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Attitude Toward Honour-Related Violence Among University Students in Sindh, Pakistan

Şevket Ökten
&
Abdul Hadi
Department of Sociology
Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harran University

Abstract

The present study examined Quaid-e-Awam University of Engineering, Science & Technology students' beliefs about honour-related violence, especially honour killing. More specifically, this study assessed the demographic-based differences in attitudes of students towards the violence against women in the name of honour including honour killing. A self-administered questionnaire was completed by a convenience sample of 318 students (57.5% male, 42.5% female) spanning all years of undergraduate studies. The present study found that nearly all students opposed honour killing and disapproved of honour-related violence; however, a small percentage of both male and female students justified honour-related violence, especially honour killing. This non-significant gender difference in attitudes towards honour-related violence among students indicates the influence of patriarchal ideology that links family honour to female virtue and justifies violence on the 'dishonourable' behaviour of women. However, the significant difference in attitudes of the students based on their place of residence showed the weakening of patriarchal ideology in cities as students who lived in cities showed less tendency to justify honour-related violence relative to the students who lived in villages.

Keywords: Gender-Based Violence, Honour Related Violence, Honour Killing, Attitudes Towards Honour-Related Violence, Sindh, Pakistan

Introduction

Violence against women is a serious gendered issue that prevails across the globe regardless of colour, race, religion, culture, and ethnicity. Women experience both extra familial violence and familial violence that include sexual harassment, rape, child marriage, and domestic violence. The most severe form of familial violence is violence against women based on honour committed by their male relatives to preserve and/or restore the family's honour. The most violent honour-based violence is murder in the name of honour; therefore, the term 'honour' killing is often used interchangeably with 'honour-based violence.' Other forms of violence include women's forced marriages, deprivation of their freedom, education, etc. (Gill et al., (2012), defined honour-based violence as:

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> Any form of violence perpetrated against women that is associated with patriarchal family, community, or other social structures in which the main justification for the violence is the protection of the social construction of honour: 'honour' is defined as a value system with associated norms and traditions (p.75).

Various scholars engage in discussions about the nature of honour-based violence. Some distinguish it from gender-based violence, especially domestic violence, and view it as the form of violence that prevails in a specific culture or religion. Keeping (2012) argues that three elements of honour killings distinguish it from domestic violence including motivation to restore honour, public acceptance of the crime within the culture, and premeditation of the crime by family members. However, other scholars repudiate these claims and assert that focusing on the specific culture or religion in honour-based violence makes researchers fail to see and address gendered power structures. It is gender-based violence and a continuum of domestic violence as it occurs in the private sphere regardless of the specific motivation (Kirti et al., 2011). Hogben (2012) argues that honour-based violence is grounded in a deep patriarchal structure, murders are committed not to restore honour but to punish women who disapprove of subordinate status and defy the dominance of their male family members (Sultana, 2012). Several other researchers also consider honour killing as a form of domestic violence. (e.g., Aujla, and Gill, 2014, Fournier, 2012; Hogben, 2012; Meetoo & Mirza, 2007).

Honour-based violence is gender-based violence that has been exercised on women for centuries. Hammurabi, Nesilim, and Assura's codes entitled husbands to murder their unfaithful wives and their paramours (Goldstein, 2002). In ancient Rome, a senior male within a family was entitled to kill her unmarried daughter or wife for their sexual misconduct. The Roman political leader Marcus Cato stated once, "If you catch your wife in adultery, you can kill her with impunity; she, however, cannot dare to lay a finger on you if you commit adultery, for it is the law" (Goldstein, 2002). In medieval Europe where early Jewish law mandated death by stoning for an adulterous wife and her partner (Brundage, 1987). This historical account shows that honour killing is neither a new phenomenon nor specific to any culture, religion, or region. However, honour-based violence crime occurs more frequently in some regions including South Asia.

Honour-based violence, like other forms of domestic violence, gets public attention only when it reaches an extreme level such as murder or attempted murder. Otherwise, it is often considered a private matter that needs neither social nor legal intervention. Therefore, it is quite difficult to determine the true incidence of honour-based violence, or honour killing, more specifically, as many cases go unreported. Annually, 5000 women lose their lives in the name of honour reported by the United Nations Population Fund (2000); however, Women advocacy groups estimated that

more than 20,000 women fall victim to honour killings annually worldwide (Maher, 2013), four times higher than the figures of the United Nations Population Fund. In some countries in the Middle East and Latin America, husbands are often exonerated from killing an unfaithful and disobedient wife on the grounds of 'honour' (Ökten, 2017). Although the incidents occur in all countries including Great Britain, the US, Canada, Brazil, Italy, North Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia regions are considered hotspots.

In the South Asian countries, Pakistan gets its notoriety in honour-based violence, especially honour killing due to some honour-based violence that received the attention of national and international media. The true incidence of honour-based violence in Pakistan is hard to find, as the government lacks seriousness and does not systematically gather the data (Hadi, 2020). Much of the information about the prevalence of honour-based violence, specifically honour killing is premised on anecdotal reports of different nongovernmental organizations, and women's organizations. Human Rights Watch (2019) reported that activists in Pakistan estimate about 1,000 women fall victim to so-called honour killings every year (Mumtaz, 1987). Despite the change in legislation to prevent honour-based crimes in the recent past, the number of honour-killing incidents has not abated. Moreover, it has turned into a business in some areas as the concept of honour is used as a cover for other murders caused by property issues or personal enmity. This indicates the gravity of honour-based violence in society and draws the attention of the researchers to measure the attitudes and beliefs of the public towards honour-based violence, especially honour killing. The existing literature shows that all studies to measure the attitudes of people towards honour-based violence have been conducted in Khyber Pakhtoonkhuwah, Punjab, and the Federal capital of Pakistan (Huda and Kamal, 2020; Rahim, Jahangir, and Holden, 2016; Shaikh, kamal, and Naqvi, 2015; Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, and Masood, 2010). To the best of the authors' knowledge, no studies have been carried out in Sindh. Against this background, the present study was carried out at the Quaid-e-Awam University of Engineering, Science & Technology to measure the attitudes of university students regarding honour-based violence, especially honour killing.

Review of the Literature

Various studies have measured the attitudes of people towards domestic violence, especially wife-beating (Obeid, 2010). However, very few researchers examined the beliefs of people towards violence based on honour. Nevertheless, the existing literature on beliefs about wife-beating indicates the attitudes of people towards the 'dishonourable' behaviour of women (Haj-Yahia, 2007; 2008). Several research studies reveal that sexual disloyalty is the main justification for physical violence against wives. For instance, Zakar et al. (2013) carried out a study in Pakistan and found that all participants perceived sexual disloyalty as the most inadmissible

conduct, therefore, women found engaged in that behaviour deserve severe punishment. Even some of them showed justification to kill in such cases.

Various studies conducted to explore the attitudes towards honour-based violence reveal that the majority of people disapprove of 'honour' killing; however, a non-negligible percentage of people approve of honour-based violence. For example, Shaikh et al., (2015), carried out research to determine the attitudes of university students about honour killing in the Punjab province of Pakistan. The study found that more than 80% of students believed that honour killing was not justified; however, nearly 25% of male and 17% of female participants justified killing in the name of honour in some circumstance. However, some studies found a higher tendency among participants to approve of honour killing. For instance, Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, and Masood (2010) conducted a study in Islamabad, the federal capital of Pakistan, and found that 57.1% of participants approved of honour killing in an extramarital sexual relationship to restore honour. It is to be noted that both men and women participated in the study.

Concerning gender differences in attitudes towards honour-based violence, mixed findings have been found. Some researchers found significant gender attitudinal differences toward violence (e.g., Çalık, 2018; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Rahim et al., 2016; Shaikh et.al, 2015). For instance, Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) conducted a study on an adolescent sample from Jordan and found that male participants showed a higher tendency to justify honour killing compared with their female counterparts. To cite another example (Çalik, 2018), conducted a study on Attitudes of Turkish Academics and found that the attitudes scale score of male academics revealed a greater tendency to approve of violence based on honour relative to their female counterparts. Contrary to the above findings, other researchers found no significant gender difference in attitudes toward honour-based violence. For instance, Huda and Kamal, (2020) found non-significant gender differences in the attitudes toward killing in the name of honour in the sample from the federal capital city of Pakistan and various cities of Punjab (Pakistan).

The existing studies show the attitudinal difference between rural and urban populations. For example (Çalik, 2018), conducted a study on the Attitudes of Turkish Academics and found that participants who resided in rural areas longer than anywhere else showed a higher tendency to approve of violence against women in the name of honour relative to the participants who resided in the the the cities longer than anywhere. To cite another example, Huda and Kamal, (2020) found that people living in rural areas showed a higher tendency to approve of killing in the name of honour compared with people residing in urban setup in Punjab and Islamabad, the federal capital city of Pakistan.

The literature reveals that age is also a significant variable in determining the attitudes of people about violence in the name of honour. For instance, Shaikh et al.,

(2015) carried out a study and found that older adults showed a higher tendency to justify killing based on honour relative to younger ones.

Theoretical Framework

Gender inequality and violence against women are prevalent in patriarchal societies. Feminist scholars use the concept of patriarchy, which includes structural and ideological aspects (Dobash & Dobash, 1979), to elucidate gender inequality, oppression, and hierarchical social structures. The structural aspect denotes the superior status of men and the inferior status of women in all societal institutions, including family, religious, legal, political, and economic institutions. The ideological aspect highlights the gender-biased values and norms that society upholds, justifying men's superiority and women's inferiority across all social institutions. These hierarchical gender relationships result in gender-based violence. Indeed, gender plays a central role in the context of violence, but other aspects accompanying the gender dimension exacerbate the operation of violence. Crenshaw (1991) emphasizes that the violent experiences of women of colour result from the intersectionality of racism and sexism, highlighting how the experiences of marginalized women are often overlooked in feminist and antiracist discourses. Many feminists have challenged traditional perspectives on women while discussing the interconnected nature of power systems. They have rejected the idea of portraying women as a homogenous group, instead focusing on patriarchy as the primary oppressive system against women. Intersectionality theory provides a framework to integrate other factors into gender-based violence (Haj-Yahia, 2011). Violence intersects with various factors; gender, class, and race are significant variables in analyzing gender-based violence. For instance, women of colour face distinct forms of violence compared to Caucasian American women. Furthermore, intersectionality refers to the acknowledgment that there is no single category of women; rather, it illustrates the diversity of women in terms of background, experiences, and needs; thus, intersectionality explicitly examines how gender intersects with other forms of inequality in societies.

Pakistani patriarchal society is no exception where power relations are hierarchical and unequal among genders and men have dominant status, and authority in both the private and public spheres (Abbasi et al., 2024; Hadi, 2015; 2018; 2024). Pakistani society highly values the notion of honour and manhood, the elements of rigid patriarchal ideology (Malka, 2021). The concept of honour chiefly refers to the moral and sexual behaviour of women, and manhood mainly alludes to the control of men on the moral and sexual conduct of female members of a family. In these rigid patriarchal societies, a woman is socialized to avoid the actions and behaviours that may put her family’s honour at stake, and a man is socialized to ensure that the women of his family do not violate the norm and injure the family’s honour. A single description of the “typical” Pakistani women does not suffice because the social status of women is not homogenous in Pakistan due to the intersection of gender with

other forms of exclusion. The nature and degree of women's oppression vary depending on ethnicity, religion, social class, and rural/urban location (Hadi, 2024). The incidences of violence were found to be slightly higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas. Furthermore, all forms of violence were higher among women with no education and declined in the case of women with higher education (The National Commission on the Status of Women, 2023).

Pakistan ranks very low on global indicators that measure gender equality. The Global Gender Gap Index 2021 developed by the World Economic Forum has ranked Pakistan as the fourth worst country regarding gender equality all over the world, flanked by two war-torn countries Syria and Iraq. Similarly, the UNDP-2021 gender inequality index (GII), a measure that reflects gender inequality ranked Pakistan 154 out of 189 countries. Thomson Reuters Foundation Annual Poll 2018 ranks Pakistan among the top five dangerous countries in the list where women experience domestic violence and honour-based violence such as honour killing (UNDP, 2021).

The Purpose of the Study

Of late, a good number of studies have been carried out to assess the attitudes and beliefs of people towards domestic violence (e.g., Fikree et al., 2005; Nasrullah, 2017; NIPS, 2019; Tayyab, 2017; Zakar, Zakar, & Kraemer, 2013). However, only a few scholars measured the beliefs of people towards the violence committed in the name of honour that was also carried out in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and Islamabad, federal capital of Pakistan (e.g., Huda and Kamal, 2020; Rahim, Jahangir, and Holden, 2016; Shaikh, Kamal, and Naqvi, 2015; Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, and Masood, 2010). To the best of the authors' knowledge, no studies have been carried out in Sindh, a federating unit of Pakistan. Against this background, the current study was carried out to fill the research gap by examining the demographic-related variables associated with attitudes toward honour-based violence (Laghari, 2016). The purpose of the current study was to assess the attitudes of students of Quaid-e-Awam University of Engineering, Science & Technology towards violence based on honour. This study examined the degree to which socio-demographic variables can predict the beliefs about honour-based violence among the students of Quaid-e-Awam University of Engineering, Science & Technology. The present study sought to address the questions such as (1) To what degree do students justify violence against women committed in the name of honour? and (2) To what degree do socio-demographics of students explicate those beliefs?

Research Methodology

Participants and Procedure

Through a convenient sampling method, the current study recruited 380 students of Quaid-e-Awam University of Engineering, Science & Technology and administered a

questionnaire to collect the data. However, having found various questions unanswered, the data of sixty-two students were not included, resulting in the analysis of a total of 318 participants' scales (183 male, 135 female). Regarding the socio-economic status of the sample's household, 15.1% defined it as high-income, 68.9% as middle-income, and 16.0% as low-income. Most of the participants of the study resided in cities as the study reveals that 73.6% of respondents lived a long time in cities, and the remaining others lived in villages- for more details, see Table 1.

Table 1. Basic characteristics of the study participants

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	183	57.5
Female	135	42.5
Place of Residence		
Village	84	26.4
City	234	73.6
Income Status		
Low Income	48	15.1
Middle Income	219	68.9
High Income	51	16.0

The researcher of the study informed participants about the objectives of the research and allowed them to quit the research at any time if they felt uneasy answering the items. All participants took part in the study voluntarily, without any incentive. They were reassured about the confidentiality of the study.

Measures

The current study administered a self-administered questionnaire comprised sociodemographic items, and Attitudes toward Violence against Women for Protecting Honour Scale (AVWPHS) to assess the beliefs of students about violence against women in the name of honour.

Socio-Demographic Information

The socio-demographic information comprised gender, place of residence, and socio-economic status of participants' families as perceived by the participants.

Attitudes Toward Violence Against Women for Protecting Honour Scale (AVWPHS)

This scale was developed by (Işık and Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2009) to measure the attitudes towards violence against women in the name of honour including honour killing, and

verbal and physical violence. The scale consists of 14 items and the Respondents have to rate their agreement or disagreement with each item on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = disagree strongly, 6 = agree strongly). There is no middle point in the scale. The high scores obtained from the scale reflect the positive attitude towards honour-based violence. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha of (AVWPHS) was found to be 0.74.

Statistical Analysis

The researcher of the study performed three different types of analysis: descriptive statistics, t-test, and one-way ANOVA. The study used descriptive statistical methods to calculate frequency, percentage, mean, and standard deviation. Then, the study employed t-tests in cases of two groups, and one-way ANOVA in cases of more than two groups to compare the means of groups was used in comparing quantitative data.

Results

Attitudes Towards Violence Against Women in the Name of Honour

The permissive attitudes toward violence against women in the name of honour were found to be low among university students. The findings show that the majority of the participants disapproved of violence against women in the name of honour. For example, 85.8, and 91.5 % of the participants expressed some level of agreement that "I believe a woman should not be subjected to violence in the name of honour, regardless of what she has done" (mean=2.24, SD=1.23), and "I am against inflicting violence on women in the name of honour" (mean=1.82, SD=1.0), respectively. To cite another example, 74.5% of the participants expressed some level of agreement that "I condemn those who harm women in the name of 'honour'" (mean=2.52, SD=1.76). However, a significant percentage of the students approved of verbal violence and condemnation of women who fail to defend their honour. For example, 36.8 and 51.9% of the students agreed, that "verbal violence, if necessary, can be inflicted on a woman to defend honour" (mean=2.87, SD =1.79), and "I believe women who are not able to defend their honour should be condemned, regardless of what they went through" (mean=3.39, SD=1.68), respectively.

Regarding the so-called honour killing, the present study found that most students disapproved of murder in the name of honour. For instance, 88.7 and 94.3% of the students expressed some level of disagreement that "A woman whose honour is tainted must be killed to preserve the honour of the family" (mean=1.78, SD=1.25), and "I am not against the killing of a woman to restore honour" (mean=1.64, SD=1.03), respectively. Nevertheless, 6.6% of the participants approved of honour killing by showing some level of disagreement with the statement that "I am against the killing of women in the name of honour" (mean=1.61, SD=1.15). Similarly, 21.6% of the participants agreed with the statement "I believe there is merit in

murders committed in the name of honour" (mean=2.26, SD=1.67). Concerning statements that honour killing can work as a means of discipline, 18% of the participants showed some level of agreement and 82% of the participants disagreed with the statement that "I believe honour killings can be functional as a social means of discipline" (mean=2.15, SD=1.40) - for more details, see table 2).

Table 2. Attitudes of students regarding honour-based violence against women

	Percentage							
Items	**Strongly Disagree**	**Somewhat Disagree**	**Slightly disagree**	**Slightly Agree**	**Somewhat Agree**	**Strongly Agree**	**Means**	**SD**
Attitudes toward Violence against Women for Protecting Honour Scale (AVWPHS								
Verbal violence, if necessary, can be inflicted on women to defend honour.	31.1	25.5	6.6	8.5	17.9	10.4	2.8774	1.79749
A woman whose honour is tainted must be killed to preserve the honour of the family	58.5	26.4	3.8	1.9	8.5	0.9	1.7830	1.25342
I believe honour killing can be functional as a social means of discipline	44.3	28.3	9.4	4.7	12.3	0.9	2.1509	1.40162
I condemn those who harm women in the name of honour	12.3	9.4	3.8	4.7	33.0	36.8	2.5283	1.76296
I think that the punishment of women who act against social rules by society or their families is justified	20.8	38.7	11.3	9.4	17.9	1.9	2.7075	1.45576
I would be disturbed at the violence being inflicted on a woman by a male relative in the name of "honour"	4.7	5.7	2.8	9.4	51.9	25.5	2.2547	1.29104
I believe there is a merit/justification in	46.2	29.2	2.8	4.7	7.5	9.4	2.2642	1.67540

murders committed in the name of honour								
I am not against the killing of a woman to restore honour	54.7	39.6	-	-	3.8	1.9	1.6415	1.03127
I believe a woman should not be subjected to violence in the name of honour, regardless of what she has done	3.8	4.7	5.7	8.5	52.8	24.5	2.2453	1.23675
I am against inflicting violence on women in the name of "honour"	0.9	1.9	5.7	5.7	41.5	44.3	1.8208	1.00908
I am angry at relatives/families imposing punishments on a woman's honour	2.8	1.9	-	6.6	54.7	34.0	1.8774	.96011
I am against the killing of women in the name of "honour"	2.8	3.8	3.8	-	24.5	65.1	1.6132	1.15574
I believe women who are not able to defend their honour should be condemned, regardless of what they went through	15.1	29.2	3.8	12.3	32.1	7.5	3.3962	1.68317
I believe women who do not abide by social rules should be punished to preserve the social order	20.8	21.7	11.3	16.0	18.9	11.3	3.2453	1.71178

An independent-sample t-test was conducted to examine gender differences in attitudes toward honour-based violence against women. There were no significant differences (**t** (316) =0.525, p=0.60 in scores for females (M=32.73, SD=9.19) and males (M=32.16, SD=9.81). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference=.56, 95% CI: -1.56 to 2.7) was very small. However, there were significant differences (**t** (316) = -2.6, p= 0.008) in the scores with the mean score for the students who lived in cities (M=31.55, SD= 9.08) lower than the students who lived in villages (M= 34.78, SD= 10.41). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean differences= -3.23, 95% CI: -5.59 to -0.86) was significant- for more details, see Table 3&4).

Table 3. Difference in attitudes towards honour-based violence against women between male and female

				Leven's Test for Equality of Variance		T test for Equality of Means						
		Mean	SD	F	Sig	t	df	Sig(2.taile)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
											Lower	Upper
				.109	.74	.525	316	.600	.56	1.08	-1.56	2.70
AVWPHS	Female	32.73	9.19									
	Male	32.16	9.81									

Table 4. Differences in Attitudes Towards Honour-Based Violence against Women Based on Residency

				Leven's Test for Equality of Variance			**T-test for Equality of Means**					
		Mean	SD	F	Sig	t	df	Sig(2.tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
											Lower	Upper
				1.47	.22	-2.6	316	.008	-3.23	1.20	-5.59	-.86
AVWPHS	City	31.55	9.08									
	Village	34.78	10.41									

One-way ANOVA was carried out to measure the mean differences based on income status and year of study in the university. The table shows no significant differences in attitudes towards honour-based violence against women based on students' income status and year of study in university- for more details, see Table 5).

Table 5. Differences in attitudes towards honour-based violence against women based on Income status

			ANOVA	
Income Status	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**F**	**Sig**
Low income	31.18	10.31	.822	.440
Middle income	32.38	9.73		
High income	33.64	7.83		

Discussion and Conclusion

Honour-based violence is a serious issue in Pakistani society. Few studies were carried out in Pakistan to measure the attitudes of people towards honour-based violence. These studies were conducted either in the capital city of Pakistan or in Punjab province; however, no studies have been found that could have assessed the attitudes of Sindhi people towards violence against women in the name of honour. Therefore, the present research aimed to assess the attitudes of the people of Sindh towards honour-based violence against women. It was carried out to evaluate the attitudes of students towards honour-based violence and probe the group differences (gender, area of residence, and income status) among the participants of the study regarding their beliefs about honour-related violence, especially honour killing.

The present study found that while most of the students disapproved of violence against women based on honour, a small percentage of students approved of honour-based violence against women. These findings corroborate a previous study conducted by Baysan et al. (2021), on university students in Turkey, which found that virtually all respondents disapproved of honour killing except a small percentage that showed permissive attitudes towards honour killings. The previous studies carried out in Pakistan showed a higher tendency of participants to approve of honour-based violence compared with the present study. For example, Shaikh et al., (2015) conducted a study in the Punjab province of Pakistan and found that nearly one-quarter of the participants approved of honour killing in some circumstances, whereas

the current study showed 6.6% of respondents approved of honour killing in Sindh. The less approval of violence against women in the name of honour in Sindh can be attributed to the educational level of participants.

Consistent with Huda and Kamal's (2020) study, this study found no significant gender attitudinal difference toward violence against women in the name of honour. In Huda and Kamal's (2020) study, authors found non-significant gender differences in attitudes towards honour killing in the federal capital city of Pakistan and various cities of Punjab (Pakistan). However, the result of the current research is inconsistent with some previous literature (Çalık, 2018; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Rahim et al., 2016; Shaikh et.al, 2015) that found male participants showed a higher tendency to approve of honour-based violence against women than female participants did. The gender attitudinal differences may be attributable to different perspectives of male and female participants (i.e., male as potential perpetrator and female as a potential victim).

The attitudinal difference between respondents belonging to rural and urban areas in the current study indicated that students who lived in villages showed a higher tendency to approve of honour-based violence against women than the students who lived in cities. These findings are consistent with previous studies (e,g., Çalık, 2018; Huda and Kamal, 2020). For example, Çalik, (2018) conducted a study on the Attitudes of Turkish Academics and found that participants who resided in rural areas longer than anywhere else showed a higher tendency to approve of violence against women in the name of honour relative to the participants who resided in the the the cities longer than anywhere. To cite another example, Huda and Kamal, (2020) found that people living in rural areas showed a higher tendency to approve of honour killing compared with people living in urban areas in Punjab and Islamabad, the federal capital city of Pakistan. The possible reason for these attitudinal differences could be rigid patriarchal norms and values in villages of Pakistan.

Conclusion

The present study concluded that virtually all students opposed honour killing and disapproved of honour-related violence in Sindh; however, a small percentage of both male and female students justified honour-related violence, especially ‘honour’ killing. This study found that students who lived in villages showed more tendency to justify honour-related violence in comparison with students who lived in urban areas. This suggests the prevailing of rigid patriarchal values in villages. Eradicating patriarchal values requires sustained efforts and collaboration among governments, civil society organizations, communities, and individuals. It involves challenging deep-rooted beliefs and practices that perpetuate gender inequality and working towards creating a more just and equitable society for all genders. Due to some

limitations, the results should be interpreted with caution. First, the sample contains a specific population, therefore, the results of this study may not apply to other populations. Second, the subject of research is sensitive, and thus student responses may be influenced by social desirability biases. Most importantly, the study was gender-inclusive and was the first to assess students' beliefs about honour-related violence.

Authors' Contributions

Şevket Ökten: conceptualization; methodology; writing -review & editing. Abdul Hadi: conceptualization; methodology; writing -review & editing.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

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Dr. Şevket Ökten is a Professor, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harran University

Dr. Abdul Hadi is an Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harran University