

5-10-2016

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Recommended Citation

Ilic, Pedja (2016) "Honor Killing Attitudes Among San Jose State University Students," *Themis: Research Journal of Justice Studies and Forensic Science*: Vol. 4 , Article 8.

Available at: <http://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/themis/vol4/iss1/8>

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This study examines honor killing attitudes amongst a sample of sixty graduate and undergraduate students in the Department of Justice Studies at San Jose State University and offers a systematic review of published academic literature on honor killings. It hypothesizes that students who strongly adhere to patriarchal traditionalism are more likely to endorse legitimacy of honor killings, controlling for gender, education, family size, religion, religiosity/religious conviction, and female chastity expectations. Descriptive findings suggest that the majority of respondents disagree that honor murders are justified, regardless of circumstances, dependent variable honor killing attitudes. Respondents also report negative attitudes toward authority and obedience, resistance to change, and patriarchal entitlements, independent variable patriarchal traditionalism. Female respondents report stronger opposition to honor killings and patriarchal traditionalism than males, which is in agreement with results of existing research; respondents' gender explains some of the variance in attitudes toward honor killings. The study's limited sampling parameters do not allow for generalization of calculated statistical data and results. Implications and further research suggestions are discussed.

Keywords

honor killing; traditionalism; patriarchy; religiosity; chastity; women

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VOLUME IV • 2016

Introduction

Historically, violence has always been an accompanying feature of human societies. In addition to embracing motives like empathy, self-control, and reason, human psychology is also characterized by evolutionary traits of competition for resources, patriarchal dominance, and aggression (Pinker, 2011). Violence against women follows similar trajectories. Due to rapid advancements and the dilatant reach of global infrastructures, many social problems, including violence against women, seem to be reported now more frequently and in more places than at any earlier point in human history (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). The same is particularly true of *honor killings*: a domain of crimes against humanity with malignancy and cruelty defying notions of reason and punishment. Many countries are slowly beginning to recognize honor killings as distinct crimes and questioning the limits of multicultural tolerance (Chesler, 2009; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Meeto & Mirza, 2007).

Honor killings, also known as customary murders, are characterized as acts of violence committed against female family members who are perceived to have brought shame upon familial units by engaging in dishonorable acts (Abu-Odeh, 2000; Faqir, 2001; Koğacioğlu, 2004). Honor killings most commonly occur in parts of South and Central Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa (Meeto & Mirza, 2007; United Nations, 2000), but also in countries with large numbers of immigrants emigrating from these regions (Hussain, 2006; Koğacioğlu, 2004; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). Accurate statistics regarding victims of honor killings remain largely absent due to methodological problems of data collection and because they remain largely unreported (Chesler, 2009; Koğacioğlu, 2004; Meeto & Mirza, 2007). The United Nations Population Fund

THEMIS

(2000) estimates that approximately 5,000 women are murdered by their families annually for alleged honor-related offenses. Chesler (2010) argues that such figures are likely representative only of victims in Pakistan while Fisk (2010) estimates that 20,000 women are murdered via honor killings every year worldwide. Despite the absence of reliable statistics, there is a categorical imperative, both legally and academically, to investigate this particular type of violence against women and to universally define crimes of honor killing as ethically abysmal and culturally obscene.

The present study examines honor killing attitudes among graduate and undergraduate students in the Department of Justice Studies at San Jose State University and offers a systematic review of published academic literature on honor killings, which remain largely unexamined and poorly researched despite their magnitude and constancy. Previous investigations emphasized numerous methodological difficulties concerning data acquisition due to the inflammatory nature of honor killings considering their traditionalist entrenchment (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009) and the general unwillingness—due to communal and familial coercion and intimidation—of affected populations to express directly or otherwise disseminate relevant information to researchers (Chesler, 2009; Chesler, 2010; Hussain, 2006; Koğacioğlu, 2004). Most studies performed rely on inadequate and nonrepresentative samples, using anecdotal evidence rather than empirical evidence to bolster conclusions (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007).

Past studies of honor killings have used records and reports from police and courts (Hussain, 2006), non-governmental organizations and citizens (Chesler, 2007), and newspaper accounts for analyses. Information gained from these

resources has provided insight into honor killing instances in relation to other homicides (Kardam, 2007). Additionally, data analysis revealed characteristics of victims and perpetrators (Warrick, 2005), circumstances of the murder (Arin, 2001), and court proceedings (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011).

Literature Review

Academic literature on the topic of honor killings is limited. A study published by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) examined honor killing attitudes amongst adolescents in Amman, Jordan, and found that factors including traditionalism, economic status, and religiosity can serve as indicators of attitudes toward honor killings. Araji and Carlson (2001) also explored perceptions of honor crimes; data obtained from 625 university students in Jordan indicated that 63% of students viewed honor killings as a very serious problem. Shaikh, Anila, and Sobia (2010) explored whether respondents in a sample of 601 subjects in Pakistan would consider it justifiable for a man to kill his wife if he found her in bed with another man; results indicated that 53% of women and 65% of men thought the killing of a wife would be justified in this situation. Such studies indicate that honor killing attitudes are internalized within traditional cultural views (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013).

The study conducted by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) was cross-sectional with a convenience sample of 856 ninth grade students from 14 schools in Amman, Jordan utilizing the Honor Killing Attitudes (HKA) scale, an original instrument developed by the authors. This instrument asks respondents to assess: (1) the extent to which they agree or disagree that it is OK for a man to kill his sister, daughter, or wife in the name of honor, and (2) whether they believe killing for honor is OK (2013). The

THEMIS

following control variables were also assessed: sex, parental education, family size, religion, religiosity, traditional world-views, exposure to parental harsh discipline and beliefs in female chastity, breadwinner family, and moral neutralization. Results indicated that approximately 40% of boys and 20% of girls believed that killing a daughter, sister, or wife who has dishonored the family is justified. The theoretical predictors suggest that attitudes in support of honor killings are more likely amongst adolescents who hold collectivist and patriarchal worldviews, consider the female chastity amongst adolescents as important societal factor, and morally neutralize aggressive behavior in general (2013).

Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) stipulate that Bandura's moral disengagement theory, which describes "a set of mechanisms by which individuals self-justify acts that inflict harm on others," (p. 408) helps explain how "an honor killing is not regarded as a crime but a justifiable response to the shameful desecration of the victim" (p. 414). Described mechanisms encompass notions of legitimizing violence in pursuit of one's interests, blaming the "deserving" victim for incurred aggression, and doing what the rest of the society would/ought to do (2013). Eisner and Ghuneim also found that neither religion nor the intensity of religious beliefs were significant predictors of attitudes toward honor crimes when theoretically relevant proximal mechanisms, such as traditionalism and chastity beliefs, were taken into account. Instead, researchers suggested that honor killings are likely to be supported culturally wherever notions of patriarchy, family honor, and the preservation of female virginity are widely accepted (2013).

Victims of Honor Crimes

Victims of honor killings are most frequently reported as young, unmarried females of a low socioeconomic status who live in rural and isolated regions (Kulczycki and Windle, 2011). Koğacioğlu (2004) also indicated that early-wedded young women with low levels of formal education are frequent victims of honor killings. Several studies indicate that men have also been victims of honor killings (Chesler, 2010; Kardam, 2007). Conversely, honor killings are most frequently perpetrated by the youngest brother or a male cousin of the victim (Arin, 2001; Koğacioğlu, 2004; Sev'er, 2005; Warrick, 2005). Fathers and husbands of female victims have also been reported as perpetrators (Hadidi, Kulwicki & Jahshan, 2001; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2002). Previous studies do not directly implicate female family members as perpetrators; however, Fariq (2001) and Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) indicate that women are often indirect accomplices of honor killings via gossiping, creating qualms and calamity among male family members, and arranging the circumstances of death.

Obtaining accurate statistics on the frequency of honor killings is very difficult for several reasons. The primary obstacles in the accumulation of reliable statistics are often cited as: inadequate criminal investigations; unrelenting societal pressures; social stigma and ostracization; and intentional distortions, tampering or disguising of facts (Chesler, 2009; Faqir, 2001; Koğacioğlu, 2004; Meetoo & Mirza, 2007; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Honor killings are often misreported as accidents, suicides, or disappearances (Al-Adili, Shaheen, Bergstro, & Johansson, 2008; Faqir, 2001; Kardam, 2007; Peratis, 2004; Sev'er, 2005; Warrick, 2005). Multiple studies cite a positive correlation between the frequency of wars in the

THEMIS

Middle East and Southwest Asia, and levels of overall violence, including honor killings (Al-Adili et al., 2008; Mojab, 2002).

Feldner (2000) differentiates notions of honor within Islamic traditions under two categories. *Sharaf* (Arabic: شرف) signifies honor of the community in which a particular individual resides. Conversely, *Ird* (Arabic: عري) characterizes personal honor as it applies to each woman individually. The latter notion of honor is linked directly to a woman's body in its virginal state and the woman's community has full rights and control over her body (Ahmetbeyzade, 2008). While legal institutions in countries with high instances of honor killings like Jordan, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia officially distinguish between the two notions of honor, countries like Oman, Iran, and Pakistan couple them into unique "crimes of passion" categories, thus facilitating significantly moderated punitive measures imposed for murder (Fariq 2001; Hadidi, Kulwicki, & Jahshan, 2001; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2002; Warrick, 2005). Turkey's official criminal code stipulates that if murder is committed per witnessing an adulterous act or on suspicion of an illicit liaison, it is considered to have been caused by "heavy provocation" and the sentence is reduced to one-eighth of its severity (Mojab, 2001). Many institutions of Middle Eastern and Maghreb countries effectively reinforce entrenched patriarchal and other socio-cultural attitudes while offering diminutive incentives to disrupt the patriarchal contexts of honor killings (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011).

Contrary to the research findings of Eisner and Ghuneim (2013), which indicated that religion and religiosity did not significantly influence respondent's attitudes toward honor killings, Kulczycki and Windle (2011) found that the view of women as being under the authority of their male kin is deeply culturally rooted in Islamic religion and the Islamic tenets are

VOLUME IV • 2016

often invoked to reinforce the subordination of women. Kardam (2007) and Warrick (2005) argue that Islamic teachings, especially those firmly reinforced by Islamic *sharia* law (Arabic: شريعة), can be interpreted in ways that both tolerate and condemn honor killings.

Kulczycki and Windle (2011) suggest that Islamists—religious leaders and their followers—view honor killings in the context of Islamic teachings embedded in the Qur'an and Hadith, while Islamic establishments—states with their departments and academia—view honor killings through legalistic approaches and argue that honor killings are not prescribed in the Qur'an and Hadith. Kulczycki and Windle (2011) imply that actions encompassing honor crimes do not contradict Islam. This conclusion supports the authors' stipulated argument that culturally and religiously-instigated differences likely play a significant role in the overarching attitudes toward patriarchal traditionalism of dominance and authority and, subsequently, honor crimes.

The research suggests that the preservation of an authoritative patriarchal structure is an important factor in communal justifications of honor killings. Female sexuality falls under the ownership and protectorate of male family members, for it is seen as sacred, but is also a perilous commodity of a familial unit in certain societies. Therefore, individuals and families are communally bound to protect female chastity, which can be achieved solely by the family-approved marital union. Any deviation from these rigid cultural parameters, actual or implied, is considered an honor violation.

Based on results of previous research, the present study hypothesizes that graduate and undergraduate students of the San Jose State University Department of Justice Studies who strongly

THEMIS

adhere to patriarchal traditionalism are more likely to endorse legitimacy of honor killings, as opposed to those students who do not adhere or adhere less strongly to patriarchal traditionalism, controlling for gender, education, family size, religion, religiosity/religious conviction, and female chastity expectations.

Methodology

Sample and Data Information

A quantitative study was conducted to examine the population of approximately 700 graduate and undergraduate students of the Justice Studies Department at San Jose State University in San Jose, California. This population was selected on the basis of convenience of access and the researcher's affiliation with the institution. Data were collected through an online survey distributed to the entire student population of the Justice Studies Department. The survey was distributed via email in the English language; all respondents understood, read, and wrote the English language. All participants were adults of diverse gender, race, age, and ethnicity.

Participation in this study was voluntary. The participants were able to refuse to answer any particular question or abandon survey participation at any time. Procedures and protocols regarding participants' confidentiality and anonymity, as regulated by the San Jose State University Office of Graduate Studies and Research, assured participants that their answers would remain anonymous and confidential. Responses to the online distributed survey generated a sample of 60 students. Compiled data were transferred into to the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) program for statistical analysis.

VOLUME IV • 2016

Measures

The following set of eight variables has been adopted and modified from the study of honor killing attitudes amongst adolescents in Amman, Jordan by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013). Fourteen variables in total were created and subjected to statistical analysis in SPSS.

Independent Variable: Patriarchal Traditionalism. The conceptual definition of patriarchal traditionalism: the upholding or maintenance of a traditional system of society or government in which the father or eldest male is the head of the family and descent is traced through the male lineage. The operational definition of patriarchal traditionalism used for the purposes of this study has been modified from Eisner & Ghuneim's (2013) original instrument to comprise four items that relate to the following values: authority and obedience (e.g., "it is more important for a child to learn obedience than independence"); resistance to change (e.g., "it is important to follow the customs handed down the family"); patriarchal entitlements (e.g., "when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women"); and anti-Western traditionalism ("one should not waste time watching Hollywood movies since they negate one's culture and tradition," changed from "we should not waste our time watching Hollywood movies which will only try to separate us from our Arab culture"). Available answer choices to these items were based on a five-point Likert scale and respondents were instructed to select from the following scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*), 2 (*disagree*), 3 (*neither agree nor disagree*), 4 (*agree*), or 5 (*strongly agree*).

Dependent Variable: Honor Killing Attitudes. The conceptual definition of honor killing attitudes: one's tendency to find honor killings as acceptable punishment for crimes

THEMIS

against honor. The operational definition of honor killing attitudes: Eisner & Ghuneim (2013) developed the honor killings attitudes (HKA) scale that consists of four items. These items ask respondents to assess the extent to which they agree or disagree that it is OK for a man to kill his sister, daughter, or wife in the name of honor, and whether they believe that killing for honor is OK. The items were administered as part of a set of 13 items that reflect different situations where it may be justified to kill a person; questions asked included whether it is OK “to kill for self-defense,” “to kill while protecting others,” and “to turn off the machines if someone has been in a coma for five years.” The items addressing attitudes toward honor killings were embedded into a larger set of items in order to minimize the social desirability bias and to allow for an assessment of whether attitudes toward honor killings construed a separate dimension. Available responses to these items were based on the five-point Likert scale with the following options: 1 (*strongly disagree*), 2 (*disagree*), 3 (*neither agree nor disagree*), 4 (*agree*), or 5 (*strongly agree*).

Control Variables: Gender. The conceptual definition of gender: the range of physical, mental, and behavioral characteristics pertaining to (and differentiating between) masculinity and femininity. The operational definition of gender: respondents were asked to specify what gender they identified as: 1 (*male*), 2 (*female*) or 3 (*other*). All respondents identified as either male or female and the variable was subsequently recoded so that male = 0 and female = 1.

Variable Education. The conceptual definition of education: the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction. The operational definition of education: respondents were asked to report the highest levels of education for their

mother and father on a seven-point scale: 1 (*elementary school completed or less*), 2 (*some high school*), 3 (*high school graduate*), 4 (*some college*), 5 (*bachelor's degree completed*), 6 (*some graduate*), and 7 (*graduate degree completed*). Responses for both mother and father were combined by addition into a single "Education" variable.

Variable Number of Siblings. The conceptual definition of the number of siblings: respondent's number of brothers and sisters. The operational definition of the number of siblings: Respondents were asked to indicate the number of siblings. Response categories were: 1 (*none*), 2 (*one*), 3 (*two*), 4 (*three*), 5 (*four*), 6 (*five*), and 7 (*six or more*).

Variable Religion. The conceptual definition of religion: belief in and reverence for a supernatural power, or powers, regarded as the creator and governor of the universe. The operational definition of religion: respondents were asked to indicate their religious affiliation by selecting one of the following response categories: 1) "Christian," 2) "Jewish," 3) "Muslim," 4) "Hindu," 5) "Buddhist," 6) "None," and 7) "Other, please specify." Responses were recoded into six dichotomous variables. Variable "**Christian**" with categories 0 = "Other," 1 = "Christian." Variable "**Jewish**" with categories 0 = "Other," 1 = "Jewish." Variable "**Muslim**" with categories 0 = "Other," 1 = "Muslim." Variable "**Hindu**" with categories 0 = "Other," 1 = "Hindu." Variable "**Buddhist**" with categories 0 = "Other," 1 = "Buddhist." Variable "**No Religion**" with categories 0 = "Other," 1 = "No Religion," and variable "**All Other Religions**" with categories 0 = "Other," and 1 = "Other, please specify."

Variable Religiosity/Religious Conviction. The conceptual definition of religiosity/religious conviction: the extent of one's religious beliefs. The operational definition of

THEMIS

religiosity/religious conviction: respondents were asked to answer the following statement: “my religious beliefs define my whole approach to life.” Responses to these items were based on the five-point Likert scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*), 2 (*disagree*), 3 (*neither agree nor disagree*), 4 (*agree*), or 5 (*strongly agree*).

Variable Female Chastity Expectations. The conceptual definition of female chastity expectations: the belief that female members of a family or social group should refrain from extramarital sexual intercourse. The operational definition of female chastity expectations: respondents were asked to quantify how wrong they consider it to be for a woman to: “go to cinema alone with a man who is not a relative,” “fall in love,” “be friends with a man,” and “hold a man’s hand.” Responses to these items were based on a five-point Likert scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*), 2 (*disagree*), 3 (*neither agree nor disagree*), 4 (*agree*), or 5 (*strongly agree*).

Procedures

The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) program was used to transform, test, and analyze 14 model variables. A multiple linear regression analysis was performed to test the effects of 13 independent/control variables on a single dependent variable. Bivariate correlation analysis was conducted to determine the existence and strength of possible correlations among variables. The use of descriptive statistics for all variables allowed for comprehensive statistical analysis of the model.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistical analysis was used to compare sample size, minimum and maximum values, mean, standard deviation, and variance values for all variables. Descriptive

VOLUME IV • 2016

statistics results are displayed in Table 1 (Appendix). Mean values for variables indicated that respondents exhibited disagreement with the dependent variable Honor Killing Attitudes ($M = 2.24$, scale parameters of 1 through 5), thus, the majority of respondents disagreed that honor murders are justified, regardless of circumstances. Results associated with the main independent variable, patriarchal traditionalism, indicated that respondents identified most negatively with authority and obedience, resistance to change, patriarchal entitlements and anti-Western traditionalism ($M = 2.21$, scale parameters of 1 through 5). The control variable gender statistics ($M = 0.71$) revealed that 71% of respondents were females. Data suggested that respondents have approximately 3 siblings ($M = 3.35$). Control variable education statistics ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.59$, and scale parameters of 1 through 7) suggested that most respondents' parents obtained a high school degree as their highest education level. Of respondents, 28% identified as Christians, 1.6% Jewish, 5% Buddhist, 30% were without religious affiliation, and 33% constituted all other religions. Respondents reported low religiosity values ($M = 2.37$, scale parameters of 1 through 5). The majority of respondents expressed disagreement on the measurement of the control variable female chastity expectations ($M = 1.18$, scale parameters of 1 through 5).

Correlations

Bivariate correlation analyses were conducted in order to determine the existence, strength, and direction of correlations among variables (Table 2, Appendix). The strongest correlations observed were also statistically significant: correlation of gender to honor killing attitudes ($R = -.322$, $p < .05$) and to patriarchal traditionalism ($R = -.313$, $p < .05$) both showed a moderate

THEMIS

(negative) correlation. Calculating the coefficient of determination (R^2) led to the determination of a shared variance of 10.3% between honor killing attitudes and gender. No other control variable in the model had statistically significant correlations to the dependent variable honor killing attitudes.

However, religiosity/religious conviction showed a statistically significant moderate to strong (positive) correlation to patriarchal traditionalism ($R = .510, p < .01$). Female chastity expectation also showed a statistically significant moderate (positive) correlation to both Religiosity/Religious Conviction ($R = .307, p < .05$ level) and to patriarchal traditionalism ($R = .397, p < .01$). The control variable all other religions (dichotomous variable all other religions) showed a moderate (negative) correlation with both the control variable Christian (dichotomous variable Christian = $-0.445, p < 0.1$) and the control variable no religious affiliation (dichotomous variable no religion = $-0.463, p < 0.1$) while a statistically significant weak (positive) correlation was observed with the independent variable patriarchal traditionalism ($R = .298, p < .05$).

The control variable no religious affiliation (dichotomous variable no religion) showed a statistically significant moderate (negative) correlation to the independent variable patriarchal traditionalism ($R = -.342, p < .05$) in addition to the control variable Christian (dichotomous variable Christian, $R = -.412, p < .01$). Statistically significant moderate (negative) correlations were observed for the control variable education with the independent variable patriarchal traditionalism ($R = -.342, p < .05$) and with the control variable number of siblings ($R = -.392, p < .01$).

Multiple Regression

VOLUME IV • 2016

Multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine potential relationships between the dependent variable honor killing attitudes and all control variables (Table 3, Appendix). The control variables Muslim (dichotomous variable Muslim), Hindu (dichotomous variable Hindu), and all other religions (dichotomous variable all other religions) were excluded from the analysis due to missing correlations.

Adjusted R^2 statistics in multiple regressions were obtained and represent the proportion of total variability in the dependent variable honor killing attitudes as explained by all independent/control variables (Adjusted $R^2 = .031$). Thus, 3.1% of the total variability in the dependent variable honor killing attitudes can be explained by those independent/control variables included in the model. The R^2 statistic in this model ($R^2 = .217$) implies a 21.7 % reduction in error when using multiple linear regression to predict the mean of the dependent variable honor killing attitudes (instead of the overall mean of all variables, $M = 2.24$). Since there is a large discrepancy between the Adjusted R^2 and R^2 statistics (18.6 %), some of the control variables included in the model were redundant. The F test in the analysis of variance (ANOVA) for this regression model was not statistically significant ($p > .05$). Therefore, the null hypothesis for the F statistic ($F = 1.164$) is accepted, suggesting that this model has no explanatory power. However, results of a t statistic test in the analysis of standardized and unstandardized coefficients in the model were statistically significant ($p < .001$), suggesting that, with all control variables excluded, the model does have some explanatory power and the null hypothesis should be rejected.

In this particular model, the only statistically significant coefficient was associated with the control variable gender ($b_i =$

THEMIS

-.396, $p < .05$). Therefore, it can be interpreted that for every unit increase in the control variable gender, the dependent variable honor killing attitudes would decrease by 0.396 units, holding all other control variables constant. This indicates that the control variable gender has the strongest (negative) effect on the dependent variable honor killing attitudes among all control variables included in the model. All other control variables in the model did not have slopes statistically different from 0 and therefore had no statistically significant effect on the dependent variable honor killing attitudes.

In this particular model, the standardized coefficient values of independent variable patriarchal traditionalism ($\beta_i = -.323$) and control variable gender ($\beta_i = -.439$) suggest that for one standard deviation increase in the independent variable patriarchal traditionalism or the control variable gender, the dependent variable honor killing attitudes decreases by 0.323 and 0.439 standard deviations, respectively. Hence, the variables gender and patriarchal traditionalism have the strongest (negative) association in this regression model.

Conclusion

The present study was based on a cross-sectional survey, culminating amidst significant limitations in determining causal and temporal relationships between the dependent variable and the predictors. An additional complication stems from the survey distribution, which was based on a convenience sample rather than a random sample representative of the target demographic. These limitations do not allow for generalization of calculated statistical data and results.

The study's analysis of the effect of 13 independent/control variables on the dependent variable honor

killing attitudes is an attempt to quantify and replicate data from the extremely limited research on this increasingly accentuated topic. Similar research has examined honor killing attitudes among countries of Maghreb, South and Southeast Asia, and the Middle East, where the religion of Islam is a *de facto* and *de jure* authoritative ideological and sectarian platform and pointedly conservative patriarchal values are the basis of communal structures. Patriarchal traditionalism has both historic and contemporary global character but the extent varies considerably among regions. Considering the study's limited sampling parameters, conducted statistical analyses did not produce any unanticipated findings.

As projected, most respondents reported attitudes in opposition to honor killings, with the control variable gender accounting for the most significant association among the dependent and independent/control variables. Females showed stronger opposition to honor killings than males, which is in agreement with results of existing research. Effects of religious denominations on honor killing attitudes were statistically insignificant; while this contradicts existing research, this too can be attributed to the study's limited sampling parameters. Christian respondents overall indicated they had a stronger religious conviction than respondents of other religious denominations; additionally, stronger levels of religious conviction correlated to stricter female chastity expectations.

Future research addressing honor killing attitudes should attempt to obtain data from representative sample populations, such as refugees, asylum seekers, or otherwise immigrants and students from countries with high incidences of honor-related crimes now living in the United States. Collected data could then be analyzed and compared to that of analogous studies sampling

THEMIS

non-immigrant and immigrant students and residents from other parts of the world and associated honor killing attitudes. Such research would help determine the extent of a perceived and actual existence of moral, cultural, and religious conflicts among immigrants in the United States and whether such conflicts might limit multicultural notions of assimilation, integration, and equality – all pressing societal issues.

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VOLUME IV • 2016

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THEMIS

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VOLUME IV • 2016

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Appendix

Table 1
*Sample Size, Minimum, Maximum, Mean, Standard Deviation and
 Variance Values for Variables*

Variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	M	SD	S ²
Honor Killing Attitudes	5 4	1.38	3.46	2.243 6	0.4145 8	0.17 2
Patriarchal Traditionalism	5 4	1.00	3.50	2.125 0	0.5224 9	0.27 3
Gender	5 9	0.00	1.00	0.711 9	0.4567 8	0.20 9
Number of Siblings	5 9	1.00	7.00	3.355 9	1.8171 9	3.30 2
Education	5 8	1.00	7.00	3.344 8	1.5955 2	2.54 6
Christian Religion	60	0.00	1.00	0.2833	0.45442	0.206
Jewish Religion	60	0.00	1.00	0.0167	0.12910	0.017
Muslim Religion	60	0.00	0.00	0.0000	0.00000	0.000
Hindu Religion	60	0.00	0.00	0.0000	0.00000	0.000
Buddhist Religion	60	0.00	1.00	0.0500	0.21978	0.048
No Religious Affiliation	60	0.00	1.00	0.3000	0.46212	0.214
All Other Religions	60	0.00	1.00	0.3333	0.47538	0.226
Religiosity/Religious Conviction	5 4	1.00	5.00	2.370 4	1.3639 1	1.86 0
Female Chastity Expectations	5 4	1.00	2.25	1.180 6	0.3549 4	0.12 6

VOLUME IV • 2016

Table 2
Correlation Coefficients of Variables Used in Multiple Regression

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(1) Honor Killing Attitudes														
(2) Patriarchal Traditionalism	-.086													
(3) Gender/Sex	-.322*	-.313*												
(4) Number of Siblings	.018	2.40	.043											
(5) Education	.157	-.342*	-.123	-.392**										
(6) Christian Religion	-.074	2.30	-.008	227	-.009									
(7) Jewish Religion	-.081	-.166	.084	-.099	139	-.082								
(8) Muslim Religion	...	...	...	...	...	...		
(9) Hindu Religion	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(10) Buddhist Religion	-.114	-.254	.147	-.003	-.174	-.144	-.030	...	...	...	
(11) No Religious Affiliation	.103	-.342*	-.147	-.253	2.43	-.412**	-.085	...	...	...	-.150			
(12) All Other Religions	.046	.298*	.060	.057	-.181	-.445**	-.092	...	...	...	-.162	-.463**		
(13) Religiosity/Religious Conviction	-.098	.510**	-.152	.365**	-.141	.411**	-.139	...	...	...	-.186	-.281*	.021	
(14) Female Clarity Expectations	.028	.397**	.045	.198	-.132	.064	-.071	...	...	...	-.125	-.112	.134	.307*

* Correlation is significant at the $p < .05$ level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the $p < .01$ level (2-tailed).

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Table 3
*OLS Regression for Honor Killing Attitudes on All
 Independent/Control Variables*

Variables	b_i	Standard Error	β_i
Patriarchal Traditionalism	-.257	0.169	-.323
Gender/Sex	-.396*	0.144	-.439
Number of Siblings	.020	0.037	.086
Education	.015	0.044	.056
Christian Religion	-.095	0.154	-.104
Jewish Religion	-.399	0.440	-.131
Buddhist Religion	-.300	0.287	-.167
No Religious Affiliation	-.157	0.162	-.177
Religiosity/Religious Conviction	-.037	0.054	-.121
Female Chastity Expectations	.194	0.181	.166
Honor Killing Attitudes (Constant)	2.910**	0.517	
R^2	.217		
Adjusted R^2	.031		
N = 53			

* Correlation is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

** Correlation is significant at the $p < 0.001$ level.

Pedja Ilic hails from the former Yugoslavia. He has lived in Silicon Valley since 2004. Pedja holds bachelor's and master's degrees in Justice Studies from San Jose State University. His academic work and interests comprise relations between justice, systems of social control and human rights, moral philosophy and epistemology, relativism and ideologies, as well as geopolitics, radicalization, and counter-extremism. He is currently exploring opportunities to employ his knowledge and expertise within frameworks of law, justice, and public service. Pedja cherishes ideals of honesty and critical inquiry and spends his free time enjoying the great American outdoors.

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