted to the specific database. Search terms were used together with the Boolean operator AND (appendix 1).

Inclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria were that the articles should be available in English and in full text, and initially not earlier dated than 2002, with the reason not to use articles older than 10 years. During the literature review a relevant article dated 2001 was found and included. Articles had to be peer-reviewed and published in a scientific Journal (Bryman, 2008). To limit the study, only articles related to countries where the honor culture is a social and cultural norm. These countries came to be Jordan, Lebanon, Occupied Palestine, Pakistan, Turkey and Yemen. Articles related to immigrants from these regions were therefore excluded.

For the article search the title was used as an initial selective. Thereafter the abstract was read to determine the relevancy of the article (appendix 1). The sample was considered saturated when further searches did not lead to any new findings. From the abstract 33 articles seemed relevant to read in full text. This resulted in nine articles meeting the objectives and subsequently went through a quality review according to Willman, Stoltz and Bathsevani (2011), which also included the articles with a quantitative approach.

Data analysis

An inductive qualitative content analysis was chosen for the data analysis, as a literature review using the method of systematic literature study (Bryman, 2008), implying a structured analysis of research articles. An inductive qualitative approach can, according to Graneheim & Lundman (2004) advantageously understand, explain and describe actions, behavior and perceptions.

The articles were read more than once to make sure they were correctly understood. The parts of the text that could be understood as giving explanation to ‘so called’ honor violence were marked as meaning units (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Only the important data and data

relevant to the objectives were categorized (ibid), and importance was pointed out not to exclude any relevant data. The data was processed twice, during a short period of time, so that the sorting and labeling could be consistent and reach dependability according to Graneheim & Lundeman (2004). The meaning units were condensed into condensed units, still with the same meaning, and thereafter coded. The code was a short description of the essential content. This facilitated the interpretation to see new dimensions of the text. This process was done twice to make sure the meaning unit and the coding were labeled right.

The codes with the same meaning were categorized together. This is the important part of a content analysis, because coding is according to Graneheim & Lundeman (2004) the way to see new relations and patterns. The codes were first categorized into sub-categories and then into further categories. Since data could only fit into one sub-category or category (ibid), the most suitable was used. At last the themes, consisting of categories and correlative to the meaning units, were decided. The themes were to explain and give an understanding about the factors behind the 'so called' honor violence (appendix 3).

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness in a research study is related to the process of conducting the study. The quality in a qualitative research is therefore in the credibility, dependability and transferability (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Credibility is the way the study is carried out according to research practice, and how well the results cohere with the conclusion and be acceptable to others (Bryman, 2008). The research process has clearly been described as to achieve dependability (ibid). Also the selection of meaning units and a consistent sorting and labeling was of importance (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). To increase the dependability the results were compared with other sources of data (triangulation) (Bryman, 2008). Confirmability was ensured by acting in the purpose of not letting previous knowledge, beliefs or values influence the result. Transferability is achieved when the findings can be transferred to other contexts (ibid), and therefore the social and geographical context was described. By continuing to extend the research about the honor culture and what factors influence the violence in the name of 'so called' honor, this study has made some input to the existing knowledge in the field, and according to Bryman (2008) achieved authenticity.

Ethical considerations

The researcher has the responsibility to ensure good quality research based on morals (Codex, 2013). This literature study was therefore conducted with an ethical approach and not intentionally moved away from the scientific requirements. The intention was to serve humanity, and not involve any intended delusion (Bryman, 2008). Because of the sensitivity of the subject, the researcher had to consider how the result would be received and experienced. The intention was to increase the understanding for previous research in the field of 'so called' honor violence and not to single out any culture, or people within the culture, as savage. It was neither to generalize that all families, or men, agree upon the honor values, honor oppression or honor violence.

All selected articles were peer-reviewed and published in scientific journals, but also assessed considering their trustworthiness. The risk of misinterpretation of previous research (Graneheim & Lundeman, 2004) was considered, but by revising the meaning units, the risk was minimized.

RESULT

The result shows the findings of the study (Bryman, 2008). The analysis resulted in three themes; *Social institutions*, *Social dynamics* and *Welfare State*, explaining the factors influencing ‘so called’ honor violence, and is described within the categories (figure 1).

Sub category	Category	Theme
Century-old traditions Accepting adolescent marriages Conservative rules	Customs and traditions	Social institutions
Social and sexual behavior Rebellious behavior	Social norms	
Family honor Female chastity	Honor values	
Social psychological behavior Acceptance for violence	Tolerance of violence	
Religious influences Religious belonging	Religion	
Male dominated society Obeying men Felt restricted Forced marriages	Patriarchal society	Social dynamics
Gender rules	Gender inequality	
Discriminatory laws Beneficiary laws	Legislation	
Educational level Occupation/ Employment Economic- / Socioeconomic background Social condition Political instability	Human Capital	Welfare State
Dependent on their honor Social pressure	Collective structure	

Figure 1- Chart Themes, Categories and Sub-categories

Social Institutions

This theme describes the system of norms and rules, values and beliefs that form the norms of behavior. Custom and traditions are the cultural and social heritage that except from habits includes values and approaches to life. Honor values and tolerance of violence are values that have become part of the social norms.

Customs and traditions

Conservative rules are old traditional rules that haven't changed. Conservative rules restricted the girls and women from wearing makeup and wearing anything other than traditional clothing (Erez & Berko, 2010). Critelli & Willett (2012) found that in more rural areas the cultural behavioral norms were more conservative compared with more urban areas.

Ouis (2009) claims honor violence to be very specific to some cultures, and honor killings is a *century-old tradition* that has become a custom (Critelli & Willett, 2012), and for this

reason "will be continued to be defended", according to an argument found in Pakistan. Customs and traditional norms became more important for the well being of the family when legislation and the welfare state were weak (Ouis, 2009).

Ertem, Saka, Ceylan, Deger & Ciftci (2008) found in their study that in Kurdish and Arabic communities the *acceptance for adolescent marriages* was higher than in Turkish communities. The same was found in Yemen (Ouis, 2009), where the welfare state is weak, tribalism is strong, and poorer families practiced more often adolescent marriages for economical reasons (ibid). Also Ertem et al (2008) found adolescent marriages more common among rural families with a traditional lifestyle.

Social norms

Social norms are the set of rules of what is acceptable behavior in the specific society, and becomes part of the culture.

The *social and the sexual behavior* are regulated within the social norms. A *rebellious behavior* and not obeying the ethical and social rules, including inappropriate or disrespectful behavior was violating the family honor (Adana, et al, 2011; Erez & Berko, 2010).

"... the girls' right to rest, play and leisure is violated because they have to stay inside the homes to be "good girls." At home, they are often expected to carry out rather heavy domestic work." (Ouis, 2009, pp 451).

Showing interest in the opposite sex was inappropriate and unacceptable behavior. Teenage girls argued strongly that they wished society could accept boys and girls to be friends. They felt enormous pressure not to get a bad reputation (Ouis, 2009).

A woman could be accused of losing the family honor if she was living alone in her house (Erez & Berko, 2010; Ouis, 2009). Premarital sex, adultery, becoming pregnant out of wedlock and prostitution were all situations that caused harm to the family honor (Kulwicki, 2002), and not acceptable within the *sexual norms*. But not only evidently unacceptable behavior caused violation of the family honor, suspicions or a questionable reputation was often enough (Erez & Berko, 2010; Ouis, 2009).

"... laughing in the street is sufficient to get a bad reputation as being a loose girl" (Ouis, 2009, pp 453).

Honor values

The *family honor* was a very important element within the honor culture. Ouis (2009) described honor as a mentally constructed power, based on gender and sexuality. A tribal Bedouin leader explained:

"The dirt that a man makes reflects only on him; the woman's dirt reflects on the whole family." (Erez & Berko, 2010, pp 179).

Findings showed that there was an unwritten law that the family honor was based on the *female chastity* (Can & Edirne, 2011; Critelli & Willett, 2012; Ouis, 2009), and where the ownership of a girl's or a woman's body was in the family's hand. She was only seen as a sexual symbol and common property (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Ouis, 2009).

"Women's existence is diminished to being a sexual symbol, which signifies family or tribal honour because the concept of honour in this society has become considered as being similar to common property, which is under guardianship of

brother, father, husband, brother-in-law, or other male relatives” (Ouis, 2009, pp 454).

Her chastity was closely connected to her virginity. She had to be pristine and still a virgin until the day she gets married (Ouis, 2009).

Honor was not a stable state; it could be gained or lost (Ouis, 2009). Therefore it was important to protect it. The results of the study clearly showed that the *family’s honor* was about their control of the girls’ morality, and all acts that could violate her reputation, and subsequently the family honor, had to be repressed. The reputation of the girl was worth everything, even more than her well-being or her life (Erez & Berko, 2010; Ouis, 2009). Behavior that wasn’t appropriate for a morally good girl or woman was for example to show interest in the opposite sex, walk on your own in the street or staying in the house without a male guardian (Erez & Berko, 2010). This put enormous pressure on the girls and their families, in order not to bring shame upon their families. A girl or a woman therefore had to be under strict guardianship of a brother, father, husband, brother-in-law, or another male relative (Ouis, 2009).

“ ... if you don’t have a man present, a brother in your home; that means you are free for everyone.” (Critelli & Willett, 2012, pp 214).

Girls and women had to live under strong moral rules, were denied leisure time and were often kept indoors. Some types of ‘play’ were seen as inappropriate in fear of losing their virginity, for example playing games or bicycling (Erez & Berko, 2010).

The victims of rape or a sexual assault were the ones who got the blame, not the perpetrator (Ouis, 2009). The families felt a huge pressure to act against the victims as well.

Religion

Religion sets living norms and rules, and is also a tradition within the local setting. The religion in the studied countries was primarily Islam. There were different opinions about the *religious influences* on ‘so called’ honor rules. Adana et al (2011) found in their study that very few interviewees related family honor to religion. Can & Edirne (2012), on the other hand found that honor crimes had a relation to religion. The *religious belonging* was important, and a Muslim woman who would marry a non-Muslim man would be violating not only the family honor but also Islamic law (Critelli & Willett, 2012). Critelli & Willett (2012) also found that the Islamic Council was against divorce, and that divorce is another way to violate the family honor.

Tolerance of violence

There was an extensive *acceptance for violence* within the culture (Critelli & Willett, 2012). Domestic violence was a common problem (Araji & Carlson, 2001; Critelli & Willett, 2012). Especially in rural areas where there was less attitudinal problems towards it (Araji & Carlson, 2001). Psychological violence as when the husband took a second wife (Erez & Berko, 2010), or physical violence as a way to discipline children was common (Can & Edime, 2011). Violence had become *social psychological behavior* and part of social norms.

Araji & Carlson (2001) found that the tolerance of violence was higher amongst fathers who had a low status occupation and mothers who had a low level of education.

Those who had witnessed violence at some part of their lives justified honor violence and honor killings to a higher extent (Adana et al, 2011).

Social dynamics

Social dynamics is how interaction and influences impact on behavior and group behaviors within the social setting. This theme describes the three categories of a patriarchal society, gender inequality and legislation.

Patriarchal society

Men's support of honor crimes was significantly higher than women's, and girls associated honor crimes with a *male dominated society* (Can & Edime, 2011). Erez & Berko (2010) found women saying that honor violence is a way to enforce patriarchal gender scripts. Also Ouis (2009) found that patriarchal gender rules were enforced by domestic violence of different levels and seriousness. Critelli & Willett (2012) learned that the *male dominated society* and the patrilineal structure together with hard social condition was the primary reason behind all forms of gender-based violence.

Most students thought that women should *obey men*, behave appropriately towards them and their families (Adana et al, 2011), and that men should decide where women could go.

Girls and women were found monitored and controlled by their families and the community, and weren't allowed to decide over their own life (Erez & Berko, 2010). This prevented them from participating in some activities, and they *felt restricted* in their lives.

One girl told the interviewee:

"I did not go to school. I was not strong at school. (My parents) forced me to do house chores and help them. My father said I do not need to study" (Erez & Berko, 2010, pp 169).

An imprisoned woman who felt lonely in prison, at the same time expressed that she had more freedom within the prison than at home (Erez & Berko, 2010).

Refusing to stay within these restrictions, to marry a partner of their own choice, refusal to marry or escaping a *forced marriage* (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Kulwicki, 2002), was found to bring shame upon family and violate the family's honor and often led to punishment (Critelli & Willet, 2012).

Forced marriages of underage children occurred, in the family's beliefs of protecting them from honor related stigma (Ouis, 2009). Decisions about marriage were often taken under social pressure related to the family's honor (ibid).

Gender inequality

Adana et al (2011) found that a low belief in gender equality had a connection with support for honor violence. The subordinate status of girls and women in the society has become a social norm.

Gender rules were well embedded in the Arab society. From early childhood to late adulthood women had to comply to gender rules that decided a girl's or woman's demands in life or what was appropriate for her to do (Erez & Berko, 2010; Ouis, 2009). Interviewed girls told that they instead of attending school or playing with toys had to do housework (Erez & Berko, 2010). Male students thought that women should do housework (Adana et al, 2011).

Legislation

The traditional and social norms were found to reflect in the legislation. The laws that regulate honor crimes and early marriages were found to be *discriminatory* for women and *beneficiary* for men. Recent change in laws, that criminalizing honor killing and outlawing harmful traditional practices (e. g. adolescent marriages or trading of young women to sort out family issues), showed limited effect in practice (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Kulwicki, 2002). But question them, was to question the tradition, the culture and the religion, and would lead to be accused for being ‘westernized’, Critelli & Willet (2012) learned.

Welfare state

The third theme is Welfare State and can be explained with the categories human capital and collective society. These factors influenced the family’s socioeconomic status and explained why the family honor was important for the family’s well being.

Human capital

The level of human capital had an impact on the attitude towards violence and ‘so called’ honor violence, and further on, also on the probability to be a victim or a perpetrator (Adana et al, 2011; Can & Edirne, 2011; Critelli & Willett, 2012; Kulwicki, 2002).

Educational level is an important factor for human capital growth. Low education is related to higher support for honor culture and honor violence (Adana et al, 2011; Araji & Carlson, 2001; Ouis, 2009), and men mitigated the effect of violence to a higher extent if his mother was illiterate or had incomplete primary schooling. There was also a relationship between low education and adolescent marriage (Ertem et al, 2008).

There were findings about the relationships between *occupation and employment* and violence. If the mother’s participation in working life was low, the women in the household were at a higher risk of being exposed to violence (Adana et al, 2011; Critelli & Willett, 2012). The father’s occupation also influenced the attitude towards violence and honor rules, and if the father had a low status job, violence was a mitigated problem (Araji & Carlson, 2001). If the father was unemployed, the prevalence of family violence was higher (Adana et al, 2011).

Most victims came from poorer families (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Kulwicki, 2002), but victims had been found in all socioeconomic groups. Can & Edirna (2011) found on the other hand no relation between students’ beliefs about honor rules and *economic status*. Ouis (2009) found that a family’s economic situation might force them into marrying their young daughters off early.

Social conditions and *political instability* put families under pressure and compounded violence (Critelli & Willett, 2012). Underdeveloped societies had a stronger belief in honor values than more developed ones (Ouis, 2009).

Collective structure

Ouis (2009) found that if the welfare state was weak or undeveloped the honor was an important factor for the family’s welfare system. Honor had the function of an economical tool and gave the ability to do transactions to keep wealth within the family, or tribe, and therefore the family was *dependent on their honor*, their good reputation. The honor culture was found stronger in weaker and less developed welfare states (ibid). Political instability also boosted the traditional structure of the society and the values of an honor culture (ibid).

The woman's sexuality is connected to the relations between communities (Ouis, 2009), and because of the collective structure of the society, the family's role within the society was very important for its chances to survive.

"I wanted to build my life and that we should have a good reputation; you know how important this is in Arab society" (Erez & Berko, 2010, pp. 178).

The family reputation and honor was dependent on the society's thoughts and beliefs about the family, and a rumor could destroy the honor, and future of the whole family (Erez & Berko, 2010; Ouis, 2009). Consequently it was very important to preserve a good reputation. Influences from close others and other's beliefs about the family put *social pressure* to maintain the family's honor within the community (Erez & Berko, 2010). As earlier revealed, the family's honor was related to the control of girls' morality and chastity, and because the community observed girls and women, they had huge pressure to keep their morals high, chastity clean and stay within the social norms. Other's beliefs about the family were therefore closely connected to what was acceptable within the social norms (Erez & Berko, 2010; Critelli & Willett, 2012; Ouis, 2009).

A woman's husband discovered on the wedding night that she wasn't a virgin:

"So the same night I went back to my aunt, and it was a big shame (fadiha). Everyone, all the neighbors, noticed it and knew why I returned home and what [problem] I had". (Erez & Berko, 2010, pp 173).

Uskul, Cross, Sunbay, Gercek-Swing & Ataca (2012) found in their study that Turkish participants' views on other's beliefs, had a more extreme impact compared with American participants'. Situations that could be called honor attacking had also a greater impact on Turkish participants' feelings about themselves or close other's feelings about them, than American participants' (ibid). An honor-enhancing situation also had a greater impact on Turkish participants' ideas about close other's feelings.

Because of *social pressure*, families didn't want to have anything to do with a member who had violated the family's reputation (Erez & Berko, 2010). The girl who wasn't virgin when she got married became disconnected from the society because of the shame she had brought upon the family:

"I tried to go back to school, but my family did not want it because they said that all the neighbors know I am not a virgin . . //.. he said he did not want to talk as I made him crazy and caused shame". (Erez & Berko, 2010, pp 173).

One reason for killing in the name of honor was because the society was expecting it, and they would blame themselves if they wouldn't do it. They also thought they would be excluded from the society if they didn't do it (Adana et al, 2011).

As long as the crime of honor was hidden from the public eye, the family honor could be saved. But once it was discovered, the honor had to be restored by punishing the girl or woman by killing or social exclusion (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Erez & Berko, 2010). To prevent close others from knowing about the shame, mothers covered the problem, and instead put the blame on the girl (Critelli & Willett, 2012).

DISCUSSION

Method discussion

The aim of this literature study was to investigate the results from previous scientific studies, and draw conclusions regarding the factors behind the violence in the name of 'so called' honor. A disadvantage of a literature study according to Graneheim & Lundman (2004) is that another interpretation of an earlier interpretation is conducted. On the other hand, this review brings opportunities for new aspects and understanding through a more complete picture of several studies. Thus, the method used could meet the aim.

The chosen databases from the conducted test searches were Academic Search Elite and Sage Journals. However, when the search for articles started, only a few relevant articles were found, and the search terms were extended. There was a large shortfall due to them being theoretical articles. This could be evidence of a lack of scientific research, as Araji & Carlson (2001) and Badayneh (2012) also pointed out. By using additional databases, more articles with a clearer link to honor culture could have been found and may have strengthened the study.

According to Graneheim & Lundman (2004) the pre understanding could have influenced the result, but that it on the other hand was impossible not to use this pre understanding in the interpretation. Accordingly it is a 'balancing act' (ibid), and it was kept in mind in the interpretation of the articles. Some of the studies were mainly focusing on the topic of violence against women, but they were still considered interesting from honor violence and family violence perspective, with the argument that they brought a wider aspect to the study. It might have been a risk for ambiguous influence on the result, but choosing varied and different aspects of articles brings according to Graneheim & Lundman (2004) credibility to the study. This, and that the findings are non-contradictory is seen as a strength.

Graneheim & Lundman's (2004) process of analysis was applicable on qualitative studies, but some of the articles found had a quantitative approach, hence the method was applied to them too. This complicated the content analysis, but it was possible to also transfer the data to meaning units here. In the cases where the data came from a chart, it was given a code directly and later categorized together with the other codes. The modification of the method could have limited the credibility and dependability. There is also a lack in transparency in the content analysis process, but this is the nature of a literature review according to Bryman (2008). An example of the meaning units and the categorization is therefore given in appendix 3.

Graneheim & Lundman (2004) argue that a text always has multiple meanings, and therefore the interpretation of the text is in the reader's eye. The articles were thus read more than once to make sure they were understood correctly, that increased the trustworthiness of the results that were used in this study.

All articles were published in peer-reviewed journals. Not all of them gave clear information about approval from an Ethical Committee, but participants had been informed and agreed on participating. However, one study, didn't inform the reader this was the case, and was therefore questioned, even though it was included in this study.

By extending the existing research to find out the factors behind the 'so called' honor violence, and moreover increasing the knowledge to benefit society (Bryman, 2008), it can be interpreted that this study achieved authenticity.

Result discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the factors behind the 'so called' honor violence, and the results given indicates that the key can be found in cultural, social and economic factors that are described within three themes; social institutions, social dynamics and welfare state.

'So called' honor related violence can be described as part of a traditional family ideology (Hellden & Carbin, 2010), and honor violence includes violence, killings and acts of oppression in the name of 'so called' honor, even though Ouis (2009) means that most victims are the one institutionalized within the honor values. Killing is only the most extreme form of the everyday violence in the name of 'so called' honor (Badayneh, 2012; Erez & Berko, 2010).

Oppression was in the study shown as adolescent and forced marriages, girls locked in at home and girls prevented from playing or taking decisions about their own life. Even though men are also victims, the findings clearly indicate that the most severe impact is on girls and women (Kulwicki, 2002). Women's and girl's failure in managing cultural and social norms and family honor-expectations, cause stigma in the context of family honor, and have to be punished because the honor has to be restored. "So called' honor crimes are always planned and sanctioned by the society, after which, as Ouis (2009) describes, the family almost celebrates the act.

The study showed that 'so called' honor violence has cultural and traditional traits that inherit people's beliefs, values and attitudes to become social norms, and is a mentally constructed power based on family loyalty, reputation, and female chastity (Ouis, 2009). Acts and behavior are interpreted as honorable or shameful instead of right or wrong (Cinthio & Ericsson, 2006). How can it be that these values and practices are still very present well into the 21st century? What factors can explain this?

The studied countries Jordan, Lebanon, Occupied Palestine, Pakistan, Turkey and Yemen all have a tribal structure based on collective values, which includes patrilineage and loyalty to family (Badayneh, 2012; Miller & Petro-Nustas, 2002), and this is the root to honor values according to Cinthio & Ericsson (2006), Lari (2011) and Hellden & Carbin (2010). A patriarchal and patrilineal society have a nature of gender inequality, where the male values are dominant and powerful (Badayneh, 2012; Ouis, 2009), and the 'so called' honor violence is a way to control the patrilineal gender roles (Erez & Berko, 2010; Can & Edirne, 2011). Moreover, Ouis (2009) argues that gender based violence in honor cultures finds its root in honor values. There is logic in this, when the value of a woman is only based on her body, her sexuality and on her ability to reproduce.

Nasrullah et al (2009), Miller & Petro-Nustas (2002) and Cinthio & Ericsson (2006) argue that 'so called' honor killings are more prevalent among Muslim countries, but it can be traced to all religions. The studied countries were mainly Muslim, but Abu-Lughod (2011), Faqir (2001) and Morse, Egbarya, Paldi & Clark (2012) point out that Islam does not sanction honor killings, but there is a common confusion between Islam and traditions (Hamdan-Mansour et al, 2011; Hellden & Carbin, 2010). Cinthio & Ericsson (2006) see a link between religion and the patriarchal mindset, and relates honor to honorable, in the meaning divine and blessed, this they believe has a close connection to status and power. Faqir (2001) argues that the tribal and patriarchal values have developed into religious Islamic values and therefore the two have become intertwined. Findings in this study show however a stronger

relation to culture rather than religion, although Ouis (2009) believes that Islam has an influence that in the future will become stronger due to Islamization.

Within the cultural and social norms, domestic violence has a wide acceptance (Adana et al, 2011; Araji & Carlson, 2001; Critelli & Willett, 2012; Erez & Berko, 2010). It is used to enforce discipline and has become institutionalized. Especially in rural and less developed regions, where it also is justified to a higher extent. Could this mean that also 'so called' honor violence is justified? Adana et al (2011) found a relation between approval of honor killing, justifying violence against women and traditional gender roles. Maybe the social pressure related to honor values is one factor that boosts family violence, as Badayneh (2012) and Morse et al (2012) are arguing. Because of the collective structure there is also a collective responsibility for both honor and shame that Ouis (2009) means is one key factor influencing and accepting 'so called' honor violence.

Honor is as mentioned, a mentally constructed power and as long as the crime of honor is hidden from the public eye, the family honor has never been lost, and stigma can be avoided. But once it is discovered, the honor has to be restored. Erez & Berko (2010) discovered how a Bedouin woman gave birth out of wedlock and strangled her newborn baby. As a way to hide childbirth as a consequence of rape, another woman told that she was sent away 'on vacation', and thereafter her family never talked about it, as it had never happened (ibid). The stigma caused by talking about this supposed family matter together with women's dependency on men, is enough for not reporting the crime. Violence against women and 'so called' honor related violence are taboo subjects and is under reported. There is no reliable statistics of the prevalence (Badayneh, 2012; Critelli & Willett, 2012; Hamdan-Mansour et al, 2011; Kulwicki, 2002; Oweis, 2009; Gharaibeh, Al-Natour & Froelicher, 2009).

Patrilineal values and gender roles pervade these societies and have been institutionalized; this is reflected not only in social norms and values, but also in the law (Cusack & Cook, 2007; Critelli, 2010). Ouis (2009) and Critelli & Willett (2012) found the lenient laws a strong contributor to the honor violence. Mansur et al (2009) argue that previous studies have come to the conclusion that the laws have to be amended. As a result of the long custom and traditional practice, the honor violence has become a natural element in all aspects within the society. After law amendments, findings show (Critelli & Willett, 2012) that attitudes remain the same, and crimes in the name of 'so called' honor still take place. Conclusively, the law has limited effect in practice, which Faqir (2001), Lari (2011), Mansur et al (2009) and Nasrullah et al (2009) agree upon. Given that behavior is judged after honorable and shameful (Cinthio & Ericsson, 2006) this is not hard to understand. A law amendment would therefore be of little effect and hard to achieve, although Mansur et al (2009) mean it is a necessity to increase the penalty, with the motivation that 'less loss more likely' to commit a violent act. The law forbids rape, and because of the lenient penalty for honor crimes, Faqir (2001) argue that some 'so called' honor killings are a cover up for a rape.

These arguments imply that the 'so called' honor violence can be seen from a sociocultural perspective, but it doesn't seem to fully explain the 'so called' honor violence. Countries in the same region, with the same language and culture, practice the honor culture more or less strictly. Could the key be found in economical and social problems rather than in socio-cultural and traditional norms? The sociocultural aspects probably have to be put into a local context, where gender, socioeconomic- and political factors have significant impact (Hellden & Carbin, 2010; United Nations, 2006; United Nations General Assembly, 2012).

Ouis (2009) found that customs and traditional norms become more important for the well-being when legislation and the welfare state are weak. This creates a foundation for tribalism and a collective structure, out of the reason that people are dependent on family's economical status when the support doesn't come from the state. In these countries it means that the family is dependent on the family honor to gain human capital and well-being. The rules that have developed within the society have formed a norm of acceptable behavior, a social norm that controls the gender roles, restricts girls' and women's social and sexual behavior in the meaning of protecting the family honor (Adana et al, 2011; Erez & Berko, 2010; Ouis, 2009). The honor can be gained or lost, and shame brought on a family from previous generations can have an influence on the family at the present time as well as in future (Miller & Petro-Nustas, 2002). Therefore it is very important to maintain a good reputation. Honor has the function as an investment in the family's status within the society. To kill in the name of 'so called' honor, is to invest in the family's future. Some 'so called' honor killings are in fact a cover up for inherited disputes and therefore an economic crime (Faqir, 2001). For this reason, it is not surprising that the honor culture is found stronger in weaker and less developed welfare states. This is clear when you look at under developed countries such as Yemen. There, the honor culture is more strongly reinforced than other countries in the region with the same culture and language. For the same reason politically unstable regions have a stronger belief in honor culture and its values. Social conditions and political instability also put families under such pressure that violence in general is compounded within these settings (Critelli & Willett, 2012). As the phenomena of 'so called' honor violence seems to be more common in rural and less developed areas (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Kulwicki, 2002), the level of human capital such as education and employment, seems to be an important factor. Women are traditionally confined to the domestic sphere and restricted to knowledge appropriate for them, an early marriage means, not only a health risk but also the end of school (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Ouis, 2009). Education promotes gender equality, and girls prevented from education will continue to nurture patriarchal and honor values, and further delay development. Human and social capital, as a result of education, could be used instead of honor, and further on lead into economical capital. Without economical or human capital it is more likely to commit a crime (Mansur et al (2009). An uneducated girl doesn't contribute to the family's economical capital and welfare and therefore it wouldn't 'cost' the family in lost economic contributions, to kill her. With the same argument, a young unemployed brother doesn't contribute to the family's welfare and could more easily be chosen to commit the murder. When the human capital is growing (education, employment and later on economical growth) the honor values should become less important for the welfare. This consequently would mean that with modernization and economic development the honor values and the honor culture should dissolve, and this is what Uskul et al (2012) found in their study from urban Turkey. Ouis (2009) argues that honor violence is a tradition, and traditions normally become weaker and less important with economic development and urbanization (Mansur et al, 2009).

Critelli (2010) means that the patriarchal structure and its values will persist until the educational level has increased and development has taken off. Therefore it is easy to understand how girls and women in underdeveloped regions agree with the ideology they are born and raised into. It is only when a change has started that they will be able to question the values. Together with development come new cultural challenges. Cultural clashes between traditional gender roles and new modern ideas raises, Kulwicki (2002) states. Miller & Petro-Nustas (2002) believe that the 'so called' honor violence is rooted in the conflict between the old traditional patriarchal tribal cultures and modernization; where girls and women fail to manage honor expectations. Within economic development and modernization the individual

values are prized and comes into conflict with the collective values. Ouis (2009) claims this is the reason why the numbers of 'so called' honor killings increase when a state is under development and modernization. Girls and women are divided between the two culture values, and when they cannot master the situation and break the rules, the honor is tarnished. This means that a strong honor value mindset leads to fewer cases of crimes, and an increase in crimes when the values within the honor culture have started to change (Faqir, 2001).

Immigrants to other countries tend to transfer their social and cultural values and norms (Oweis, Gharaibeh et al, 2009) and the findings of this study could also provide useful information in understanding the practice amongst immigrants from these cultures. In this context, and because of its collective characteristics, Yakin Ertürk stressed in 2007 the importance of knowing how the 'so called' honor violence is expressed and not only why (Hellden & Carbin, 2010). A reflection is that the "so called honor" crimes recently have started to be addressed as gender based violence in for example, Jordan (Jordan National Commission for Women, 2012), for the reason to address that it is seen as a crime and not as a mitigating circumstance. In Europe they have recently started to move away from the 'gender based violence' perspective and address honor violence as an act based on honor values (Hellden & Carbin, 2010), as to be able to address the problem correctly and to make sure that oppression under the honor values will be addressed.

Early in this study it became clear that this is a field not very deeply researched, and more searches was needed to understand the factors that continue to oppress, hurt and kill mainly girl and women in some parts of the world. The result from this study indicates that 'so called' honor violence in the future needs to be further studied out from a socioeconomic perspective, that also Mansur et al (2009) and Nasrullah et al (2009) believe. It also became obvious that the phenomenon has to be addressed according to its context, to be able to combat it successfully.

CONCLUSION

The honor culture has traditional traits, and is stronger in less developed areas where the human capital is lower (Critelli & Willett, 2012; Kulwicki, 2002). Conservative rules continue to restrict and prevent girls and women to live to their full potential. In the absence of economical capital or a strong welfare state the honor has the function of social capital and insurance. In a weak welfare state the family's network come to rely on reputation and honor, as the only way to survive (Miller & Petro-Nustas, 2002; Ouis, 2009). You need to have the right connections that can help you with every day matters. Consequently, lost honor makes life harder. Findings show that honor is a substitute for the welfare system in tribal collective societies and leads to a conclusion that honor culture and the 'so called' honor violence can be traced to poverty and socioeconomic problems.

The importance of honor brings tremendous pressure to comply with social and cultural norms, norms that also justify violence as a way of discipline, to keep up a good reputation and family honor (Badayneh, 2012; Erez & Berko, 2010). What others believe about the family means everything, which forces the family members to monitor each other's acts and behaviors. The family's honor is closely connected to female morality and chastity rules that are well embedded in the social norms. Violation of them means a lost honor that has to be restored. With a strong economical foundation, the honor values are of less importance (Ouis, 2009), but without that, the honor values will continue to influence family's lives until the larger population reaches the same socioeconomic level. However, the economical aspects of the 'so called' honor violence need more research.

Even though this field of study has recently gained more attention, apparently little research has been conducted within ‘so called’ honor related violence, particularly in rural and underdeveloped areas. The complexities between the collective and individual values need further understanding, especially in view of conflicts between honor values and modernization, therefore, more research is strongly recommended. Helldén & Carbin (2010) and Ouis (2009) highlight the fact that it is important to understand the background of the ‘so called’ honor violence, but also to further examine practices to combat it.

“Women voluntarily accept being jailed for the sake of their own protection. They can be detained in prison for years, and can only be released by a male relative. Such male relatives must assure not to hurt or kill the woman, but reality has proven this promise to be of no value. Many women released by their male relatives are killed shortly afterwards. Therefore, many women prefer to stay in prison year after year.” (Ouis, 2009, pp 459).

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APPENDIX INDEX

Appendix 1 Article search

Appendix 2 Article Summary

Appendix 3 Example Meaning Units

APPENDIX 1

Article search

Date	Database	Söknr	Key word	Boolean	Hits	Abstract read	Article read	Article used/
11/4	Sage Journals	1	honor killings		39	0	0	0
		2	honor killings family violence	AND	26	10	4	1
		3	honor killings cultural norms	AND	27	13	3	
		4	honor killings patriarchal societies	AND	76	7	3	2
		5	honor killings culture norms patriarchal societies	AND	8	2	0	0
15/4		6	Honor culture		36	7	1	0
		7	Honor culture Dignity culture	AND	5	0	0	0
		8	honor violence		20	7	2	1
		9	honor violence honor related violence	AND	1	0	0	0
20/4		10	honor violence early marriages	AND	0	0	0	0
15/4	Academic Search Elite	11	Honor culture		1143			
		12	Honor culture Dignity culture	AND	18	4	2	0
		13	Honor culture Honor killings	AND	47	16	5	2
		14	Honor culture Honor violence	AND	155			
		15	Honor culture Honor violence Honor killings	AND	28	3	1	1
		16	honor killings honor crimes	AND	59	0	0	0
		17	honor killings honor crimes honor violence	AND	28	20	5	1
		18	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence	AND	5	1	0	0
		19	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence	AND	23	3	0	0

		20	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence family violence	AND	2	0	0	0
		21	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence domestic violence	AND	5	0	0	0
		22	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence traditions	AND	5	0	0	0
		23	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence cultural norms	AND	5	0	0	0
		24	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence cultural traditions	AND	2	0	0	0
		25	honor killings honor crimes honor violence honor based violence patriarchy	AND	4	0	0	0
		26	honor killings family violence	AND	48	15	5	1
		27	honor crimes family violence	AND	32	6	1	0
		28	honor crimes family violence domestic violence	AND	27	5	1	0
20/4		29	honor violence teenage marriages	AND	3	1	0	0
					TOTAL	ARTICLE	USED	9

APPENDIX 2
Article summary

Author	Title	Journal	Purpose	Method	Resultat	Quality (Enl William, Stoltz and Bathsevani, 2011)
Adana, Arslantas, Ergin, Bicer, Kiransal and Sahin	Views of Male University Students About Social Gender Roles; An Example From East of Turkey	Journal of Family Violence 2011, No 26	The purpose was to determine the views of male University Health Students on social gender roles at work, social life, marriage, and family life.	A quantitative study with data collected uby sing a questionnaire.	Men with a traditional view of women was to do house work, and who approved honor killing and who did not believe in equality of women and men, were found to support violence to women by men. Those who witnessed violence at some stage of their lives supported this view as well.	Good
Araji and Carlson	Family Violence including Crimes of Honor in Jordan	Violence Against Women 2001, 7, (5)	The purpose was to evaluate perceptions of the seriousness of family violence including honor crimes, and identify demographic and attitudinal factors associated with these perceptions.	A quantitative study with data collected by using a questionnaire.	Half of the students found family violence as a large problem, and the perceptins depends on social class variables, such as occupation and education.	Good
Can and Edrine	Beliefs and attitudes of final-year nursing students on honour crimes:a cross-sectioal study	Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing 2011, 18	The purpose of this study was to determine perceptions of about honour crimes.	A quantitative descriptive and cross-sectional study.	Gender has an influence on perceptions, attitudes and tolerance of honour crimes.	Good
Critelli and Willett	Struggle and Hope: Challenging Gender Violence in Pakistan	Critical Sociology 2012, 39, (2)	The purpose of the study was to examine the organizations' strategies in their work for women's right by using a feminist framework and Feminist social movement theory.	A qualitative in-depth interviews and participant observation.	The study eulted in deeper understanding for the different dilemmas in the field of femnist workers in different local settings and how it interact ith the political field.	Good

Erez and Berko	Pathways of Arab/Palestinian Women in Israel to Crime and Imprisonment: An Intersectional Approach	Feminist Criminology 2010, 5(2)	The purpose in the study is to draw a theory of Arab/Palestinian women's in Israel pathway to crime and imprisonment.	A qualitative study with in depth interviews with open end questions	The result shows three reasons that lead Arab/Palestinian women into crime and imprisonment; abusive homes and women's attempts to resist gender oppression, association with criminal men or forbidden potential mates, and managing family-honor expectations.	Medium
Ertem, Saka, Ceylan, Değer & Çiftçi	The Factors Associated with Adolescent Marriages and Outcomes of Adolescent Pregnancies in Mardin Turkey.	Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 2008, 39,(2)	The study's purpose was to determine the adolescent marriage frequencies and to identify the factors associated with early marriage, and the effect of early marriage on child health.	A cross-sectional study conducted through using self-determined, structured questionnaires. face-to-face interviews	The result shows that in multicultural regions underdeveloped cities, the rate of adolescent marriage was higher than in developed regions. Social development (women education, father's education, urbanization) was an important influential factor.	Medium
Kulwicki	The Practise of honor crimes: A glimpse of domestic violence in the Arab World	Mental Health Nursing 2002, 23	The purpose of the study was to determine the cultural context, and the social and legal implications, in which violent crimes against women are committed in the Middle East.	A mixed quantitative and qualitative study. A review of court files.	Analysis of the court files showed that the most common cause of murders was honor crimes. Cultural norms and practices supported the practice of killing women for sexual misconduct and excuse perpetrators of the crimes from punishment.	Medium
Ouis	Honourable Traditions? Honour Violence, Early Marriage and Sexual Abuse of Teenage Girls in Lebanon, the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Yemen International	<i>Journal of Children's Rights</i> , 2009, 17	The purpose was to investigate the exposure to sexual violence of teenage girls in Lebanon, the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Yemen.	A qualitative study conducted by Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs), with additional life stories.	The result showed the cultural mechanism behind gender based violence in the Middle East, how honour violence, early marriages, and sexual abuse are violations of the Convention on Children's Rights.	Medium
Uskul, Cross, Sunbay, Gerçek-Swing and Ataca	Honor Bound: The Cultural Construction of Honor in Turkey and the Northern United States	Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 2012, 43(7)	The purpose was to study the hypotheses that Turkish and northern American culture differences in honor perceptions.	A modified situation sampling method by using Questionnaires with open-ended questions.	Turkish people were more sensitive about honor attacking or honor enhancing situation, therefore it is important to gain a better understanding of the cultural differences and constructions of honor, to prevent misunderstandings.	Poor

APPENDIX 3

Example meaning units

Meaning unit	Condensed meaning unit	Code	Sub-category	Category	Theme
Honour ideology is a tribal, pre-modern phenomenon. Honour is important for the welfare system in traditional kinship societies, particularly if the welfare state is weak and not fully developed. Honour has functionalistic, economic and materialistic aspects such as maintaining the wealth or land within the tribe or wider family.	In traditional kinship societies honor is important for the welfare system as it can be seen with functionalistic, economic and materialistic aspects as to keep the wealth in the tribe or family	Honor has an important role in the welfare system	Depent on their honor	Collective structure	Welfare State
Certain types of play are seen as inappropriate even for very young girls. Playing games and bicycling for example are not always accepted for girls in many honour societies because of the fear of “losing virginity” during such activities	Certain types of play is inappropriate for girls in fear for losing the virginity	Fear for losing girls virginty	Female chastity	Honor values	Social institutions
based on interviews with teenage girls, one important opinion expressed in several settings was the girls’ wish that it would be accepted in society for them to be friends with boys and to play with them as mates	Girls wish the society would accept them to be friends with boys	Girls can’t be friends with boys	Socail and sexual behavior	Social norms	Social institutions