

**HOW THE CANADIAN ACADEMIC LITERATURE AND CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS
DISCUSS “HONOUR KILLING”.**

by

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Abstract

Literature revealed limited empirical studies on honour killing in Canada. The recent cases drew attention from the media, and the public but less from the academic. Discussion on this issue revolved around immigration, multiculturalism, and violence against immigrant women. Also, it is a manifestation of patriarchy common in most societies, and a form of violence against women not exclusive to one culture but deeply rooted in culture and religion.

It is not always the sexual behaviour of the victim that define the 'family honour '. Murder, sometimes, is a result of women not following the social rules or the gender norms in the family and the men act to preserve their reputation. To understand honour killing, we need to consider the multiple sources of oppression and think of their intersections and how they affect each other and are intertwined.

Keywords: honour, honour killing, Newspapers, violence against immigrant women, culture, Islam, Muslim

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Violence against women is a global practice that is not exclusive to class, race, religion or sexual orientation (Razack, 2008). "Violence against women is perhaps the most shameful human rights violation, and it is conceivably the most pervasive (Kofi Annan, cited in Hussein, 2009). Gender-based violence exists everywhere and defined "as violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman and affects her disproportionately" (Welchman and Hossain, 2005 cited in Vishwanath & Palakonda, 2011, p. 389). Gendered violence affects all societies and "honour killing" is a typical example. Imagine your sister or daughter being murdered for chewing gum, for laughing at a joke in the street, for wearing make-up or a short skirt, for electing her own boyfriend/husband or becoming pregnant. That is what happened to five thousand women who are murdered each year in the name of honour (Hussein, 2009, p.1).

1.1. Definition of honour killing

Tripathi and Yadav define honour killing as "an ancient practice in which men kill female relatives in the name of family 'honour'" (2004, p. 64). Human Rights Watch (2001, quoted in Ballard, 2011, p. 125) offers a fuller, more comprehensive definition: Honour killing is act of violence, usually murder, committed by male family members against female family members, who are held to have brought dishonour upon the family. A woman can be targeted by (individuals within) her family for a variety of reasons, including: refusing to enter into an arranged marriage, being the victim of a sexual assault, seeking a divorce - even from an abusive husband or (allegedly) committing adultery. The mere perception that a woman has behaved in a way that 'dishonours' her family is sufficient to trigger an attack on her life.

In the face of the disputes about the honour rationales and the worldwide practice of honour killings, it is generally accepted that honour killing has specific characteristics that differentiate it from other forms of intimate partner violence and identify them as specific forms of violence against women. There are four characteristics that are cited in the literature that differentiate honour killing from other forms of murder within the family. First, the killing is intended and carried out by member(s) of victim(s) family; Second, the perpetrator usually collaborates with others to carry out the killing; Third, suspicion without evidence is grounds enough to trigger the killing; and Fourth, is premeditated instead of being a crime of passion-premeditated killings of family members, primarily women, who are thought to have brought shame or dishonour to their family by engaging in certain behaviours considered unacceptable. (Abu-Odeh, 2000; Chesler, 2009; Sen, 2005; Terman, 2010; Wikan, 2008). Yet, some scholars cautioned that many honour killings occur without premeditation and thus this is not an important factor in categorizing honour killings (Phillips, 2007).

The victim of honour killing is generally a female, related to the perpetrator by blood or by marriage (Hoyek et al., 2005, Welchman & Hossain 2005a; Sen 2005; Baron, 2006). Reddy (2008) contends that even where males are the victims and killed, they are alleged to have ruined females' reputation. Consequently, their victimization revolves around attempts to control women's sexuality (Reddy, 2008) and in fact, it can be considered as a particular violence that shows females-women and girls what is likely to happen to them if they do not conform to patriarchal expectations (Reddy, 2008).

1.2 Historic context of honour killing

Historically there are no definitive explanations regarding the origins of honour killing. Scholars dispute the origin and world-wide practice of honour codes. Some authors suggest that honour rationales exist all across the globe, while others consider them as only belonging to some societies in the Middle East and South Asia. Hussain (2006) suggests that honour is a deep-rooted traditional notion that originated in the ancient times and shaped both Western and Islamic family law.

In the South Asian continent, some scholars claim the practice originated with various Baloch tribes of Balochistan and spread to other countries as they migrated. Colonial records on the then Balochistan clearly mention the “custom” of “honour killing¹”. Honour-based crimes were known in medieval Europe where early Jewish law mandated death by stoning for an adulterous wife and her partner (Brundage, 1987). The concept has been known since ancient Roman times, when the senior male within a household, retained the right to kill an unmarried but sexually active daughter or an adulterous wife (Goldstein, 2002).

Scholars dispute the origin and world-wide practice of honour codes. Some authors suggest that honour rationales exist all across the globe, while others consider them as only belonging to some societies in the Middle East and South Asia. Hussain (2006) suggests that honour is a deep-rooted traditional notion that originated in the ancient times and shaped both Western and Islamic family law. One study shows the significance of honour codes among Arab tribes in the pre-Islamic period (Fares, as cited in Dodd, 1973).

¹ Sohail Akbar Warraich. “Honour Killings” and the law in Pakistan; during the British Colonial period, District Magistrate/Collectors would compile gazettes to provide basic information about the area, its geography, history, climate, population, customary practices of the tribe, families in the district, etc. These gazettes served as guidebooks for the administration.

According to Reddy (2008), historically, including in the European context, masculinity has been linked to ideas of women as the property of their male relatives which results in attempts to control female behaviour, particularly, female sexual autonomy. At a basic level, honour killing can be understood as a form of gender-based violence involving restoration of a family's honour through punishment of a family member, or a family member's romantic partner, that has brought shame to the family by violating sexual boundaries. Honour killing, began receiving significant international media interest in the late 1990s with numerous reports stating uncritically that roughly 5,000 honour killing transpire annually across the globe (Abu-Lughod, 2011). Over the past decade, human rights groups have given more exposure and coverage to honour-based killings.

Honour killing can occur within a wide range of communities of varying cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds and have been reported around the world, including in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Peru, the United States of America, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Germany (So-called 'honour crimes',2003). While honour killing take place in many regions of the world, laws in some countries also reflect socio-cultural attitudes that underlie such killing.

The magnitude of honour killing in Canada is yet to be systematically documented but there are anecdotal reports about its occurrence. Such occurrences often relate to specific cultural communities where some immigrants to Canada had maintained cultural practices from their country of origin. As a result, the application of the term "honour killing" to murder of female is contentious, primarily for minority communities that fear being collectively tarred by the violence of a very small number of people (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003). Most especially when it

is only in relation to religious and ethnic communities that the concept of "honour" is invoked as the motivation for domestic violence (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003).

By ascribing femicide (the murder of women and girls solely on the basis of their gender) to a particular culture and "honour killing" to another raises serious and fundamental questions simply because a cultural frame typically attaches blame on the perpetrator's cultural affiliation (Jiwani & Hoodfar, 2012). Therefore, if honour killing is truly reflective of particular cultural groups, then what kind of cultural frame should be applied to the widespread murders of aboriginal women in Canada? Aboriginal women continue to demand justice for more than 500 missing native women. (Jiwani & Hoodfar, 2012). The arrest and conviction of Robert Pickton, a serial killer who preyed on aboriginal women, suggests that many of the missing and murdered women were killed by white men, not by aboriginal men (Canadian Press, 2007).

The media, in this and similar cases, did not attribute blame to the perpetrator's white culture. Then, what separates "honour killing" from other murders of intimate partners or family members? Consequently, stereotyping a particular crime as the sole responsibility of certain ethnic groups or religion is counterproductive to the goals of preventing such crime (Report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women (2002)). This kind of differentiation encourages a false dichotomy between minority and majority communities so that the crimes of minorities are explained by reference to culture or religion, while crimes in the main stream communities are understood as individual aberrations (Dustin and Phillips, 2008).

The idea of media portraying a particular community as prone to crime should be debunked and honour killing should be seen within the framework of the patriarchy that is evident in all societies irrespective of culture, religion, or social structure. It is self evident that misogyny and sexism are universal and violence against women is happening in all communities, but maybe in

some more than others. A review of literature indicates that there are few empirical researches on honour killing in Canada. Nevertheless, over the past decade there have been at least a dozen reported murders which appear to have been considered as honour killing in the Canadian newspapers. Recent media and policy reports estimate that twelve cases have occurred in Canada since 2002 (Jiwani & Hoodfar, 2012; Keeping, 2012; Papp, 2010; Wilton, 2012).

This paper is a small way to increase awareness about one of the most brutal practices in the modern world- honour killing with a view to stop future tragedies. The paper may encourage further studies on honour killing in Canada and beyond with the hope that and such studies could benefits policy makers to adopt proper intervention policies. Above all, the paper could prove to be an informative documentary reference for those interested in learning more about the issue of honour killing. Additionally, it is important to speak generally about the issue of violence against women and children.

Chapter 2: Research Methods

This chapter explain in detail how the study was conducted, I conducted a review of literature about how the Canadian academic literature discussed honour killing between 2009 and 2019. Also, I examined how journalists discussed honour killing as a concept in the newspapers between 2007 and 2019. (My examination of the newspapers was extended to 2007 because that was the year the concept was really used in the newspapers to describe murder of a family member in Canada and the coverage was extensive and unprecedented).

I used Ryerson University Library Catalogue as the major source and searched for the term ‘honour and honour killing’ or ‘literally ‘honour revenge’, which covers both honours killing and honour-related violence in either the title or the body of the text. From these, I selected those dealing with honour killing as it occurs in Canada. I conducted a critical discourse (content) analysis (see Fairclough, 1995; Shor, 2008b, 2008c; Shor & Galily, 2012; Van Dijk, 1988). Although the focus of my review is Canada but due to limited literature on the subject, I reviewed other jurisdictions as well which include but are not limited to America and Europe as supplementary source. These documents were identified and reviewed manually, to identify the authors and their views.

My search prompted a total of (2573) scholarly peer-review journal articles published between January 2009 to August 2019 and only (3) were written in context of Canada by Canadian authors. Most of the articles were written by foreign authors even though some of their works have elements of Canadian content. A total of (26) book chapters prompted up but only (1) was written in Canada. I did not find reports but found (3) dissertation/thesis that are written by Canadian authors in Canadian context.

Building upon the literature previous research on honour killing in the Media. I picked one (1) article for each year for review in the two Toronto based newspapers to gauge how journalists portrayed the victims and perpetrator (s) when reporting murders involving family members that were characterised as honour killing.

2.1 Theoretical framework

This paper draws on insights from various school of thoughts. Firstly, critical discourse analysis (CDA) stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice, (Hilary Janks, 1997). All social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served. It is the questions pertaining to interests that relate discourse to relations of power. How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning? Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power it is called critical discourse analysis. Fairclough's (1989, 1995).

The model for CDA consists of three interrelated processes of analysis which are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are: 1. the object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts); 2. the processes by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects; 3. the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes. This theory relates to what Jiwani (2006) said about the importance of the media and the ways and manners they frame issues and language. For example, he emphasis that the media shape public opinion by defining issues, setting the agenda, framing debates, and providing us with the language by which the public make sense of the issues.

The media has become the essential part of the society that shape public opinion on important issues based on the language used to convey messages to their readers. According to Meyers (1994), the media create a common sense of the world and provide ideological support for hegemonic power structures through their particular language and symbolization. The theory will be useful to analyse how honour killing is framed by various authors and writers.

Secondly, insight was drawn from the boundary theory (boundaries between immigrants and mainstream society like Canada) is used to illustrate the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, religion and national origin. This is because boundaries create “a sense of us versus” “not us”, capturing the social or cultural distance between immigrant and mainstream society (Zolberg and Long 1999, p.8; Alba 2005, p.22-3).

Whether boundaries are “bright” or “blurred” has implications for the kinds of immigrant integration that are possible. Bright boundaries imply that society is structured around a sharp distinction between insiders and outsiders so that individual members of minority groups (though not those groups in their entirety) can cross into majority society only if they give up part of their group identity and adopt some of the practices of majority society (Zolberg and Long 1999, p.8; Alba 2005).

Chapter 3: Research Findings

3.1 How the Canadian academic literature and Canadian newspapers discuss “honour killing”.

A search of empirical studies on honour killing in the academic domain revealed limited amount of literature on honour killing in Canada. As a result, literature from other jurisdictions such as North America and Europe were included in the study. Although the public discourse on honour killings is growing steadily in Canada despite the fact that the term itself is not entirely understood (Aujla and Gill, 2014). But the term “honour killing” is generally known and popular, but it has been contentious from the beginning (Welchman and Hossain, 2005). In Canada, there were many peer reviewed articles/book chapters and reports that were published between 2009-2019.

Regarding newspaper, my search for The Globe and Mail prompted over 347 articles about murders. Given the fact that I have one month to conduct my research, after the review, I selected one(1) article per year in which the media labelled a murder of family member (s) as honour killing and came up with a total of nine (9) articles The Globe and Mail and exclude those articles that focus on murder as against honour killing. My second newspaper search of The Toronto Star prompted 450 articles about murder, out of which ten (10) articles that were labelled as honour killing were selected, 1(one article) per year. It is important to note that I observed that The Toronto Star published more articles than The Globe and Mail which accounts for differences. I observed common theme about the ways the victims and perpetrators were portrayed and was able to establish that the newspapers journalists evoked religion, culture and country of origin to describe the perpetrators when reporting these murders.

In the academic domain, several scholars suggest that discussions of honour killing in the West including Canada, are framed within the discourse of clash of civilizations ‘(Razack, 2008; Terman, 2010; Fernandez, 2009). This discourse, which is developed and maintained by the American writer Samuel P. Huntington, holds that the primary source of conflict in the world today is the cultural ‘difference between the West and the non-West. ‘Here, Islam is presented as the biggest opposite to Western civilization and culture,’ writes Huntington (as cited in Terman, 2010).

Over the last two decades, honour killing has been the topic of research investigation (Dodd, 1973; Abu-Odeh, 1997; Baker, Gregware, & Cassidy, 1999; Araj, 2000; Faqir, 2001, Akpinar, 2003; Gill, 2006; Hussain, 2006; Reimers, 2007; Madak, 2005). Scholars attempted to explore the nature of honour killing, the causes and consequences, and the ways to combat such crime. Yet, literature on honour killing is still limited in Canada. This might be due to the inherent complexity of the issue itself and the fact that many cultural, tribal, social, religious, and patriarchal factors contribute to shape such crime. Although, there is a strong debate on the nature of these crimes and their components.

3.2 Debate regarding the use of the term honour killing

In a strong patriarchal society, the word honour is not measured with the worthiness of a man, but rather the honour lies in the women under the control of a man(Meetoo & Mirza, 2007).Moreover, honour is a fundamental characteristic of the patriarchal order, and honour killing is designed to maintain the patriarchal status quo (Kandiyoti, 1988). Gill (2009) maintains that the notion of honour is embedded in the larger operations of patriarchy based on which men victimize and abuse women to sustain their dominance within the social system.

The term honour or honor is derived from the Latin word *honor*, which is an abstract concept of a perceived quality of worthiness, respectability and moreover the perceived standing of an individual in large social bodies such as schools, neighbourhoods, cities or nations. But none of the meanings seem conducive to encourage or support the assumption that honour is associated with the right to kill in order for its preservation, neither do they inspire any violent conduct in situations where the honour of the individual is at stake.

Scholars maintain that honour as a moral code adheres differentially and unequally to men and women. According to Faqir (2001) the notion of honour conveys different meanings for men and women. It is divided along feminine and masculine lines, with different meanings for each gender. Masculinity is often praised and glorified, and men are considered the guardians of their female relatives and their honour, while women are passive and selfless individuals that follow the honour norms. Sen (2005) argues that codes of honour are not only about what it means to be a woman but are also about what it means to be a man, and therefore, are central to the social meanings of gender.

The literature shows a broad range of approaches to honour killing. Some scholars pointed out that the very use of the word ‘honour’ creates the idea that this horrendous crime is in some way honourable and justified (Ballard, 2011; Dustin & Phillips, 2008; Fournier, 2012; Gill, 2009; Jiwani & Hoodfar, 2012; Mehtoo & Mirza, 2007). But, “there exists no honour in domestic violence, honour killings and crimes, but only shame” (Vishwanath & Palakonda, 2011, p. 395). Murder, especially premeditated murder, should never, even by implication, be portrayed in a positive light (Hogben, 2012; Keeping, 2012; Mehtoo & Mirza, 2007; Schliesmann, 2012).

Bryan Hogeveen (Aujla & Gill, 2012, p.159) suggested the term ‘patriarchal homicide’ as a good alternative as it captures the gendered nature of the crimes in question since the

particularity of this kind of cruelty has nothing to do with honour, passion or convenience. He contends that these kinds of justifications are merely excuses and rationalizations to stereotype particular groups (immigrants) in Canada.

Some authors have expressed concern that the use of the term is frequently associated with only a few specific ethno cultural communities and can be used to obscure the unfortunate reality that family murders occur in all societies (Craig Offman, 2008). But to others, this term may provide an avenue in which perpetrators may sought dishonour to rationalise their actions during judicial trials in expectations of receiving a minor sentence (Welchman & Hossain, 2005).

In the academic domain, many authors agreed that violence against women knows no borders, and honour killing is a very particular kind of violence against women or better still females that occur worldwide (Gill, 2006; Kirti et al., 2011; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Tripathi & Yadav, 2004) across ethnic, class and religious boundaries (Gill, 2009; 2010). Nevertheless, the association of 'honour' with the 'exotic other' means that calling these crimes 'honour killing' often serves to perpetuate stereotypes regarding minority ethnic communities, especially immigrants and the Muslims in particular (Gill, 2006; Keeping, 2012; Schliesmann, 2012).

Western commentators have discussed the nature of honour killings and their possible differences with other types of femicide (the killing of a woman or girl, in particular by a man and on account of her gender). Two different theoretical perspectives have emerged in these discussions. Some authors explained honour killing as a dimension of Islamic or Middle Eastern/South Asian culture that is based on possession of women. This perspective considers the killing as primarily cultural or Islamic practices that are inherently 'worse' than most domestic violence murders (Chesler, 2009; Goldstein, 2002).

Amber Hildebrandt (2009), suggests that honour killing is distinct from domestic violence for three reasons: planning-honour killing is planned in advance, often at a family conference. The perpetrator's family may repeatedly threaten the victim with death if she dishonours her family. Family complicity-honour killing can involve multiple family members in the killing, such as parents, brothers and cousins. Stigma-perpetrators of honour killing often don't face negative stigma in their families or communities (Amber Hildebrandt, 2009). Chesler (2009) differentiates between honour killing and domestic violence as well by suggesting that honour killing is primarily Muslim-on-Muslim crime. She submits that honour killing in North America originate with immigration from majority Muslim countries and may compare with the number of first-generation immigrants.

Other scholars contend that differentiating honour killing from domestic violence not only downplays general domestic violence as something less serious, but it also singles out immigrants for their human rights abuses (Terman, 2010). Therefore, discussions of honour killing would turn into discussions on multiculturalism, identity conflicts, and the inherent danger of Muslim immigration (Terman, 2010). Some researchers maintained that considering honour killing within the wider category of domestic violence is important in order to prevent racist reactions within the Western countries (Siddiqui, 2005; Dustin & Phillips, 2008). In contrast, others offered different views and characterised honour killing as an aspect of patriarchy. This perspective suggests that honour killing is a worldwide practice (Mojab, 2004; Hussain, 2006).

The practice cuts across ethnic, class, and religious lines and transcends cultural boundaries (Gill, 2009; Hussain, 2006; Faqir, 2010). Chew, Dolores; Farha, Najah Hussain (2009) claimed that patriarchy and violence against women exist in all societies; and that media are wrong to

focus on 'honour killing' as reason for violence, this is because the media misunderstood how patriarchy manifests itself in societies around the world, including North America. In some authors' view, considering honour killing as cultural practices may not be useful for two basic reasons. First, it may lead to stereotyping Islamic cultures as barbaric (Meetoo& Mirza, 2007). Second, violence against women might come to be considered as traditional or cultural practices that require tolerance and respect (Coomaraswamy, 2005; Terman, 2010).

Some authors argued that honour killing is not the monopoly of Islamic societies: it predates all monotheistic religions and is a known phenomenon in other societies, including Western societies (Faqir, 2001; Baker et al. 1999). So, considering honour killing as somehow rooted in Islam is misleading, since honour crime is by no means an Islamic invention (Hussain 2006; Khalili, 2002).

It was suggested that in Western countries, a man's control over women's sexual behaviour, as the basic component of honour killing, is highly determinative (Sever &Yurdakul, 2001; Baker et al., 1999). Thus, all cultural phenomena in the Muslim world are attributed to the theology of Islam. In this discourse, the West "is presented as having values and modernity and is seen less as culture, while the non-West or Muslim world, has absolute culture." This logic underpins superiority of Western values, including commitment to freedom, dignity, and the rights of women (Razack, 2008; Jiwani, 2006; Terman, 2010).

In a way, discussions about honour killing are used to stigmatize Muslim communities and evict them from the political and legal community, especially in North America and Europe (Razack, 2008). Many authors have suggested that although the East is commonly thought to be violent and misogynistic, the West tends to regard itself as having no culture at all. When men from Western nations commit violent crime against women, they are considered to be acting

alone, disconnected from family, culture or community (Razack, 2008; Volpp, 2001). If same crime is committed by immigrant especially Muslim such will be characterised as honour killing. As such, the best way to obtain an in-depth understanding of them is a careful application of a feminist perspective, without invoking Islam or any other religion (Sever & Yurdakul, 2001).

3.3. Debate on the causes of honour killing

Despite the fact that violence against women is universal, studies have shown that the root causes are different due to culture, religion, and nationality (Abu-Lughod, 2006; Razack 2008; Volpp, 2001). These authors have recognized a long-standing, socially-constructed antagonism between the East and the West in how violence against women is perceived. This dates back to the attitudes of European imperialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which established a set of binary oppositions in which the plenitude of the West was contrasted with the lack of the Orient.

The Orient was fanatical; the West was progressive, when the Oriental was traditional. (Sayyid & Sayyid, 2003, p.33). Violence against women is often regarded as a practice that is rooted in and sanctioned by Eastern culture (Razack, 2008; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005; Volpp, 2001). Several incidents of honour killing among immigrant communities in North America and Europe have raised interest in how these cases occur, what are the underlying reasons, and how societies might prevent them. Many scholars argued that honour killing is an outcome of patriarchy since men are obligated to guard their family honour and honour killing is planned by family councils (Pitt-Rivers 1974; Mojab 2004; Kvinnoforum 2005, p. 16). In this context, patriarchy is a form of rule through kin relations in which family and society closely overlap, and in which family is stratified according to gender and age (Kandiyoti 1988). At the same time, contemporary economic and social forces, including the migration experience, also shape the guarding of

women's honour (Maris and Saharso 2001; Abu-Lughod 2002; Kogacioglu 2004; Warrick 2005).

The literature suggests that honour killing in Western societies are considered one of the, if not the most, brutal crimes that are committed by minorities (Terman, 2010). Unfortunately, men in every society across the world murder thousands of women annually for a variety of reasons, irrespective of religion and culture. For instance, in the French legal system whenever, European French man kill women it is listed as a crime of 'love', whereas when Muslim French men kill women it is listed as a crime of Islam or 'culture' (John Bowen, 2006).

Also, about 1,400 American women are believed to be killed due to domestic violence annually, while 5,000 Indian women (mostly Hindu) are suspected to be the result of dowry murders annually (Uma Narayan, 1997 cited in Husseini, 2009). It would therefore be a mistake if we assumed that the murder of women by immediate male relatives is exclusively a Muslim phenomenon. (Husseini, 2009). Victimization of and discrimination against women happens at all levels worldwide, so it is important to understand the links between so-call honour killing and other forms of discrimination against women. In the literature, honour killing has been strongly connected with Islam by the Western media (Terman, 2010). While we know that honour killing occur among non-Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists. Furthermore, there are Muslim countries with no reports of honour killing, for instance Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country (Terman, 2010).

Korteweg & Yurdakul (2010) contend that discussions of honour-related violence that stigmatize certain group are more likely to lead to general anti-immigrant policies or policies that impede settlement. They argued further that "honour killing" shows how discussions of honour killing and honour-related violence stigmatize and racialize immigrant communities while

positioning immigrant-receiving societies as free of 'barbaric' violence in contrast (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2009, 2010; Razack 2008). Likewise, a narrow focus on honour-related violence in immigrant communities obscures the far more common other manifestations of violence in immigrant women and men's lives-ranging from domestic and familial violence to the violations of personhood associated with minority status in many immigrant-receiving countries (Korteweg et al., 2013).

In the academic domain, many authors agreed that violence against women knows no borders, and honour killing is a very particular kind of violence against women or better still females that occur worldwide (Gill, 2006; Kirti et al., 2011; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Tripathi and Yadav, 2004) across ethnic, class and religious boundaries(Gill, 2009; 2010). Nevertheless, the association of 'honour' with the 'exotic other' means that calling these crimes 'honour killing' often serves to perpetuate stereotypes regarding minority ethnic communities, especially immigrants and the Muslims in particular (Gill, 2006; Keeping, 2012; Schliesmann, 2012).

Again, Bourdieu (1991) asserts that symbolic power and violence is not always exerted physically, rather imposed on minds as 'legitimized' schemes of perception, thoughts and actions. These 'legitimized' perceptions and hierarchies are then reinforced through the educational system, religion, family structures and state power (Grzyb, M, 2016, p. 1041). Thus, the male dominance becomes normalized and in many cases women themselves become the perpetrators of patriarchal beliefs and even participate in 'honour' killings. Consequently, an honour-based family system rests upon socially constructed understandings of rigid femininity and masculinity, and under such systems, women's and girls' purported sexual purity is central to the family's reputation. As girls reach adolescence and young adulthood, their virginity prior to marriage and fidelity to their husband during marriage play extreme importance in upholding

family honour; violations of these patriarchal norms can lead to harsh consequences (Baker, Gregware, and Cassidy 1999).

3.4 Debate about if honour killing is an immigrant problem

In the literature, some authors point out that honour-related beliefs and practices often become more rigid within the immigration context (Terman, 2010; Wikan, 2008; Akpinar, 2003). The role of women as the main transmitters of social values and the primary boundary-makers of cultural and religious identity is highly politicized (Terman, 2010). As such, even within strict families, sons are usually free to adopt a Western lifestyle without being accused of losing their cultural identity, while daughters are expected to follow family rules and values (Terman, 2010).

Korteweg (2012) contends that immigration has a unique power to change the meanings and practices associated with honour and could generate social change both for immigrants and the societies that receive them (Migration increases women's vulnerability to violence and exploitation, Ahmad et al 2004, p.263). In the literature and public debate, honour killing is a particular response to the sense that a woman or girl has violated her family's honour, usually because of perceptions of sexual impropriety (SeverandYurdakul, 2001; Van Eck, 2003; Mojab, 2004).

According to Akpinar (2003), control over immigrant women is accelerated, as they are seen as carriers of group identity and honour (Akpinar, 2003). Moreover, literature as well revealed that immigrant men's vulnerability to unemployment, discrimination, and loss of authority over children sometimes leads to feelings of powerlessness. Thus, there is a risk that members of ethnic communities who hold conservative patriarchal values will return to their traditional values and subordinates females (Akpinar, 2003). Hence, maintaining control of their space by

controlling women “can compensate for feelings of powerlessness for some immigrant men” (Akpınar, 2003). Several scholars have pointed out that discussions about violence against immigrant women in the West are shaped within the discourse of culture clash ‘in the immigrant communities (Razack, 2004, 2007; Jiwani, 2006; Haque, 2010).

The motivations behind the ‘honour’ killing in an immigration context seem to occur in two overlapping dimensions: firstly, where the immigrant women become too ‘independent’ and ‘westernized’ which in turn brings ‘shame’ to the family, and secondly, a crisis of masculinity and ‘male’ ego due to change in power dynamics after immigration (Grzyb, 2016, p. 1045). In both cases, the family patriarch felt a deep sense of ‘dishonour’ when his daughter refused his authority, affirming her autonomy by choosing her own way of life.

Also, in the West, including Canada; immigrant women gain access to autonomy at various levels that in turn changes the gender and power dynamics of the family. Thus, making the honour related violence a very complex gendered issue, which is related and at the same time not related to domestic violence. Korteweg & Yurdakul (2009) conducted a study on the newspapers content in the Netherlands and Germany to examine the extent to which the immigrant-mainstream society boundaries are reinforced in the media. These authors suggest that the European debate on honour killing is associated withdrawing boundaries based on ethnicity, national origin, religion, and gender (Kortweg & Yurdakul, 2009). They found out that in both countries the newspapers reinforce boundaries by discussing honour killing as a form of violence against women rooted in Islam, ethnicity, or national origin (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009).

However, they found that some articles contained possibilities of boundary blurring, as they discussed honour killing as a form of violence against women similar to other forms of violence. These articles stressed the differences in immigrant communities’ approaches toward honour

killings, and highlighted immigrants' own efforts to prevent honour crimes (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009). Reimers (2007) offers a discourse analysis of three different Swedish newspapers regarding the murder of Fadime Shahindal, a Kurdish woman who was killed by her father in Sweden in 2002. Reimers discovered that a lack of integration was a common explanation for honour killing in the media. According to the discourse, the murder was rooted in alien and different cultural values; Shahindal's family was not Swedish but was antagonistic to Swedish values.

Reimers (2007) maintains that the coverage of the murder resembles previous media representations of immigrants in Sweden where the media established dichotomous concepts of Swedes and immigrants as 'us' versus 'the other'. As such, Sweden is characterized by gender equality, while the immigrant is categorized in terms of female subordination. In this way, this discourse ignores the general aspects of power and inequality and the fact that it is society that makes male violence against women possible (Reimers, 2007).

Hellgren and Hobson (2008) reviewed three cases of honour killings in Sweden with an emphasis on the role of media in framing the culture-related discussions. The authors maintain that these cases touched a nerve in Swedish society and evoke a strong cultural significance (Hellgren & Hobson, 2008). The killings in Sweden opened up cultural dialogues that included feminist groups and immigrant women's voices (Hellgren & Hobson, 2008). Considering the fact that discussions about the politics and policy in Sweden revolve around the notion of 'good society', Hellgren and Hobson (2008) explain that the public debate on violence against women among Muslim immigrants has strongly affected the discourse of immigrant integration. As such, bright boundaries between immigrants and the majority society have been drawn.

Korteweg & Yurdakul (2010) contend that discussions of honour-related violence that stigmatize certain group are more likely to lead to general anti-immigrant policies or policies that impede settlement. They argued further that “honour killing” shows how discussions of honour killing and honour-related violence stigmatize and racialize immigrant communities while positioning immigrant-receiving societies as free of ‘barbaric’ violence in contrast (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2009, 2010; Razack, 2008).

In the literature, debates on honour killing are platforms on which different cultural elements associated with drawing boundaries between immigrants and majority society can be studied. Importantly, discussions of honour killing brighten boundaries in as much as they enable the voicing of concerns about Muslim immigrants that in other contexts might be construed as anti-religious, ethnocentric or racist, while a focus on similarities between immigration and majority society offers opportunities for boundary blurring (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Razack, 2004).

The implication of these different national paths is that boundaries might be drawn differently, with religion more influential in one country and ethnic understanding more predominant in another. These debates reinforce existing bright boundaries, or a strong sense of us versus them, between immigrants and mainstream population. The existing theory showed that the boundaries are inscribed in the intersection of religion, ethnicity, national origin, and gender. All too often, debates on honour killing and honour-related violence inspire racialization as they reify culture and generate narratives of belonging to the nation-state based on ‘us’ versus ‘them’ divisions that place immigrants on the wrong side of that boundary. Immigrant communities generally build on homeland practices but redefine them in the new country.

Blurring bright boundaries entails a change in the dominant perception of immigrants as dramatically different from majority of Canadian society (Alba, 2005). In the new dispensation,

the majority of immigrants ultimately integrate into their host countries, but retain aspects of their ethnic identity, a phenomenon known as “multiculturalism”.

In the theory of boundary formation, different integration or assimilation trajectories are associated with three “distinct patterns of negotiation between newcomers and hosts”: crossing, blurring and shifting (Zolberg and Long, 1999, p.8; see also Baubock, 1994; Alba and Nee, 2003; Alba 2005). Still, in several instances, it is not pure theology but gender inequalities attributed to Islam that are the basis of drawing these boundaries (see Norris and Inglehart, 2002; Razack, 2004).

3.5 Debate about how the society can combat this issue

One researcher believes that protection of women from honour killing requires different procedures and a different set of protections than domestic violence (Terman, 2010). It was suggested that the cultural and structural perspectives for interpreting honour killing and that democratic state should deal with this phenomenon as a matter of justice (Maris and Saharso, 2001) and argue that honour killing is not the inevitable consequence of loss of honour, even in the cultural framework of the immigrant group. Instead, the violence is about gender relations and should be seen as the ultimate form of violence against women.

With respect to the proper approach to honour killing, Akipnar (2003) suggests that, because this practice occurs in particular cultures and societies around the world, it is important to employ a cultural analysis to tackle the phenomenon. The killing of anyone should not be seen as a cultural matter (Meetoo& Mirza, 2007). Hence, in the absence of a global social reform of patriarchal cultures, human rights law can be used to develop a culturally realistic perspective toward violence against women (Meetoo& Mirza, 2007). Human rights organizations mention

several ways to prevent and combat honour killings. These generally include legal amendments to punish the perpetrators, preventive measures to prevent the occurrence of honour crimes, and protective measures to protect the victims (Human Rights Watch, 2004; Amnesty International, 1999).

Violation of women's human rights in the name of honour cannot be tolerated and supporting dangerous cultural values in the name of multiculturalism cannot be a justification for honour crimes (Gill, 2009; Akpınar, 2003; Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). Gill (2009) emphasizes that in the case of honour killing, notions of human rights should not be allowed to support honour-based beliefs. Mojab (2004) suggests short-term and long-term approaches to prevent honour crimes.

In the short-term, she suggests that the group nature of honour crimes and the usual early warnings make them easier to anticipate and prevent (Mojab, 2004). In the long-term, she calls for multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary, and radical approaches to change the system of gender-relations which is based on universal patriarchal values (Mojab, 2004). Mojab (2004) maintains that we should go beyond the common discussions of honour killing which reduce the issue to questions of culture and religion and target patriarchy as the main reason of such practices.

3.6 A study in American context

Again, literature revealed that there is a lack of research on honour crimes in the United States of America. Hayes, Freilich and Chermak (2016) acknowledged this in their study. These authors conducted a study on honour crimes within America, in their work they used an open source search methodology to identify the victim-offender relationship and motivations for this crime within the United States. Using data collected based on the protocol for the United States

Extremist Crime Database (ECDB), they identified a total of 16 honor crimes with 40 victims that occurred between January 1, 1990 and December 31, 2014 in the United States.

In this study, they used open source data that were collected to explore not only the victim-offender relationship, but also if the motivation for honour crimes went beyond the victim's sexual behaviors. This included females who demonstrated autonomy or were perceived by offenders as too independent or westernized (Chesler, 2010; Cooney, 2014; Kulczycki and Windle, 2011). Based on their findings, the overarching motivations for honour crimes in the United States were the perpetrator's former partner beginning the process of separation and the westernized behavior of the victim, typically the offender's daughter or step-daughter. Honour crimes were not limited to current/former intimate partners or daughters, as they also included the death of extended family members (e.g. in-laws, nieces, and cousins).

The findings of their study on the motivations for American honour crimes differed from the reasons for honour crimes in other countries (see for e.g. Doğan 2014a; Kulwicki, 2002).

Through court records and quotes made to the police, the data collected in this study showed many of the offenders provided justifications or rationalizations for their crimes beyond the overarching motivations identified. In a previous study, Doğan (2014c) conducted interviews with offenders of honour crimes to provide perspective into their behavior preceding the commission of the crime. Doğan (2014c) noted that within the offender's narrative, techniques of neutralization emerged, including denying the victim and appealing to higher loyalties (Sykes and Matza, 1957).

The policy implications and directions for future research on honor crimes were discussed. They argued that honor crimes are an extension of the intimate partner abuse framework, with perpetrators justifying their power and control by relying on norms (emanating from their

interpretation of their culture or religion) that see women as beholden to men and their kin network. Hayes, Freilich and Chermak (2016) assert that although honor crimes generate attention from the media and policy makers, academic studies have been rare and typically focused on cases outside the United States (e.g. Turkey, Jordan) (see for e.g., Doğan 2014a, b, c; Kulwicki, 2002).

Hayes, Freilich & Chermak (2016) also contend that honour in the United States, and in Western norms, has been considered an individual attribute, while individuals who adhere to traditional cultures believe honour rests on the family unit (Baker et al., 1999; Uskel et al., 2012), or that a male's honour is dependent not only on his behavior but also the behavior of female relatives (Doğan, 2011). It is possible that an individual can adhere to these cultural ideals that reinforce male privilege, even when the larger cultural context that the individual lives in does not necessarily support it.

In spite of the importance of honor crimes, academic research has hardly engaged this topic thoroughly in the United States. Research has tended to focus on case studies (e.g. Glazer and Abu Ras 1994), community studies (Gill et al., 2012), attitudes toward honour crimes (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Uskel et al., 2012; Vandello and Cohen, 2003), or honour crimes outside the United States (Doğan 2014a, b, c; Kulwicki, 2002; Kulczycki and Windle, 2011; Sever and Yurdakul, 2001).

Literature indicates that in the United States studies on honour crimes have been difficult to conduct because of validity and reliability issues associated with data collection (Kulczycki and Windle, 2011). Ethnographic studies on how honor crimes are handled have suffered from unsystematic observations and lack of representativeness (Cooney 2014). Kulwicki (2002) used Jordanian court records to collect data on honour attacks within the country. Only 16 of

Kulwicki's (2002)²³ identified honour cases had documentation in the court records available to be included in the analysis. Since the United States does not have a centralized court record facility, it would not be feasible to rely upon this source to systematically collect information on honour crimes. It would also be difficult to conduct surveys in the United States targeting the residential population to identify the family members of honour crimes victims, as is done with the victims of street crimes (Chermak et al., 2012).

3.7 Discussion

The review of literature in Canada shows different trends in the published academic articles and books on honour killing.

3.7.1 Honour killing characterised as an aspect of patriarchy

Several scholars have pointed out that honour killings not only occur in Islamic societies, but they also occur in a variety of cultures and societies (Wikan, 2008; Coomaraswamy, 2005; Sen, 2005; Sever & Yurdakul, 2001; Abdo, 2004). In the academic domain, many authors agreed that violence against women knows no borders, and honour killing is a very particular kind of violence against women that occur worldwide (Gill, 2006; Kirti et al., 2011; Sev'er and Yurdakul, 2001; Tripathi and Yadav, 2004) across ethnic, class and religious boundaries (Gill, 2009; 2010).

It should be emphasised that violence against women including honour killing is a global phenomenon that occurred in all communities or societies. In the literature, many have connected honour killing with Islam especially by the Western media (Terman, 2010). But this is not true, and we now know that honour killing occurred among non-Muslims, Christians, Sikhs,

Buddhists. Furthermore, there are Muslim countries with no reports of honour killings, for instance Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country (Terman, 2010).

3.7.2 Honour killing understood as cultural and religious problems of immigrants

According to one author the social and political responses to the violence, specifically among Muslim communities have been mainly culturalist (Razack, 2004). This means that the honour killing originated from culture. Razack (2008) suggests that discussions of honour killing is aimed to stigmatize Muslim communities and evict them from the political and legal community. As a result, the notion of culture clash obscures anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim agendas evident in Western states (Razack, 2004). She indicates that the Islamic nations are targeted as culture when the West wishes to address issues of violence against women and honour crime (Razack, 2004). Therefore, the culture clash is seen as irreconcilable clash between West and Islam wherein Muslims are seen as fundamentally inassimilable and culturally inferior (Razack, 2004). Hence, honour killing is seen as a cultural phenomenon that belongs to the old 'world, that has no familiarity with the West including Canadian society and is practiced by primitive immigrant people.

As such, violence in the immigrant families is usually perceived to be rooted in cultural norms of the immigrants, while Western violence is understood in terms of individual social and psychological traits (Reimers, 2007, Razack, 2004). She contends that if honour killing is viewed in culturalist perspectives, such result to increasing scrutiny of the communities and creating a space wherein any criminal action of an individual is seen as the larger community 's fault. And that if the honour killing is seen as entirely cultural and a result of inflexible cultural practices, then the appropriate response is only to engage in border control and criminalizing (Razack, 2004).

Mojab (2004) maintains that we should go beyond the common discussions of honour killing which reduce the issue to questions of culture and religion and target patriarchy as the main reason of such practices. In addition, another author pointed out that the stigmatization, exclusion, and lack of the sense of belonging that result from these strategies contribute to the vulnerability of immigrants and their marginalization where they are constantly attempting to fit in (Jiwani, 2006). Gender equality is important to Canadians and domestic violence is not an issue exclusive to one culture, but a societal problem generally. The root causes for a foreign practice such as "honour killing" will never be understood within a Canadian context if it is reduced to an inferior "them" versus a superior "us."

3.7.3 Honour killing from a feminist perspective

Sen (2005) argues that codes of honour are not only about what it means to be a woman but are also about what it means to be a man, and therefore, are central to the social meanings of gender. As such, the best way to obtain an in-depth understanding of honour killing is a careful application of a feminist perspective, without invoking Islam or any other religion (Sever & Yurdakul, 2001). In several cases, however, the journalist's account of Aqsa murder for example, conveyed elements of feminist approaches toward the murder.

Through these accounts, the murder was seen as a result of broader ranges of reasons, notably power, control, and patriarchy. Although, these universal and feminist sub-accounts of the murder were considerable in the news stories, they still were unable to counter the dominant themes of Othering and remained partial and minor in the construction of the media's approach to honour killing as a cultural anomaly. This is because some say it is important to view the tragedy through the broader lens of domestic violence.

Chapter 4: Newspapers discussion of honour killing

The chapter reviewed previous research on honour killing in the media and examined the way in which the two Canadian Newspapers have reported the crime in Canada.

4.1 Previous research on honor killings in the media

Three prominent studies have recently analyzed the media coverage of honour killing in Europe and North America. First, Reimers (2007) studied the discourse in three daily Swedish mainstream newspapers, after the 2002 murder of Kurd woman Fadime Sahindal by her father. She found that journalists emphasized the victim's role in the act and her poor judgment. Besides, the act was made intelligible by adopting cultural references and contrasting the archaic and alien father, representing a distinct and backwards ("middle ages") patriarchal culture that is hostile to Swedish values, with an imagined Swedish modern way of living-free, independent, successful, and a haven for gender equality.

In a second study, Korteweg and Yurdakul (2009) analyzed the newspaper discussions surrounding prominent honour killing cases in the Netherlands and Germany. They found that in both countries, much of the newspaper reporting tends to reinforce boundaries between immigrants and majority societies, treating honour killings as a form of violence against women that is rooted in Islam, ethnicity, and national origin. In these reports, Islam and ethnic traditions were often presented as homogenous, unitary, and a historical.

The third study was a follow-up study, Korteweg and Yurdakul (2010) expanded their analysis to newspaper coverage in two additional countries-the United Kingdom and Canada. They identify three major media and public discourses over honour killings: ones that stigmatize immigrant communities, ones that are culture blind and portray honour-related violence as

domestic violence, and ones that contextualize these acts and recognize the communities in which they occur without essentializing the cultures of the community as a whole. Although Korteweg and Yurdakul identify stigmatizing discourses in all four countries, they argue that these appear in varying degrees. Specifically, they report that Canadian discussions tend to ignore the immigrant context and the way it affects the violence, and that powerful actors in the public sphere are less likely than in other countries to label murders honour killing.

In this paper, I used the murders of Aqsa Parvez and Mohammed Shafia's family as the main point of reference to explain the ways in which journalists report honour killing in Canada. The two case are so far the high-profile ones that received extensive coverage by the newspapers and other media in Canada. The findings show that the newspapers coverage of honour killing portrayed the crime as a religious problem rooted in the culture of immigrants (Muslims). Through a more extensive focus on the two Muslim incidences of honour killing in Canada, the murder of Aqsa Parvez and the Shafia family, the newspapers created a national narrative of Islamic honour killing. Aqsa Parvez was a Canadian-Pakistani 17-year-old girl who was murdered by her father and brother on December 10, 2007. On June 15, 2010, the Brampton Court sentenced her father and brother to second degree murder and life in prison (CBC, 2010).

This killing became a significant milepost in the debate about culture and identity. Most of the public discussions about honour killings in Canada started after the murder of Aqsa Parvez in December 2007. Investigating the reporting on honour killings in Canada by the print media newspapers shows that prior to the murder of Aqsa Parvez in 2007, little was known about the occurrence and dynamics of such murders. The earlier incidences of honour killings (such as the murders of Amandeep Atwal in 2003 and Khatera Sadiqi in 2005) were only described by the Canadian media as murders with no reference to honour (Ishaq, 2010).

But, within few days of Aqsa murdered in December 2017, the media offered several news stories and comments about the murder. The news about her murder dominated the headlines and front pages of the newspapers. For example, a total of 26 articles were published about Aqsa's case in The Toronto Star within the first three months of the incident while 13 articles were published in The Globe and Mail about the murder within the same period.

The murder of Aqsa stirred discussions about honour killings in Canadian newspapers. In much of the newspaper reporting honour killing was discussed in ways that suggested sharp differences between immigrants and majority society in Canada. The media did so by describing honour killing as a form of violence against women rooted in Islam, ethnicity or national origin. Following Aqsa murder, the news stories discussed the clashes between first and second generations over their culture and styles of life. In the media, the tragedy appeared to be an extreme case of the cultural and religious clashes that roil many families in Canada (White and Mick, Globe and Mail, 12 Dec 2007, p L1).

The other honour killing case that received extensive coverage is the Mohammed Shafia murder case. On 30 June 2009, Zanib Shafia (age nineteen), Sahar Shafia (age seventeen), Geeti Shafia (age thirteen) and their father's first wife Rona Amir Mohammed (age fifty) were found dead in the Kingston canal (Fournier, 2012; Schliesmann, 2012). Mohammad Shafia was ashamed of his daughters Zanib, Sahar and Geeti because they desired freedom, had boyfriends, skipped school classes, and wore makeup and 'inappropriate' clothing.

Similarly, he despised his first wife, Rona, for having proved unable to conceive. Mohammed, his son and second wife decided that in order to restore the family's honour it was necessary to kill all four women (Schliesmann, 2012) and they were killed. The media portrayed religion,

ethnicity, and national origin as homogenous, unitary, and/or a-historical forces that by definition lead to gender inequality.

I discovered that radicalized narrative of immigrants was apparent in the cases of Aqsa Parvez, and Mohammed Shafia's family than other cases of honour killings in Canada. The media stereotypes were directed at the religion of the families, Islam and culture as immigrants from Asia. Although these texts do not include the totality of mainstream media views, they are nonetheless representative of the coverage of the major news channels and widely-circulated newspapers. Some central themes that came out of these texts guided my analysis.

Also, I observed that violence against women in the media was characterized as "clash of cultures" (the root cause was attributed to classes between old and new generation), journalists were biased in the reporting and quick to conclude about the motive of the perpetrators. Newspapers headlines like "Afghan Immigrants in Canada Found Guilty of Honor Killing" (MacDonald, 2012), was used to describe the murder of Shafia's family and the experiences of young girls and women of Muslim background in general which raises troubling questions objective crime reporting.

In the newspapers the coverage of the Shafia murders, many reporters referenced to the family's Afghan cultural background and adherence to Islam, suggesting that the murders were motivated by cultural and religious beliefs. But according to the 2006 census, there are 48,090 Canadians with Afghan ancestry. Yet the media have unearthed only this one high-profile case of multiple family homicides. If the phenomenon of "honour killing" is reflective of or even caused by cultural practices or religious traditions, why is the number of these incidents not higher? (Jiwani, Yasmin; Hoodfar, Homa, 2012). The newspaper reports revealed that "honour killing" were portrayed in ways that assume stark differences between the immigrants and the larger

society. The media are misrepresenting ethnic minorities and presuppose the mainstream moral superiority through discussions of honour killing Terman (2010).

This notion of ascribing label to certain groups create stereotype and strong impression that every member of that particular community has a tendency to commit crime. The use of the label "honour killing" in the news media constructs a racial identity and adds to dehumanization and prejudice towards immigrant groups in Canada. This deflect attention from addressing the underlying issues of patriarchy and the culturally induced honour and shame that are behind many family murders.

The western media including Canada, gives a disproportional amount of attention to domestic violence in the immigrant communities, even though the rates of rape, sexual harassment, and inter-family murder are generally high in Canadian mainstream society(Terman, 2010).The newspapers single out Muslims and other immigrant communities for perpetrating these types of crimes, thereby ignoring the whole truth concerning violence against women (Terman, 2010).

The idea that honour crimes had become an 'epidemic' was pervasive in media accounts. Still, such characterisation presents only a narrow vision of what it means to be a member of an ethnic minority in today's multicultural Canada. The anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim attitudes might therefore be a cumulative result of public criticism of their religious and cultural practices, and of more usual prejudices towards an ethnic 'other'.

There has been much negative focus on Muslims and Islam in media and public debates and holding particularly prejudiced attitudes towards Muslim immigrants is completely irrational. Immigrants including Muslims were perceived to be a group of people who belong to a medieval

world, beat their children, or forcibly sending children back to countries of origin to be married (Brown and Girard, *The Star*, 12 Dec. 2007).

In other words, immigrants' problems were seen as a struggle between old and new attitudes. But only a tiny minority of Muslim immigrants are political extremists, while the problems with integration and adaptation to the host society are typically shared by both Muslim and non-Muslim immigrants from various developing countries. Therefore, the Western public might simply be well-enough informed and not particularly prejudiced against Muslims. When the media misrepresents crime against women from minority ethnic minorities, they are in danger of misrepresenting entire cultures.

The cases of Aqsa Parvez and Mohammed Shafia's family demonstrate that the motive behind some killings is about the control of girl's and women's behaviour after they have challenged patriarchal values. These murders are not solely about restoring honour. Instead, they emerge from the patriarchal structures that the men and women involved are socialized into, but which victims choose to challenge, refusing to accept their subordinate status and their male relatives' dominance. Jiواني (2006) notes that the media shape public opinion by defining issues, setting the agenda, framing debates, and providing us with the language by which the public make sense of the issues.

The tables below represent the media characterization of perpetrators of honour killing in Canadian, *The Globe and Mail Newspaper*.

Table 1: Frequencies of major themes in articles labeled “honour killing” in The Globe and Mail Newspaper.

#	Year	Muslim	Ethnic Origin	Victim Gender	Immigration	Culture	Them vs Us	Christian	Judaism	Sikhism Hindu	Domestic Violence
1	2007	Yes	Pakistan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
2	2008	No	India	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
3	2009	Yes	Pakistan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
4	2010	Yes	Pakistan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
5	2011	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
6	2012	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
7	2013	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
8	2014	No	India	Female	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
9	2017	No	India	Female	Yes	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
10	2018 Murder	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
11	2019	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: The Globe and Mail (June 2007 – June 2019)

The table shows the distribution of the media attributes ascribed to the perpetrators of the honour killing from the media newspapers articles. From the majority of these media reports, Muslim faith was singled out as the prime motive of these murders, although few cite other religion like Sikhism as motive of the murder. In these newspaper articles all the victims are female while the ethnic origins of the perpetrators were identified as India, Afghan and Pakistan.

In the *Globe and Mail*, six articles (66.5%) cite Muslim as the faith of the perpetrators and three articles (33.5) cite Sikhism/Hinduism as the faith of the perpetrators. Interestingly; all the nine articles in the *Globe and Mail* referenced to the culture of the perpetrators as a motive for the crime. The findings revealed that on average, the media negative coverage about Muslim immigrants is higher compared to other religion generally.

The newspapers focused on countries of origin of perpetrators namely Asia and Middle East, implied that people from this part of the world were associated this crime. The disproportionate coverage dedicated to cases of “honor killing” and the common tendency to highlight the religion or culture of the perpetrators in the cases may lead readers to associate Islam and immigrants from South Asia and the Middle East with violence and overlooked other aspects of their cultures.

The newspaper review indicates that culture played a role in the incidents of honour killing, immigrants are more closely associated with the crime than others, “Them” versus “Us”, the immigrants as “others” (foreign) trying to fit in to a different society (Canada). Most newspapers reports suggest that honour killing is different from domestic violence because the killing is carried out by blood relative in order to "cleanse" a family name of perceived dishonour.

The table below (see Table 2) represent the media characterization of perpetrators of honour killing in Canada in the *Toronto Star Newspaper*. The table shows the distribution of the newspaper attributes from the articles. Larger number of articles on honour killings in the samples (10 articles, 59.1% out of 19 articles) were from *The Toronto Star*, which generally published more stories about the honour killings than *The Globe and Mail*, which ran nine articles (40.9%). Very few articles were published in *The Globe and Mail* about honour killing compared to *The Toronto Star*. As can be seen, the majority of the media reports in the two newspapers ascribed Muslim faith as the motive for the murders, while one cites Sikhism as a motive for the murder.

Table 2: Frequencies of major themes in articles labeled “honour killing” in The Star Newspaper.

#	Year	Muslim	Ethnic Origin	Victim Gender	Immigra- tion	Culture	Them vs Us	Christian	Judaism	Sikhism Hindu	Domestic Violence
1	2007	Yes	Pakistan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
2	2008	Yes	Pakistan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
3	2009	Yes	Pakistan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
4	2010	Yes	Pakistan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
5	2011	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
6	2012	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
7	2013	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
8	2014	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
9	2015	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
10	2016	Yes	Afghan	Female	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
11	2017- 2019 Murder	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Toronto Star (June 2007- June 2019).

In the *Toronto Star*, all victims are also females and the ethnic origin of the perpetrators were disproportionally from South Asia as well. There are six from Afghan and four from Pakistan. In the sample, all 10 articles (100%) cite Muslim the faith and culture of the perpetrators as motives of the perpetrator. An indication that many perceived religion and cultural values are contributing factors that play a significant role in cases of honour killings. The focus on the individual, the family, and among other things, the culture exemplifies what the underlying beliefs and ideologies of the writers are.

4.2 Discussion

My findings indicate that the newspapers reports create strong signs of Othering that supports the cultural divide between immigrants mostly Muslim and the majority of Canadian society. Newspapers tend to portray honour killing as something that is common in Muslim communities, however, it is imperative to stress that honour killing is not necessarily Islamic. We should then be aware that when the newspapers misrepresent crimes against women from minority ethnic minorities, they are in danger of misrepresenting the entire cultures.

A good number of the literature about violence against women and honour killing support the assertion that immigrant women are misrepresented by the Western media including Canada within stereotypical frameworks (Said, 1997, Jiwani, 2006; Haque, 2010; Razack, 2004; 2008). The association between immigrants and crime is a common strategy that is used in the media to both racialize crime and criminalize racial groups Jiwani (2006). By so doing, repetitive news about crimes that were committed in the immigrant communities leads to the strong impression that every member of that community has a proclivity to crime (Jiwani, 2006).

Many newspapers headlines, based on stereotypes, shaped the way in which the murder was understood by many readers. Newspapers headlines also demonstrated a lack of perspective on the part of the media. For example, the Toronto Star article suggested: that by any definition the Shafia murders is honour killing (The Star, 2016). In another article by Sean Kheraj, citing, Rosie DiManno and Andrew Chung from the Toronto Star: “In our country, men and women are equal. A female’s life is worth as much as a male.”. (Sean Kheraj, Active History, The Shafia Murders, Immigration, and Misrepresenting Canadian Violence Against Women, February 16, 2012). This kind of views about honour-based violence only validate mainstream racist attitudes towards ethnic minorities.

The danger in blaming or socially constructing honour killings as a problem of the ‘Other’ creates an ‘us versus them’ divide that complicates efforts to define and effectively address the problem (Gill, 2006; Hogben, 2012; Sever, 2005a; 2005b). This is one of the issues that the boundary theory is emphasising that boundaries create a sense of “they are not like us because ...” or a strong sense of us versus “not us”, capturing the social or cultural distance between immigrant and mainstream society (Zolberg and Long, 1999, p.8; Alba, 2005, p.22-3). Therefore, mostly Canadian journalists need to understand how and why the problem of domestic violence is deeply rooted in patriarchy, which is trans-cultural (Boesveld, 2012). This is because the Western media gives a disproportional amount of attention to intimate partner violence in immigrant communities by labelling them as a uniquely disturbing phenomenon, “honour killings.” (Rosie DiManno & Andrew Chung, Toronto Star, 2016).

Gender appears clearly as the significant factor, indicating that this, rather than culture and religion, is a better place to begin trying to understand why these murders occurred. Most especially, when patriarchy is a social system in which men hold primary power and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property. Some patriarchal societies are also patrilineal, meaning that property and title are inherited by the male lineage.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

After an extensive review of academic literature, it was revealed that the empirical studies on honour killing in Canada is very limited. Additionally, the newspapers tend to be subjective where reporting family murders that were classified as honour killing. It is self evident in most of the published stories on this topic. Most if not all of the reporting have negatives undertone and stereotyped certain groups especially those whom are of South Asian descend and or Muslims.

These newspapers in their reporting of family murders that happened in the immigrant communities, usually singled out and castigate the perpetrators and ignored the whole picture of violence against women. The fact that gender-based violence has become increasingly connected with immigrants and Muslims left many minorities in a difficult situation in the Western societies, including Canada.

In many instances, non-White Muslim perpetrators were much more labelled by these reporters as barbaric, they then evoked their religion, race, ethnicity, and citizenship status, in ways that connected them to groups that are characterized as distinct from a normative Canadian identity. The interesting observation is that racial and ethnic identities of White non-Muslim perpetrators were rarely mentioned, thus preserving the invisibility and innocence of Whiteness.

Whenever the newspapers are reporting on racialized community, culture becomes the focal point of such discussion. In the newspapers for example, the idea that honour crime had become an ‘epidemic’ was pervasive in their accounts. It was clear from the mainstream newspapers, including The Globe and Mail and Toronto Star that the incident of honour killing is characterised as ‘culture clash crisis’ amongst the immigrants in Canada and such description

presents only a narrow view of what it means to be a member of an ethnic minority in today's multicultural Canada.

Also, the reporting of the Shafia trial in 2012, shaped and defined how the Canadian public understands honour-based violence. The Canadian newspapers tends to frame honour killing in a way that focused on immigrants against women and girls, especially domestic violence, which occurs across all demographics, sociocultural values and traditions, rather than looking at the broader continuum of violence.

The public discourse in Canada has stigmatised ethnic and religious groups, and dividing communities between 'us' and 'them'. In this framework, the 'others' are considered as outsiders, awkward people, with cruel and regressive cultures. The newspapers were speaking about male violence against women as pathologization of the perpetrators (Berns, 2001; Meyers, 1997; Lamb & Keon, 1995). When writing about the cause of the violence committed against women, newspapers tend to focus on the individual and the family, while ignoring the systemic causes of violence (Ibid, 2001; 1997;1995).

The violence in this context was discussed as if the incident was natural, arbitrary rather than a reflection of patriarchal ideologies. More importantly, the newspapers, by continuing to use the term 'honour killing' keeps the issue separate from broader debates about violence against women. These newspapers were trying to elicit empathy and compassion from the public, by trying to perpetuate the notion that immigrants most especially Muslims are traditional, oppressive and unwilling to adapt to North American society (Phillips, 2012). By this way, the binaries of "us" versus "them" become exaggerated as readers/viewers feel concern for the victims but also become intolerant to this groups.

Similarly, among the academic some authors affirmed that honour killing have no direct connection with religion or to any particular religion. It was suggested, “We see it among Hindus. We see it among Jews and Christians in the (Middle East) region. It is also not limited to the Middle East or the Arab world “(Mojab,2012). Rather its violence against women is a global phenomenon even if its manifestations varies from country to country.

Canadian scholars Jiwani and Hoodfar (2012, p.2) question why honour killing is considered separate from other murders; for example, he asked; "what is to be gained by framing the murders of the Shafia women and girls as honour killing rather than simply defining it as act of femicide (the murder of women and girls solely on the basis of their gender)?"Korteweg and Yurdakul (2010) recommend that honour-related violence needs to be understood not as a “cultural” or “religious” problem that afflicts particular immigrant communities (in this case, those perceived to be and represented as Muslim) but as a specific manifestation of the larger problem of violence against women (which concerns all communities, whether immigrant or not) which in the case of immigrant communities is shaped and informed by the immigration experience.

Overall, the characteristics of honour crimes in Canada maintain some similarities from documented international honour crimes (Doğan, 2014a), but differences also emerged. Most honour killing is directed against women, except in rare cases when men are the victims. These crimes are usually brutal and mostly resulted to loss of lives. On the other hand, while honour killing is perpetrated mostly by blood relative’s other similar crime (domestic violence) could be perpetrated by acquaintances or former lovers or even strangers a times.

While various scholars have argued that honour killing is a manifestation of patriarchy that is common in most societies around the globe. They have a point and I agreed, but I wish to

submit that honour killing is a distinct form of violence against women that is not exclusive to one culture since it is a societal problem generally, still it is deeply rooted in culture and religion because every community have its own construction of boundary which bring shame. It is also important that honour killings are not always related to sexual behaviour of the victim and the violation of sexual norms that define the 'family honour'. Murder, sometimes, is a result of not following the social rules or the gender norms in the family, for example when the woman does not make dinner ready on time or goes out without permission. In such social dynamics, manliness relies upon women's obedience, and when they disobey, the men act to preserve their reputation. To understand honour killing, we need to consider the multiple sources of oppression and think of their intersections and how they affect each other and are intertwined. In this respect, identifying one factor such as patriarchy as having the most important role in the violence against women failed to explain the dynamics of violence in its specific context.

5.1 Research gaps and future directions

The literature on honour killing in Canada is relatively thin, the crime disproportionately impacts women especially younger women and adolescent girls from particular ethnic backgrounds, more empirical work should be conducted with these groups, in migrant and non-migrant settings. There are gaps in this area of study and more academic work is needed to ascertain definitions and to better understand the causes and consequences of honour killing or honour crime. There is attention on honor killing in the media, but less in the academic domain (Kulczycki and Windle 2011).

In order to close the gap, more research is required into the dichotomy of traditional and Western cultures experiencing honour killing. Such knowledge could be used effectively as part of a preventive educational strategy in schools.

Besides, there is need to do more in-depth research into the root causes of these murders, including the consequences for the entire family, the psychological and economic impact on the killer, close relatives and extended family members. My hope is that future research will continue to investigate this important area.

5.2 Limitations

The sample size on which the findings were based is moderate. The time-frame of one month to conduct the study is too short. The lack of empirical studies, it was after the murders of Aqsa Parvez in December 2007, Amandeep Kaur, and the Shafia family, both in 2009 that attention began to focus on honour killing in Canada. However, these limitations do not undermine the relevance and practical implications of this study. Future research should replicate and build on the findings with larger samples and more robust methodologies to examine newspapers and or media reporting on immigrants. The study is a significant contribution to creating awareness and understanding of honour killing in Canada.

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