

HONOUR KILLINGS AND INTIMATE-PARTNER HOMICIDE IN CANADA

by

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Abstract

An honour killing is defined as taking place when an individual is murdered because her or his indiscretions or misfortunes have brought shame upon their families (Goldstein 2002); in contrast, intimate-partner homicide is the murder or non-negligent manslaughter of a person by her or his current or former intimate partner (Websdale 1999). On June 30, 2009 an alleged ‘honour killing’ occurred in the locus of the Kingston community, taking the lives of four innocent women. The murder gained the attention of media outlets, sparking my curiosity in this cultural trial. This thesis investigates the differences and similarities between Western intimate-partner homicides and the mislabelled ‘Middle Eastern’ practice. Dismissing biological determinants as a source for legitimacy, investigating the limits of multiculturalism, and framing patriarchy in Canada will aid in finding a means to equate these two detrimental acts of violence against women. With the assistance of theoretical frameworks encompassing radical, liberal, and Islamic feminism, as well as Bourdieu’s Symbolic Violence perspective, an effective critique will be engaged. Incorporating Canadian society and understanding the similarities and differences that lay at the core of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide will produce conclusions not yet published in the present literature. Individuals in Canada are encouraged to seek tolerance for cultural diversity, and a more in-depth insight into what is happening to women outside of stereotypical honour killings helps put these crimes into context.

Chapter One: Introduction

According to the United Nations, there are an estimated 5,000 deaths perpetrated worldwide as a result of 'honour killings' (Gatehouse 2009:24, Meeto0 2007:187). For the purpose of this thesis, an honour killing is defined as taking place when an individual is murdered because her indiscretions or misfortunes have brought shame upon their families; the killing of wives, daughters, sisters, nieces and cousins are included in these male-justified homicides (Goldstein 2002:28). It is a generic term used to refer to the "premeditated murder of preadolescent, adolescent, or adult women by one or more male members of the immediate or extended family" (Sev'er 2001:965). This representation of honour killings has been made to appear as a by-product of religion or Middle Eastern ritual, separate from North American culture. A firm grasp of what constitutes intimate-partner homicide is fundamental before elaborating further. In contrast with honour killings, intimate-partner homicide is the murder or non-negligent manslaughter of a person by her current or former intimate partner (Websdale 1999). Intimate-partner violence may be categorized as "any assault, battery, sexual assault, sexual battery, or any criminal offense resulting in physical injury or death of [a partner] by another who is or was residing in the same single dwelling unit" (Websdale 1999:4). Furthermore, an analysis of intimate-partner death is "embedded in the constellations of daily routines and personal interactions between persons connected through networks or kinship, those who often combine their earnings, or those who survive from a common pool of resources" (Websdale 1999:4). This thesis investigates whether killings in the name of honour occur in Canada as a part of intimate male abuse and dominance. If so, it could be argued that

brutality against women in Canadian society is equally or more gruesome than highly publicized and stereotyped crimes committed by persons from Middle Eastern countries. Goldstein (2002:32) argues that the male gender is innately prone to “tallness, muscularity, sexual aggressiveness and has a continuous need for ‘parental certainty,’” a declaration that must be dismissed immediately for its lack of legitimacy. Rather than supporting deterministic claims, I propose for the purpose of this thesis, that patriarchal behaviour is localized and individualized within culture so as to maintain power relations.

Honour killings, especially in the West, have been hastily branded a Middle Eastern or Muslim practice. Such insight lacks consideration for those women victimized each day by Canadian men based on patriarchal dominance and reaffirming masculinisation. The media, for instance, has portrayed Canada as a nation with very little violence against women, when in reality there are concealed crimes committed regularly against women across all cultures amidst society. Deconstructing such an issue is important because of the common misunderstandings individuals have concerning how society operates within the sphere of gender inequality. There is a systemic and socially constructed lack of knowledge and awareness about honour killings, what constitutes them, and their prevalence in Canadian society. Shedding light on this topic opens up a much needed discussion in Canada on what is arguably intimate-partner homicide by another name.

Following what was labelled a brutal ‘honour killing’ of four women in my community of Kingston, Ontario, on June 30, 2009, I became interested in examining the issue from a sociological perspective and critically analyzing how such crimes occur and affect people at a local level. The media portrayed the murders as an honour killing.

However, is this too simplistic an explanation? Do many communities not experience similar domestic assaults and acts of violence leading to the death of ‘loved ones’? Are there not other intimate-partner homicides in Canada justified by men in a similar manner to so-called honour killings? Is chronic intimate-partner violence equivalent in its detrimental effects on women? Patriarchal behaviour leading to the death of a woman can be attributed to localized individual conduct throughout many aspects of Western culture, not simply Middle Eastern. Understanding honour killings in relation to intimate-partner violence against women is essential in increasing awareness in Canada.

This thesis intends to incorporate an in-depth assessment of literature about honour killings. A large number of articles will be critically analyzed in accordance with cultural relations in diverse nations, all applicable to Canadian society. I intend to review multiculturalism in Canada and its limits in the consideration of honour killings in conjuncture with intimate-partner homicide. I aim to focus on theoretical and practical customs that men use to provoke and justify the victimization of women. I will also critique theorists who suggest that men are innately prone to this multiplicity of violence. While I may examine honour killings as an international phenomenon, not limited to Islamic nations, I plan on framing them in relation to intimate-partner homicides in Canada.

Chapter Two links the media to the ongoing struggle in Canada, integrating the false portrayal and spotlight that has been presented following the ‘honour killing’ in Kingston, Ontario, and furthermore, contextualizing it. Encompassing relevant media provides sufficient validity for the argument being proposed. National newspapers have

reinforced and recaptured the immediate inequality women face in the media and in Canada today.

Chapter Three facilitates the analytical component in previous literature, enabling a comparison and contrast of core definitions of what constitutes both an honour killing and intimate-partner homicide. It offers a critique of biological determinants of abuse and power, and the incorporation of race, religion, gender and multiculturalism is approached and evaluated within a Canadian context. An Islamic framework is also included in the literature review as a means to grasp the significant differences in religious values and beliefs between contrasting histories. The review of media influences and the perception of these incidents, as well as the theoretical approaches from a liberal and radical feminist perspective within conventional Westernized culture and their relation to honour killings, reiterates the fundamental gender inequality and cultural differences in Canada.

Chapter Four focuses on theoretical frameworks, incorporating radical feminism, liberal feminism, Islamic feminism, and Bourdieu's symbolic violence theory as they pertain to the relevancy of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide in Canada. Radical feminist theory emphasizes the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, specifically social dominance of women by men. Women are oppressed within patriarchal systems where rights, privileges and power are restricted by men. Such a system of beliefs defines patriarchy as a universal propensity of men to dominate women, and they see patriarchal control of women as the most important subjugation (Sev'er 2001:977). This theoretical approach is applicable within this field of study because women who are victims of honour killings or intimate-partner homicide are living in an

environment of patriarchy. Patriarchal dominance is a key component when scrutinizing violence against women and will aid in analyzing the socialized gender justifications for these crimes.

A liberal feminist approach is also applicable within this field of research, because individuals' rights to autonomous freedom are an entitlement that both women and men share. In Canada, where many may claim to live in an egalitarian society, there is severe gender inequality and lack of liberation when considering intimate-partner violence and honour killings. This theory will help explain contemporary society's structural lack of equality and opportunities for women, on an individual level.

Islamic feminism evokes the imposed Westernization of Islamic nations, which in turn, repel the ideologies that are currently being reinforced. Anti-Western ideologies initiated the popular revolution of 1979 in Iran, radically altering the government structure and beginning a rebellion against the West. The key component that is drawn from Islamic feminist theory relies on "the debate [that] was centred on the compatibility of the idea of women's emancipation with the principles of Islam" (Mojab 2001:127). Exploring expectations and obligations within a contemporary Western context attributes the notion that gender equality is prevalent in Western society, regardless of the falsified indoctrination of misconceptions that women have.

Lastly, within the discussion of theoretical perspectives, the notion that there is a continuous instilled fear among the dominated gender is outlined using Bourdieu's symbolic violence framework. The notion that women have been oppressed for the entirety of their lives, and continue to be symbolically abused, is arguably equally as devastating to psychological facets of their being. Bourdieu's notion that violence occurs

without the physical component is a radical approach to understanding gender inequality within conventional society. This ideological framework suggests that women are discriminated against and abused based on the premise that a look or gesture from the dominant gender is indicative of the ongoing gender struggle in this Western nation.

Chapter Five incorporates various findings that emerged throughout the literature and theoretical analyses. A radical transformation where honour killings and intimate-partner homicide are compared, contrasted, and furthermore equated on a vast number of levels, is suggested in this chapter. Social concepts and ideological notions of inequality, persistent abuse, and violence against women resulting in their death are critically approached.

Finally, Chapter Six summarizes the analysis of this thesis and draws on relevant conclusions and findings. An overview restating gender inequality and ongoing struggle in Canadian society aids in concisely deducing various flaws in the Western structure and outlines possibilities or lack thereof for the future. Rather than penalizing cultural differences and basing judicial sentences on the premise of gender, Canadians need to revisit the underlying patriarchal social inequity that they are so quick falsely to conceal.

Chapter two: The Influence of the Media

The media surrounds us. It is a dictator of current news and events at a national and international level. It is a source of racial discrimination and prejudice against cultures, and it has the absolute potential to intensify the stigma associated with honour killings. The portrayal of relevant news in the media has facilitated the needs of those in the upper classes within the Westernized structure. The prevalence of corrupt documentation presented within media format has increasingly indoctrinated discrimination and racial stereotypes into the daily lives of Canadians. The event that initiated the production of this thesis occurred on June 30, 2009 in Kingston, Ontario, just twenty five minutes away from my home. The Rideau Canal is a system of locks that transports vessels from one lake destination to the subsequent. I'm intimately connected to this case, as I've sustained a position as lock operator assistant on this system for four years. A phone call mid-afternoon on June 30 to the lockstation where I was employed informed the staff that there had been an accident and that vessels desiring to arrive in Kingston that day would not be able to travel the distance they had planned to. It wasn't until the following days that the media emerged with coverage insinuating that an honour killing had been precipitated. A family by the name of Shafia from St. Léonard near Montréal, Québec were returning from a vacation in Niagara Falls when the tragedy occurred. The loss of daughters Zainab, 19, Shari, 17, and Geeti, 13, along with Rona Amir Mohammad, 50 (the first wife of Mohammad, the father), occurred as their Nissan Sentra was submerged near the Kingston Mills Lock on the Canal system (Harrold 2010).

The Shafia family originated from Afghanistan but had spent a significant number of years in Dubai prior to immigrating to Montréal, Canada in 2007 (Ravensbergen 2010). Prior to recent news coverage and judicial proceedings, in July of 2009, Wali Abdali, the brother of Mohammad Shafia, claimed, “[Rona Amir Mohammad] refused to go but they said: ‘You can’t stay home alone. You have to come with us’” (Cherry 2009:1). The family members who aggressively persuaded Mohammad to go on the vacation in Niagara Falls were the second wife, Tooba Mohammad Yahya, 39, and her husband, Mohammad Shafia, 56 (Cherry 2009:1). Mohammad married his first wife, Rona Amir, in Afghanistan around the year 1979 or 1980; as a result, she fell victim to his patriarchal dominance. The polygamous relationship emerged when Rona Amir Mohammad became barren (Cherry 2009:1). She continued to raise Tooba Mohammad Yahya’s children, as opposed to their biological mother (Cherry 2009:1). The media’s perception is that abuse persisted in the family and, as a result an honour killing was perpetrated as their car was submerged in the bottom of the lake in front of the popular Rideau Canal. When I was made aware of the happenings, it was not feasible to anyone how a car managed to make it to the front of the locks, because there is no viable roadway that leads to the water. That realization prompted my suspicions that perhaps this was no accidental car malfunction. Over the following seven and a half months it has been intriguing to learn of the various media portrayals of this murderous calamity; however, what has struck me has been the accusations perpetrated against the second wife during the judiciary proceedings.

“Wife to stand trial in Kingston slayings” (Gazette 2010), “Woman will stand trial for daughters’ deaths” (Canwest News Service 2010), “Mother to stand trial in Rideau

Canal slayings” (Ravensbergen 2010). It is inconceivable that the spotlight and focus has been directed towards the woman in this situation of crisis, with very little commentary or concentration on the male perpetrators. A traditional honour killing is a transgression committed by the male family members of the victims, not the women. Shame is brought upon a family within an honour killing context, and as a result, the disciplinarian position falls on either the father or the eldest son. Furthermore, “the conception of honour used to rationalize killing is founded on the notion that a person’s honour depends on the behaviour of others and that behaviour, therefore, must be controlled” (Baker, Gregware and Cassidy 1999:165). Reiterating the multi-faceted nature of honour killings is fundamental in the analysis of this media exposé. The underlying truth is that honour killings are committed by male counterparts when shame is imposed on their collective family; this is an act that is rendered by the father or eldest son of the family, not a female individual. Is there a legal responsibility to investigate this further? The only feasible explanation is the deviation away from religious values within this Islamic family, which opposes the representation displayed in the media as an honour killing.

Tooba Mohammad Yahya has been committed to stand trial, which is expected to begin in 2011. She is charged with four counts of first-degree murder as well as four counts of conspiracy in connection with the deaths of four female family members (Ravensbergen, 2010:1). Not until midway through this newspaper article are the husband and son mentioned, who are arguably the criminals, and the media merely states, “Mohammad Shafia, along with their 19-year-old son, Hamed Mohammad Shafia – had made a similar legal concession earlier” (Ravensbergen 2010:1). The first wife has been charged with murder and conspiracy, therefore she must have conspired with someone,

presumably the husband and son. What is present in the media coincidentally, are charges that suggest that she carried out the actual murder on her own.

The media has crudely premeditated the verdict in this cultural homicide. I could possibly be mistaken, however, in the analysis of honour killings; it is argued that a woman is not responsible for conducting an honour killing. If she is, then the label has been misbranded, since honour killings do not pertain to a woman's violent acts. The only other transgression that remains a possibility is that of coercion by Mohammad Shafia and son, Hamed Mohammad Shafia. Regardless, the media reporting has caused uproar because of the limited focus on the male perpetrators of this crime. This intolerance reinforces the notion that there is not only racial discrimination in Canada, but gender oppression as well. Furthermore, the media offers falsified insights into current events.

Multiculturalism has a negative effect on the role that media plays within Western culture, in particular, because acceptance of new cultural practices are rarely accepted entirely by the citizens of this nation. Stereotypes are formed and prejudice in conjunction with foreign beliefs and traditions are fanaticized within the portrayal of media coverage. Because dissimilar religious beliefs are not widely accepted in Canada, the stereotypical Middle Eastern culture is rejected because it does not follow the majority of Christian followers in this country. The theocratic state of Iran holds a significant number of religious beliefs, which they consider to be the strictest enforcement of regulations in their society. In Canada, there are citizens who reject those practices as legitimate, regardless of the sentimental and emotional value they hold for these individuals. When the media is capable of grasping a moment where an Islamic

ritual is being exercised, they utilize their influential communicative ability to exaggerate and confront their beliefs.

In order to grasp a concrete understanding of why honour killings occur and why they may differ from domestic partner homicide in Canada, an in-depth comprehension of the history of Islam is fundamental. Women's rights have altered in the past as a result of a radical revolution. The rejection of Western society by Islam as a result of the United States' imperialistic imposition of structural ideologies was the root cause for the individuals of Islam to revolutionize their traditional religious practices. The revolution of 1979 "is the example most cited as ostensible evidence of the 'clean' differentiation between 'Islam' and the modern 'West'" (Aburaiya 2009:58). Modern lifestyles that are visible in Canada do not meet the valued traditional religious ideologies established within the Islamic political sphere. Aburaiya (2009) aims to dissect and distinguish the relationships among religion, secularism, tradition, and nationalism in the discourse of Western modernity, in addition illustrating Islamist ideology and movements in Iran, which aspire to defy the basic premises of Western discourse. Within Western society, emphasis lies on technological advancement, globalization, and modernization resulting in capital gain. In Islamic society, importance falls on religion, tradition, and fundamentalist perspectives. In turn, the creation of an Islamic Republic emerged, leaving religious figures as the decision bearers. The revolution generated "Islamic fundamentalism" (Aburaiya 2009:61), rebelling against the discourse initiated by the West. Leader, Ayatollah Khomeini advocated a mass-based revolution and declared the existing gender relations un-Islamic and Western (Mojab 2001:129). Following the

revolution of 1979, women were subjected to conventional attire and forced to follow norms that were inaugurated into their religious practices and implemented by men.

Mojab (2001) confronts the ideology that women are inferior to men, arguing that “the debates concerning the compatibility of Islam and feminism are based on a fundamental fallacy. This fallacy resides in addressing Islam qua religion and interrogating its central texts in search for an answer [about] women’s rights”. Some women in favour of Islamization oppose the feminist ideologies imposed upon Islam by Western modernization, with the assumption that traditional government has considerable more value. Aburaiya (2009:67) offers insight into the dominance and ignorance that Western society imposes on the foreign ideology that, “a methodological self-consciousness is indispensable... [for] advanc[ing] an explication of the so-called Islamic revival without reproducing the concerns of the ambient political culture of our own society, with its deeply grounded fears and phantasms about Islam”. Because most theoretical discourses are founded and generated from the West, by the West, “it needs to be acutely conscious that this discourse more often than not tells more about the West, its desired self-identity, anxieties, and concerns, than it does about the object it purports to explicate – Islamism” (Aburaiya 2009:67). Canadian society’s beliefs and policies, while claiming to extend and welcome multiculturalism and what it entails, is dogmatically missing the dire need for the discourse of an exterior country’s traditions, religion, and beliefs.

Within the Canadian context, this nation promotes equal opportunity for men and women; furthermore, it encourages individuals from exterior nations to immigrate to a country without gender or ethnic discrimination. The dangerous implications that form

through the discourse of conventional culture result in an ongoing patriarchal hierarchy.

A declaration pertinent to individuals on an international scale is that, “gender is a site of the exercise of power, which is unequally distributed and hierarchically organized”

(Mojab 2001:135).

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Introduction

Honour killings have gained a reputation worldwide as a Muslim ritual targeting individuals of this culture solely as victims of horrific domestic partner abuse and public murder. To provide an in-depth analysis of literature is fundamental for this thesis, furthermore supporting the concept that honour killings are occurring in everyday communities in Western societies and arguably produce a heightened severity in their damaging outcomes. For the purpose of this literature analysis, the content will be separated thematically to include the writings of various scholars. Multiple feminist theories must be addressed to enhance and develop an argument that details how acts of violence occur far too frequently.

There are three key themes that may be deconstructed and investigated based on their legitimacy and correlation to the topic of interest. First, what constitutes an honour killing and intimate-partner homicide is dissected to accurately provide an understanding when comparing and contrasting the disparities between honour killings and intimate-partner homicides. What is representative of an honour killing is, in some form, presented as differing from intimate-partner abuse and killings in contemporary Western society. It will even be argued later in the work that greater levels of violence are witnessed in Western countries than other societies, as women deal with over 2,500 known cases of intimate-partner violence a year, while only twenty honour killings occurred in Western societies between 2001-2003 (Meeto 2007:187).

It is essential also to outline and critically analyze diverse standpoints that suggest honour killings or heat-of-passion crimes are a direct result of biological or gendered determinants. To present arguments supporting the argument that the male gender is innately prone to such acts of violence is something that is indispensably important to address, as the explanation of these crimes may not lie on the shoulders of biological determinants. Rather, it is argued that such acts are a result of a socialization process across religious or geographical borders, not based on a notion that men are instinctively more sexually aggressive and justify killing their partners based on this barbaric rationale.

Patriarchal features, the limits of multiculturalism and theocracy instituted in diverse countries are fundamental in addressing, critiquing and asserting the various authors' outlooks on misrepresentations of honour killings and their counterparts. The perception that men exert their dominance, and are in fact prevailing in power and authority in society, is apparent in the analysis of extensive writings. Patriarchy is a system recognizable on a global scale, certainly not solely in states where honour killings are considered predominant. It is argued that killings of this nature are testing the limits of multiculturalism in Western societies, and that they are the root cause for the rate of honour killings (Meetoo 2007). The argument I present disregards this notion of honour killings transpiring based on nationality alone; rather, these homicides ensue at a local level. In the investigation of honour killings, a more in-depth look into theocracy in Islamic government must be considered, along with their values regarding religion as a deliberation for the justification of these crimes, thus correlating their relation to the legitimization of killings in democratic Western societies.

This chapter aims to provide literature to support the argument that honour killings are occurring in a vast range of states. The focus on Canada will aim to establish the notion that honour killings are a crime that is localized in nature and incorporate it into a greater sociological context. Emphasis on an honour killing that occurred on June 30, 2009 in Kingston, Ontario will support my initiative that these killings are a worldwide phenomenon and further the possibility that intimate-partner homicide in Canada may be arguably as gruesome as an act society deems an honour killing.

Review of the Literature

Constituting Honour Killings, Intimate-Partner Homicide and Multiculturalism

It is fundamental to have an appropriate understanding of what constitutes an honour killing in order to develop this thesis in a provocative and useful manner. There are a vast number of definitions at our disposal that provide an outlook and insight as to what characterizes an honour killing. Veena Meeto (2007:187), suggests that an honour killing is "...the killing of women for suspected deviation from sexual norms imposed by society". She continues, "honour killings are extreme acts of violence perpetrated upon a woman when an honour code is believed to have been broken and perceived shame is brought upon the family" (Meeto 2007:187). This elaboration creates a clear dissection of what an honour killing is in its most eloquent and basic structure. Goldstein (2002:28) offers a more simplistic classification of honour killings, stating that "an hono[u]r killing is defined as taking place when an individual's indiscretions or misfortunes have brought shame upon their families". An individual in this context refers to a female, not male, as the power relations particular to the male gender are not generally responsible for bringing shame upon their families; it is considered a female's lack of honour. A third

depiction of an honour killing may complete a detailed definition of what is structurally considered a killing of this nature:

The conception of honour used to rationalize killing is founded on the notion that a person's honour depends on the behaviour of others and that behaviour, therefore must be controlled. Thus, the behaviour of another becomes an essential component in one's self-esteem and community regard. This understanding is distinct from the notion that honour rests solely on an individual's own behaviour. (Baker, Greware and Cassidy 1999:165)

This radical vindication revolutionizes the notion that an act of shame that an individual commits affects someone else, rather than himself/herself, who has executed an act of shame. Men are reliant on women to maintain honour and prestige, not self-reliant on actions they themselves implement. A compilation of these definitions creates a concise explanation of what Western society deems an honour killing and generates a concrete concept that must be elaborated in order to be put into practical context.

Consequently, for the purpose of this thesis, it will be assumed that an honour killing is something that male individuals in the family inflict as a means to dissolve the shame that a female family member has brought upon them. Goldstein (2002:31) describes this act as a form of "ethnic cleansing" elaborating on the fact that it is a female who has caused this unfortunate family dishonour and that honour is not restored until the accused female individual is killed. There are several examples of honour killings; one that is effective in demonstrating the extreme brutality against women is exemplified by Goldstein:

"[I]n March of 1999, a 16-year-old mentally retarded girl who was raped in the Northwest Frontier province of Pakistan was turned over to their tribe's judicial council. Even though the crime was reported to the police and the perpetrator was arrested, the Pathan tribesmen decided that she had brought shame to her tribe and she was killed in front of a tribal gathering." (2002:31)

In attempts to salvage honour, there are several methods of assassination that this socialized gender pursues, including stoning, forced suicide, and strangulation, to name a few. Not only are women killed by their family and husbands, they are killed on the basis of being raped by male individuals who may not even be family members, or on the premise suspected infidelity, which is not necessarily a validated betrayal of loyalty. Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999:179), assert in a New York City study, “that women killed by their intimates were much more likely to have been tortured or ‘killed with excess brutality’ or ‘killed repeatedly’ than were women killed by strangers or any male homicide victims,” further enhancing the argument that killing women is not particular to Middle Eastern culture. Sev’er (2001:965) suggests, with reference to honour killings, that “these killings are often undertaken when a family council decides on the time and form of execution due to an allegation, suspicion, or proof of sexual impropriety by the victim”. The variety of definitions and justifications behind the rationale for killing a woman are vast and are recognizable in North American society as well as internationally.

To maintain legitimacy for the radical comparison of honour killings and intimate-partner homicides, a concrete grasp of intimate-partner homicides must be established. Intimate-partner homicide consists of the murder or non-negligent manslaughter of a person by her current or former intimate partner (Websdale 1999). This form of violence encompasses “any assault, battery, sexual assault, sexual batter, or any criminal offense resulting in physical injury or death of one [partner] by another who is or was residing in the same single dwelling unit” (Websdale 1999:4). Intimate-partner violence in Western societies attributes for “25% of women reporting rape and/or

physical assault by an intimate partner at some point in their lives” (Drach 2004:1). Furthermore, the overall risk of intimate partner violence is three times more likely for women than for men, but these rates vary even more dramatically as the severity of the assault increases, with female victims far more likely to sustain serious injuries or death (Drach 2004:1). Lastly, “nationally about one third of all female homicide victims are killed by an intimate partner, compared to about 5% of male victims” (Drach 2004:1). Intimate-partner homicides are a result of male domination over women; their rigorous need for self-righteousness is fundamental in their physically detrimental acts towards women. This concise definition enables the comparison and contrast between these two phenomena in further chapters.

Multiculturalism is a philosophy “that was introduced with the aim of combating racism at the same time as promoting an integrated, tolerant and egalitarian society, where the diversity of cultures and races are valued equally” (Reddy 2008:309), a set of values that may be considered unattainable for most individuals in Western society today. There is a substantial lack of the necessary respect for diversity and placing significance on cultural difference within an internationally recognized multicultural nation, Canada. This Westernized country prides itself on the conception that equality between racial and ethnic groups is abundant. It is evident that, within the study of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide in Canada, the term ‘honour killing’ in its core definition reflects a racially discriminatory act. Beckett and Macey’s study (2001) demonstrates effectively why multiculturalism may be testing its limits:

Multiculturalism does not cause domestic violence, but it does facilitate its continuation through its creed of respect for cultural differences, its emphasis on non-interference in minority lifestyles and its insistence on community consultation (with male self defined community leaders). This

has resulted in women being invisibilised, their needs ignored and their voices silenced. (Cited in Meeto 2007:188)

Therefore, multiculturalism takes on a variety of negative components as it attacks both racial and ethnic backgrounds, but with respect to the research proposed, it attacks the female gender as well. Multiculturalism has underlying notions of “respecting diversity and valuing cultur[al] difference” inadvertently provoking a lack of intervention when dealing with domestic violence that may be rooted in cultural and religious practices in the private sphere of the home (Meetoo 2007:188). It is clear that intimate-partner homicide and honour killings are linked in a vast number of ways, as what was once stereotyped as a Middle Eastern ritual has transformed into a multicultural lack and acceptance of diversity. Johnson and Ferraro (2000:948) suggest that while there are several gender-equating pieces of writing, “[that] appear regularly, [claiming] to demonstrate that women are as violent as men in intimate relationship of one kind or another, or in one country or another, a careful assessment of the literature and a look at the few studies that do distinguish among type of violence both indicate that IT (intimate terrorism) is almost entirely a male pattern (97%)”. Data suggests that in 1996, there were 1,326 women who were victims of intimate-partner homicide in the United States alone (Websdale 1999:5), in comparison to 5,000 honour killings perpetrated worldwide. There is a heightened quantitative disparity associated with the large number of deaths in Western society. Patriarchal society forbids any radical movement of this sort; rather, men continue in their manipulative power mechanisms through the creation of a victim image.

Racial, ethnic, and gender social norms are controversial and fundamentally causal factors contributing to the murders of women that occur within this development

of research. The questions that society is faced with are located at the heart of understanding the tensions between recognising gender oppression in the cultural context and preserving multicultural difference (Meetoo 2007:197). A heightened awareness with particular interest in the development of gender equality within this world of patriarchy and flawed ideology of multiculturalism must be addressed shrewdly to enhance the opportunity for expansion within this sphere of civilization.

Biological Determinism and Violence against Women

Validating honour killings is a widely controversial topic because of the justifications that many male family members create as a reason to kill their female loved ones. In honour killing societies, the shameful killing lies on the shoulders of the family more so than the husband's. There has been written literature that supports a biological determinist justification for male physical dominance, suggesting that, "*Homo sapiens* [are prone to] tallness and muscularity" (Goldstein 2002:32). Furthermore, Goldstein (2002:32) elaborates that, "male psychological traits found similarly to be adaptive included sexual aggressiveness, an asset in overcoming threats to 'parental certainty,' the likelihood that any offspring is from a particular male or female," thus rationalizing men's innate tendency to be more physically abusive towards females. The inequality that women face due to biological differentiation and the number of violent ramifications it produces may contribute to the large number of fatalities as a result of honour killing-related incidents. Parental certainty, as Goldstein (2002:33) illustrates, is "the substantial support [that] exists for the proposition that greater male aggression exists at later stages of mating rituals where males attempt to maintain paternal certainty through mental and physical coercion directed at females". This bold proposition would support the notion

that, within this patriarchal society, men are entitled to such control and dominance over the female gender. Khalili (2002:39) offers a counterargument to Goldstein's uninformed theory, suggesting that "the vengeful abuse of women is a pathology embedded in local culture, not brought to those cultures by Islam". This eliminates the discrimination presently expressed toward the stereotypical honour killing countries, with an approach that may be correlated with intimate-partner homicide. Within Goldstein's (2002:33) written work, there is another conjecture that portrays that "wife killings by husbands may be considered 'slip-ups' in a dangerous game where husbands use threats and violence to maintain control over their wives". To place such unsubstantial emphasis on the killing of another human being, with a reference such as "slip-up," furthers our understanding of why biological determinism is a fallacy that patriarchal society has fabricated.

A further existing definition that must be addressed is what qualifies as intimate-partner homicide and the justifications that adhere to it. There is an existing tendency for male proprietariness which suggests that women are spoken about in proprietary terms (Serran and Firestone 2001:3). An ongoing ideology men hold to be true is, "if I can't have her no one can," a coercive tactic instilling fear in the women subject to this form of abuse. In Canada, police "identify one pertinent motive from their standard lists, which include categories such as 'argument/quarrel,' 'anger/hatred,' and 'general domestic.' [From] 1991-1992, 52% of the intimate homicides [in Canada and the United States] were attributed by the police to an argument or quarrel and a further 24% to jealousy (Serran 2001:3)". Lastly, Serran (2001:3) provides a core definition of the motives that are behind what is defined an intimate-partner homicide: "the dominant theme among

cases where men kill their intimate partners appears to be possessiveness; the husband accusing the wife of sexual infidelity, by her decision to end the relationship, and/or by his desire to control her, precipitates a large majority of wife killings”. In contrast to honour killings, where the existing literature suggests that honour killings occur in a much more public sphere of society, intimate-partner homicides occur within a private domain. The shame also falls in a dissimilar way to honour killings. Within “[intimate-partner] violence involving Westerners, it is rare for brothers to kill their sister or for male cousins to kill female cousins. And while child abuse occurs in which fathers may kill infants and children, it is very rare for Western fathers to kill teenage daughters” (Chesler 2009:3). This article, as with several others, attempts to stereotype honour killings as villainous without consideration for the two varying dynamics of these sadistic crimes. Just because it is rare for family members to kill their beloved daughters in Western civilization does not justify a husband’s entitlement to terminate the life of his wife. There is no substantive rationale behind Middle Eastern husbands refraining from the position of wife killing, whereas it is accepted when a family ethnically cleanses itself of shame brought upon it by their daughter.

Patriarchal Society and the Localization of Honour Killings and Intimate-Partner Homicides

Women in society are submitted to patriarchal dominance and have fallen victim to the gender that has been socially assigned power. It is crucial to have a concrete understanding of what comprises the patriarchal structure on an international scale today. The Merriam-Webster dictionary (2010) presents a definition of patriarchy in a most impartial manner, depicting it as,

Social organization marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family, the legal dependence of wives and children, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line; *broadly*: control by men of a disproportionately large share of power.

Women, in particular, fall reliant on the male gender in the majority of cultures, North America is no exception. Many perceive and hold the belief that women have gained equality and are not suppressed by the voices of male power; however, within this particular vicinity of research, it becomes clear that male counterparts continue to maintain control and power over women. Intimate-partner homicide and honour killings are subject to patriarchal, cultural, and religious belief systems of ‘honour and shame’ that can lead to what has been labelled as ‘honour killings’ (Meeto 2007:188). Intimate-partner homicide, in this instance, is connected to honour killings because those women who are killed by their husbands are subject to similar patriarchal, cultural and religious factors as well. Sev’er (2001:973) illustrates men’s ability to control women with an example from Turkey: “fathers and other male kin before marriage exercise full rights to sanction women who deviate. Husbands and their male kin assume this task during marriage and even after its dissolution”. To enhance this thesis argument, equating honour killings and intimate-partner homicide in Canada, Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999:166) note that, “we argue that in the English-speaking West, including the United States, the locus of honour has shifted from the traditional extended family to the individual man”. This is to say that husbands in North America and Westernized countries generally exert their physical dominance over women when they bring shame upon their family and their relationship. Expanding this argument further with an orientation toward honour killings specifically, “by augmenting a family’s hono[u]r, a ‘murder can enhance prestige and is like a planned investment in *improving*, not

maintaining, social status” (Baker, Gregware and Cassidy 1999:171). This proclamation only furthers a required emphasis on the unequal social circumstances women face.

Patriarchy is widely looked upon as a development by sociologists. Goldstein (2002:32) suggests that “sociologists posit that legal systems were developed by men and are intentionally patriarchal,” a statement which has proven to contain validity within this sphere of research.

Finally, a definition that offers a radical understanding of patriarchy with consideration of honour killings is offered by Sev’er (2001:976) who suggests that,

The problem of “hono[u]r” killings is not a problem of morality or of ensuring that women maintain their own personal virtue; rather, it is a problem of domination, power and hatred of women who, in these instances, are viewed as nothing more than servants to the family, both physically and symbolically.

Contrarily, an American sociologist, William Goode rationalized the use of force in terms of controlling the family, with particular consideration for the wife. He questioned that, if the husband were not permitted to use violence or threats of violence, there would be nothing to keep the wife from dating other men, ignoring housework, or even abandoning the children and home completely. Without such violence, he concludes, “a substantial part of the structural strength of the family would be undermined” (Baker, Gregware and Cassidy 1999:175). In contrast to this inhumane notion that the dominant gender is systemically required to exert its control over women, it is apparent that “intimate-partner violence cuts across class, race and different societies where violence is used as a way of maintaining control over female behaviour” (Meetoo 2007:191). Meetoo intensifies this argument by “ask[ing] questions about the ownership of different kinds, including the regard to ownership and access to women’s bodies within and outside marriage, to public

and private space.” It is apparent that society faces gender inequality and the effect of patriarchy, and as a result, women fall victim to both honour killings and intimate-partner homicide in Canada.

An expansion of the widespread killing of women via honour killings and intimate-partner homicide across Canada facilitates a better comprehension of why honour killings are recognized as acts of violence that are more vindictive and gruesome in comparison to intimate-partner homicides. As previously asserted, the concept must be reiterated that honour killings and intimate-partner homicide occur as acts of violence that are localized in nature. There is a common misconception that religions are responsible for the violent acts committed by men against women. Khalili (2002) rejects the biological deterministic theory of male aggressiveness and the innate tendency men have to be prone to violence, replacing it with an insightful, concrete suggestion that “the vengeful abuse of women is a pathology embedded in local culture, not brought to those cultures by Islam”. Sev’er (2001) provides more structure with the argument that honour killings “are localized in the most socioeconomically depressed areas where incomes are extremely low, formal education is lacking, and upward mobility is unthinkable”. It comes as no surprise that victims of intimate-partner homicide and honour killings are directly correlated with a low socioeconomic background and that men maintain their pride through the means of physical dominance.

In the subsequent chapter, an overview of theoretical frameworks related to honour killings will be addressed. This will be comprised of three feminist theories: radical feminism, liberal feminism and Islamic feminism as well as Bourdieu’s Symbolic violence framework, in direct relation to the literature provided and its’ correlation with

the killing of women. It is important to relate these theories and put them into context to enrich our understanding of why and how honour killings are justified within various states. It is crucial to outline the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, and the social dominance of women by men. The notion that men are unambiguously the dominant player in society provokes the perception that honour killings may be a universal act. Liberal feminism in this thesis outlines women's lack of autonomy in societies, both in Canada and those locations that have the highest rates of honour killings. It is important to have a firm grasp of Islamic feminism to better our understanding of various religious factors that play a role in what legitimizes honour killings in various Islamic states. This division of feminism is focused on the equality of women in Islam. Through the exploration of theoretical frameworks, clarifications will allow for a comprehensive understanding of honour killings and domestic partner homicide in Canada.

Chapter Four: Theory

Theoretical perspectives enhance and enrich an in-depth understanding and critical analysis of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide in Canada. The following theories will be explored in further detail: radical feminism, Islamic feminism, liberal feminism, and symbolic violence.

Radical feminism is rooted in the biological disparity between biological genders. Men were created differently from women on an innate level, and therefore, they have evolved into the dominant sex. Radical feminist theory encompasses and critiques what Western societies have labelled patriarchy, the ruling of women by men (Naiman 2004). Sev'er (2001:977) proposes that radical feminists “define patriarchy as a universal propensity of men to dominate women, and they see patriarchal control of women as the most important subjugation”. She expands, “moreover, patriarchy is seen as invasively institutionalized within cultural rules and practices and openly manifested in all aspects of everyday life” (2001:977). Within a Canadian context, women are a visibly marginalized group that is institutionalized and dramatically affected by patriarchal domination. While feminism aims to resolve the gender inequalities founded within society, attention is placed on the traditional family, where the male figure maintains the control position. Even though feminism targets society, women are those who are associated within this theory as the primary sufferers of patriarchal dominance (Naiman 2004). The radicalism behind this theory is the dramatic alteration of gender relations and the drastic shift towards female equity. To enrich the core definition of radical feminism, key objectives and rationales behind these movements are five-fold:

the historical concept that women were the first oppressed group, that women's oppression is the most widespread, existing in virtually every known society, that women's oppression is the deepest meaning that the eradication of such repression is unfeasible and cannot be removed by other social changes such as the abolition of class society, fourth, women's oppression causes the most suffering to its victims, although the suffering may go unrecognized due to society's sexist prejudices, lastly, that women's oppression provides a conceptual model for understanding all other forms of oppression. (Tong 1998: 46/47)

There are a vast number of stereotypes linked to a "feminist"; this is to say that women who struggle for equal rights are discriminated against for their assigned masculine appearance, sexuality, and demeanour. Perhaps this search for androgyny is a result of patriarchal society and its use of physiological traits are a basis for constructing "masculine" and "feminine" identities and behaviours. These methods of conduct result in the subservience of women, and empowerment of men, leaving women as the oppressed (Tong 1998).

After detailing the multi-faceted nature of radical feminism, it is clear that there are a vast number of conclusions related to honour killings and intimate-partner homicide in Canada that must be claimed. Radical feminism separates gender from sex, and within patriarchal society, gender roles are the causal perpetrators capable of maintaining the passivity of women (Tong 1998). Within the context of this thesis, there is a visible patriarchal system in Canada, which most individuals fail to acknowledge; rather, they are incapable of recognizing oppression in its discrete form. The gender control in Canada exerts manipulation so effectively that the dominated gender is made to understand that they have obtained equal rights. Whether pertaining to a cultural honour killing or the decimated pride of a husband the visible ability men encompass to ensure control, physically affirms that radical feminist movements are required in Western society. Sev'er (2001:976) exemplifies the need for radical feminism, indoctrinating the

idea that honour killings are a problem of “domination, power and hatred of women, who, in these instances, are viewed as nothing more than servants to the family, both physically and symbolically.” Furthermore, she dismisses the possibility of these crimes being a problem of morality, or of ensuring that women maintain their own personal virtue. May this enlightened truth be used interchangeably within the realm of intimate-partner homicides?

Stereotypes labelling Middle Eastern countries as patriarchal is something that occurs frequently, similar to the branding stereotypes that are present in the discussion of honour killings; however, the blatancy of Islamic theocracy creates awareness for women. In Canada, women are naively presented with false equality, where most don't recognize that physical and psychological control, in themselves, are dominating forces. In both illustrations of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide in Canada, there is a deliberate patriarchal force maintaining absolute control over women. Violent management of women is a key contributor in men's ability to uphold their gender superiority in society and in Canada in particular. This leads to the possibility of change for women in today's society. The extreme ideologies that support radical feminism are the only escape from the dangers that victims of physical abuse and authority have. Fundamental alterations to the functions in Canada are necessary. Furthermore, intimate-partner violence victims who are believed to suffer for longer periods prior to death, must be rescued.

Liberal feminism is a feminist approach where the “main source of gender inequality is the process of socialization” (Naiman 2004:294). Socialization is an ongoing process by which we acquire knowledge, skills and motivations that facilitate

social life (Naiman 2004). This perspective involves the activity of institutions such as family, schools, peers and mass media, and it lasts the entirety of one's life. Because there is a significant difference in the upbringing or socialization of genders, there are several disparities that emerge with respect to the inequality of women. Beginning at a primal age, the toys, expectations and obligations that each gender face are consequently different. Young girls are subject to stereotypically feminine toys and "lady-like" behaviours beginning at a young age. Similarly, young boys are subject to fewer responsibilities and expectations as the dominant gender.

This makes sense, since males in our society have a higher status than females: it is more acceptable for those with the lower status to emulate the behaviour of those above them; conversely, it is less permissible for men to act in ways that are seen in our society as "beneath them". (Naiman 2004:294)

Through political and legal reforms, individual feminists of this nature seek autonomy by observing the personal interactions of men and women with an aim to produce a more just society. Similar to various other feminist theories, the search for equal rights and autonomy within society are the primary aims to be achieved. Women seek to eliminate the sexist obligations that are present today, and view autonomy as the method with which to do so.

Women in Canada are exposed to oppression and gender inequality from the moment they enter the world - arguably well before - and this discrimination continues until they exit it. Whether a woman is from a typical Christian religious background or from an Islamic religious background, it is inevitable that gender socialization occurs and that women fall victim to inequality. Autonomy is the final stage of liberal feminism and without such stage, the liberty or freedom that women as a gender seek is unattainable. It is my belief that the oppression in Islamic culture and Canadian culture are on an equal

playing field and that in order to achieve autonomy there is a requirement for radical reformations to occur.

It is important to note that, “the concept of ‘Islamic feminism’ is of recent origins, used for the first time in the 1990s in the growing Western literature on ‘women and Islam’” (Mojab 2001:124). The discrimination against women in Islam has been documented by Western society to better their understanding of the treatment of women in this civilization. In Islam, religious beliefs condone patriarchal society, but “from the beginning, the debate was centred on the compatibility of the idea of women’s emancipation [from] the principles of Islam” (Mojab 2001:127). Prior to the revolution of 1979, during the first half of the twentieth century, Islamic societies saw a change in the attitudes and beliefs of women inhabitants. The range of women who started demanding participation in the public sphere was upper- and middle-class urban women, along with a few rural women. Their revolt was against colonialism, modernism, nationalism and socialism and demanded rights for power in both the public and private sphere. It is imaginable that the negative repercussions that occurred were a result of the rebellion against the religious establishments and secular forces and states (Mojab 2001). The search for women’s rights enhanced the Westernization of Islam. Following the popular revolution that occurred in 1979, revolting against the impositions by the West, women were not resistant to the fundamental religious practices essential to Islamic tradition. Today, “‘Islamic feminism’ is used more specifically to refer to the activism of a relatively small number of Iranian women who seek the amelioration of the Islamized gender relations, mainly through lobbying for legal reform within the framework of the Islamic Republic” (Mojab 2001:130). Women of this movement do not, however, label

themselves as Islamic feminists, as previously stated; this term is a Westernized manifestation that is rejected by the women of this group. Mojab also rejects the term Islamic feminism, labelling it an oxymoron and elaborating on the fact that,

If by feminism is meant easing patriarchal pressures on women, making patriarchy less appalling, 'Islamic feminism' is certainly a feminist trend. But feminism is a movement to abolish patriarchy, to protect human beings from being prisoners of fixed identities, to contribute towards a society in which individuals can fashion their lives free from economic, political, social, and cultural constraints, then 'Islamic feminism' proves considerably inadequate. I define feminism in these latter terms, and for that reason, I consider 'Islamic feminism' an oxymoron. (Mojab 2001:131)

The absolute reliance and dedication to religion in Islamic societies has suggested that the potential for a radical transformation for the female gender sector is limited. The reinstated Islamic Republic dissolved all of the previously achieved women's rights and returned to traditional patriarchal dominance that is present there today. Individuals who support Islamic feminism separate law from the exercise of religious and political power, because without doing so, religious beliefs would eliminate the possibility to create social change.

There are very complex and very few solutions for the women of Islam, "since the laws were guided by an overtly religious patriarchal agenda, their reform would require either the radical revision or discarding of its theological bases" (Mojab 2001:136). With the elimination of theological government, patriarchal reform is the solution, which undoubtedly reinforces the inequality of the subordinate gender. Therefore, in theocratic societies, "women were the markers of the boundaries of the Islamic community and the markers of Islamic identity" (Mojab 2001:137). Consequently, in Westernized societies, "women have legal access to the public realm, [but] they remain subordinate to men" (Mojab 2001:138).

Finally, Mojab identifies two significant differences, between Westernized feminism and Islamic feminism:

Rather than perceiving citizenship as the realization of the liberation of women and men, feminists in the West emphasize the conflict between the formality of equality and the actuality of inequality. By contrast, Islamic feminists either do not raise the question of citizenship or subject it to the demands of Islamic theocracy. (Mojab 2001:140)

It is clear that there are a vast number of cultural differences between women in Islamic regions and the majority of women in Canada. The underlying facets of patriarchal society, however, exist interchangeably. There are individuals who hold beliefs true to Islam and are citizens in Canada; perhaps that is the causal effect underlying honour killings. Contrarily, those who hold Westernized cultural beliefs still enforce patriarchal dominance, instilling fear and implementing homicide against women. Which source of patriarchy produces the most detrimental end result? Just because religion is more evident in Islamic theocracies does not mean that the patriarchy of a Judeo-Christian religion won't produce equivalent outcomes. In conclusion, there is an intention in this thesis to argue that the restoration of Islamic tradition as a result of the popular revolution of 1979, rested on an initiative to restore religion as the primary power over the people, and that this religious reaction was a choice by that population as a result of a popular vote. This is not to exclude the women who did not desire the transformation back to traditional Islamic governance, but to outline the fundamental peoples' choice to return to tradition rather than Westernization. This is not a presumption or declaration that the majority of women in Islamic states are satisfied with their living conditions. Like all women on a global scale, they have not come close to achieving equal rights. While Islam indoctrinates the oppression of women as a public state of patriarchal dominance,

Western society has created a fallacy that indoctrinates the false ideology of gender equality when that achievement is far from attained. Arguably, the manipulative tactic in which Westernized countries instil a sense of equality for women is uniformly as damaging from a relative perspective.

The sense that a claim for equality may actually mask the opposite reflects the critical theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu is widely discussed in various areas of his discipline because he generated investigative frameworks as well as eminent terminologies encompassing cultural, social, and symbolic capital, and introduced concepts concerning *Habitus*, field or location, and symbolic violence, which ultimately enabled the ascertainment of power relations in society. The sociological concept within Bourdieu's writing that will be investigated and critiqued greater detail is his theory of symbolic violence and symbolic capital, with particular focus on the detrimental effects these influential theories have on the dynamics that cause honour killings to occur in contrast with intimate-partner homicide cases within Canadian circumstance. First, it is fundamental to grasp a critical understanding of Bourdieu's symbolic violence and symbolic capital. Bourdieu offers a complex definition of the former coined term,

Symbolic violence is the coercion which is set up only through the consent that the dominated cannot fail to give to the dominator (and therefore to the domination) when their understanding of the situation and relation can only use instruments of knowledge that they have in common with the dominator, which, being merely the incorporated form of the structure of the relation of domination, make this relation appear as natural; or, in other words, when the schemes they implement in order to perceive and evaluate themselves or to perceive and evaluate dominators (high/low, male/female, white/black, etc.) are the product of the incorporation of the (thus naturalized) classifications of which their social being is the product. (Bourdieu, 2000:170)

Individuals in society are surrounded by symbolic violence as an everyday occurrence, as they are subjected to endless premeditated judgments from others that, in turn, have been

indoctrinated into their ways of perception and their acceptance of these coercive acts of manipulative violence. People are subjected to and fall victim to symbolic violence in various ways, such as through the incorporation of gender domination and unconscious thought. Society has become accustomed to the threats wherein the potential for violent force will be realized if we deviate away from the social norms and authoritative individuals that maintain power in society. Symbolic violence depicts a cultural landscape, which is manufactured to stabilize power relations, as it adopts an assortment of emotional characteristics that are manifested in the intimidation and demoralization of the victims of these acts. Particular consideration for the differences between the dominant and the dominated will be effective in the further dissection of power relations within the critical understanding of honour killings in comparison to intimate-partner homicides.

Symbolic violence incorporates unconscious configurations that have the tendency to perpetuate the configuration of the dominant's action. The integration of symbolic capital, which is the realm where symbolic violence occurs, amalgamates status as the concrete basis for the extent of an individual's symbolic capital wealth. Someone earns a heightened symbolic capital when he/she is recognized as reputable and accepted by the dominant as credible, honourable, prestigious, and legitimate. Symbolic capital, for example, is characterized as encompassing glory and respect. Symbolic capital is a genus of capital where power is used against an individual with less, so as to exercise control with symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is a derivative of symbolic capital and, therefore, intertwined. Their complexities heighten the ability to investigate the

violence that occurs between gender relations, specifically within the realm of honour killings in contrast to intimate-partner homicides in Canada.

Meetoo classifies the physical facet of honour killings as killing women “for suspected deviation from sexual norms imposed by society” on the grounds that “an honour code is believed to have been broken,” resulting in perceived shame for the family” (Meetoo 2007:187). There are varying degrees of physical violence that are imposed on a woman who transgress social norms. When a woman is assaulted on the basis of her infidelity, whether it is legitimized or not, the gruesome acts of aggression and hostility perpetrated towards the dominated gender often end in murderous outcomes. In their attempts to prevent individuals from discovering the crime they have committed, men within this patriarchal society hide their abuse at all cost. “Threats to kill are viewed as coercive tactics meant to terrorize wives and keep them under their husband’s control” (Serran 2004:3). While threats differ from the criteria constituting an honour killing, death remains a likely consequence. Threats are a fundamental ingredient in the execution of symbolic violence, furthering the male gender’s control and domination over women. What provokes these acts may be deconstructed in the analysis of symbolic violence as a result of unequal distribution of symbolic capital.

Krais (2006:121) argues that symbolic violence manifests its power essentially in *face-to-face* interactions, an aspect critical in the analysis of violence occurring between men and women with respect to the subsequent violence that may prospectively transpire. Gender domination within patriarchal society in Canada and the gender inequality that underlies it, poses a serious and ever-growing dilemma that leaves women rigorously victimized. An investigation that delves into the notion that there is an

internalized system of judgments that have been indoctrinated into the vicious communication patterns between men and women is fundamental in asserting that men are the dominant gender and women are the dominated. It is evident that conclusions may be drawn from the analysis of *face-to-face* interactions in the consideration of how men communicate with women before honour killings occur. An exaggeration in eye mannerisms alone may restrict women's ability to self-express and instil a detrimental fear that what they have allegedly done, even if they have not done anything wrong, is injurious to their future existence. Furthermore, interpretations of the manner in which a woman looks at a man who is not her husband may lead to suspicions of infidelity from her family. Lastly, if a man directs a look that has been programmed into our consciousness as promiscuous, the ultimate consequence may be the death of a woman.

An honour killing may occur on the basis of any given eye mechanism because the premise behind an honour killing may lie in suspicion alone. The family reacts to a perceived notion of infidelity by more than various interpretations of eye movement. Gestures that men and women exercise also play a role in the assumption that a woman unfaithful. If a woman grazes a man's arm, she may be breaching an expected conformity; similarly, if a man touches a woman's arm, that act may be perceived as having hidden motives. Within the domain of honour killings, the acts of violence perpetrated against women could quite possibly be rooted in symbolic violence. A woman feels the pressure of men when an intimidating look or gesture instils a degree of fear and suffering for her.

Symbolic capital also plays a role in how symbolic violence is perpetrated against women in the consideration of honour killings. Men are born with a heightened status if

they can perform the pre-designed gender roles; in turn, they are rewarded with honour, credibility, respect, and glory, distinguishing characteristics for which women are chastised. The judgments that occur as a result of a concrete lack of symbolic capital for women leads the dominant to continue in their abuse tactics, which furthers women's lack of power and authority, leaving them dominated. The coerciveness that is demonstrative of honour killings is rooted in the forceful patriarchal pressure from men onto women, leaving women with an inability to create change for themselves and their gender as a whole.

Within Western civilization, symbolic violence and symbolic capital is a mainstream, daily occurrence. Bourdieu's theory is applicable in the manner it affects women, in particular those who are victims of spousal abuse. While honour killings represent the extreme form of violence, various eye mannerisms may also have a detrimental effect on women's well being, both physically and psychologically. In Canadian patriarchal society, it is evident that men control women on a daily basis and manipulate them, unremittingly restricting their ability to gain equal rights and escape potential abusive circumstances. By self-identifying as a prestigious individual and exploiting women with intentional, internal, judgmental interactions, we see that women fall subservient to men without any obligation to use physical reinforcements. In the domain of intimate-partner homicide, it is clear that husbands inflict this excess of cruelty to regain pride in an attempt to reclaim their position of power. The male gender maintains dominance physically in many ways in Canada, but they have also incorporated symbolic violence into their already destructive gender behaviours. A wife knows if she will be penalized if her husband comes home and glances at her in a way

that she has experienced demoralizing punishment before. It is a stare that she has learned, and the dominator is aware of his castigatory actions. He is the one who is ultimately in control and he is the individual who knowingly inculcates fear in his spouse. Symbolic capital plays an immense role in the consideration of intimate partner homicide in Canada. If a man is considered to have achieved a great wealth of symbolic capital, he may exert his power onto his wife, further polarizing gender dynamics in a negative fashion. Honour killings and intimate partner homicide are considerably different in theory; however, with an intensified understanding of symbolic violence and symbolic capital as these frameworks pertain to these acts of violence, the harsh, continuous gender divergence may provide correlations between the two discriminatory acts.

Following the comparison of symbolic violence and symbolic capital and the role they play in both between honour killings and intimate-partner homicide, it is vital to critique the tendency to exaggerate the similarities. The severity of symbolic violence in contrast with physical violence is debatable. Ultimately, a radical social change is required in the ongoing struggle for gender equality. Symbolic violence and symbolic capital may be criticized because they may imply an individualistic interpretation that may be conveyed, or they may deliver a perplexing message. Furthermore, the intentions suggested by the dominant unto the dominated may be interpreted in drastically different ways, but cause damaging effects on the individual. Interpretation offers a complexity of ideas and ways of thinking in the critical deconstruction of acts of symbolic violence.

Symbolic violence and symbolic capital are fundamental tools to further an understanding of the violence that occurs outside of the physical sphere in domestic

abuse cases. If there is greater insight into how women are oppressed based on various *face-to-face* interactions, then a significant awareness may be created. It's arguable whether a physically abusive act has a more damaging effect in comparison with the extensive manipulative aggression we see as a result of symbolic violence. It is argued that the internalized system of judgments that Western society has programmed into everyday life furthers the ongoing oppression of women and promotes the demoralization of this gender in specific ways. Patriarchal society has incorporated these gestures, mannerisms, and intimidation tactics as their ability to coerce women continues, particularly in cases where women are victimized seriously. Initial ploys that the male gender uses to target women promote psychological cruelty before physical force. Physical violence is the final outcome for women who are victims of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide; however, the power controls that the dominant power gender inflicts prior to the final life-determining act causes women to live in constant fear and intimidation. What is the solution to these crimes? Ultimately a radical transformation is necessary in the universal treatment of women. The dominated gender that is continuously oppressed by the dominant requires amplified human rights and a fundamental gain in control.

Drawing on personal experience helps in the discovery and application of the theory at hand. Everyday occurrences contain aspects of symbolic violence. As a woman, I am submitted to demoralizing discrimination by men on a continuous basis. These acts of inequity may not be as devastating and may not have a physically abusive finale; however, my ability to obtain a role in society is considerably lacking and dominant positions are limited. Work in the service industry in my experience has had a

continuous symbolically violent atmosphere. Male management has resulted in employers talking to me in a sexist tone, or laying physically degrading actions towards me. I have fallen victim to symbolic violence whether I was aware of it at the time or not, or perhaps I have become systematically accustomed to the discriminatory gestures male authority figures exhibit as an everyday control practice in society. An employment I have maintained for four years has proven to be patriarchal when symbolic violence theory is critically applied to the workplace environment. The Rideau Canal is a male-dominated system, where physical ability is a prerequisite, and for decades it employed strictly male individuals. In some stations, female employment is still restricted on the basis that their physical ability is perceived as lacking and therefore they are not permitted to hold an occupation. I have fallen prey to this system of judgments based on men's discrimination against women's ability to operate under physically demanding circumstances.

Pierre Bourdieu offers significant insight into how acts of violence are not necessarily physical and that, within a patriarchal society, the two prevalent roles originate in the dominant male gender in comparison to the dominated female gender. His extensive theoretical developments have elaborated on aspects vital to our understanding of *face-to-face* interactions and discrimination against women. In particular, this theory is applicable to the treatment of women victims of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide. Furthermore, it is with an enriched understanding of symbolic violence that the silent, manipulative control men exert on women may be understood as equally or more damaging than the physical facet of gender abuse women are faced with today. The potential is possible to gain an intensified perception of how to

alter gender dynamics in Canada. Symbolic violence as a result of a great wealth of symbolic capital creates a severely dangerous society for women, and radical modifications must take place in order to achieve gender equality. A firm grasp of theories related to the discipline of study having been achieved, to enrich and illustrate the dramatics of honour killings and domestic partner homicide in Canada, a context analysis follows.

Chapter Five: Engaging Canadian Context: Honour Killings and Intimate-Partner Homicide in Canada

There are an estimated 5,000 honour killings perpetrated worldwide each year according to the United Nations (Gatehouse 2009:24, Meeto 2007:187). An honour killing is defined as taking place when an “individual’s indiscretions or misfortunes have brought shame upon their families” (Goldstein 2002:28). It is a generic term used to refer to the “premeditated murder” of girls or women by male members of their family (Sev’er 2001:965). In contrast to honour killings, intimate partner homicide is the murder or non-negligent manslaughter of a person by her or his current or former intimate partner (Websdale 1999).

Both forms of homicide are extreme examples of domestic violence, which may be categorized as “any assault, battery, sexual assault, sexual battery, or any criminal offense resulting in physical injury or death of one family member by another who is or was residing in the same single dwelling unit” (Websdale 1999:4). Furthermore, an analysis of intimate-partner death is “embedded in the constellations of daily routines and personal interactions between persons connected through networks or kinship” (Websdale 1999:4). Therefore, intimate-partner homicide occurs as a result of a vast number of manipulations in relationships by the dominant individual. Intimate-partner homicides comprise 30-55% of the murders implemented by men in comparison to 3-6% of homicides implemented by women (Campbell, Webster and Glass 2004:1466). In 1996 alone, there were 1,326 women who were victims of intimate-partner homicide in the United States (Websdale 1999: 5). On the surface, there appears to be far more

honour killings than intimate-partner homicides as a reflection of quantitative data. However, 5,000 honour killings are a world-wide statistic in comparison to one nation's destructive 1,326 female deaths in 1996. World-wide, it is likely that there are more intimate-partner homicides from what are defined as honour killings. It is overwhelming that in today's society the prevalence of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide is still occurring at such an alarming rate. There are various aspects of each murderous ritual that must be scrutinized. The in-depth comparison of fundamental differences with particular focus on the localization of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide, significant separation of public versus private sphere, and the persistence of violence against women, will be the concentration of this chapter.

The representation of honour killings has been made visible as a by-product of religion or Middle Eastern ritual separate from the westernized North American culture. The belief that killings of this manner are perpetrated solely in Islamic territory has facilitated the Canadian indoctrination that these killings are a racial phenomenon present in cultures within the Westernized world. An emerging theme that occurred in the literature significant to honour killings and intimate-partner homicide was the biological nature of the male gender. The male gender, according to Goldstein (2002:32) is "psychologically prone to sexual aggressiveness," which in turn legitimizes the termination of a woman's life. He elaborates his point further by stating that "a right to kill unfaithful or disgraced women represents not the culture-to-culture proliferation of misogyny but the culture-*by*-culture expression of a biologically evolved behavioural pathology" (Goldstein 2002:28). Leaving aside the debate surrounding this body of work as a theory of origins, the assumption that both honour killings and intimate-partner

homicide are cultural confrontations is important to acknowledge, and also that their outcomes are uniformly devastating. In 1998, 71% of intimate-partner homicides in Canada and the United States were executed by men, leaving women unyieldingly the victim, yet again (Serran 2004:2). Threats are a fundamental ingredient in the execution of intimate-partner homicide, empowering the male gender's control and domination over women. The psychological and physical devastation that these threats instil reinforce powerful and concrete gender domination, the depth of these threats is unimaginable. The rate of intimate partner homicide in Canada alone suggests 29 deaths per million (Serran, 2004:4). That quantitative data extrapolates the conclusion that 966 women die each year as a result of intimate partner homicide in Canada alone; more agonizingly, this category encompasses solely the age group of 25 and under. Another study in the United States asserted that, of the 1,432 intimate-partner homicides that occurred in 1992, 70% of the victims were female; in comparison, 4% of male homicide victims were killed by their partners (Garcia, Catalina and Hurwitz 2007:370). Campbell et al. (2009:656) documented a study that estimates 1,400-1,750 intimate-partner homicides occurred annually from 2000-2004 in the United States alone. Must there be more overpowering details? The number of deaths occurring as a result of both culturally shaped murderous actions exceeds any comprehensible quota of human deaths.

Canada is globally recognized as a Westernized, democratic, multicultural nation, a country that expresses acceptance and takes pride in welcoming a vast number of culturally diverse individuals into its homeland. This utopian ideology is a brand that Canada aims to portray on a global scale with a lack of consideration for the intolerance and racial discrimination it produces against marginalized individuals in society. Women

experience discrimination on an infinite number of levels, from the subtle to the extremes of honour killings and intimate-partner homicide.

There is a grave lack of punishment in both honour killing and intimate-partner homicide cases in consideration of the stereotypical system. Honour killings have the tendency to be dismissed in Islamic countries where religion is the authoritative dictator; for example, a woman aged 25 was labelled a 'spinster' in a village where the marriage age was early adolescence. When she began dating an unidentified man (Sev'er 2001:981), the conjecture that this man and woman were consummating their newly formed, illegitimate relationship led the family to repeatedly run over her body with a tractor, pleading to the police that it was an accident. Following the murder, the male family members celebrated by shooting bullets into the air. Their sentence was reduced from life in prison to twelve and a half years because of "severe provocation" (Sev'er 2001:982), even though an autopsy had proven her fidelity through her virgin corpse. Another example occurred when Sevda Gok, who was 17 years of age, was publicly executed in the market area of SanliUrfa allegedly because she was running away from home to go to the movies. Her adolescent cousin cut her throat and she died a virgin, consequently proving her fidelity. This was a premeditated murder, but the cousin who expressed no remorse faced a seven-year sentence (Sev'er 2001:982). These two cases occurred in rural Turkey where there is a known history of honour killing practices.

An international taste of tradition and its significance is crucial for understanding the legitimization of religiously sanctioned violence for many nations outside of Westernized Canada. The cultural honour killing trend has eliminated accurate public discussion exposing intimate-partner homicides in Canada, as racialized citizens thrive on

lies about the discriminatory traditional ritual perpetrated by honour killings. In keeping with the overall purpose of this thesis, an accurate depiction of intimate partner homicide in Canada must be established to place in context the ‘honour killing’ that occurred in Kingston, Ontario in the summer of 2009. Some selected examples that supplement an understanding of the incidence and reality of intimate-partner homicides occurring in Canada may be illustrated:

In March 1988, a young mother of two was killed by her estranged husband in a northern Ontario town. The killer had been visiting his wife who was staying in a shelter for abused women. Convinced that she was not going to return to him, he shot her twice at close range. Later that year, in a small town outside of Edmonton, a woman was shot dead in her home by her estranged husband who then shot and killed himself. Miraculously, the woman's three-year old girl, whom she was holding in her arms when she was shot, was not wounded. These women were two of the 202 female victims of homicide in Canada in 1988. They shared with 68 other female victims a marital relationship with their killers. (Gartner, Myrna and Crawford 1998:151)

The hypothesis is evident that there are equally devastating, multi-faceted outcomes with both honour killings and intimate-partner homicides. The literature has provided significant examples of what happens in Canadian patriarchal society. Next, a breakdown of the core similarities and differences between honour killings and intimate-partner homicides will be effective in supporting that the argument is legitimate equating these two crimes.

While one transgression is stereotypically worse than the other, the undeniable social similarities that link the two are irrefutable. First, a glance back to biological deterministic possibilities that facilitate the murder of women may be observed in both corrupt misdemeanours. Goldstein (2002:33) proposes that parental certainty is a root cause for the prosecution of a female family member within the honour killing context, “paternal certainty has always been of great importance to males willing to make

investments in offspring thought to be their own”. Within patriarchal society, he continues, laws and social norms relative to male exclusivity have earned protective priority, as such, “...honour-killing defenses are built upon [these] norms and [men are reliant] upon such laws”. Similarly, in an analysis of Westernized intimate-partner homicide, one study reported that “femicide risk was three times higher for women who were abused while pregnant.... Many researchers have concluded that [intimate-partner violence] during pregnancy may be greater in frequency and severity than violence at other times, [furthermore] some researchers contend that pregnant women are at an increased risk for femicide” (Taylor and Nabors 2009:1274). It is becoming increasingly prominent that similarities are hardly difficult to find in the analysis of these two felonies.

In keeping with parental certainty in both disciplines of study, motivations that surround the death of a woman in this context are undeniably parallel. Various sensations and passions are experienced prior to, or act as a stimuli for killing women. Honour killings are committed primarily as a result of shame, infidelity, or suspected infidelity. A woman is killed for the purpose of an honour killing when “a family council decides on the time and form of execution due to an allegation, suspicion, or proof of sexual impropriety by the victim” (Sev’er 2001:9665). Correspondingly, “men are likely to kill in response to a partner’s infidelity” (Mize, Shackelford and Shackelford 2009:464). Mize et al. (2009:463) continue, “partner-killing is an extreme outcome of the use of mate-retention tactics resulting from jealousy”. Lastly, one of the strongest “sociodemographic risk factor[s] for homicide of women by an intimate partner was the abuser’s lack of employment” (Garcia, Catalina and Hurwitz 2007:371). Therefore, it

has become visible that impulses that drive men to rationalize murdering their loved ones are consistent between both law-breaking offences in Canada.

Thirdly, there is a minor disparity between the individuals that are culpable for murder accounts. Honour killings are dominated by shame brought upon the family of the woman that has been declared guilty; in contrast, shame is brought upon the husband in intimate-partner killings. Shame, a damaged sense of pride, suspected infidelity and jealousy have proven to be proof and motive enough to kill. Are these discrepancies enough to institutionalize honour killings as more harmful than intimate-partner homicides?

Perhaps it's relevant to grasp an understanding of why honour killings appear so pertinent in Western society as Middle Eastern rituals, perceived as foreign to this Westernized culture. Conceivably, by popular revolution, Islamic theocracy gained its position of power as a result of individuals believing in the traditional practices of their predecessors. By overthrowing the imposed Western ideology, people that have faith in this culture have chosen to practice religion and as a result, honour killings are in the spotlight of the public sphere in society. This is to say that honour killings are considered an "ethnic cleansing," a restoration of the shame that has been brought upon a family, within the confines of this tradition, the public is included as a demonstration of a new found clarity. Undoubtedly, there were various women that would have opted for a culture where their rights may be liberated; however, there are a vast number of women who value and cherish the traditional society that is separate from the Westernized North American culture. With the dedication to performing these rituals within the public realm of society, consequences arise, such as the attention from media and the ever-developing

stigma working against their beliefs. While honour killings are occurring in Canada and the public eye is focused on their transgressions, the intimate-partner homicide domain is hidden within the private sphere of society. The underlying difference is that one act is publicized while the other is privatized. Men that relate to religious criteria that lie outside of Islamic tradition are deviating away from what is acceptable in their faith, country, and conscience. If they were fulfilled by their emasculating battery against their intimate-partner, perhaps they would conduct a killing similar to an Islamic ritual. Which is worse? Arguably, if you are confident in your religion and are capable of perpetrating an honour killing, you are certain that this course of action is going to produce benefits for your family. If you feel aggression towards your partner, and empowerment is achieved only through physical violence, then there is no accomplishment in this unnecessary exertion of patriarchal dominance.

As Khalili (2002:39) eloquently asserts, “the vengeful abuse of women is a pathology embedded in local culture, not brought to those cultures by Islam”. A common misconception is that there are nations that are labelled as countries that practice honour killings. It would be naive to presume that honour killings are country-specific, particularly in a country where multiculturalism is a point of sale. Honour killings may occur on a municipal level, but an immeasurable number of individuals have failed to achieve this ideological perspective. Intimate-partner homicides are also localized in their nature, and they too are a global phenomenon. They are not stigmatized as a stereotypical westernized ritual, even though “an estimated 322,230 rapes and 4.5 million physical assaults are committed against U.S. women by intimate-partners annually, and an estimated 2.9 million physical assaults are committed against U.S. men by intimate

partners annually”. The rationale behind the high number of male assaults may be understood by “women generally kill[ing] their partners in self-defence or in retaliation of prior abuse” (Garcia, Catalina and Hurwitz 2007:372/375). Thus, there are radical similarities in association with the notion that honour killings and intimate-partner homicides are localized in nature, further enhancing the ideology that these two felonies may be equated.

Lastly, an arguable difference, although nonetheless devastating in nature, is premeditation. Frequently, honour killings occur following a premeditated scheme plotted by the corresponding family. Conversely, while premeditation is not a common occurrence in intimate-partner homicide, the continuous physical abuse initiates the possibility of such a killing. Therefore, once again there are fundamental differences but they are differences that are equated with an equal or worse alternative. A premeditated murder is arguably not as gruesome as a lifetime of physical battery against a woman by her husband, which results in her death. The facet of physical violence against women over the course of their life further indoctrinates patriarchal ideologies into Canadian society. The fabricated belief that women’s rights and equality are near, or have been achieved, remains a tremendous fallacy.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis does not condone honour killings. Rather, this work aims to shed light on fundamental cultural differences within Canadian society and how they are structurally perceived therein, and provides a discussion of what reformations may be required in the ongoing search for gender equality. There is systemic inequality in Canada and, by highlighting the similarities and differences between honour killings and intimate-partner homicides in this country, it is apparent that cultural and religious views are key contributors to discrimination. Following the radical honour killing on June 30, 2009, my initial perception of this act of violence has changed dramatically. Through the investigation of intimate-partner homicide and the significantly detrimental effects it has on Westernized society in particular, the customs associated with violence against women must become equated, and focus on gender inequality must evolve into the primary social problem.

Society should reject cultural differences as the sole contributor to violence in relation to women and it should dismiss biological determinants as a male-justified excuse for such extremities of brutality. The representation of honour killings in Canada has been made to appear as a by-product of religion or Middle Eastern ritual, separate from North American culture. Understanding the disparity of religious beliefs in Western countries has facilitated a heightened comprehension of why the public murder of Islamic women is occurring in a seemingly higher rate today. Gaining an insight into the public versus private sphere of these transgressions enabled the critical analysis and comparison of what constitutes and triggers these crimes. The validation of honour killings based on

the legitimization that male family members create as a means to kill their loved ones has been rationalized on the basis of innate male characteristics. Within sociology, the rejection of such theories and the shift towards the socialization of individuals is made. Gender is a process of social evolution and institutionalized for the gender that has earned power and authority through coercive means. The ideology that men are biologically prone to physical and psychological aggression and violence is blasphemous and may not be legitimized. Khalili (2002:39) rejects the notion of biological determinism and asserts that, “the vengeful abuse of women is a pathology embedded in local culture, not brought to those cultures by Islam”. In order to attain radical change for women, society needs to consider social nature rather than biological deterrents.

The literature that has been incorporated into this field of research has made possible a vast number of conclusions. With a concise understanding of the patriarchal society that is Westernized in nature has helped in institutionalizing male dominance over women. This global systemic discrimination over women by the socially-assigned power gender has aided in enriching the notion that honour killings and intimate-partner homicide occur as a consequence of this indoctrinated system. Within Canadian context, there has been a shift from the locus of honour falling on the shoulders of the traditional extended family to a burden falling on the shoulders of the individual man (Baker, Gregware and Cassidy 1999). Women’s incessant subservience to men has resulted in a patriarchal force that the suppressed gender has significant lack of control in their ability to fight back.

Canadians take pride in their title of multiculturalism; however, this is not a label they are entitled to. There is a significant lack of racial and ethnic tolerance in this

country, and as a result, emphasis on honour killings becomes a cultural terrorist act, whereas the chronic abuse of women leading to intimate-partner homicide is lightly penalized. This Westernized nation should be stripped of its title until drastic alterations to the fundamental aspects of its norms and beliefs transpire.

Grasping the history of Islam revolutionizes the understanding and rationale behind honour killings and the enhanced value religion plays in states ruled by this tradition. The revolution that occurred in 1979 was perpetrated by the mass-based majority vote of the population, consequently, by both genders. Is it up to Canadian society to victimize these individuals on the premise of their religious beliefs? The intolerance that has become so prevalent in North America is something to be ashamed of and without an increase in patience and virtue, the opportunity for any peace initiative is hopeless.

As previously asserted, honour killings have been hastily branded as Middle Eastern rituals, targeting the countries of Islam as the sole perpetrators of such heinous crimes. This thesis indoctrinates the notion of localization and puts that social ideology into context. It is not a country that kills women; it is men that have a vengeful purpose that kill wives or daughters, sisters, and nieces. The deviation away from stereotyping nations as killers enables the shift towards a heightened understanding of how and why these homicides occur.

With the use of theoretical frameworks, a firm grasp is established of why violence against women is occurring. The ultimate emancipation from male dominance is critical in achieving prior to gender equality. The concrete understanding of patriarchy within a global context is also central to the radical feminist perspective outlined within

this chapter. Understanding Islamic feminism as a key component in why women from this religion are not as oppressed as the stereotype dictates, enabled the radical notion that tradition is still a novelty for these individuals. Lastly, elaborating on symbolic violence as it pertains to women who fall victim to both honour killings and intimate-partner violence is outlined in this chapter. The philosophy that women are affected by violence that is not always physical plays a significant role in differentiating the psychological facets of violence with the material component.

The collaboration of similarities and differences, ultimately paralleling the two phenomena at hand, has aided immensely in the supporting notion that honour killings and intimate-partner homicide, while they are distinct, have undeniable connections. The social perspective of these two acts of violence has allowed for a concrete understanding of why they are similar and why they are both detrimental to society. The lack of knowledge and awareness with regard to this topic is why it is critical in enriching Canadian's comprehension of racial discrimination as it pertains to homicides.

The incident that occurred on June 30, 2009 has facilitated the falsified misrepresentation the media portrays. The media is a corrupt dictator of current events, with the white upper class continually playing the hero and the lower socioeconomic, marginalized individuals falling victim to what it imposes. Significant social change seems unattainable when the media acts as villainous as it does in the present-day social realm.

Where does this piece of research leave Canadian society and its ongoing struggle for gender equality? While it opens the door to a much needed discussion, further research is necessary to provide more information with regard to women's rights and the

required social movements that need to transpire. This thesis offers awareness for individuals who do not have a clear understanding of gender and cultural relations in Canada. The first-hand experience of an honour killing sparked my interest and, after conducting research on the topic I was able to draw dramatic conclusions. There is a significant lack of research achieved within this domain, which is part of the motive and rationale behind this thesis. A sure way to create social change is through the generation of awareness, without the provocative ideologies suggested in this thesis; one wouldn't find of significance the radical implications that have been initiated. Individuals in Canadian society are encouraged to seek a tolerance for cultural diversity and a more in-depth insight into what is happening to women outside of the stereotypically abusive honour killings.

Honour killings or intimate-partner homicide - which is worse? This is the question that I intended to have a clear answer to by the concluding sentence of this thesis. Perhaps they are equal in their counterparts, but in retrospect, it would not be a stretch to declare that a lifetime of chronic private physical and psychological abuse leading to death is a life to which that no woman should be submitted, whether that death is a result of honour killing or intimate-partner homicide. Unequal gender relations are the persistent dictator.

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