HONOR VIOLENCE, CRIMES D'HONNEUR, EHRENMORDE

Improving the Identification, Risk Assessment, and Estimation of Honor Crimes Internationally

Inaugural dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Social Sciences in the Graduate School of Economic and Social Sciences at the University of Mannheim

Submitted by Mariel McKone Leonard

Dean for the School of Social Sciences:
Prof. Dr. Michael Diehl

First supervisor:
Prof. Dr. Florian Keusch

Second supervisor:
apl. Prof Dr. Susan Steiner

First reviewer:
Prof. Dr. Frauke Kreuter

Second reviewer:
Prof. Dr. Florian Keusch

Third reviewer:
apl. Prof Dr. Susan Steiner

Date of Defense:
18 June, 2020

May their memories be for a blessing.

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CO-AUTHOR STATEMENT

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I, Teresa Koenig, hereby declare that Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of the manuscript, "*Honor Violence, Crimes d'Honneur, Ehrenmorde: Improving the Identification, Risk Assessment, and Estimation of Honor Crimes Internationally*" (submitted as a dissertation) have been co-authored by Mariel Leonard and myself. Mariel Leonard contributed 85%, and I contributed 15% to the research and writing of this body of work.

Teresa J. Koenig, M. Ed., Senior Study Director
WESTAT
1009 Slater Rd., Suite 110 Durham, NC 27703
Phone: (919) 474-0778 | Fax: (919) 474-3040
email: teresakoenig@westat.com

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

> *"Before a societal issue… can be designated as a problem that a community will address, it must undergo three stages of development. Stage 1 involves moving the issue from a personal trouble to a societal problem. Stage 2 entails gathering evidence and expanding the scope of the problem, thus establishing awareness at a societal level. In Stage 3, the final stage, the community begins to do something about it – through, for example, the development of policies and programs"* (Gelles, 2010, p. 85).

Bates, in her 2017 dissertation investigating honor-based violence (HBV) cases in England, quotes Gelles, positing that the United Kingdom's response to HBV has "jumped ahead from [Stage] 1 to 3, bypassing 2" (Bates, 2017, p. 3; see also Bates (2020)). I would argue that her depiction is in fact overly optimistic, particularly in the global context. While many countries have passed legislation making honor killings illegal, often by abolishing Napoleonic-era laws which reduced sentences for "crimes of passion"[1] – a seeming indicator that those countries have deemed honor killings a "societal problem" worth solving – it is evident that both the practice of honor killings and supporting attitudes persist (see Figure 1.1 for a timeline of selected events; Reuters, 2004; Qazi and Grisanti, 2008; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; The Guardian, 2019). As an example, Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) found that many teenagers in Jordan believe that honor killings are "morally right" (University of Cambridge, 2013).

Even in societies that might be expected to disavow honor-based violence, scholars have noted a reluctance to intervene in or prosecute such acts, "in order to not offend the cultural sentiments of minority groups", with the result that these acts "inevitably go unaddressed by policymakers" (Dutt, 2020, pp. 25-26). Despite decades of lobbying by minority feminist groups such as the Southall Black Sisters, the Iranian Kurdish Women's Rights Organization, and Karma Nirvana in the United Kingdom (UK), Terre des Femmes and Papatya in Germany, and Tahirih Justice Center in the United States (US; see Figure 1.1), many of these countries lack the necessary data collection mechanisms to understand the incidence of HBV and its human cost. A study conducted by researchers on behalf of the US government found that "no reliable summary data [is] available for the United States regarding the prevalence of honor-based violence" and that existing forms of data collection, such as the National Crime Victimization Survey and the Uniform Crime Reporting Program Supplementary Homicide Reports are either inappropriate or inadequate (Helba et al., 2015; p. 1-1).

Even in the UK and the Netherlands – among the few countries[2] with established policy responses to HBV – these responses cannot be said to be truly robust.

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[1] See Abu-Odeh (1997), Warraich (2005) and Cohan (2009) for discussion, and Welchman and Hossain (2005) for case studies in Brazil, Egypt, Italy, Lebanon, Pakistan, Palestine and others.

[2] A number of additional countries, including Germany, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United States have established non-governmental responses such as victims' services and advocacy agencies.

Figure 1.1. Timeline of Selected Honor-based Violence-related Events (1970-1989)

1970	
1971	
1972	**Parmjeet** & **Gurmail Sidhu** murdered in car bombing in CA's first identified honor killing
1973	
1974	
1975	
1976	
1977	
1978	
1979	Southhall Black Sisters founded (UK)
1980	
1981	**Rinda D. (16)** murdered in hospital maternity wing after giving birth; first identified honor killing in DE Terre des Femmes founded (DE)
1982	
1983	
1984	
1985	
1986	
1987	
1988	
1989	**Palestina (Tina) Isa (16)'s** murder is recorded by federal agents investigating her father; first identified honor killing in the US

In 2006, Smartt argued:

> *"Whilst honour crimes are increasingly occurring in Western European territories, they are often compounded by state ignorance and indifference by law enforcement agencies or the courts"* (p. 6).

Since then, several reports from the UK government and independent researchers have found that little has changed, and that official responses to HBV victims and the risks they face remain inadequate (HMIC, 2015; Aplin, 2019; Idriss, 2020). The authors of the *Depths of Dishonour*, writing nearly a decade after Smartt, reported that 12 of the 42 police forces in England and Wales were "Not yet prepared" to adequately identify and flag potential cases of HBV, and that only three could be considered "Prepared" overall.

The result is a worldwide dearth of comparable empirical data on HBV. Those statistics that do exist are often of dubious quality and sources, yet remain widely cited, such as the United Nations Population Fund's (2000) estimate of 5000 victims a year worldwide, a statistic produced with no discussion of the methodology or source data (Cooney, 2019). The same is true for many country-level statistics. Yet, as Bates (2017; 2020) notes, the lack of data has not prevented countries from filling the void with policies based on politics, rather than evidence, resulting in the "overpolicing" of certain communities (Gibillini, 2014; Dutt, 2020) and the "under-" or "no-criming" of HBV (Aplin, 2019). In 2017, United States President Donald Trump signed Executive Order No. 13769 – also known as the "Muslim Ban" – citing honor killings as a reason, despite growing evidence that HBV occurs across cultures, ethnicities, and religions (Bredal, 2014; Bates, 2020; Chapter 2, this dissertation).

Official actions such as the Muslim ban, informed by stereotypes of HBV to be perpetrated exclusively by immigrants or minority cultures, presents law enforcement officials and victims' services providers with inaccurate and inadequate information. It is not only laypeople who contribute to incomplete and erroneous understandings of HBV: researchers often perpetuate biases though their repeated citation in the academic literature, lending them an aura of authenticity and legitimacy[3]. This then creates a vicious cycle as media and police reports of honor crimes are dominated by victims and perpetrators from ethnic communities, while similar crimes that do not conform to the stereotype, are ignored, dismissed, or misclassified (Korteweg and Yurdakal, 2010; Bredal, 2014; Shier and Shor, 2016; Aplin, 2019; Idriss, 2020).

Accurate and unbiased identification of cases of honor crimes is essential to the implementation of appropriate preventative and protective public health and criminal justice responses (Shaw et al., 1996; Kilpatrick, 2004; Cooney, 2019). Without accurate information of the scope of problem, or tools to identify and assess of the at-risk population, law enforcement and victims' services providers cannot adequately direct resources, nor can policymakers and advocates accurately evaluate the extent of the need for and potential efficacy of programs to reduce the

[3] As an example, Chesler has written a number of anti-Muslim articles on HBV in a multitude of news outlets, and a few journals – although none appear to be peer-reviewed (In 2018, she published a collection of her articles as *A Family Conspiracy: Honor Killings*). While she has since acknowledged that HBV is not limited to Muslim communities (Chesler, 2018) nevertheless, her studies of honor killings remain widely cited, including in this dissertation.

Figure. 1.1. Timeline of Selected Honor-based Violence- related Events (1990-2004)

1990	Papatya founded (DE)
1991	
1992	
1993	Karma Nirvana founded (UK)
1996	**Ahmed Bashir (21)** murdered (UK)
1997	Tahirih Justice Center founded (US)
1998	**Rukhsana Naz (19)** murdered (UK); **Fadime Şahindal (23)** informs police her father and brother have threatened to kill her. They are charged and convicted. A TV program airs with an interview of **Fadime** and her boyfriend **Patrick** (SE)
1999	**Pela Atroshi (19)** murdered (SE) UK Home Office establishes Forced Marriage Working Group
2000	
2001	**Funda Sacin (18)** murdered (DE); **Fadime** testifies to the Swedish Riksdag about her father's attempts to murder her Jordanian Penal Code amended to prohibit honor killings
2002	**Heshu Yones (16)** murdered (UK); **Fadime** murdered (SE) Iranian Kurdish Women's Right Organization (IKWRO) founded (UK)
2003	**Ulerika Zena (16)** murdered (DE) **Shafilea Ahmed (17)** hospitalized for drinking bleach (UK)
2004	**Shafilea's** body discovered (UK) Pakistan's Parliament passes legislation making honor killings punishable by death

incidence of these crimes (Cooney, 2019). Law enforcement and service agencies, facing limited budgets, may choose not to direct adequate resources to training or victim and witness protection (ACPO, 2008; IKRWO, 2014; Idriss and Calverly, 2020).

1.1.1. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation addresses the widespread lack of substantive, empirically-based data and resources, and the resulting error and gaps in the literature and practice of HBV case management and response through:

1. The development of several publicly available and non-proprietary resources for researchers and law enforcement and victims' services providers, including: (1) one of the largest and most inclusive datasets on honor killings available; (2) a revised and clarified definition of honor crimes and multistep process for identifying cases of HBV; and (3) a typology of victims accompanied by exemplary cases and recommendations for case management;
2. The application of rigorous methods to not only describe honor killing cases, victims, and perpetrators quantitatively, but to empirically distinguish HBV as a unique form of violence and develop a typology of victims, as well as develop statistical estimates;
3. A practical focus in both the substantive contributions and research dissemination.

In the next sections, I provide an overview of each of these contributions.

1.1.2. A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

I use the term "honor-based violence (HBV)" as a generic term for any violence or abuse – regardless of severity – that is motivated by honor. This is similar to Korteweg and Yurdakul's (2010) use of "honor-related violence", as well as the increasingly common use of the term "honor-based abuse" among British law enforcement officials (Aplin, 2019).

I use the term "honor crimes" to refer to illegal acts which are motivated by perceived honor violations, including murder. Honor crimes may also include forced marriage and female genital mutilation, as well as emotional, physical, and financial abuse, kidnapping, threats of violence, and so forth.

Finally, I use the term "honor killing" to refer to deaths initiated to "repair" individual or familial honor violations by "wash[ing the guilt] off with blood" (Şahindal, quoted in Wikan, 2008, p. 228). These may include murders, but murder is also a legal term, and some honor killings may instead be legally classified as manslaughter. Honor killings also include so-called "honor suicides", in which victims are incited, pressured, or even forced to commit suicide in order to subvert laws against honor killings (Bilefsky, 2006).

Figure. 1.1. Timeline of Selected Honor-based Violence- related Events (2005-2020)

2005	**Hatan Sürücü (23)** murdered (DE); **Samaira Nazir (25)** murdered (UK); **Banaz Mahmood (19)** informs police her family intends to kill her (UK); South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario investigates first case of forced marriage; UK Home Office establishes Forced Marriage Unit; PATRIARCH checklist introduced in SE
2006	**Banaz's** family attempts to kidnap her boyfriend **Rahmat**. After reporting the attempt, **Banaz** is murdered (UK)
2007	UK Crown Prosecution Services begins pilot study on incidence of forced marriage and HBV; Forced Marriage Act (UK) passed; AHA Foundation founded (US)
2008	**Morsal Obeidi (16)** murdered (DE); **Amina (19)** & **Sarah (18) Said** murdered (US); **Sahar (17) Shafia** first reports repeated incidents of HBV to Quebec's child welfare agency; ACPO publish Honor-Based Violence Strategy (UK); Dutch government institutes LEC EGG
2009	**Zainab (19), Sahar, Geeti (13) Shafia** & **Rona Amir Mohammed (50)** murdered after repeated visits from child welfare services and police (CA); **Noor Almaleki (20)** murdered & **Amal Khalaf (43)** seriously injured in car ramming (US); German Commissioner for Migration, Refugees, and Integration establishes forced marriage taskforce; DASH checklist introduced in UK; The King of Jordan establishes a special court to prosecute honor killings; Article 548 of the Syrian Penal Code, waiving punishment in cases of honor killings, abolished
2010	
2011	**Antonio Intellicato (36)** murdered for being gay (IT) German researchers release reports *Ehrenmorde in Deutschland: Eine Untersuchung auf der Basis von Prozessakten* and *Zwangsheirat in Deutschland – Anzahl und Analyse von Beratungsfällen*
2012	
2013	US Congress directs funds for study of HBV
2014	IKWRO finds 11,744 police reports of HBV between 2010-2014 (UK)
2015	**Lareeb Khan (19)** murdered after she is arrested for shoplifting condoms (DE); HM Inspectorate of the Constabulary releases report, *The Depths of Dishonor: Hidden Voices and Shameful Crime*s (UK); Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act (CA) passed; US Department of Justice releases report, *Report on Exploratory Study into Honor Violence Measurement Methods*
2016	**Qandeel Baloch (26)**, known as Pakistan's "Kim Kardashian", murdered (PK) Researchers in the US draft an HBV module for the National Survey of Victim Service Providers
2017	US President signs Executive Order No. 13769 (the "Muslim Ban") citing honor killings as reasoning
2018	German government asks the DeZIM to prepare a proposal to update statistics on forced marriage
2019	
2020	

1.2. PUBLICLY AVAILABLE AND NON-PROPRIETARY RESOURCES

In order to support law enforcement officials and victims' services providers in the identification and classification of HBV and support case management and response, I developed several tools for use by professionals: (1) a large dataset of suspected honor killings; (2) a revised definition of honor crimes, accompanied by a clear, multi-step identification process in order to reliably and accurately distinguish HBV from other types of violence; and (3) a typology of victims with descriptions of a range of possible cases. In contrast to many of the existing resources on HBV, these are intended to be publicly available and non-proprietary, either in use or training (Belfrage, 2005; Richards, 2009).

1.2.1. HONOR KILLING DATASET

In order for the work of this dissertation to be possible, I compiled a database of 511 suspected honor killings using scholarly lists from several European, Middle Eastern, North American, and South Asian countries, a process which is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. I am not the first to compile a medium- or large-n dataset of either non-fatal honor crimes or honor killings; I am aware of at least seven previous studies to present descriptive statistics of such datasets (Table 1.1). These datasets range in size from 100 victims (Aplin, 2019) to 1474 victims (Bates, 2017), with the majority of datasets falling in the range of 100-250 victims. However, the database used in this dissertation offers three advantages over other datasets:

1. It is the largest dataset of honor killings, and only the publicly available dataset of either non-fatal or fatal honor crimes;
2. It contains detailed anonymized data on case, victim, and perpetrator characteristics;
3. It is inclusive in victim and perpetrator sex and ethnicity, as well as victim type.

1.2.1.1. Publicly-available, Large Dataset

The database compiled for this dissertation is both the largest dataset of honor killings to be discussed in the literature, as well as the only database of either honor crimes or honor killings to be made publicly available for use by other researchers. As part of the dissemination process, I intend to publish the full database to a public data repository for researchers to either replicate the analysis performed as part of this dissertation or test their own models. This is a level of transparency not currently available for any of the other medium- and large-n datasets. Furthermore, I am investigating ways of allowing other researchers to continue to add cases to the database, in order to continue to improve the study of honor-based violence.

1.2.1.2. Detailed, Anonymized Data

In addition to the large number of cases, the honor killing dataset includes one of the most comprehensive variable sets in available for HBV research: 24 case-, victim-, and perpetrator-level variables as part of the anonymized dataset (Figure 1.2). The full dataset also includes victim and perpetrator subsets, which provide full, anonymized profiles of the 798 victims and 736

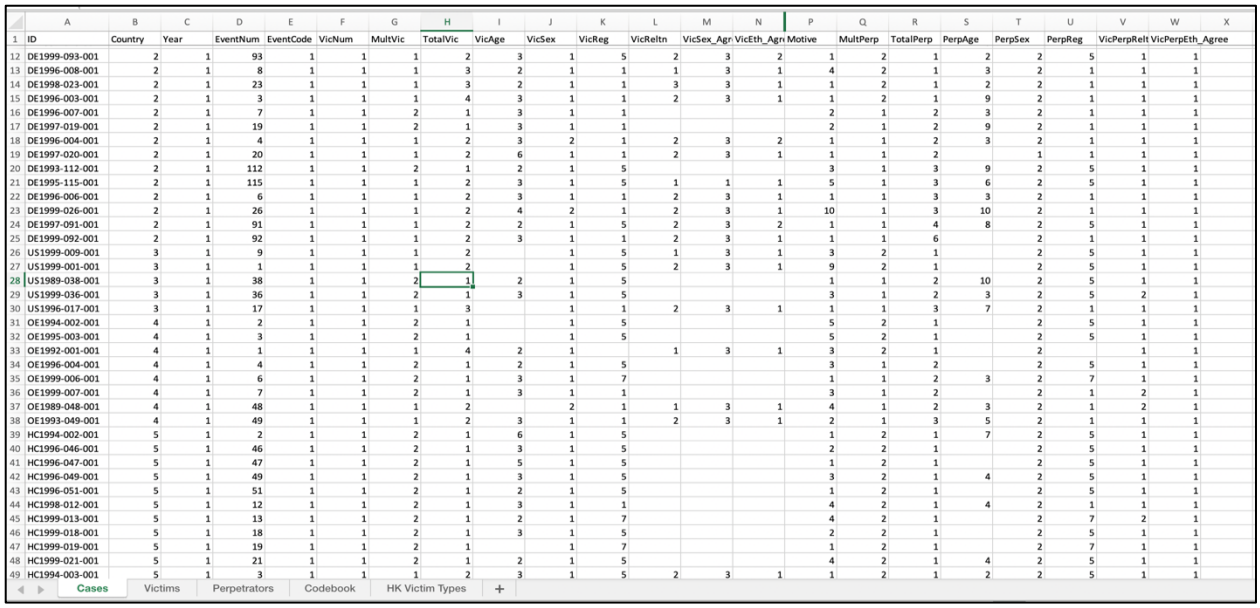
Table 1.1. Medium- and Large-N Honor-based Violence Datasets/Studies

	N	Type of violence	Years included	Region/ Country	Gender ratio
Aplin (2019)	100 cases/ victims	Non-fatal honor crimes	2011-2014	England	96% female
Bates (2017)	1474 victims	Non-fatal honor crimes	2010-2015	England, Wales	94% female
Chesler (2010)	230 victims	Honor killings	1989-2009	Worldwide	93% female
Chesler and Bloom (2012)	164 cases	Honor killings	1998-2011	India, Pakistan, N. America/ W. Europe	68% female
Churchill/ Holmes (2018)	200 cases, 273 victims	Honor killings	1919-2014	Worldwide	88% female
Deol (2014a)	100 cases	Honor killings	2005-2013	Haryana State, India	Unclear; females killed in 90% of cases, males killed in 48%
Deol (2014b)	100 cases	Honor killings	2005-2012	Punjab State, India	Unclear; females killed in 88% of cases, males killed in 59%

perpetrators. The full dataset, including victim and perpetrator subsets, is used for the analysis described in Chapter 2, while the victim subset is the basis for the analysis described in Chapter 3.

1.2.1.3. Inclusivity of Data

While I do not claim this database is fully representative of the full universe of honor-based violence, I believe that it is one of the most accurate samples of these cases, as a result of the expansive case selection – drawing on over thirty secondary sources compiled from international media reports and legal records – and detailed and precise definition and operationalization process (see section 1.22, below, as well as Chapter 2, this dissertation). By casting a wide net in the original list and case selection, I have developed one of the most inclusive datasets with regard to sex and types of victims (including supporting victims and bystanders). This dataset is one of three datasets with worldwide coverage, and has one of the longest timeframes – a full 25 years. Only the Churchill/Holmes dataset (Churchill, 2018) covers a longer time period. As a result of the definition and operationalization process which focuses on case characteristics – such as victim-perpetrator relationship or motive, rather than victim characteristics – such as sex, religion or ethnicity – I capture more male primary victims, as well as secondary victims of both sexes, as evidenced by a more equal gender ratio: 68% female compared to 88-96% (Table 1.1).



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
1	ID	Country	Year	EventNum	EventCode	VicNum	MultVic	TotalVic	VicAge	VicSex	VicReg	VicReltn	VicSex_Agr	VicEth_Agr	Motive	MultPerp	TotalPerp	PerpAge	PerpSex	PerpReg	VicPerpRelt	VicPerpEth_Agree	
12	DE1999-093-001	2	1	93	1	1	1	2	3	1	5	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	5	1	1	
13	DE1996-008-001	2	1	8	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	1	4	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	
14	DE1998-023-001	2	1	23	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	3	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	
15	DE1996-003-001	2	1	3	1	1	1	4	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	9	2	1	1	1	
16	DE1996-007-001	2	1	7	1	1	2	1	3	1	1				2	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	
17	DE1997-019-001	2	1	19	1	1	2	1	3	1	1				2	1	2	9	2	1	1	1	
18	DE1996-004-001	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	3	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	
19	DE1997-020-001	2	1	20	1	1	1	2	6	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	1	
20	DE1993-112-001	2	1	112	1	1	2	1	2	1	5				3	1	3	9	2	5	1	1	
21	DE1995-115-001	2	1	115	1	1	1	2	3	1	5	1	1	1	5	1	3	6	2	5	1	1	
22	DE1996-006-001	2	1	6	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	
23	DE1999-026-001	2	1	26	1	1	1	2	4	2	1	2	3	1	10	1	3	10	2	1	1	1	
24	DE1997-091-001	2	1	91	1	1	1	2	2	1	5	2	3	2	1	1	4	8	2	5	1	1	
25	DE1999-092-001	2	1	92	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	6		2	1	1	1	
26	US1999-009-001	3	1	9	1	1	1	2		1	5	1	3	1	3	2	1		2	5	1	1	
27	US1999-001-001	3	1	1	1	1	1	2		1	5	2	3	1	9	2	1		2	5	1	1	
28	US1989-038-001	3	1	38	1	1	2	1	2	1	5				1	1	2	10	2	5	1	1	
29	US1999-036-001	3	1	36	1	1	2	1	3	1	5				3	1	2	3	2	5	2	1	
30	US1996-017-001	3	1	17	1	1	1	3		1	1	2	3	1	1	1	3	7	2	1	1	1	
31	OE1994-002-001	4	1	2	1	1	2	1		1	5				5	2	1		2	5	1	1	
32	OE1995-003-001	4	1	3	1	1	2	1		1	5				5	2	1		2	5	1	1	
33	OE1992-001-001	4	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1		1	3	1	3	2	1		2		1	1	
34	OE1996-004-001	4	1	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	5				3	1	2		2	5	1	1	
35	OE1999-006-001	4	1	6	1	1	2	1	3	1	7				1	1	2	3	2	7	1	1	
36	OE1999-007-001	4	1	7	1	1	2	1	3	1	1				3	1	2		2	1	2	1	
37	OE1989-048-001	4	1	48	1	1	1	2		2	1	1	3	1	4	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	
38	OE1993-049-001	4	1	49	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	5	2	1	1	1	
39	HC1994-002-001	5	1	2	1	1	2	1	6	1	5				1	2	1	7	2	5	1	1	
40	HC1996-046-001	5	1	46	1	1	2	1	3	1	5				2	2	1		2	5	1	1	
41	HC1996-047-001	5	1	47	1	1	2	1	5	1	5				1	2	1		2	5	1	1	
42	HC1996-049-001	5	1	49	1	1	2	1	3	1	5				3	2	1	4	2	5	1	1	
43	HC1996-051-001	5	1	51	1	1	2	1	2	1	5				1	2	1		2	5	1	1	
44	HC1998-012-001	5	1	12	1	1	2	1	3	1	1				4	2	1	4	2	1	1	1	
45	HC1999-013-001	5	1	13	1	1	2	1	2	1	7				4	2	1		2	7	2	1	
46	HC1999-018-001	5	1	18	1	1	2	1	3	1	5				2	2	1		2	5	1	1	
47	HC1999-019-001	5	1	19	1	1	2	1		1	7				1	2	1		2	7	1	1	
48	HC1999-021-001	5	1	21	1	1	2	1	2	1	5				4	2	1	4	2	5	1	1	
49	HC1994-003-001	5	1	3	1	1	1	2	3	1	5	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	2	5	1	1	

Cases | Victims | Perpetrators | Codebook | HK Victim Types | +

Figure 1.2. Honor Killing Database

1.2.2. MULTI-STEP IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

Based on the findings that official definitions of HBV and honor crimes are prone to ad hoc operationalization as a result of vague language and based on stereotypes rather than empirical evidence, I offer several clarifications and refinements to current understandings of HBV. I propose that honor crimes be defined as

> *An honor crime is an act of violence committed with the intent to prevent, conceal, or punish an act of deviance (e.g., behavioral, sexual, moral) that is perceived to bring potential harm to an individual's or family's reputation* (Chapter 2, p. 37, this dissertation).

Furthermore, I explicate this definition with the following points:

- An individual's honor may be threatened if s/he has performed a morally deviant act (or acted in a way that could be interpreted/gossiped about as such);
- A family's honor may be threatened if it appears to permit or condone either a member's shameful act (by not punishing her/him) or fails to punish an individual who harmed a member (such as a rapist);
- In some cases, a perpetrator may be a member of the broader community to punish an individual or a family for perceived deviancy or support of deviant acts;
- Men and women may be both victims and perpetrators, and honor crimes may occur across all cultures, ethnicities, and religions;
- Honor crimes are more likely to become fatal if attempts to prevent or conceal the honor violation (e.g., via forced marriage or abortion) are unsuccessful and thus the honor violation becomes publicly known.

This definition is accompanied by a multi-step process for identifying HBV as a unique form of violence, so that it can be properly investigated. This operationalization process provides guidance for law enforcement officials and victims' services providers based on two key characteristics of HBV: an honor motive and a familial or community perpetrator (Chapter 2, p. 39, this dissertation).

1.2.3. VICTIM TYPOLOGIES AND CASE MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Building on the findings from Chapter 2 of HBV as a gender-neutral form of violence, we find that the expressions of HBV may be gendered, particularly with regards to the trigger for the violence, i.e., the event motive, and the relationship between victims and perpetrators. In particular, while female victims are often targeted for supposed disobedience or acting "too Western", male victims may be targeted due to homosexuality (Bates, 2017; Aplin, 2019; Dutt, 2020). Likewise, while many female victims are attacked by members of their natal and extended families, male victims are often attacked by members of their partner's family, or by members of the broader community. Guided by latent class analysis, I therefore construct typologies that incorporate these important differences between female and male victims. Interestingly, while I find evidence for the stereotypical victim of HBV – of a young woman killed by a member of her immediate family – it does not appear that this type of victim is the most common type. Instead, the most common type of victim is a female or male member of a couple, both of whom are targeted for the perceived inappropriateness of the relationship.

In addition to describing the typology of victims, I provide a number of exemplar cases to support recognition and identification of the permutations of each type, and thus the wide range of possible HBV victims and cases. Furthermore, I present several recommendations for law enforcement and victims' services provider professionals to improve risk assessment and case management. Both the typologies and the recommendations are conveniently summarized in tabular form (Chapter 3, p. 68, this dissertation).

1.3. EMPIRICAL DISCUSSION OF HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE

As a result of the size and available detail in the honor killing dataset described above and in Chapter 2, I am able to evaluate honor-based violence using quantitative methods beyond simply providing descriptive statistics. In particular, I introduce the application of latent class analysis (LCA) and multi-system estimation (MSE) to the study of honor killings. LCA has been described as both a variable-centered and person-centered approach. It is variable-centered because the relationship of the observed variables is "explained" by the latent variable. However, because LCA allows the researcher to cluster individuals into "classes" based on heterogeneous response profiles (rather than homogenous response patterns), it can be considered a person-centered approach (Bergman and Magnusson, 1997; Collins and Lanza, 2010; Masyn, 2013). This duality is ideal for my purposes in the first and second papers, as it allows me to first examine the significance of

case, victim, and perpetrator characteristics in clustering types of cases (Chapter 2), and then identify typologies of victims (Chapter 3). In the final paper (Chapter 4), I apply MSE, a method of missing case imputation used to estimate the population size of rare or hidden groups, to develop country-level estimates of honor killing cases.

1.4. PRACTITIONER-FOCUSED DISSEMINATION

I believe strongly that this dissertation will provide valuable insights to the research community. However, as improving the (1) identification of (potential) HBV victims; (2) victims' services providers' and law enforcement officials' understanding of the scope of HBV, and (3) contributing to the literature on appropriate case management and response are the ultimate goals of this project, I intend to focus our dissemination efforts on venues likely to engage practitioners.

1.5. ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation includes three papers, referred to as Chapters 2-4. All chapters use the dataset of honor killings, discussed above, as the basis of analysis, thus Chapters 3 and 4 build on Chapter 2; however, these later chapters are independent of each other. Below I provide an overview of each chapter.

1.5.1. CHAPTER 2: WHEN HONOR ISN'T – EMPIRICALLY (RE)DEFINING HONOR CRIMES

Chapter 2 is the foundational chapter of the dissertation. It provides first the theoretical heart of the dissertation: the first sections of the paper provide a discussion of the available literature on honor-based violence, in particular, the lack of consensus in defining such acts. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, recognizing and defining a type of violence is a necessary step to addressing it (Gelles, 2010). Chapter 2 also provides a detailed overview of the development of the honor killing dataset used as the basis for the empirical research conducted in this dissertation.

In the methods section of the paper, I consider the ability of five "operationalizing characteristics"[4], i.e., the commonly referenced characterizations of HBV as a form of (1) gender and (2) familial violence, predominantly found among individuals from (3) honor cultures, motivated by (4) perceived sexual impropriety or female disobedience, and that it (5) collectively practiced, to classify the full dataset of suspected honor killings. My analysis demonstrates that nearly six in ten cases (290 total) are in fact intimate partner murders, and should be considered a type of violence distinct from honor killings. In particular, HBV differs from intimate partner

[4] The inspiration for this chapter comes from a suggestion made by Vlad Achimescu in the 5 December, 2018 Center for Doctoral Studies in Social and Behavioral Sciences Dissertation Colloquium.

violence – at least the cases erroneously included in the dataset – due to the relationship between the victim and perpetrator. Furthermore, I find that that HBV itself is a gender- and religiously- and racially-neutral form of violence. As I discuss below, this finding has tremendous practical implications for victim-service provisions and law enforcement response. Finally, I develop a multi-step operationalization process for accurately and reliably identifying cases of HBV, as distinct from intimate partner and other forms of violence.

1.5.2. CHAPTER 3: INVESTIGATING HONOR: IDENTIFYING VICTIM TYPOLOGIES AND RISK FACTORS TO IMPROVE HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE CASE MANAGEMENT

Chapter 3 provides further evidence that law enforcement and victims' services providers are unable to even recognize HBV, and addresses this gap by identifying three common types of HBV victims: intimate partners, individual female victims, and individual male victims by applying LCA to the subset of true honor killings identified in Chapter 2.

The lack of recognition inhibits proper data gathering with non-typical victims being left out. This obscures the true nature of honor-based crimes which can affect a larger pool of individuals across a wide-swath of cultures and religions. With a lack of proper identification, law enforcement and victims' service providers will continue to be ill-equipped to address honor-crimes.

I conclude by discussing how both the victim typologies and risk factors can be applied by victims' service providers and law enforcement officials to HBV risk assessments to improve victim safety.

1.5.3. CHAPTER 4: MISSING VICTIMS, HIDDEN CRIMES – IMPROVING ESTIMATES OF HONOR KILLINGS USING MISSING DATA IMPUTATION

In this final paper, I apply MSE to develop country-level estimates of honor killing cases. I compare these estimates to statistics based on counts and extrapolation-estimation methods; I find that count-based statistics underestimate the number of cases, while extrapolation-based statistics overestimate cases, sometimes wildly.

The value of this paper is in the evaluation of the utility of MSE methods for the estimation of HBV cases. While we will likely never be certain of the "true" prevalence of honor killings and other honor crimes, MSE provides a more accurate method for estimating prevalence. Furthermore, this paper provides further evidence of both the need for farther-reaching and more up-to-date data collection efforts, in order to support ongoing monitoring and evaluation of policies aimed at educating the public, changing attitudes about HBV, and interventions in cases of HBV by law enforcement and victims' services providers.

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2. WHEN HONOR ISN'T: EMPIRICALLY (RE)DEFINING HONOR CRIMES

ABSTRACT

While most definitions of honor-based violence share similar criteria or characteristics, these definitions are not operationalized in the same way, leading to inconsistencies in the reporting of related crimes. This, in turn, complicates the production of statistics for epidemiological or criminological purposes, such as intervention and policing.

For this paper, we compiled a database of 511 suspected honor killing cases using available lists from several European, Middle Eastern, North American, and South Asian countries. We use latent class analysis to test the operationalization of common definitions of honor crimes. We find that honor-based violence is often confused with intimate partner violence if the perpetrator is of Central Asian, Middle Eastern/North African, or South Asian descent and has or had a spousal or dating relationship with the victim. We also find that only crimes motivated by acts of sexual impropriety or disobedient behavior may be considered honor crimes. As a further step, we revise the definition of honor crimes and describe a standardized process for determining if a case is an honor crime in order to improve case identification and reporting by law enforcement officials and victim services providers.

2.1. INTRODUCTION

So-called "honor killings", the murder of individuals for reasons of "dishonorable" or inappropriate behavior, represent the "extreme endpoint of the spectrum of acts of "honor-related" violence,[5] [both] physical and emotional" (Reddy, 2014, p. 35). Such crimes came to the attention of authorities in Western Europe and North America in the 1980s through the efforts of minority feminist groups such as the Southall Black Sisters (Gupta, 2003). These organizations argued that perpetrators from minority communities should not be allowed to reference "culture" as a mitigating circumstance to evade punishment for violent behavior (see Cohan (2009) for discussion of the "cultural defense"). While generally effective in increasing public awareness and creating momentum for change in both the judicial system and policymaking[6], honor crimes and other forms of honor-based violence became "attributed almost exclusively to... supposedly immutable and intrinsic traditions, customs and religious beliefs" (Gill, 2014, p. 9).

That the study of honor crimes and their prevention is still in early stages, as well as its roots in minority activism, is evident both in the absence of a universally accepted definition and the continued "exoticization" of honor crimes (Shankar et al., 2017; Welchman and Hossain, 2005a).

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[5] "Honour-related violence is a newer concept, used to capture forms of violence other than murder that are motivated by perceived honour violations" (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2010). In some countries, particularly those that have officially defined honor crimes, forced marriage and female genital mutilation are considered a form of honor-based violence (HBV).

[6] Official responses – including data collection, policing, and prosecution – to honor crimes are most advanced in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands; both countries have passed laws specifically targeting forms of HBV and have established specialized units for policing and prosecution. In Canada, the 2015 Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act amended several prior laws in order to strengthen the government's response to HBV, including limiting the use of provocation as a legal defense for honor killings.

While several countries and non-governmental organizations have developed definitions of honor-related or honor-based violence (HBV)[7] and honor crimes[8], the wording of official definitions of honor crimes – even if they do not include explicit references to particular cultures or religions – often use coded language such as "clan" that implicate non-Western cultures (Bredal, 2014, p. 144). "Honor" itself is a deeply loaded term, yet despite its obvious centrality to the understandings of the nature of honor crimes, is rarely explicated in official definitions (Abu-Odeh, 1997; Terman, 2010). The dimensions of honor crimes that relate to culture and honor are what distinguish these crimes from other forms of interpersonal violence (Meetoo and Mirza, 2007; Terman, 2010; Gill, 2011; Bredal, 2014; Reddy, 2014). Researchers and policy makers are thus left to develop ad hoc operationalization of these definitions, often on the basis of stereotypes about patriarchal values of female purity and strict gender norms (Sen, 2005; Gill, 2011; Qassis-Jaraysah, 2011; Wiseman, 2012; Sev'er, 2013; Helba et al., 2015; Shankar et al., 2017).

Honor crimes are assumed by some to be perpetrated exclusively by immigrants or minority cultures, and considered "more barbaric or 'uncivilized' than analogous behavior such as domestic violence, within majority communities" (Reddy, 2014, p. 41; Bredal, 2014). Reddy (2014, p. 30) describes as an example, how honor killings are "generally envisage[d as] a scenario where women, and in some cases men, are killed in order to either prevent or repair perceived violations of male or familial 'honor'". Honor crimes may thus be misclassified if they present with different characteristics than those assumed (Shier and Shor, 2016).

Accurate identification of cases of honor crimes is essential to the implementation of appropriate preventative and protective public health and criminal justice responses (Shaw et al., 1996; Kilpatrick, 2004; Cooney, 2019). Without accurate estimation of the at-risk population, law enforcement and victim services providers cannot adequately direct resources. A 2015 investigation by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) on police responses to honor crimes in the United Kingdom found that police officers do not always properly identify and flag cases of honor-based violence, and thus the development of accurate estimates of their prevalence is not possible. Additionally, the authors raised the concern that "victims may be placed at risk if the context of their records is not clear, and the risk to other vulnerable individuals related to them may not be realized" (HMIC, 2015, p. 12).

For this paper, we use latent class analysis to reconsider the definition and operationalization of honor crimes by evaluating the predictive power of several characteristics of honor crimes. As the basis for our analysis, we compiled a database of 511 suspected honor killing cases using available lists from several European, Middle Eastern, North American, and South Asian countries. While not the first cross-national database of honor killings (Chesler, 2010; Churchill, 2018), this database

[7] We use the term "honor-based violence" (HBV) rather than "honor-related violence". HBV is similar to the term "honour-based abuse" (HBA) which is in increasing use among scholars and particularly law enforcement officials in the United Kingdom.
[8] See Appendix 2.1 for wording of several official definitions.

is unique in both its size and level of detail. In the next section, we outline current conceptualization and operationalization of honor crimes.

2.2. CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF HONOR CRIMES IN SCHOLARLY RESEARCH AND POLICY

The stereotypical characterization of honor crimes as involving (1) female victims targeted by (2) male family members for (3) "honor" – defined as either membership in an "honor culture" or the invocation of honor (or its violation) as a motivation for the act – thus becomes the basis for future operationalization of honor crime definitions. These "operationalizing characteristics," as we will refer to them, are both widely cited in the literature and the basis of continued debate among scholars as to their validity (Korteweg and Yurdakal, 2010; Cooney, 2014). We provide an overview of and discuss major criticisms of each below.

2.2.1. HONOR CRIMES AS GENDER VIOLENCE

Both the United Nations and the Council of Europe Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men define honor crimes as a type of violence against women (United Nations, 2012; Council of Europe, 2003). Some scholars frame honor crimes as a form of gender violence in order to avoid "the potential pitfalls of... allegedly unique 'cultural' factors" in which "honor" becomes a "convenient header" for all forms of violence, from child abuse to homicide, within minority communities, leading to criminalization and over-policing of minority communities (Reddy, 2014, p. 41; Dustin and Phillips, 2008; Hellgren and Hobson, 2008; Korteweg and Yurdakal, 2010; Aujla and Gill, 2014).

While the majority of honor-based violence victims appear to be women, both Ermers (2018) and Idriss (2017) argue that this focus on gender risks biasing the definition of HBV in another way. Some scholars admit that men may be victims of these crimes; however, this fact is discounted by some as due solely to their association with the primary female victim (Gill, 2011; Qassis-Jaraysah, 2011). Others fail to acknowledge male victims at all (Ruggi, 1998; Hoyek, 2005; Chesler, 2009; 2010). Only a few researchers indicate that men can be targeted for what may be deemed as their own sexual impropriety (e.g., homosexuality; see van Eck, 2003; Jaspal and Siraj, 2011; Khan, 2012; Steinke, 2014). A strict understanding of honor crimes as a form of gender violence may also lead researchers to ignore the role of women as participants in these crimes as instigators, co-conspirators, or perpetrators of violence. Several scholars have noted women's roles as participants in honor killings (Pope, 2004; Sen, 2005; Idriss, 2017; Bates, 2018).

2.2.2. HONOR CRIMES AS FAMILY VIOLENCE

For many scholars, the complicity, if not active participation, of members of the victim's family of origin is an essential characteristic of honor crimes (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Sen, 2005; Qassis-

Jaraysah, 2011; Wiseman, 2012; Shankar et al., 2017). In some cases, the definition of family has been expanded to include intimate partners, which is in keeping with the historic, legal understanding of honor crimes as "crimes of passion" (Council of Europe, 2003)[9]. However, both Idriss (2017) and Ermers (2018) disagree with the categorization of honor crimes as a form of family or domestic violence, noting the possibility of non-family perpetrators. Idriss (2017), in his interviews of key agents and service providers in England, found several instances of honor killings committed by community members. Reddy (2014) also records "the involvement of an even wider range of individuals participating in the enforcement of 'honor' codes...[including] private investigators and 'bounty hunters' employed by families to crackdown, return, or harm those perceived to have breached codes of 'honor'" (35). Ermers (2018) argues that:

> *"non-western women that [...] are killed by a kinsman who merely claims [an honor motive] are likely to be included in the (non-western) statistics, whereas male victims, killed for an honor motive (such as rapists and seducers) hardly ever are"* (Ermers, 2018, p. 193).

2.2.3. THE PROTECTION OF CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS NORMS

The motivation of a violation of cultural or religious norms is commonly operationalized in cases when the perpetrator is from a so-called "honor culture", or the perpetrator claims an honor motive (i.e., that they committed the attack to defend or restore their honor).

2.2.3.1. Honor as Culture

"Honor cultures" are those with high levels of concern for reputation (Vandello and Cohen, 2003; Bond, 2014; Ermers, 2018). Traditional examples include Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Latin and South American societies, although subcultures of honor have been noted in the southern and western regions of the United States, the Balkans and the Caucasus (Boehm, 1986; Cohen and Nisbett, 1994; Mosquera et al., 2002; Vandello and Cohen, 2003; Guerra et al., 2012; Dietrich and Schuett, 2013). Research on honor cultures has found higher tendencies of violence by males, particularly as means used in defending the self or family, and in the socialization of children (Cohen and Nisbett, 1994, Vandello and Cohen, 2003; van Osch et al., 2013). Higher tolerance for intimate partner violence in honor cultures has been noted as well (Glick et al., 2002; Dietrich and Schuett, 2013; Lowe et al., 2018). Some scholars consider religion to be the driving cultural force behind honor-based violence, and thus operationalize honor cultures predominantly as those regions of the world which practice Islam. This has the effect of focusing on only some

[9] Historically, the "honor defense" for crimes, which argued that a man who discovered his wife had committed adultery may be justified in harming or even killing her, was an established part of the penal codes of many European countries and former colonies (see Cohan (2009) for an overview of legal precedent and Welchman and Hossain (2005b) for case studies in Brazil, Egypt, Italy, Lebanon, Pakistan, Palestine and others). Over time, following intensive lobbying by women's groups, the judicial systems in many European countries and in North America began classifying these "crimes of passion" as intimate partner violence, and instituted harsher punishments (Abu-Odeh, 1997). Conversely, many countries in the Middle East and South Asia expanded the honor defense to include male members of the victim's extended family of origin (Warraich, 2005).

cultural regions and ignoring those that are predominantly Christian (Cohan, 2009). In addition, some authors argue that different honor cultures/religions have different rates of violence and honor killings, in particular, that Muslims are more likely to commit honor crimes than Sikhs (Brandon and Hafez, 2008; Chesler, 2009; Chesler and Bloom, 2012).

Bredal (2014), among others, criticizes the categorization of honor crimes solely on the basis of culture, arguing that it incorrectly groups intimate partner violence and honor crimes together:

> *"if a woman approaches the police to seek protection from a violent husband, regardless of the motives for his violence the case is categorized as honor-related violence if his or her family resists a divorce for reasons of family honor"* (Bredal, 2014, p. 146).

2.2.3.2. Honor as Motivation

Honor motives are those which claim the defense or restoration of honor. The majority of honor motives tend to fall into two categories: sexual impropriety (e.g. adultery, sex out of wedlock, inappropriate sexual partners) or (female) disobedience (Churchill, 2018). For those perpetrators who interpret family and masculine honor as dependent on female submission to male authority, any act of disobedience, such as refusing a marriage or acting independently, can be interpreted as an insult to family or personal honor (Churchill, 2018).

In some cases, a man will claim the violation of his honor as justification for violence after he is rejected as a suitor, or his intimate partner separates from him. However, Ermers (2018) argues that these cases are not "necessarily" honor killings, despite the claim of an honor motivation: "While a rejected suitor's feelings may be hurt, his honor is not at stake.... [The attacker's] honor is damaged by his own cowardly attack on the poor woman, not by her refusal" (Ermers, 2018, p. 170). Other scholars note that honor may also be claimed as "camouflage" for other crimes; these "fake" honor killings may be motivated by financial reasons (Amnesty International, 1999; van Eck, 2003).

2.2.4. HONOR CRIMES AS COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE

Some researchers argue that honor crimes are a form of collective punishment that serves to reinforce the consequences of inappropriate behavior or conversely, the failure to adequately punish inappropriate behavior (van Eck, 2003; Husseini, 2009; Payton, 2011; Cooney, 2019). Strange (2014) has likened honor killings to lynchings, with a similar "purgative effect" (p. 62). Researchers and activists have noted multiple cases of public honor killings, either performed by the victim's family to demonstrate their disapproval, or by the community itself following perceived inaction by the family (see Thapar-Björkert (2014) as well as Cooney's (2019) discussion honor crimes as community punishment).

Additionally, some law enforcement officials have noted that investigating honor crimes requires tactics similar to that of investigating organized crime due to the large number of perpetrators or co-conspirators and the collective defense (Reddy, 2014; Idriss, 2017; Janssen, 2015).

2.2.5. A NEW APPROACH TO EVALUATING HONOR CRIMES

The three operationalizing characteristics discussed above lend themselves to several suppositions about the nature of honor crimes:

1. If honor crimes are a form of gender-based violence, then, per historical classification of these crimes, we would expect that women will be the primary targets. Any men who are primary victims would be targeted for disregarding norms for masculine behavior, such as engaging in homosexual relationships;
2. If honor crimes are a form of familial violence, then we would expect that perpetrators are members of the victim(s)' family. If honor crimes include intimate partner violence, then we would expect no distinction between violence committed by intimate partners and members of the family of origin;
3. If honor crimes are a unique cultural or religious phenomenon, then we would expect a distinction between cases based on victim or perpetrator ethnicity or religion;
4. If honor crimes are prompted by perceived sexual impropriety, then we would expect both men and women to be targeted for rape or adultery, or non-normative behavior such as homosexual relationships;
5. If honor crimes are prompted by strict interpretations of male authority and female obedience, then we would expect that only women will be targeted, for disobedient or disruptive behavior such refusing a marriage;[10]
6. If honor crimes are a form of collective violence, we would expect to find multiple perpetrators per incident, some of whom may have more distant or even no relationship to the victim.

We test these suppositions empirically by examining the importance of each characteristics in classifying honor killings using latent class analysis (Bailey, 1994; Collins and Lanza, 2010). Based on the results of the latent class analysis, we refine the definition and operationalization of honor crimes and use this definition to identify honor killings cross-nationally.

We focus on honor killings here due to their more visible nature: honor killings in particular "are intended to be public statements, to restore honour to a family, to shame individual women, and to deter other women from resisting cultural codes of family and community" (Hellgren and Hobson, 2008, p. 386). Furthermore, murders, due to their violent nature, are thought of as more serious and "newsworthy" crimes and thus more likely to be reported to the police and by the media (Marsh, 1991; Chermak, 2002, Hart and Rennison, 2003; Chermak and Gruenewald, 2006; Siegler et al., 2008; Tarling and Morris, 2010; Gruenewald et al., 2013). In the next sections, we describe the compilation of the database of honor killings and implementation of latent class analysis.

[10] Following Ermers' (2018) argument discussed in 3.3.2, we do not categorize divorce or separation as an honor motive.

2.3. HONOR-KILLING DATABASE DEVELOPMENT

While many studies of honor crimes are reliant on small samples and thus limited to qualitative methods[11], for this study, we compiled a database of 511 supposed honor killings using scholarly lists from several European, Middle Eastern, North American, and South Asian countries. Six of these lists were from North American countries (three each from Canada and the United States); three were from Europe (two from Germany and one from other European countries); and one from several countries from honor cultures in Central and South Asia and the Middle East/North Africa (MENA; see Table 2.1).

The eight lists from Canada (CA1-3), Germany (DE1-2), and the United States (US1-3) are intended by their authors to be complete and comprehensive lists of honor killings in their respective countries. Each country had at least one list that included cases from 1989-2014 and we use this as our timeframe for data analysis. All but one list was compiled from media reports of honor killings, although several lists also cite legal cases (Table 2.1). Four of these lists (CA1, CA3, DE1, DE2) are publicly available, and three (CA2, US2, US3) were provided privately to the first author. The first author supported the compilation of the final list (US1) as work performed for the US Department of Justice (Helba et al., 2015). Only six of the eight list sources provide their data collection methods or inclusion criteria. Five of these lists rely primarily on stated "honor" motives to identify cases; CA3 and DE2 qualify that the acts must be premeditated and with the support of the victim's family. Only the authors of DE1 acknowledge that honor may be cited in cases of "blood feuds" (i.e., revenge killings; see Boehm (1986) for discussion) or intimate partner violence (Oberwittler and Kasselt, 2011). They indicate suspected "borderline" killings in their case descriptions.

We compiled the other two lists (OE1 and HC1) following a systematic review of the literature on HBV in Google Scholar. We used both American and British English terms and spellings for honor violence, for a total of five pairs of terms: "honor/honour violence", "honor/honour-based violence", "honor/honour-related violence", "honor/honour crime", "honor/honour killing". We continued viewing results until 50 articles in a row had no relevance, resulting in 658 articles selected on the basis of title/abstract relevancy. Twenty-five articles provided sufficient detail to identify an additional 100 unique cases within the 25-year timeframe for this study. These cases, and the two lists compiled from them, are intended to be illustrative of "typical" honor killing cases, and are included to increase the representativeness of the honor killing dataset.

[11] Notable exceptions include Chesler (2010) and Churchill (2018) who conducted quantitative reviews of 230 and 200 cases, respectively. Smaller scale quantitative studies include Chesler and Bloom (2012), which analyzed 164 honor killings committed by perpetrators of Indian and Pakistani decent, and Deol (2014a) and (2014b) which analyze 100 honor killings each in Harayana and Punjab states in India.

Table 2.1. Overview of Data Sources

	Canada			United States			Germany	
List Title	CA1	CA2	CA3	US1	US2	US3	DE1	DE2
List Source	Robert (2011)	Service Provider[a]	Muhammad (2010)	Helba et al. (2015)	University researchers[a]	Advocacy agency[a]	Oberwittler and Kasselt (2011)	Glaubitz (2019)
Data Source	Legal cases	Media reports	Legal cases, Media reports	Media reports	Media reports	Media reports	Legal cases, Media reports	Media reports
Data Type	Case citation	Narrative description	Narrative description	Narrative description	Perpetrator name	Victim name	Narrative description	Narrative description
Years Covered	1955-2010	1955-2009	1991-2016	1989-2014	1999-2012	1989-2012	1996-2005	1981-Present
Inclusion Criteria	Killings or attempts in which honor is given as a motive for the crime, either in case reports or in the media.	Unknown	Premeditated killings or attempts supported by the victim's family in which the perpetrator feels justified in the act and gives honor as a motive.	Killings or attempts in which honor is given as a motive for the crime, as reported in the media.	Extremist Crime Database inclusion criteria[b]	Unknown	Killings or attempts committed to restore the honor of an individual, as long as honor is cited as a reason for the killing.	Premeditated killings or attempts supported by the victim's family in which the perpetrator feels justified in the act and gives honor as a motive.
Total Cases	14	15	11	25	16	22	78	+500
Years Selected	1989-2010	1989-2009	1991-2014	1989-2014	1999-2012	1989-2012	1996-2005	1989-2014
Cases Selected	11	13	11	25	16	22	78	298

[a] List provided privately to the first author.
[b] See Freilich et al. (2014) for additional information on the Extremist Crime Database inclusion criteria.

Table 2.1. Overview of Data Sources

Continued

	Other European Countries (Albania, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden)	**"Honor Cultures" in Asia and MENA** (Afghanistan, Egypt, India, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Pakistan, Palestine, Turkey)
List Title	OE1	HC1
Cases Sources	Elden (1998); Kaspersson (2003); van Eck (2003); Thapar-Björkert (2007); Brandon and Hafez (2008); Chesler (2009); Dyer (2015a); Longman and Coene (2015)	Amnesty International (1999); Husseini (2000); Ali (2001); Faqir (2001); Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2002); Kaspersson (2003); Khafagy (2005); Sev'er (2005); Boon (2006); Cinthio and Ericsson (2006); Al-Adili (2008); Kearney (2009); Vitoshka (2010); Cihangir (2013); Hague et al. (2013); Murugananthan (2014); Cetin (2015); Dewantari (2017)
Data Source	Legal Cases, Media Reports	Legal Cases, Media Reports
Data Type	Narrative Description	Narrative Description
Inclusion Criteria	Killings or attempted killings in which the perpetrator is from an "honor culture".	Killings or attempted killings in which the perpetrator is from an "honor culture".
Years Included	1989-2014	1989-2014
Cases Included	50	50

2.3.1. CODING AND CLEANING OF CASES

As most lists were published in narrative form, it was necessary to code each case in a standardized way for ease of data analysis. The first author used a set of 21 variables to code all cases by listed victim(s), linking victims and perpetrators within cases through the use of a case identification number (see Table A2.1.1 for a complete list of included variables). These variables capture the most commonly available facts of each case, including the names, ages, sexes, and ethnicities of victims and perpetrators, the relationship between victims and perpetrators, and motive and method of attack, as well as providing indicator variables with which to test our operationalizing characteristics. Religion and information about previous violence (such as intimate partner violence or child abuse) were not consistently included in case narratives, nor could we always determine if the listed religion or instances of other violence were fact or speculation by the list author. These details are thus excluded from the dataset.

For each case, we identified a primary victim and primary perpetrator (if multiples of either). In most instances, this identification was based on proximity of relationship[12], e.g., natal family, extended family. When the closest relationship was between the perpetrator and a child under 10 years, primary victim designation was given to the next closest relationship, typically the parent of the child[13]. Research on family violence identifies revenge against the intimate partner as a common

[12] Preference was given to relationships within the natal family over intimate partners, then to extended family and/or friends, in-laws, and no or unknown relationship, respectively.
[13] Fourteen cases had victims under the age of 10, for a total of 20 victims.

typology of filicide; children may be killed in the process of attacking an intimate partner, or as a proxy for the intimate partner (Debowska et al., 2015; Almeida and Vieira, 2017). In 17 cases, the primary victim based on relationship proximity did not appear to be the intended target based on stated motive. In seven of the cases, the primary perpetrator was both husband and father; the closest relationship was to a (young) adult child, but the stated motivation was the threat of divorce by the wife/mother. In the other 10 cases, the primary victim by relationship was the victim of rape or abuse, and the intended target was the rapist. In both sets of cases, we coded the intended victim as the primary victim.

Details that were unavailable were left blank. This was most commonly true for victim or perpetrator age and ethnicity, or the motive for the killing. When available, the case summary or narrative provided by the list author was used, otherwise case details were coded from news articles found via Google search.

Lists DE1 and DE2 included both case summaries and longer case narratives; in some cases, the details of the case summary and narrative did not match exactly. Where such discrepancies existed, we coded the case using the information provided in the narrative as these provided more detail. List DE1 also included "indirect victims;" individuals whose presence or involvement with the victim may have provoked the event, but were not themselves killed. For example, an indirect victim could be a male friend or partner of the victim. These individuals were coded as surviving victims with "Indirect Victim" listed as the method of attack. As the category of indirect victim is useful for providing context to the event and capturing the human cost of honor killings more fully, indirect victims were included in all other lists when noted in the case narratives.

2.3.2. MATCHING AND DEDUPLICATING CASES

While each of the Canadian, German, and US lists reported unique cases, most overlapped with others from the same country, duplicating cases. For Canada and the US, we were able to match cases based on victim name, yielding 15 and 38 cases, with 26 and 79 victims, respectively. However, one German list (DE1) did not provide victims' names, nor a location of the event. As this list only overlapped with list DE2 for the years 1996-2005, we were only able to match the 126 cases from these years. Both authors independently compared these cases on the basis of nine criteria: the year and method of killing; the age, sex, and ethnicity of the victim(s) and perpetrator(s); and the relationship between the victim(s) and perpetrator(s). Table A2.1.2 provides a summary of the matching criteria used for the German cases. Because of the possibility of errors in reporting (both in the case files and during list compilation), we coarsened the matching criteria by allowing for matches between cases with unknown age or ages within a five-year range, unknown ethnicity, and unknown method of killing. As the year of death and the sex of the victim(s) and perpetrator(s) is more likely to be known, we used exact matching for these details. The authors disagreed on the initial inclusion of two cases, for an overall Cohen's kappa of 0.98. The disposition of these two cases were resolved through discussion, yielding 18 matched cases. In total, the combined and deduplicated German list includes 358 cases and 530 victims.

The 100 cases identified in the other two lists were unique, with no overlapping. Matching was therefore not required for these cases. In the next section, we present descriptive statistics of the cases from each country/region.

2.3.3. DESCRIPTION OF CASES

Table 2.2 presents the descriptive statistics of cases from each country. All countries include cases with both female and male victims and perpetrators. Women are more than seven times more likely to be victims than men (72.3% and 27.1%, respectively); still, more than a quarter of victims are male. Men are more than 173 times more likely to be perpetrators than women (92.8% and 7.4% respectively). The majority of victims with known ethnicities[14] are from "honor cultures" (81.5%). While a plurality (39.3%) of these victims are of Central Asian[15] descent, this is driven by the large number of German cases. Germany has large Turkish and Kurdish populations (51.8% of victims with known ethnicity), with fewer migrants from other honor cultures. Canada and the US reflect different migration patterns; the majority of Canadian victims are of South Asian descent (66.7%), while the US has large percentages of MENA (27.9%) and South Asian (42.6%) victims. Cases from the list of other European countries are also dominated by South Asian victims (61.8%), while the cases from the list of honor cultures is roughly divided between Central Asian (24.7%), MENA (41.1%), and South Asian (32.9%) victims. Interestingly, only 8.3% of total reported victims are from all other honor cultures combined. This may reflect the operationalization of "honor culture" as "Muslim" by researchers, rather than a comprehensive inclusion of honor cultures. Less than half (46.0%) of the cases involve honor motives: 34.1% for reasons of sexual impropriety including adultery, pregnancy out of wedlock, and rape; and 11.9% for reasons of "female disobedience", including refusing a marriage and acting "too Western". The other 54.0% of cases involve victims killed for non-honor motives, including separating from an intimate partner (38.4%). Surprisingly, no victims on our lists of either sex appear to have murdered due to homosexual relationships.

The intimate partner or a member of the intimate partner's family is the primary perpetrator in nearly six out of 10 (59.3%) cases while perpetrators from the natal or extended family are the primary perpetrator in 39.1% of cases. As with the victim data, a majority of perpetrators of known ethnicity[16] are from honor cultures (97.4%), with a plurality (44.6%) of perpetrators of Central Asian descent. This is again due to the large number of Turkish perpetrators in the German lists (58.1% of perpetrators of known ethnicity), although a number of German perpetrators are of MENA descent (23.6%). The majority (77.3%) of Canadian perpetrators are of South Asian descent, while the US has large numbers of perpetrators of MENA (47.7%) and South Asian (36.4%) descent. Again, only a small percentage (7.2%) of total perpetrators are from other honor cultures, despite larger combined populations in European countries and the US.

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[14] Only 748 victims are of known ethnicity.
[15] We follow the World Bank's designations of world regions, which places Turkey in Central Asia.
[16] Only 704 perpetrators are of known ethnicity.

Table 2.2. Suspected Honor Killings – Case Statistics

	Canada	Germany	United States	Other European Countries	"Honor Cultures"	Combined Database
Cases in Dataset	**15**	**358**	**38**	**50**	**50**	**511**
Victims in Dataset	**28**	**531**	**78**	**88**	**73**	**798**
Female Victims	19	389	56	61	52	577
Male Victims	9	142	17	27	21	216
Honor Culture: Central Asia[a]	1	261	3	12	18	314
Honor Culture: MENA	1	67	19	9	30	124
Honor Culture: South Asia	18	29	29	47	24	130
Honor Culture: Other	0	60	1	4	1	66
Perpetrators in Dataset	**27**	**468**	**52**	**94**	**95**	**736**
Female Perpetrators	6	20	6	8	11	51
Male Perpetrators	21	447	45	86	84	683
Honor Culture: Central Asia[a]	0	268	1	15	30	314
Honor Culture: MENA	1	109	21	10	37	178
Honor Culture: South Asia	17	27	16	54	27	141
Honor Culture: Other	0	47	2	4	0	53
Family[b]	15	144	32	63	73	327
Intimate Partner[bc]	5	284	15	18	13	335
Other[b]	5	39	4	12	9	69
Motive: Sexual Impropriety	**9**	**97**	**10**	**24**	**34**	**174**
Motive: Female Disobedience	**5**	**31**	**9**	**12**	**4**	**61**
Motive: Other[d]	**1**	**230**	**19**	**14**	**7**	**271**

[a] We follow the World Bank's designations of world regions, which places Turkey in Central Asia.
[b] Relationship between primary victim and primary perpetrator.
[c] Includes intimate partner's family.
[d] Includes intimate partner's family.

The substantial number of male victims in the dataset is indicative that honor killings are not purely a form of gender violence, while the larger number of perpetrators than cases provides some evidence of collective violence. However, the descriptive statistics are otherwise inconclusive as to the validity of the operationalizing characteristics. Membership in honor cultures and motives of honor were both inclusion criteria, so it is unsurprising that these are evident in the data. While there are differences in the percentage of victims and perpetrators from particular honor cultures, it is unclear if these are due to different rates of violence within these cultures or migration patterns. Similarly, while more murders are committed by intimate partners, it is unclear if these are a substantively different type of case.

In the next section, we discuss the use of latent class analysis to test the importance of each operationalizing characteristic.

2.4. OPERATIONALIZATION TESTING WITH LATENT CLASS ANALYSIS

In order to test the utility of each operationalizing characteristic in classifying honor killings, we consider each characteristic's discriminatory power, i.e., its ability to distinguish between different types of cases (Bailey, 1994; Masyn, 2013). Classification techniques such as *K*-means and latent class analysis allow us to quantify degrees of similarity/dissimilarity of cases based on each characteristic and thus mathematically test their discriminatory power (Bailey, 1994; Collins and Lanza, 2010; Rupp, 2013). In choosing the method of our analysis, we assume a categorical latent variable, i.e., that honor killings are qualitatively different from intimate partner violence, or gang violence, or random murders of strangers (Churchill, 2018). As our manifest variables are also binary or categorical, we follow Collins and Lanza's (2010) recommendation in choosing the latent class analysis (LCA) method.

LCA can serve as both a variable-centered and person-centered method of analysis. It is variable-centered because the relationship of the observed variables is "explained" by the latent variable. However, because LCA allows the researcher to cluster individuals into "classes" based on heterogeneous response profiles (rather than homogenous response patterns), it can be considered a person-centered approach (Bergman and Magnusson, 1997; Collins and Lanza, 2010; Masyn, 2013). Here, we focus on variables, in order to examine the significance of case, victim, and perpetrator characteristics in clustering as well as differentiating types of cases.

We test the operationalization of honor killings in two stages using three sets of data. In the first stage of analysis, we select the latent class model with the best performing number of classes. This allows us to test first if the characteristics can be used to cluster the data, and if so, how many classes are appropriate for each type of data. In the second stage, we test the item-class performance – the strength of the relationship between the item and the latent class variable – for each of the indicator variables used to describe the operationalizing characteristics, e.g., gender violence would be indicated by only female victims (victim sex variable) and only male perpetrators (perpetrator sex variable).

We use three sets of data to analyze the operationalizing characteristics: (1) case data, which excludes unique data from secondary victims and perpetrators; (2) victim data, which uses the full set of victim data but excludes secondary perpetrators; and (3) perpetrator data, which uses the full set of perpetrator data but excludes secondary victims. This allows us to explore the characteristics of the victims as well as the motives of the perpetrators. It also allows us to consider both the victim-perpetrator relationship and the perpetrator-victim relationship – which are not necessarily the same due to different numbers of each (Kulczycki and Windle, 2011).

2.4.1. DATA PREPARATION AND MODEL SPECIFICATION

We use the poLCA R package[17] for our analysis as it is one of the only latent class analysis packages in R that is available for non-binary data (Linzer and Lewis, 2011). We converted the location variable to country, recoded age as a categorical variable, and coded several new variables for whether victims were of the same sex and ethnicity as each other and the primary perpetrator. Unknown values were coded as missing data and included in the data analysis. Table A2.1.3. provides the complete list of variables and coding scheme[18].

For each of the datasets, we use two sets of analytical models. Models 1/3/5a-e include all variables with no covariates and specify 1-5[19] possible latent classes for the case, victim, and perpetrator data, respectively. Due to the large proportion of German cases (70.1% of the total number of cases), as well as the bias towards more recent events (64.0% of the cases occurred in the last decade of available data, i.e., 2005-2014), we also consider Models 2/4/6a-e, which include country and year as covariates, and specify 1-5 possible latent classes for the case, victim, and perpetrator data, respectively. We test each set of models first using subsets of data: German-only data and data from all other countries ("rest of the world"; ROW), and then with the full set of data. For the case data, we are only able to test models using the German subset and the full dataset, due to the small number of ROW data; only 153 cases). Both sets of models include missing data.

2.4.2. IDENTIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF LATENT CLASSES

We evaluate fit according to the lowest Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) statistics, the highest Maximum Log Likelihood (MLL), and the predicted class frequencies and interpretability of the latent classes (Masyn, 2013; Wetzel et al., 2016). While we cannot compare fit indicators across the two models due to the different number of variables and covariates, we can consider if both recommend the same number of latent classes.

In the case data, the BICs of Model 1 (case data, no covariates) and Model 2 (case data, country and year as covariates), indicate two latent classes, for both the German subset of data (Tables A2.2.4 and A2.2.5) and the full dataset (Table 2.3). The AIC and the MLL both favor increasingly

[17] R version 3.6.1 (2019-07-05) – "Action of the Toes"; poLCA version 1.4.1 (2014-01-09).
[18] Anonymized raw data and R code will be made available for download in a public repository.
[19] We find that after four or five latent classes, some models do not converge, while others provide no additional useful information.

complex models of three to five latent classes. Due to the inconsistent model identification by the AIC and MLL, we therefore select the two-class model for our analysis.

Table 2.3. Model Fit Indicators – Case Data

Model 1	MLL	AIC	BIC	Estimated class size
Single class	-6838.0	13804.0	14075.2	511
Two classes	**-6246.9**	**12751.8**	**13298.3***	**278, 233**
Three classes	-6050.9	12489.9	13311.7	257, 161, 92
Four classes	-5890.7	12299.4	13396.6	160, 157, 119, 75
Five classes	-5799.0*	12245.2*	13617.8	152, 133, 106, 92, 27
Model 2				
Single class	-5643.4	11400.8	11642.3	511
Two classes	**-5088.2**	**10410.5**	**10906.1***	**288, 223**
Three classes	-4950.2	10254.3	11004.1	268, 136, 108
Four classes	-4836.5*	10147.1*	11151.1	237, 109, 95, 70
Five classes	-5413.1	11420.2	12678.4	0, 0, 26, 83, 402
Number of observations: 511; number of fully observed cases: 139				

All models include missing data.
* denotes best model based on indicator; bold denotes final model selection.

In the victim data, BICs in Model 3 (no covariates) and Model 4 (country and year as covariates) identify two classes of cases in both the German and the ROW subsets. We thus would expect that the full victim dataset likewise indicates two classes; instead, the BICs of both models indicate four classes in the full victim dataset (Tables A2.2.4 and A2.2.5). However, when we compare the class profiles of the two-class model to the individual and aggregated four-class victim profiles (Figure A2.3.1), we see they are broadly similar and the two-class and aggregated four-class profiles are nearly identical. We interpret this as further evidence of only two classes of cases, although there may be multiple types of victims within one of the classes. As with the case dataset, the AICs and MLLs of both models in all sub- and full datasets favor the more complex models with five classes.

The perpetrator data performs similarly to the victim dataset: the German and ROW subsets indicate two classes, while the full dataset indicates four classes (Tables A2.2.4 and A2.2.5). When we aggregate several of the individual classes in the four-class model and compare the aggregated class to the two-class model, we see that the class profiles are again nearly identical (Figure A2.3.2). The AICs and MLLs of both models in all sub-and full datasets favor four or five class models.

Before drawing final conclusions of the number of classes in each dataset, we additionally compare the class profiles of the two-class models (country and year as covariates; M2b/4b/6b) from each dataset. As Figure 2.1 illustrates, the first class of cases in each of the three datasets typically comprise multiple victims who are typically women under the age of 25 from honor cultures who are killed by male members of their families for honor motives. Multiple perpetrators are present

in many cases, and these perpetrators are of all ages, reflecting multiple possible victim-perpetrator relationships (i.e., sibling, child-parent). Both victims and perpetrators are typically from honor cultures. As this class conforms to the typical description of an honor killing, we thus interpret this class as one of honor-based violence (HBV).

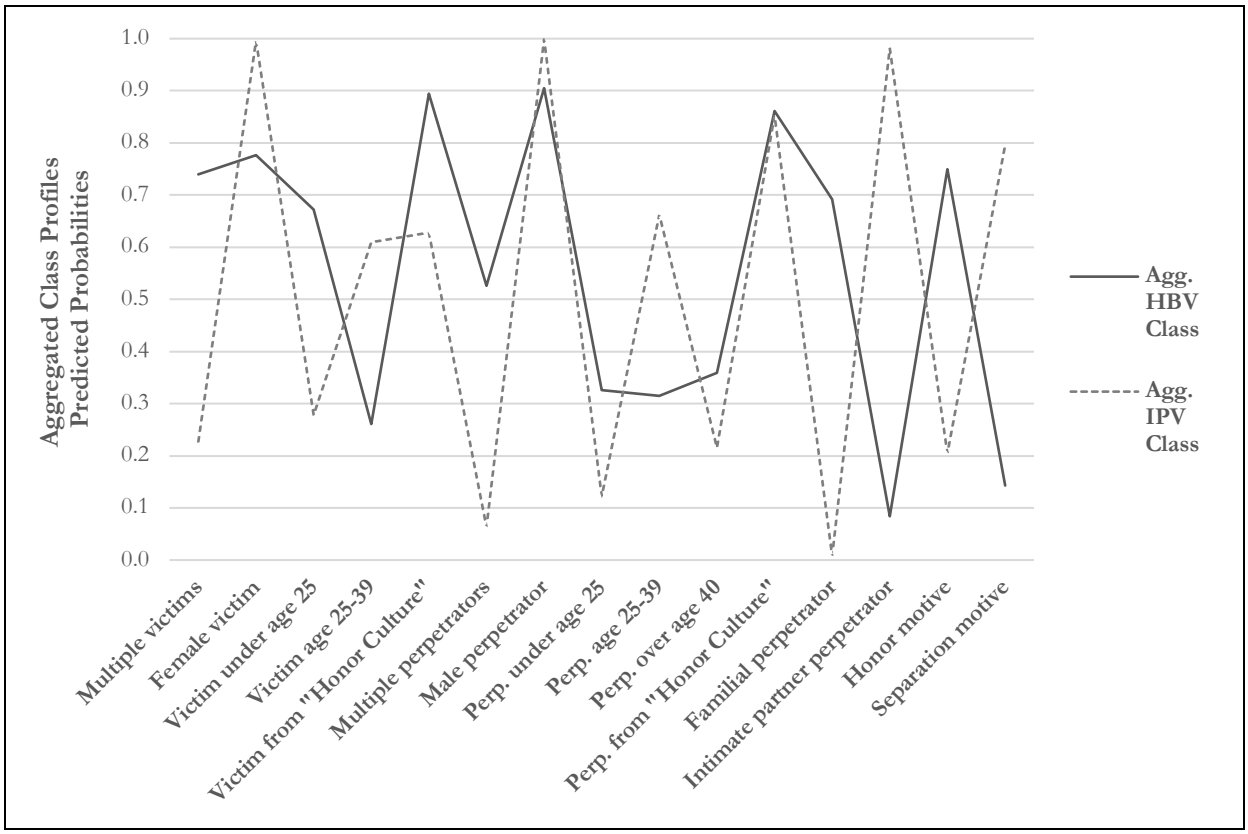


Figure 2.1. Aggregated Honor and Intimate Partner Class Profiles

The second class of cases typically comprises a single female victim between the ages of 25-39 murdered by a single male perpetrator age 25-29 who is her intimate partner after she separates from him.[20] We thus interpret this as a class of intimate partner violence (IPV). Surprisingly, while the class sizes in each of the datasets varies, we find that the class profiles of the IPV classes are virtually identical.

After reviewing the findings from each of the three datasets, we therefore conclude that the full database in fact is comprised of two types of cases: a diverse yet cohesive class of honor killings and a singular class of murders by intimate partners.

[20] Intimate partner violence is defined as "abuse or violence" used "to gain power and control over [a] current or preexisting intimate partner… across age… culture, ethnicity, race, religion…" (Walker and Gavin, 2011, pp. 14-15).

2.4.3. ITEM-CLASS PERFORMANCE EVALUATION

Having identified the appropriate latent class models with which to analyze our data, we consider the predictive power of each operationalizing characteristic, i.e., how effectively each characteristic identifies HBV as a unique form of violence. We base our evaluation on the performance of the item-class relationship. Masyn (2013) identifies the strength of the relationship according to two criteria: (1) item endorsement, measured by a predicted probability of less than 0.3 or greater than 0.7 for binary variables; and (2) class separation, measured by an odds ratio of below 0.2 or above 5. We use each of the three datasets – case, victim, and perpetrator – to test each characteristic by the performance of its indicator item(s) (e.g., victim sex, victim-perpetrator relationship).

We consider a total of 16 indicator items and three aggregated items to test the five operationalizing characteristics. For the gender violence characteristic, we consider the "female" victim sex indicator and the "male" perpetrator sex indicator. We test the family violence characteristic using a combined "natal/extended family" victim-perpetrator relationship indicator and the "intimate partner" victim-perpetrator indicator. For the honor culture characteristic, we consider each individual honor culture (Central Asia, Latin America, MENA, and South Asia) as well as an aggregated "honor culture" for both the victim region and perpetrator region indicators. We test the honor motive characteristic similarly, using the combined "sexual impropriety" and "female disobedience" motive indicators, as well as an aggregated "honor" motive. For the collectivity characteristic, we consider the "yes" multiple perpetrator indicator and the combined "other" victim-perpetrator relationship indicator.

Table 2.4 displays the predicted probabilities and odds ratios for each characteristic and indicator item in the case dataset for the two-class model with covariates. We discuss each of the five operationalizing characteristics (gender, familial perpetrators, culture, event triggers and motivation, and collectivity of violence) in turn.

2.4.3.1. Gender Violence

The large number of male victims in the combined database indicates that honor crimes are not a gendered crime, a fact that is reinforced by the latent class analysis. For the gender violence characteristic, both the HBV (estimated class size 0.456) and IPV classes (estimated class size 0.544) of the case dataset strongly and positively endorse the "female" victim sex indicator (0.9 and 1.0 predicted probabilities, respectively) and the "male" perpetrator sex indicator (0.91 and 1.0 predicted probabilities, respectively), as do both classes of the perpetrator dataset (estimated class sizes 0.594 and 0.406, respectively). Only in the HBV class of victim dataset (estimated class size 0.594) is the female victim sex indicator not endorsed (0.54 predicted probability). However, the HBV classes from all three datasets perform similarly in comparison to their respective IPV classes, with odds ratios (OR) of 0.0-0.03 for both the victim and perpetrator sex indicators. Odds ratios

Table 2.4. Predicted Probabilities and Odds Ratios by Operationalizing Characteristics – Honor vs. IPV Classes

	Honor Case Class	**Honor Victim Class**	**Honor Perp. Class**	**IPV Classes**	**Honor-IPV Cases**	**Honor-IPV Victims**	**Honor-IPV Perps.**
Est. class size	0.456	0.594	0.619	0.328-0.544	-	-	-
Gender Violence							
		Predicted Probability				*Odds Ratio*	
Female victim	**0.9**	0.54	**0.88**	**1.0**	*0.03*	*0.0*	*0.01*
Male perp.	**0.91**	**0.93**	**0.88**	**1.0**	*0.01*	*0.01*	*0.01*
Family Violence							
		Predicted Probability				*Odds Ratio*	
Familial perp.	**0.88**	0.52	0.68	*0.0*	**1552.96**	**107.36**	**2094.34**
Intimate partner perp.	*0.07*	*0.08*	*0.1*	**0.98**	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*
Honor Culture							
		Predicted Probability				*Odds Ratio*	
C. Asian victim	0.38	0.31	*0.27*	0.45	0.72	0.69	0.43
L. America victim	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	4.52	1.0	0.23
MENA victim	*0.29*	*0.17*	0.44	*0.09*	4.14	1.89	**9.56**
S. Asia victim	*0.26*	0.34	*0.22*	*0.1*	3.07	3.4	**5.07**
Victim honor culture (agg.)	**0.93**	**0.83**	**0.93**	0.64	**6.89**	1.3	**9.04**
C. Asian perp.	0.39	0.38	*0.28*	0.59	0.44	0.64	0.29
L. America perp.	*0.0*	*0.01*	*0.01*	*0.0*	1.25	1.0	0.7
MENA perp.	0.3	*0.19*	0.43	*0.16*	2.21	1.19	3.68
S. Asia perp.	*0.24*	0.33	*0.21*	*0.1*	2.79	3.3	2.73
Perp. honor culture (agg.)	**0.93**	**0.91**	**0.75**	**0.86**	2.27	1.05	0.56
Honor Motive							
		Predicted Probability				*Odds Ratio*	
Sexual impropriety	0.64	0.55	0.62	*0.16*	**9.86**	**9.15**	**13.59**
Female disobedience	*0.21*	*0.1*	*0.12*	*0.07*	3.47	1.35	1.53
Honor Motive (agg.)	**0.86**	0.66	**0.74**	*0.23*	**20.3**	**7.7**	**12.16**
Collectivity							
		Predicted Probability				*Odds Ratio*	
Multiple perp.	0.44	0.42	**0.73**	*0.08*	**8.81**	**12.62**	**12.04**
Community/ Other perp.	*0.05*	*0.2*	*0.16*	*0.01*	4.0	**251.01**	**187.94**

Bold denotes strong positive item endorsement (predicted probabilities) or significant class separation in favor of honor class (odds ratios).
Italic denotes strong negative item endorsement (predicted probabilities) or significant class separation in favor of IPV class (odds ratios).

below 1.0 indicate that the class separation essentially "favors" the IPV classes, meaning that only the IPV classes can be identified on the basis of either victim or perpetrator sex. In fact, the IPV class is 30 times more likely to feature a female victim than the HBV class, and 97 times more likely to feature a male perpetrator. We thus do not consider either gender violence indicator to be a strong class separator in favor of the class of HBV cases.

2.4.3.2. Familial Violence

While research with survivors of honor crimes sadly finds high rates of comorbidity between honor-based violence and intimate partner violence (Dyer, 2015b; Swegman, 2016), none of the HBV classes in any of the three datasets positively endorses the "intimate partner" victim-perpetrator relationship indicator (0.07, 0.08, and 0.1 predicted probabilities, respectively), while all IPV classes positively endorse this indicator (0.98 predicted probability). Furthermore, the "intimate partner" relationship provides strong class separation in all the datasets (OR 0.0), making it strongly predictive of murders by intimate partner, but not honor killings; the IPV classes are 728 times more likely to feature an intimate partner victim-perpetrator relationship than the HBV classes.

Somewhat surprisingly, violence committed by the intimate partner's family – provided it is not part of what Payton (2014) terms a "partner-centered collective", meaning a group of perpetrators led by the intimate partner – is also a form of HBV. Additionally, only the HBV class in the case dataset positively endorses the "natal/extended family" victim-perpetrator relationship (0.88 predicted probability); neither the HBV class in the victim dataset nor the perpetrator dataset endorse this indicator. However, as the IPV classes negatively endorse the familial perpetrator indicator (0.0 predicted probability), a familial victim-perpetrator relationship is thus a strong class separator in favor of the HBV classes, with HBV classes 107-2094 times more likely to feature a familial perpetrator. We interpret a familial relationship to be a strong class separator for HBV cases, but not an intimate partner relationship.

2.4.3.3. Honor as Culture

No class of any dataset positively endorses any individual honor culture for either the victim or perpetrator region indicators, although the Latin American, MENA, and South Asian honor cultures are negatively endorsed for both indicators (see Table 2.4). This is likely due to the low number of both victims and perpetrators represented in the data from these cultures. Furthermore, the individual honor cultures provide limited class separation – only in the perpetrator dataset is the HBV class separated from the IPV class for the MENA and South Asian victim ethnicity indicator (OR 9.56 and 5.07, respectively). However, the HBV classes positively endorses the aggregated "honor culture" victim and perpetrator region indicators. The victim region "honor culture" indicator provides class separation in favor of the HBV class in the case and perpetrator datasets (OR 6.89 and 9.04, respectively). The perpetrator region "honor culture" indicator is also positively endorsed by the IPV class (0.86 predicted probability) and thus does not separate the classes in any dataset.

2.4.3.4. Honor as Motive

For the honor motive characteristic, surprisingly, the none of the HBV classes positively endorse either the "sexual impropriety" or the "female disobedience" motive (Table 2.4), although the HBV classes in the case and perpetrator datasets do positively endorse the aggregated "honor" motive (0.86 and 0.74 predicted probabilities, respectively). The IPV class of cases negatively endorses both motives, as well as the aggregated "honor" motive (0.16, 0.07, and 0.23 predicted probabilities, respectively). Still, both the "sexual impropriety" and the aggregated "honor" motive are strong

class separators in favor of the HBV classes, with odds ratios of 9.15-13.59 and 7.7-20.3, respectively. Because of the strong class separation in all datasets, we consider honor motives to be a valid indicator of honor crimes. We note, however that many of the cases in the combined database – despite their inclusion on the basis of a claimed honor motivation – are in fact cases of intimate partner murders. Claimed honor motives are used as the primary inclusion criteria in five of the eight source lists from Canada, Germany, and the US; these lists contribute the highest percentages of intimate partner violence cases, almost all of which occurred following the breakup of the relationship, i.e., for reasons of "separation". Oberwittler and Kasselt (2011), the authors of list DE1, noted that as many as (74.4%) of the cases in their list may not be true honor killings but were included due to the perpetrators' invocations of honor, regardless of the validity, i.e., reputational aspects, of the motive.[21]

We therefore argue that not all honor motives are created equal, i.e., only motives stemming from a violation of or in protection of the reputation of an individual or family, are valid honor motives. Moreover, researchers and practitioners must investigate these motives themselves, rather than simply relying on the claim of honor, which may be false, erroneous, or even missing. It is likely that the database excludes cases in which the perpetrator(s) do not reference honor, but have nevertheless acted to punish moral deviancy[22].

2.4.3.5. Collective Violence

For the final characteristic of collectivity, only the HBV class in the perpetrator dataset positively endorses either multiple perpetrators, while none of the classes in any dataset positively endorse the "other" victim-perpetrator relationship; the HBV classes negatively endorses the "other" relationship (0.05, 0.2, and 0.16 predicted probabilities, respectively), while the IPV class negatively endorses both multiple perpetrators and the "other" relationship (0.08 and 0.01 predicted probabilities, respectively). Still, multiple perpetrators do provide class separation in favor of the HBV class, with an odds ratio of 8.8. Furthermore, the presence of other perpetrators – including members of the intimate partner's family – is a strong class separator in the victim and perpetrator datasets. We interpret these findings as evidence honor crimes are a form of collective punishment, and may be carried out by multiple familial perpetrators and/or by members of the broader community.

[21] It is worth reiterating Ermers' (2018) argument that rejection by an intimate partner does not diminish one's reputation, and thus does not constitute an honor motive. However, it does appear that leaving a marriage may be considered dishonorable within some families. We see that a small number of honor killings (10.3%) are committed due to a victim separating from an intimate partner, nearly as many as are committed for rape or pregnancy out of wedlock (11.2%).

[22] One example of a possible case is that of the US man who killed his son after the son confessed to sexually assaulting the boy's three-year old sister. Witnesses described the man as forcing the son to strip naked and then "frog march[ing]" him to a field, where the man shot the boy in the head (Pilkington, 2009).

2.5. RECONSIDERING HONOR CRIMES

2.5.1. INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE

The latent class analysis supports the findings of honor killings, and by extension, honor crimes, as both a type of family and collective violence. We additionally find support for honor as a motive for these crimes, which, in combination with other indicators, such as the victim-perpetrator relationship, further strengthens our proposal that honor crimes warrant clear definition and distinction from cases of interpersonal violence.

The class type and item-agreement analysis of the combined database allows us to draw several conclusions:

1. Honor crimes are a non-gendered crime;
2. Honor crimes are not intimate partner violence;
3. Membership in an honor culture is not a valid indicator of honor crimes;
4. Not all honor motivations are valid indicators of honor crimes;
5. Honor crimes are both familial and collective violence.

2.5.2. REVISING AND OPERATIONALIZING THE DEFINITION OF HONOR CRIMES

Our findings suggest the following changes are warranted as they relate to key characteristics of the definition of honor killings, and by extension, other honor crimes: (1) remove references to gender of either victims and perpetrators; alternatively, following the best practices suggested by Walker and Gavin (2011), making explicit reference to the non-gendered nature of honor killings; (2) remove references to honor cultures or make explicit that honor killings are culturally and religiously neutral crimes; (3) clarify what is considered an honor motive. We additionally note that honor killings, as opposed to non-fatal honor crimes, are more likely to be motivated by victims' relationships and behaviors that have been deemed by others as inappropriate and/or morally deviant. Statements from survivors of non-fatal honor crimes indicate that if they change their behavior or act in a way to conceal any reputational harm (such as agreeing to marry), then this may mollify their relatives to some degree (Sen, 2005; Dyer, 2015b; Cooney, 2019). While this information is of lesser consequence to researchers who examine crimes after the fact, it is of vital importance to law enforcement officials and victims' services providers.

2.5.2.1. Revised Definition of Honor Crimes

Our proposed definition is thus:

> *An honor crime is an act of violence committed with the intent to prevent, conceal, or punish an act of deviance (e.g., behavioral, sexual, moral) that is perceived to bring potential harm to an individual's or family's reputation.*

- An individual's honor may be threatened if s/he has performed a morally deviant act (or acted in a way that could be interpreted/gossiped about as such);

- A family's honor may be threatened if it appears to permit or condone either a member's shameful act (by not punishing her/him) or fails to punish an individual who harmed a member (such as a rapist);
- In some cases, a perpetrator may be a member of the broader community to punish an individual or a family for perceived deviancy or support of deviant acts;
- Men and women may be both victims and perpetrators, and honor crimes may occur across all cultures, ethnicities, and religions;
- Honor crimes are more likely to become fatal if attempts to prevent or conceal the honor violation (e.g., via forced marriage or abortion) are unsuccessful and thus the honor violation becomes publicly known.

2.5.2.2. Revised Operationalization of Honor Crimes

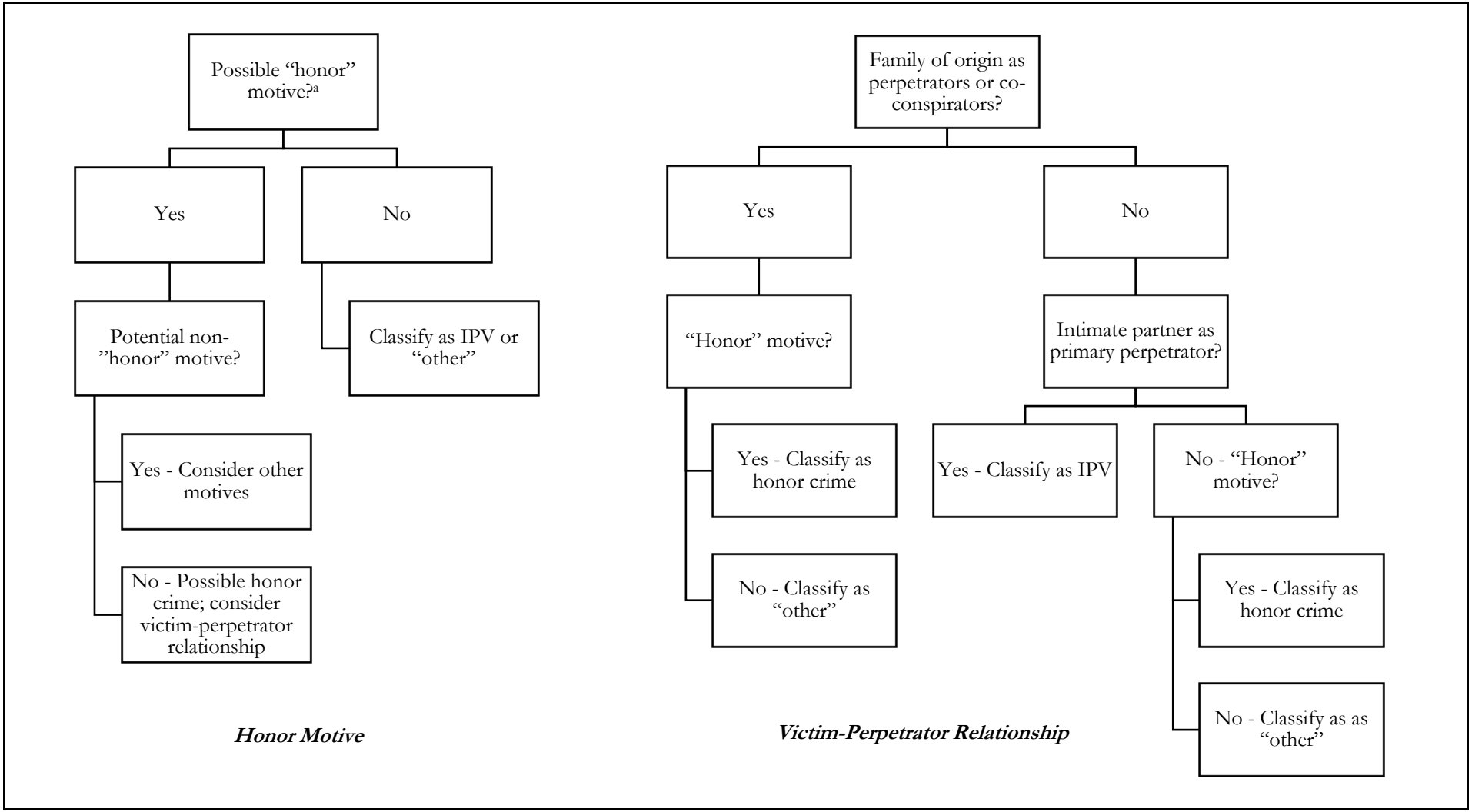
We apply our definition to the evaluation of the cases in the combined database using parallel, multi-step processes as illustrated in Figure 2.2. We consider first if a case has a claimed honor motive. Reiterating our finding that not all claimed honor motives are valid indicators of honor crimes and that not all possible honor crime involve a claim of honor (see also Janssen, 2018), we consider only those that are for perceived sexual impropriety – such as pre-marital or extra-marital relationships, homosexuality, and rape – or moral deviancy – such as failing to conform to gender norms of female or youth obedience. Without such a motive, we conclude that a case is not one of honor-based violence. However, even if a possible honor motive exists, we argue that investigators should still consider other potential motives, as claims of honor have also been used to cover up financial crimes (see for instance, Amnesty International (1999)). If the honor motive is the primary motive, we then consider the victim-perpetrator relationship.

Keeping in mind that some honor crimes, like honor killings, may include intimate partners as a perpetrator, we first ask if members of the natal or extended family of the primary target are involved as perpetrators or co-conspirators. However, the primary target may not always be the victim with the closest relationship to the perpetrator, depending on the actual motive for the attack. We do not consider children below the age of 10 years to be primary targets.

If the victim's family is involved, we then screen for a motive of perceived sexual or moral deviancy, such as sexual impropriety and inappropriate behavior, including acts of disobedience. These cases are coded as honor killings. We also include in our screening the small number of cases of family members killing those who have harmed – by rape or abuse – their family members. As examples, we provide the following case descriptions for the database:

1. A man in Germany killed his nephew after the nephew raped the man's daughter. The man also killed his brother and sister-in-law – the nephew's parents – for their support of and failure to punish the nephew (Case DE2001-43);
2. A woman in Germany had her son-in-law kill her daughter – the man's wife – for divorcing him (Case DE2000-033).

We set aside cases of "other" or unknown motives at this stage.



[a] Investigators must consider whether the perpetrator intends protect an individual or a family's reputation through the prevention, concealment, or punishment of an act of deviance, rather than if the perpetrator claims that they are motived by honor, or references the term "honor".

Figure 2.2. Operationalization Process, Revised Definition

If the intimate partner of the primary victim is the perpetrator with the closest relationship and does not appear to have support in commission of the crime from the victim's family of origin, we code the case as intimate partner murder, regardless of motive. Example cases include:

1. A man in the US killed his wife for making a lentil, rather than goat dish for dinner. He justified the murder by saying he needed to discipline his wife for her disobedient behavior (Case US2011-027);
2. A man in the US killed his ex-wife and their four children after the wife and children moved away to escape his violent behavior (Case US2006-030).

For cases with all other victim-perpetrator relationships, including members of the intimate partner's family that act without the support of the intimate partner, or members of the wider community, we screen for a motive of perceived moral deviancy. These cases are coded as honor killings. Example cases include:

1. A man in the UK was beaten to death by six members of the community because they believed his son was in an inter-religious relationship (Case OE2004-023).
2. A young woman in Iraq was stoned to death by members of the community for her relationship with a man from another religious group (Case HC2007-034).

We code the remaining cases as "other." This operationalization process yields three categories of cases: honor killings, intimate partner murders, and "other". Each author independently coded all cases from the Canadian and US lists, and the 108 cases from Germany between the years of 1996-2005. The first author coded the remaining cases. The authors disagreed on the initial coding of two cases, for an overall Cohen's kappa of 0.98. The disposition of these two cases were resolved through discussion. In total, in our database, we find 212 cases of honor killings, 293 cases of intimate partner murders, and six "other" cases.

2.6. CONCLUSION

While most definitions of honor-based violence share similar criteria or characteristics, these definitions are not operationalized in the same way, leading to inconsistencies in the reporting of related crimes, as researchers and practitioners implement ad hoc operationalizations. These operationalizations are often informed by stereotypes which emphasize only particular features of honor crimes, such as violence against female victims targeted by male family members for violations of traditional patriarchal values of female purity and strict gender norms (Sen, 2005; Gill, 2011; Qassis-Jaraysah, 2011; Wiseman, 2012; Sev'er, 2013; Helba et al., 2015; Shankar et al., 2017).

This in turn creates a vicious cycle as media and police reports of honor crimes are dominated by victims and perpetrators from ethnic communities, or perpetrators who claim an honor violation, regardless of the underlying motive (Korteweg and Yurdakal, 2010; Bredal, 2014; Shier and Shor, 2016). This results in complications for the production of statistics for epidemiological or criminological purposes, such as intervention and policing, as law enforcement officials and victim services providers are presented with inadequate or inaccurate information, resources, and policy proposals.

For this paper, we compiled a database of 511 suspected honor killing cases using available lists from several European, Middle Eastern, North American, and South Asian countries. While not the first cross-national database of honor killings (Chesler, 2010; Churchill, 2018), this database is unique in both its size and level of detail. The large sample size allowed us to use latent class analysis (LCA) to test the most common operationalizing characteristics of honor crimes for their ability to accurately and reliably identify honor crimes. Using this information, we were then able to develop a revised definition and operationalization of honor crimes, which clearly distinguish honor crimes from other forms of violence, regardless of the sex, culture, religion, or race of either the victim or perpetrator.

By making the definition culturally neutral and clarifying acceptable honor motives, we hope to reduce the stigmatization of certain communities and also expand the definition of honor killings to include murders committed in other communities. "Honor culture" is too often operationalized to mean "Muslim" or Middle Eastern, despite the inclusion of North American and European communities. Expanding the definition in this way would capture additional cases or other forms of honor-based violence.

Furthermore, we believe that our analysis of honor killings is generalizable to most non-fatal honor crimes for three reasons:

1. Non-fatal honor crimes and honor killings do not appear to differ on the basis of the operationalizing characteristics to be examined, e.g., membership in honor cultures, honor motives (Dyer, 2015a; Dyer, 2015b; Bates, 2017; Aplin, 2019);
2. Both non-fatal honor crimes and honor killings present the same risk factors for increased likelihood of fatal violence as found in other studies of femicide such as affective bonds, coercive control, and external factors such as negative news or rumors or perceived social and economic threats to the individual or family (Kelly and Johnson, 2008; Belfrage et al., 2011; Bond, 2012; Bond, 2014; Zara and Gino, 2018);
3. The most readily apparent mitigating factor in cases of non-fatal violence is whether or not the targeted victim ultimately changes their behavior, either through compliance or escape (Sen, 2005; Brandon and Hafez, 2008; Dyer, 2015b; Cooney, 2019)[23].

Improving the accuracy of case identification is crucial to the safety of victims, as research has demonstrated that cases of suspected HBV are higher risk cases than those of intimate partner violence (Belfrage et al., 2011). Furthermore, when untrained police or service providers respond to HBV as if it were domestic violence, they can exacerbate the violence exponentially such as in the Banaz Mahmod case in the United Kingdom and the Shafia murders in Canada (Payton, 2011; Olwan, 2014). We contribute to the field by creating a clear process for case identification based on quantitative empirical research which may be easily implemented by law enforcement officials and victim services providers alike.

[23] It should be noted that escape does not eliminate the risk of fatal violence, as perpetrators will continue to hunt the victim(s) to ensure they are punished (Belfrage et al., 2011; Dyer, 2015b; Churchill, 2018).

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3. INVESTIGATING HONOR: IDENTIFYING VICTIM TYPES AND RISK FACTORS TO IMPROVE HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE CASE MANAGEMENT

ABSTRACT

Previous research has found that law enforcement officials and victims' services providers often fail to recognize or properly assess the danger of honor-based violence to victims, and may even exacerbate that danger as a result of their (in)action. This paper seeks to strengthen the evidentiary basis for honor-based violence case management and response by identifying and describing a fuller range of likely honor-based violence victim types to improve professionals' ability to recognize victims. We do so by applying latent class analysis to a dataset of 211 honor killings from around the world. We identify three unique types of victims: (1) intimate partners killed for their relationship; (2) women, typically under the age of 25, killed for behavior deemed inappropriate or disobedient; and (3) men killed for their own disobedient behavior or in revenge. We additionally discuss risk factors associated with each of these victim types, and provide recommendations for law enforcement and victims' services providers to better inform case management and safeguard victims.

Banaz Mahmod

> *December 2005 – Banaz Mahmod informs the British police that her family intends to kill her for fleeing her abusive forced marriage and beginning a relationship with Rahmat Sulemani. Several weeks later, Banaz's father attempts to kill her. She escapes through a window and makes a video statement from the hospital. She is interviewed by a police officer who dismisses her account as fantasy and decides to charge her with criminal damages for breaking the window.*
>
> *January 2006 – Banaz's family attempts to kidnap Rahmat. After reporting the attempt, Banaz herself is kidnapped, tortured, and killed by five men, including her father and uncle. Her video recorded statement is used to convict her murderers (BBC, 2010).*

Zainab, Sahar, and Geeti Shafia

> *May 2008 – Sahar Shafia reports repeated incidents of honor-based violence against her and two of her sisters to her school and Quebec's child welfare agency.*
>
> *June 2009 – Sahar, her older sister Zainab, her younger sister Geeti, and their father's first wife, Rona Amir Mohammed, are murdered by their father, mother, and brother, after multiple home visits from both child welfare services and police. During the murder investigation, it became evident that at least two younger siblings were used as informants by their parents and older brother (Friscolanti, 2016).*

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Banaz's and Sahar's, Zainab's and Geeti's stories, outlined above, demonstrate to chilling effect the dangers that victims of honor-based violence (HBV), i.e., violence or abuse motivated by perceived violations of an individual's or family's honor (Chapter 2, this dissertation), face, not only from their own families, but far too often from ignorant or negligent police officers and victims' services providers (BBC, 2010; Friscolanti, 2016). In both cases, the victims were keenly aware of the risks to their own lives and those of their loved ones, be they boyfriends or sisters.

And yet, despite multiple attempts to express their fear and seek protection, these young women were ultimately murdered.

Shockingly, these cases cannot be considered rare or isolated incidents of official negligence. An increasing number of studies[24] (HMIC, 2015; Aplin, 2019; Idriss, 2020a) have found that official responses to HBV victims and the risks they face are inadequate, because (1) police and victims' services providers do not recognize HBV when they encounter it; (2) they minimize the danger by dismissing victims as overreacting; or (3) they respond in a way that exacerbates the danger to victims.

3.1.1 FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE

According to Reddy (2014), a common understanding of an honor killing is a murder in which a female victim is targeted by one or more male family members for reasons of "honor", often operationalized as religious or cultural gender norms (Chapter 2, this dissertation). As a result, HBV is often erroneously understood to be practiced predominantly by those from Muslim or Arab communities (Ermers, 2018). This misperception is exacerbated by news articles, websites[25], and statements from perpetrators themselves, who may claim culture as a defense (Cohan, 2009; Freed and Leach, 2012). Shier and Shor (2016), in their study of murders labeled as honor killings by the Canadian press, found that in cases that did not conform to the stereotype were often misclassified.

Such cases include those in which men are the primary victim. Idriss (2020a) argues that men remain a "hidden and marginalized group of victims" as a result of the perception that men are only perpetrators, rather than also victims of HBV (p. 7). Men's fears of victimization are thus both often ignored and resisted by police and the public (Samad, 2010) and victims' services providers (Idriss and Calverley, 2020).

3.1.2 DISMISSAL OF VICTIMS

As the Banaz Mahmod case makes clear, even in stereotypical cases of HBV, victims may not receive the support they need. Victims may be characterized as overreacting and their complaints dismissed without investigation:

> *"Honor-based issues [are] causing a seemingly normal, very clever young lady to try to kill herself rather than stay at home with what appears at first to be a very happy, clean household. The other children… all*

[24] The United Kingdom and the Netherlands are among the few countries that have implemented official, national policy responses to HBV, and have conducted reviews of those policies. Thus, examples of official responses are predominantly from these countries.

[25] Of the 63 honor killings specifically mentioned in the Wikipedia article on honor killings, 60 involve female victims and 61 involve individuals from the Middle East or South Asia. Of the eight cases involving male victims, two cases involve men killed for homosexuality, and one case is of a two-day old baby killed because he was born out of wedlock. The remaining five male victims were killed with their female intimate partners.

> *spoke freely to me and did not show the same unhappiness and reluctance to be there…"* (police log, quoted in Aplin, 2019, p. 70).
>
> *"It is my belief that the [victim] likes to 'flower up' the story for her own advantage and she simply will not do as she is asked by her parents or family…. I have no concerns at all for her safety and I believe that she is well cared for and looked after and that she fantasizes about incidents that have taken place."* (police log, quoted in Aplin, 2019, p. 82).

Male victims are even more in danger of discount; Idriss (2020a) argues that women "are constructed as the 'ideal' victim, but not men" (p. 12), with the result that police and victims' services providers may be reluctant to intervene on behalf of male victims. Idriss and Calverley (2020) report that when one shelter began to serve male victims of HBV, two members of its board resigned, while two counsellors refused to support male victims.

3.1.3 EXACERBATING THE DANGER

Finally, even when complaints are registered and investigated, some officers may side with the perpetrators:

> *"It's parents trying to instill a bit of discipline into the house-things like they [victims] want to go out with their friends. Parents are saying 'no, because it is dark, or it is late'"* (police officer, quoted in Aplin, 2019, p. 76);

thus implicitly or even explicitly condoning the abuse. Aplin (2019) found that lack of enforcement or deterrence may result in continued or even escalating abuse, and violations of protective orders.

Alternatively, police and victims' services providers may fail to properly assess the risk victims face:

> *"Because my in-laws were constantly saying, 'We are sending her back to India'... the police said, 'Oh if she's going back to India there is no risk then'..."* (victim, quoted in HMIC, 2015, p. 96).
>
> *"I told the police about his threats to attack me with acid. But they didn't take it seriously. They underestimated the level of his motivation to control and hurt me because of his motivation of 'honour'"* (victim, quoted in HMIC, 2015, p. 116).

Lack of proper risk assessment may also extend to failing to identify all possible victims, or all possible perpetrators. Reviews of police and victims' service providers' logs and case reports by both Bates (2017) and Aplin (2019) show that in most cases, only the complainant – or primary target in case of a third-party complainant – is logged as a potential victim. Yet as both the Mahmod and Shafia cases illustrate, other individuals may be at risk: Rahmat Sulemani, Banaz's boyfriend, was attacked by her family, and Rona Amir Mohammed, the Shafia sisters' stepmother, was killed for her support of the girls.

Furthermore, Aplin (2019) notes that professionals are often reluctant to implicate women as perpetrators, believing instead that mothers will "nurture and protect their children" (p. 308). In 12% of cases, even when a victim implicated their mothers as perpetrators, officers only recorded male perpetrators. As the Shafia case makes clear, women can and do act as instigators and

perpetrators, but failure to recognize women as perpetrators often results in the premature return of minors to their homes (Aplin 2019).

When professionals fail to properly assess the risk to victim, victims are left vulnerable. Victims – often reluctant to seek help or support to begin with – lose faith in police, which in turn leads to less care and safeguarding of victims at a time when victims face increased risk (HMIC, 2015; Aplin, 2019). By failing to deter perpetrators through enforcement, perpetrators are emboldened by police (Aplin, 2019). Inadequate or inappropriate intervention also may alert perpetrators that perceived acts or behaviors perceived as shameful are now public knowledge (Janssen, 2018). An example of a poorly conceived response is the case of Lareeb Khan (19 years) in Germany: despite being a legal, competent adult, after Lareeb was caught shoplifting condoms, police informed her parents, thus alerting them to the fact of her sexual relationship with her boyfriend. Lareeb was murdered by strangulation soon thereafter (Eleftheriou-Smith, 2015a).

The majority of these failures can be attributed to ignorance and inadequate tools, rather than actual malice (HMIC, 2015; Janssen, 2018). Regardless of intent, there are nevertheless often tragic consequences to these professional failures. The 2015 report *The Depths of Dishonour* by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary identified needs for improved guidance, training and resources in 12 of the 14 recommendations to policy makers and law enforcement officials at all levels.

This paper seeks to strengthen the evidentiary basis for HBV case management and response by identifying and describing a fuller range of likely HBV victim types to improve professionals' ability to recognize victims. As part of this process, we identify the characteristics of each type of victim that differ significantly from "typical" HBV victims and discuss how this information can be used to improve risk assessment and investigative checklists. We begin with an evaluation of the utility of existing typologies and checklists and identify a number of points of improvement. We then discuss the results of an analysis of a new dataset of 211 honor killings from around the world and present several recommendations for law enforcement officials and victims' services providers based on these findings.

3.2 ASSESSING HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE: THE STATE OF THE ART

Limited research and resources are available which discuss the identification and assessment of HBV, particularly by law enforcement and victims' services providers. To our knowledge, only two previous studies present typologies of HBV victims: Bates (2017) and Ermers (2018); neither addresses how these typologies may inform HBV case management or intervention. Furthermore, only three tools are commonly used for investigating honor crimes: (1) the Domestic Abuse, Stalking, and Harassment and Honour-based Violence Risk Identification and Assessment and Management Model (DASH); (2) the PATRIACH checklist, and (3), the checklist used by the Landelijk Expertise Centrum Eer Gerelateerd Geweld (National Expertise Center for Honor-Related Violence; LEC EGG). Each of these tools appears to be used only in their respective countries: the DASH in the United Kingdom, the PATRIACH in Sweden, and the LEC EGG

checklist in the Netherlands, and training in the use of the tools is proprietary and limited (Belfrage, 2005; Dash Risk Checklist, 2020).

3.2.1 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON VICTIM TYPOLOGIES

As noted above, many assume that HBV victims are strictly female, killed by male relatives, for reasons of "honor", which is often defined however the perpetrator, investigator, researcher, or journalist wishes, including the simple invocation of "honor" (Janssen, 2018), being of Middle Eastern or South Asian descent (Hellgren and Hobson, 2008; Gill, 2011, 2018; Qassis-Jaraysah, 2011) or a Muslim or Sikh (Chesler, 2009; Chesler and Bloom, 2012). However, while there is some basis in the data for these stereotypes, more recent research provides evidence of additional types of victims (see, for example, *Men, Masculinities and Honour-based Abuse*, Idriss' edited volume focused on male victims of HBV (2020b)).

3.2.1.1 Bates (2017) Typology of Non-fatal Honor Crimes

Bates (2017), in her dissertation, analyzed 1,474 case profiles of non-fatal honor crimes, as identified in the files of a police force, and three victims' services providers in England and Wales. She applied multinomial logistic regression analysis to identify three types of victims: (1) victims of intimate partner violence, which she acknowledges as not a type of HBV, meaning these cases were falsely included, (2) victims of family abuse, and (3), victims of both partner and familial abuse.

Type 2 cases typically indicate warning signs or triggers for forced marriages, including victims rejecting an arranged marriage, making a love choice, or coming out as homosexual[26]. These victims may be both female and male, although they are predominantly female. Type 3 victims are those abused by their in-laws, typically because the in-laws disapprove of the victim or are seeking revenge for abuse or divorce. These victims may also be both female and male, but are predominantly male.

Bates (2017) notes that triggers for HBV are gendered – men are more likely to be targeted for homosexuality, while women may be targeted for any relationship not approved of by the perpetrators. While women may be targeted by their own family for leaving a marriage, men more are likely to be targeted by their in-laws for "abandoning the marriage".

3.2.1.2 Ermers (2018) Typology of Honor Killings

Ermers (2018) introduces his typology of honor killings in his book, *Honor-related Violence: A New Social Psychological Perspective.* After an extensive review of literature and reports on HBV available in Arabic, Dutch, English, and Turkish, he qualitatively defines two types of victims based on their relationships to their killers.

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[26] Forced marriages may be used as "correctives" for homosexuality (Samad, 2010; Dutt, 2020).

Type 1 victims are killed by extrafamilial perpetrators typically to revenge rape or punish conduct of an in-law; in this latter aspect, Ermers' Type 1 victims are similar to Bates' Type 3 victims. Type 2 victims are killed by intrafamilial perpetrators to punish their perceived "sexual deviancy" such as adultery or "inappropriate" love choice or sexual relations (Ermers, 2018, 234).

3.2.2 VICTIM IDENTIFICATION AND RISK ASSESSMENT CHECKLISTS

Risk assessments and checklists are important tools in the investigation of HBV, particularly in cases where law enforcement officials or other professionals may have limited experience with such cases. We have identified three such checklists, one each from the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the two countries with the most advanced official policies with regard to HBV, and one from Sweden, which has also made progress in official responses to HBV since the murder of Fadime Şahindal in 2002 following her testimony to the Swedish Riksdag about her family's disapproval of her relationship with a Swedish man and their attempts to kill her (Wikan, 2008). Each checklist is discussed below, Appendix A1.1 provides a page view of each checklist.

3.2.2.1 DASH

The Domestic Abuse, Stalking, and Harassment and Honour-based Violence Risk Identification and Assessment and Management Model (DASH) was created by Richards (2009) on behalf of the Association of Chief Police Officers of England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. As the title indicates, it covers an array of interpersonal and family violence, although the focus is on domestic violence, particularly intimate partner violence (IPV). The "additional HBV risk questions" are found on page 6, after a single screening question ("Is there any other person who has threatened you or who you are afraid of?") with a note to consider extended family. Importantly, the additional HBV questions focus on risk factors for victims, such as truancy, self-harming behaviors, fear of forced marriage, and whether or not the victim is suspected of an illicit relationship, either pre-marital or extra-marital. The IPV portion of the DASH asks victims about fears for the safety of children and dependents (p. 3), but it is not clear based on instructions (p. 2) if any/all children should be included in the risk assessment, or only the children of victims. Law enforcement officials using the DASH then evaluate the risk to the victim as "Standard", "Medium", or "High".

3.2.2.2 PATRIARCH

The PATRIARCH checklist, developed by Belfrage (2005) for use in Sweden, is so named because it assesses the risk of "patriarchal violence", a reference to the risk associated with "patriarchal attitudes", i.e. "male proprietariness" (Kropp et al., 2010, p. 47). Users of the checklist are first asked for the case context, including possible triggers or forms of HBV and family hierarchy, and then assess the presence of risk factors – such as threat or escalation of violence or personal or cultural beliefs supporting HBV, including membership in an honor culture" – as well as "victim vulnerability factors" (pp. 3-4). Users then assess the likelihood for both imminent (acute) risk and risk of fatal violence if no intervention is taken and – importantly – if intervention is taken, thereby recognizing that inadequate or inappropriate intervention can increase the risk to victims.

3.2.2.3 LEC EGG

The Landelijk Expertise Centrum Eer Gerelateerd Geweld (National Expertise Center for Honor-Related Violence; LEC EGG) instituted a checklist for police officers responding to suspected cases of HBV. It is publicly available on the website of the Dutch national police, although it is only offered in Dutch. However, Janssen provides overviews of the checklist in several of her English-language books (Janssen, 2009; 2015). Unlike the DASH and the PATRIACH, the LEC EGG checklist is not an actual risk assessment. Instead, it is a detailed incident report which captures information on: (1) evidence of possible threats or damage to an individual or family's honor, (2) prior or related acts of violence, (3) extensive relationship charts with details of socioeconomic and ethnic and national background of all individuals involved. In likely cases of HBV, investigators are urged to consult with the LEC EGG for further guidance.

3.2.3 IMPROVING CASE MANAGEMENT AND RESPONSE

Both the typologies and risk checklists discussed above have many strengths, but unfortunately also several weaknesses. Both Bates (2017) and Ermers (2018) construct their typologies on the basis of the crucial characteristics of motive and victim-perpetrator relationship (Chapter 2, this dissertation). Both include victims beyond the stereotype: unlike many studies of HBV which often minimize male victims as "additional" victims, Bates (2017) and Ermers (2018) acknowledge men as primary victims in their own right. Additionally, Ermers (2018) acknowledges the possibility of victims killed for their support of the primary victim(s). However, Bates' (2017) typologies obscure her findings that triggers are often gendered. Ermers (2018) separates his types on the basis of intra- and extrafamilial relationships between victims and perpetrators, despite evidence that many cases may include both (Chapter 2, this dissertation). Furthermore, Ermers (2018) only focuses on perceived sexual impropriety; seemingly excluding individuals killed for other perceived honor violations, such as acting "too Western" or refusing a marriage.

With regard to the risk assessments and checklists, it is unclear what, if any, literature these assessments are based upon. The PATRIARCH and LEC EGG checklists both make references to cultural beliefs of honor – unfortunately often operationalized in racist or bigoted ways (Cohan, 2009; Bredal, 2014) – however, there is emerging evidence that culture is not indicative of HBV (Chapter 2, this dissertation). The DASH is predominantly focused on IPV, despite findings that IPV and HBV are different forms of violence (Bates, 2017; Chapter 2, this dissertation) and evidence that cases of suspected HBV are higher risk cases than those of IPV (Belfrage et al., 2011). Furthermore, only the LEC EGG appears to collect sufficient data on all possible additional perpetrators and victims, yet does not translate this information into a risk calculation. While the DASH does ask about children and dependents of the victim, it is not only these individuals but also victims' siblings and supportive older family members who may be at risk of HBV as well: three of the Shafia siblings, as well as their stepmother were killed for challenging their parents' authority. In a similar case in the United States, the sisters Amina and Sarah Said were likewise killed together (Schoetz, 2009).

We improve upon these existing tools in two ways: (1) by developing a unified typology of victims that builds upon the strengths of Bates' (2017) and Ermers' (2018) scholarship and addresses their weaknesses; and (2) by identifying relevant characteristics of each type that may be used to better inform risk calculations by law enforcement officials and victims' services providers. We do so by applying latent class analysis to a dataset of 211 honor killings from around the world. In the next section, we discuss case compilation and selection for the dataset used, then present our analysis plan.

3.3 OVERVIEW OF HONOR KILLING DATA

We analyze a dataset of honor killings developed previously (Chapters 1 and 2, this dissertation) as the basis for our analysis of honor killing victims and their characteristics. Analysis proceeds in three stages: first we conduct bivariate analysis on male and female victims to identify significant victim characteristics. Using these characteristics, we conduct latent class analysis to identify the appropriate number of victim types. We then identify characteristics which significantly affect victim type.

3.3.1 CASE COMPILATION AND SELECTION

To build the honor killing data set, we compiled multiple available lists of suspected honor killings that occurred between 1989-2014 in several European, Middle Eastern, North American, and South Asian countries. Six of these lists were from North American countries (three each from Canada and the United States; US); three were from Europe (two from Germany and one from other European countries); and one from several countries from so-called "honor cultures" in Central and South Asia and the Middle East/North Africa (MENA). The majority of the lists comprising the Canadian, German, and American samples are compiled from media reports of honor killings, although several lists also cite legal cases. The lists of cases from other European countries and from honor cultures were compiled following a systematic review of the literature on HBV in Google Scholar.

We coded all cases according to a standardized list of 21 variables which captured the most commonly available facts of each case, including the names, ages, sexes, and ethnicities of victims and perpetrators, the relationship between victims and perpetrators, and motive and method of attack. Each case is coded with a designated "primary" victim and perpetrator based on proximity of relationship, e.g., natal family, extended family. In cases where the closest victim-perpetrator dyad involved a child under the age of 10 years, we coded the primary victim as the next closed relationship dyad. In rare cases, the closest victim based on relationship proximity was not the intended target (such as in cases where a teenaged victim was killed by her father during an attack against her mother/his wife). In these cases, the intended victim was coded as the primary victim.

As the database contained multiple, overlapping lists each from Canada, Germany, and the US, these cases needed to be matched so that duplicates could be removed. All of the Canadian and

American lists included either the victim(s)' or the perpetrator(s)' names; matching these cases was thus a simple process. The German lists, however, could not be matched on the basis of name or event location. Both authors independently matched these cases according to nine criteria, using coarsened matching to adjust for possible errors in transcription and missing data. The cases identified in the "other European" and honor culture lists were unique, with no overlapping. Matching was therefore not required for these cases.

We then identified true cases of honor killings, defined as murders:

> *"committed with the intent to prevent, conceal, or punish an act of deviance (e.g., behavioral, sexual, moral) that is perceived to bring potential harm to an individual's or family's reputation"* (Chapter 2, p. 37, this dissertation).

by identifying the relationship between the primary victim(s) and perpetrator(s) and the event motive. Those cases in which a member of the victim's natal or extended family, or a member of the victim's community, murdered the victim for reasons of "sexual impropriety" or "moral deviance", were classified as honor killings, producing a subset of 211 cases. We focus our analysis on this subset of cases.

3.3.2 VICTIM TYPOLOGY AND RISK FACTOR IDENTIFICATION

We first conduct bivariate analysis of victims by victim sex (female/male) to identify significant victim characteristics, by which we mean variables which appear most significant in differentiating victims. We differentiate on the basis of victim sex, because as discussed above, male victims of HBV are often either ignored outright or "lumped in" with female victims; separating female from male victims allows us to test whether gender-neutral typologies are appropriate. Conducting the bivariate analysis also allows us to be more parsimonious in our latent class analysis model specification, rather than using the full set of 21 coded variables.

We next apply latent class analysis (LCA) to identify the appropriate number of victim types. LCA is a clustering technique that allows us to quantify degrees of similarity/dissimilarity of cases based on each characteristic and thus cluster individuals into "classes" based on heterogeneous response profiles (rather than homogenous response patterns), it can be considered a person-centered approach (Bergman and Magnusson, 1997; Collins and Lanza, 2010; Masyn, 2013). We use the poLCA R package[27] for the LCA (Linzer and Lewis, 2011) as it allows LCA with categorical variables. We fit a single model with the five indicator variables identified as significant in the descriptive statistics, as well as the presence of multiple victims or perpetrators per case (single or multiple). We additionally include two new variables that capture if any bystanders or supporters were killed and if the case involves any indirect victims, i.e., individuals whose presence or involvement with the victim may have provoked the event, but were not themselves killed (Oberwittler and Kasselt, 2011; Chapter 2, this dissertation). These variables allow us to capture

[27] R version 3.6.1 (2019-07-05) – "Action of the Toes"; poLCA version 1.4.1 (2014-01-09).

the scope of the risk by each type. We include country and year of event as covariates, and specify 1-*n* possible latent classes. We evaluate fit according to the lowest Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) statistics, the highest Maximum Log Likelihood (MLL), and the predicted class frequencies and interpretability of the latent classes (Masyn, 2013; Wetzel et al., 2016).

For the LCA we only use the subset of primary honor killing victims (330 total). These are the victims who are targeted directly for their perceived sexual impropriety or moral deviancy, and excludes those victims who provided support or were bystanders to the murder. This allows us to focus on victims whose actions trigger the honor killing.

3.4 UNDERSTANDING HONOR VICTIMS

3.4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE VICTIMS

Table 3.1 provides descriptive statistics for selected variables in the honor killing dataset. While the majority of victims are female, male victims account for nearly four out of every 10 victims (37.1%). Men are also predominantly the perpetrators of honor killings (88.6%), although at least 44 women were identified as perpetrators. While a slim majority (55.9%) of cases involve a single perpetrator, those killings with multiple perpetrators average nearly three perpetrators per case. The average number of victims in cases of multiple victims is slightly lower, with approximately two victims per case.

Table 3.1. Honor Killing Dataset – Descriptive Statistics

	Count	**Percentage**
Cases in Dataset	**211**	**100**
Single-victim Cases	75	35.5
Multi-victim Cases	136	64.5
Single-perpetrator Cases	118	55.9
Multi-perpetrator Cases	93	44.1
Victims in Dataset	**380**	**100**
Female Victims	238	62.6
Male Victims	141	37.1
Perpetrators in Dataset	**385**	**100**
Female Perpetrators	44	11.4
Male Perpetrators	341	88.6

Table 3.2 provides the results of the bivariate analysis of the primary victims of known sex. We find significant differences in the demographics of victims. Female victims are significantly ($p <$

0.05) younger than male victims, with over three-quarters of female victims younger than 25 years old, compared to only 42.1% of male victims. A plurality (47.4%) of male victims are 25-39; less

Table 3.2. Bivariate Analysis – Primary Victims

Victim Age	**Female**	**Male**	***p*-Values of X^2**
Age under 25 years	144	32	
Age 25-39	42	36	0.000
Age over 40 years	3	8	
Total	**189**	**76**	
Victim Ethnicity	**Female**	**Male**	***p*-Values of X^2**
Central Asia[a]	82	39	
East Asia/ Pacific	1	1	
Europe	17	26	
Middle East and North Africa	59	16	0.001
North America	2	3	
South Asia	51	26	
Total	**212**	**111**	
Victim-Victim Relationship[b]	**Female**	**Male**	***p*-Values of X^2**
Family	35	14	
Intimate Partner[c]	92	93	0.025
Friend/ Other	15	12	
Total	**142**	**119**	
Victim-Perpetrator Relationship	**Female**	**Male**	***p*-Values of X^2**
Natal Family	180	9	
Extended Family or Friend	15	12	
Intimate Partner[c] or Partner's family[d]	16	77	0.000
Other/ No relationship[e]	6	23	
Total	**217**	**121**	
Event Motive	**Female**	**Male**	***p*-Values of X^2**
"Sexual impropriety"[f]	140	113	
"Moral deviancy"[g]	72	8	0.000
Total	**212**	**121**	

[a] We follow the World Bank's designations of world regions, which places Turkey in Central Asia.
[b] Only includes individuals in cases of multiple victims.
[c] "Intimate partner" includes spouses, boyfriend/girlfriends, and ex-partners.
[d] "Partner's family" includes all family of intimate partners regardless of marital status.
[e] "Other" perpetrators include hitmen and community members.
[f] "Sexual impropriety" includes illicit relationships, adultery, pregnancy out of wedlock, and rape.
[g] "Moral deviancy" includes separating from or abusing a partner, acting "too Western", or refusing a marriage.

than a quarter (22.2%) of female victims fall into this age group. Older men are more likely to be victims than older women. Victims also differ in ethnicity, although this appears to be driven by the fact that female victims are significantly more likely to be of MENA descent (27.8%) than male victims (14.4%), while male victims are more likely to be of European descent (23.4% compared to 8.0% of female victims). This is likely due to victims targeted for their inter-ethnic relationships.

Additionally, we find gender differences between victims in the characteristics of cases. Female victims are significantly more likely to be killed both with and by their natal and extended family than are male victims; a quarter of female victims are killed with members of their family, compared to only 11.7% of male victims, while 89.9% of female victims are killed by members of their natal or extended family, compared to only 17.4% of male victims. Male victims are instead more likely to be killed by their intimate partner's family (63.6% of male victims; 7.4% of female victims) or members of the community (19.0% of male victims; 2.8% of female victims). We find no significant difference in the likelihood of female or male victims to be killed with either their intimate partner or a friend or other person. Finally, while female victims may be killed for either perceived sexual impropriety (66.0%) or moral deviancy (34.0%), male victims are almost exclusively killed for sexual impropriety (93.4%).

3.4.2 DESCRIPTION OF LATENT CLASSES

As we see in Table 3.3, no single model performs best according to all model fit indicators: the BIC selects the two-class model, with a class of men and a class of women. The MLL and AIC both select the four-class model, which indicates two classes of women, one killed for her relationship with another victim, and one killed for other perceived honor violations, and two classes of men, one killed for his relationship with another victim, and one killed for other perceived honor violations.

Table 3.3 Model Fit Indicators

	MLL	**AIC**	**BIC**	**Estimated class size**
Single class	-2928.807	5939.614	6095.377	330
Two classes	-2724.956	5619.912	5942.835*	209, 121
Three classes	**-2661.987**	**5581.973**	**6072.056**	**188, 103, 39**
Four classes	-2568.129*	5482.257*	6139.5	123, 97, 80, 30

Number of observations: 330; number of fully observed cases: 150

* denotes best model based on indicator; **bold** denotes final model selection.

We find, however, that the classes of male and female victims killed for their relationship are more similar in type to each other than they are to the other classes of victims, and thus combine them, as occurs in the three-class model. This model also features classes of female and male victims

killed for other honor violations. Therefore, we choose the three-class model, which performs only moderately worse than the two-class model according to the BIC, and substantially better according to the MLL and AIC. The four-class model only performs slightly better than the three-class model for the MLL and AIC indicators.

3.4.2.1 Class 1 Victims

The first class of victims – that of members of couples murdered together – are evenly divided between female and male individuals (Figure 3.1, first panel; also see Table A3.1.1). Unsurprisingly, these cases always include multiple victims, making it the largest class of victims (56.9%). While most victims in this class are under 25 (0.638 predicted probability), a little over a third of victims are older (0.362 predicted probability). Fewer than half these victims are of the same ethnicity or culture as their partner (0.458 predicted probability); this appears to be a contributing factor to the perceived inappropriateness of their relationship. This class of victims is most similar to Ermers' (2018) Type 2 victims, although perpetrators of these victims may have an extrafamilial relationship to one of the victims, i.e., the in-laws of one of the partners.

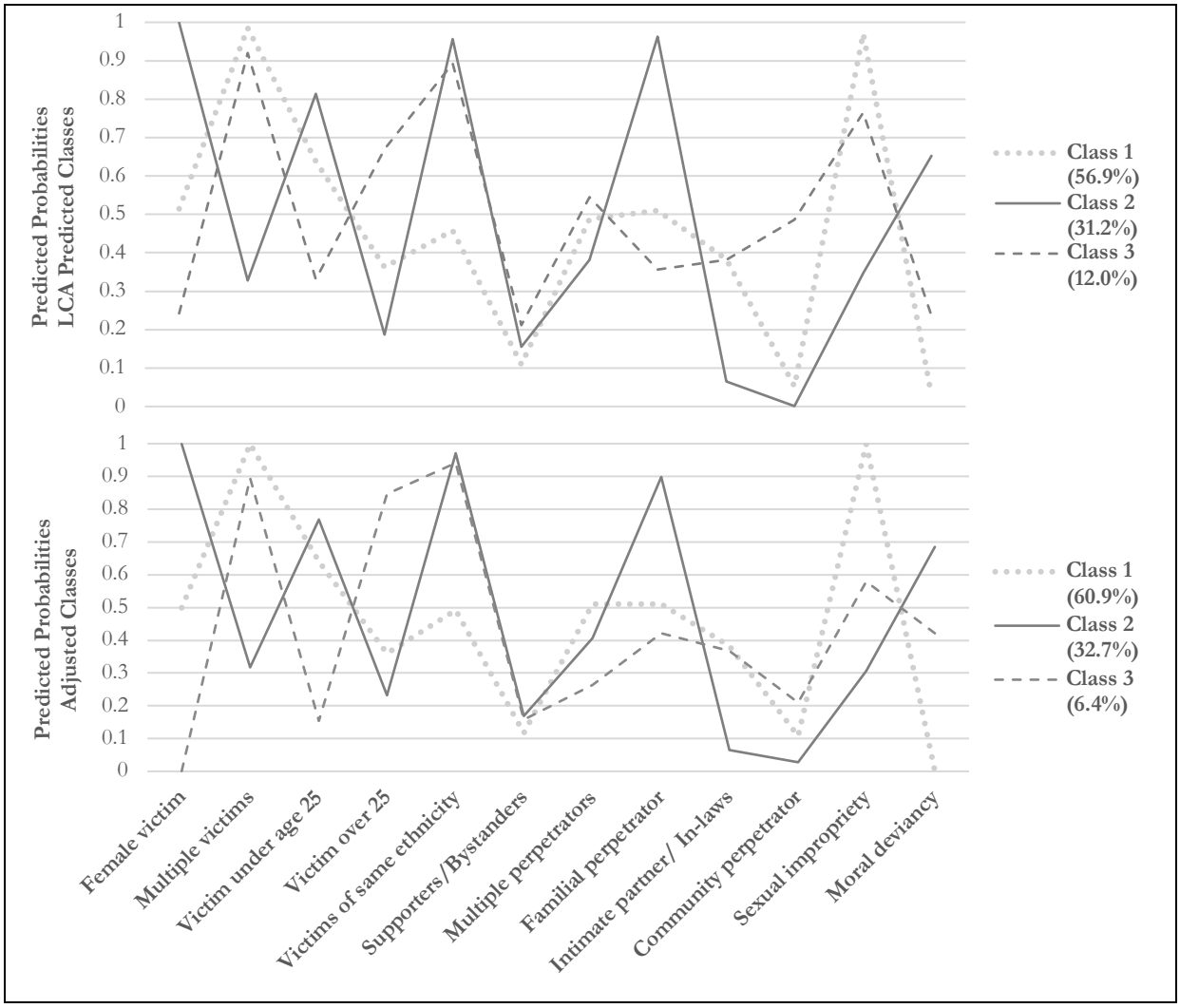

Figure 3.1. Predicted Probabilities of Selected Case Characteristics by Victim Type, LCA Classes vs. Recoded Classes

3.4.2.2 Class 2 Victims

Victims in the second class conform to the stereotypical characterization of an HBV victim, i.e., young female victims (0.814 predicted probability under age 25, 0.999 predicted probability of female; see Table A3.1.1) targeted by male family members (0.963 predicted probability) for their disobedience to honor norms (0.347 predicted probability of a motive of sexual impropriety, 0.653 predicted probability of a motive of moral deviancy; Korteweg and Yurdakal, 2010; Cooney, 2014). These victims are most similar to Bates' (2017) Type 2 cases, although this class of victims does not include any male victims (Figure 3.1, first panel).

3.4.2.3 Class 3 Victims

The third class of victims is predominantly, but not exclusively, male (0.242 predicted probability of female; Figure 3.1, first panel; see also Table A3.1.1). These victims are also more likely to be older than 25 (0.669 predicted probability) and less likely to be targeted by family members (0.356 predicted probability). These individuals appear to be a mixture of Bates' (2017) Types 2 and 3, and Ermers' (2018) Type 1 victims.

Interestingly, the LCA places 12 individuals – all members of couples – in the third class of victims, seemingly because they were attacked by individuals with whom they had no relationship. In all cases, the other member of the couple was placed in the first class of victims. An additional five individual members of couples are placed in the third class; these individuals were killed by their extended family members. In all cases, the other member of the couple was placed in the first class of victims. We thus recode these 17 individuals into the first class.

The LCA also places four individual female victims in the third class. All four women are atypical either because of the victim-perpetrator relationship or the event motive. Two women were killed by individuals with whom they have no relationship; these women are otherwise typical of the second class of victims: both under the age of 25 and killed for being "too Western". In the other two cases, one woman was killed for refusing a marriage, but she is older (32 years) than most victims killed for this reason. The other woman was killed by her husband and stepson for an "other" reason, specifically, for being infertile. We thus recode these four individuals into the second class.

The second panel of Figure 3.1 presents the predicted probabilities of these revised classes, compared to the probabilities of the classes predicted by the LCA. We see that the first class increases by 7.0% to 60.9% of the dataset, the second class increases by 4.8% to 32.7% of the dataset, and that the third class decreases by nearly one-half to 6.4% of the dataset. While combining the female victims in the second class and the male victims in the third class – as Bates (2017) does in both Type 2 and Type 3 – would increase the size of the remaining type of victim, we find that the class of male victims killed for other honor violations differs sufficiently from the class of female victims killed for other honor violations, and that combining these two classes would obscure important differences.

In addition to changing the sizes of the classes, adjusting the victim classes in this way removes all female victims from the third class, decreases the likelihood that victims in the third class will be

killed by multiple perpetrators, and decreases the probability that they will be killed by community members (see Table A3.1.2 and Figure A3.2.1). These adjustments also increase the probability that victims in the first and second classes will be killed by community members, as it was predominantly these victims that were recoded from the third class. Despite these somewhat substantial changes in victim class profiles, we believe these adjustments are necessary to make the victim typologies more intuitive and comprehensible. We thus refer to these adjusted classes, now identified as Type 1, 2, and 3, respectively, in our discussion of victim types in the next section.

3.4.3 SIGNIFICANT CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIM TYPES

In order to further understand each type of victim, particularly how the "atypical" Type 1 and 3 victims differ from the Type 2 victims, we compare the odds ratios of the victim types, using the same significant indicator variables as in the LCA, with Type 2 victims as our reference category. Table 3.4 presents both the odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals.

Table 3.4. Victim Type Odds Ratios and Confidence Intervals

	Type 1		**Type 3**	
Type 2 as reference	*Odds Ratio*	*95% Conf. Interval*	*Odds Ratio*	*95% Conf. Interval*
Multiple victims	**2144.91**	288.39 – 15952.60	**18.25**	3.99 – 83.5
Female victim	**0.00**	0.00 – 0.01	**0.00**	0.00 – 0.00
Victim age				
Victim under age 25	**0.54**	0.30 – 0.95	**0.06**	0.01 – 0.27
Victim age 25-39	1.65	0.92 – 2.96	**4.08**	1.24 – 13.41
Victim over 40	4.08	0.48 – 34.45	**43.56**	4.39 – 432.36
Victim-victim relationship				
Family	**0.03**	0.01 – 0.07	**0.17**	0.05 – 0.62
Intimate partner	**23.18**	8.88 – 60.54	3.15	0.85 – 11.67
Friends	1.33	0.29 – 6.05	4.77	0.78 – 29.34
Victims of same ethnicity	**0.03**	0.00 – 0.22	0.48	0.03 – 8.26
Supporters/Bystanders	0.66	0.34 – 1.28	0.93	0.24 – 3.52
Indirect victims	**4.67**	2.34 – 9.32	2.11	0.59 – 7.5
Multiple perpetrators	1.52	0.95 – 2.45	0.52	0.18 – 1.56
Victim-perpetrator relationship				
Familial perpetrator	**0.12**	0.06 – 0.23	**0.08**	0.03 – 0.25
Intimate partner/ In-laws	**8.93**	3.95 – 20.21	**8.42**	2.52 – 28.13
Community perpetrator	**4.23**	1.24 – 14.47	**9.33**	1.90 – 45.85
Event Motive				
"Sexual impropriety"	**2270.45**	305.12 – 16894.82	**3.13**	1.15 – 8.48
"Moral deviancy"	**0.00**	0.00 – 0.00	**0.33**	0.12 – 0.91

Bold indicates significant differences, i.e., 95% CI excludes 1, between the victim types.

We see that victim types differ significantly both with regard to demographic and case characteristics, and that these differences are of great importance for case management and response. Unsurprisingly, Type 1 and Type 3 victims are significantly less likely to be female than Type 1 victims (0.0 odds ratios), however, Type 1 and Type 3 victims are also older, with Type 3 victims nearly 44 times more likely to be over the age of 40 than Type 2 victims.

Both Type 1 and Type 3 victims are significantly more likely to be killed with other victims (2144.91 and 18.25 odds ratios, respectively). However, these other victims are significantly less likely to be members of the victim's family; in the case of Type 2 victims, these other victims are the intimate partner (23.18 odds ratio), thus indicating that both members of the couple are likely at risk of violence, although the significant odds of an "indirect victim" indicates that not all partners will be killed, even if they are targeted. Type 1 victims are also significantly less likely to be of the same ethnicity.

While the victim types do not appear to differ in the involvement of multiple perpetrators, both Type 1 and Type 3 victims are less likely to be killed by members of their natal or extended families (0.12 and 0.08 odds ratios, respectively). Instead, both victims of both types are significantly more likely to be killed by a former intimate partner or intimate partner's family (8.93 and 8.42 odds ratios, respectively) or by an individual with whom they have no relationship, typically a member of the community (4.23 and 9.33 odds ratios, respectively). This finding means that victims service providers and law enforcement will have to consider threats beyond the victim's family.

Finally, we see that both Type 1 and Type 3 victims are more likely to be killed for reasons of perceived sexual impropriety (2270.45 and 3.13 odds ratios, respectively) and less likely to be killed for reasons of perceived moral deviancy (0.0 and 0.33 odds ratios, respectively) than Type 2 victims. While this is to be expected with Type 1 victims – similarly to Ermers (2018), we categorize illicit relationships as a type of sexual impropriety – like Bates (2017), we understand the differences between Type 2 and Type 3 victims to result from differences in gender norms and how these affect triggers for HBV. In general, men are allowed a broader range of "acceptable" behavior than women, who are expected to be modest and act subserviently to their male family members (Payton, 2014; Churchill, 2018; Dutt, 2020). Men may also be less likely to refuse an arranged marriage, in part because they are less likely to be subjected to physical violence within the marriage (Dutt, 2020). However, men may be targeted for homosexual relationships (Bates, 2017; Dutt, 2020), which does not seem to be a common trigger for HBV against women.

To summarize, the latent class analysis identifies three classes of victims: a first class of victims killed with their significant other (Type 1) for the "impropriety" of their relationship, a second class of female victims (Type 2) killed for both perceived sexual impropriety and "moral deviance", and a third class of male victims (Type 3), also killed for sexual impropriety and moral deviancy. Only Type 2 victims are typically considered as victims of honor-based violence, yet we find that these victims comprise neither the largest class of victims (32.7%) nor cases (46.0%). Instead, the Type 1 victims are the largest class of victims (60.9%), in part due to the fact that both members are the couple are targeted, and in that in fact nearly four out of 10 cases, both partners are killed. However, the size of this type is not merely due to multiple victims; Type 1 victims also comprise

the plurality of HBV cases (47.4%). We also find a class of male victims; while Type 3 victims are much smaller in number, they should not be ignored.

3.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR CASE MANAGEMENT AND INTERVENTION

Previous studies (HMIC, 2015; Aplin 2019; Idriss, 2020a) found that official responses to HBV victims and the risks they face are inadequate. Law enforcement and victims' services providers may not recognize the full range of HBV, or may dismiss atypical victims – such as men – and thus fail to properly assess risk (HMIC, 2015; Aplin, 2019; Idriss, 2020a).

In a previous study (Chapter 2, this dissertation), we found that honor-based violence – including honor killings – occurs across cultures, ethnicities, and religions, and that both women and men may be victims of HBV, a finding confirmed in this paper. However, media and even investigatory tools, such as risk assessments, continue to direct the public and professionals' focus towards women of MENA and South Asian descent (Belfrage, 2005; Shier and Shor, 2016; LEC EGG, 2020). These gaps in knowledge and training have dangerous, even deadly, results (Wikan; 2008; Eleftheriou-Smith, 2015a; HMIC, 2015; Friscolanti, 2016).

In the next sections, we address these gaps by first providing exemplar cases of each type of victim identified in this study. We then provide several recommendations for law enforcement and victims' services providers, based on the findings from this study.

3.5.1 IMPROVING HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE CASE AND VICTIM IDENTIFICATION

We present a range of cases exemplifying each of the identified types, with victims varying in age, culture and ethnicity, and triggering behaviors. While we are not the first to present typologies of victims, we improve upon the previous research conducted by Bates (2017) and Ermers (2018) by developing a unified typology of victims. We believe that the typology presented in this study is more easily interpreted than either Bates' (2017) or Ermers' (2018) work. To support the interpretation of our typologies, we additionally provide a number of exemplary cases to support recognition of non-stereotypical cases and victims.

3.5.1.1 Type 1 Victims – Intimate Partners

Type 1 victims are killed for their relationships, which are deemed inappropriate in some way. As examples, members of couples have been murdered because they were of different ethnicities or cultures, because the relationship was considered incestuous (such as relationships within an exogamous unit), or because the relationship was adulterous. While both members of the couple are targeted, both members are killed in only about three out of 10 cases.

Banaz Mahmod (19 years), discussed in the introduction to this paper, is an example of such a case. While both Banaz and her boyfriend Rahmat were attacked, only Banaz was ultimately killed (BBC, 2010). In an example from the United States, Jeremy Lake (19 years) was murdered by his

girlfriend Lisa's (18 years) parents in Oklahoma. They also shot at Lisa, but missed her (Associated Press, 2010). Neither Jeremy, nor Lisa or her parents, are of MENA or South Asian descent.

In contrast stands the case of Manoj (23 years) and Babli (19 years), both murdered by members of Babli's family for marrying within the same gotra (lineage). The local khap panchayat (assembly of elders), had declared their marriage incestuous and ordered them to divorce (Singh, 2010).

3.5.1.2 Type 2 Victims – Individual Females

Type 2 victims may be targeted for either their perceived sexual impropriety – including being the victim of rape – as well as acts of "moral deviancy", such as leaving a marriage or acting "too Western." These victims are typically the sole victim, as in the cases of Rokstan M. (20 years) and Samia Sarwar (28 years). Rokstan was found buried in a shallow grave in 2015 in Dessau, Germany. Police believe she was murdered by her father and brothers in an honor killing orchestrated by her mother, because she had been gang-raped in Syria two year prior (Eleftheriou-Smith, 2015b). Samia was murdered in 1999 in her divorce lawyer's office in Lahore. Her mother and father hired a hitman to kill Samia for filing for divorce from her abusive husband; Samia's paternal uncle also participated (Goldenberg, 1999). Rokstan's and Samia's cases illustrate how victims of HBV are often victimized in multiple ways by both as the subjects of sexual and interpersonal violence, and of honor-based violence.

When other victims are present in cases with Type 2 victims, these victims are typically members of their own family who are killed for their support of the victim, or because they are also seen as "spoiled" by their interaction with the victim. Such was the case of case of Zainab (19 years), Sahar (17 years), and Geeti (13 years) Shafia, discussed in the introduction to this paper. The Shafia sisters were killed together for their disobedient and independent behavior, along with their stepmother with Rona Amir Mohammed (50 years), who supported the girls (Friscolanti, 2016).

3.5.1.3 Type 3 Victims – Individual Males

Type 3 victims, like Type 2 victims, may be targeted for both their perceived sexual impropriety or moral deviancy. However, the specific triggers for each motive may differ. Like women, men may be killed for the general reason of "rape", but in the case of men, they are typically the perpetrators, rather than the victims (Ermers, 2018; Chapter 2, this dissertation). One such example is that of Jamar Pinkney, Jr. (15 years) who was shot "execution style" by his father in Detroit in 2009 (Friedman, 2009). Jamar had allegedly molested his three-year old sister.

Men may also be killed for their mistreatment of partners, including abuse, divorce, or adultery, as in the case of Bilal Ikram (23 years), who was murdered in 2018 in Karachi. Police suspect the perpetrators were members of his fiancée's family due to his involvement with another woman (The Nation, 2018).

Men are more likely to be targeted for homosexual acts as well, as in the case of Ahmet Yildiz (26 years). Ahmet was murdered in 2008 in what has been called Turkey's "first" gay honor killing (Birch, 2008). According to witnesses, Ahmet's parents wanted him to "see a doctor who could cure him [of homosexuality], and get married" (Birch, 2008).

3.5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT AND VICTIMS' SERVICES PROVIDERS

We conclude our discussion of implications for case management and response with a number of recommendations for law enforcement and victims' services providers. These recommendations build upon the findings from our typologies of victims, by considering how each type of victim could be better identified and risk assessed. Ideally, these recommendations would be implemented alongside each departments' chosen risk assessment tool.

3.5.2.1 Recommendations for Supporting Type 1 Victims

For cases involving possible illicit relationships, identify and risk assess both intimate partners. Keep in mind that victims of these types are more likely to be attacked by members of their partner's family (if male) or by members of the broader community (both female and male partners).

3.5.2.2 Recommendations for Supporting Type 2 Victims

For cases involving individual women, identify any sympathetic or supportive relatives or even friends[28] who may be targeted in addition to the primary victim. These victims may also be doubly victimized, if they are targeted on the basis of rumors or experiencing sexual assault.

3.5.2.3 Recommendations for Supporting Type 3 Victims

Recognize men as possible victims; consider different triggers of violence. Where possible, increase the number of available beds in male shelters and refuges, particularly those that focus on LGBT men. While fewer men than women appear to be the victims of HBV, they require similar interventions and safeguarding as women (Bates, 2020; Dutt, 2020; Idriss, 2020a; Idriss and Calverly, 2020).

We summarize our findings and recommendations in Table 3.5.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Both female and male individuals of any age, culture, ethnicity, or religion may be at risk of honor-based violence, either as members of a couple targeted for their relationship, or as individuals targeted for other perceived honor violations (Chapter 2, this dissertation). While we find evidence that stereotypical cases of a female victim targeted by one or more male family members for reasons of "honor" are a common type of victim, many victims of HBV do not conform to this type. These victims are often thus ignored or misclassified by professionals (Samad, 2010; Shier and Shor, 2016; Idriss, 2020a).

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[28] Ali-Mahwood-Awad Irsan was convicted of killing his son-in-law Coty Beavers (28 years) and his daughter's friend Gelareh Bagherzade in 2012. Irsan was angry that his daughter, Nesreen, had married Coty, and believed that Gelarah had encouraged the couple. Irsan had previously killed another son-in-law, Amjad Alidam (29 years) for marrying Nesreen's sister Nasemah without permission (Richardson, 2019).

Table 3.5. Summary of Victim Types and Recommendations for Professionals

	Type 1 (Couples)	**Type 2 (Individual Female)**	**Type 3 (Individual Male)**
Population size	60.9% (victims) 47.4% (cases)	32.7% (victims) 46.0% (cases)	6.4% (victims) 3.3% (cases)
Victim sex	Female and Male	Female	Male
Median age	Female: 18-24 Male: 25-30	18-24	30-34
Triggering factor	Illicit relationships, Pregnancy out of wedlock	Rape, Leaving a marriage, Acting "too Western", Refusing a marriage	Rape, Homosexuality, Abusing a spouse, Refusing a marriage
Multiple victims	Yes	3 out of 10 cases	Yes
Victim relationship	Intimate partners	Family members	Family, friends
Multiple perpetrators	1 in 2 cases	4 out of 10 cases	4 out of 10 cases
Victim-perpetrator relationship	Female: Natal/ Ext. family Male: Partner's family Both: Community members	Natal/ Extended family	Natal/ Ext. family, Partner's family, Community
Exemplar cases	Banaz Mahmod & Rahmat Sulemani; Fadime Şahindal; Lareeb Khan; Jeremy Lake & Lisa Keplar; Manoj & Babli	Zainab, Sahar, & Geeti Shafia & Rona Ali Mohammed; Amina & Sarah Said; Rokstan M.; Samia Sarwar	Jamar Pinkney Jr.; Bilal Ikram; Ahmet Yildiz
Implications for professionals	Identify and risk assess both intimate partners	Identify and risk assess sympathetic family or friends	Recognize men as possible victims; consider different triggers of violence

In order to improve the identification of victims as well as case management and response, we develop a typology of victims. This typology improves upon previous typologies by identifying a wider range of possible victims, increased interpretability, and the provision of a number of exemplary cases. We conclude with several recommendations for law enforcement and victims' services providers regarding the appropriate risk assessment of each type of HBV victim.

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4. MISSING VICTIMS, HIDDEN CRIMES: IMPROVING ESTIMATES OF HONOR KILLINGS USING MISSING DATA IMPUTATION

ABSTRACT

Very little accurate data on the incidence and prevalence of honor killings exists. While some countries have made strides to identify and track cases on an ongoing basis, many countries either have no official statistics, or rely on outdated data and imprecise methodologies. As a result, most statistics on honor-based violence may be construed as inaccurate, with interpretation of their validity open to political and ideological biases. Yet without valid estimates of honor killings, policymakers and advocates cannot accurately evaluate the extent of the need for and potential efficacy of programs to reduce the incidence of these crimes, meaning victims may be inadequately safeguarded, with potentially fatal consequences.

In this paper, we suggest the use of statistical methods of missing case imputation such as multi-systems estimation (MSE). MSE has been demonstrated to provide scientifically valid estimates of missing populations. Here, we test the application of MSE to one type of honor crime – honor killings – in four countries: Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, by comparing estimates from MSE to counts of cases produced by aggregating multiple lists from each country. We find that MSE produces plausible estimates that demonstrate that even in seemingly complete lists of individuals or cases underestimate the scope of honor killings in these countries.

4.1. INTRODUCTION

So-called honor crimes – including crimes such as assault, blackmail, kidnapping, forced marriage[29], and in extreme cases, murder – committed in the defense of an individual's or family's moral reputation – came to the attention of authorities in Western Europe and North America in the 1980s through the efforts of minority feminist groups such as the Southall Black Sisters (Gupta, 2003; see also Chapter 1, this dissertation). Despite the explosion of academic and official interest in the intervening years, the incidence of honor crimes and their human cost remains unknown. Those statistics that do exist are often of dubious quality and sources, yet have acquired a patina of respectability through repetition. The most widely cited honor killing statistic – of 5000 victims a year worldwide – comes from the United Nations Population Fund (2000). Yet the source documents provide no discussion of the methodology or data used to arrive at this number, making it "little more than an informed guess" (Cooney, 2019, p. 7). The same is true for many country-level statistics. For example, in the United Kingdom, the police estimate of 10-12 honor killings a year is sourced from a statement made by Commander Andy Baker on 29 September, 2003, but the veracity of this number is unclear[30] (Brandon and Hafez, 2008).

[29] In some countries, particularly those that have officially defined honor crimes – such as the United Kingdom and the Netherland – forced marriage and female genital mutilation are considered forms of honor-based violence. "Honor-based violence" is a "umbrella term" used to capture "forms of violence other than murder that are motivated by perceived honour violations" (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2010; CPS, 2017).

[30] While the Crown Prosecution Services does publish an annual report on violence against women and girls that includes honor-based violence statistics, the total number of honor killings every year is not included (CPS, 2019).

As a result, most statistics on honor-based violence (HBV) may be construed as inaccurate, with interpretation of their validity open to political and ideological biases (Cooney, 2019). On the one hand, many feminists and human rights advocates believe that simple counts of honor crimes are too low, as cases may go unreported,[31] or may be miscategorized. Surprisingly, many conservative commentators also believe that HBV statistics are underreported by service agencies in order to avoid "cultural insensitiv[ity]" (McKay, 2015). On the other hand, estimates of honor crimes may be too high if they include false cases, such as intimate partner violence committed by individuals of Middle Eastern or South Asian ethnicity (Bates, 2020; Chapter 2, this dissertation).

Without valid estimates of honor killings, policymakers and advocates cannot accurately evaluate the extent of the need for and potential efficacy of programs to reduce the incidence of these crimes (Cooney, 2019). Law enforcement and service agencies, facing limited budgets, may choose not to direct adequate resources to training or victim and witness protection (ACPO, 2008; IKRWO, 2014).

We suggest an alternative approach to the estimation of honor crimes, namely statistical methods of missing case imputation. Techniques such as multi-systems estimation (MSE) have been demonstrated to provide scientifically valid estimates of missing populations, even in seemingly complete lists of individuals or cases (Hook and Regal, 1992; Zwane et al., 2004). Here, we test the application of MSE to one type of honor crime – honor killings – in four countries: Canada (CA), Germany (DE), the United Kingdom (UK), and the United States (US) by comparing estimates from MSE to counts of cases produced by aggregating multiple lists from each country.

4.2. THE PRODUCTION OF HONOR CRIMES STATISTICS

Within the field of honor-based violence research, there are two primary methods of producing statistics: (1) counts taken from official records, media reports, victims' services providers, or advocacy and human rights groups, and (2) estimation, often based on statistics from one country applied to another.[32] Researchers using either method face difficulties in the production of valid and reliable statistics.

4.2.1. COUNT-BASED STATISTICS

The majority of non-fatal honor crime statistics reported are based on counts from official records collected by law enforcement or referred for prosecution. These reports may be compiled by the

[31] The Surgir Foundation (2012) claims that as many as 75% of honor crimes go unreported in the Netherlands.

[32] The use of random sample survey methods, the other primary source of human rights data (Asher, 2008), are typically disregarded, as too few cases typically occur to be identified in a general population survey (e.g., the National Crime Victimization Survey in the United States), and because identifying victims of (non-fatal) HBV may in fact put those victims at risk for further, even fatal, violence (Helba et al., 2015). There has been some success in using surveys of victims' services providers to report HBV, but these require the use of proxy reporting and may result in overcounts if victims seek help from multiple providers (Helba et al., 2015; see Mirbach et al., (2011) as an example of a service provider survey).

government as part of official record keeping (e.g., Christie-Miller (2011), Oberwittler and Kasselt (2010), Janssen and Sanberg (2013)) or advocacy and human rights groups working with victims and services providers (e.g., Amnesty International (1999)). In the case of honor killings, media reports may also be used (e.g., Muhammad (2010), Helba et al. (2015)); privacy laws may prevent the dissemination of information on non-fatal violence, particularly when victims are minors.

Count-based statistics may over-estimate the number of cases or victims if non-HBV cases, such as intimate partner violence, are included due to racial profiling (Bates, 2020; Chapter 2, this dissertation). In some cases, the perpetrator may falsely claim an honor violation in order to escape punishment in countries where honor killings receive reduced sentences (see Cohan (2009) for an overview) or to extort victims (Amnesty International, 1999). Amnesty International (1999) reported that Pakistan has developed an "honor killing industry" in which men may kill a female relative for an alleged affair, name another man as her affair partner, and then demand compensation from the man. In one of the few reports to acknowledge the possibility of over-estimation, Oberwittler and Kasselt (2011) estimated that as many as 74% of the 78 honor killings they identified in Germany between 1996-2005 may have been falsely included.

However, count-based statistics may also under-estimate the number of cases or victims. Undercounts may result if cases are not reported or recorded properly, or if record keepers do not participate in data collection efforts (IKWRO, 2014; HMIC, 2015; Cooney, 2019). In many honor killing cases, families may try to cover up the crime by presenting the death as a suicide or self-defense[33] (Surgir Foundation, 2012; Corbin, 2014; Hosseini and Basavaraju, 2016). Alternatively, if the definition of honor crimes used excludes men or victims from non-"honor cultures"[34], a substantial number of victims may be missed (Idriss, 2020; Chapter 2, this dissertation). Idriss (2020) reports that 17-21% of identified forced marriage victims in the UK were men. Police in the Netherlands reported that six percent of cases in 2014 involved native Dutch nationals (Dutch News, 2014). Finally, researchers may undercount cases if they rely solely on counts of completed prosecutions or narrowly define the crime of interest, for instance only including murders rather than manslaughter in counts of honor killings.

4.2.2. ESTIMATION-BASED STATISTICS

Statistical estimation techniques are useful when researchers seek to make inferences about populations based on sample observations. We discuss two methods – extrapolation estimation and multi-systems estimation – that have historically been used to infer and report the incidence of honor crimes.

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[33] In one case in Texas, after a man was convicted of murdering his son-in-law and a friend of his daughter's in an honor killing in 2012, police reopened an investigation into the 1999 death of another son-in-law, which he had claimed resulted from self-defense (Rogers, 2018).

[34] "Honor cultures" are those with high levels of concern for reputation (Vandello and Cohen, 2003; Bond, 2014; Ermers, 2018). Traditional examples include Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Latin and South American societies, although subcultures of honor have been noted in the southern and western regions of the United States, the Balkans and the Caucasus (Boehm, 1986; Cohen and Nisbett, 1994; Mosquera et al., 2002; Vandello and Cohen, 2003; Guerra et al., 2012; Dietrich and Schuett, 2013).

4.2.2.1. Extrapolation Estimates

In extrapolation estimation, researchers apply prevalence rates from one country to the demographics of another. This method has been used to produce estimates of women and girls at risk from female genital mutilation (Mather and Feldman-Jacobs, 2016), as well as official estimates of honor killings in the United States (Volpp, 2019). However, the extrapolation method assumes that the population that may be affected in one country is the same as another, with no account for differences in rates of practice between different subpopulations. Furthermore, such application assumes that only specific groups of people – i.e., Muslims, or South Asians, in the case of honor crimes – are affected. While Middle Eastern/North African and South Asians – so-called MENASA populations – have been described as "honor cultures" (Boehm, 1986; Guerra et al., 2012), such focus typically ignores other honor cultures in ethnically European or traditionally Christian societies (Cohan, 2009). However, in a previous study, we found that membership in an honor culture was not a valid indicator of either victimization or perpetration of honor crimes (Chapter 2, this dissertation). Finally, this method of estimation ignores possible variations in legal definitions of honor crimes, or institutional capacity to identify and measure such crimes.

Volpp (2019) discusses the repercussions of using extrapolation methods for estimating honor killings in her law review of US Executive Order (EO) 13780, *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States*, i.e., the "Muslim ban". The EO reports that as many as 23-27 honor killings occur in the US per year, but fails to mention that this estimate was taken from an unpublished report written on behalf of an advocacy group[35] (Volpp, 2019). Furthermore, the US estimate is based, in part, on the aforementioned "guestimate" from the UK and the count-based statistics from Germany, without consideration for their validity. As the lead author of the report stated in an interview, the study's methodology is "not terribly scientific" (Singal, 2017).

4.2.2.2. Multi-systems Estimation

Capture-recapture, or mark-recapture, is a statistical technique originally developed by biostatisticians for the estimation of animal populations (Nichols, 1992). It uses multiple instances of data collection or sources of data to impute the number of missing individuals and estimate the total population (Neugebauer and Wittes, 1994). In ecological studies, this entails physically capturing a sample of animals, such as fish in a lake, then marking them with an identification tag before releasing them. The number of animals that are subsequently recaptured – as evidenced by their identification tag – is compared to the number of animals caught only once.

Over time, epidemiologists and criminologists have adapted capture-recapture estimators for use with human populations. Here, researchers analyze the overlap between incomplete lists of cases (Stephen, 1996). As these lists are often drawn from multiple existing registry systems, capture-recapture with human populations is often referred to as multi-systems estimation (MSE). MSE has been used to estimate a number of hard-to-sample human populations, such as homeless people, sex workers and their customers, and drug dealers (Weir et al., 2003; Roberts and Brewer,

[35] This estimate was noted in a report written on behalf of the US Department of Justice as an example of the paucity of reliable statistics on HBV (Helba et al., 2015). The first author is a coauthor of that report.

2006; Bouchard, 2007; Williams, 2010). It is particularly useful for surveillance systems because it allows researchers to more effectively leverage small samples, as well as assess the completeness of official records and estimate missing or under-reported cases (Neugebauer and Wittes, 1994; Kiakaleyeh et al., 2011).

Figure 4.1 presents two common illustrations of a two-sample, or source, situation. In each panel, cases that are captured by both sources have frequency f_{11}, while cases that are captured by only one source have frequencies f_{10} or f_{01}, respectively. Frequency f_{00} represents the unknown number of missing cases, i.e., those cases captured by neither source. The frequency of all cases in a single source is equal to f_{+1} or f_{1+}, respectively, indicating that frequency is additive of both the cases captured by only that source (e.g., f_{10})and the cases captured by both sources (f_{11}).

		Source 1		
		1	0	
Source	1	f_{11}	f_{01}	f_{+1}[a]
2	0	f_{10}	f_{00}	
		f_{1+}		

Source 1	**Source 2**	**Frequency**
1	1	f_{11}
1	0	f_{10}
0	1	f_{01}
0	0	f_{00} (unknown)
f_{1+}	f_{+1}	

[a] When adding over a sample, the subscript corresponding to that sample is replaced by a "+", e.g., $f_{+1} = f_{01} + f_{11}$

Figure 4.1. Case Ascertainment in the Two-source Capture-recapture Situation

The basic estimator of missing cases used in MSE is the Lincoln-Peterson estimator, given by Eq. (1) (Nichols, 1992; Stephen, 1996),

$$\hat{f}_{00} = \frac{f_{10} f_{01}}{f_{11}} \quad (1)$$

with the estimated total population, represented by $\widehat{N}$, given in Eq. (2),

$$\widehat{N} = S + f_{11} + \hat{f}_{00} \quad (2)$$

where S is the number of "singletons," i.e., f_{10} plus f_{01}. For the sake of example, let us assume that each source captures 50 cases (i.e., $f_{1+}, f_{+1} = 50$), with an overlap of 10 cases ($f_{11} = 10$). Solving for the missing cases is fairly straightforward: $\hat{f}_{00} = (40 * 40)/10 = 160$, so $\widehat{N} = 80 + 10 + 160 = 250$.

MSE makes certain assumptions in order to produce estimates, although these assumptions are concerned more with the nature of the missing data than the population under study: (1) closed and overlapping samples; (2) true identification of cases and matches; and (3) independent data sources with equally catchable cases. While failure to meet these assumptions may introduce conceptual, practical, and technical problems, over time, statisticians and researchers have developed a number of estimators which adjust for violations of these assumptions (Neugebauer and Wittes, 1994; Shaw et al, 1996; Cormack et al., 2000; Tilling et al., 2001). We argue that this allows MSE to produce superior estimates of honor crimes to extrapolation methods. In the next section, we discuss the development of lists for the use of MSE and identify appropriate estimators.

4.3. IMPROVING HONOR KILLING STATISTICS

Methods for deriving accurate and up-to-date statistics on the frequency of honor killings are needed in order to effectively identify cases, reduce biases, and direct appropriate resources for prevention and intervention efforts. The application of extrapolation estimation methods has shown that use of singular sources of honor crime reports tends to be ineffective in accurately estimating the incidence of these crimes beyond the original sample population. We propose, however, that two or more sources in combination can improve such accuracy using statistical estimation techniques of missing case imputation.

4.3.1. LIST DEVELOPMENT

In a first step, we identified 11 lists of supposed honor killing cases: three each from Canada, the UK, and the US, and two from Germany (see Table 4.1). Seven of these lists (CA1, CA3, DE1, DE2, UK1, UK2, UK3) are publicly available, and three (CA2, US2, US3) were provided privately to the first author. The first author supported the compilation of the final list (US1) as work performed for the US Department of Justice. All but one list (CA1) were compiled from media reports of honor killings, although several lists also cite legal cases.

The eight lists from Canada (CA1-3), Germany (DE1-2), and the United States (US1-3) are intended by their authors to be complete and comprehensive lists of honor killings in their respective countries. Two of these, CA3 and DE1, are considered the basis for official counts of honor killings in their respective countries. The three lists from the UK are intended by their authors to provide exemplar cases rather than a comprehensive list of honor killings. All three lists present subsets of larger lists compiled by their authors, which were not available to us at the time of writing.

4.3.2. FULFILLMENT OF CORE ASSUMPTIONS

We recognize that the acknowledgement of MSE's core assumptions increases the likelihood of producing more reliable estimates of honor crimes. Below, we discuss how we identified and addressed violations of the core MSE assumptions that we encountered within our database.

Table 4.1. Overview of Data Sources

	DE1	DE2	UK1	UK2	UK3
List source	Oberwittler and Kasselt (2011)	Glaubitz (2019)	Dyer (2015)	Chesler (2009)	Brandon and Hafez (2008)
List status	Complete	Complete	Sample	Sample	Sample
Data source	Legal cases, Media reports	Media reports	Media reports	Media reports	Legal cases, Media reports
Data type	Narrative description	Narrative description	Narrative description	Victim Name	Narrative description
Years selected	1996-2005	1996-2005	1998-2007	1998-2007	1998-2007
Cases selected	45	20	5	8	12

	CA1	CA2	CA3	US1	US2	US3
List source	Robert (2011)	Service provider[a]	Muhammad (2010)	Helba et al. (2015)[b]	University researchers[a]	Advocacy agency[a]
List status	Complete	Complete	Complete	Complete	Complete	Complete
Data source	Legal cases	Media reports	Legal cases, Media reports	Media reports	Media reports	Media reports
Data type	Case citation	Narrative description	Narrative description	Narrative description	Perpetrator name	Victim name
Years selected	1991-2009	1991-2009	1991-2009	1999-2012	1999-2012	1999-2012
Cases selected	7	9	7	16	7	9

[a] List provided privately to the first author.
[b] Full list is not publicly available; the first author supported list compilation as work performed for US Department of Justice.

4.3.2.1. Assumption 1: Closed, Overlapping Samples

The majority of estimators used in MSE require that the lists used cover the same study period and geographic area and that the study population is closed, meaning individuals do not enter or leave the population. This ensures that the same population is available to be captured by all sources.

Each of the lists used for our study have nationwide coverage, and we compare cases only within countries. We additionally limit the time periods used for estimation to the widest possible period across each set of country lists: 1991-2009 for Canada, 1996-2005 for Germany, 1998-2007 for the UK, and 1999-2012 for the US.

As we are concerned with estimating deaths, the likelihood of captured individuals leaving the population after capture for all cases is zero, indicating an assumption of a closed population is appropriate (Razzak and Luby, 1998; Carter et al., 2011; Kiakalayeh et al., 2011). However, most studies of deaths use shorter time periods which reduces the likelihood of population changes due to birth or immigration. When the assumption of a closed population is violated without adjustment, i.e., a closed population estimator is fitted to an open population, the resulting estimate

will tend to overestimate the true population size (King and McCrea, 2019). Given the length of our estimation periods, and the likelihood of an open population, assuming a closed population will likely result in an overestimate.

4.3.2.2. Assumption 2: True Identification of Cases and Matches

By its nature, MSE seeks to identify false negatives and other missing cases, but is useless in identifying cases that are incorrectly included, i.e., false positives. This is the role of the screening instrument, or set of criteria by which a researcher identifies and includes an individual or case. While medical studies often have a preexisting and universally recognized definition or set of characteristics, studies related to social or public policy – such as homelessness or honor crimes – are often fluid over time or place, or more vulnerable to politics or biases (Neugebauer and Wittes, 1994; Shaw et al., 1996; Williams, 2010; Helba et al., 2015; Chapter 2, this dissertation). Measurement error, introduced through erroneous definition or flawed application, can result in both false positives as well as false negatives. This can inflate estimates, thereby leading to incorrect conclusions about the population or specific sub-populations (Neugebauer and Wittes, 1994). It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss errors or biases in data collection and list compilation that may result in false exclusion from the lists, although the use of multiple lists does reduce the effects of false exclusion. We address false inclusion by applying a definition of honor crimes developed in a previous study:

> *"An honor crime is an act of violence committed with the intent to prevent, conceal, or punish an act of deviance (e.g., behavioral, sexual, moral) that is perceived to bring potential harm to an individual's or family's reputation"* (Chapter 2, this dissertation, p. 37).

By applying this definition to all cases, even after the data collection phase, we are able to correct for false positives and ensure that cases from all lists are marked according to identical criteria (Williams, 2010).

MSE also requires that true matches are identified, meaning that the data are valid, reliable, and sufficient for matching purposes. Studies which draw from medical or insurance files often make use of unique identifiers, such as national insurance numbers or tax or welfare identification numbers. However, such identifiers are not always available to researchers or even recorded, or may be used in one list but not another. In these instances, researchers must rely on combinations of characteristics which provide sufficient detail with which to differentiate individuals. These may include name, date of birth, sex, race or ethnicity, details of the case including symptoms, time or date of arrest or death, relationship to other victims or perpetrators, and so on. Researchers must not only decide which details to use but how strictly each case must match, including in light of missing information. High degrees of missing information can make cases both harder to identify uniquely and more difficult to match, but even detailed lists may have incorrect data which inhibits matching (Razzak and Luby, 1998; Cormack et al., 2000). As MSE estimates are derived from the ratio of individuals caught and matched, missed matches can result in an underestimation of the unreported population (Cormack et al., 2000).

For Canada, the UK, and the US, we were able to match cases based on victim and/or perpetrator names, yielding eight, eight, and nine matched cases, respectively, with 16, 12, and 13 matched

victims. One German list (DE1) provided neither victims' names nor a location of the event. Both authors independently compared the German cases on the basis of nine criteria: the year and method of killing; the age, sex, and ethnicity of the victim(s) and perpetrator(s); and the relationship between the victim(s) and perpetrator(s). Table A2.2.2 provides a summary of the matching criteria used for the German cases. Due to the possibility of errors in reporting (both in the case files and during list compilation), we coarsened the matching criteria by allowing for matches between cases with unknown age or ages within a five-year range, unknown ethnicity, and unknown method of killing. As the year of death and the sex of the victim(s) and perpetrator(s) is more likely to be known, we used exact matching for these details. Ultimately, we identified 10 matched cases and 13 matched victims in the German data.

4.3.2.3. Assumption 3: Cases Are Equally Catchable and Data Sources Are Independent

Catchability refers here to the probability of that a case will be identified and selected for inclusion. MSE assumes an equal probability of selection across lists, although researchers have made advances in estimation in cases of unequal catchability (Chao, 1987; Pledger and Phillpot, 2008). While not all individuals are expected to be caught, if their lack of capture is non-random, i.e., inherently related to their particular characteristics, this can introduce a selection bias into any conclusions based on capture-recapture estimation (Shaw et al., 1996). Within our lists, UK2 and US2 both exclude male victims, introducing unequal catchability.

Furthermore, Wittes et al. (1974, p. 27) note that "[t]he assumption [of list independence] is crucial to the derivation of N" but that this assumption is rarely met in practice (see also Shaw et al., 1996). Dependence may be a result of catchability, i.e., some characteristic increases the likelihood that an individual or case appears on both lists, or it may result from the efforts of researchers to produce as complete a count as possible (Tilling et al., 2001; Oberwittler and Kasselt, 2010). This is particularly the case when studying rare phenomena such as honor killings; several of the lists incorporate cases from other lists (i.e., DE1 includes cases from DE2, US1 includes cases from US3). In situations of positive dependency, such as in our lists, an assumption of independence will result in an underestimation of cases (King and McCrea, 2019).

Chao (1987; 1989) proposed an estimator which relaxes the assumption of independent sources. While this estimator has larger variance than other estimators, Brittain and Böhning (2009) and Braeye et al. (2016) found that it has lower relative bias for dependent samples; Braeye et al. (2016) found that the Chao estimator produces estimates within 75-82% of the true total in their simulation study.

4.3.2.4. Estimator Selection

In summary, we find that our dataset violates the assumptions of equal catchability and independence, and likely violates the assumption of a closed population. However, it is "impractical" at best, to account for all possible confounding variables (Stephen, 1996).

Researchers are thus forced to choose which violations to address and which to ignore.[36] Here, we assume a closed population and address possible undercounts due to unequal catchability and dependency through the use of the Chao estimator (Chao et al, 2001), which we discuss in further detail in the next section.

4.3.3. THE CHAO ESTIMATOR IN TWO- AND THREE-SAMPLE SITUATIONS

The Chao estimator uses a nonparametric sample coverage approach (Braeye et al., 2016). In the general *t*-sample case, the Chao estimator is given by Eq. (3):

(3) $$N = \frac{D}{\hat{C}} + \frac{1}{t\hat{C}}\sum_{i<j}\sum A(i,j)\gamma_{ij} + R^*$$

where D is the dependence estimator, $\hat{C}$ denotes the sample coverage, A is an additive term for the interaction of frequencies, γ is the coefficient of coverage, and R* denotes the remainder term (see Appendix 4.1 for explanatory formulas for each term). In a two-source sample, the Chao estimator reduces to the following:

(4) $$\widehat{N} = S + \frac{S^2}{4f_{11}}$$

where S is once again the number of "singletons." In three-source sample, the Chao estimator expands to

(5) $$\widehat{N} = \frac{\left[\frac{f_{+11}+f_{1+1}+f_{11+}}{3\hat{C}}\right]}{\left\{1-\frac{1}{3\hat{C}}\left[\frac{(f_{1+0}+f_{+10})f_{11+}}{n_1n_2}+\frac{(f_{10+}+f_{+01})f_{1+1}}{n_1n_3}+\frac{(f_{0+1}+f_{01+})f_{+11}}{n_2n_3}\right]\right\}}$$

Here, $n_j, j = 1, 2, \ldots . t,$ is the number of individuals listed in sample j. Chao (1987) additionally uses an asymptotic approach to calculating variance, given by Eq. (6), as well as a log-transformation for calculating improved confidence intervals, as seen in Eqs. (7, 8).

(6) $$\hat{\sigma}^2 = f_{11}\left\{0.25\left[\frac{(S)}{f_{11}}\right]^4 + \left[\frac{(S)}{f_{11}}\right]^3 + 0.5\left[\frac{(S)}{f_{11}}\right]^2\right\}$$

(7) $$CI = \exp\left\{1.96\left[\log\left(1+\frac{\hat{\sigma}^2}{(\widehat{N}-S)^2}\right)\right]^{1/2}\right\}$$

[36] For example, the estimator discussed by McDonald and Amstrup (2001), is able to estimate an open population, but assumes independence.

$$\left[S + \frac{(\hat{N}-S)}{CI},\ S + (\hat{N}-S)CI\right] \tag{8}$$

The CARE1 package (Hsieh, 2012) in R[37] is based on the Chao estimator, thereby reducing the burden of calculating estimates from three or more lists. However, as currently programmed, it is unable to calculate estimates for two dependent samples. We therefore, utilize the CARE1 package to estimate the Canadian, UK, and US cases, and calculate German estimates using the Chao two-source sample estimator as given in Eq. (4). We also calculate pairwise estimates for Canada, the UK, and the US to verify the estimated total as calculated by the CARE1 package, following the example of Wittes et al. (1974). For example, we calculate the estimate as if only lists CA1 and CA2 are available (CA1,2), as well as the estimate for list CA1 paired with the aggregated CA2 and CA3 (CA1, CA2+3). Additional pairwise estimates are not available for Germany. For all estimates, we use only the time period during which all lists in each country are available.

4.4. COUNTRY-SPECIFIC ESTIMATES OF HONOR KILLINGS

Estimates produced using MSE are affected by several factors: total count of cases; list (in)completeness, i.e., the likelihood that an individual list is missing cases; and degree of overlap between lists. While a low count can introduce a higher degree of variance into an estimate, Xi et al. (2008) found that high list completeness can ameliorate a low list count. Additionally, while a low degree of overlap between lists means that each list is more likely to contain unique cases and thus contribute more to the aggregated count of cases, a low degree of overlap between lists is also correlated to a high degree of list incompleteness.

Table 4.2. Summary of Total Cases and Victims by Country (Country-specific Time Periods)

		Aggregated Total	Estimated Total	Total Estimated Range
Canada (1991-2009)	Cases	10	11	9 – 19
	Victims	18	18	17 – 24
Germany (1996-2005)	Cases	55	106	71 – 188
	Victims	76	152	104 – 256
United Kingdom (1998-2007)	Cases	14	15	9 – 31
	Victims	18	18	13 – 60
United States (1999-2012)	Cases	17	18	9 – 45
	Victims	26	28	13 – 52

Table 4.2 summarizes the aggregated country total, estimated country total (of the three-sample situation for CA, UK, and US), and average number of victims per year (see Table A4.2.1 for

[37] R version 3.6.1 (2019-07-05) – "Action of the Toes"; CARE1 version 1.1.0 (2012-10-23).

complete data). Following the reporting convention of the CARE1 package, we truncate the confidence interval in estimates where the calculated lower bound of the confidence fell below the aggregated total cases or victims, such that the aggregated total becomes the reported lower bound.

Table 4.3 summarizes the completeness of each country's case and victim datasets, for each country-specific time period. We discuss each set of country estimates in turn in the sections that follow.

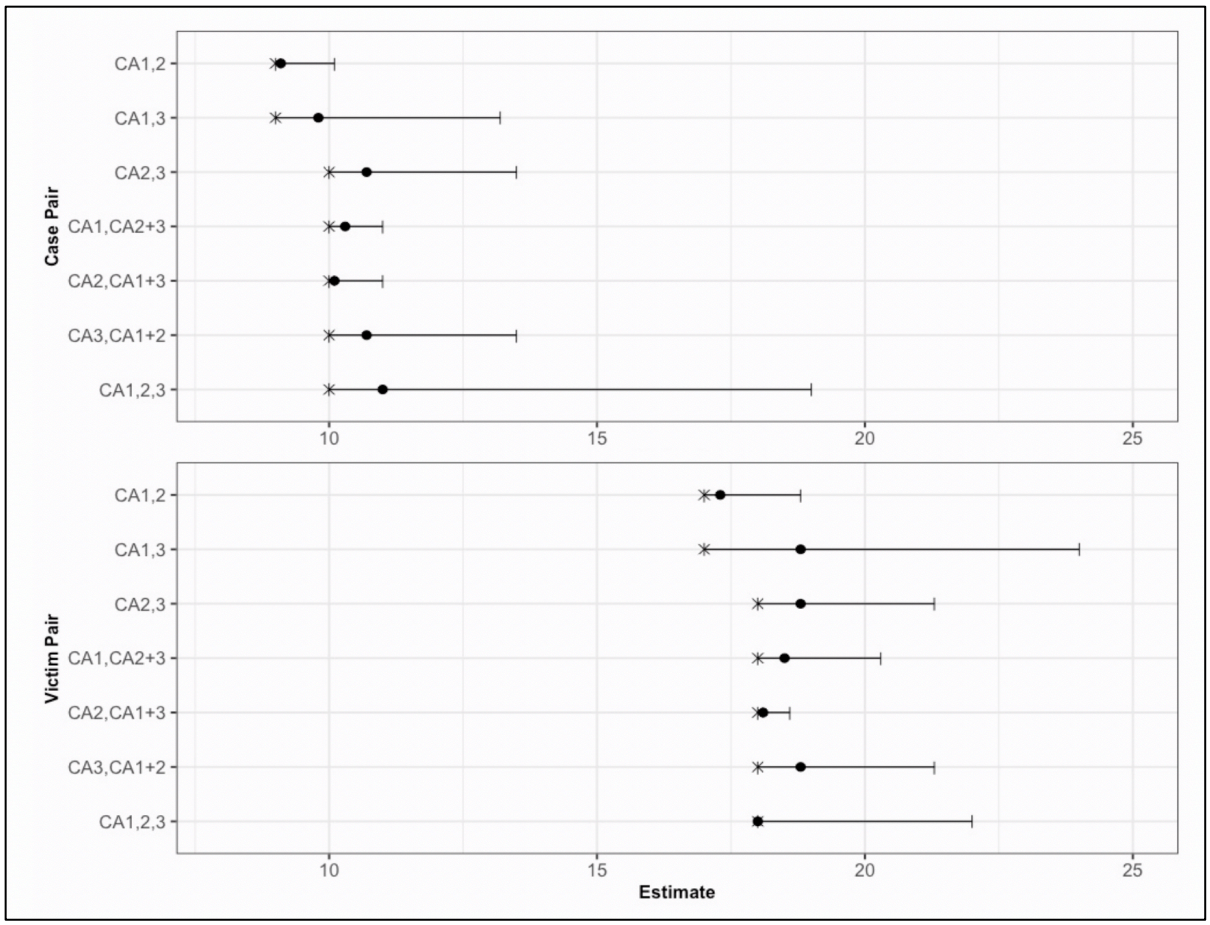
Table 4.3. List Completeness by Dataset and Country

Canada (1991-2009)	**Cases**		**Victims**	
	Total	*% of Agg.. Total*	*Total*	*% of Agg.. Total*
CA 1	7	70.0%	13	72.2%
CA 2	9	90.0%	17	94.4%
CA 3	7	70.0%	13	72.2%
Aggregated Total	10	-	18	-
Captured by 2 or more lists	8	80.0%	16	88.9%
Germany (1996-2005)				
	Total	*% of Agg.. Total*	*Total*	*% of Agg.. Total*
DE 1	45	81.8%	64	84.2%
DE 2	20	36.4%	25	32.9%
Aggregated Total	55	-	76	-
Captured by 2 or more lists	10	18.2%	13	17.1%
United Kingdom (1998-2007)				
	Total	*% of Agg.. Total*	*Total*	*% of Agg.. Total*
UK 1	5	35.7%	5	27.8%
UK 2	8	57.1%	12	66.7%
UK 3	12	85.7%	16	88.9%
Aggregated Total	14	-	18	-
Captured by 2 or more lists	8	57.1%	12	66.7%
United States (1999-2012)				
	Total	*% of Agg.. Total*	*Total*	*% of Agg.. Total*
US 1	15	88.2%	24	92.3%
US 2	7	41.2%	11	42.3%
US 3	9	52.9%	13	50.0%
Aggregated Total	17	-	26	-
Captured by 2 or more lists	9	52.9%	13	50.0%

4.4.1. CANADA

Aggregating the unique cases identified in Canada between 1991-2009 produces a count-based estimate of 10 cases and 18 victims. We find very few likely missing cases compared to the Chao estimator with three sources (CA1,2,3), which produces estimates of 11 cases and 18 victims. Interestingly, while the case three-source estimate (11 cases) indicates that one case is missing from the total number identified, the same is not true for the victim estimate; the three-source estimate of 18 victims is the same as the aggregated number of victims. We interpret this as an indication that the Canadian lists, in aggregate, capture all or nearly all of the honor killing cases and victims between 1991-2009.

The exceptional performance of the Canadian lists is likely due to the high degree of list completeness in each of the lists, which capture 70-90% of the aggregated number of cases, and approximately 72-94% of the aggregated number of victims. This reduces the possibility of error in the Canadian estimates (Xi et al., 2008), such that the majority of estimates for both cases and victims in Canada fall within the confidence interval for the three-source (CA1,2,3) estimate (Figure 4.2). We further see that the CA1,3 pairwise estimate has a much wider variance in the victims' estimate than in the cases' estimate. This is a result of cases missed by one list having multiple victims, thus decreasing the overlap between the lists in the victims' data.

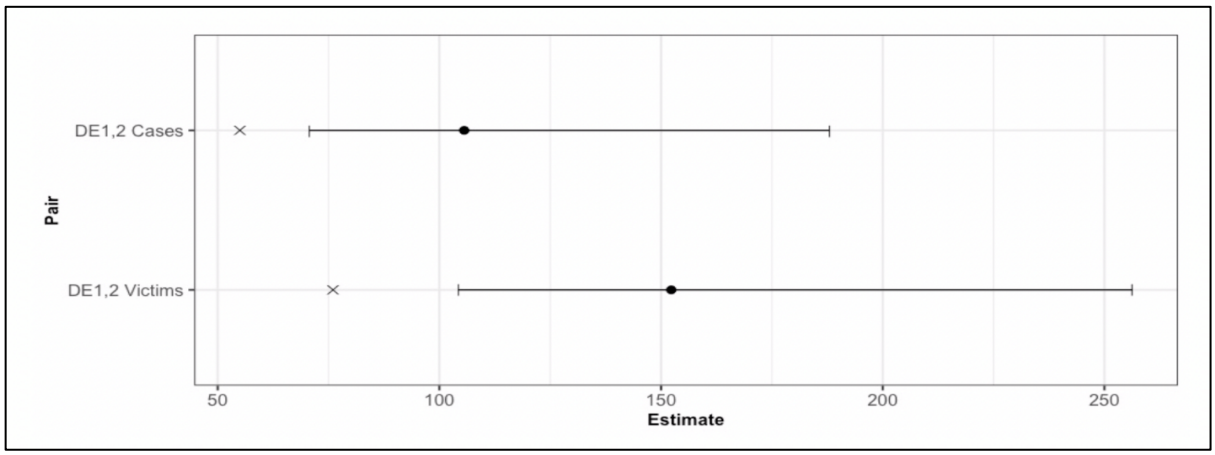


x denotes aggregated total; • denotes estimated total.

Figure 4.2. Canadian Case and Victim Estimates by List Combination

4.4.2. GERMANY

Germany has the fewest number of lists – only two – with low rates of overlap between the two, but also the highest number of cases and victims. Despite the high count, both the aggregated counts of cases and victims (55 and 76, respectively) fall well short of the estimated number of cases and victims (106 and 152, respectively). While the higher count may ameliorate the error from the low overlap (Figure 4.3), only list DE1 has high list completeness (81.8-84.2%). List DE2, in contrast, has one of the lowest levels of list completeness (36.4-32.9%), second only to list UK1. We suspect that the German estimates thus underestimate the number of both cases and victims, and that a third list would reduce variance and further improve the estimates.

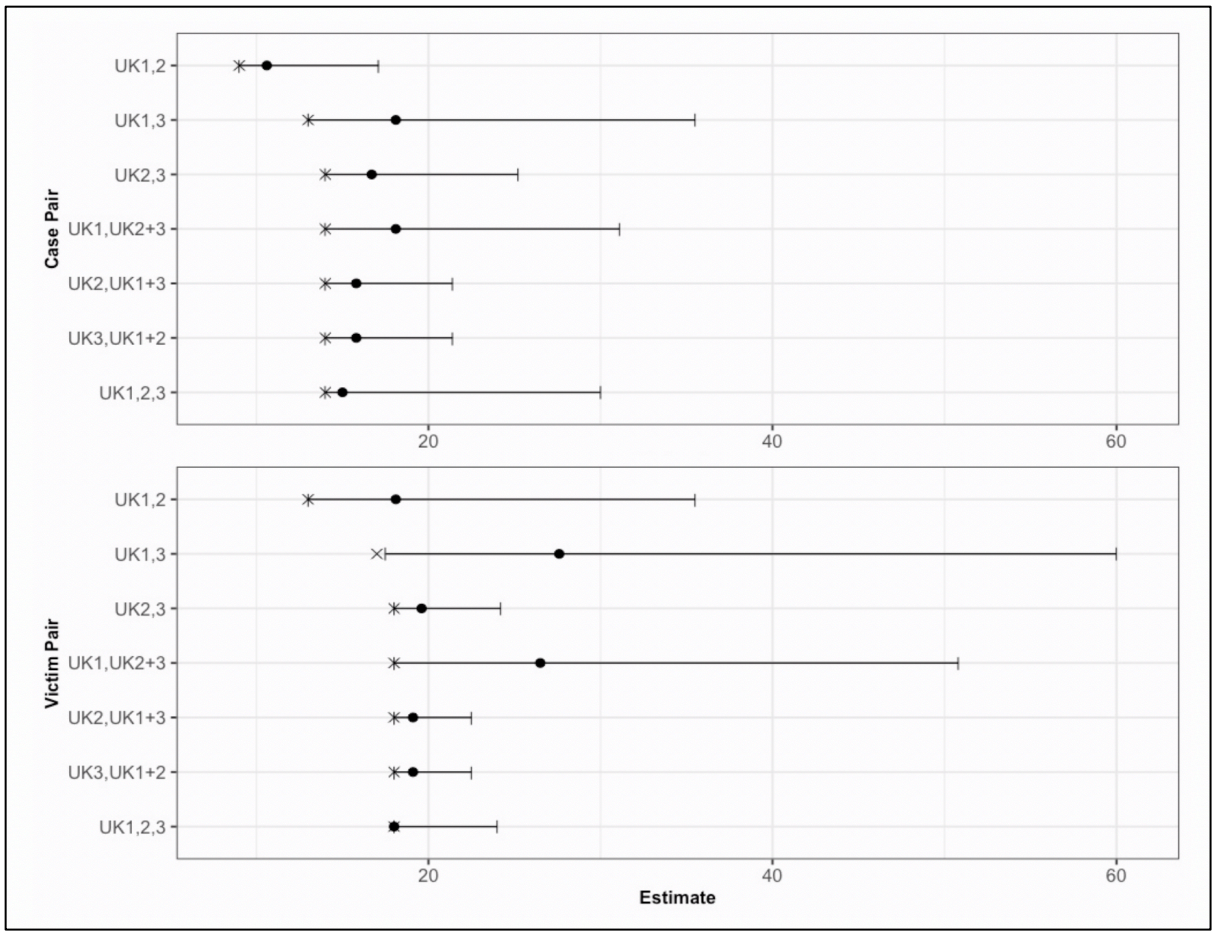


x denotes aggregated total; • denotes estimated total.

Figure 4.3. German Case and Victim Estimates

4.4.3. THE UNITED KINGDOM

As in Canada, the case three-source estimate (15 cases) indicates that one case is missing from the aggregated total (14 cases), yet the victim three-source estimate (18 victims) is the same as the aggregated total. Unlike the Canadian estimates, however, the UK estimates have much higher variance (Figure 4.4) due to the low counts and low levels of list completeness; list UK1 includes only five cases and only five victims, which correspond to only 35.7% and 27.8% of the aggregated totals, respectively. Here we see the effective limits of even a well-chosen estimator in calculating the total number of cases; it is probable that the UK total is higher than our estimates predict. All UK lists are samples from much larger studies, and it is likely that access to the complete lists would both increase estimates for cases and victims as well as reduce bias in the estimates.

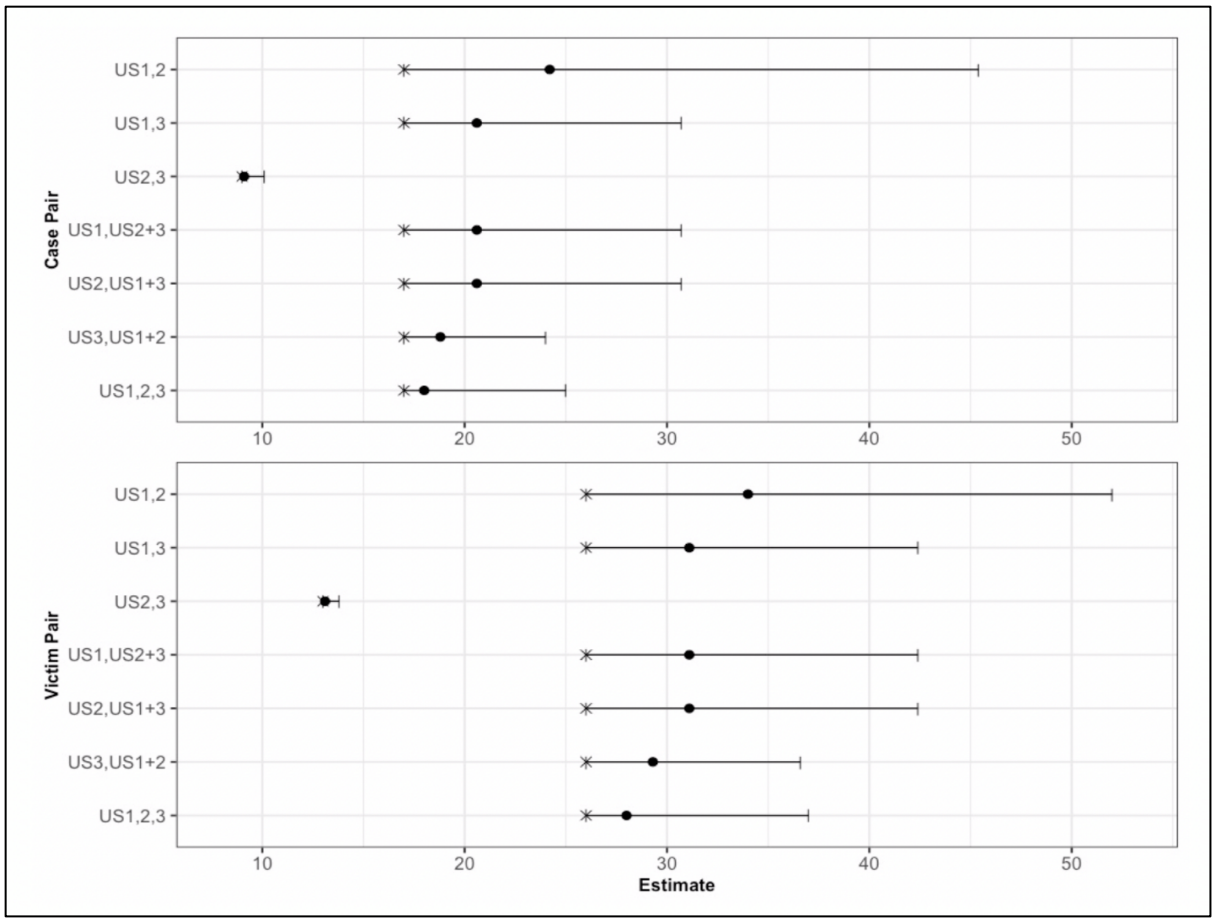


x denotes aggregated total; • denotes estimated total.

Figure 4.4. UK Case and Victim Estimates by List Combination

4.4.4. THE UNITED STATES

The aggregated total of unique cases identified in the US (1999-2012) produces a count-based estimate of 17 cases and 26 victims. Compared to the three-source estimator (US1,2,3), we find only a few missing cases, with estimates of 18 cases and 28 victims, respectively. Interestingly, two pairwise estimates in the US – US2,3 cases and US2,3 victims – fall well outside the confidence intervals produced with the other estimates (Figure 4.5). This is a result of the low completeness of list US2, which excluded male and non-Muslim victims, and its high overlap with list US3. In contrast, list US1 has lower levels of completeness, but also less overlap with lists US2 and US3, resulting in higher estimates. List US1 has low overlap with both US2 and US3, although its high degree of list completeness – list US1 is one of the most complete lists across all countries – does ameliorate the variance from the low overlap. Despite the seeming high quality of list US1, however, we suspect that the US figures underestimate the true number of both cases and victims.



x denotes aggregated total; • denotes estimated total.

Figure 4.5. US Case and Victim Estimates by List Combination

4.4.5. PLAUSIBILITY CHECK

As a plausibility check, we calculate the average number of victims per year within our country specific time periods, as well as the highest possible average, using the upper bound of the total estimated range (Table 4.2). This allows us to compare our estimates to the number of victims of family-perpetrated homicide in each country (Table 4.4).

Here we see that the estimated honor killing victims per year number far fewer than the total number of victims of family-perpetrated homicide in 2015, the earliest year for which data was available in all countries. While this is no guarantee that our estimates are correct, we interpret this as a strong indicator that the estimates are at least plausible. We further note that even the highest estimated average number of victims in the UK (6.7 per year) and the US (4.0) both fall short of the guestimated 10-12 killings reported in the UK and the extrapolation-based estimate of 23-27 killings for the US.

Table 4.4. Average Estimated Victims vs. Victims Family-Perpetrated Homicide by Country

	Average Victims per Year	Highest Estimated Average per Year	Female Victims Family-perpetrated Homicide (2015)	Total Victims Family-perpetrated Homicide (2015)
Canada	1.0	1.3	50	NA
Germany	16.9	28.4	71	130
United Kingdom	2.0	6.7	39	71
United States	2.2	4.0	NA	118

4.5. INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE: LIMITATIONS AND CAVEATS

Many available honor crime statistics – including estimates of honor killings – are of questionable quality. Few organizations provide transparency into their methods or provide complete datasets in usable formats. While some of these restrictions are due to understandable concern for the privacy of victims (see IKWRO, 2014; Aplin, 2019), some restrictions appear to result more from convention than any data security requirements.[38] Furthermore, not all organizations may choose to – or have the capacity to – participate in data collection efforts; Oberwittler and Kasselt (2010) in Germany, and the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organization (IKWRO, 2014) and Aplin (2019) in the UK, all reported difficulties gaining cooperation from police departments for use in their studies of honor crimes.

Multi-systems estimation (MSE) offers a path to improve even low-quality statistics from incomplete lists, by imputing the number of missing individuals. By applying MSE to 11 lists from four different countries, we find that count-based statistics, even counts from aggregated lists, tend to underestimate the total number of honor killing cases and victims.

However, as with all estimation methodologies, MSE has several limitations. It requires that several core assumptions are met; failure to do so, as often occurs when working with human populations, may introduce a number of biases (Neugebauer and Wittes, 1994; Shaw et al., 1996; Cormack et al., 2000; Tilling et al., 2001). Furthermore, as Stephen (1996) notes, addressing all possible violations is unrealistic. While we discuss our efforts to fulfill all assumptions in detail, we do acknowledge the following caveats:

1. We assume a closed population, meaning that there is no population change due to immigration, birth, or death. The estimator we use, the Chao estimator, is unable to adjust for open populations. However, we believe its ability to adjust for dependency – a known problem for multiple of our lists – is more advantageous to us.
2. As with all samples using administrative records, the quality of MSE is dependent on the quality of the records themselves. We have cause to believe that several of our lists are of

[38] For instance, in England and Wales, only incident counts, rather than victim counts, are reported (CPS, 2019; Aplin, 2019). This may inflate prevalence estimates of HBV and domestic violence crimes, which typically feature repeated victimization of an individual (Aplin, 2019).

relatively low quality; the lists from the UK are known to be incomplete and have low counts, which deflates estimates and increases variance. Furthermore, one of the German lists (DE1) does not provide individuals' names or any city information, increasing the likelihood of missed matches. As we use a fairly conservative matching procedure which considers nine different variables, we suspect we fail to identify a number of matches.

3. Finally, we see that case inclusion in many lists is biased towards the later years of coverage (for several lists, we have data until 2014), yet the majority of lists overlap in the earlier years of coverage. This is particularly a problem for Germany and the UK; the limited overlapping timeframe requires us to exclude 44 cases and 56 victims in Germany and five cases and nine victims in the UK, or 36-80% of the included data. This indicates that our estimates based solely on the earlier years likely underestimate the total number of victims.

While an assumption of a closed population can result in overestimates, we believe it more likely that we have underestimated the number of cases and victims. In other words, our estimates provide a floor, not a ceiling. However, we do not find evidence for either the guestimated 10-12 killings a year reported in the UK or the extrapolation-based estimate of 23-27 killings a year in the US, which have been used to justify immigration restrictions.[39]

4.6. CONCLUSION

This study endeavors to estimate the number of honor killings by applying statistical estimation techniques for missing case imputation to extant lists of identified cases. Our findings support the plausibility of using this approach, even in instances of low-quality lists, although we find evidence that even with a well-chosen estimator, we likely underestimate the number of cases and victims.

Furthermore, we find that even seemingly complete lists are likely to miss cases, and that a greater number of lists reduces the possibility of error in estimates, even with low-quality lists. This is due to two primary factors: (1) more lists provide more opportunities to identify cases due to different sampling methods or definitions; and (2) increasing the total count of cases can ameliorate some of the variance introduced by low list completeness or low overlap of cases.

This work intends to contribute to literature on the use of methodologies that increase the accuracy of generating estimates of the frequency of honor crimes, such as honor killings. We endeavor that findings from evaluations of such approaches will, in turn, support the identification of the levels and types resources that are needed to direct prevention and intervention efforts for honor crimes.

[39] Ironically, if those figures are more accurate than our estimates, it will be due, in part, to cases involving individuals of white European descent, which are often excluded from counts of honor crimes. Bates (2020) reports cases of forced marriage among ethnic English Christians; in 2014, a man in Oklahoma fatally shot his daughter's boyfriend for dating across racial lines, a common motivation for honor killings (Associated Press, 2017; Chapter 2, this dissertation).

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5. CONCLUSION

> *An individual case, although irreducible in its importance, does not evidence a pattern or policy. But in combination with other cases, it creates a moral imperative, for those conscientious enough....* (Claude and Jabine, 1992, p. 6).

5.1. SUMMARIZING THE DISSERTATION

In the Introduction to this dissertation, I quoted Gelles' (2010) summary of the three stages a society must progress through as part of addressing violence. Missing from Gelles' (2010) essay is the understanding that societies may skip – or choose to skip – stages, or that the ordered progression of the three stages is required for *effective* responses to violence. Bates (2017) notes this omission, but is perhaps overly optimistic in assuming that the study and response to honor-based violence (HBV) has successfully completed Stage 1, i.e., accepting HBV is a societal problem. Regardless of the exact placement of the global community and any individual society in particular, it remains evident that the current literature and data available on HBV is inadequate for the development of appropriate interventions and policies, at the case-management level, at the organizational level, and at the national and international level. This dissertation is an attempt to further stop the gap.

This dissertation, over the course of its three empirical chapters, offers a number of practical, substantive, and methodological contributions. The foundation of the entire project is the dataset of 511 suspected honor killings, which provides the necessary quantitative basis to empirically distinguish between honor killings and intimate partner violence and between the three types of honor killing victims, and to evaluate the validity of currently available statistics on the prevalence of honor killings in Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This dataset is one of three publicly available and non-proprietary resources for researchers, law enforcement, and victims' services providers presented in this dissertation, along with a revised and clarified definition of honor crimes and a multistep process for identifying cases of HBV; and a typology of victims accompanied by exemplary cases and recommendations for case management. It is my sincere hope that all three resources will be widely used by their intended audiences to improve the collection of HBV data and their study.

In addition to the practical utility of the three resources, the dissertation presents several important substantive findings:

1. HBV is a non-gendered form of violence;
2. HBV is a form of both familial and collective violence, but it is distinct from intimate partner violence;
3. Membership in an honor culture is not a valid indicator of HBV;
4. Not all honor motivations are valid indicators of honor crimes;

5. The stereotypical victim of HBV is not, in actuality, the most common type of victim;
6. There are three types of HBV victims represented in the honor killing dataset: female and male intimate partners, individual female victims, and individual male victims;
7. Researchers, law enforcement, and victims' services providers remain woefully inaccurate in identifying victims of HBV;
8. Count-based statistics undercount HBV victims, while extrapolation-based methods often wildly overestimate the number of victims;
9. HBV victims appear to account for approximately 2-20% of the victims of family-perpetrated homicide in Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and these percentages are similar to data from the Netherlands (Janssen, 2018).

These findings in turn prompt a number of recommendations, both for those professionals who respond to and manage cases of HBV, as well as policymakers who seek to "do something about it", as it were (Gelles, 2010, p. 85). I present these recommendations in the next section.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COUNTERING HONOR-BASED VIOLENCE

1. Recognize that HBV is not unique to a particular culture, ethnicity, or religion. An increasing number of studies have identified Europeans and other Westerners both as victims and perpetrators (Janssen, 2018; Bates, 2020; Chapter 2, this dissertation). Furthermore, the characterization of HBV as an act of "uncivilized minorities" ignores historic honor cultures in the Mediterranean, the southern and western regions of the United States, the Balkans and the Caucasus (Gill and Brah, 2014, p. 73; Boehm, 1986; Cohen and Nisbett, 1994; Mosquera et al., 2002; Guerra et al., 2012; Dietrich and Schuett, 2013). Criminalizing certain minority communities through the implementation of immigration bans or asylum restriction, overpolicing, and similar policies will not prevent HBV and may in fact exacerbate it (Steinke, 2013; HMIC, 2015; Volpp, 2019; Dutt, 2020).
2. Respond appropriately to potential – or actual – victims. Understand that both women and men may be victims, and they may be of any culture, ethnicity, or religion, including ethnic Europeans (Bates, 2017; Bates, 2020; Chapters 2 and 3, this dissertation). Turning away or dismissing a victim because they do not fit the stereotype of HBV victims or appear to be "overreacting" could have fatal consequences.
3. Furthermore, risk assess all suspected or potential victims, including both members of a couple, in cases of possible unapproved relationships, as well as sympathetic or supportive family and friends. This includes identifying potential perpetrators beyond the victim's immediate family, including extended family members, members of the partner's family, or community members.
4. Provide funding to increase the number of available beds in male shelters and refuges, particularly those that focus on LGBT men. While fewer men than women appear to be

the victims of HBV, they require similar interventions and safeguarding as women (see also *Men, Masculinities and Honour-based Abuse*, Idriss' 2020 book focused on male victims of HBV).

5.3. LIMITATIONS

Despite the effort to be comprehensive and complete in both the identification of appropriate data and their analysis, this dissertation nevertheless has certain limitations.

Foremost among these is that the data used for this dissertation is limited to honor killings. Honor killings are the most extreme form of honor-based violence, and thus are subject to selection bias; i.e., those victims that either persist in their behavior or behave so egregiously – according to the perpetrators – that there is no allowance for a second chance. Both quantitative and qualitative studies of survivors of non-fatal HBV indicate that survivors are those that either acquiesce and change their behavior or flee and remain in hiding (Dyer, 2015; Aplin, 2019; Chantler, 2020; Dutt, 2020).

A further limitation is that because the dataset is compiled from scholarly sources, rather than directly from news articles or legal records, there is limited information available about the progression of any single case over time. Almost all cases of honor killings begin with non-fatal abuse, escalating eventually to fatal violence (Belfrage, 2011; Bates, 2017; Aplin, 2019). I am therefore unable to assess the factors most correlated with escalation to fatal violence, only those factors correlated with fatal cases. However, this current limitation provides an indication for important future work: the expansion of the dataset from honor killings to honor crimes. I discuss this potentiality further in the next section.

5.4. FUTURE WORK

As part of the dissemination process for this dissertation, I intend to publish the full dataset of honor killings to a public data repository for researchers to either replicate the analysis performed as part of this dissertation or test their own models. Additionally, I am investigating ways of allowing other researchers to continue to add cases to the dataset, in order to continue to improve the study of HBV. A principle motivation of this effort is to eventually incorporate data from non-fatal cases of HBV, or to provide further background details of cases of fatal violence, so that it becomes possible to study the progression of HBV cases on a large scale.

A second direction for future work is to evaluate the sources of error in existing lists and datasets of honor killings in order to address those errors and improve surveillance. A key finding of the fourth chapter of this dissertation is that available lists undercount cases due to false exclusion, whether as a result of biases or error. Understanding these errors will serve to improve future data collection efforts for the monitoring HBV prevalence and the efficacy of HBV-interventions.

5.5. CLOSING

The production of human rights research – of which the study of honor-based violence, including honor crimes and honor killings, is a part – is methodologically, politically, ethically, and emotionally fraught – see, for example, the edited volume *Human Rights and Statistics: Getting the Record Straight* (Jabine and Claude, 1992). In the first chapter, Claude and Jabine (1992) argue that the use of statistics can fundamentally – and positively[40] – affect societal understandings of violence, by (1) identifying patterns of abuses by or against certain groups, (2) capturing the scope and prevalence of the human rights violations, (3) by incorporating the perspectives and even participation of traditionally vulnerable or marginalized persons in the collection and interpretation of data (see also Kara (2018)). Their chapter is followed immediately by Goldstein's (1992) chapter on the limitations of quantitative data for human rights research, and Samuelson and Spirer's (1992) chapter on the use of incomplete and "distorted" data, both of which note that quantitative data are susceptible to problems of definition and interpretation, and incentives for governments, researchers, and advocates to produce, suppress, or otherwise distort data on human rights violations for their own purposes, let alone the loss of records due to time and events (Goldstein, 1992; Samuelson and Spirer, 1992; see also Cooney (2019) for a discussion within the context of HBV research).

While not explicitly mentioned in Jabine and Claude's (1992) volume, the human cost of researching violence is evident throughout. Collins Snow and Bihurriet (1992) begin their chapter on the burials of Argentina's desaparecidos – the disappeared – with a quote from Shakespeare's *King Richard II*:

> *—of comfort, no man speak:*
> *Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs:*
> *Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes*
> *Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth*
> (Shakespeare, quoted in Collins Snow and Bihurriet, 1992, p. 328).

That secondary data sources can provoke a traumatic response – known as vicarious trauma – in researchers is documented in the literature (Fincham et al., 2008; Barlow, 2015; Scott Bray, 2017), and the growing awareness of documents and media as potentially risky data sources and the increasing openness with which researchers of human rights violations and death discuss their experiences of such research can only serve to better prepare future scholars. Despite my own work on the subject of vicarious trauma, I have found myself at times with rainy eyes – after coding the story of a girl with the same name as one of my sisters, or the other sister's birthday, or reading one of the (too) many reports on the failings of law enforcement and victims' services providers to adequately respond to and protect another victim. And yet, I continue this talk of graves.

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[40] For myself, I have found the bar graphs and pie charts tallying deaths used by Churchill (2018) and Aplin (2019) to be particularly enraging for their reduction of HBV victims to a simple figure, as if the loss of life could be somehow averted through the use of more complicated visualizations.

The completion of this dissertation marks six years since I first requested work on a project researching HBV in the United States. I believed I was uniquely qualified for the work, with an educational background steeped in anthropology, comparative religious studies, and conflict studies. Looking back, I realize that I was simultaneously hopelessly naïve and prescient in my assessment of my own capabilities and fortitude.

> *"He [Rabbi Tarfon] used to say: It is not your duty to finish the work, but neither are you at liberty to neglect it"* (Pirkei Avot 2:21).

I write sorrow so that the contentious may join the work.

There will always be work.

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6. APPENDICES

APPENDIX CHAPTER 2

A2.1. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF HONOR CRIMES AND HONOR KILLINGS

A2.1.1 Governments and International Governmental Organizations

A2.1.1.1. The European Union (2003)

(Council of Europe)

The murder of a woman by a close family member or partner as a result of (suspected or alleged) shame being brought on a family by the action (a suspicion or allegation will be enough) of the woman

A2.1.1.2. Germany (2011)

(Oberwittler and Kasselt, 2011, p. 2, translation by first author)

We define honor killings as deliberately attempted or completed homicides, which in the context of patriarchal families or societies are primarily committed by men against women in order to restore the family's or man's honor, which, from the perpetrator's perspective, has been violated. The violation of honor occurs in any case through a perceived breach of behavioral norms that relate to female sexuality. Both the existence of patriarchal norms of behavior for women and the influence of collectivist family values are central to the understanding of honor killing.

A2.1.1.3. The Netherlands (2005)

(Ferwerda and Van Leiden, 2005, quoted in Janssen, 2015, p. 23)

Any type of psychological or physical violence committed from a collective mentality as a reaction to a (threat of) violation of the honour of a man or a woman, and thus of his or her family, of which the outside world is aware or may become aware.

A2.1.1.4. Sweden (2006)

(Swedish Protection Authority, 2006, quoted in Bredal, 2014, p. 144)

1. *Honour-related violence usually involves several perpetrators (collective: family, kin, clan) whereas in ordinary violence there is usually one perpetrator (individual);*
2. *In honour-related violence there is great loyalty with the perpetrator from family/kin/clan and broader networks. Ordinary violence is condemned even by closely related persons. There is little or no loyalty with the perpetrator;*
3. *Perpetrators in honour-related violence typically do not feel remorse but rather pride, seeing that the act merits respect in the kin and ethnic group. A perpetrator of ordinary violence often feels remorse and changes his or her behavior immediately after the act;*
4. *Planning is very common in honour cases while it is rare in ordinary cases.*

A2.1.1.5. The United Kingdom (2017)

(Crown Prosecution Services, 2017)

A collection of practices which are used to control behavior within families or other social groups to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and/or honor.

A2.1.1.6. The United Nations (2012)

As noted by the Secretary-General, certain cultural norms and beliefs are the causal factors of harmful practices resulting in violence against women, such as crimes committed in the name of "honour". Honour killings have been characterized as being among the most severe manifestations of harmful practices.... Honour killings take many forms, including direct murder; stoning; women and young girls being forced to commit suicide after public denunciations of their behaviour; and women being disfigured by acid burns, leading to death.

A2.1.2 Non-Governmental Organizations

A2.1.2.1. AHA Foundation (2019)

Honor violence is an often-overlooked form of abuse that shames, hurts or kills thousands of women and girls in the US each year and puts millions more at risk. Honor violence is typically seen in the form of physical or emotional abuse, sexual assault, rape or kidnapping – but it also includes female genital mutilation and forced marriage. In its most extreme cases, honor violence can lead to murder. In sharp contrast to other forms of domestic violence, honor violence is often condoned by families and communities, making it particularly difficult to identify and stop. Sadly, it often involves several perpetrators within the family or community.

A2.2.1.2. Amnesty International (2012)

So-called honor killings are based on the deeply rooted belief that women are objects and commodities, not human beings entitled to dignity and rights equal to those of men. Women are considered the property of male relatives and are seen to embody the honor of the men to whom they "belong". Women's bodies are considered the repositories of family honor. The concepts of male status and family status are of particular importance in communities where "honor" killings occur and where women are viewed as responsible for upholding a family's "honor." If a woman or girl is accused or suspected of engaging in behavior that could taint male and/or family status, she may face brutal retaliation from her relatives that often results in violent death. Even though such accusations are not based on factual or tangible evidence, any allegation of dishonor against a woman often suffices for family members to take matters into their own hands.

A2.2.1.3 Human Rights Watch (2001)

Honour crimes are acts of violence, usually murder, committed by male family members, against female family members, who are held to have brought dishonor upon the family. A woman can be targeted by individuals within her family for a variety of reasons.

A2.2.1.4 Tahirih Justice Center (2019)

Honor crimes are acts of violence, including murder, predominantly committed by male family members against female family members who are perceived to have brought dishonor on their families.

A2.2. SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES

Table A2.2.1. Honor Killing Database Variables

Variable Name	Notes
Identification number	Country, Year, Event number, Victim/ Perpetrator number[a]
Year	
Event number	List specific
Location	City or county/province of event
Victim number	Event specific (i.e., primary, secondary, etc.)
Victim name	
Multiple victims	Presence of other victims
Total victims	1-*n*
Victim age	
Victim sex	
Victim ethnicity	
Relationship between victims	
Method of killing	Victim specific; including Indirect Victims
Motive for attack	Victim specific. Children under 10 years coded as Bystander
Multiple perpetrators	Participation of other perpetrators
Total perpetrators	1-*n*
Perpetrator name	
Perpetrator age	
Perpetrator sex	Primary perpetrator as determined by relation to primary victim
Perpetrator ethnicity	
Relationship between victim and perpetrator	
Additional perpetrators	Name, Age, Sex, Ethnicity, and Victim-perpetrator Relationship for up to nine additional perpetrators

[a] Perpetrator number coded only in the Perpetrator Dataset

Table A2.2.2. Criteria for Case Matching

Variable	Criteria for Match
Year	Exact match
Victim age	Included matches with unknown age or within range of ± 5 years
Victim sex	Exact match
Victim ethnicity	Included matches with unknown ethnicity
Method of killing	Included matches with unknown method
Perpetrator age	Included matches with unknown age or within range of ± 5 years
Perpetrator sex	Exact match
Perpetrator ethnicity	Included matches with unknown ethnicity
Relationship between victim and perpetrator	Category match

Table A2.2.3. Latent Class Analysis Variables

Variable Name	Variable Description	Coding Scheme	Notes
ID	Unique case/victim identifier	CountryYear-Event number-Victim number	Event and Victim number are country specific; victim number is relational
Country	Country of event	1 = Canada, 2 = Germany, 3 = United States, 4 = Other Europe, 5 = "Honor Cultures"	
Year	Year of event	1 = before 2000, 2 = 2000-2004, 3 = 2005-2009, 4 = 2010-2014	
Multiple victims	Presence of multiple victims	1 = Yes, 2 = No	
Victim age	Victim age	1 = ≤ 10, 2 = 11-17, 3 = 18-24, 4 = 25-29, 5 = 30-34, 6 = 35-39, 7 = 40-44, 8 = 45-49, 9 = 50-54, 10 = 55-59, 11 = ≥ 60	
Victim sex	Victim sex	1 = Female, 2 = Male	
Victim region	Victim region of origin	1 = Central Asia, 2 = East Asia/Pacific, 3 = Europe, 4 = Latin America/Caribbean, 5 = Middle East/North Africa, 6 = North America, 7 = South Asia, 8 = Sub-Saharan Africa	Ethnicity used for matching purposes, then coded to region according to World Bank (http://datatopics.worldbank.org/sdgatlas/the-world-by-region.html)
Victim relationship	Relationship between victims	1 = Family, 2 = Intimate partner, 3 = Friends/Other	
Victim sex agreement	Agreement in sex of victims	1 = All Female, 2 = All Male, 3 = Mixed	
Victim ethnicity agreement	Agreement in ethnicity between victims	1 = Yes, 2 = No	Assumes same ethnicity if one is unknown
Motive	Event motive	1 = Inappropriate relationship, 2 = Separated from partner, 3 = Too Western, 4 = Pregnant out of wedlock or Raped, 5 = Refused marriage, 6 = Provided support to victim, 7 = Exposed behavior, 8 = Bystander, 9 = Other, 10 = Suspected adultery	
Multiple perpetrators	Presence of multiple perpetrators	1 = Yes, 2 = No	
Perpetrator age	Primary perpetrator age	1 = ≤ 10, 2 = 11-17, 3 = 18-24, 4 = 25-29, 5 = 30-34, 6 = 35-39, 7 = 40-44, 8 = 45-49, 9 = 50-54, 10 = 55-59, 11 = ≥ 60	Primary perpetrator is relational.
Perpetrator sex	Primary perpetrator sex	1 = Female, 2 = Male	Primary perpetrator is relational.
Perpetrator region	Primary perpetrator region of origin	1 = Central Asia, 2 = East Asia/Pacific, 3 = Europe, 4 = Latin America/Caribbean, 5 = Middle East/North Africa, 6 = North America, 7 = South Asia, 8 = Sub-Saharan Africa	Primary perpetrator is relational.
Victim perpetrator relationship	Relationship between victim and primary perpetrator	1 = Natal family, 2 = Extended family or Friend, 3 = Intimate partner, 4 = Partner's family, 5 = Other/no relationship	Victims who kill themselves (relationship is "Self") are coded with a "5"
Victim perpetrator ethnic. agreement	Agreement in ethnicity between victim and primary perpetrator	1 = Yes, 2 = No	Assumes same ethnicity if one is unknown

A2.2.4. Models 1/3/5 (No Covariates) Fit Indicators

DE Case Subset (M1)	MLL	AIC	BIC	Estimated class size
Single class	-4199.678	8519.356	8752.188	358
Two classes	-3875.355	7992.71	8462.254*	252, 106
Three classes	-3717.595	7799.19*	8505.447	133, 123, 102
Four classes	-3659.996*	7805.993	8748.962	102, 118, 69, 68
Five classes	NaN	NaN	NaN	-
Number of observations: 358; number of fully observed cases: 107				
Victim Data (M3)				
Single class	-12218.31	24564.61	24864.27	798
Two classes	-11427.98	23113.95	23717.95	499, 299
Three classes	-11053.5	22495.0	23403.33	284, 277, 237
Four classes	-10726.9	21971.8	23184.47*	254, 248, 157, 138
Five classes	-10567.62*	21783.25*	23300.25	254, 196, 147, 125, 76
Number of observations: 798; number of fully observed cases: 293				
DE Victim Subset (M3)				
Single class	-7220.982	14561.96	14818.45	531
Two classes	-6671.893	13585.79	14103.03*	276, 255
Three classes	-6528.03	13420.06	14198.07	252, 167, 112
Four classes	-6398.76	13283.52	14322.29	233, 113, 97, 88
Five classes	-6244.299*	13096.6*	14396.13	138, 114, 112, 105, 62
Number of observations: 531; number of fully observed cases: 229				
ROW Victim Subset (M3)				
Single class	-3916.351	7960.701	8190.285	267
Two classes	-3646.529	7551.059	8013.814*	135, 132
Three classes	-3470.809	7329.619	8025.545	97, 89, 81
Four classes	-3363.658	7245.315	8174.413	91, 85, 48, 43
Five classes	-3281.523*	7211.045*	8373.314	94, 67, 41, 39, 25
Number of observations: 267; number of fully observed cases: 64				

All models include missing data
* denotes best model based on indicator

A2.2.4. Models 1/3/5 (No Covariates) Fit Indicators

Continued

Perpetrator Data (M5)	MLL	AIC	BIC	Estimated class size
Single class	-10535.59	21199.18	21493.66	736
Two classes	-9742.264	19742.53	20336.09	457, 279
Three classes	-9465.296	19318.59	20211.23	271, 253, 212
Four classes	-9190.567	18899.13	20090.85*	262, 202, 136, 135
Five classes	-9091.942*	18831.88*	20322.68	264, 148, 131, 127, 66
Number of observations: 736; number of fully observed cases: 209				
DE Perpetrator Subset (M5)				
Single class	-5963.388	12046.78	12295.68	468
Two classes	-5483.261	11208.52	11710.49*	238, 230
Three classes	-5330.349	11024.7	11779.72	195, 143, 130
Four classes	-5270.068	11026.14	12034.21	187, 118, 100, 63
Five classes	-5149.311*	10906.62*	12167.76	199, 84, 82, 69, 34
Number of observations: 468; number of fully observed cases: 166				
ROW Perpetrator Subset (M5)				
Single class	-3604.504	7337.008	7566.831	268
Two classes	-3351.068	6960.136	7423.374*	127, 141
Three classes	-3238.14	6864.279	7560.93	109, 104, 56
Four classes	-3069.939	6657.878*	7587.944	96, 94, 65, 13
Five classes	-3039.476*	6726.952	7890.432	84, 55, 54, 48, 27
Number of observations: 268; number of fully observed cases: 43				

All models include missing data
* denotes best model based on indicator

Table A2.2.5. Models 2/4/6 (Country and Year Covariates) Fit Indicators

DE Case Subset (M2)	MLL	AIC	BIC	Estimated class size
Single class	-3750.423	7614.847	7836.037	358
Two classes	-3427.121	7088.242	7542.264*	252, 106
Three classes	-3331.751	7017.503	7704.357	225, 89, 44
Four classes	-3209.099*	6892.199*	7811.885	122, 88, 88, 59
Five classes	NaN	NaN	NaN	-
Number of observations: 358; number of fully observed cases: 107				
Victim Data (M4)				
Single class	-10279.08	20672.16	20939.04	798
Two classes	-9517.205	19268.41	19816.22	493, 305
Three classes	-9218.431	18790.86	19619.6	308, 299, 191
Four classes	-8904.418	18282.84	19392.5*	259, 200, 194, 145
Five classes	-8736.872*	18067.74*	19458.33	254, 148, 145, 143, 108
Number of observations: 798; number of fully observed cases: 293				
DE Victim Subset (M4)				
Single class	-6532.702	13179.4	13423.07	531
Two classes	-5989.36	12212.72	12712.87*	272, 259
Three classes	-5809.982	11973.96	12730.6	257, 154, 120
Four classes	-5680.327	11834.65	12847.77	190, 138, 116, 88
Five classes	-5565.566*	11725.13*	12994.74	154, 132, 116, 87, 43
Number of observations: 531; number of fully observed cases: 229				
ROW Victim Subset (M4)				
Single class	-3197.378	6508.755	6713.229	267
Two classes	-2937.919	6109.837	6529.546*	157, 110
Three classes	-2784.611	5923.222	6558.165	114, 107, 46
Four classes	-2709.109	5892.218	6742.396	100, 77, 55, 36
Five classes	-2612.407*	5818.814*	6884.226	81, 69, 57, 41, 19
Number of observations: 267; number of fully observed cases: 64				

All models include missing data
* denotes best model based on indicator

Table A2.2.5. Models 2/4/6 (Country and Year Covariates) Fit Indicators

Continued

Perpetrator Data (M6)	MLL	AIC	BIC	Estimated class size
Single class	-8706.397	17526.79	17789.06	736
Two classes	-7991.236	16216.47	16754.82	409, 327
Three classes	-7699.308	15752.62	16567.03	289, 279, 168
Four classes	-7458.203*	15390.41*	16480.9*	242, 199, 161, 135
Five classes	-8428.937	17451.87	18818.44	637, 58, 41, 0, 0
Number of observations: 736; number of fully observed cases: 209				
DE Perpetrator Subset (M6)				
Single class	-5358.624	10831.25	11067.71	468
Two classes	-4881.534	9997.068	10482.44*	238, 230
Three classes	-4764.279	9882.558	10616.84	227, 167, 74
Four classes	-4734.29	9942.58	10925.77	228, 145, 84, 11
Five classes	-4641.565*	9877.131*	11109.23	180, 143, 55, 47, 43
Number of observations: 468; number of fully observed cases: 166				
ROW Perpetrator Subset (M6)				
Single class	-2892.711	5899.421	6104.107	268
Two classes	-2676.771	5587.542	6007.687*	164, 104
Three classes	-2562.31	5478.62	6114.224	124, 89, 56
Four classes	-2452.589	5379.178	6230.242	91, 85, 58, 35
Five classes	-2379.001*	5352.002*	6418.525	91, 69, 51, 30, 27
Number of observations: 268; number of fully observed cases: 43				

All models include missing data
* denotes best model based on indicator

A2.3. SUPPLEMENTAL FIGURES

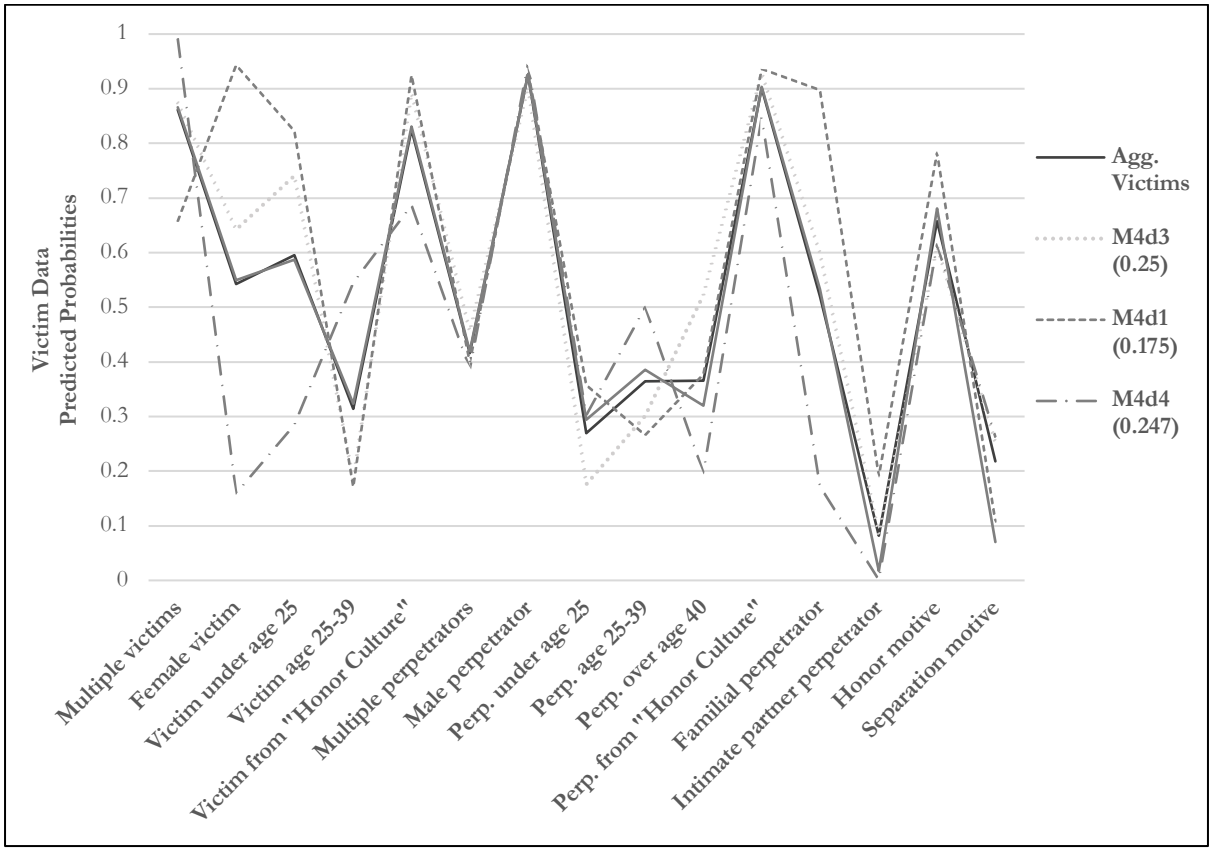

Figure A2.3.1. Two-class Model Victim Class and Four-class Model Aggregated and Individual Honor Victim Classes

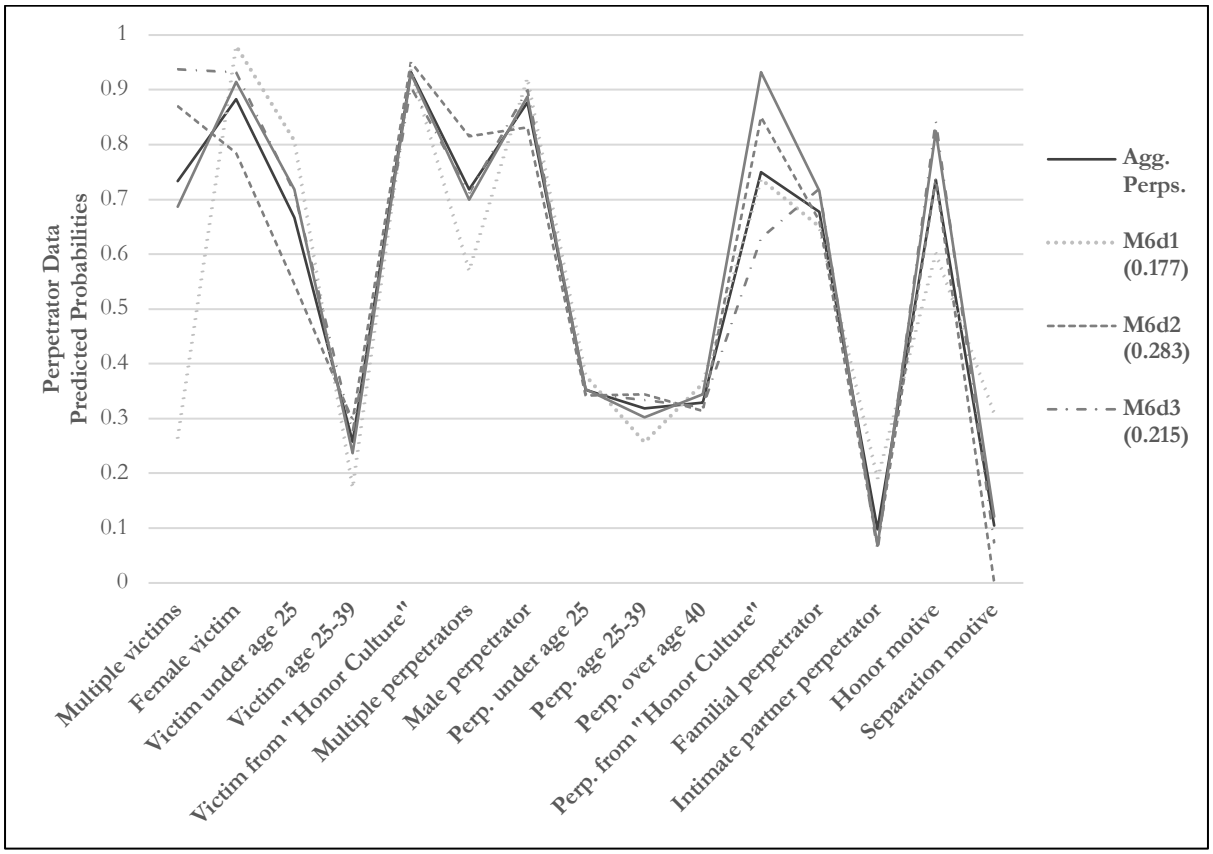

Figure A2.3.2. Two-class Model Perpetrator Class and Four-class Model Aggregated and Individual Honor Perpetrator Classes

APPENDIX CHAPTER 3

A3.1. RISK ASSESSMENTS AND INVESTIGATIVE CHECKLISTS

A1.1.1. DASH Checklist

CURRENT SITUATION THE CONTEXT AND DETAIL OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IS VERY IMPORTANT. THE QUESTIONS HIGHLIGHTED IN BOLD ARE HIGH RISK FACTORS. TICK THE RELEVANT BOX AND ADD COMMENT WHERE NECESSARY TO EXPAND.	YES ☑	NO ☑
1. Has the current incident resulted in injury? (please state what and whether this is the first injury)	☐	☐
2. Are you very frightened? Comment:	☐	☐
3. What are you afraid of? Is it further injury or violence? (Please give an indication of what you think (name of abuser(s)….. might do and to whom) Kill: Self ☐ Children ☐ Other (please specify) ☐ Further injury and violence: Self ☐ Children ☐ Other (please specify) ☐ Other (please clarify): Self ☐ Children ☐ Other (please specify) ☐	☐	☐
4. Do you feel isolated from family/ friends i.e. does (name of abuser(s)…..) try to stop you from seeing friends/family/Dr or others?	☐	☐
5. Are you feeling depressed or having suicidal thoughts?	☐	☐
6. Have you separated or tried to separate from (name of abuser(s)….) within the past year?	☐	☐
7. Is there conflict over child contact? (please state what)	☐	☐
8. Does (…..) constantly text, call, contact, follow, stalk or harass you? (Please expand to identify what and whether you believe that this is done deliberately to intimidate you? Consider the context and behaviour of what is being done. Ask 11 additional stalking questions*)	☐	☐
CHILDREN/DEPENDENTS (If no children/dependants, please go to the next section)	**YES**	**NO**
9. Are you currently pregnant or have you recently had a baby in the past 18 months?	☐	☐
10. Are there any children, step-children that aren't (…..) in the household? Or are there other dependants in the household (i.e. older relative)?	☐	☐
11. Has (…..) ever hurt the children/dependants?	☐	☐
12. Has (…..) ever threatened to hurt or kill the children/dependants?	☐	☐
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HISTORY	**YES**	**NO**
13. Is the abuse happening more often?	☐	☐
14. Is the abuse getting worse?	☐	☐
15. Does (…….) try to control everything you do and/or are they excessively jealous? (In terms of relationships, who you see, being 'policed at home', telling you what to wear for example. Consider honour based violence and stalking and specify the behaviour)	☐	☐
16. Has (…..) ever used weapons or objects to hurt you?	☐	☐
17. Has (…..) ever threatened to kill you or someone else and you believed them?	☐	☐

A3.1.2. PATRIACH Checklist

PATRIARCH

Checklist for the assessment of risk for patriarchal violence[1] with honor as motive

Name:	ID-number:	Case number:
Completed by:		**Date:**

Sources of information:

- ☐ Interview with perpetrator/suspect
- ☐ Interview with victim/complainant
- ☐ Other_____

Item rating procedure:

Y = Risk/victim vulnerability factor is present;
P = Risk/victim vulnerability factor is possibly or partially present;
N = Risk/victim vulnerability factor is not present
– = Omit, insufficient information

Context and case description:

The case:
- Forced marriage?
- Infidelity?
- "Wrong" partner?
- "Wrong" sexual preference?
- Blood revenge?
- Genital mutilation?

The context:
- What is the family hierarchy like?
- How is the power structured within the family?
- Conceived norm/rule breaking?

Administrative considerations:
- Are other authorities involved?
- Is the case reported to the police?

PATRIARCH

NOTE:. Proper use of the PATRIARCH requires specialized education and training. Please contact the author for information regarding recommended education and training procedures.

Note: Actual, attempted or threatened physical harm, including forced marriages

A3.1.3. LEC EGG Checklist

POLITIE
- Naam eenheid
- Naam district/team/dienst/afdeling

Checklist Eer Gerelateerd Geweld

-

BVH Registratienummer	:	[Nummer]

Doel

Deze checklist is ontwikkeld om minimale informatie te vergaren bij betrokkenen om daarna te onderzoeken of eergerelateerd geweld (mede) een rol speelt, of kan gaan spelen bij het incident. Indien er sprake is van mogelijk eergerelateerd geweld is het advies om de werkinstructie eergerelateerd geweld verder te volgen.

Eer Gerelateerd Geweld

Eer Gerelateerd Geweld is elke vorm van geestelijk of lichamelijk geweld, gepleegd vanuit een collectieve mentaliteit in reactie op een (dreiging van) schending van de eer van een man of vrouw en daarmee van zijn of haar familie waarvan de buitenwereld op de hoogte is of dreigt te raken.

Eergerelateerd geweld is vaak een vorm van huiselijk geweld maar dat hoeft niet. Huiselijk geweld is een overkoepelend begrip.
Huiselijk geweld:
•zegt iets over de sociale context waarbinnen het geweld wordt gepleegd, het gezin
•gaat meestal uit van één persoon die de geweldpleger is
Eergerelateerd geweld:
•is een motief, vaak een collectief (familie)motief
•gaat over het beschermen of het herstellen van de familie-eer
•gaat meestal over meerdere personen die (dreigend) geweldpleger kunnen zijn

Houdt bij eergerelateerd geweld ook rekening met mogelijke slachtoffers die niet direct in beeld zijn en die mogelijk geen deel uit maken van de familie. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan het vriendje van een minderjarig meisje met wie zij een verboden relatie heeft of had. Een persoon die een belediging heeft geuit. Een crimineel of zakelijk conflict. Een persoon die verantwoordelijk wordt gehouden voor het overlijden van een familielid, et cetera.

Instructies

Bij iedere vraag is een beknopte helptekst opgenomen in een blauwe kleur. Dit betreft verborgen tekst die men wel zichtbaar moet maken. Ga naar (links boven), Bestand; Opties; Weergave en zet een kruisje in het vakje 'verborgen tekst'. Als je de verborgen tekst ook wil printen zet dan ook een kruisje in het vakje 'verborgen tekst afdrukken'.

De uitgebreide toelichting staat in de handleiding van de checklist eergerelateerd geweld.
Herhaal de screening indien nodig voor een bij het incident betrokken andere persoon.

Casus gegevens

Slachtoffer

	:	persoonsgegevens slachtoffer]
Verdachte		
Persoonsgegevens	:	[persoonsgegevens verdachte]
Relatie tussen slachtoffer en	:	[soort relatie]

A3.1. SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES

Table A3.1.1. Predicted Probabilities of Selected Characteristics – LCA-predicted Classes

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Estimated Class Size	0.569	0.312	0.12
Multiple victims	0.99	0.33	0.92
Female victim	0.51	1.00	0.24
Victim age			
Victim under age 25	0.64	0.81	0.33
Victim over 25	0.36	0.19	0.67
Victims of same ethnicity	0.46	0.96	0.89
Supporters/Bystanders	0.11	0.16	0.21
Multiple perpetrators	0.49	0.38	0.55
Victim-perpetrator relationship			
Familial perpetrator	0.51	0.96	0.36
Intimate partner/ In-laws	0.38	0.06	0.38
Community perpetrator	0.05	0.00	0.49
Event motive			
Sexual impropriety	0.97	0.35	0.76
Moral deviancy	0.03	0.65	0.24

Table A3.1.2. Predicted Probabilities of Selected Characteristics – Adjusted Classes

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Estimated Class Size	0.609	0.327	0.064
Multiple victims	1.00	0.32	0.89
Female victim	0.50	1.00	0.00
Victim age			
Victim under age 25	0.64	0.77	0.15
Victim over 25	0.36	0.23	0.85
Victims of same ethnicity	0.49	0.97	0.94
Supporters/Bystanders	0.12	0.17	0.16
Multiple perpetrators	0.51	0.41	0.26
Victim-perpetrator relationship			
Familial perpetrator	0.51	0.90	0.42
Intimate partner/ In-laws	0.38	0.06	0.37
Community perpetrator	0.11	0.03	0.21
Event motive			
Sexual impropriety	1.00	0.31	0.58
Moral deviancy	0.00	0.69	0.42

A3.2. SUPPLEMENTAL FIGURES

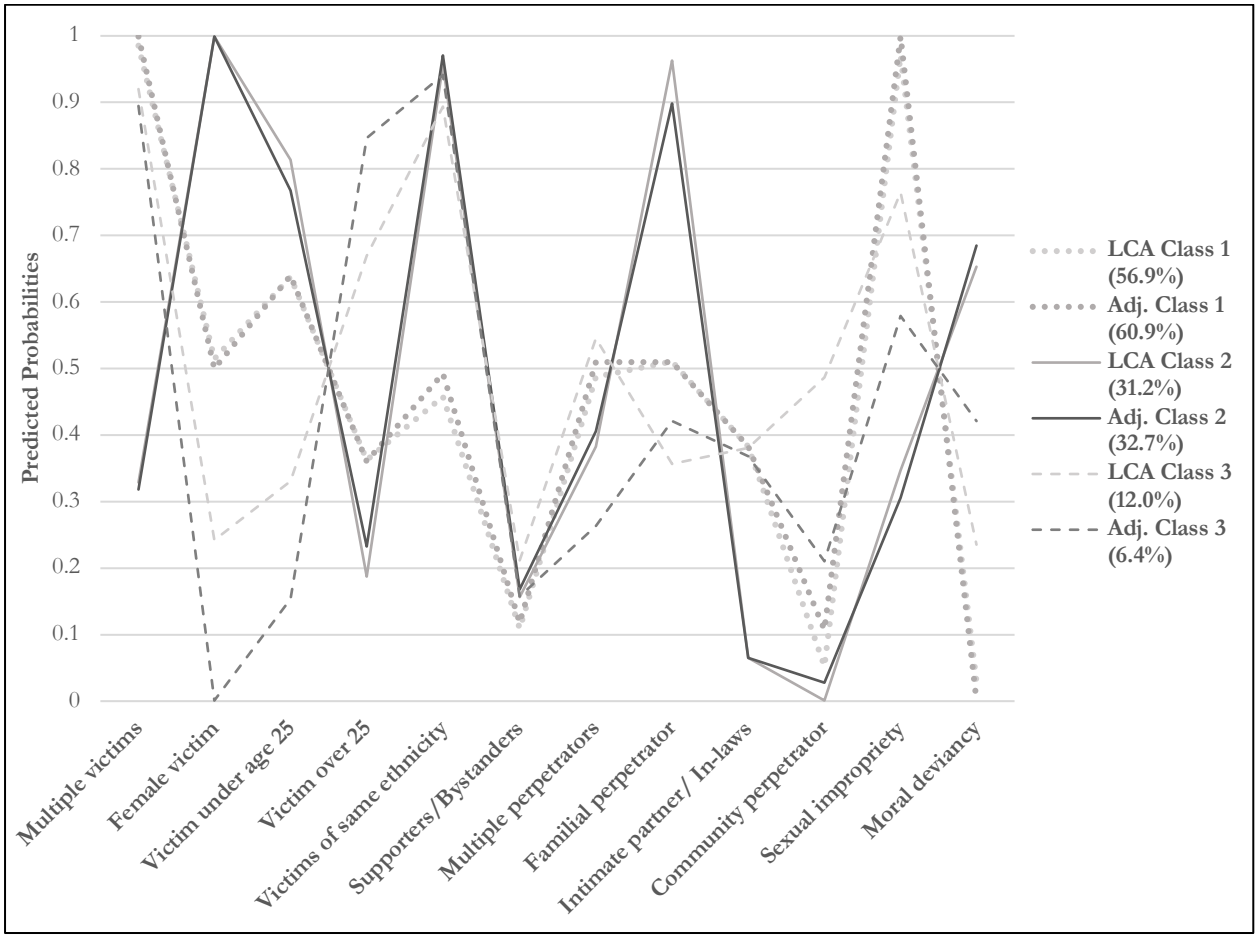

Figure A3.2.1. Predicted Probabilities of Combined LCA and Adjusted Classes

APPENDIX CHAPTER 4

A4.1. SUPPLEMENTAL FORMULAS

Let S_k equal the number of "singletons," in sample j, M denotes the total number of identified cases, and n_k, $k = 1, 2, \ldots t$, is the number of individuals listed in sample k. P_{ij} is defined as the conditional probability of identifying an individual i in the jth list, while μ_j denotes the average probability of being listed in the jth sample (Chao et al., 2001).

A4.1.1. Sample coverage *($\hat{C}$)*

$$\hat{C} = 1 - \frac{1}{t}\sum_{k=1}^{t}\frac{S_k}{n_k}$$

A4.1.2. Dependence estimator *(D)*

$$D = M - \frac{1}{t}\sum_{k=1}^{t} S_k$$

A4.1.3. Additive term for frequency interaction *(A):*

$$A(i,j) = H(i,j) + H(j,i)$$

where $H(i,j)$ is equal to $Z_{k1k2\ldots kt}\, I[k_i = 1, k_j = +, k_n = 0, n \neq i, n \neq j]$.

A4.1.4. Coefficient of coverage *(γ)*

In samples j and k, the coefficient of coverage becomes:

$$\gamma_{jk} = \frac{1}{N}\sum_{i=1}^{N}\frac{(P_{ij} - \mu_i)(P_{ik} - \mu_k)}{\mu_j \mu_k}$$

A4.2. SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES

Table A4.2.1. Aggregated and Estimated Totals by List Pairs

Canada (1991-2009)	**Cases**		**Victims**	
	Agg. Total	*Est. Total (95% CI)*	*Agg. Total*	*Est. Total (95% CI)*
CA1,2	9	9.1 (9.0 – 10.1)	17	17.3 (17.0 – 18.7)
CA1,3	9	9.8 (9.0 – 13.2)	17	18.8 (17.0 – 24.0)
CA2,3	10	10. 7 (10.0 – 13.5)	18	18.8 (18.0 – 21.3)
CA1,CA2+3	10	10.3 (10.0 – 11.0)	18	18.5 (18.0 – 20.3)
CA2,CA1+3	10	10.1 (10.0 – 11.0)	18	18.1 (18.0 – 18.6)
CA3,CA1+2	10	10.7 (10.0 – 13.5)	18	18.8 (18.0 – 21.3)
CA1,2,3[a]	10	11 (10 – 19)	18	18 (18 – 22)
Germany (1996-2005)				
	Agg. Total	*Est. Total (95% CI)*	*Agg. Total*	*Est. Total (95% CI)*
DE1,2	55	105.6 (70.7 – 188.0)	76	152.3 (104.3 – 256.3)
United Kingdom (1998-2007)				
	Agg. Total	*Est. Total (95% CI)*	*Agg. Total*	*Est. Total (95% CI)*
UK1,2	9	10.6 (9.0 – 17.1)	13	18.1 (13.0 – 35.5)
UK1,3	13	18.1 (13.0 – 35.5)	17	27.6 (17.5 – 60.0)
UK2,3	14	16.7 (14.0 – 25.2)	18	19.6 (18.0 – 24.2)
UK1,UK2+3	14	18.1 (14.0 – 31.1)	18	26.5 (18.0 – 50.8)
UK2,UK1+3	14	15.8 (14.0 – 21.4)	18	19.1 (18.0 – 22.5)
UK3,UK1+2	14	15.8 (14.0 – 21.4)	18	19.1 (18.0 – 22.5
UK1,2,3[a]	14	15 (14 – 30)	18	18 (18 – 24)
United States (1999-2012)				
	Agg. Total	*Est. Total (95% CI)*	*Agg. Total*	*Est. Total (95% CI)*
US1,2	17	24.2 (17.0 – 45.4)	26	34.0 (26.0 – 52.0)
US1,3	17	20.6 (17.0 – 30.7)	26	31.1 (26.0 – 42.4)
US2,3	9	9.1 (9.0 – 10.1)	13	13.1 (13.0 – 13.8)
US1,US2+3	17	20.6 (17.0 – 30.7)	26	31.1 (26.0 – 42.4)
US2,US1+3	17	20.6 (17.0 – 30.7)	26	31.1 (26.0 – 42.4))
US3,US1+2	17	18.8 (17.0 – 24.0)	26	29.3 (26.0 – 36.6)
US1,2,3[a]	17	18 (17 – 25)	26	28 (26 – 37)

[a] The CARE1 package produces whole-number estimates only