Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

Department of Sociology

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

AFGHAN MASCULINE *GHAIRAT*: A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN KABUL

Sayed Mahdi MOSAWI

Ph.D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2019

AFGHAN MASCULINE *GHAIRAT*: A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN KABUL

Sayed Mahdi MOSAWI

Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

Department of Sociology

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

Ph.D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2019

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that Sayed Mahdi Mosawi has on the date of 17.01.2019 successfully passed the defense examination and approves his Ph.D. Thesis titled "Afghan Masculine *Ghairat*: A Qualitative Study in Kabul".

_____

Prof. Dr. Nilay ÇABUK KAYA (Jury President)

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Birsen ŞAHİN KÜTÜK (Main Adviser)

_____

Prof. Dr. Demet ULUSOY

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aslıhan ÖĞÜN BOYACIOĞLU

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Rahşan BALAMİR BEKTAŞ

I agree that the signatures above belong to the faculty members listed.

Prof. Dr. Musa Yaşar SAĞLAM

Graduate School Director

YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI

Enstitü tarafından onaylanan lisansüstü tezimin tamamını veya herhangi bir kısmını, basılı (kağıt) ve elektronik formatta arşivleme ve aşağıda verilen koşullarla kullanıma açma iznini Hacettepe Üniversitesine verdiğimi bildiririm. Bu izinle Üniversiteye verilen kullanım hakları dışındaki tüm fikri mülkiyet haklarım bende kalacak, tezimin tamamının ya da bir bölümünün gelecekteki çalışmalarda (makale, kitap, lisans ve patent vb.) kullanım hakları bana ait olacaktır.

Tezin kendi orijinal çalışmam olduğunu, başkalarının haklarını ihlal etmediğimi ve tezimin tek yetkili sahibi olduğumu beyan ve taahhüt ederim. Tezimde yer alan telif hakkı bulunan ve sahiplerinden yazılı izin alınarak kullanılması zorunlu metinleri yazılı izin alınarak kullandığımı ve istenildiğinde suretlerini Üniversiteye teslim etmeyi taahhüt ederim.

Yükseköğretim Kurulu tarafından yayınlanan *"Lisansüstü Tezlerin Elektronik Ortamda Toplanması, Düzenlenmesi ve Erişime Açılmasına İlişkin Yönerge"* kapsamında tezim aşağıda belirtilen koşullar haricince YÖK Ulusal Tez Merkezi / H.Ü. Kütüphaneleri Açık Erişim Sisteminde erişime açılır.

- o Enstitü / Fakülte yönetim kurulu kararı ile tezimin erişime açılması mezuniyet tarihimden itibaren 2 yıl ertelenmiştir. [1]

- o Enstitü / Fakülte yönetim kurulunun gerekçeli kararı ile tezimin erişime açılması mezuniyet tarihimden itibaren ….. ay ertelenmiştir. [2]

- o Tezimle ilgili gizlilik kararı verilmiştir. [3]

17/01/2019

Sayed Mahdi MOSAWI

---

[1] *"Lisansüstü Tezlerin Elektronik Ortamda Toplanması, Düzenlenmesi ve Erişime Açılmasına İlişkin Yönerge"*

(1) Madde 6. 1. Lisansüstü tezle ilgili patent başvurusu yapılması veya patent alma sürecinin devam etmesi durumunda, tez **danışmanının** önerisi ve **enstitü anabilim dalının** uygun görüşü üzerine **enstitü** veya **fakülte yönetim kurulu** iki yıl süre ile tezin erişime açılmasının ertelenmesine karar verebilir.

(2) Madde 6. 2. Yeni teknik, materyal ve metotların kullanıldığı, henüz makaleye dönüşmemiş veya patent gibi yöntemlerle korunmamış ve internetten paylaşılması durumunda 3. şahıslara veya kurumlara haksız kazanç imkanı oluşturabilecek bilgi ve bulguları içeren tezler hakkında tez **danışmanının** önerisi ve **enstitü anabilim dalının** uygun görüşü üzerine **enstitü** veya **fakülte yönetim kurulunun** gerekçeli kararı ile altı ayı aşmamak üzere tezin erişime açılması engellenebilir.

(3) Madde 7. 1. Ulusal çıkarları veya güvenliği ilgilendiren, emniyet, istihbarat, savunma ve güvenlik, sağlık vb. konulara ilişkin lisansüstü tezlerle ilgili gizlilik kararı, **tezin yapıldığı kurum** tarafından verilir *. Kurum ve kuruluşlarla yapılan işbirliği protokolü çerçevesinde hazırlanan lisansüstü tezlere ilişkin gizlilik kararı ise, **ilgili kurum ve kuruluşun önerisi** ile **enstitü** veya **fakültenin** uygun görüşü üzerine **üniversite yönetim kurulu** tarafından verilir. Gizlilik kararı verilen tezler Yükseköğretim Kuruluna bildirilir.
Madde 7.2. Gizlilik kararı verilen tezler gizlilik süresince enstitü veya fakülte tarafından gizlilik kuralları çerçevesinde muhafaza edilir, gizlilik kararının kaldırılması halinde Tez Otomasyon Sistemine yüklenir.

* Tez danışmanının önerisi ve **enstitü anabilim dalının** uygun görüşü üzerine **enstitü** veya **fakülte yönetim kurulu** tarafından karar verilir.

ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, **Prof. Dr. Birsen ŞAHİN KÜTÜK** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.

Sayed Mahdi MOSAWI

To my beloved Shabnam,

And my grandpa, Sayed Hassan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

MOSAWI, Sayed Mahdi. *AFGHAN MASCULINE GHAIRAT: A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN KABUL*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2019.

This study reconstructs the meanings and contributions of *Ghairat* phenomenon in gender inequality and gender-based violence in an everyday setting in Kabul city, Afghanistan. The research utilized the constructivism-interpretivism paradigm as well as the qualitative method. In particular, it applied the empirical-phenomenological approach to understand the lived-experiences of the participants about the *Ghairat*. Thirty-Seven individuals including Sixteen men and Twenty-one women from three ethnic groups of Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara and five key informants voluntarily attended the study. The data were analyzed following the Moustakas' Steick-Colaizzi-Keen modification. They were coded and thematized using the MAXQDA program. The findings of the study have revealed the complexity and significance of *Ghairat*. As a social phenomenon, it has several facets and meanings. It is internal, external, precarious and gendered. The meaning of *Ghairat* categorized into manly and womanly. The study identified manly *Ghairat* as a cultural mechanism through which classic patriarchy and masculine domination operate. It also acts as a means of violence. In the process of facilitating gender-based violence, manly *Ghairat* appears in different forms of physical, psychological, and symbolic violence. Furthermore, a new meaning ascribed to womanly *Ghairat* as the capability and power to break the social constraints and attend women's human rights. Unlike the previous literature that equalized *Ghairat* with honor, the research concluded that the two phenomena are different. While honor essentially deals with the social status and reputation, *Ghairat* concerns the capability and power of a man to preserve assumed belongings.

Keywords

ÖZET (Turkish Abstract)

MOSAWI, Sayed Mahdi. *Afghan Eril Gayreti: Kabil'de Nitel bir Araştırma*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2019.

Bu çalışmada, Afganistan'ın Kabil şehrinde günlük yaşamda görülebilen cinsiyet eşitsizliği ve cinsiyete dayalı şiddet temelinde "Gayret" olgusuna atfedilen anlamlar ele alınmıştır. Yapısalcı-yorumsalcı paradigmadan faydalanılan bu nitel çalışmada, katılımcıların Gayret kavramı ile ilgili olarak yaşadıkları deneyimleri anlayabilmek amacıyla ampirik-fenomonolojik yaklaşım kullanılmıştır. Peştun, Tacik ve Hazara kökenli on altı erkek ve yirmi bir kadının yanı sıra konuyla ilgili bilgi sahibi olan beş kanaat lideri de çalışma katılımcıları arasındadır. Elde edilen veriler, Moustakas' Steick-Colaizzi-Keen temelinde, MAXQDA programında tema ve alt temalar oluşturularak analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları, Gayret'in karmaşıklığını ve önemini ortaya koymuştur. Bir sosyal olgu olarak bu kavramın, birkaç yönü ve anlamı bulunmaktadır. Bu olgunun içsel, dışsal, belirsiz ve cinsiyetçi yönleri bulunmaktadır. Gayret kavramının anlamı erkek temelli ve kadın temelli olmak üzere ili şekilde kategorize edilebilir. Bu çalışmada temel olarak Gayret kavramının, klasik ataerkil ve erkek egemenliğine dayanan kültürel mekanizma olarak tanımlandığı görülmüştür. Bu durum aynı zamanda bir şiddet aracı olarak da işlev görmektedir. Cinsiyete dayalı şiddetin kolaylaştırılması sürecinde, Gayret kavramının fiziksel, psikolojik ve sembolik şiddetin farklı formları şeklinde görüldüğü sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, Gayret kavramının kadın temelli bağlamda da ele alındığı çalışmada, kadın temelli Gayret kavramını sosyal kısıtlamaları ortadan kaldırma ve haklarını elde etme gücü olarak tanımlandığı görülmüştür. Gayret kavramını onurla eşitleyen diğer çalışmaların aksine; bu çalışma iki kavramın birbirinden farklı olduğu sonucunu ortaya koymuştur. Onur, temelde sosyal statü ve itibar ile ilgilenirken, Gayret kavramı, kazanımlarını korumak temelinde bir erkeğin yeteneği ve gücü ile ilgilidir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Gayret, Onur, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Temelli Şiddet, Afganistan, Ampirik fenomonoloji, Erkeklik

Table of Contents

TABLES

FIGURES

DIAGRAMS AND CHARTS

PHOTOS

MAPS

INTRODUCTION

It is more than one and the half-decade when Kabul fell to anti-Taliban forces in 2001- that in a patriarchal society of Afghanistan, gender concept has been turned into a dominant political and civil discourse. Since then, so many rules and policies have been codified, and also, a large amount of money has been spent on gender projects and programs. However, besides impressive gains in women's rights, the achievements described as fragile.

One reason for such fragility is that the majority of existed works on gender and women's rights in Afghanistan neglect the masculinities notions that reinforce gender inequality and gender-based violence. Considering this gap, the current study focuses on "*Ghairat*" phenomenon as a key masculine attribute in Afghan culture to explore its gendered contributions in the context of Kabul city, Afghanistan.

In the first chapter of the thesis, the researches' background is described along with the main inquiries. Moreover, the significance of the study is clarified. The second chapter provides with a conceptual framework by reviewing empirical literature and discussing the key theories and concepts that help better understanding of *Ghairat*. Chapter three presents detailed information about Afghanistan, gender politics in the country since 1880, and *Ghairat*'s conceptual background. Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology, methods and procedures applied for this study. In chapter 5 the findings are revealed. The discussion of findings and conclusion regarding the research questions are explained in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Women's status has been at the heart of many political (Ahmed-Ghosh 2003), cultural, and religious struggles made in Afghanistan since the beginning of the 20th century. As an instance, Aman Allah Khan (1892-1960) –the monarch of Afghanistan from 1919 to 1926 made attempts in bringing reforms in the family law and promoting women's situation. However, the modifications provided a way for his conservative opponents to accuse the king of 'dishonoring' the Afghan nation and eventually led him to abdicate and leave the country (Malikyar 1997).

Also, the anthropological and feminist scholarships on Afghan culture involve numerous cases that refer to honor as a part of Pashtunwali – the way of being Pashtun and practices that restrain Afghan women (See Tapper 1991, Glatzer 1998, Kakar 2003, Rzehak 2011, Chiovenda 2018). For instance, Boesen (1980) describes the status of women in the Kunar valley of Eastern Afghanistan in relation to men as inferior which considered as the property of men. The anthropologist, Nancy Tapper (1984, 299) who conducted her research among the Durrani Pashtuns in north-central Afghanistan writes that the members of the community discuss control of all resources especially labor, land, and women – in terms of honor. Dupree (2015, 12) also mentions the consequences that a woman may counter in the name of honor in Afghanistan:

> … any deviation from accepted norms of female behavior cannot be tolerated. Women are killed in the name of honor for simply running away to avoid unpalatable marriage alliances, for allegedly engaging in illicit affairs, or for eloping.

Based on the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (2015) honor killing is widespread in different parts of Afghanistan. According to its report in 2015, there were 92 recorded honor killings, in Afghanistan, which have been committed by men who claim that they are protecting their honor from March 2013 to March 2014.

One may ask what honor is? And what are the specific features that honor entails in a society like Afghanistan? This is especially because that honor is also examined in the other Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and African societies as well as Southern United States (Schneider 1971, Gilmore 1982, Nisbett 1993, Iliffe 2005, Moritz 2008, Van Osch et al. 2013). Here, this can be inquired whether honor's definition in Afghan culture corresponds to Pitt-Rivers's that:

> "Honor is the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is the sentiment of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognized by the society, his right to pride" (Pitt-Rivers 1966, 21).

Such questions mentioned above are of critical importance since they highlight a weakness in the well-known literature on the Mediterranean societies and Afghan culture. Tapper (1991, 15) argues that this literature has been a tendency to reify the indigenous notions which are translated as 'honor' and 'shame.' Abu-Lughod discusses that since 1990s and in particular after September 11 attacks (Sen 2005), honor and its related crimes are specifically marked as a form of violence that belong to Muslim societies (Abu-Lughod 2011). She adds when the crimes of honor are projected as the behavior of a specific culture, in this case, it simplifies morality and misrepresents the gender relations in the honor centered cultures (Abu-Lughod 2013, 114). The linguist, Anna Wierzbicka (1997, 15-17) also explains that the keywords of a given culture are particularly important, revealing and untranslatable and can provide with an interpretation of the core values in that culture.

Since my interest was first aroused in gender and masculinities issues in the Afghanistan context, *Ghairat* has been the term that always drew my attention.

> "A 6-year-old boy stumbles over somewhere across the street and starts to cry. His father approaches him and says: be a man, boy! Why are you crying? Have a little *Ghairat*! Don't cry!"
>
> (Researchers' Observation, Kabul)

Two middle-aged men are speaking in the bus:

> "A: I know some guy whose wife works for some NGO.
> B: Are you kidding me?
> A: You haven't heard about it?
> B: What a *Be-Ghairat*/dishonorable guy! If he had *Ghairat*, he would provide his wife expenses instead of letting her work out."
>
> (Researchers' Observation, Kabul)

"*Ghairat*" which is translated as honor in the literature related to gender in Afghanistan (Ganesh, Kohistani, and Azami 2013, Beath, Christia, and Enikolopov 2013) is considered as a significant trait associated with masculinity (Dupree 2015) and one of the most commonly mentioned reasons for imposing restrictions on one's womenfolk (Azarbaijani-Moghaddam 2009, 184; 2010). In this sense, while being a man or masculinity refers to the social roles and meanings prescribed for men in any given society (Stets and Burke 2000, Kimmel 2004), honor is identified as "basic social codes for prompting and regulating men's competition for status [and] a mode of social control as well as self-control" (Leverenz 2007, 318).

Nevertheless, there has not yet seen any study which explicitly concentrates on this issue and its consequences in Afghanistan. Most of the literature only implicitly deals with honor in the context of Pashtun tribe (Glatzer 1998, Hawkins 2009).

With consideration to this need and also the importance of this matter in comprehending and transforming gender relations in Afghanistan, the present study seeks to achieve an in-depth comprehension of *Ghairat*'s meaning and its consequences in Afghanistan context.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In light of the above, the proposed study aims to answer the following questions:

- What is the meaning of *Ghairat*/honor for Afghan citizens living in Kabul city, Afghanistan?
- What are the relational consequences of *Ghairat*/honor in terms of gender inequality?
- How does *Ghairat*/honor contribute to gender inequality?
- What are the consequences of *Ghairat*/honor in terms of gender-based violence?
- How does *Ghairat*/honor contribute to gender-based violence in social interactions?

1.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- To understand *Ghairat*/honor notions from the point of view of Afghan citizens living in Kabul city.

- To describe the consequences of *Ghairat*/honor in terms of gender inequality.
- To explain the way that *Ghairat*/honor contributes to gender inequality.
- To describe the consequences of *Ghairat*/honor in terms of violence.
- To explain the way that *Ghairat*/honor contributes to violence in social interactions.

1.4.   SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

The significance of research is judged based on the novelty of the topic and its critical consequences (*Ghairat*/honor, Gender Inequality and Violence), gaps in the literature, the context of the study (Afghanistan with a post-conflict, Islamic and multi-ethnic context), theoretical and methodological approach (applying multidisciplinary framework and qualitative research methods), and policy implications.

While the previous works insist that honor plays a prominent role in Afghan culture (Abirafeh 2009) and provides cases that reveal how women affected in the name of honor (Tapper and Tapper 1992), there is no research that focuses on the meaning of honor in Afghan culture. It seems that honor is mainly observed as an attribute that depends on the Pashtunwali in Afghanistan (Pstrusińska 2017) and no description is presented in order to clarify the essence of honor itself.

Moreover, there has been no systematic attempt to explore and understand the origin of *Ghairat* notion and distinguish its characteristics in Afghan culture. Such a view requires an in-depth comprehension that tries to grasp the way that *Ghairat* as a cultural entity in Afghanistan is socially constructed and preserved.

Another importance of this study comes from its focused reference to the experiences of subjects who are living *Ghairat* rather than relying only on just observations. The majority of the analysis concerning honor in Afghanistan is based on the observations (Boesen 1990, Tapper 1991) and a quantitative examination (Baldry, Pagliaro, and Porcaro 2013). So, the current research aims to go back to the social actors and find out how do they experience *Ghairat* in their daily life.

The study also highlights the role of masculinity at the situations that honor is practiced. Studying men and masculinities in Afghanistan is a growing field in recent years. This research can be considered as one of the first studies

concentrating on *Ghairat*/honor includes both men and women with utilizing multidisciplinary perspectives from feminist and critical masculinities studies.

Moreover, in spite of the prevalence of pathological consequences of honor such as honor-based violence that women encounter in South Asia countries and especially in Afghanistan, there is no research which studies the way that *Ghairat* contributes committing violence. Accordingly, the research, extends its view in order to capture the experiences of Afghan men and women as the social actors and not necessarily as the victim or perpetrators.

Lastly, although there have been different policies, strategies, and programs in order to improve women's status, it seems that less attention paid to the cultural barriers that stand on the way of gender equality. Understanding *Ghairat*/honor can provide pieces of empirical evidence and contextual analysis for the policymakers, academicians, advocates, and social actors to change the harmful practices and subjectivities.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter intends to establish a conceptual framework by reviewing the literature and discussing the key theories and concepts related to understanding *Ghairat* and honor phenomenon. A conceptual framework is a key part of each research design that refers to a "system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs the research" (Maxwell 2013, 39) and can be applied to the understanding of phenomenon (Vincent A. Anfara and Mertz 2006).

The current study considers the literature review as a broader process through which a conceptual framework can be initiated. This conceptual framework can provide a lens to identify gaps and study significant aspects of the research subject. In accordance with this view, Ravitch and Carl insist that the review of literature lasts throughout the research procedure rather than being completed in a single moment (Ravitch and Carl 2016).

This chapter contains two major sections: an extensive review of the empirical literature as well as synthesizing theories and concepts that shed light on the research main inquiries. The empirical literature is about earlier researches that are relevant to the field of study or similar fields (Flick 2014). In turn, the theoretical literature includes relevant concepts, definitions, theories and discursive and analytical works that used in the field of investigation and contains ideas and information about the study topic (Punch 2014, Flick 2015).

As part of research process, it is critical to conduct a literature review to understand what work on the issue is being done, to see how to best add to and benefit from the existing knowledge, and move forward. More specifically, in the qualitative research, as Corbin and Strauss (2015, 49) point out, the professional and disciplinary background of the study can be applied to make comparisons, increase theoretical sensitivity, present descriptive materials, provide questions for data gathering, act as a stimulus for analytical questions, and authenticate findings of the study.

2.1.   REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

Uwe Flick (2014) suggests several questions that can help to better review the empirical literature:

- What are the methodological approaches or arguments here?
- Are there any contrary findings and results the researcher could notice as a starting point?
- Are there any conversations and debates about perspectives and results in this research area?
- Do any surprising and unexpected findings present in this field that make necessary a new study?

Moustakas (1994, 111) also insists that in the process of literature review, the researcher evaluates former studies, recognizes the differences in their research designs, methods, and findings and points out the new facts and information he attempts to achieve.

Considering the main objective of the study in order to comprehend *Ghairat* phenomenon and its contribution to gender inequality, and violence in Afghanistan, this section contains a critical examination of the empirical literature that is related to the mentioned issues.

The section begins with providing brief empirical evidences of honor subject from Middle Eastern and South Asian settings. It then focuses on Afghanistan and describe the review process which contains the inclusion criteria for the empirical literature, search strategy, data extraction, and analysis procedures. Afterwards, the findings of the empirical literature review are reported applying a narrative synthesis perspective. Similarities, differences, and gaps that are found in the empirical literature are also presented at the end of section.

As the first step, a set of criteria and specific questions raised to guide the search, selection, and analysis procedures. The empirical literature in this study involved research-based papers, books and other sources of information with the characteristic of professional and disciplinary writings (Corbin and Strauss 2015).

The review is mainly concerned with the studies conducted in Afghanistan where the research questions about *Ghairat* come into context. However, there are other countries-in particular Muslim communities (İlkkaracan 2015) in which *Ghairat*

and honor issues are studied. Before presenting the main review of the literature on honor in Afghanistan, a brief look is taken at the countries which share similarities according to the regional, cultural gender relations (Qassem 2009, Desai 2009). This includes Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and India.

As an instance, Abedinifard (2018) described "*Gheyrat*" as a gendered social construct which defines the hegemonic masculinity in Iran. According to him, *Gheyrat* relies on an Iranian man's sense of honor, possessiveness and protectiveness and regards female relatives. Also, Bakhtiar (2015) defines *gheirat* as a complex sentiment in Iranian men and women with different connotations such as jealousy, courage, chivalry, and protecting *Nâmus*- female family members.

Turkey is also another significant context where honor related issues have become salient. In her article Ayşe Parla (2005) demonstrated that in Turkey honor extends to cultural practices like hospitality, reputation, social status, and family. As an example, in the sense of itibar (esteem), honor is counted significant for men as well as women.

However, the vast majority of the honor literature in Turkey focuses on the issue of *Nāmus (Kardam 2004)*, femicide, honor killings (Arın 2001, Faraç 2006) intimate partner violence, and the role of honor in controlling women's body, social position and interactions (Boyacioğlu and Türkmen 2008) and significance of honor in the modern (Sirman 2004) and tribal relations (İçli, Ökten, and Boyacıoğlu 2012) among the Turk communities.

As an example, Yıldız Tahincioğlu (2011) in her book named "Namusun Halleri" [States of *Nāmus*] analyzes the meaning of *Nāmus* relying on the stories of women in Şanlıurfa [located in the South Eastern of Turkey]. For her, *Nāmus* is a key element of social relations which may lead to killing of a woman when it endangers the dignity or honor of a man. Furthermore, it violates the rights of women to educate, work, and move. Gizem Çelik (2018) in her book on the murdering masculinities [Öldüren Erkeklik[Lik]ler: Eşine Şiddet Uygulanmış Cezaevindeki Erkekler] shows that how women's dressing style, claim and will to work, or laughter before the strangers caused studied Turk men to commit honor based violence against their intimate female relatives. According to the above mentioned studies, violating honor codes through a woman's sexual misconducts,

sullies not her own good name but bring dishonor and shame to her family as well (Parla 2005).

The significance of honor code or Şeref and *Nāmus* is also prominent among the Turk communities in diaspora. For instance, Gezik (2003) in his comparative research among the young Turks who live in Turkey, Germany and the Netherlands found that despite all the changes in the new generations, the virginity phenomenon is still of great. According to the participants of Gezik's study *Nāmus* alludes to a man's family, wife, mother, daughter, and sister. In such traditional communities where the honor code is strong, men are expected to protect his honor as well as family's honor. Accordingly applying the violence considered as legitimate and acceptable.

In correspondence to the above mentioned view, Ecevitoğlu (2009, 2012) in her book titled *Nāmus*, Töre ve İktidar [Sexual Honor, Custom, and Authority] also investigated the honor perceptions aimed at controlling women's sexuality and choices with the threat and more specifically by honor killing. The main claim of Ecevitoğlu is that honor killings is a political phenomenon itself. This is because honor killing is seen legitimate in the patriarchal communities and accepted based on this idea that a life can be ended by being killed because of honor. In her detailed analysis on the *Nāmus* and *Şeref*, the author explains that *Şeref* [honor] is "given to a person who posses certain moral values and qualities in a certain socio-cultural context (Ecevitoğlu 2012, 319). Moreover, Şeref [honor] concept is related to virtue, control and is alike to authority notion as it implies a legitimat use of force.

Mehmet Bozok in his study (2013), reveals how Trabzon men considered protecting their honor and shame as a main responsibility of being a man. In so doing, they keep their family safe and well provided financially. The study concludes that honor is a patriarchal term by which men are considered as the protector of women and family's morality and the country or nation.

South Asian communities can provide with another example of practicing honor and dishonor concepts (Casimir and Jung 2009). In India among the castes and ethnic groups the meaning of masculine honor is closely connected with the purity and pollution concepts. While honor and high respect for men, family and the entire group is achieved by protecting women and manliness, the result for

women is a degree of seclusion. In the same vein, Mandelbaum (1988) in his book "Women's Seclusion and Men's Honor: Sex Roles in North India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan considers purdah-*izzat* complex [purdah means "curtain" *parda* in Hindi and Urdu] as one the most significant term that elaborate practices such as women's seclusion and men's honor. Accordingly, *Parda* contains the beliefs, norms and values about the conduct of women, the limitations on their mobility rights like going outside the household and the needs for their respectful and deferential manner inside the home. As a result, men's honor straightly relates to women's purity and chastity and violating these codes can lead to sever punishments like committing honor killings (Raza 2006).

2.1.1. Review Process

The main selection criteria for including or excluding the empirical literature in Afghanistan were:

- Related to *Ghairat* or honor;
- Related to gender and masculinities.

For this purpose, the search technique included an expansive searching of following electronic databases and academic search engines: Google Scholar, Google Books, EBSCOhost, Taylor & Francis Online, Wiley Online Library, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

The determination to apply the mentioned data bases and search engines was due to the researcher's past experiences, and its consistency with the topic and study field. Also, no specific time range provided for time control in the databases.

The main key words involved '*Ghairat*', 'Ghayrat', 'honor', 'honour', 'masculine honor', '*Namus*', '*Nāmus*' 'gender-based violence', 'honor killing', 'honor-based violence', 'honor crime', 'Gender inequality', 'Gender equality', 'Masculinity', 'Masculinities', 'Gender' and 'Afghanistan.' However, finding out the relevant literature from the countries like Turkey, Iran, India, and Pakistan that introduced briefly at the beginning of this section, the key words were limited to 'honor', '*Nāmus*', 'honor-based violence', and 'honor killing.' The reason of this reduction was to concentrate on the literature that were more related to the Afghanistan setting. The search procedure started in 2015, however updating the literature review lasted throughout the study.

Performing the initial search, resulted in more than 129 studies including journal articles, research papers, reports, and book sections. Then, after examining the references and conducting a quality check, only 31 publications were selected as the most relevant for the extended review. The identified studies included 11 peer-reviewed papers, 6 books, 5 book chapter, 5 reports, 2 Ph.D. researches and 2 journal article and encyclopedia paper.

The narrative approach is applied to synthesize studies eligible for inclusion. Since the gathered literature are not similar and comprise a different range of research designs like quantitative, qualitative, and comparative, it suits to benefit from the narrative synthesis approach (Andrew 2010).

Accordingly, all the included literature is reviewed thoroughly relying on the following questions:

- What are the pertinent findings to honor or *Ghairat*?
- What are the pertinent findings to gender relations and masculinities?
- What are the applicable hypothesis, prepositions and methodology?
- What are the pertinent theories and concepts used in the study?

The excerpted propositions are organized to represent an understanding of the reviewed publication. Thereafter, findings of the studies are synthesized and presented chronologically.

2.1.2. Honor Literature in Afghanistan

In his book "Heroes of the Age: Moral Fault Lines on the Afghan Frontier," David B. Edwards (1996) applies anthropological research to explore the historical and cultural roots of civil strife and conflict in Afghanistan. In this regard, he inspects the lives of three exemplary figures from the eastern Afghan frontier in the late nineteenth century: Sultan Muhammad-a tribal khan, Abdur Rahman-a royal prince who became Afghanistan's king, and the Hadda Mulla- a Muslim saint. Through his comparative analysis of the stories of these men, he highlights the role of three main cultural principles as honor, Islam, and rule in Afghanistan's political turmoil and instability since 1978's revolution. While he believes that the mentioned three principles are inconsistent with one another, they inspired Afghans to heroic actions. The book represents many examples and stories from Sultan Muhammad Khan as a man of great courage and deeds who

protected with notorious zeal from his personal and family honor. Based on Khan's story, he blinded his mother because he thought that his mother's revenge from his father's murder subjected him to the taunts and ridicule of the tribe. Because as the son, he was supposed to avenge. He says to his mother:

> "the son of Talabuddin Akhundzada was never born. His wife gained his revenge. His wife took his vengeance. He didn't have a son.' You have ruined my name and reputation in the tribe. When you committed this act, you thought that you were taking revenge for my father or for your husband, but instead you have lost my position in the tribe" (Ibid, 37).

In her paper on the cultural heritage and national identity in Afghanistan, Nancy Dupree (2002) briefly mentioned about the honor. She considers it as one of the most significant features that determines social status in Afghanistan society. She suggests that honor is a cultural quality most afghans share and position of women is closely tied up to this concept. According to her, Afghanistan is a patriarchal society where women seen as the standards through which morality is judged (Dupree 2002, 978).

Hafizullah Emadi (2002), in his book briefly mentions about the attribute of "honorable female" in afghan society. Based on him women's honor in Afghanistan is defined in maintenance of virginity prior to the marriage (Emadi 2002).

In his opinion paper, Poulton (2003) sought to highlight the significance of honor and Afghan manhood in understanding Jihad and committing suicide attacks. He explains that honor is the "foundation stone" of Afghan society and the main character that reveals an Afghan's identity. In this society, establishing a family, having offspring, and preferably sons are a must to be recognized as a real man. However, this rite of passage is very difficult in the refugee camps where refugees live in poverty with no schools. Unavoidably, attending the mosque and Madrasa and educating by Mullahs with Wahhabist propaganda, they indoctrinated to see the west as Satan/Shaitan, and "suicide as martyrdom and a source of honor" (Poulton 2003, 408).

Based on the author, honor, and hospitality are like a religion especially for Pashtuns and Pashtunwali or the official code of honor of the Pashtuns has been instrumental in defining the "Taliban brand of Islam and its repression of women" (Ibid 411). The paper describes "hospitality, revenge, sanctuary, and rules" as the

main fundamental rules of Pashtunwali. As an example, Taliban were honor-bound to defend Osama Ben laden as he was their guest. Concerning the rules, to protect his honor, a Pashtun must obey the decisions made by elders and Jirga.

Lastly, the paper urges that peace will come to Central Asia only if poverty would be replaced by an active economy and job opportunities that provide young men the chance to gain honor through peaceful activities.

Abirafeh's works (2007, 2008, 2009) reflect her understanding of gender issues with is centered on the impacts of gender focused international aid on women and men in post-conflict Afghanistan. The publications are based on the professional experiences of the author. The data are gathered from focus group discussions, questionnaires, and semi structured interviews with 71 Afghan women as the participants of aid interventions and 50 Afghan men.

Her contextualized analysis of gender in Afghanistan finds that gender schemes that disregard men's involvement will likely not gain gender equality. Such programs are unsuccessful to achieve the fundamental aims of poverty alleviation and sustainable development (Abirafeh 2007).

In her PhD research (2008), Abirafeh shows that the certain emphasize on women in Afghan context has been perceived detrimental by Afghan men and women. She adds that the disregard of Afghan men in interventions in accompany with an inadequate understanding of their needs and roles has led to revival of violence at the household and national levels against women and international community. Most of the male interviewees expressed repeatedly that in the international interventions women were prioritized as they received huge share of opportunities, advantages and benefits. A man participant of the study explained that since the Americans came to Afghanistan, he felt that the only way to provide the expenses of the family was for his wife to work. He could not find a job because 'women are preferred over men' (Abirafeh 2007, 82).

Based on the findings of the study, female participants also concurred that men were neglected and this caused them to be angry. They felt that while there was possibility of partnership with men in the family and community settings, the opportunity of involving potential men's supporters is lost. A woman participant clarified that if the Afghan men and women together decide on the changes, it will

be good. However, when someone else from the outside makes the changes, no one is happy with it (Abirafeh 2008).

Sabrina Gilani in her paper (2008) chose to examine the post-conflict remasculinization and its impacts on women's rights in Afghanistan society. More precisely, she considers how Afghan men will try to assert again their masculinity after the long period of war, severe violence and oppression, and how such practices affect the human rights of Afghan women. Applying classical theories of masculinity, the essay asserts that remasculinization in Afghanistan will take place using violence, especially in the private space as women are the most reachable target there.

The paper states that masculinity is a significant element of Afghan identity and appeared mostly in the forms of male honor, status, and authority. Despite ethnic and tribal varieties in Afghanistan, such symbols stay common among Afghan men. In this society, historically, men's honor and moral worth are measured by the designation of women's behaviors and appropriateness. As a consequence, a woman's action that is perceived dishonorable can be symbolized as her male relatives' inability to practice the power and control.

The paper also claims that Afghanistan's political conditions in the 1980s and 1990s shaped the masculinity as one that includes threat and use of violence, especially where women have been the initial targets. As an instance, the Taliban regime's hypermasculinity redefined the meaning of masculinity in Afghanistan. Because Taliban's concept of masculinity needed the complete dismissal of women from the public places, as well as restricted women's rights in the private space.

However, based on the author, the persecution of men under the Taliban regime enticed less attention from media. At times, due to arbitrary arrests of men and their humiliation through flogging in the public, "it seemed that being a man in Afghanistan seemed to offer little more security than being a woman" (Gilani 2008, 59). Moreover, the "arbitrariness of death" endangered men's role to protect their families especially female members of their family. The author claims that at least in the 1990s the definition of a man in Afghanistan required to capture and keep the power by resorting to violence and subordinating women.

The author concludes that as a result of long violent history and presence of a hegemonic masculinity that includes male's dominance in Afghanistan, masculine violence can be represented through two main ways: committing violence on the "bodies of Afghan women in the private sphere" and applying violence as a political instrument "in the public sphere" (Ibid, 63). But between the two spheres, home is the only place where Afghan men can establish classical patterns of hegemonic masculinity in which women are considered as subordinate and their behaviors are directly connected to male honor and social status.

In her book chapter, Susanne Schmeidl (2009) contends that the existing approaches on gender inequality which is applied by international actors in Afghanistan, is built on an insufficient knowledge and comprehension of gender dynamics in this society. Therefore, to make better strategies for gender equality it is requisite to employ a gender lens that provides with better understanding of gender system and order that hold Afghan men in higher regard than women. Schmeidl benefits from the scholarly works of Kandiyoti, Moghadam, Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, and Ahmed-Ghosh in describing gender relations in Afghanistan context and builds her theoretical framework on "unpacking the Gender System" (Ridgeway and Correll 2004) and "undoing gender" (Deutsch 2007).

The author refers to "preindustrial modes of production" and existence of "pre-modern tribal structures" (Schmeidl 2009, 77) as the two major factors to explain the presiding gender order in rural Afghanistan. Accordingly, she suggests three areas of activities for "undoing gender inequalities" especially in rural Afghanistan as a) "working with men"; b) "utilizing traditional structures," and c) "teaching women how to negotiate their rights at home and in the workplace" (Ibid, 81).

When it comes to honor and masculinity definition, it is firmly characterized "by the ability to protect a woman's virtue, ensuring no other man (or his eyes) has access to 'his' women"; watching over a women's honor is only significant since it reflects not only a man and his family's honor, but also the entire nation's. However, this definition plays a part in gender inequality as it provides "the space for men to act in the public domain, while it limits women to areas where they can be best protected - the homestead." It also explain the traditional clothing code for women like burqa [burka], their social isolation to stay at home (Purdah) and the

need to have a *Mahram* or a male accompanier when a female goes outside the home. For instance, she explains that the conversation that security inevitably restricts women's mobility is cited by Afghan men to a great degree. The men feel the only way to protect women against rape and abduction by warlords is to make them remain in homes. Also, the relationship between masculinity and gender-based Violence can be exemplified through the harmful practices like Bad. In this regard, under Pashtunwali these practices are decided and implemented by men such as those who are the tribal elders.

Furthermore, based on the author in Afghanistan state, politics and power are historically related with masculinity. By expansion, weapons and their possession are connected to a man's honor and masculinity. For instance, Pashtun men are usually given a gun as a rituals of initiation into manhood.

Moreover, the author provides another example how the Taliban exerts the gender ideology. They use a narrow gender discourse in their propaganda in which peace is associated with femininity and peaceful means of cooperation are equalized with the weaknesses of a man. For instance, countering democratization attempts promoted by the new government in Kabul, the Taliban challenged Pashtun men with suggestions such as, "Are you men (Pashtun), or are you women. How long will you tolerate a foreign dominated government in Kabul?" (Schmeidl 2009, 80)

She concludes that the lack of security and close relationship between power, guns, and masculinity provides no space for Afghan men to characterize themselves in a different way. Schmeidl insists that a comprehensive gender approach in Afghanistan needs to be employed that includes men and women and leads to a win-win situation for both of them.

In their comparative work, Casimir and Jung (2009)**,** deals with the "honour and dishonor" category and how it relates to the social values and norms in different societies including Afghanistan. There, they explain that honor is a crucial theme under Pashtunwali "that defines as a code of conduct, the behavioral prescriptions of a good Pashtun" (Casimir and Jung 2009, 246). Protection of women, gold, and land are vital to this code.

The study also provides with the culture-specific connotations of the honor complex as detailed in the Pashtunwali which can be mainly observed in the eastern area of Afghanistan. The concepts are *Nang* ("standing for honour,

dignity, courage, and bravery"), *Be-Nang* ("Shameless, undignified"), *Sharm* ("sense of modesty, bashfulness, and decent behavior"), *Nāmus*, and *Tura* (the sword).

Bernt Glatzer's 1996 study presented at the 14th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies in Copenhagen, (cited in Casimir and Jung 2009) describes a man who has *Nang*, a *Nangialay*, is someone who brings honor, good name and fame to his tribe. In turn, in Pashtu language to be called *benanga* -shameless, undignified is the worst possible insult. It is also a deadly threat to the social status of the insulted. Killing the insulter is an accepted way of reclaiming one's *Nang* and social status.

Sharm and *Nāmus* are the terms directly connected to the *Nang* concept and also relate particularly to women's way of behaving. In Pashtunwali honor of men, household, clan and tribe are represented by women. Glatzer in his paper (1996) entitled "Sword and reason among Pashtuns: Notion of individual honour and social responsibility in Afghanistan" (Casimir and Jung 2009, 246) elaborates *Nāmus* as:

> "Privacy and the protection of its sanctity. In the narrower sense *Namus* [*Nāmus*] relates to the integrity, modesty and respectability of women and to the absolute duty of men to protect them . . . in the widest sense it is the Afghan home land to be protected."

Glatzer adds that Pashtun men feel obliged to fight for retaining their *Nāmus* because they perceive young women as less rational, in need of control, having greater sexual desire and an easy prey to sexual temptation. This attitude leads them to exert persistent control over the female members of their family and shield them from their weaknesses. Moreover, neighbors' gossips about women's behavior are considered as a fear that cause men do not allow anybody see the women.

The term Tura (the sword) links to the individual male's autonomy and honor as well as honor of his family and clan.

By providing a few examples of women's fear the shame that their presence at the public would bring their families, the authors attempt to describe the preoccupation of Afghan women with honor, dishonor and shame topics. Farida, who is 23, a single girl, and interviewed by Amy Waldman on October 2004 says:

> "… There is already a general rumor that women who work outside the home are prostitutes to Americans or foreigners, that women who work outside the home lose their honour.'' … there is a proverb in our culture says "for a woman, a death in the home—with purdah . . . is a death of honour; a death outside the home is a death with dishonour. I just don't want to die on the street" (Cited in Casimir and Jung 2009, 47).

In his paper published in Australian Defence Force Journal (2009), Hawkins seeks to foster a discussion about how knowing Pashtun cultural code or Pashtunwali, can help Australian Forces to succeed in Afghanistan. Based on him this is a highly significant issue as it is the "cultural cement" that helps maintaining Taliban's motivation.

The analysis argues that the principles of Pashtunwali that existed in the 17th century, are still fundamental to the present-day Pashtun behavior. These tenets are listed as *ghayrat*/*nang* (bravery), *Badal* or revenge, *Melmastia* (hospitality), *Pirdah* (gender differences), *Nāmus* (Honor), and *Shura* (Council) (Grifths 2001, cited in Hawkins 2009, 17).

Nang (bravery) is the central principle to Pashtunwali and a "man" defined as someone who is brave and honorable in the battlefield. In other words, Battleground is a stage to present honor and obtain respect. Moreover, the revenge act only conducted against the behaviors considered dishonorable.

The author attempts to describe gender relations among Pashtuns based on the socio-economic conditions, geographical area and *Shaura*/ council decisions:

> In ultra-strict Pashtunwali areas, females are not permitted to walk outside unless accompanied, while in other areas many walk the streets alone but only while wearing a burkha. Each sub-tribal area is different and this is often a consequence of the *shura* that sits in that particular area—some shuras are stricter and follow Sharia law rather than deferring to the *shura* of the village (Hawkins 2009, 19-20).

However, the author doesn't provide with the evidences that led him to this conclusion.

Azerbaijani-Moghaddam's analysis of manly honor and the gendered male in Afghanistan (2009) is an attempt to highlight the importance of culture and especially *Nāmus* and *gheirat* in foisting constraints on women. Based on her, honor is a critical concept for transforming gender relations in Afghanistan and needs "to be carefully unpacked and understood" (Azarbaijani-Moghaddam 2009, 184). However, she adds that few attempts have been made to free men and

women from the traditional gender roles in Afghanistan. In this regard, the main challenge is finding an appropriate way to start such discussions with men and provide them the opportunity to talk about the positive and negative effects of tradition and customs on their interactions with women.

Azarbaijani-Moghaddam (2010) in her later work on gender equality through the National Solidarity Program's Community Development Councils also emphasizes while men participate in gender relations, this has not come through in most studies of gender in the Afghan context.

In this study that conducted in eleven districts in seven provinces of Afghanistan including Parwan, Daikundi, Nangarhar, Jawzjan, Herat, Gardez, and Kandahar, about 438 men and women participated. The main research tools were semi-structured interviews and open-ended questionnaires checklists.

Her evaluation of the program shows that masculinity is very much about the public performance of a gender role. A clear instance is when men behave differently in settings like Kabul and their village as the audiences and expectations are different. The researcher believes anonymity in Kabul provides a ground for some men to permit their female family members to go around. By contrast, in their village, they won't allow them as it may question their manliness.

A remarkable finding of this study is about manhood and control. In the studied areas, Afghan men strive to solve the family's problems including sexual crimes against women within the home and eventually at the community level. This is to only rely on the "community masculinity" and avoid government's interference that makes the community *bad nam* or dishonorable:

> "Interference from the government would indicate loss of control and emasculate the leaders of the community, making them lose face in front of other communities" (Azarbaijani-Moghaddam 2010, 53).

In daily life, men put pressure on each other to carry out their gender roles as men, especially how to interact with women. People may apply insulting remarks like "*Zan zada*" or "*Zan chust*" when a woman makes a decision or has autonomy at home. In such cases, men might call each other as "women's dogs or women's servants".

Azerbaijani-Moghaddam gives examples of strong women who went against the common masculinity and the community pressure imposed on the men and boys

who didn't comply with the expected roles. For instance, a woman who attended a sewing course in Panjsher in secret, stopped when her son made other male relatives to pressurize her for leaving. The son referred to shame and said people say: he sends his mother after Dollar! / "«*Madaresho posht-e dollar ravan kard*»" (Ibid). The author recommends that to change the Masculinity, men should be motivated and encouraged to develop and apply positive role models such as a good father, a good husband or a good brother.

UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) in its report entitled "Harmful Traditional Practices and Implementation of the Law on Elimination of Violence against Women in Afghanistan" (2010) documents customary practices including "honor" killings and describes Afghan government's responses to these practices. The research and interviews conducted in 29 of 34 provinces with 150 women, men, government officials, religious leaders, activists and community groups.

UNAMA Human Resources documented "honor" killing cases in which usually a woman killed by one or several relatives who believe the victim made the family dishonorable and shameful. The findings show although most incidents of "honor" killings occurring against women and girls, they recorded several cases of men and boys killed because of "honor." Moreover, there are cases seem to have the support of community:

> "… In August 2010 in Bamyan province, a girl died under suspicious circumstances the day after her wedding. The new husband reportedly took the girl back to her father's house on the wedding night, saying that she was not a virgin. She died in her father's house the next day. The police informed UNAMA HR that they started an inquiry but threats from local community members prevented them from investigating further" (UNAMA 2010, 35).

In a number of interviews and discussions throughout the country, participants admitted the incidents of "honor" killings. However, a contradiction can be found between community members says and evidences in some communities in the northern region. For instance, while, male interviewees denied the presence of harmful practices in their communities, UNAMA HR found out several cases of honor "killings" recorded in the region: in March 2007 where a father strangled his daughter in Sari Pul province after her fiancé broke his engagement following the circulation of "indecent" pictures of the girl (UNAMA 2010, 35).

Based on the interviews, the rural Pashtun communities are where the most "honor" killings happen there. In contrast, the low level is reported in the

Turkmen community as their: girls can weave carpets and fathers do not want to lose their earnings" (Ibid).

But "honor" killing is not the only harmful traditional practice pertinent to the honor. There are at least three more practices including *Baad*, child marriage, and restrictions on women's freedom of movement in which honor appears dominant. The study debates that violating norms by women and girls lead to dishonor not only the family but the entire community. Therefore, the connection between women's behavior and honour of community guides men to treat women as their possessions and prevent them from involving in most social interactions outside the home in order to protect the men's honor.

Ashraf Zahedi in his book chapter "When the Picture Does Not Fit the Frame" (2011), argues that while gender mainstreaming embraced and executed all over the world, it is not the most appropriate policy approach for Afghanistan. This is because there are factors that obstruct its success. At first, there is an uncertainty and confusion about the gender concept in Afghanistan. Accordingly, it can be referred to "women", and "equality" or applied to attract international donors. Gender mainstreaming also demands a powerful central government with a strong wish to improve women's status, significant budget to gather sex-disaggregated data, the presence of women's activist groups, political stability and security, and economic development that are still weak and fragile in Afghanistan. Thus, the author suggests that applying "empowerment approach and addressing women's needs through grassroots projects" can serve Afghan women better (Zahedi 2011, 298). In this regards, attempts should be dealt with direct engagement of Afghan women to identify their needs and priorities and also the involvement of men as the partners with women.

Based on the publication, since using the ideology of liberating Afghan women in 2001, "Afghan men have been projected as oppressors and as unified groups opposed to women's advancement" (Ibid 299). This is while that many Afghan men supported women even during the Taliban regime.

The study also strives to explain the context in which Afghan men object to women's promotion. For instance, it contextualizes men's opposition to women's employment within the Islamic frame that assign Muslim men to provide maintenance for the family members especially women. This role is considered as

a vital part of Afghan masculine identity and notions of "honorable manhood." As a result, when men cannot provide, the sense of shame and deficiency may lead them to women's employment. The author suggests that awareness-raising in Afghanistan should be applied along with education about women's rights in Islam.

In their experimental study, Baldry et al. (2013) look into how beliefs that are related to masculine honor, influence attitudes of Afghan police forces with regard to violence against women (VAW) and their interventions in intimate partner violence (IPV) cases. The research is conducted with a sample size of 108 police officers who randomly selected among those who participated in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) training course in Herat and Kandahar provinces. The researchers framed their theoretical debate based on the gender roles and sexism/ambivalent sexism theories.

The results of the study explain the role of masculine honor in facilitating, justifying, or causing domestic violence and femicide. It sheds light on the impacts of masculine culture of honoring and expectations of female roles (Baldry, Pagliaro, and Porcaro 2013, 371). For instance, although Afghan police officers' roles are expected to be independent of the influence of cultural beliefs and stereotypes that are in conflict with the law, they reported higher acceptance of intimate partner violence (IPV) when a woman betrayed her husband. Furthermore, it shows that the rule of law can be formed and affected by masculine honor which operates in the favor of male status and justifies using power, control and violence to put women back. On the other hand, it confirms that committing intimate partner violence can be considered and accepted as a tool to restore masculine honor.

Based on the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission's report published in 2015, there were 92 cases of honour killings have been registered from March 2014 to March 2015. In the previous year (March 2013 to March 2014) AIHRC recorded 120 incidents of honor killings. Considering these numbers, the report concludes that although the level of cases of honor killings has decreased around 13 percent in 2014-2015 compared to 2013-2014, it remained as a concerning issue in the country (Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) 2015).

However, in a National Inquiry report published by Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) in 2013, honor killing is described as one of the most alarming, severe and widespread human rights violation in Afghanistan. The high number of honor killings (243 cases) occurred from March 2011 until the end of May 2013, led AIHRC to launch a National Inquiry on this issue. The main purposes of the program were to identify "the causes and contexts of violence against women, particularly rape and honor killing," to raise awareness about the risks and consequences of these issues, and also provide recommendations to eliminate them (Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) 2013). The program organized a range of community advisory meetings, public hearings and focus group discussions and gathered more than 2,000 representatives from government, media, civil society, and judicial organizations. Furthermore, "136 suspects, offenders, victims, witnesses and family members of victims were interviewed and 127 cases of rape and honor killing have been documented" (Ibid 4).

Based on the findings of the report, about 50 percent of 243 honor killings were committed as a result of sexual relations outside marriage or attempts for adultery (*Zina*). The report also states in a traditional society like Afghanistan women and girls who have been victim of sexual assaults might be considered as a source of shame and disgracefulness in the family and tribe. Therefore, killing the victim is a way to remove the shame and restore the honor. Other causes of honor killings and rape are as follow:

Bar chart 1. Causes and context of honor killings in Afghanistan
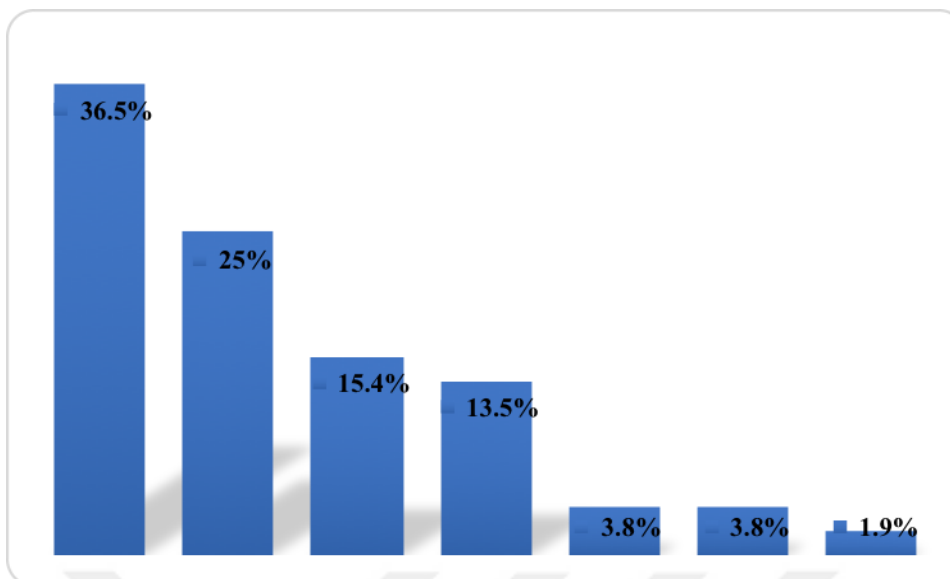
(AIHRC 2013, 61)

Honor killings mainly committed by close relatives and family members of the victims. In this regard, about 21% of honor killings perpetrated by husbands, 7% by victims' brothers, 5% by fathers, 3% by victim's brother-in-law and 2% by maternal uncle and victim's mother. The report explains that married women are the most common victims of honor killings. This is because a husband's possessiveness towards his wife and her inferior position in the family make her highly vulnerable. The report found that 34,9% of honor killings are committed by males aged 19 to 30 years. Based on this fact, it concludes that the level of perpetrating this crime is higher among younger people. Concerning economic status factor, the findings show that most of the victims of honor killings and sexual assault belong to the low-income level.

The report mentions to the four categories which contribute to honor killings and rape including legal-political, socio-cultural, economic and psychological factors. One of the important aspects mentioned under the legal-political category is the lack of a clear definition of honor killing in Afghan law and particularly ambiguities that exist in Article 398 criminal code. The above-said article reduces honor killing to a common crime by labeling it as "defending the honor" (AIHRC 2013, 9). Moreover, based on the report, the negative attitudes towards Afghan women like viewing them as "fallible, imperfect, unfaithful and untrustworthy creatures" or sex objects provides the ground for men's superiority and

dominance. Accordingly, honor killing is sought as a "means of punishing women" who go beyond men's control (Ibid 8)

Javed Bahri (2014) in his article entitled "Western Gender Policies in Afghanistan: Failing Women and Provoking Men" is looking for answering the overall research question as what are the attitudes of Afghan men in Kabul city on gender equality and women's rights?.

The study applies a semi-structured individual interviews and group interviews to examine whether the policies and practices of gender equality initiatives had had an effect on the Afghan men of Kabul. It is conducted in Kabul city and a rural area, Paghman district, in the western part of Kabul province, in Afghanistan in 2012.

The paper makes two arguments: first, gender norms have long been brought into Afghanistan by imperial others, initiating a particular geopolitics of gender; and second, the contemporary changes to the Afghan Constitution to promote and support gender equality, and programs by international organizations, have greatly failed because they have not involved Afghan men in the process. Bahri argues that Afghan men feel defensive about foreigners dictating how they should manage their families and relationships, and are alienated from these efforts by international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Their masculinity is a response to the imported gender norms that have been part of the US-led "war on terror." (Ibid 164). His research showed that Afghan men, regardless of their level of education and residence in Kabul city or the province, do not perceive women as equal to men.

The key finding that emerges from the data collected from both the expert interviews and Group Interviews show that the international community's involvement to advance gender equality has not worked as expected. On the contrary, men have reacted negatively to these values and ideas. The multiple views expressed by these Afghan men on the topic of gender equality can be condensed into two: their understanding of Islam; and their distrust and resentment of the West. Masculinity, to these men, is expressed by the power men embody and the roles they enact in accordance with Islam as providers of the family; head and decision makers of the family; protectors of women; and occupiers of public space.

The professionals whom Bahri interviewed during his fieldwork, believed that the Afghan expression of Islamic masculinity blocks the path to gender equality. At the end Bahri recommends efforts to promote positive changes in the condition of women in Afghanistan must respond to men's understanding of masculinity, and to their arguments against gender equality. Since labels and concepts as understood by the West have different meanings for Afghan men, terminology must be amended to reflect the Afghan men's understanding of these concepts (Bahri 2014, 181).

One of the research reports, which has been published by USAID named "Engaging Men in Women's Empowerment and Rights Achievement: An Explorative Stud" (Checchi and Company Consulting 2014) presents its fundamental goal to address the gap in understanding men's potential to contribute to gender equality in the Afghan context. In doing so, it seeks to identify the ways in which men are already contributing to struggles to secure women's rights and engaging with initiatives to empower women outside of the private realm of the household. In terms of methodology, it has taken a case study approach by conducting qualitative research across four case studies:

One looking at men's engagement through activism and advocacy initiatives; next, examines men's engagement with projects that have a women's empowerment and rights achievement objective; and the last one is considering gender relations more broadly in an urban labor market sector. This study uses an approach broadly based on grounded theory to analyze the data.

The study claims that men in Afghanistan are already engaged in and supporting women's empowerment and rights achievement. This includes men in families that support female family members' education, careers, and personal ambitions; men in the workplace treating their female colleagues as equals and contributing to the women's rights and empowerment goals of programs on which they work; male elders defending women's rights in their communities; and men deliberately advocating for changes to legislation in support of women's rights. All these represent spaces for engagement that can be built upon and expanded.

The study recommends applying a gender mainstreaming approach to any program can incorporate men's engagement in women's empowerment and women's rights. To do this, the design process of a program needs to incorporate

women's needs, interests, and contributions, as well as how men can be motivated and enabled to contribute to their realization.

In his short photo-essay, Myrttinen (2017) reflects on other kinds of Afghan men that go beyond the dominant stereotypes represented in the western media as "archaic, rural and/or violent particularly against women." The photos that provide the ground for the author's analysis are:

Photo 1. A placard with a picture of bodybuilders - for a gym in central Kabul (Myrttinen 2017)

Photo 2. An advertisement for a bank in Heart (Myrttinen, 2017)

The author also adds that these depictions are "aspirational ways of being a man" and far from the actual realities of most Afghan men. This is because Afghanistan is a rural country and the photos portray a modern man in an urban setting and combine components of western masculinities with local features.

2.1.3. Synthesis of Reviewed Studies: in Search of Similarities and Differences

The review and analysis of existing studies indicate the significance and prominence of honor complex in Afghanistan context as well as middle eastern and south Asian communities. However, while there has been a considerable amount of scholarly works related to honor issues in Turkey (see for instance Kulczycki and Windle 2011), India, and Pakistan (Solotaroff and Pande 2014), relatively little literature published on the topic in Afghanistan.

The literature search related to Afghanistan context showed that there has been no empirical research that explicitly deals with *Ghairat* phenomenon. There are only studies that translated *Ghairat* as honor (Hawkins 2009, Tapper 1991). It is also found that honor subject in Afghan context initially took the notice of anthropologists and ethnographers who were interested in studying Pashtun tribal culture, marriage and family institution (Boesen 1980, 1988, Tapper 1991) and input of Pashtunwali into civil war and strife (Edwards 1996, Glatzer 1998). Moreover, it is understood as one of the most significant cultural qualities that represent Afghan national identity (Dupree 2002, 2004).

Honor surfaced more since the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001 when it evoked the "attention of western feminists" (Andrews 2016, 153) and defense and military experts (Poulton 2003, Hawkins 2009). The latter category inspected Pashtunwali and honor in order to "understand the values of people who are willing to kill themselves with bombs" (Poulton 2003, 407) and pave the way for the International military force for achieving "success in Afghanistan" (Hawkins 2009, 16).

Amongst the selected 31 publication, there were 19 studies conducted utilizing a gender perspective. Among these, only 4 discussed honor issue explicitly (Poulton 2003, Casimir & Jung 2009, Azarbaijani-Moghaddam 2009, Baldry et al. 2013). There were 3 reports described the incidents of honor killings (UNAMA 2010,

AIHRC 2013, 2015) and 3 works focused on masculinity (Bahri 2014, Checchi 2017, Myrttinen 2017). The remaining 9 literatures implicitly analyzed and mentioned to honor complex as a part of their findings (Emadi 2002, Abirafeh 2007, 2008, 2009, Gilani, 2008, Schmeidl 2009, Hawkins 2009, Azarbaijani-Moghaddam 2010, Zahedi 2011).

Most early studies, as well as recent works, suggest in Afghanistan honor is basically represented by women and its demeanor. Women's virtue, chastity, and modesty are the codes that must be protected to guarantee honor, respect, and high status for men, family, and the community. Beaching the rules and codes by a woman may even lead to her murder in the name of honor. The mentioned results are supported by the identified literature from both middle east (Parla 2005, İçli, Ökten, and Boyacıoğlu 2012, Ecevitoğlu 2012, Bozok 2013; Tizro 2012, Bakhtiar 2015) and South Asian context (Mandelbaum 1988, Casimir and Jung 2009).

2.1.4. Limitation of Previous Literature

A closer look at the honor literature in Afghanistan context, however, reveals a number of gaps and shortcomings. At first, most of the reviewed studies have only examined honor notion as a part of the Pashtun cultural code, Pashtunwali (Boesen 1980, 1988, Tapper 199, Edwards 1996, Abirafeh 2007, 2008, 2009, Casimir and Jung 2009, Hawkins 2009, Rzehak 2011, Poulton 2013, Pstrusińska 2017). While honor code has been characterized as a general trait "of all ethnolinguistic communities of Afghanistan" (Emadi 2005, 136), the general trend pay no attention to other ethnics like Tajik, and Hazara. Accordingly, over-relying on a single piece of evidence which is limited to one ethnicity may give a misleading picture about doing gender in different contexts in Afghanistan.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the majority of the literature targeted Pashtun ethnic, implemented mainly in the eastern and rural areas of Afghanistan (Edwards, 1996, Boesen 1980, Casimir & Jung 2009, Schmeidl 2009). Thus, the question about Pashtun's honor in an urban setting remains to be addressed.

A major difference among existing literature on honor in Afghanistan and other countries like Turkey (Parla 2005, 2006, Boyacioğlu and Türkmen 2008, Ecevitoğlu 2012, Bozok 2013) and Iran (Tizro 2012, Bakhtiar 2015, Abedinifard 2018) is the rich diversity that is evident in studying different features of honor.

However, in Afghanistan it is more has been carried out on the tribal life, and honor killings (UNAMA 2010, AIHRC 2013, 2015) and discovering the meaning of honor itself ignored.

Above all, while the previous studies were helpful in providing insights about honor notions among Pashtuns in Afghanistan, conducting a new study is required in order to achieve a deep understanding of various notions of *Ghairat* and honor and their contribution to violence and gender inequality in an urban context. Further, the research needs to include perspectives from different ethnic backgrounds and more importantly examine the gender difference and nuances based on the lived experiences of both men and women.

2.2.   REVIEW OF THEORETICAL LITERATURE

As Blaikie (2010) explains, it is inevitable to apply theories and concepts in research. This is particularly because all social researches entail technical concepts to state its problem, objectives, and analysis. The technical language can be extracted from related theories and concepts. Such a view also corresponds to Miles and Huberman's that argue any researcher including the social phenomenologists come to fieldwork "with some orienting ideas" and at least a "rudimentary conceptual framework" (1994, 17) that guide them about the phenomenon.

However, the place of theories and its usage in the research is different based on the research strategies. For instance, strategies dealt with theory testing demands the researcher to prepare a theoretical model or construct a theory at the beginning of research. Since the current study concerned with the exploration, description and 'how' questions, it requires "sensitizing concepts but no hypotheses" (Blaikie 2010, 20). The qualitative researchers mostly come up with the "propositions" rather than hypotheses which is a part of the process of theorizing and data analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994, Maxwell 2013).

The theoretical literature review includes a detailed description and critical analysis of existed knowledge around the research topic (Gray 2009). Flick (2014, 67) proposes several questions that should be considered during the review process:

- What is already known on the issue in particular, or about the field in general?
- What theories are applied and discussed in this field?
- Which concepts are debated or applied?
- What are the theoretical or methodological approaches or controversies in this area?
- Which questions remain still open?
- What has not been studied yet?

In order to elucidate the criteria by which the related theories and concepts are selected, the results from the former section should be highlighted. As it is revealed earlier, there was no explicit study conducted on *Ghairat* phenomenon in Afghanistan. A few studies applied honor as a translation for *Ghairat* and the remaining literature only discussed honor without mentioning to the local terms. Moreover, no theoretical frame found that deals with the specific phenomenon. Hence, the procedure of reviewing and synthesizing theoretical literature mainly focused on the honor field presuming it as a similar area to *Ghairat*.

This section begins with an overview of the origins of honor study. In particular, the analysis of pioneers of sociology regarding honor is explained and adapted. It then focuses on the prominent approaches from social anthropology, social psychology, human rights, and feminism on honor issue. The chapter concludes with a synthesizing of the main propositions that can strengthen the theoretical sensitivity in this study.

2.2.1. Studying Honor: The Origins

The history of honor represents efforts and challenges made by various groups to monopolize the concept and define what honor means based on the specific set of norms and values they sought to be institutionalized. At the scholarship level, honor has also long attracted attention from social thinkers and philosophers on account of its complex nature and impacts on social life.

The honor concept is ancient as Greek civilization and a trace of that can be seen in the pioneering works of Aristotle. As for him, honor is a reward for virtue and doing good. It is the symbol of being viewed respectful, praiseful, famous, admired in the eyes of the public:

> "… Fame means being respected by others... Honour is the token of a man's being famous for doing good. It is chiefly and most properly paid to those who have already done good; but also to the man who can do good in the future… The constituents of honor are: sacrifices; commemoration, in verse or pose; privileges; grants of land; front seats at civic celebrations; state burial; statues; public maintenance; among foreigners, obeisances and giving place; and such presents as are among various bodies of men regarded as marks of honour" (1984, 2164).

After the Aristotle, analyzing honor continued to be of importance to subsequent philosophers, ethicists, theologians, and historians. However, "honor" emerged across the social sciences as a significant academic research field in the 20th century through the sociology, law and most importantly social anthropology.

Amongst the pioneers, the current study could trace three prominent names: Georg Simmel-a precursor of sociology (1858-1918), Moritz Liepmann, the German jurist (1869-1928) and Hans Speier, a German-American sociologist (1905-1990). Besides, there is another sociologist that his fundamental concepts could be used in connection with analyzing honor: Emile Durkheim (1858-1917).

Liepmann argues that an individual honor consists of reputation-as the objectified honor, and an internal feeling-as subjectified honor. Based on him, both aspects needs "legal protection' and should be "defended from external attack" (Goldberg 2010, 47).

2.2.2. Georg Simmel: Honor as a Form of Social Cohesion

Strange and Cribb names Georg Simmel, a founder of modern sociology, as the "first social scientist" to examine honor and its connection to violence (Strange and Cribb 2014, 8). In the 19th century when Simmel lived, dueling was one of the main practices under the culture of honor all over the western world.

By that time, dueling was a tool through which honor was claimed, preserved, and understood. In Germany, for instance, dueling was common because of Standesehre, 'honor of one's social estate' or among different classes including the bourgeoise. At the first look it may seem that the honor of the bourgeoisie had nothing to do with the honor of the duelist. However, they were dueling because the honor that a man fought to defend in a duel considered as a symbolic representation of his bravery, courage, self-discipline, and coolness (Frevert 1991, 257-270). LaVaque-Manty wrote that in the late 1910, Simmel's colleague, Max Weber was about to challenge a man by dueling in defense of Mrs. Weber's honor" (2006, 718). However the challenge never happened. In this era, dueling could be considered as an individual's struggle to defend his groups' collective honor.

Simmel's analysis of honor is centered around the honors' function in a social group. In his analysis, honor is a bridge that not only connects the individual to the bigger circle but serves as a key instrument for a groups' social maintenance. In this sense, honor is a measuring tool that shows to what extent a group is closely and firmly integrated. Simmel regards the main sociological importance of honor as a sort of social cohesion that stays uniform in the diverse socializations.

Honor is about the standards and norms of different groups like family, officers, merchants that an individual is a member of it. These groups may insist on the individual to have various sorts of honor at the same time: groups make sure that the actions of their members are appropriate through the establishment of a certain concept of honor like "family-honor, the honor of an officer, the reputation of a businessman for honest dealing" (Simmel 1955, 164). Therefore, for Simmel, honor is always formed in an individual's relation to a particular group and reflects its particularness in compare with other groups.

However, in the honor process, groups take full advantage of their members because whenever an individual assumes that he preserves his honor, in fact, he

preserves his group's honor. In this way, the significant service is evident which honor makes available to the self-maintenance of the group, for what Simmel called the group's honor, reflected by the individual's honor, "proves on close examination, to be nothing else than the stability, the unity, and the durable character of the group" (Simmel 1898, 682-83).

In such situation, there is no need for a group to control its members through the external compulsions. Instead, it is accomplished through the honor feeling that members learned via socialization process. Here, group's sense of honor represents itself in each individual's honor. Hence, the honor code would indicate that every group member would feel that his honor was lessened whenever any member subjected to an insult or a deprivation of his honor. In this regard, the association possesses a collective sense of honor, whose changes are represented in the sense of honor of each individual member… As a consequence the feeling of honor is adequate rather than applying "external methods of coercion, to make the individual conform to those norms which are required for the stability of the group" (Simmel 1955, 164-66).

2.2.3. Emile Durkheim: Social Fact and Collective Consciousness

David Émile Durkheim, the French sociologist is best known for his efforts to found sociology as a discipline through the importance he ascribes to the concepts of 'social' and 'social fact' (Shilling and Mellor 2001). In his book, the Rule of Sociological Method, he considers the social facts as the subject of sociology and defines them as the ways of "acting, thinking and feeling" (Durkheim 2013, 21) that exist outside of an individual. These are superior to the individual, coercive and exercise control and constraint on individuals.

As Ritzer and Stepnisky (2017, 2018a) explain, there are key points at the base of this definition through which Durkheim distinguishes sociology from psychology: first, a social fact is experienced as an external constraint rather than an internal drive. Second, it is not attached to a particular individual and can be seen throughout society. Third, a social fact has its own unique character and cannot be reduced to the individual level. This also requires that a social fact explained only by other social facts.

As will be seen in the subsequent pages, the concept utilized by the anthropologists and scholars who significantly studied honor (Peristiany 1966, Jamous 1992, Oprisko 2012). For instance, Jamous in his study, analyzes honor and baraka notions as the social facts in the sense Durkheimian school apply the phrase: "that is to say, sui generis realities which cannot be reduced to a single notion" (1992, 167).

Collective or common consciousness is another crucial concept by Durkheim that looks very relevant to the honor debates. He applies the term to describes a community's shared feelings and values:

> The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society forms a determinate system with a life of its own. It can be termed the collective or common consciousness. … By definition it is diffused over society as a whole, but nonetheless possesses specific characteristics that make it a distinctive reality. … Individuals pass on, but it abides… Thus it is something totally different from the consciousness of individuals, although it has an actual existence only in individuals (Durkheim 2014, 63).

The collective consciousness extends a strong authority over the entire community and maintains social order and cohesion within the community by setting the expectations and norms. And as Dillon argues (Dillon 2010, 91) the authority and pressure of the common consciousness are felt when the individual refuses to conform to the norms and values. In this sense, the repressive, punishing power of gossip, shame, and ostracism felt not only by the individual deviant but by the whole family and friend too in the "loss of honor" imposed on them.

2.2.4. Hans Speier: Honor and Social Structure

As Oprisko mentions Speier conceived a well-funded base for studying honor in social sciences and provided a foundation for a phenomenological examination of honor concept (2012, 12). His analysis of honor is discussed extensively in his book of essays published in 1952. In the succeeding paragraphs, his take on the topic is outlined. In particular, Speier's viewpoint is explained regarding the essence of honor, its place in a group, functions, and relations to the class.

Speier views honor as a social phenomenon that are clung to the values of a group. As the values are not absolute and vary among different societies and groups, honor is then non-permanent, and respective that a wide range of

attributes can be subjected for. According to Speier, honor and its contents are relative. Also, there are no activities honorable or excellent in essence. The subject of honor may vary from strength or beauty to cruelty, sorcery, and virtue even though it be impotent. Among some primitive societies or groups physical strength is honored, while in others age; in some the possessor of wealth or property, in others the person with magical power. In more developed societies honor often is granted to the wealthy, but as an instance, in old Japan the rich trader ranked below the poor craftsman worked for him (Speier 1952a, 39-40).

However, it is a given society or group that determine what is valuable, and excellent and should be honored. The nature of honor cannot be taken from the contents of the honorable. It is always associated with what is held to be excellent. As a result, though honor is not dependent upon a person's wish or action, it connects the single person to the group and other individuals.

Speier identifies three essentials in honor's emergence. A person or group who holds the honor, those who bestow it like sovereigns and other members of the group who observe the process. A man's honor neither originates from his personality nor holds on to his deeds. The honor of a man is dependent upon other men who have the power to confer honor on him and desire to pay it. Thus for honor to become apparent it is necessary that there be carriers or bearers, bestowers and observers of honor (Speier 1935; 1952a)

The extent of the sphere in which honor is presented affects by the number of members who are familiar with the honor claim and more straight the numbers of bestowers who want to pay the honor. There are many forms in the diverse cultures to proclaim the honor. For instance, in the modern world, mass media including television, radio, newspapers, and magazines and similar agents that control the public attitudes, are the main tool to disperse honor and fame.

The bestowers of honor whether it is the government or a group, requires the holder of honor to fulfill certain rules that form honor code. These rules consist of certain bans, taboos, permissions, and tasks that are prioritized with the most important ones like how to interact with the "opposite sex" or with whom it is allowed to communicate particularly at meals.

Since honor, is about rules and expectations, it plays a key part in ordering and organizing social life. It acts as a dividing line between what to do and what not to

do. Honor sets up specific regulations about the conduct of life. It establishes a definite kind of social order which is based on implicit roles and prohibitions. In this way, honor creates boundaries and disciplines life (Speier 1952a).

In a more abstract sense, honor is an instrument for planning and controlling people socially and politically. In his paper on freedom and social planning, he concludes that honor is a fundamental form of social control, regardless of the specific content of the honorable (Speier 1952b).

The relationship between honor and class is another aspect that is well noted by Speier. In his perception of honor as mentioned earlier, it is obtained from values and excellence. In turn, the value is the backbone of social ranking. Thus according to the fact that honor is taken from a concept of excellence and value, it is unavoidable that the honoring process makes hierarchical distinctions. However, as he mentions only a few economists and sociologists in the nineteenth century paid attention to this aspect that honor was equal to wage or even income could be perceived as a particular honor form.

Spiere clearly distinguishes his concept of class from Marx's. Instead, he formulates his regard with Eugène Dupréel's quote:

> "A social class is a group placed in a hierarchy in a position above or below that of another group comparable to it, another class. The inequality of two classes of their hierarchical order does not result directly of two classes or prerogative of either of them, such as wealth. It results only indirectly: it is necessary that one of the two classes be recognized by itself and by the other class, as advantageous and superior. This recognition is explicit or implicit" (Speier 1952a, 51).

Lastly, Speier differentiates between the two aspects of honor: from the vantage point of an observer, honor is a social phenomenon attached to the certain time and values. However, a bearer sees honor as an absolute character that compels him to behave in accordance with the certain rules.

2.2.5. J. G. Peristiany: Honor and Shame as a Social Evaluation

It was in 1959 that for the first time, a group of Anthropologist attended a conference held in the European headquarters of the Wenner-Gren Foundation to discuss the values of Mediterranean honor and shame (Goddard, Llobera, and

Shore 1994). However, the issue received great attention in the 1960s, following well-known contributions of John George Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers.

Honor and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society edited by Peristiany 1966, is the first try to investigate the concept of honor in anthropology (Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers 1992). It opens a new chapter in anthropological research that explore the place of honor in the lives of ordinary people (McNamara 2007, 44).The book includes a collection of essays presented at the mentioned 1959 conference. The core theme is the commonality of Mediterranean communities in applying honor and shame as a tool for the assessment of actions.

Peristiany introduces his book by mentioning that the examination of honor and shame is a study of "supreme temporal ideals of a society and of their embodiment in the ideal type of man." Moreover, it is about investigating the "basic mold of social personality" (Peristiany 1966, 10).

In Peristiany's view, in each society, there are regulations and principles that are sanctioned and govern the conduct. On that account, the conformity will be rewarded and nonconformity will be punished. Here, honor and shame are the two poles of social evaluations and thus have the quality of social sanctions. In this process, the base for comparison is the specific principles of conduct that vary from a society to another: "Honour and shame are two poles of an evaluation… All societies evaluate conduct by comparing it to ideal standards of action, all societies have their own forms of honour and shame" (Ibid, 10-11)

Honor and shame reflect the social personality in the mirror of ideals in a given society. In other words, the social personality can be identified with reference to the society or a group's values. To the extent that a person does not meet the ideals, or fulfill the criteria, he may be recognized as minor in comparison with those of honor:

> "… The man who never endangers the property, limb and honour of his fellows may neither be considered as having honour of his own nor gain honour through his passive acquiescence to social regulations" (Peristiany 1966, 10).

Based on Peristiany's analysis, honor is on the tip of the pyramid of temporal values and determines their order hierarchically. Honor creates two basic categories those bestowed with honor and those who prevented from having it.

2.2.6. Julian Pitt-Rivers: The Magic of Honor: A Sentiment, Self-Worth, and Social Worth

As Stewart (1994, 13) mentions, Julian Pitt-Rivers offers the "best-known" definition of honor among the anthropologists. Pitt-Rivers defines honor as "the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is the estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgment of that claim, his excellence recognized by the society, his right to pride" (Pitt-Rivers 1966, 21).

In his later work, he formulates his definition counting several facets of honor phenomenon: It is a sentiment, a demonstration of this sentiment in conduct, and the assessment of this conduct by others, that is to say, reputation (Pitt-Rivers 1968). Honor, as a sentiment arose, conducts that perceived as honorable, then the conducts receive recognition and creates the reputation, and the reputation is eventually approved by the conferral of honor. In this process "honour felt becomes honour claimed and honour claimed becomes honour paid" (Pitt-Rivers 1966, 22).

Based on the mentioned definitions, there are key points that should be highlighted. To begin with, for Pitt-Rivers, honor is a junction between the ideals of a society and their reproduction and internalization in a person. It reflects the group values to the individual members. It mediates between the desires of individuals and the groups' judgment. Honor conveys an evaluation of self in the terms which are used to assess others- or as others might be perceived to judge one.

Honor is not only a sentiment but also a social fact. The honor goes beyond the judgment of others and includes their behaviors. To be considered as honorable is not sufficient the claimer to acknowledge himself at his own assessment, but he must be granted honor and reputation by others. As Pitt-Rivers (1966, 22) states that honor indicates not only a habitual preference for a specific mode of conduct, but the right to a given treatment in return. Here, respect is the expression of honor's payment. An example is the exchange of honor in the law of hospitality. The custom invokes and includes the sacred and exchange of honor. Host and guest should pay each other honor. The host asks for the honor of the guest's company and gains honor through the number and quality of his guests. In turn,

the guest is honored by the invitation. Their mutual obligations are essentially unspecific, "like those between spiritual kinsmen or blood-brothers; each must accede to the desires of the other" (Pitt-Rivers 2012, 513).

Therefore, honor is both internal and external. It is the "internalization of the values of the society in the individual and the externalization of his self-image in the world" (Pitt-Rivers 1968, 504). It is a matter of individual's feelings, behavior and the respect he receives from others.

In the recognition and conferring process of honor, only those who aspire to honor are involved. This means, in order to dishonors someone or to put him to shame, the individual should have the claim or aspire to honor. Accordingly, Those who desire to no honor cannot be humiliated or embarrassed. Honor and dishonor, therefore, provide with the currency in which people strive to obtain reputation and the means by which their assessment of themselves can be validated and integrated into the social system or rejected, thus compelling them to revise it.

In sum, honor as Pitt-Rivers has compared it to "magic" (Pitt-Rivers 1966) its principles appear everywhere, it is "once a sentiment and an objective social fact; on the one hand, a moral state […] and at the same time a means of representing the moral worth of others" (Pitt-Rivers 1991, cited in Stewart 1994, 13).

Following the Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers's works, many anthropological studies were extended in Mediterranean societies including Spain (e.g., Brandes 1981), Italy (e.g., Giovannini 1987), Greece (e.g., Herzfeld 1987) on the north and Algeria (e.g., Bourdieu 1979), Libya (e.g., Davis 1987), Morocco (e.g., Marcus 1987) in the South. Also, a notable amount of literature built up addressing honor issue in the Middle East and North Africa region including Oman, Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon (e.g., Antoun 1968, Schneider 1971, Wikan 1984, Abu-Lughod 1986, Delaney 1987, 1991). The study of honor even went further to Japan in the Pacific Ocean (Tamanoi 1987).

2.2.7. Pierre Bourdieu: Game of Honor

As Jenkins mentions, Pierre Bourdieu "arrived in Algeria in 1956 as a soldier and a philosopher," however he left there as a "self-taught ethnographer and social anthropologist" (2002, 24). During his fieldwork in Kabylia, Algeria between 1957 and 1961, a key topic that took Bourdieu's attention was the sense of honor

in Kabyle society. His interest in the theme of honor is significant as it was a forerunner of his later studies on the pursuit of symbolic capital and power.

Based on Bourdieu's language, in Kabyle society, two forms of capital are more noticeable: the economic and symbolic one. Honor concept is a "typical form of symbolic capital" that is only available through repute, means "through the representation that others have of it to the extent that they share a set of beliefs liable to cause them to perceive and appreciate certain patterns of conduct as honorable or dishonorable" (Bourdieu 1998, 47).

Bourdieu in his study of honor among the Kabyle argues that entitling or losing honor rises above the simply complying with or ignoring the social norms. Rather, it requires the Kabyle men to get involved in the 'challenge of honor' and riposte. However, making a challenge is not as easy it looks. First, not everybody can be invited to the challenge. The "recognition of one's adversary as one's own equal in honor is, therefore, the basic condition of any challenge" (Bourdieu 1966, 197). Therefore, the challenger and his opponent should be equal in terms of recognized honor.

Second, inviting an adversary to take part in a challenge implies the acknowledgment of his manhood. It means that the challenger accepts that the opponent has the ability to compete and play the game of honor:

> "For a challenge to be made, the challenger must consider whoever he challenges to be worthy of it - to be, that is to say, in a position to riposte. …
> To issue a challenge to someone is to acknowledge his manliness, an acknowledgement which is the prerequisite of any dialogue as well as of the challenge of honour as the prelude to the dialogue; It is to acknowledge in him also the dignity of a man of honour, since challenge, as such, requires a riposte and consequently is addressed to a man thought capable of playing the game of honour and of playing it well" (Bourdieu 1966, 197).

The honor value system establishes a set of rules that govern personal relationships within a clan and village like the interrelations between kinsmen, as well as one's interaction with strangers. In this regard, Bourdieu gives the instance of fighting: "a sense of solidarity obliges one to protect a kinsman against a non-kinsman, a member of one's own party against a man from another moiety, an inhabitant of the village – even though of a rival party – against a stranger to the village, a member of the tribe against a member of another tribe" (Ibid, 201). As a result, as the personal relationships are built on the pattern of kinship

relationships, then it can be said that honor values make the main origin of political order in Kabyle communities.

Lastly, Bourdieu is against the claim that principles of honor are universal and applicable everywhere. Based on him, even in a society, it is not a fixed or definite value. Instead, he states that:

> "The ethos of honour is fundamentally opposed to a universal and formal morality which affirms the equality in dignity of all men and consequently the equality of their rights and duties. Not only do the rules imposed upon men differ from those imposed upon women, and the duties towards men differ from those towards women, but also the dictates of honour, directly applied to the individual case and varying according to the situation, are in no way capable of being made universal" (Bourdieu 1996, 228).

2.2.8. Honor Culture Hypothesis

Yet, as it can be seen through the majority of works discussed above, honor has been explained as a key element that reflects the common norms and values of a group or society. The significance and prominence of honor in a society that emerges in the group relations and culture led the social psychologists to chew over the concept of "honor culture." In this sense, the earlier mentioned works of Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany seen very influent. (Cohen 2007).

For a society to be considered as an honor culture, having a specific honor code is not sufficient. Rather, the honor code should be understood in a common way among the society members and make them maintain and defend it. In cultural anthropology and social psychology traditions, a culture of honor is one in which values and behavioral norms place a strong emphasis on status and reputation (Vandello 2010, 181). In such a culture, status of a person is evaluated by the groups' judgment, and reputation seems to be everything, and people are permitted and even expected to go to extreme lengths to keep and defend their reputation and good names from threats (Brown, Baughman, and Carvallo 2018, 539).

Within the experimental social psychology field, Nisbet and Cohen's book, culture of Honor (1996) explained that among the white in the contemporary South of the United States there is a culture that values honor. Joseph A. Vandello, another prominent figures of honor culture concept, elaborates that honor embraces imposed norms that express appropriate and inappropriate

behaviors of different social groups. Also, it is a measure or standard of an individual's social worth and self-esteem; and it is related to the experience of several moral emotions (Vandello 2010).

Honor cultures are not restricted to Mediterranean or Middle Eastern societies. It also includes the Latin and South American cultures as well as the southern United States. For instance, Cohen et al and Cohen and Nisbett (1996, 1997, 1996) studied the culture of honor in the American South and concluded that honor is a latent cultural factor that may strengthen violence in the domestic and interpersonal scopes. Also, the American sociologist, Elijah Anderson (2000) has written about the code of streets and culture of honor in inner cities of the United States.

In an honor culture, the honor code places more emphasis on the significance of values like hospitality, loyalty, generosity, toughness, strength, high sensitivity to insults, protecting the family, and reputation. Moreover, the honor code is strictly gendered and differs for men and women.

2.2.8.1.   Gender in Honor Culture

In general, honor cultures prescribe traditional gender roles and attitudes of masculine and feminine conducts. When anthropologists and social psychologists talk about cultures of honor, they refer to a culture in which male strength and power are greatly valued and men are ready to kill to defend their status as the honorable men (Cohen, Vandello, and Rantilla 1998). This means that men are expected to be constantly on guard against threats and challenges to the honor and maintain it applying their power, toughness, and strength. Women, on the other hand, are expected to keep the honor via respect, polite submission, chastity, virtue, modesty, and purity. In a culture of honor, having honor suggests being respected by others. For men, this means expressing toughness and the willingness to use aggression and violence if one's reputation is challenged or to avenge an insult. For women, codes of honor often imply on avoiding conducts that could bring dishonor or shame to oneself or one's family. This usually highlights a strong emphasis on woman modesty and moral purity (Vandello 2010).

In societies with pronounced notions of honor, while gender roles for men require an active performance, it implies a more passive state for women as they need to avoid the shame. Males might gain pride in attacking fellow men, whether they apply this force to defend and protect women or for other reasons. In contrast, passivity, in violent and peaceful situations, is a cardinal and fundamental feminine virtue (Spierenburg 1998).

Nevertheless, women in the honor cultures have power but within the patriarchal and collective arrangements. This means that the female compartments have a great influence upon the honor of the family. They can stain or increase the reputation of their family. But it seems that the costs of women conducts are felt intensely by men and greatly affect their interactions with others (Roberts, Campbell, and Lloyd 2014). In order to understand that how men assume more responsibility for honor, the precarious manhood concept should be explained.

2.2.9. Precarious Masculinity and Honor

David Gilmore in his book, Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity outlines that the real manhood is different from simple anatomical maleness. Rather, it is a quality or stage that should be achieved and can be lost. Based on the pieces of evidence, he explains that people in many cultures and places concern the state of being a "real man" or "true man" as precarious or uncertain that look like a prize that should be won or wrested through struggle (Gilmore 1990). And accordingly, he concludes that manhood is a "precarious or artificial state that boys must win against powerful" (Ibid, 11).

Less than two decades later, the idea that manhood is earned, elusive, and slight status motivated to first empirical studies of precarious manhood in the laboratory (Vandello et al. 2008). Based largely on Gilmore's work, the social psychologists conceptualized manhood as a socially bestowed, precarious status that, not similar to womanhood, is achieved by earning particular social milestones (Boston, Vandello, and Caswell 2013). They showed that the notion of tenuous manhood is not only specific to the pre-industrial societies and cultures of honor but it is present among the college students in the United States too (e.g. Vandello and Cohen 2008). The difference is that in the cultures of honor, many of the rituals, social norms, and interactions are concerned with honor in everyday life. This

includes values such as integrity, goodness, and virtue. Further, it requires men and women to interact in different ways. Men desire to protect the family at any cost and gain a fame for toughness, and precedence, Whereas, women want to be known as for avoiding the shameful conducts in particular sexual indiscretions (Vandello and Cohen 2008).

Vandello and Cohen then conclude that a man's honor becomes a precarious thing to be achieved and maintained in the honor culture. This is particularly due to specific characters that are attached to honor in this cultures.

First, it should be noted that honor entails the claim before and recognition from others. It requires being claimed from and bestowed by one's community. Bourdieu in his work on Kabyle that reviewed in this chapter earlier, considered the similar quality for honor in the societies he described as "primary" in which the face-to-face dealing and social interactions are more significant than a personal sense of selfhood:

> "The point of honor is the basis of the moral code of an individual who sees himself always through the eyes of others, who has need of others for his existence, because the image he has of himself is indistinguishable from that presented to him by other people." Bourdieu adds that in this society "the individual learns the truth about himself through the intermediary of others; and … the being and the truth about a person are identical with being and truth that others acknowledge in him" (Bourdieu 1966, 211-212).

Consequently, honor's dependence on the acknowledgment of others makes it in particular fragile and tenuous (Vandello and Cohen 2008). The dependency of honor on others judgment, reveals another feature of this phenomenon that honor should be achieved rather than being ascribed. In an honor culture, only shame avoidance will not work. It is necessary, especially for men to take an active part to acquire honor.

Finally, honor contains a fragile essence especially for men because it not only depends on a man's conduct but on the women's behavior in the family. Hence, maintaining his honor, the man must not merely control his own conduct but also the behavior of others. As a result, men are charged with the duty to protect the women. Vandello and Cohen in their analysis of honor culture and precarious masculinity conclude that this task can mean applying violence by men against other men or women in order to prevent dishonoring. More specifically for women, they outline the two implications of maintaining masculine honor as

follow: first, to the extent that man' honor requires woman's purity, virtue and fidelity, females in high purity cultures are expected to have less autonomy and independence, lower status, and fewer rights. Second, as their behavior is examined carefully, women may also be more at the risk of encountering men's violence (Vandello and Hettinger 2016, 226).

2.2.10.   Honor, Masculinity, Violence

In cultures of honor that claimed with "high level of interpersonal violence" (Brown, Imura, and Osterman 2014, 165), maintaining honor and reputation is highly associated with masculinity notion. As Cohen explains while cultures of honor can vary in many ways, the common aspect that they share is the central importance given on insult and threat and the necessity of responding to them with violence or the threat of violence that usually done by men. In an honor culture it is usually men who feels obliged to protect his reputation by using violence (Cohen 2007) and also taking greater risks (Barnes, Brown, and Tamborski 2012).

There are different researches that showed men defend threats towards their face and honor through the displays of physical aggression (Cohen et al. 1996, Nisbett and Cohen 1996). Brown and Osterman (2012) show that the threats to masculine honor may lead to an aggressive and violent reaction. Bosson and et al. (2009) consider men's displays of physical aggression as a tools of validation for their precarious manhood. They explain that manhood in compare with womanhood is a precarious social status defined by culture and can be lost. Hence, it necessities active and constant validation. Moreover, men understand, apply, and even take advantage of displaying aggressive readiness as a mode of validating their precarious status if it will be challenged.

The threat may come from other men, such as through an insulting remark or a disdainful or aggressive gesture, but threats related to honor can also come from women, who are ruled by strong cultural mandates and regulations to preserve reputations for loyalty and sexual purity. (Brown, Baughman, and Carvallo 2018).

In regard to the men's violence against other men, there have been many instances recorded across the history in both honor and non-honor cultures. As Kaufman

describes that male's violence against other males is visible throughout society. Some forms like fighting, the ritualized display aggression of teenagers and groups of adult men. In many sports, violence is absorbed into exercise, entertainment and leisure. Majority of men feel the existence of violence in their lives (Kaufman 2007).

Many instances are also given by social scientists that show the significance of male honor in committed violence against other men. Dueling is just an example that was mainly practiced in early modern Europe and continued into the modern period (19th to early 20th centuries).

Huches in his study on Dueling, Honor and Politics in Liberal Italy mentions that between 1860 and 1930, Italian men would take part in thousands of duels which basically had to last until one or both of the opponents had somehow been injured. He adds that by that time such a practice was not just tolerated but also encouraged as long as the male disputants could be considered as 'gentlemen' who were following the honor code (Hughes 1998). While dueling is not exercised today, the honor issue in Italy is still a significant tool for criminal organizations to convince the local people to display indifference toward illegal activities and not cooperate with legal institutions (Travaglino, Abrams, and Moura 2016).

On the other hand, a good deal of attention has been paid to the male violence against women in the cultures of honor where the good name of female members of the family is a crucial element for men's reputation. In such a cutlure, the notions of male honor is linked to female purity, virtue, and modesty and is reinforced through the norm that men should protect the women and honor. Thus, women's infidelity destructs a man's good reputation and facilitates using violence against her (Vandello and Cohen 2003). Pitt-Rivers in his anthropological work concerning honor and social status in Andalusia, Spain found that:

> "… the manliness of a husband must be exerted above all in the defence of the honour of his wife on which his own depends. Therefore her adultery represents not only an infringement of his rights but the demonstration of his failure in his duty. He has betrayed the values of the family, bringing dishonor to all the social groups who are involved reciprocally in his honour: his family and his community. His manliness is defiled …" (Pitt-Rivers 1966, 46).

Therefore, in order to restore honor, using violence can be justified and excused. For instance, a study showed in the honor culture of Brazil, students believe that a man loss honor when his wife is not faithful and a husband's violence in response to suspected infidelity is justified (Vandello 2010). However, in the extreme cases, honor can be seen as a justification for murdering spouse or family members in the cultures of honor mainly for the accusation of adultery. Describing the honor and shame among the Bedouins of Egypt, Zeid explains that:

> "… In any case, the tribal customary law permits the killing of a man who has committed a sexual offense against a woman, or kidnapped her… If the offender escapes, his kinsmen are held responsible for his action and retaliation may be exacted from any one of them. Sometimes the two parties reach an agreement with regard to the payment of honor compensation which varies according to the nature of the damage and status, married or single, of the woman. Nevertheless, the payment of compensation does not prevent her kinsmen, in most cases, from killing her, if it is known that sexual intercourse took place with her consent" (Zeid 1966, 253-254).

2.2.11. Human Rights Perspective on Crimes of Honor

The 1990s noticed as a starting point for a strong era of international women's rights. Violence against women was successfully reconceptualized and recognized as a human rights issue and considered in the agenda of various United Nations (UN) bodies (Abu-Lughod 2013). It was also the time that honor-based violence and especially honor killings started receiving interest from media and international affairs (Carbin, 2014; Tokiharu and Raagini 2016).

In 1992, in General recommendation 19 (para. 6), the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) included gender-based violence in the definition of discrimination and explained GBV as a violence "that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty."

A year later, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against women (1993. Article 1), defined violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts,

coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."

In 2001, the United Nations General Assembly for the first time adopted a specific resolution on the elimination of elimination of crimes against women committed in the name of honor (55/66). The resolution emphasized on the recognition of honor crimes as a human rights issue and urged the states to eliminate this practice by implementing effective laws:

> "… Bearing in mind also that crimes against women committed in the name of honour are a human rights issue and that States have an obligation to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and punish the perpetrators of such crimes and to provide protection to the victims, and that the failure to do so constitutes a human rights violation" (UN Doc. A/Res/55/66).

However, providing a definition of honor crimes is complicated. While there are similar terms such as "crimes of honor," "crimes related to honor conflict," "crimes of tradition," and "culture-based violence" that are typically used exchangeable (Gill 2017), basically the term is applied to indicate a type of violence against women characterized "by (claimed) 'motivation' rather by perpetrator or form of manifestation" (Welchman and Hossain 2005, 4). For instance, Odeh (2010, 911) Illustrates a typical example of honor crime in the Arab world as the "killing of a woman by her father or brother for engaging in, or being suspected of engaging in, sexual practices before or outside marriage."

As another example, the Council of Europe (2002) defined honor crimes as it is or "has been, justified or explained (or mitigated) by the perpetrator of that crime on the grounds that it was committed as a consequence of the need to defend or protect the honour of the family." Based on this definition the honor crimes can include honor killings, forced marriage, domestic violence, female genital mutilation or blood feuds.

While men and women can be both the victim of honor killings, women comprise the majority of victims. UNFPA (2000) mentioned that "as many as 5,000 women and girls are killed annually in so-called honor killings, many of them for the dishonor of having been raped.

However, there have been tendencies to associate honor-based violence with specific cultural groups (Gill 2014) from the Middle East, South Asia, and Muslims whether in their original societies or diaspora. For instance, David Ghanim (2009, 4) describes the prevalence of violence in the Middle East as

follows: "while violence exists in different places in the world, violence is prominent in the Middle East, and the persistent intensity of violence in this region is extraordinary."

2.2.12. Feminist Theory: Patriarchy

Patriarchy is considered among the most overused concepts that produced by feminist theory (Kandiyoti 1988). The term comes from the latin pater (father) and arch (rule) and privileges the father's role (Kowaleski-Wallace 2009). Rahman emphasizes that the idea of the father as a powerful cultural symbol and site of contestation has remained throughout historical and social conflicts and textual productions (2007, 469).

Patriarchy became conspicuous within the social sciences from the early 1970s (Whitehead 2007) and particularly promoted as a part of radical second wave of feminism (Wilson 2000). In this sense, patriarchy applied to explain men's domination over women on all parts of the social life. Feminism assumes that the problem in gender relations is women's oppression, sexism, and the forces of patriarchy (Tisdell 2008).

Walby (1990, 19) defines the concept as a "system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women." She counts six main structures that compose the patriarchy: the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions.

Kandiyoti in her work on Bargaining with patriarchy (1988) distinguishes two systems of patriarchy including the sub-Saharan African pattern, and classic patriarchy. In the first type, the insecurities of polygyny are matched with areas of relative autonomy for women. And the latter is characteristic of South and East Asia as well as the Muslim Middle East.

She explains that the reproduction of classic patriarchy exists in the operations of all patrilocally extended household. Based on the patrilocally extended households' pattern, the married sons of families in a village, town, or other settlement, remain in the household of their parents or builds their own house on the parent's land, but cooperate with one another and pool or share resources. However, the daughters leave to live with their husbands' parents and the

residents of each household are related to one another through males (Peoples and Bailey 2012, 188).

The patriarchal society which is a precapitalistis social formation, the property, residence, and decent proceed through the male line (Moghadam 1992a). Based on Kandiyoti, under classic patriarchy, the senior man has authority over everyone else, including younger men and girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed by their husband's father. In the classic patriarchal communities there are variant degree of endogamy in marriage practices and different conceptions of honor. Kandiyoti (1988, 278-279) gives an example of the Turk society where there are lower rates of endogamy, and a husabnd is principally responsible for a woman's honor.

In a patriarchal society not only the power is held by men who are the householdheads (Mann), but also the public and private spheres are distinguished: in the public space power has been distributed to a very great degree between patriarchs (male household-heads) and the private space has been governed by a patriarch too. In such a context, there is no base for "collective action" by women (Moghadam 1992a, 8).

2.2.13. Patriarchy and Honor

In the patriarchal societies as lerner describes, honor locates men and women in different situations. For men, the very concept of honor, embodies autonomy, the power to dispose of oneself and decide for oneself, and the right to have the autonomy recognized by others. By contrast, women do not dispose of themselves and decide for themselves under the patriarchal rule:

> Their bodies and their sexual services are at the disposal of their kin group, their husbands, their fathers. Women do not have custodial claims and power over their children. Women do not have "honor." … women's honor resides in her virginity and in the fidelity of her sexual services to her husband … [and] men who cannot protect the sexual purity of their wives, sisters, and children are truly impotent and dishonored (Lerner 1986, 80).

Feminist theorists considers violence against women in the patriarchal cultures a "common behavior for men" (M.Fortune and J.Adams 2000) and a "gender-specific expression of patriarchal domination of women by men" (Lawson 2012, 588). As an instance, Dobash and Dobash in their well known work, violence against wives: a Case against the patriarchy consider the intimate partner violence

as tools by which wives are controlled and oppressed and also most brutal and explicit expressions for patriarchal domination:

> The use of physical violence against women in their position as wives is not the only means by which they are controlled and oppressed but it is one of the most brutal and explicit expressions of patriarchical domination. The position of women and men as wives and husbands has been historically structured as a hierarchy in which men possessed and controlled women (Dobash and Dobash 1979, ix).

As another example, taking Durkheim's analysis of suicide (1952), Walbey also argues that male violence against women should be seen as "social facts best analyzed in terms of patriarchal social structures" (1990, 128).

2.2.14. In summary

This section presented a discussion of the major theoretical considerations and concepts informing this study of the honor notions and features. The search process began with the intention to explore theoretical perspectives that are associated with *Ghairat* phenomenon. Based on the evidences from the previous literature, honor is identified as a similar field to *Ghairat* and the search process extended to find theories and concepts that shed light on the meaning of honor in general. However, walking through each step, it became more clear that the concept of honor requires much more readings than it is expected. This was due to the vast theoretical and empirical literature that looked at honor from different perspectives. Then the main inquiries in this study applied as a sieve for selecting the more relevant concepts.

For a long time, honor has drawn the attention of scholarships across the humanities, social sciences, philosophy and theology. Yet, honor is a complex and ambiguous notion. As Pitt-Rivers (1966) compared, it is like a magic that appears everywhere in different ways. Nevertheless, the chapter strived to represent the key relevant theoretical and conceptual perspectives on the issue somehow chronologically. This is why the starting point is the ancient Greek and Aristotle's philosophy and it ends with the engagement of feminist scholars regarding the status of honor in the patriarchal society of Afghanistan. In sum, the following propositions can be concluded from the discussed theoretical background in order to create more theoretical sensitivity in this research:

The complexity and seductions of honor phenomenon require applying a multidisciplinary approach in its exploration. This is due to the diversity of honor's functions in different levels of social life (Simmel 1955). It is present at the individual, social (Pitt-Rivers 1968), and structural levels (Speier 1952) at the same time.

Honor is both internal and external, subjective and objective (Pitt-Rivers 1968). Perhaps, one can apply Durkheim's social fact concept (2013) and define honor as a matter of acting, thinking and feeling that are outer to the person external to the individual (Peristiany 1966, Jamous 1992, Oprisko 2012). The compulsion of the honor code is obvious for those who share it. It goes beyond the personal will and cannot be changed or destroyed based on an individual wish. Moreover, adapting Durkheim's definition of collective or common consciousness (2014), honor can be perceived as a system of beliefs that represent shared feelings and values.

Honor is mainly about the value and worth (Aristotle 1984, Spiere 1952, Peristiany 1966, Pitt-Rivers 1966, Vandello 2010). On the one hand, it reflects the values and norms of a certain group or society. It reflects the shared ideals that should be practiced and rewarded. On the other hand, it is about an individual's claim to pride, social worth, status, reputation, prestige and public acknowledgment of the claim.

Honor is a mediator between a social group and the individual members. It serves as a tool for maintaining the group's cohesion (Simmel 1898, 1955). In this regard, the honor code includes a set of imperatives that control the conducts of individual members (Speier 1952b). It is sanction (Peristiany 1966) by a rewarding and punishing system so-called honor-shame (Davis 1987).

Honor and shame are the two main features of social evaluations (Peristiany 1966, Pitt-Rivers 1966, 1968). A group or those who are involved in the game of honor (Bourdieu 1998) evaluates its members conducts in compare with the expected norms to see to what extent the desired specific social values are practiced and protected. A positive judgment of group members of the honor holder may lead to the bestowal of the honor and honorable entitlement. In turn, a negative assessment means that the individual cannot fulfill the expectations and should be ashamed, humiliated and called as dishonorable.

An individual learns honor code through the socialization process (Simmel 1955). Honor locates itself in the sense of a person's self-worth and identity (Simmel 1898). It acts like a mirror (Peristiany 1966) and enables the person to assess and judges his conducts as others can do.

Conformity with honor code can involve sacrifice and take the risks (Barnes, Brown, and Tamborski 2012). It can also lead to apply violence and aggressiveness in order to protect the honor (Cohen 2007). It is crucial to defend the honor against all the possible threats. This is more common in the cultures of honor in which reputation seems to be everything (Vandello 2010) and people are permitted and expected to apply violence in order to encounter threats (Cohen et al and Cohen and Nisbett 1996,1997, 1996; Anderson 2000, Brown, Baughman, and Carvallo 2018). The shared features of cultures of honor are adapted in the following model:
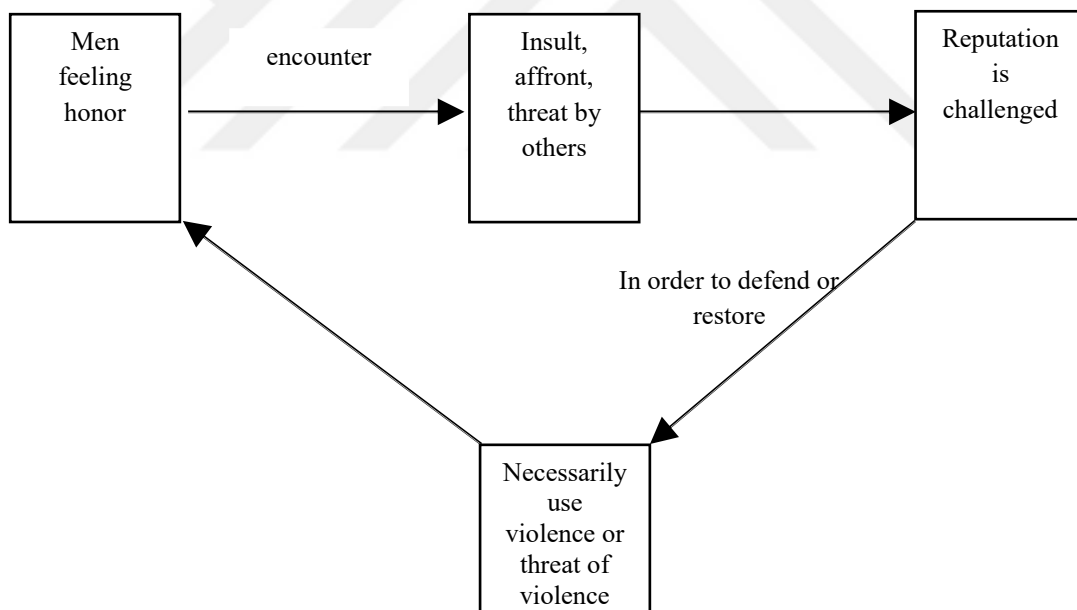
Context: Lawless or little formal law enforcement

Less economic development

Diagram 1. Shared features of cultures of honor hypothesis
Adapted from (Nisbet and Cohen 1996; Cohen and Vandello 1998; Vandello and Cohen 2003; Cohen 2007; Vandello 2010; Bosson et al. 2009)

Honor is tightly associated with masculinity and gender notions. A man is expected to achieve and earn both his manhood (Gilmore 1990; Vandello et al. 2008; Boston, Vandello, and Caswell 2013) and honor and preserve it. The honor can be threatened by other men or women whose conducts directly affects the family's honor, especially where honor is centered in the social interactions (Roberts, Campbell, and Lloyd 2014).

There are forms of violence stimulated by honor such as dueling and homicides (Spierenburg 1998, Cohen, Vandello, and Rantilla 1998). Honor crimes is a new legal term that used most often since the 1990s to refer to gender-based violence committed in order to maintain the honor.

Afghanistan is identified as a classic patriarchal society type (Moghadam 1992c, 2002a, 2007) in which honor plays a very crucial role (Kandiyoti 2005, Nawid 2007). In Afghanistan, like other patriarchal societies honor, women is perceived as the symbol of honor for the family and nation and women's chastity and modesty considered as a crucial and common aspect to preserve the family's honor.

CHAPTER 3

AFGHANISTAN'S CHARACTERISTICS: AN OVERVIEW

3.1. GEOGRAPHY AND A BRIEF HISTORY

Afghanistan is a country surrounded by land and situated at the heart of Asia. It is located in South and Central Asia and connects the major cultural and geographical areas including the Indian subcontinent to the southeast, central Asia to the north, and the Persian Plateau in Western Asia. According to the World Bank data (2019a) the country covers 652,860.00 square kilometers. It is bordered with Pakistan – in the south and east, Iran-in the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan- in the north, and China in the far northeast. However, the Durand Line – the international border with Pakistan– has not been recognized by Afghanistan.

The emergence of modern boundaries of Afghanistan goes back to the nineteenth century as a consequence of rivalry called the great game between the British India and czarist Russia empires. It stayed impartial during the world wars, though it encountered a civil war in 1929. However, Afghanistan changed into a battlefield for the cold war in the mid 20th century that reached its peak when the Soviet Union invaded the country in 1979. The Soviet-Afghan war continued from December 1979 to February 1989 and resulted to Soviet's withdrawal. Subsequently, the civil war began in the 1990s and Afghanistan turned into a failed state that neglected by the world society. It was at the beginning of the 20th century when the 9/11 attack planned from there by the fundamental Muslim Jihadists and motivated a U.S. invasion. Since then, a new Afghan government was established to move forward to the country and bring stability while facing the Islamist insurgency of the Taliban (Barfield 2010).

3.2. GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN AFGHANISTAN

The governance at the national level in Afghanistan is mainly characterized by the state centralization and the presence of a variety of local and regional power holders (Nixon 2008, Saltmarshe and Medhi 2011). Afghanistan consists of 34 provinces or so-called *Wilāyat* as the central subnational administration. Each

province contains some districts – *Wuluswāli*. In 2017-18 it contained 368 districts along with 19 temporary ones (National Statistics and Information Authority 2018).

Map No. 1 represents the administrative divisions and neighbors of Afghanistan.

AFGHANISTAN — **Administrative Divisions**

* Dilaram District is reported to be administered from Farah Province, but the Government of Afghanistan does not recognize its existence.

Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

LAMBERT CONFORMAL CONIC PROJECTION; STANDARD PARALLELS 30 25'N 37 10' N

803283AI (G00878) 12-08

Map 1. Afghanistan, administrative divisions and neighbors; Adapted with the changes (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency 2009)

3.3.   PPOPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

According to the Central Statistics Organization's estimates, the total population of Afghanistan in 2018-19 is about 31,575,018 of which, 15,493,446 million females (49 percent) and 16,081,572 million males (51 percent). About the 22,567,065 (71 percent) of the population live in rural areas while 7,507,953 (23 percent) in urban areas. Moreover, about 1,500,000 (5 percent) people are nomads (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO) 2018).

3.4.   SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Afghanistan contains a multitude of ethnic, linguistic, religious, kin-based, and regional groups in which *qawm* (communal group) and *qabila* (tribe) constitute the base of the social structure (Moghadam 1993). Based on the anthropologist, Eickelman, in Afghanistan, *qawm* refers to a socially united and territorially contiguous group of people who speak of themselves as if they are also linked by' agnatic kinship, although such a group includes affines, some neighbors, and others. (1981, 181).

In the national anthem, there are 14 ethnic groups recognized including Pashtun, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Balochis, Turkmens, Nooristanis, Pamiris, Arabs, Gujars, Brahuis, Qizilbash, Aimaq, and Pashai. However, lack of a systematic census, decades of conflict and people's displacement made it impossible to present a precise figure of population and composition of ethnic groups.

Pashto and Dari (Afghan Persian or Fārsi) are the official languages of the country that both belong to the Indo-European language family. Besides, there are other languages like Turkmen, Uzbek, Baloch, Pashai, Nuristani and several dialects spoken among the minor ethnicities.

Almost all the people of Afghanistan are Muslims with the majority being Sunnis -Hanafi school. Unlike most of the Afghans, Hazara and Qizilbash ethnic groups are prominently Shi'as – the twelvers. However, there are other Islamic branches like Isma'ilis and Sufis as well as small communities of non-Mulsim religions including Hinduism, Sikhism (Emadi 2005).

3.5. ECONOMY

Since the 1970s, Afghanistan's economy has suffered decades of an internal coup, invasion, and continuous war and conflicts (Guimbert 2004). The economy of the country improved after the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001 because of the radical shifts in the international community's engagement with Afghanistan and foreign aid. However, with GDP per capita of US$ 550.07 in 2017 (World Bank 2019b) it remains among the poorest and lower income countries.

According to the latest 2016-17 living conditions survey, the poverty rates increased in Afghanistan in the recent years since 2012 because of the drawdown of the international forces, decreasing of the international aid and spending and rise of the conflict and instability. Based on the report, in 2016-17 about 13 and 2.9 million rural and urban Afghans lived below the poverty line (Central Statistics Organization 2018, 105-110).

A critical sector that still contributes to GDP in Afghanistan is agriculture (World Bank 2018) that has historically dominated the economy of Afghanistan (Leao, Ahmed, and Kar 2018). About 2.8 million which is 45 percent of the employed people involved in farming or livestock sub-sectors. The service sector with 1.3 million – 19.7 percent gains a second place among the job sectors. The remaining sectors are presented in the bar chart No. 2 (Central Statistics Organization 2018, 77):
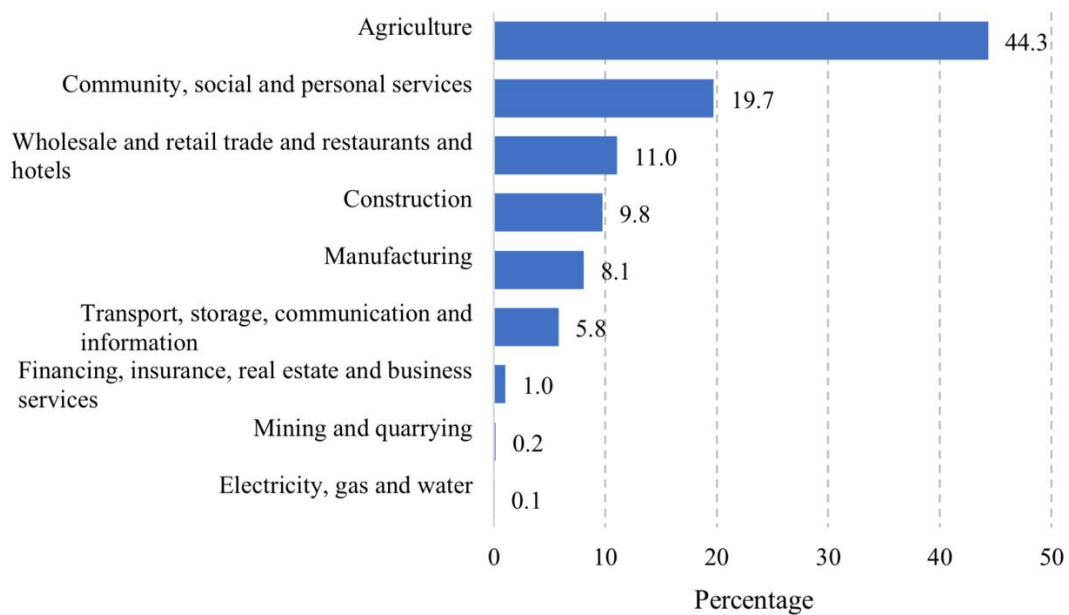
Bar chart 2. Employed population in Afghanistan by economic sector (in percentage) (Central Statistics Organization 2018)

3.6. GENDER POLITICS AND WOMEN'S STATUS: HISTORICAL REVIEW

Afghanistan's modernization is first attributed to Abdur Rahman Khan who ruled from 1880 to 1901. He tried to change some of the traditional laws and customs that were harmful to women. As an example, he abolished the tradition that forced a widowed woman to marry the deceased husband's close relative. Abdur Rahman Khan ordered that when a husband died, the wife should be free.

Moreover, he modified a law concerning the child marriage and increased the marriage age, required the marriage registration, and allowed a girl who was given in marriage before the age of puberty to decline or accept the marriage when reached the full age. According to another law, women were permitted to take legal action against their husbands for *Nafaqa* called alimony or divorce when encountering their failure or violent behavior. Based on Moghadam (1993, 216) unfortunately, no information clarify the extent to which the mentioned laws were enforced. However, it was possibly weak. According to Dupree, the king's liberal wife Bobo Jan exerted influence on him as she was the first Afghan queen who appeared in public, dressing European style with no veil. She also had a keen interest in politics and attended numerous political debates among the opposite parties (Dupree 1986 cited in Ahmed-Ghosh 2003).

After the death of Abdur Rahman, his son Amir Habibullah Khan succeeded him in 1901 governed Afghanistan until 1919. He lasted his father's agenda and determined a ceiling on the high expenses of the marriage. The main reason was the exploitation that deprived families encountered in order to provide the marriage expenses. They had to borrow the money and paid it back with about 75 percent interest. The determined amount by Habibullah Khan was varied relying on the social classes (Moghadam 1994a, 91).

The king's wives were in the western dress and appeared publicly unveiled. Amir Habibullah initiated Habibiya college as the first college in Afghanistan and also established the first hospital, and factories and roads. Despite all these efforts, Georgian mentioned that Mullahs in particular in the rural areas denied and resisted government's innovations including control of education and instruction of modern subjects and English language (Gregorian 1964).

Amir's political amnesty in 1901 led the return of many educated Afghan exiles of whom Mahmud Beg Tarzi (1865-1933) is the most significant one. He was educated in Syria and Turkey, and upon return to Afghanistan, Tarzi called the attention of monarch to the shortcomings of Afghanistan in education, communications, and economy. He was assigned as the chief of the Bureau of Translation of the Royal Court, with the primary duty to inform and fulfill the Amir's passion regarding the events in the Muslim world and Europe. In 1911 as a result of Tarzi's tireless efforts, the first newspaper in Afghanistan was published named *Saraj-ol-Akhbar*. In particular, this publication highlighted the notion of individual rights.

According to Gregorian (1967, 346-357), Tarzi was the first Afghan to champion the women's rights in modern Afghanistan. In his series of writings which dedicated to the history's famous women, Tarzi defended many abilities of women. While he ridiculed and objected the extremism of some French feminists, he counted the women's contributions to sciences and human development. He expressed that in Europe there were women doctors, scientists, writers, lawyers, teachers, and government employees. While he supported the individual rights of women, still he assumed the primary duty of women as raising and managing families and households. While Tarzi was monogamous, he implicitly attacked the polygamy. Based on him the ordinary ideal family involves a wife and a few

children that should live healthy, educated, and with wellbeing. The polygamy can ruin the health and economic potential of families.

The impact of Tarzi's liberal attitude on Habibullah Khan was strong. As an example, the king initiated a school for girls with the English curriculum. However, the Mullahs and tribal leaders perceived such initiatives against the Afghan traditions and customs. Eventually, the government's liberalization through education and modernization resulted in an opposition movement (Magnus and Naby 1998) and Habibullah's assassination in 1919.

Amanullah Khan rose to power immediately after his father from 1919 to 1929. He defeated the British in the third and final Anglo-Afghan war in 1919 and wholly liberated Afghanistan. Amanullah Khan's modernizing agenda involved Afghan women's liberation from traditional and tribal practices. His first step was to abolish slavery in 1920 that freed women from concubinage. Moghadam mentioned that while the institution earlier ended by Abdur Rahman Khan, some women slaves "mostly Hazaras," was held as concubines by powerful men in Kabul (Moghadam 1993, 217-218).

From the outset, Amanullah's government insisted on secular education that was different from *Madrasa*s. He initiated the first primary school for girls called *Masturat* school in Kabul in 1921 under the supervision of Queen Soraya – The only wife of Amir. Between 1920 to 1927, two primary schools and a middle school were established in Kabul for girls that placed about 700 students. Ahmed-Ghush mentioned that Amanullah openly campaigned against the Hijāb or veil, polygamy, and supported girls' education both in Kabul and rural areas. In a public event, Amanullah said that Islam does not demand women to wear the Hijāb or cover their bodies. At the end of the remark, Queen Soraya tore off her Hijāb publicly, and other wives who were present at the meeting followed her (Ahmed-Ghosh 2003, 4).

In 1928, fifteen girls who graduated from the *Masturat* Middle School sent to Turkey to attend higher education. However, such activities concerned with alarm by the people outside the Kabul as a sign of government's westernization and dishonoring conservative men (Burki 2011).

Valentine Moghadam stated that Amanullah's reforms and improvements on women's status threatened the entire patriarchal structure of social relations and

property rights in Afghanistan. When the king prohibited the practice of polygamy among the officials, it caused an outcry. A tribal rebellion happened led by *Bacha-i Saqqo*, a Tajik rebel who claimed the Islamic credentials. Since the political situation became worse, Amanullah was made to cancel most of his reformist plans. For instance, the Afghan girls studying outside the country were recalled, the schools' initiatives for girls were closed; women were not to appear in public unveiled or cut the hair, and the mullahs were not to obtain the teaching certificate. In the end, the rebels attacked Kabul, and Amanullah Khan left Afghanistan (Moghadam 1997a, 83-84).

The government's approach towards progress for women between 1929 to 1978 reflected a pragmatic, and cautious view (Burki 2011). Valentine Moghadam also concluded that there were no attempts for reforming until the 1950s (Moghadam 1993). The Prime Minister Mohammad Daud Khan avoid repeating the mistake of his predecessors Amanullah and Habibullah Khan. Accordingly, he proclaimed veiling as a "voluntary option." Women were expected to leave the veil and encouraged to participate in economic activities. During the 1940s and 50s Afghan women were becoming nurses, doctors, and school teachers. In 1964 women were permitted to enter elected politics and given the right to vote based on the constitution. In 1965 People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) or Hizb-i Dimūkrātik-e Khalq-i Afghānistān was established in 1965. At the same year, the first women's group called Democratic Organization of Afghan Women (DOWA) was founded by Anahita Ratebzad. The group aimed to eliminate women's illiteracy and prohibit forced marriages and abolish bride price.

In April 1978, the PDPA took power through what is called the *Saur* (April) revolution. The time that PDPA regime held power (1978-1992) is known as the second era of change in which Afghanistan saw severe reforms for women's status as well as a rise in women's social and political participation (Ahmed-Ghosh 2003). The PDPA mainly targetted and introduced changes in the patterns of gender relations and land tenure through the decrees Number six, seven, and eight. Among these decrees, No. 7 meant specifically to make fundamental changes in the marriage institution. The government of President Taraki issued the order with the clear intention to ensure the equal rights for women and girls, abolishing the patriarchal and feudalistic relations between the couples and removing the exploitation of woman's labor. The six articles of Decree Number

seven guarantees the fundamental rights for women and girls by banning the brideprice and girl's marriage in exchange for cash, forced marriage, child marriage -under sixteen and eighteen for women and men-, and polygamy (Moghadam 1994b, 220-221)

As Beattie explained by prohibiting the bride-price and in particular, expressing that women have the freedom of choice to marry whom they wanted, PDPA's decree threatened to subvert the intense control "over women on which the maintenance of male honor depended" (Beattie 1984, 191). Accordingly, Moghadam concluded that PDPA efforts to improve the women's status and rights encountered with strong opposition. According to her, it was mainly the Afghan fathers with single girls who resented the decree Number seven since they could not receive the brideprice payments anymore and also their honor was endangered (Moghadam 1997b).

In 1992, with the removing of the PDPA's Muhammad Najibullah by Mujahedin, Afghan women faced an "overnight reversal" of their rights and status. In August 1992, Burhanuddin Muhammad Rabbani of the Tajik-led Jam'iat-e Islami party obtained the control of the Mujahidin government and started to more "Islamize" the conservative society of Afghanistan. In December, when his course ended, Jam'iat-e Islami party denied to turn over the power, led to a civil war among the ethnic groups that continued until the Taliban achieved control of Kabul in September 1996.

Based on the US Department of State, in 1992 Afghan women were increasingly prevented from public services. In 1994, women could appear in the public if dressed in a full head-to-toe garment or *burqa* (U.S. Department of State 1995 cited in Ahmed-Ghosh 2003, 7). Ahmed-Ghosh continues that the Mujahidin's period -1992-1996 involved barbarism by the Mujahidin where the stories of murdering, rapes, and violence were considered as ordinary. Avoiding the rape and forced marriages, young women were committing suicide.

In 1996, a group of Islamic Madrasa students and fundamentalists called Taliban took over much of Afghanistan and established a parallel government in Kabul from September 1996 to December 2001. Relying on their Islamic version, they dictated strict edicts prohibiting women from education, work, public and requiring them to be accompanied by a male Mahram and in complete Hijab. The Taliban ordered that all the women's photographs should be banned, and they

should not be seen from outside the homes. Moreover, they restricted women's access to the health services forbidding being treated by a man doctor. The ordered were ruthlessly controlled and enforced by an initiated Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice (Amr-i bi Ma'ruf wa Nah-y-i az Munkar). Diconformity with the rules resulted in severe punishments including the floggings and murdering (UN Women 2013, 9).

Eventually, the 11 September attacks in 2001 prompted the U.S. military intervention that the fall of the Taliban. Since then a new constitution drafted and came into action. The new governments have been considering women's rights as a milestone for their functions and performances.

3.7.   AFGHANISTAN AS A PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

Afghanistan has been described as a patriarchal society type (Moghadam 1992c, 2002a, 2007) in which the patriarchy is tied to the prevalence of subsistence patterns such as nomadic pastoralism, herding and farming, and settled agriculture that arranged in accordance to the patrilineal line (Moghadam 1993). In this society,

> It cannot be denied that males in patriarchal societies such as Afghanistan continue to control not only their female relatives' access to public space but also the access of women as a social group. What are the mechanisms of such control? They are varied and include: familial and household rules and constraints; compulsory veiling; laws that restrict women's mobility and travel; the appropriation of coffee shops and tea houses by men; and men's tendency to stare, leer, or touch women. Why the need to control and confine women? Certainly, there is an ideological interest. Women's segregation has often been seen as central to the honor-shame …. The honor-shame complex, a key element of classic patriarchy, rests on women's behavior and the control of their sexuality (Moghadam 2002b, 278).

In Afghanistan, women are symbolized as the honor of the family, clan, and nation and the importance of maintenance of family requires the women's appropriate sexual conduct as a crucial and common feature across all ethnic groups (Moghadam 1992b, Kandiyoti 2005, Nawid 2007).

To conclude, as Moghadam discussed women's rights in Afghanistan historically limited by the patriarchal nature of gender order and social relations that are embedded in traditional practices and a central government that has been weak in implementing modernizing agenda among the traditional communities. Moreover,

foreign interferences impacted the improvements and reforms (Moghadam 1997a).

3.8. *GHAIRAT*'S CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

The word *Ghairat* originates from Arabic and comes from *ghair* means 'other'. Moein's Persian Dictionary defines *Ghairat* as jealousy (*Rashk Bordan*), chivalry and bravery (*Hamiyat*), and *Nāmus* worshipping and protection (*Nāmus Parasti*). ,Alsodescribesribe *Ghairat-mand* (someone who entitled the *Ghairat*) as a person who preserves its purity, chastity or modesty (*Ismat*), face (*Ābru*), and honor (*Sharaf*, *Izzat*). Being *Ghairat-i* refers to a person who protects its *Nāmus*, face (*Ābru*), and honor (*Sharaf*) (Moein 1381 [2002], 1143).

The concept of *Ghairat* in Afghanistan context is deeply rooted in the Islamic teachings and reinforced by traditional and ethnic customs. For instance, there are several Hadiths, narratives and stories by the Prophet Muhammad and other Islamic pioneers that admire the quality of *Ghairat*. For instance, in a Hadith the Prophet says:

<div dir="rtl">

اِنَّ اللهَ تَعَالى يَغَارُ، وَاِنَّ الْمُؤْمِنَ يَغَارُ، وَغَيْرَةُ اللهِ أَنْ يَأْتِي الْمُؤْمِنُ مَا حَرَّمَ اللهُ عَلَيْهِ.

</div>

> "Verilt, the exalted God is **zealous** and believers are too. God's **zeal** arises when a believer commits the unlawful of him" (Nahj Al-Fasaha 2007, 287).

In the above-mentioned hadith, *Ghairat* is considered as an attribution of the God and translated into zeal and being zealous. In another Hadith of the Prophet, Ghairat is equalized to jealousy and expressed as a positive quality for a man:

<div dir="rtl">

أَخْبَرَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ مَنْصُورٍ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يُوسُفَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا الأَوْزَاعِيُّ، عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ أَبِي كَثِيرٍ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ التَّيْمِيُّ، عَنِ ابْنِ جَابِرٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم " إِنَّ مِنَ الْغَيْرَةِ مَا يُحِبُّ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَمِنْهَا مَا يُبْغِضُ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَمِنَ الْخُيَلاءِ مَا يُحِبُّ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَمِنْهَا مَا يُبْغِضُ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فَأَمَّا الْغَيْرَةُ الَّتِي يُحِبُّ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فَالْغَيْرَةُ فِي الرِّيبَةِ وَأَمَّا الْغَيْرَةُ الَّتِي يُبْغِضُ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فَالْغَيْرَةُ فِي غَيْرِ رِيبَةٍ وَالاِخْتِيَالُ الَّذِي يُحِبُّ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ اخْتِيَالُ الرَّجُلِ بِنَفْسِهِ عِنْدَ الْقِتَالِ وَعِنْدَ الصَّدَقَةِ وَالاِخْتِيَالُ الَّذِي يُبْغِضُ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ الْخُيَلاءُ فِي الْبَاطِلِ.

</div>

"It was narrated from Ibn Jabir, from his father, that the Messenger of Allah [Prophet Muhammad] said: There is a kind of protective Jealousy tAllah, the Mighty and Sublime, me, loves and a kind that A me, hates, and a kind of pride that Aime, loves and a kind that A me, hates, As for the protective jealousy that A me, loves, it is protective jealousy when there are grounds for suspicion. As for

the protective jealousy that Aime, hates, it is protective jealousy when there are no grounds for suspicion. As for the pride that Aime, loves, it is when a man feels proud of himself when fighting and when giving chariMoreover, And as for the kind of pride that Aime, hates, it is pride in doing wong" (Sunan an-Nasa'i Book: 23 Hadith: 2558).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

While the resources related to the methodological debates are extensive, many different terminologies are used in expressing the components of a method framework. In order to observe the consistency of the terms, this research mainly follows the Creswell's works (2011, 2014).

As Creswell (2014) illustrates, a research approach is a plan, proposal, and procedures to conduct the study. The research approaches entail the steps from general assumptions to precise methods of data gathering, analysis, and interpretation. Creswell considers quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research as the three main methodological approaches used in the social sciences (2011, 276). These are different with regard to the basic philosophical assumptions, type of research designs, and specific methods of implementation as well as historical evolution. For instance, while the quantitative approach was prominent until the mid-20th century, the interests in qualitative and mixed methods increased since the 1950s.

According to Creswell the overall decision to adopt the appropriate approach for conducting the research should be taken considering,

a) Philosophical assumptions,

b) Procedures of inquiry or research designs,

c) data collection, analysis, and Interpretation process

d) Nature of research problem,

e) Researchers' personal experiences,

f) Audiences for the study.

However, the more emphasize is inclined to the first three components as the essentials for each research approach (Creswell 2014). Below, figure 1 shows the interconnection of philosophical assumptions, research design, and methods that lead to the selection of study approach:

Philosophical worldviews

(or so-called paradigms, epistemologies and ontologies, research methodologies)

Research Approaches

Qualitative

Quantitative

Mixed methods

Designs

Quantitative (e.g., experiments)

Qualitative (e.g., ethnographies)

Mixed methods (e.g., Explanatory sequential)

Research Methods

Questions

Data collection

Data analysis

Interpretation
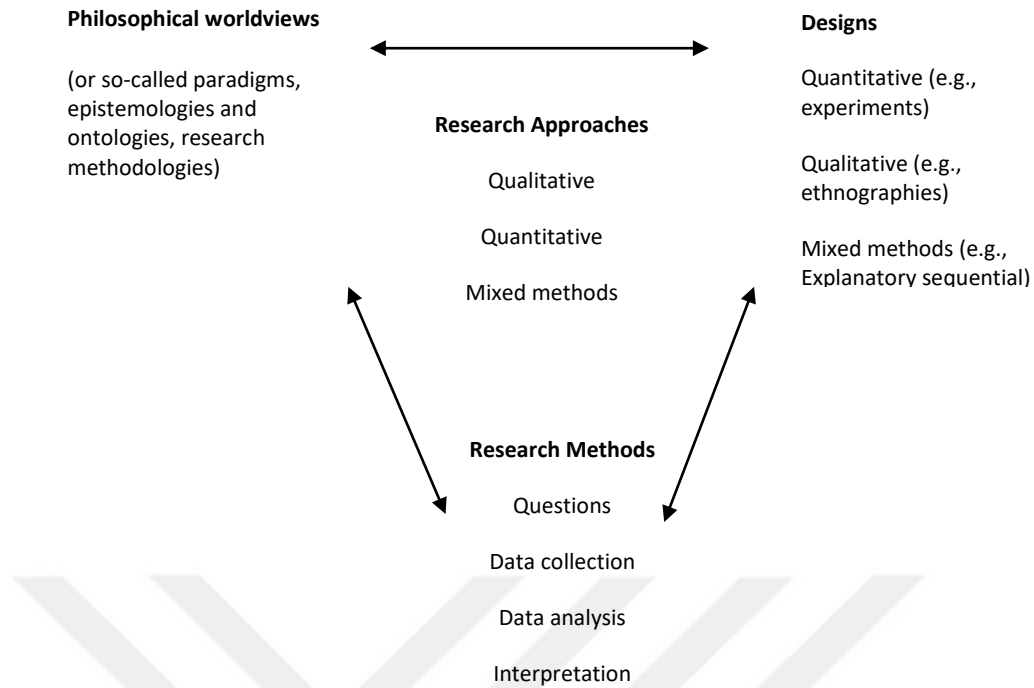
Figure 1. Interconnection of philosophical assumptions, research design, and methods

In this chapter, the above-mentioned framework is adapted to effectively propose a suitable approach for this inquiry. In other words this chapter outline the research methodology, method and procedures that employed in this study. It proceeds to explain the philosophical worldviews that are associated with the research inquiries. Then, it justifies the selection of qualitative research approach to meet the study objectives. It identifies the empirical phenomenology as the appropriate design to gain the most detailed and rich description of *Ghairat*'s essence, meaning and the lived experiences of the study groups in Afghanistan setting.

Furthermore, it describes the participants' selection criteria and recruitment procedures, data collection and data analysis process along with the strategies applied to assure the trustworthiness and credibility of the inquiry. Finally, the ethical considerations throughout the research process are discussed.

4.1. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND CONSTRUCTIVIST-INTERPRETIVIST PARADIGM

Since the main aim of the research is to explore and achieve an in-depth understanding of *Ghairat*'s meaning for men and women in Afghanistan context, a qualitative research approach is selected to meet this objective. The qualitative research approach is mainly concerned with the exploration and interpretation of the meanings that people ascribe to their actions and experiences (Boonzaier and Shefer 2006, Stake 2010, Creswell 2014). In this sense, the qualitative approach will enable me to explore the definitions and subjective meanings of both Afghan men and women about *Ghairat*.

Moreover, as I am interested in the consequences of *Ghairat*'s definitions that reveal in the interactional level, the qualitative approach will allow me to deeply understand the lived experiences of the participants concerning the issue. It will also provide me with the possibility to use multiple methods of data collection including interviews and observation as a means to acquire an in-depth understanding of the perceptions and emergence mechanism of *Ghairat*.

Lastly, this selection will help me to consider *Ghairat* in the natural setting. This means that the study will focus on the subject in the setting in which it is constructed and people are practicing it.

The said reasons can be supported by the generic definition of Denzin and Lincoln (2008) which delineate qualitative research as a situated activity that places the researcher in the world. It made up of a range of interpretive and material practices that enable the human world to be seen. These practices change the world into a set of representations such as notes and memos from the field, interviews, talks, photos, and recordings. In this sense, the qualitative inquiry includes an interpretive, naturalistic viewpoint regarding the world. It studies things in natural settings, and attempts to find the meaning of phenomenon or interpret them with regard to the meanings people ascribe to it.

As explained before, each research approach contains philosophical worldviews (paradigms), research design, and research methods. As Creswell (2014) suggests, to explain why a researcher chose a specific research approach, the philosophical worldview that shaped the study should be explained. In so doing, first, I briefly overview the concept of paradigm and major categories that establish the foundations of the social research and then propose the worldview which is best

convenient for this study and forms the foundation for this qualitative research approach.

The very essence of all research encompasses worldviews and philosophical assumptions that are ultimate and fundamental. A worldview or paradigm informs its holder about the essence of the "world," the individual's position in it, and the set of possible relationships between the individual, the world and its components (Guba and Lincoln 1994). In other words, a paradigm represents an understanding of the researcher's beliefs about the world, social life, nature of the main inquiries and how it is best to gain knowledge and find the answers. Choosing a research paradigm is a significant step within the research process because it provides the specific logics of inquiry and has implications for both the research design and methods. As Blaikie and Priest mention the choice of research paradigm enables the researcher to be aware of what they are attempting to do (Blaikie and Priest 2017).

Among the described research paradigms, the researcher found itself situated in constructivist-interpretivist paradigm as it was the best lens to explore and understand the masculine *Ghairat* in Afghanistan context and its consequences. Now as the basic principles of constructivist paradigm is illustrated, the specific reasons for this selection will be stated below:

First, the study primarily focuses on the "understanding" of the subject. Understanding (Verstehen) considered as a key principle of constructivist-interpretivist paradigm. The social constructivism paradigm represents a shift from the "explanation" (Erklärung) of the phenomena as it is common in the natural sciences to place the accent on "understanding" the phenomenon which is claimed more suitable for the human sciences (Costantino 2008). Such a perspective is frequently attributed to the works of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and Max Weber (1864-1920).

Second, the study revolves around the notions and "meanings" of *Ghairat*. *Ghairat* is not a physical or natural object that can be explained and measured based on the positivistic paradigm. Instead, it is more subjective and conceptual that requires to be understood. As Wilhelm Dilthey argued in natural sciences, knowledge is external, while in the social sciences, knowledge is internal. According to him, the reason is that each person has an "inner nature" that must be comprehended." Thus in humanities, the researchers need to go beyond "mere

observation and seek to understand (verstehen) each person's "inner nature" to explain events and relationships" (Turner, Beeghley, and Powers 2012, 196-197).

Third, while Ghairart is not visible as an object in the external world, the social actors strive to express it through the actions and talks. The researcher assumes that the meanings of *Ghairat* have been socially constructed, defined and maintained by the people over the time. Such a view fits best with the constructivism framework that sees,

> "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty 1998, 42).

This standpoint can be originally tracked back to Dilthey who believed that the human beings experience life as meaningful, and are apt to express these meanings. Based on him the expressions can be words, gestures, sighs, or actions and Human beings understand each other by understanding expressions (Rickman 1967). Max Weber developed Dilthey's concept of understanding in a different way. Through all of his work, Weber emphasized that we live in a world of meaning and a social researcher's task is to understand the meanings that people give to their world, actions and ideas (Charon 2013). Based on him, sociology "is a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action" (Weber 1964, 88).

The current study can be considered as an interpretive understanding of *Ghairat* that is oriented towards the subjective meanings that people apply and attach to their social actions. In this sense, as a constructivist-interpretivist researcher, I aim to understand the world of meaning that is constructed in Afghanistan society about *Ghairat*. In the same way, a constructivist "inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors" (Schwandt 2006, 40).

Forth, since the study views meanings pertinent to *Ghairat* as socially constructed subjectivities, unlike the positivists, it presumes that there is no single, observable reality. Instead, there are multiple realities or interpretations of *Ghairat*. The social constructivist worldview holds assumptions that individuals develop meanings and make sense of their experiences. The meanings are diverse, multiple, and oriented toward given things. It leads the inquirer to search for the

complexity of opinions instead of reducing meanings into a few narrow categories (Creswell 2014).

4.2. EMPIRICAL PHENOMENOLOGY

A research design is a type of inquiry within the chosen approach that provides particular direction for procedures in order to collect and analyze the empirical materials. After reflecting on the aim of the study and reviewing the variant qualitative designs, it was decided that phenomenology was the most appropriate strategy of inquiry to be applied. There are several reasons to justify the use of phenomenology in this research:

First, phenomenology focuses on the understanding of the concealed meanings and essence of an experience along with the way that individuals make meaning of their experiences (Grbich 2013). The present study initially aims to achieve an in-depth understanding of the meanings and notions that Afghan men and women attach to the phenomenon called *Ghairat*. In this way, it seeks to grasp a detailed description of the essence of this phenomenon. As van Manen (1990, 9) states phenomenology aims at obtaining a profound understanding of the essence or meaning of our daily experiences. The phenomenological researcher asks, 'what is this experience like? Also, Creswell (2014) noted that a study best suited for applying phenomenology that seeks to comprehend the common experiences in order to develop a deeper understanding of the features of the phenomenon.

Furthermore, as the definitions and notions of *Ghairat* are constructed and practiced through the daily interactions, it is necessary to comprehend the lived experiences of Afghan men and women of *Ghairat* and the meanings that they ascribe to their experiences. As Patton mentions the phenomenological inquiry suggests a way to explore a phenomenon by studying how social actors describe the experiences through their senses. It begins by questioning what is the meaning and nature of the lived experiences of an individual or a group of people regarding a specific phenomenon (Patton 2015). To that end, the study concentrates not only on the meanings of *Ghairat* but also the lived experiences and everyday interactions through which the subjectivities and notions appear. This includes understanding how Afghans felt and what they perceived, of the *Ghairat* phenomenon.

Finally, I believe using the phenomenological design will help the study reach a comprehensive understanding of different feelings that are common and present among the participants in their experience of *Ghairat* phenomenon. In this sense, phenomenology as a qualitative research allows me to delve into the lived experiences of men and women, exploring certain feelings and emotions like pride and humiliation that are difficult to quantify. As Bogdan and Taylor (1975) imply the approach allows the inquirer to study the subjective nature of human actions.

4.2.1. An Overview of Phenomenology: Husserl and Schutz

Although the use of phenomenology appears in the works of philosophers, Lambert (1728-1777), Herder (1744-1803), Kant (1724-1804), Fichte (1794-1814), and Hegel (1770-1831) in the early 18th century, it is Husserl who is recognized as the founder of phenomenology as a philosophical approach and descriptive method (Moran 2000, 2005).

Husserl describes phenomenology as the way that knowledge comes into being in consciousness and elaborates the assumptions upon which all human understandings are grounded (Adams and Manen 2008). As Ferguson (2001, 236) states the consciousness in this sense should be understood as "lived experiences (acts) rather than as the detachable 'contents' of the mind". The focus is on the experience itself and how the experiencing process transforms into consciousness.

While the philosophy of phenomenology with its concentration on the consciousness shares a long history, developing a sociological phenomenology stems out of the works of Alfred Schutz (1899–1959). Based on him "all our knowledge of the world, in commonsense as well as in scientific thinking involves constructs" (Schutz 1962, 5).

Schutz was mainly interested in an aspect of the social world called the life-world, or the world of everyday life. "This is an intersubjective world in which people both create social reality and are constrained by the preexisting social and cultural structures created by their predecessors" (Ritzer and Stepnisky 2018b, 76). Schutz considered the way through which people grasp the consciousness of others whereas they live within their own stream of consciousness. For the social sciences he assumes that the "knowledge starts from everyday understanding" (Flick 2000, 90).

However, there is another route in phenomeology that attempts to make Schütz's non-empirical perspective empirically applicable. In doing so, the researcher should go beyond the simple descriptions of subjectivities and come up with the explanations that why and how the phenomenon occurs according to the actors' understanding. In the empirical phenomenology, when the researcher aims to understand the social world through this lens, it is crucial to come up with explanations that are rooted in the subjective experiences of social actors. At the same instant, this would be insufficient to give an account of states of minds; instead, the empirical phenomenology calls for comprehending why and how the social phenomenon happen. In this regard, the researcher should return to the way that social actors understand and connect to the phenomenon and provide an explanation. In the empirical phenomenology, it is foundemental that the explanation should be associated with the meaning structure of people. Such an explanation is built upon understanding and can be considered as the starting point of the empirical phenomenology (Aspers 2009).

In summary, considering different forms of phenomenological study transcendental, existential, hermeneutic, heuristic (Grbich 2013), the current research utilizes the tenants of empirical phenomenology to guide the strategy of inquiry. The approach of empirical phenomenology relies on the phenomenology of Husserl, Heidegger, and Schutz. However, it considers how the raised philosophical and theoretical debates can be more integrated with the empirical research.

Much of the reasoning behind the selection of this approach is grounded on its presuppositions that are consistent with the logic of the study (Aspers 2009, 1):

a) Empirical phenomenology begins with the assumption that a scientific explanation should be based on the meaning structure of the study subjects. This means the social actors' prospect is fundamental in the analysis.

b) As the contemporary social sciences agree, the social world is constructed socially.

c) Empirical phenomenology accepts the significant role of theory in the research process, as well as the role of unintended consequences. Therefore, it is not just storytelling from the perspective of social actors.

4.2.2. Adaptation of Empirical Phenomenology in the Research Process

The seven steps of empirical phenomenology suggested by Aspres (2009) is reflected in the table below. In the model, the relevance of qualitative approach and the constructivist paradigm in which the current research is situated has been also shown.

Defining the research question	
Conducting a preliminary study	
Choosing a theory	
Studying first-order constructs	Qualitative Approach -Constructivist/Interpretivist Paradigm
Constructing second-order constructs	
Checking for unintended effects	
Relating the evidence to the scientific literature	

Table 1. Process of empirical phenomenology and its association with the research approach and paradigm

The first step is about the research question itself. As Flick argued, formulating research inquiries are very significant as they determine success in qualitative

research. The questions can be revisited at the several stages of the research process like when conceptualizing the research design, entering the field, selecting the cases, and collecting the data" (Flick 2014, 146). The main inquiries and objectives of this study have been constantly debated in order to guide the procedures of the research.

During the second step called the preliminary study, there were initial attempts made to respectively discover and address the main research questions on *Ghairat*. These involved searching for and analyzing the literature, consulting with academic experts and professors, and engaging in chit-chats and informal talks with Afghan people about *Ghairat*. This helped the researcher generate a general understanding about the issue as it appears in everyday life. As Aspers (2009, 5) mentions in this stage the point is not to solve all problems encountered in research, but rather that it is an efficient way to come to grips with a field.

Step three is to choose a theory which works as a means in the process of understanding. Accordingly, the related theories and concepts are discussed in order to lay a firm conceptual framework and assumptions for the study. The chosen theories and concepts tried to fit the empirical evidence and research questions and reveal the features of the phenomenon based on the former analysis.

The fourth step described as the study of first-order constructs and bracketing the theories. This is about gathering the empirical evidences and information about what people mean when use certain words, how these are related to each other in a meaning structure, what "theories" they are using, what "ideal types " they construct among themselves, and in what kind of practices they are involved (Aspers 2009, 6). Aspers adds that this information can be gathered by using many of the methods that are common within the category of qualitative methods in the social sciences.

Based on this step, the strategies for data gathering were decided and then the process of fieldwork was developed and implemented. The process will be described in detail in the next section.

The fifth refers to the construction of second-order constructs and striving for understanding and explanation. In this stage, the first-order constructs should be related to applied theories and concepts in the research. It is crucial that the second-order constructs raise between two orientations: first, they must abide by

the demand of actors' understanding; second, they should be connected with existing the theories and be understandable within the scholarly community. However, Aspers emphasizes that there must be a space for the flexibility while coming up with the second-order constructs:

> "Second-order constructs enable the researcher to relate and evaluate the scheme of reference she chooses. The second-order constructs, or "accounts of accounts", can be theoretical notions of an existing theory. But, as already said, there must always be room for flexibility, and the second-order constructs may thus also be constructs produced and coined by the researcher" (Aspers 2009, 6).

The process of analyzing information and data is also explained following the description of fieldwork.

The sixth step concerns the identification of unintended consequences or effects. While social actors perform intended and meaningful actions, these have both intended and unintended consequences. Aspers suggests this is particularly useful as the actors themselves cannot predict or even imagine the full results of their actions.

The final step of the empirical phenomenological inquiry considers the relationship between the findings of the study and the literature that exists as well as the experience of actors in the field. It might be a compliment or add knowledge to existing research and can be also communicated to both participants of the study and the scientific community.

4.3.   SITE AND PARTICIPANTS

The study site for this research was Kabul, the capital city which is located in eastern Afghanistan. It is the seat of the national government and major body of international institutions and includes the largest population size of the total population in the province (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO) 2012). Based on the Central Statistics Organization (CSO), Kabul city has an estimated population of about 4,117,414 during 2018-19, with 51 male and 49 percent female(Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO) 2018). The city is comprised of 22 districts (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan 2015) which are presented in Map 2 and involves various ethnic groups such as Tajik, Pashtun, Hazara, Uzbek, Qizilbash, Hindus, Kuchis.
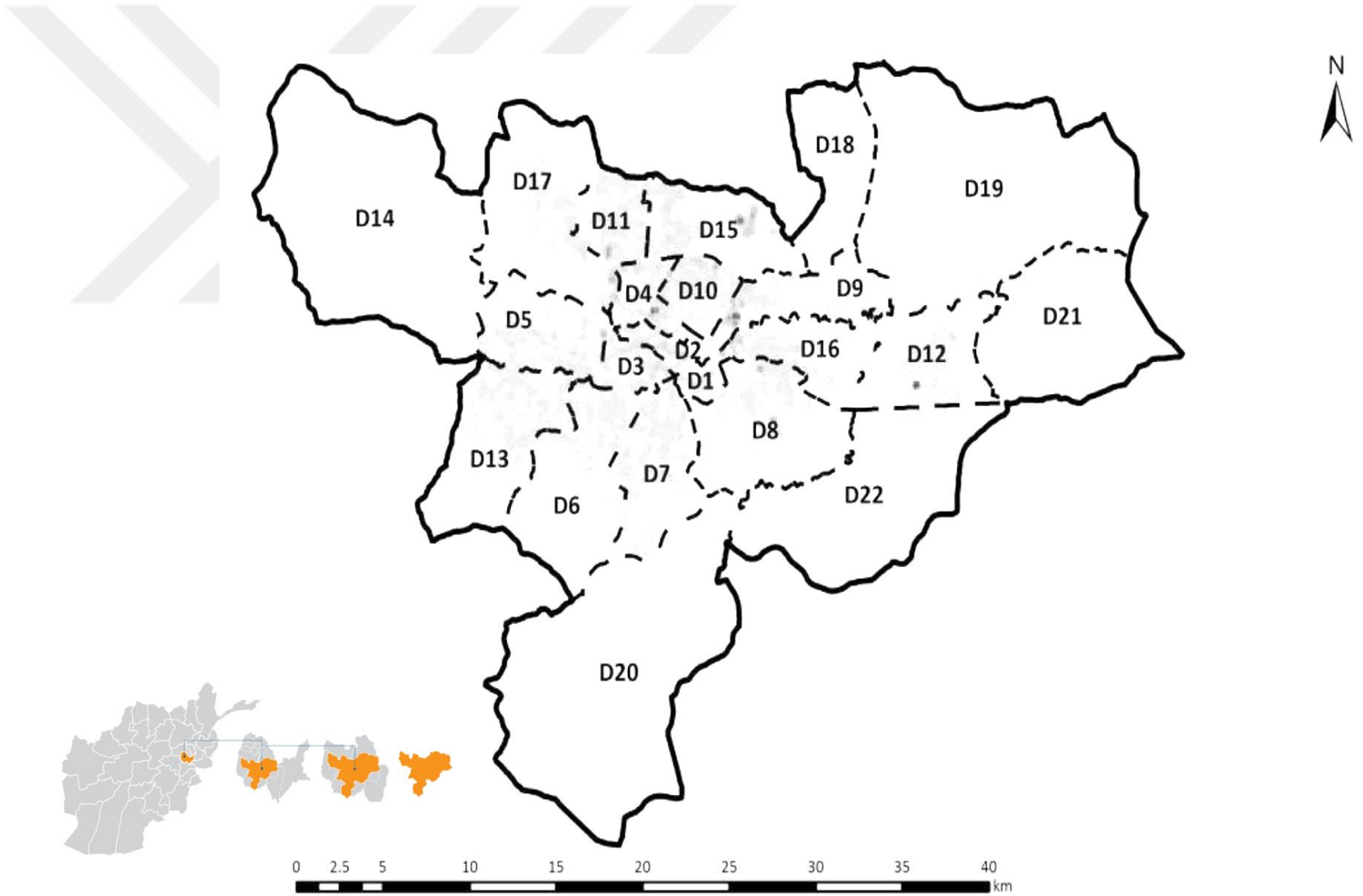
Map 2- Kabul city with districts, adapted from (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan 2015, 52; 2016, 15)

The careful attention is given to selecting participants for this study. The participants were selected using purposeful sampling which is mainly associated with the qualitative methods. In purposeful sampling, the researcher selects individuals and sites on purpose to understand and learn about the research problem and the central phenomenon (Creswell 2014). Since the central phenomenon in this research is *Ghairat*, the general purpose was to look for participants who have experienced *Ghairat* phenomenon and were willing to talk about their thoughts and experiences. The willingness of the participants are very significant as Moustakas (1994) mentions they must be willing to attend the lengthy interview in the phenomenological research and give the permission for publishing the data in the dissertation or other publications.

However, there were specific criteria applied for the inclusion of the participants too. These were necessary to make sure that the participants were diverse enough from one another to enhance the possibilities of rich and unique views and experiences (van Manen 1990, Laverty 2003) about *Ghairat*. The main three criteria for selecting the participants were:

- Gender (man and woman)

- Age (Above 18)

- Ethnicity (Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara).

The emphasis is placed on the above-mentioned criteria due to the experience of the researcher from the field and gender research in Afghanistan. First, it was important to move on from a simple one-dimensional understanding of the *Ghairat* phenomenon only relying on men's views and interpretations. As Douglas (1976) and Geertz (1973) argued from a phenomenological standpoint there are multiple realities and interpretation from different individuals that are all valid. Also, the literature that deals with Gender issues in Afghanistan, they mainly reduce the concept and scope of the study to women (Bahri 2014, Mosawi and Echavez 2015). Hence, the current research wanted to avoid bias and look at the lived experiences of both men and women on *Ghairat*.

For age, minimum age of participants set at 18 years old to not being considered as a minor. However, for the adult participants who aged above 18, the effort made to include people of variant ages.

Lastly, Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic society where ethnic and tribal identities play an important role in social life. This is important to consider the lived experiences of *Ghairat* from the point of view of the participants that labeled as a part of different ethnic categories. Hence, the focus is limited to so-called the three major ethnic groups as Pashtuns, Tajiks, and Hazaras. Because a systematic census has not been conducted since 1979 (Central Statistics Organization (CSO) 2010), the precise figures of population and composition of ethnic groups are only available based on the estimations.

In trying to understand a particular phenomenon and lived experiences under the phenomenological inquiry, two major views can be found in the literature. First, it is suggested that phenomenological inquiries typically tend to have relatively small sample sizes like as few as 5 or 6 and as many as 25. (Polkinghorne 1989 in Creswell 2014, Morse 2000). Another view suggests that the appropriate number of participants for phenomenological studies varies based on the nature of the study and the gathered information. As a result, the researcher may continue, for example, to engage in interviews with participants until they believe they have reached a point of saturation, in which a clear understanding of the experience will not be found through further discussion with participants (Laverty 2003, 29).

Since the selections criteria in this research involved men and women within the three different ethnic groups, it was decided to utilize both above-mentioned views together. Consequently, for each category of men and women that belong to the specific ethnic community, a minimum number of five participants were chosen. Also, the rule of reaching respective saturation point is followed in order to determine the maximum number of the sample size.

In this research, a total number of Thirty Seven individuals and Five key informants participated to share their lived experiences and opinions. Table 2 shows the number of individual participants categorized based on their gender and ethnicity. Moreover, the number of experts are represented according to their gender.

Table 2. Number of individual participans and key informants

Gender	Individual Participants			Key Informants	Total
	Ethnicity				
	Hazara	Pashtun	Tajik		
Man	5	5	6	3	19
Woman	6	6	9	2	23
Total	11	11	15	5	42

In order to protect the identity of the participants and observe the confidentiality, a coded name was given to each. The coded names mainly applied for referencing the quotations from the participants. It comprised of 3 parts:

- The first letter refers to the ethnic group of the interviewee (Pashtun=P, Tajik=T, Hazara=H);

- The second letter refers to ben male or female (Male=M, Female=F);

- The third is the number of the participant which does not change throughout the study.

The participants informed that only the researcher and advisor could access the information.

It is important to mention that my claim is not that the analysis of stories and lived experiences of thirty-seven participants will provide with a complete understanding of the *Ghairat* phenomenon in the Afghanistan context. One may argue that it is not possible to reflect and represent all possible themes but they were adequate to grasp the sufficient features of the phenomenon. The researcher fully understands that the subjectivities and lived experiences are very complex as each participant has a different viewpoint and experience and the analysis process can continue endlessly. However, as van Manen (1990) explains the researcher should also stay pragmatic and at a given point decides where to stop the interpretation process. Through the analysis of the information and data gathered in this research, as the researcher, I hope to derive the key meanings of the

Ghairat phenomenon and the consequences that these meanings facilitate in the interactional level.

4.4. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS PROCESS

In phenomenological research design, there are many methods to collect data and information. From among these, the interview has been particularly favored as the method through which the information is gathered (Manen 1990, Moustakas 1994). Furthermore, Aspers (2009, 4) concludes that perhaps Alfred Schütz "would have seen the combination of observation and interviewing as the best way to understand the other." Accordingly, for this study, the researcher used a semi-structured interview as a main data collection method and also observation (non-participant observation) as the supplementary strategy.

4.4.1. Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection method in which the researcher has a degree of control over the topics of the interview and proceeds with a series of open-ended questions or predetermined themes (Ayres 2008). This type of interview suited this phenomenological research the best because on the one hand, based on the research questions there were themes that should be explored in-depth. On the other hand, I wanted to leave a space for the new aspects that might be relevant to *Ghairat* phenomenon and brought up during the interview by the participant. In addition, my experiences as a researcher convinced me that the semi-structured interview is very helpful particularly in contexts like Afghanistan where a great flexibility is required.

The researcher developed in advance an interview guide contained the themes and questions that aimed to understand the participant's lived experiences of phenomenon *Ghairat*. However, the questions associated with each theme were considered as a guide and reminder and not the final sufficient version. In practice, there were questions changed, altered, added or not used based on the actual views, meanings, and experiences shared by the participants.

In this study, the interview has been considered as a social interaction (Paley 2017). This means that the procedure of conducting interviews involved an informal, interactive process that utilized open-ended questions along with a

variety of probes that revealed further information. Also, it is tried to build the trust and minimize the effects of power that could be associated with the social status and position of the researcher during the interview. For instance, when meeting the individual participants for the interview, the researcher always dressed locally and talked informally rather than formally and academically.

These are very significant in the context of Afghanistan as the oral culture is still a dominant form of communication and people enjoy engaging in conversation with others-those look like them in everyday situations like criticizing the government. However, when it comes to the individual interview, the situation is different as two people are engaged in the process, one who is asking and another who is supposed to share his lived experience. Accordingly, it was necessary to make the interview in a friendly manner through which the participant doesn't feel that he is 'answering' to a 'Ph.D.' candidate who came back from 'Turkey'. Instead, in a way that he talks to a friend from his heart on *Ghairat*. This is called in Dari language Dard-e Dil Kardan / heart to heart.

Feminist research has highlighted the significance of intersectional power relations throughout the research process as well as between the researcher and researched (Hearn 2013, 26). As a way to achieve the trust and minimize power effects in the interview setting, it was allowed all the individual participants to opt for the time, and the location of the interview that is best convenient for them. It is insisted that the only important pre-condition was the availability of the participants for the interview that could take up to four hours and the place where they feel more relaxed and comfortable. Accordingly, the interviews took place in the natural settings like a university, mosque, the researcher's home, participants' home or their working place.

In order to identify and recruit the participants for the study, I first, noticed about the gender sensitiveness that existed in the field. In the current situation of Afghanistan, it is not possible for a male researcher to interview a woman due to the cultural and religious sensitivities. As a result, it was necessary to recruit female interviewers to create a safe trustworthy environment where woman's participants from different ethnic groups feel comfortable to share their personal experiences.

In this regard, after my return to Kabul and addressing given comments on the interview guides, I started searching for three female researchers from the ethnic

groups of the study, who could conduct semi-structured interviews with high quality. To ensure that the interviewers are adequately prepared, an extensive ten-day training organized at Kabul Education University covered below contents:

- Qualitative research: What is it and why it is selected for this research? (2 days)

- How to bracket what we know as an "Afghan" about "*Ghairat*" and minimize the effects of power (1 day)

- Semi-structured in-depth interviews (1 day)

- Gender and masculinities concepts, gender in Afghanistan (1 day)

- Reviewing interview guides (3 days)

- Ethical considerations (1 day)

- Mock interviews (2 days)

After the training, interviewers and I performed a set of interviews with familiar persons and real participants to make sure questions and words are easily understandable and researchable. As a result, the new changes are made in the interview guides and the arrangement of the questions was adjusted in order to better assist the flow of the interview. However, with the emphasize on the main four themes of the research, it is left to the interviewer how to order the questions and make probes in a way that is most appropriate for each individual participant.

The interviews were mostly recorded based on the full consent of the participants. For about three interviews extensive notes were taken.

In order to identify the participants of the study, the researcher and female inquirers started with contacting friends, acquaintances and professional networks that we knew and explained them about the study, objectives, and participants selection criteria. Based on their suggestions, we started meeting and chit-chatting with the potential participants and finalize the selection process based on the mutual agreement. In the next stage, the interviewees were asked to offer other contacts if they find them relevant to the study.

Here, I found the network or snowball sampling to identify and recruit the participants as a useful method particularly in the context of Afghanistan. This is because the community-based relations (Tönnies 2002) are still dominant in Kabul city and people are mostly related by pre-rational ties such as ethnicity,

race, religion, and shared feelings, customs, and traditions. Hence, it is vital to be introduced by a third person who is a common tie.

The main interviews with the study participants took approximately 90 to 270 minutes each to complete. A number of interviews also conducted in two rounds in order to provide the participants with more ease and comfort. At the end of each day, I held a debriefing meeting with the female inquirers to review and discuss the identification or interview procedures, challenges faced, and lessons learned. Then I collected the recorders from the female researchers, transferred the recorded file into my personal laptop and erased the audio from the device. In the evenings, I started listening to the interviews made by female researchers and made comments for the further probes where it was needed. Accordingly, in the next session or a short visit, they were addressing the comments as well.

4.4.2. Non-Participant Observation

As another strategy for data gathering, in the research process and particularly fieldwork of the study, I engaged in a nonparticipant observation through which I carefully recorded pieces of evidence that were associated to the *Ghairat* phenomenon either in the public places or during the interview procedure. This included taking photos of the messages that referred to *Ghairat* content and written on the walls for the public. For instance, in Kabul, many walls that are located in the public roads and places are already covered in advertising moral or civic slogans and some contains graffities to deliver a message to passersby. As a nonparticipant observer I was carefully examined and recorded the contents of such messages if they imply a gendered content.

Also, memoing used as a further strategy to make a record of what was seen, heard, learned, and experienced through the process of data collection and reflecting on the process. While memoing and writing memos is most commonly associated with grounded theory (Birks, Chapman, and Francis 2008) and ethnography (Groenewald 2008), like Groenewald (2004) I believe it can also add the value to the phenomenological research. This is particularly in terms of better describing the meanings of transcriptions.

4.4.3. Data Analyzing Process

Data analysis is one of the most significant aspects of phenomenological research. The literature contains various methods of data analysis associated with different phenomenological approaches. A list of varied methods of phenomenological analysis are adopted in the following table (Polit and Beck 2012, 565-569):

Table 3. Varied methods of phenomenological analysis

Analysis Methods	Samples	Basics
Descriptive phenomenology	Colaizzi 1978, Giorgi 1985, Van Kaam 1966	• Based on the Husserl's philosophy; • Describing the meaning of an experience, often through identification of essential themes.
Combination of descriptive and interpretive phenomenologies	Van Manen 1990	• Grasping the essential meaning of the experience being studied.
Interpretive approach/Heideggerian Hermeneutics	Gadamer 1975, Ricoeur 1981, Benner 1994	• Under the hermeneutic circle, it aims to reach an understanding; • A continual movement existed between the parts and the whole of the text, action or situation being analyzed.

For the purpose of analyzing my data, I followed a version of Moustakas' Steick-Colaizzi-Keen modification which is simplified by Creswell (2007, 159-160). Based on this approach, the researcher:

1- Describes his personal experiences with the phenomenon and attempt to set aside them as much as possible;

2- Develops a list of significant statements and treats each statement as having equal worth;

3- Develops "meaning units" or themes through grouping the significant statements into larger units of information;

4- Writes descriptions of what participants experienced with the phenomenon (textual description);

5- Describes how the experiences happened (structural description);

6- Writes a composite description of the phenomenon combining both textural and structural descriptions.

In order to get prepared for data analyzing, the researcher himself started transcribing each interview one by one. The average number of pages per each transcript was about 30 pages (Times New Roman, 12, 1. Line spacing).

As for the first step of the analysis, the researcher needs to suspend any preconceived knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions about the phenomenon. This is called Epoche or bracketing and "back to the things themselves" (Crotty 1998). Accordingly, Epoche enables the researcher to describes his lived experiences with the phenomenon and attempts to put them aside. This is like a challenge in which the researcher becomes transparent to himself and allows his former knowledge and information to disclose itself. This may lead him to see things newly in a natural and open manner (Moustakas 1994).

Therefore it was significant to make an effort in order to remove my beliefs, values, and thoughts on the *Ghairat* subject from the study to the extent that is possible. Moustakas also insists that a perfect Epoche is seldom achieved, however, the energy, notice, and work counted in reflection and self-dialogue, the intention behind the process, and the attitude and set of criteria and reference principles, notably lessen the impact of predetermined ideas, judgements, and prejudices.

Being a qualitative researcher, I have been always concerned with the issues that came out of my lived experiences. I used the research as a tool to explore, understand, and change the issue scientifically. My attempt to understand *Ghairat* phenomenon is no exception. It becomes even more significant due to phenomenology's potential and emphasis on bracketing what I have experienced on *Ghairat*.

I knew that I am very involved in the study because of my lived experiences as an Afghan man. My first recollection of *Ghairat* is from my childhood and adolescence time. I grew up with this phenomenon, I felt it, heard it, and acted upon that. Although I lived as a second generation refugee far from my home country for years, I learned *Ghairat* unintendedly through my Afghan family, kin, and friends.

Once, I was stung by a hornet when I was 11 years old, and I started screaming and crying. While running for the treatment, my father's aunt was the first person who approached me and tried to ease me with some home remedies. At the same time, she was saying me repeatedly, "stop crying boy! A *Bā-Ghairat* man does not cry. Have some *Ghairat*. Calm down!" Now, when I consider the event consciously, I am sure as an Afghan I never asked someone to describe me the meaning of *Ghairat*. Instead, I could see the situations and actions that people named that under the *Ghairat* umbrella. Like in Iran, it was very common to hear the term *Ghayur* or *Mardan-e Bā-Ghairat* [men who possess *Ghairat*] to refer to those who attended the war and fought during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988).

Applying phenomenological approach, I put brackets around what I knew about *Ghairat* both personally and academically and looked at it as a new thing. Like when a person visits a different culture and country, there are things new, strange, and unknown to him. Further, I can claim that I extended the Epoche's concept to data collection phase too. I started my fieldwork assuming that I know nothing about *Ghairat*. The interview guide was only considered as a part of my curiosity and search for the essence and consequences of *Ghairat*.

I constantly reminded the participant in a friendly manner to share with me his experiences and thoughts on *Ghairat* as he talks to someone who doesn't know anything about Afghanness and Afghan culture. Hence, I believe that I started the challenge of Epoche from the beginning of my fieldwork lasting to the analysis phase.

Bracketing my own feelings, opinions, experiences, and knowledge about *Ghairat*, I moved to the second step of the analysis. In this stage, I went through all of the transcript of interviews and research notes and developed a list of significant statements treated with equal worth. In the third step, the significant statements were coded and then grouped into larger units of information or "meaning units."

I used the MAXQDA program to proceed with the coding and themeing process. As Gibbs (2007) discusses coding is a process of identifying and recording passages of text that exemplify a common idea, concept and in my study the experiences. Here, I came up with the in-vivo coding that was the actual words used by the interviewees and performed the grouping process of meaning units. In this procedure, my main focus was on the first order constructs or the experiences

and ideas that the study participants expressed in their own words. It was crucial to capture and understand the precise detail of what the participants shared in their own language and not through the prior theoretical views and concepts. In this stage, as Husserl defines the pure phenomenology, I tried to "set aside all previous habits of thought, and break down the mental barriers" (Husserl 2002, 43) to see how the experiences and subjective meanings of the social actors stand before my eyes.

The actual statements that were implicitly or explicitly referring to the *Ghairat* topic were identified. Then, each statement coded separately and as the next step, the codes that were similar, categorized under the same theme or larger meaning of units. A theme can be defined as an extended phrase that categorize a set of information (Saldaña 2013) into an implicit topic that express a group of repeating ideas (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003).

When I made sure that all the codes were initially grouped with a reflective theme, I re-grouped the themes into larger units of meanings or categories.

Later, I prepared the description of what and how the participants experienced *Ghairat* and returned back to my conceptual framework and theories as the second-order constructs to better understand and compared the categories emerged. In this stage, major attention was given to two aspects: connecting the emerging themes to those concepts and theories that were relevant and already available in my conceptual framework, and also identifying the new theoretical views that could possibly correspond to the remaining themes. As an instance, the classic patriarchy concept adapted to the conceptual framework after establishing first-order constructs. Nevertheless, a portion of the themes remained as purely contextual.

In the next step, in order to synthesize the main units of analysis – first-order constructs- and second order constructs, I developed a mind map. A mind map or 'cognitive map' (Northcott 1996) can be defined as a diagram applied to represent codes, themes and items linked to and arranged around a central key word or idea (Wheeldon and Ahlberg 2012). Mind maps are considered as a useful tools particularly for qualitative researchers because they offer a mean to address researcher bias and ensure data are collected in ways that privilege participant experiences (Wheeldon and Ahlberg 2017, 1).

Finally, I wrote the composite description through which the essence of the *Ghairat* phenomenon and consequences are illustrated. These are presented in the findings chapter.

4.5. THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE RESEARCH AND CREDIBILITY PROCEDURES

As Lincoln and Guba (1985) note, a key matter which is related to the trustworthiness of a study is how can researcher provide his audiences with a good reason that the findings of a study are worthy of their attention? Also, what arguments can be raised, which criteria used, and what inquiries asked in order to be convincing on the trustworthiness issue?

Creswell and Miller also define qualitative validity as how based on the accuracy of the findings from the viewpoint of the researcher, the participant, or the readers and reviewers of the study.

While the quantitative researchers most often raise the issue of the trustworthiness of their work through the validity and reliability terms, the qualitative researchers discuss concepts like credibility, authenticity, transferability, and dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba 1985):

- Credibility: If the genuine lived experiences of the participants reflected in the inquiry?
- Transferability: The degree to which the inquiry can be transferred to other contexts?
- Dependability and Confirmability: The degree to which the findings of an inquiry reflect the participants lived experiences and are not affected by the biases, and interests of the inquirer.

Creswell (2007) suggests that any given qualitative study should engage in at least two validation or credibility procedures. This inquiry applies several credibility procedures, including triangulation of data, research reflexivity, member checking, peer review for validation, and coding through the Maxqda program.

Triangulation: The triangulation can be categorized as per data, the researcher, theory, and methodological features (Denzin 1978). In this phenomenological inquiry, I benefited from methodological triangulation and collected data by more

than one method. While my main source of information was the interview, the nonparticipant observation was used to increase the credibility of the research.

Research reflexivity: A second validity procedure was to bracketing my assumptions, beliefs, biases, and knowledge about *Ghairat* phenomenon during the fieldwork, conducting each interview, transcribing the interviews, and data analysis. This was very crucial to only focus on the views and lived experiences of the participants and prevent the influence of other sources of information. In this regard, Moustakas (1994) insists that the researcher prior to and during the interview, involved in the Epoche Process to a considerable extent. This is because the former associations, comprehensions, facts, and biases are put aside and do not influence the interview flow.

Member checking: Member checking was applied to make sure the experiences and views of the participants reflected into data accurately as they intended. Throughout this which described as the "most crucial technique for establishing credibility" (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 314), I asked the participants if the I understood their experiences and opinion correctly. For instance, during the interview I used such follow-up questions:

- If I have understood what you mean correctly, you say that X means Y, is this what you mean?
- Could you please let me know, what you mean exactly by saying X?
- Did I get you right when you said that X meant like Y?
- So, based on what you described, is X meant like Y to you?
- I didn't quite catch you on X; do you mean the X is like Y?

Also, the member checking continued into the analysis phase of the inquiry to establish credibility. While transcribing the interviews, I made follow up with the participants when there was a confusion about the meanings, experiences, and stories to ensure that I reflect them precisely. Lastly, in several cases after conducting the interviews, I sat with the interviewees individually and talked about the experiences of other participants to utilize their comments and reflections.

Peer debriefing: I worked on my inquiry as a Ph.D. candidate of Sociology and benefited from the supervision of advisor. I had discussed the study and taken strategies and steps with my supervisor since the beginning of our agreement

extensively. My advisor reviewed, commented, supported and challenged my assumptions, plans, thoughts, and implementations and pushed me to the next step. The professor reviewed the interview guides and considered the quality of the transcripts and analysis of the data. The supervisor provided me with the written feedback and spoken suggestions.

As Creswell and Miller write, a peer debriefing or peer review operates because of the collaboration between the external reviewer and the qualitative researcher. They add that this procedure is best used over time during the process of an entire study (Creswell and Miller 2000, 129) like thesis.

Coding through the Maxqda program: The transcripts are coded using a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, called Maxqda. This enhanced the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis and helped to establish a more clear dialogue among the researcher, transcriptions, and the peer reviewer. Particularly as the procedures of coding and searching could be followed more easily and transparently.

4.6.   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Following the ethical principles, guidelines and showing respect to all involved in the study, in particular, the participants are among the most significant aspects of each social inquiry. An ethics application to conduct my research submitted to and approved by the Hacettepe University Ethics Commission [Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Komisyonu] (Appendix A is a copy of the ethics approval form).

All the participants and informants have participated in the study voluntarily. Prior to participating in the research, they were provided with complete information about the scope and objectives of the study and procedures. All participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality of their information and participation throughout the fieldwork, transcription, data analysis, reporting, and publishing processes. They also ensured that after completion of the study the recorded files will be destroyed. Furthermore, it is explained that the participants have the right to request for removal of their information or recorded file anytime they want.

Considering the local challenges in Afghanistan, I also developed a new strategy regarding the consent issue. This was because in Afghanistan the usage of research consent form was not common yet and it could create confusion and

sensitivity for the participant, especially in term of "signing a paper." For instance, in 2015, in one of my previous studies in a village near to Kabul city, a middle-aged man told me people think "the inquirer will make money out of each signed paper, so they would not prefer to sign any document."

Accordingly, in order to conduct the interview, I first rounded off with the participants' verbal consent. This was to avoid creating bias or sensitivity for the participant by asking them to sign the written consent form. The verbal consent was about participants willingness to attend or withdraw from the study and usage of recorder device for taping. Then, when the interview ended the participant became familiar with the content of the study and researcher deeply, I raised the issue of the written consent form in a friendly manner and asked for the possible signature.

This chapter outlined the research methodology, method, and procedures in order to accomplish the objectives of the study. Accordingly it detailed and described the type of and rationale for choosing the research paradigm (constructivism-interpretivism), research approach (qualitative), inquiry design (empirical phenomenology), data collection (semi-structured interviews and nonparticipant observation), and data analysis process (Moustakas' Steick-Colaizzi-Keen modification). The chapter discussed the interview process that took place with 37 individual participants as well as 5 key informants with the recruitment criteria and process. The strategies to ensure the trustworthiness of my research processes and findings were argued and an account of the ethical consideration for the study were explained.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

5.1.   DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

In this study, the demographics which originates in the Greek words for people (demos) and picture (graphy) (Lee and Schuele 2010) refers to the attributes of the participants. In order to gain more information about the participants' backgrounds, their various characteristics such as, age, education, marital status, and religion are demonstrated in the table 4.

Table 4. Demographic information of the participants with emphasis on age, education, marital status, and religion

Codded Name	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Highest Educational Attainment or Number of Completed Educational Years	Marital Status	Religion-Sect
PM1	Man	Pashtun	23	3rd year of university (Civil Engineering)	Single	Sunni
PM2	Man	Pashtun	30	Graduated of 12th grade	Married	Sunni
PM3	Man	Pashtun	41	Graduated of 12th grade	Bigamist	Sunni
PM4	Man	Pashtun	70	Graduated of 12th grade	Married	Sunni
PM5	Man	Pashtun	65	Religious education in Madrasa	Married	Sunni
TM1	Man	Tajik	45	11th grade	Married	Sunni
TM2	Man	Tajik	22	4th year of University (Geography)	Single	Sunni

Codded Name	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Highest Educational Attainment or Number of Completed Educational Years	Marital Status	Religion-Sect
TM3	Man	Tajik	25	Graduate of MA (International Relations)	Single	Sunni
TM4	Man	Tajik	39	Graduate of 12th grade	Married	Sunni
TM5	Man	Tajik	47	Graduated of 12th grade	Married	Sunni
TM6	Man	Tajik	53	5th grade	Married	Sunni
HM1	Man	Hazara	50	Illiterate	Bigamist	Shi'a
HM2	Man	Hazara	47	Graduate of 12th grade	Married	Shi'a
HM3	Man	Hazara	28	Graduate of BA (Psychology)	Single	Shi'a
HM4	Man	Hazara	30	Learnt Qura'n reading in Masjid (Mosque)	Married	Shi'a
HM5	Man	Hazara	22	Graduate of BA (Business Administration)	Engaged	Shi'a
PF1	Woman	Pashtun	45	Graduate of BA (Midwifery)	Married (Co-wife)	Sunni
PF2	Woman	Pashtun	22	Graduate of 14th (Accounting)	Single	Sunni
PF3	Woman	Pashtun	25	Graduate of 12th grade	Single	Sunni

Codded Name	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Highest Educational Attainment or Number of Completed Educational Years	Marital Status	Religion-Sect
PF4	Woman	Pashtun	19	1st year of university (Urban Planning)	Single	Sunni
PF5	Woman	Pashtun	35	Illiterate	Married	Sunni
PF6	Woman	Pashtun	52	Illiterate	Widowed	Sunni
TF1	Woman	Tajik	30	8th grad	Married	Sunni
TF2	Woman	Tajik	50	Illiterate	Widow	Sunni
TF3	Woman	Tajik	76	6th grade	Widow	Sunni
TF4	Woman	Tajik	21	Graduate of BA (Social Sciences)	Single	Sunni
TF5	Woman	Tajik	22	Graduate of BA (Economics)	Single	Sunni
TF6	Woman	Tajik	29	Graduate of BA	Married	Sunni
TF7	Woman	Tajik	22	3rd year of university	Single	Sunni
TF8	Woman	Tajik	59	Graduate of 12th grade	Married	Sunni
TF9	Woman	Tajik	47	Illiterate	Married	Sunni
HF1	Woman	Hazara	30	4th year of University (Literature)	Divorced	Shi'a
HF2	Woman	Hazara	24	Graduate of 12th grade	Single	Shi'a
HF3	Woman	Hazara	19	Graduate of 12th grade	Single	Shi'a

Codded Name	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Highest Educational Attainment or Number of Completed Educational Years	Marital Status	Religion-Sect
HF4	Woman	Hazara	20	Graduate of 12th grade	Single	Shi'a
HF5	Woman	Hazara	48	3rd grade	Married	Shi'a
HF6	Woman	Hazara	27	Graduate of BA (Sociology)	Married	Shi'a

5.2. THE ESSENCE OF *GHAIRAT*

The first category of findings describes the participants' views regarding the nature of *Ghairat*. It presents the meanings they ascribed to it as they went back to *Ghairat* itself. Based on the observations and memos from the fieldwork, it was something of a sobering and thought-provoking moment to inquire about the way the participants perceive the phenomenon. The first reactions in most cases were somehow similar: a smile with wonder [for men] and laughter [for women]; also repeating the word *Ghairat*, pausing, thinking and then started talking by saying "UM! [Hum!...]":

> Researcher: Can you please tell me what *Ghairat* means to you? What is it based on your point of view?
>
> Participant: "*Ghairat ha*? Um! … Um …! *Ghai rattt*! What does it mean? [Smiling] I think *Ghairat* is ..." (TM2, 22-year-old).

Related findings were first coded by applying the actual words of the participants to reflect the subjectivities on the phenomenon's nature. As a result, fourteen original in-vivo codes or so-called sub-themes were identified as the first-order constructs. The codes were then analyzed and grouped into four code families based on the similarity, related meanings, and divergence; *Ghairat* is:

- Primarily *Mardana*/manly, secondarily womanly;
- Internal, sentiment, *Fitri*/innate nature, inherited, *Vojdan*/conscience;
- Imposed, *Da Jush Amadan*/aroused by others, pressurizing;
- To be defended, to be proven, to be shown, like an exam.

Later, four main themes were distinguished to name each code family:

Ghairat is "gendered," "subjective," "objective," and "precarious."

The themes mentioned above were selected as the second-order constructs according to their richness and complexity of content. Here, it was significant that the themes highlight the theoretical similarities between the codes and distinctive ways through which the meanings were expressed.

Figure 2 below illustrates the themes, sub-themes, and the number of participants on the essence of *Ghairat*. It should be noted that two sort of numbers presented in the figure. First, the number of participants that stated each specific code is mentioned besides the code. Second, the final number of participants for the family code is reflected with the related theme. The difference is that to calculate the final number of participants per the central theme each participant is only counted once without repetition. However, for the sub-themes, the actual number of participants that used that code is calculated. In the latter, if a participant talked about more than a code, he separately counted for it too.
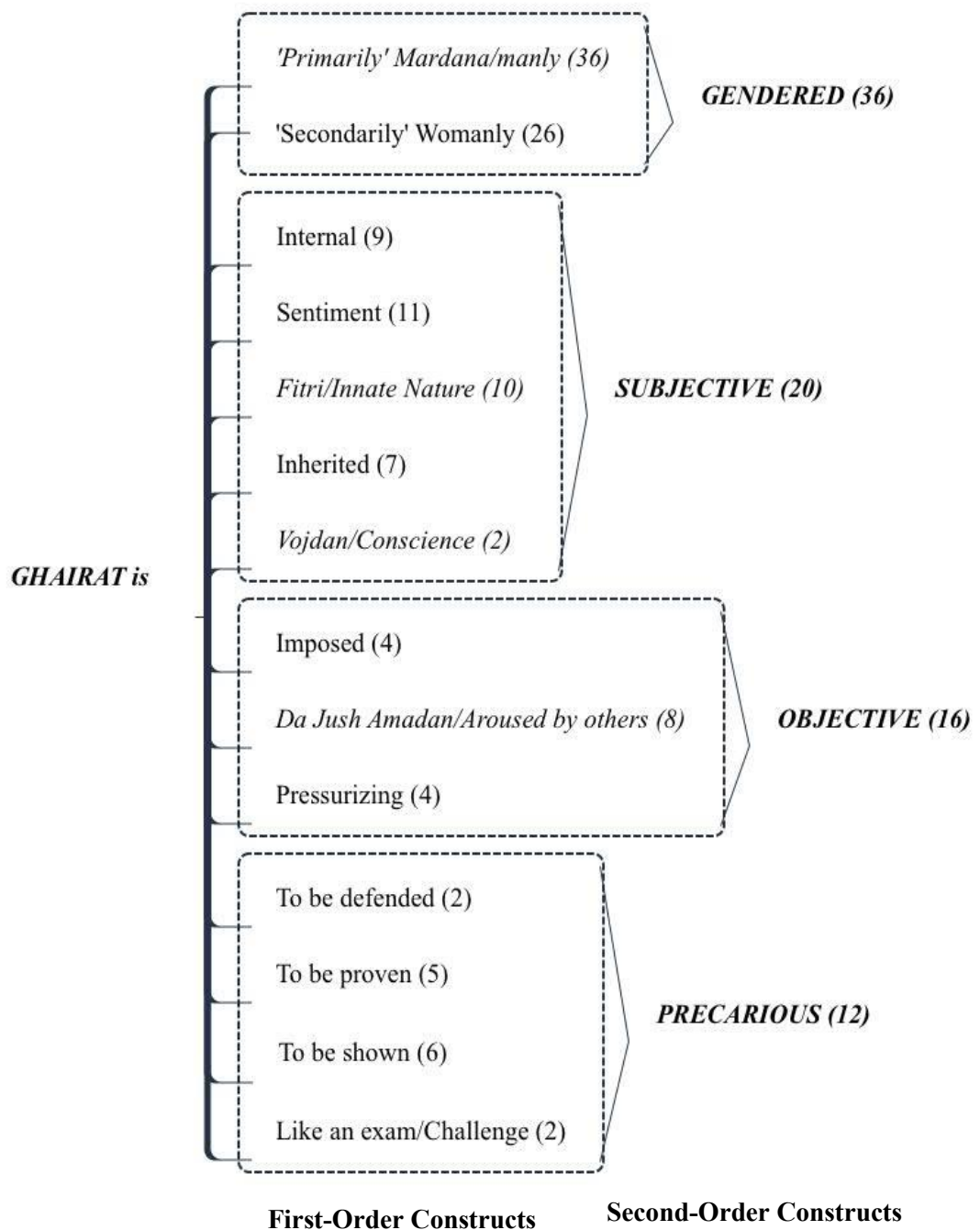
Figure 2. Perception and number of the participants about the essences of *Ghairat*

Each of the themes and grouped codes is explained together with the quotes from the participants below in detail. These findings are presented comparably with an emphasis on gender and ethnicity criteria. This is mainly because these were significant in selecting the participants in the study. Also, it is worth mentioning that there are observations and compulsory explanations that presented within the

bracket […] in the quotes. These explanations are not a part of the original utterances of participants.

5.2.1. *Ghairat* **Is Gendered**

The first central theme that emerged reveals the gendered nature of *Ghairat* from the participants' point of view. Among all the 37 individuals, 36 interviewees constantly linked *Ghairat* to the sense of being a man or woman. This means that *Ghairat,* before everything else, is about the gendered identities and the relationships that men and women should constitute with one another. In this sense, according to almost all the participants, *Ghairat* is a 'thing' that is primarily *Maradna*/manly and further womanly. An account of this perception is illustrated in Figure 3:
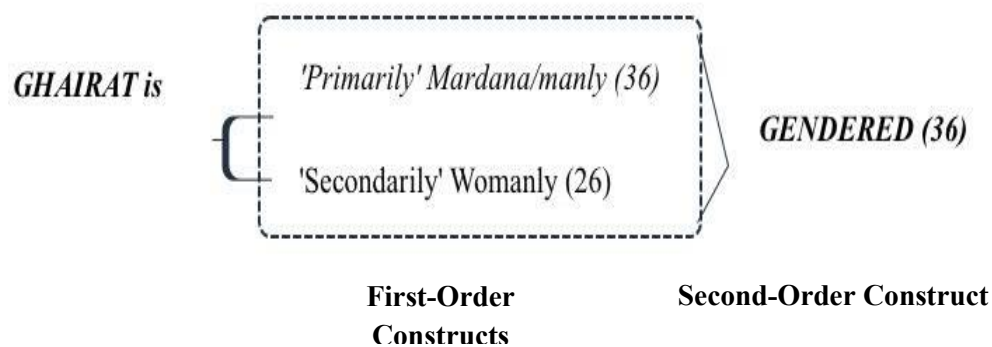
Figure 3. Theme and sub-themes of "*Ghairat* is gendered"

The only exception was a Hazara man who emphasized that *Ghairat* is not either about men or women; further, it is embodied in all creatures including humans and animals.

***Ghairat* is primarily *Mardana*/manly**: At the beginning of the interviews, the participants were asked about the first impression of the *Ghairat.* Other than one participant, the thirty-six individuals identified the phenomenon as a *Mardana* or manly related subject. They believed that *Ghairat* is a matter that predominantly relates to men, masculinity, and masculine deeds according to their experiences in Afghanistan culture. The view was common among the men and women from all ethnic groups as Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara.

As an instance, PF3 who is a young Pashtun woman states that *Ghairat* makes her initially think of a *Mard*/"man." She adds that she found Afghan men the same concerning possessing *Ghairat* whether they are educated or illiterate:

> When I hear the word *Ghairat*, my first impression is a man. I think there is a very straight connection between being a man and having *Ghairat*. For instance, even the educated men that I socialize with them, they have a claim for the quality of *Ghairat* too. They are educated and mature. However, I can see how *Ghairat* is deeply rooted in their life which shows me the connection between being a man and *Ghairat* (PF3, 25-year-old).

PM3, a Pashtun man corresponds to the view as mentioned earlier and emphasizes the commonality of applying *Ghairat* for men in the public sphere. According to him, *Ghairat* is a well-known symbol of Afghan culture:

> *Ghairat* is a term *Mardana*/manly … I mainly hear it outside the home to refer to the men. … In our culture and traditions, *Ghairat* is something very significant; [getting more severe and adds] all the people around the world know that Afghans are *Bā-Ghairat* people [have *Ghairat*] (PM3, 41-years-old).

Similar to Pashtuns, Tajiks also shared a common view. TM1, a Tajik man insists that *Ghairat* and its related terms are always manly according to him:

> I believe that the words like *Ghairat*, *Bā-Ghairat* [having *Ghairat*], and *Be-Ghairat* [lack of *Ghairat*] have consistently been applied to men. And it's men who always used the terms to call each other (TM1, 45-year-old).

But why *Ghairat* is perceived primarily as a manly related phenomenon? A young Hazara woman-HF6 explains that this is since Afghan women are the subject of manly *Ghairat*:

> I found *Ghairat* most often used for men. But it is mainly about women. Do you know a man's *Ghairat* is about what? You tell me? [She continues with no pausing] It is obvious, it regards women (HF6, 27-year-old).

HM1 who is a mature Hazara man gives another reason that also corresponds with three mature men and three women from Pashtun and Tajik ethnic groups. He explains that *Ghairat* is significantly known as a manly attribute because men are taking part in fulfilling duties that are performed in spaces outside the home. Therefore, they need more to possess the *Ghairat* quality:

> *Ghairat* is something that is more related to men. The reason is that it is men who are dealing with external home affairs. A woman stays at home. So, when men are dealing with stuff like working, *Ghairat* is most commonly used for them. [Smiling] I don't know if this is true! But I am thinking like this [Smiling again] (HM1, 50-year-old).

A mature Tajik woman-TF6 summarizes her reasons that *Ghairat* is pervasively used for Afghan men because men are supposed to encounter risks, dangers and fulfill difficult tasks:

> If you hear *Ghairat* refers to men more, I think this is because it is men who take risks first and enter into an unknown space. Also, it is men who make the lead to do tough jobs. Just suppose that we are four, five women who would like to go somewhere [outside the home]. What would we do if there was no man to accompany? [Pointing out to her son who is playing around and continuing] I am sure that we would feel safe if we could have a male accompanier even like IH. [her grandson is a boy about two years old] (TF6, 58-year-old).

While the quotes as mentioned above reveal that the participants perceived *Ghairat* as fundamentally manly, when the interviews went further, the attribute is also considered applicable to women.

***Ghairat* is secondarily womanly:** As the interviews proceeded further, the participants got more focused and added more details about the topic. About 26 of 36 participants expressed their thoughts that *Ghairat* can be applied for women too. HM3, a Hazara young man says that he used the term to describe women a few times, however, the primary usage remains for boys:

> … [Pausing] When I think about past, I realize that I applied the term *Ghairat* to women too. Yes, I did it but only sometimes. I used it to women but not too much. Right now, I don't remember the precise time that I applied it for women. But I am sure that I used it much more for boys and can remember when and how I used it (HM3, 28-year-old).

A Tajik woman-TF2 also insists that while *Ghairat* can be applied to both men and women, it is more commonly used to men:

> For sure, *Ghairat* is for both men and women. It is not limited to men. Women have *Ghairat* too. But it is not really common to apply this to women as it is for men (TF2, 50-year-old).

However, 10 of 37 participants shared that in their daily life they solely apply the word *Ghairat* to men and perceive it entirely as *Mardana*/manly. They argued that they might have some instances of *Ghairat* for women but among their family, relative, and community networks, they haven't used the term *Ghairat* to describe a familiar woman. For instance, TM2, a young Tajik man shared his perception that they only apply *Ghairat* set words regarding men. According to him, this is due to the man's social position as the leader:

> … In our community, we don't use *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* or *Be-Ghairat*/lacking *Ghairat* expressions for women. There are other terms for them. Those are only for men. Because they are the head, leader, and in charge of control (TM2, 22-year-old).

These 10 participants comprised 3 Pashtun men, 4 Tajik men and a woman, and 2 Hazara women. Putting ethnicity aside, within the men and women groups, of the total 21 individual women who attended the study, only three women did not apply *Ghairat* for women. In contrast, between the 16 men participants of the study, about half of them (7 people) never explicitly used the term *Ghairat* on women in their everyday experiences in the community. As a result, the difference between the attitudes and subjectivities of the men and women on the application of word *Ghairat* is evident. While men most often view *Ghairat* as manly, the women tend to see it as a characteristic that exists in women too.

5.2.2. *Ghairat* Is Subjective

The second theme that surfaced on the essence of *Ghairat* represents the phenomenon as a subjective state. In this regard, among the 37, about 20 participants (including 3 Pashtun men and two women, 4 Tajik men and three women, and 4 Hazara men and four women) introduced *Ghairat* as an internal matter which is sentimental, instinctive, innate and inherited and served as a conscience for them. The common thread of these features lies in their subjective nature. Figure 4 shows the list of sub-themes related to the subjectivity of *Ghairat*:

GHAIRAT is

Internal (9)

Sentiment (11)

Fitri/Innate Nature (10)

Inherited (7)

Vojdan/Conscience (2)

SUBJECTIVE (20)

First-Order Constructs

Second-Order Construct
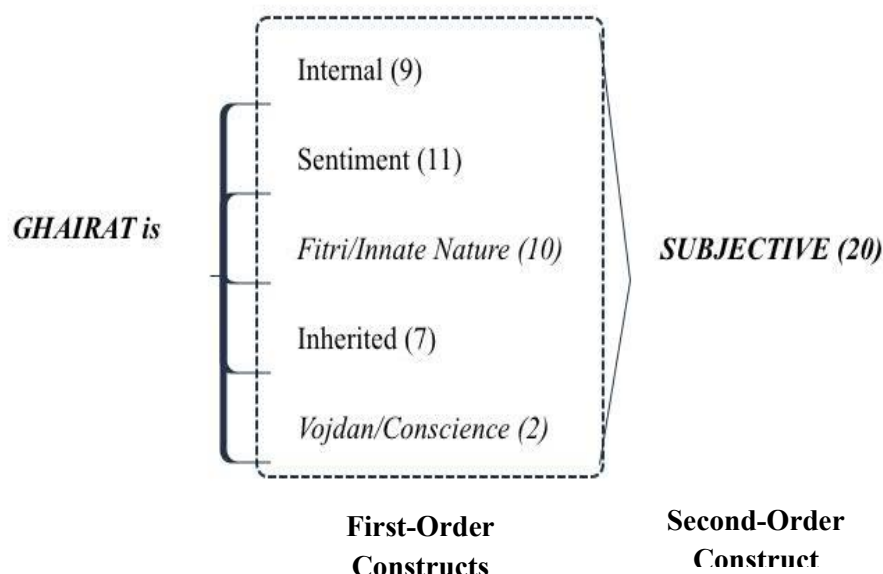
Figure 4. Theme and sub-themes of "*Ghairat* is subjective"

Ghairat **is internal:** About nine participants from Pashtun (two men), Tajik (a man and two women), and Hazara (three men and a woman) shared their experiences of *Ghairat* as an internal matter. From the outset of the interview, these participants found it difficult to elucidate what *Ghairat* is; so they contented with saying that they felt it as something internal. TM4 who is a Tajik man explains his thought on *Ghairat*'s nature as follow:

> I am not sure what is it precisely. I only know that there is something that I feel it internally. Of course not all the time. But when I get *Ghairat-i* [getting full of *Ghairat*] [laughter] (TM4, 39-year-old).

A Hazara man, HM3 also confirms with the view mentioned above specifying that it is men who experience *Ghairat* about their inner:

> When I was younger, I used to think that *Ghairat* is something inside men. I don't know why? But I was thinking like that (HM3, 28-year-old).

Ghairat **is a sentiment:** *Ghairat*'s nature became more evident when eleven participants including nine men (two Pashtun, four Tajik and three Hazara) and two women (a Tajik and a Hazara) illustrated it as an internal 'feeling.' HF1 who is a Hazara woman explains *Ghairat* as a sentiment that mostly appears in men but orients to women:

> … *Ghairat* is an internal feeling which men show most strongly towards women (HF1, 30-year-old).

The following quote is part of a longer sentence that expresses PM2, a Pashtun man's view about *Ghairat* which like the previous statement insisted that it is a sentiment:

> It is difficult to say what *Ghairat* is. [Laughter …] I don't know what precisely it is, but I do feel something from inside. It is coming from inside, a sense maybe… (PM2, 30-year-old).

However, among all the participants, HM2 who is a man from Hazara group believed that *Ghairat* as a feeling exists in both men and women:

> I told you that *Ghairat* is something that exists in all the creatures. When it comes to the human, I believe that everyone has this quality, men, women, young, old, everyone (HM2, 47-year-old).

Ghairat **is *Fitri*/innate nature**: The ten participants of the study called attention to another significant aspect of *Ghairat*'s essence that is being innate and natural. These were two men and a woman from Pashtun, two men and a woman from Tajik, and three men and a woman from Hazara ethnic groups.

According to these participants, *Ghairat* is in every man, born with him. In this regard, a Pashtun man illustrates this in the following way:

> You know, *Ghairat* is an internal feeling which exists in everyone's body. It lives in each man's body since the date he born. It exists inside all of us [we as men]. You can't think of *Ghairat* like the thing that does not exist. It always exists (PM1, 23-year-old).

In his account, PM1 positions *Ghairat* as an internal feeling that men are born with it. Although, at the beginning of his sentence, he refers to "everyone's body," then it gets clear that he only intended *Mardan*/"men" by the word. Moreover, he considers *Ghairat* as an ascribed characteristic rather than achieved.

TM5 who is a Tajik man expresses a similar view. However, he clarifies that God gives this quality to the men:

> *Ghairat* is a feeling that exists in men. A boy born with this. Then when he grows up, his *Ghairat* extends and develops too. So, this is why *Ghairat* is more in men rather than women (TM5, 47-year-old).

A Tajik woman who is also in her middle-age shares the belief that *Ghairat* is a quality that men received it from God and this is the main reason that leads men to have more *Ghairat* than women:

> I think God is donated *Ghairat* to the men and that's why a man is more *Bā-Ghairat* [having *Ghairat*] than a woman (TF9, 47-year-old).

Identifying *Ghairat* as a God-given quality, the participants resort to Islam to strengthen their viewpoints. In this regard, the participants mainly four Hazara and a Tajik applied the *Fitri* or *Fitrati* term to describe the phenomenon's essence. It is originally Arabic means a kind or way of creating or being created by God. Therefore, these participants described *Ghairat* as a feature placed by God in the existence of human beings especially men. A young Hazara woman, HF6 names *Ghairat* as innate and natural that is given to both men and women. But she adds that the socialization develops this more in men:

> … I think that *Ghairat* is something *Fitri* in both man and woman. … This feeling exists for everyone. But it is more for men. And the family and environment lead men to apply it more (HF6, 27-year-old).

HM4 who is a Hazara mature man explains that *Ghairat*'s origin goes back to Islam and adds that as a Muslim he is supposed to have this quality:

> In my opinion, *Ghairat* originates in Islam. Islam has created it. You know, it starts from and ends to our religion for sure. … It is built when Islam emerged. Our country is an Islamic one, isn't it? As a result, our people

believe this. I think a Muslim man believes *Ghairat* if he accepts Islam. I think the origin of *Ghairat* is related to Islam religion and understands (HM4, 59-year-old).

TM6, a Tajik man also highlights the significance that Islam places on *Ghairat*:

… My religion has also said that *Ghairat* is a human feeling that should be used to help and cooperate with others especially poor people (TM6, 53-year-old).

***Ghairat* is inherited:** About seven participants including one man and two women from Pashtun, one man and two Tajik women and a Hazara woman shared their thoughts that *Ghairat* is an inherited quality. The critical common aspect that mentioned by all these participants without exception emphasized that *Ghairat* is derived from their parents and ancestors. This concept is different from being *Fitri*/*innate* and natural in which the particular importance is given to the religious aspect.

PF4, a young Pashtun woman says that *Ghairat* comes from generations of her forebears:

Ghairat is an ancient thing. It goes back to the past. We inherited it from our ancestors… (PF4, 19-year-old).

TF5 who is a young Tajik woman has also shared the same view:

You know it has been present for many years back. Our ancestors had *Ghairat* and passed it to us… (TF5, 22-year-old).

A young Tajik man, TM2 refers to his father and grandfather as the men's of *Ghairat* and says that he inherited this quality accordingly:

… You know my father has *Ghairat*. My grandfather was perceived as a *Bā-Ghairat* man. So, I have this quality too. However, I don't want to say that whatever they did in the name of *Ghairat* is correct. Maybe it is not. But this is something that we are inheriting it (TM2, 22-year-old).

Ghairat* is *like a Vojdan/conscience: Among the participants, two Pashtun men explicitly expressed that *Ghairat* for them resembles a conscience:

You know *Ghairat* is a man's *Vojdan*/Conscience. It makes you react in specific conditions. There are situations that you should take action and do something. And as a man, this is your *Ghairat* that makes you respond (PM2, 30-year-old).

5.2.3. *Ghairat* Is Objective

The third characteristic that emerged was the objectivity of *Ghairat*'s nature. There were 16 participants out who reported that they view the phenomenon in a way that is imposed or stimulated by others. They provided examples that show how they experienced the social pressure to abide by this phenomenon *Ghairat*. The participants comprised five men and two women from Pashtun, five men and two women from Tajik, and a man and woman from Hazara ethnic groups.

In sum, such qualities extend the essence of *Ghairat* from being subjective to objective. *Ghairat* is not merely individual, but *it* involves other people who make the individual interact in a specific way. Figure Number 5 summarizes the objectivity of *Ghairat's* essence based on the sub-themes received from the participants:
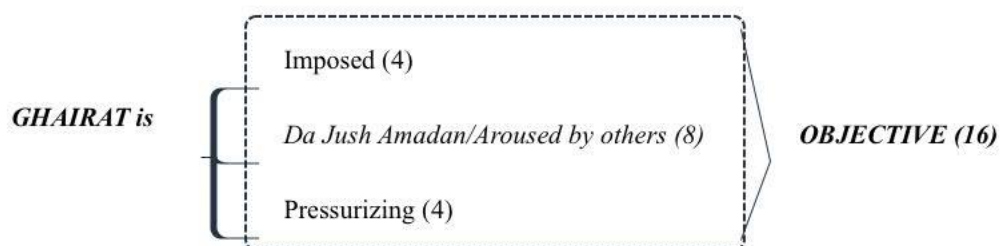
Figure 5. Theme and sub-themes of "*Ghairat* is objective"

***Ghairat* is imposed:** Four men participants including two Pashtun and two Tajik considered *Ghairat* as a force that is imposed by others and makes them act upon that. TM4, a middle-aged Tajik man associates his sense of *Ghairat* to the presence of his social networks. According to him, this is inevitable when living in a community that the individual must consider the expectations of other people and community regarding *Ghairat*. The community which specifically includes relatives, kin, neighbors make the person act according to the *Ghairat*. Thus, *Ghairat* and its norms are imposed by the community to the participants as mentioned above.

> You know it is not like that you say you live here lonely, you have a *famil*/family, *Qawm*/communal group, *Khish*/Kin. They make you have *Ghairat*. Isn't it? You can't say to hell with you all, can you? [Loud laughter] (TM4, 39-year-old).

A mature Pashtun man, PM4 also shares a similar point of view:

See! When you live among the people, there are things that you should observe. Otherwise, you cannot get together with them. *Ghairat* is like this. Our culture, our people, our environment requires *Ghairat* (PM4, 70-year-old).

Ghairat **is aroused by others/** *DA JUSH AMADAN***:** *Ghairat* as something that is aroused by the external stimulus is another sub-theme that shows the phenomenon is objective itself. About five men (two Pashtun, two Tajik, and a Hazara) and three women (one Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara) described *Ghairat* by three similar metaphors that are common in the Afghan culture.

A middle-aged Pashtun woman, PF1 regards *Ghairat* as a matter that stimulated in men. In such a situation, a man observes an unexpected and unpleasant behavior and react over it in a given way. According to PF1, in such a case a man's *Ghairat* is stimulated by others:

> *Ghairat* most often is stimulated in men/*Tahrik misha*. But it is not like you think it happens every moment. There are times that when they don't like behavior and react, we say he became *Ghairat-i* (PF1, 45-year-old).

Another relative expression is *Khun Garm Shodan*/making blood boil. TM5 who is a Tajik man explains that *Ghairat* is present in all men. And when a man becomes *Ghairat-i* [feeling *Ghairat*], this means that he got angry because of others misconducts. He believes this situation is like when an external factor makes man's blood boil, and he becomes *Ghairat-i*:

> Well, *Ghairat* is a feeling that exists in men. But you know it sometimes boils severely, and this is to the extent that the man feels his blood is boiling. Yes, *Ghairat* is something like this. I became like this [smiling] ….. (TM5, 47-year-old).

The third metaphor applied by a mature Pashtun man-PM5, literally analogize *Ghairat* to a nerve that when stimulated by others behaviors, leads to the man's reaction [*Rag-e Ghairat Takan Khordan*]:

> … When a man feels *Ghairat* and shows that aggressively [laughing], we say that his *Ghairat*'s nerve is stimulated / *Rag-e Ghairat-esh Takan Khorda* . Because he is a man and didn't like the way that other man treated him (PM5, 65-year-old).

Unlike other six interviewees, there was only one Hazara woman, HF1 who stated that *Ghairat* is stimulated in both men as well as women:

> *Ghairat* is like a stimulus/*Angiza* in everyone. Both men and women's *Ghairat* is getting stimulated under particular conditions. There are things

that I think I shouldn't do that because it is wrong in our culture. If I want to do that, then my *Ghairat*'s feeling getting stimulated (HF1, 30-year-old).

Ghairat **Is Pressurizing:** Of all participants, two men and two women from Pashtun and Tajik ethnic groups highlighted the pressurizing nature of *Ghairat*. PM2 shared his feeling of *Ghairat* that as a man he is supposed to comply with it because it represents the norms of his culture and traditions:

> It is difficult to say what *Ghairat* is ... It is coming from inside, a sense maybe. You have to listen to that. You have to abide by the rules of your custom, and culture (PM2, 30-year-old).

However, a Tajik man he mentions to the pressurizing nature of *Ghairat* critically:

> [Sighing] You know there are a lot of senseless things in Afghanistan that people relate them to the *Ghairat* issue. What can you do about this? If you want or not, it is imposed on you, and you have to act upon that. You feel this that you must do that (TM1, 45-year-old).

TF4 who is a young Tajik girl shares her experience about his brother:

> … I mainly saw this in my brother. He gets angry because of me sometimes. But you know maybe this *Ghairat* thing is because of his peers. They also tell him that you should be like this. You know all the men in our country is like that. They become *Ghairat*-I (TF4, 21-year-old).

5.2.4. *Ghairat* **Is Precarious**

Twelve subjects comprising two Pashtun men and a woman, two Tajik men and two women, and one Hazara man and three women talked about *Ghairat* as a quality that should be defended, proved, demonstrated, and tested. It seems to be a challenge of proof for some of the participants. The precariousness is the common aspect that all the mentioned sub-themes can share. In this sense, *Ghairat* should be proved continuously in practice. Details of *Ghairat* as a precarious feature and its sub-themes are listed in Figure 6 below:
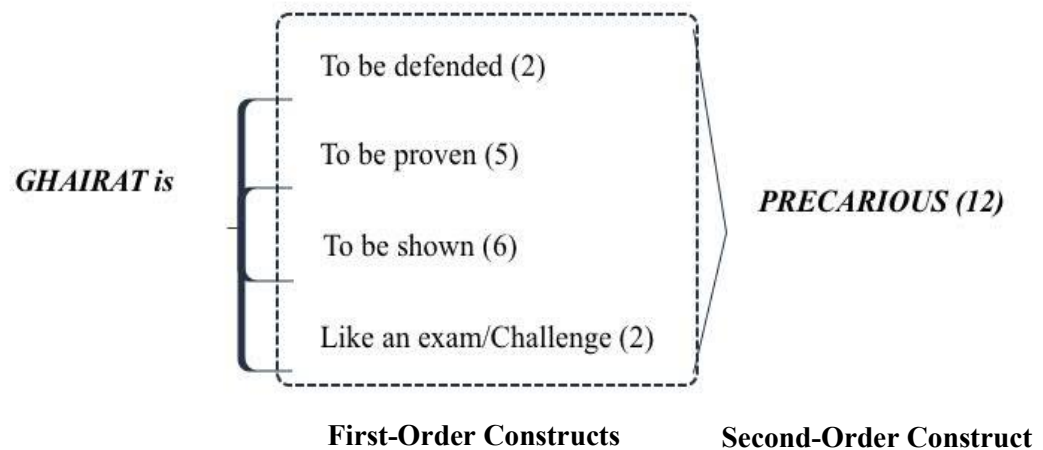
Figure 6. Theme and sub-themes of "*Ghairat* is precarious"

***Ghairat* is to be defended:** Two men (a Pashtun and a Tajik) talked about *Ghairat* as a matter that they should defend because of their sense of being a man:

> I am a man. A man who does have *Ghairat* should protect it under any circumstance. Like if it's a battlefield. You shouldn't leave it. You have to defend it (PM3, 41-year-old).

 In the above-mention quote, PM3 argues that due to his masculinity, he has to protect his *Ghairat* everywhere. TM5, a Tajik man also explains that it is vital for a man to keep his *Ghairat* when encountering difficult situations:

> It's a man. He might face many difficulties as I met it so. I stayed here in Afghanistan all the time; whoever came to power. And then there has been a war for many years. The life is full of bittersweet moments. But I always defended my *Ghairat*… (TM5, 47-year-old).

***Ghairat* is to be proven:** Two Pashtun men and a woman, as well as a Tajik man and a woman, believed that *Ghairat* needs to be proved. In this regard, to claim to have *Ghairat*, the individual should prove this quality to others. In sum, all the mentioned interviewees applied this state for men. Their view can be exemplified in the following quote:

> It's a man, and he has to have *Ghairat*. A man can prove his *Ghairat* when he takes action when he does something. Otherwise, if he will be a laid-back one and carefree, it doesn't work then. Can we say to such a man that he is a *Bā-Ghairat* one? (PF6, 52-year-old).

***Ghairat* is to be shown:** A sub-theme similar to the previous one is about *Ghairat*'s quality that should be demonstrated. Since in the local language the

participants applied these terms separately, two sub-themes were created. Of six participants, three women and a man who were Hazara ethnically, along with two Tajik women identified *Ghairat* as a characteristic that mostly men demonstrate in the society.

HF3, a young Hazara woman shares her experience that how his brother to demonstrate his *Ghairat* reacts to her:

> When we say *Ghairat*, in Afghanistan it is usually and mainly men who show this. In the name of *Ghairat*, they do many things. Like when they get angry. Like the times that my brother gets mad because of my conduct. And I say, again he became *Ghairat*-i (HF3, 19-year-old).

A Hazara man-HM1 also insists that as a man the quality of *Ghairat* should be presented by working hard and fulfilling the responsibilities:

> When you are responsible, you should have *Ghairat* to fulfill that. As a man, you must show your *Ghairat* by the hard work you do (HM1, 50-year-old).

***Ghairat* is like an exam or challenge:** Two men from Pashtun and Tajik groups also shared their experiences of *Ghairat* that seemed like a challenge to them:

> You know, *Ghairat* is like an exam for me. I'll do best in my life to pass it successfully, and I have been successful in this regard so far [smiling] (PM2, 30-year-old).

TM1- a Tajik man also provides with an example that how a man's *Ghairat* can be challenged in the social interactions:

> There are times that your peers give you a challenge as they ask you to be their host and prepare a party. In such situations, they actually challenge your *Ghairat*. It's so silly, but this is how it is (TM1, 45-year-old).

5.3. *GHAIRAT'S* MEANINGS

Relying on the participants' views and experiences, the essence of *Ghairat* being described in the previous theme. It was explained as gendered, subjective, objective, and precarious. In this step, the second major theme is delineated to clarify the meaning of *Ghairat* for the participants. It is about the perceptions and understandings of participants of *Ghairat* in practice. Here, the theme is not about the nature of *Ghairat*. Instead, it considers the emergence of *Ghairat* in the everyday experiences of interviewees.

In the coding process, a significant amount of thoughts, feelings, and experiences expressed by the participants were related to the meanings of *Ghairat*. These

meanings that defined *Ghairat* in practice, include three main aspects: First, the meanings that were ascribed to a man's *Ghairat* identified differently as those for a woman. Second, it detailed the states, characters, and social roles through which *Ghairat* emerges. And third, the domain where *Ghairat* is supposed to appear and function there is also illustrated. In short, the meanings of *Ghairat* explains that in the given contexts, how men and women are required to display and practice it in accordance with certain characters and norms.

In this regard, a number of thirteen sub-themes were specifically identified that clarifies the meaning of manly *Ghairat*. Also, to illustrate the contexts in which the *Ghairat* works for men, four main domains were recognized and the codes grouped into these realms based on their relevance and relationship to it. The domain's name is also chosen based on the actual words given by the participants. The four domains and its sub-codes that manifest a man's *Ghairat* are characterized as follow:

- **Fāmil/Family**: *Nafaqa Āvar/*maintenance provider, Family controller;

- *Nāmus*: **Female Family Mmebers:** Safegaurder of N*āmus,* Preventer from Sexual deviance; ***Vatan*/Homeland**: Protector;

- ***Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya*/communal group**: Supporter, defender;

- **Personality traits**: *Hemmat Dāshtan*/Having perseverance and endeavor, *Shujāat Dāshtan*/Having bravery and courage, *Javānmardi va Kākagi*/young-manliness.

The same procedure is also followed to clarify the meaning of womanly *Ghairat*. Here, a number of nine sub-themes and three domains are typed out including:

- ***Zan-e Mardāna Vār*/Masculine woman**: Being *Shujā'/brave like a man, Being protector like a man, Nafaqa* provider like a man;

- **Family**: *Sabur va Muqā*vem/Patient and resistant to familial challenges, Good educator of Children;

- **Fights for her Rights**: Attending education, Working outside the home, Participating in social activities.

Figure 7 summarizes the second major theme, meanings of *Ghairat* and its operational context for both men and women:
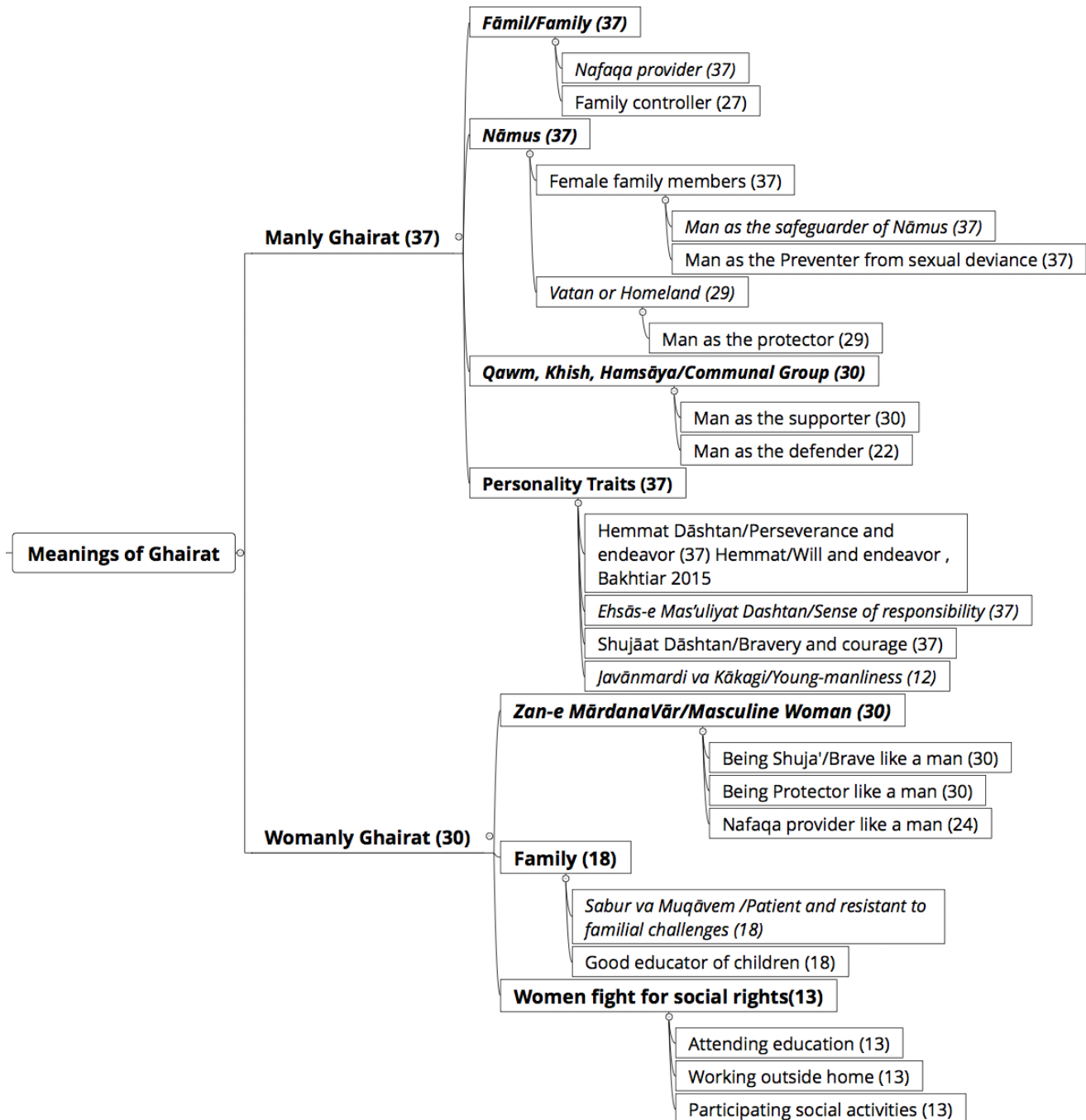
Figure 7. Meaning of *Ghairat* and number of participants per codes

Below, the meanings of *Ghairat* are expanded regarding being manly or womanly.

5.3.1. Meaning of Manly *Ghairat*

5.3.1.1.   Manly *Ghairat* in the Family Context

Among the meanings that Participants accreted to *Ghairat,* those that highlight a man's roles in the *Fāmil*/family unit are most prominent. This is the domain that

appeared in the views and experiences of all the 37 participants from three ethnic group regarding *Ghairat*. By applying the *Fāmil* term, the majority of the participants intended an extended type of family that based on their socio-demographic profiles the average comprised of 10 members. *Nāmus*

In such a context, manly *Ghairat* means the ability and power to fulfill given expectations and social roles that assigned to a man. These roles are coded as *Nafaqa Āvar/*maintenance provider and Family controller. There is also another important meaning that manly *Ghairat* in the family context is directly related to that. This concept which is known as *Nāmus* is explained independently since it is very significant and also its meaning goes beyond the family domain. The meaning of manly *Ghairat* in the Family domain is illustrated in the following figure:
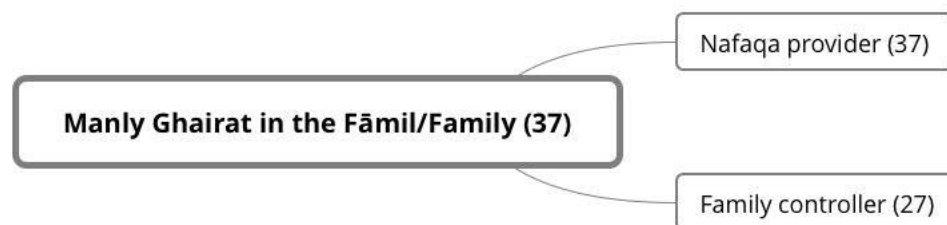
Figure 8. Manly *Ghairat* in the family context

Man's capability in providing *Nafaqa* for the family: In the family setting, all the participants of the three ethnic groups considered a prominent meaning of *Ghairat* attached to the capability of man to provide the *Nafaqa/*maintenance. In this sense, a man in the family either as the father and husband is in charge of fulfilling all the needs of his family members. Here, a man's *Ghairat* is seen as his capability of meeting these needs. This can be exemplified in the quote expressed by a Tajik man. He completed his 11th grade and works as a technician in a private company and has seven children:

> You know what *Ghairat* means to me? I have been always working hard. But what was the reason? The reason was that I wanted to provide my *Fāmil*/family with *Nafaqa*/maintenance. Indeed this is of my *Ghairat* that I do care about their safety and comfortableness. I am taking care of their food and education (TM1, 45-year-old).

Being considered as a *Nafaqa Āvar/*maintenance provider, a man is supposed to provide the food, housing, clothing and education for his family members. A Pashtun man who is graduated of 12th grade and works as a street vendor

represents the meaning of *Ghairat* in his capability and hard work like a man to provide the living conditions of his family:

> [At the time of interview which is in the afternoon, the weather temperature is getting very cold and dusty. We are talking besides his small wooden vendor cart at the corner of a highway street. He sells cigarettes and drinks-water and fruit juices- to the car passes by. … He points out to the surroundings and says:]

> Look at our surroundings! I came here every morning, starts my working at 7 am until it is dark out. You can see that it's very tough and risky to work here. Many explosions and suicide attacks happened in this street. Have you noticed the number of army and police cars that passed from here? But this is my job. I am working here to provide *Nafaqa* for my Si*ā*sar/wife. I am her man. You know this is my *Ghairat* that despite all these difficulties, I am doing this job to make nafaqa for my *fāmil*/family available. … [He smiles and continues] I am working here to provide my Siāsar/wife with nice clothes and good food. I want them to live well and comfortable. I mean I am working hard to improve my life. I work to earn and save more money for the purpose of having a house for my *fāmil*/family. I want them to live well-provided. So, this is my *Ghairat* and I use it to work despite all the threats and insecurities for the sake of my *fāmil*/family (PM2, 30-year-old).

HM1, who is a Hazara man who is a construction worker, has two wives and attended no education agrees to the above mentioned views:

> … So, a man's *Ghairat* is shown when he works; when he comes out of the home in search of finding a job. You know that it is on your shoulder that you should provide the *Nafaqa* for your *fāmil*/family. You are the *fāmil*/family's *Nān Āvar/*breadwinner. So, you have to have a job. Otherwise, you have no *Ghairat* (Hamid, 50-year-old).

The woman participants also perceive a key emergence of manly *Ghairat* in the responsibility of a man to provide the subsistence for the family. PF1 who is a co-wife and got her Bachelor degree in dentistry but remains as a *Zan-e Khana*/housewife describes the importance of having a job and income for a man to be able to cover the family expenses as below:

> [Loud laughter *Ghairattttt*…] it implies that a man shouldn't remain jobless. He should have a job. He should bring good *nafaqa/maintenance* for his *Avlād*/children and *fāmil*/family. This is indeed a part of his *Ghairat*. … When a man has *Ghairat* and *Nang* he works and takes the responsibility of his *fāmil*/family (PF1, 45-year-old).

A Hazara woman-HF5, who is also a *Zan-e Khana*/housewife studied until the 3rd grade in the primary school, gives an example of her husband as a *Bā-Ghairat* man [*having Ghairat*]:

Well, a man can be seen as a Bā-*Ghairat* man/who possess *Ghairat*] that works hard to fulfill the expectations of his *fāmil*/family. It's like R's father [she mentions to her husband and names him as the father of their son] that works days and nights. He is an illiterate man but he moves heaven and earth to find a job and provides his children with food and clothes. You know that how difficult it is in the current condition to find a job. He doesn't have a job now but he is striving hard to find one every day. This is his *Ghairat*.

The participants explained that when a man cannot fulfill the needs of his family, he will be considered as a *Be-Ghairat* man [a man who doesn't have *Ghairat*]. TF1 who is a married Tajik woman, and an 8th grade graduate, works as a female hairdresser. She shares her experience that in her personal life she considers her husband as a man who lacks *Ghairat*. This is not only because he is not attending the needs of his wife and children, but also he commits violence against her and takes her income:

[She shares her opinion about the meaning of *Ghairat* very straight forward and without any hesitation:] I haven't seen a *Bā-Ghairat* man/having *Ghairat* in my entire life that I wanted to tell you about his *Ghairat*'s meaning. You know who is a *Bā-Ghairat* man according to my point of view? A man who has enough income that when his *Zan-ash*/wife asks for money. He answers the request immediately. Such a man is a *Bā-Ghairat* one. Not like those men that take all the incomes of his wife. I'll give you an example of my own life. I am a *Shawhardār*/married woman. Isn't it? Here, I am working and going through the difficulties but it is my husband who takes all the money and income. [Her voice gets upset] Yes, he is taking it forcibly. He is not aware of our life expenses, the food costs, children's course tuition … he only thinks about my money. So, I never use the term *Ghairat* for such a man (TF1, 30-year-old).

Considering manly *Ghairat* in terms of providing *Nafaqa* for the family is not only common among the married subjects. The young single participants with higher education also shared a similar view. PM1 who is at the 3rd year of his university ties the concepts of masculinity, *Ghairat*, and the necessity of taking the responsibility for providing the *Nafaqa* for a man:

A man has to recognize that he is a man and he is responsible for the *Nafaqa*/maintenance of his family. So, this requires a man to have a work and income. As a man, I can't see my family's hunger. This is my *Ghairat* and responsibility to provide them (PM1, 23-year-old).

PF3 who is a Pashtun girl and graduate of 12th grade says:

Looking at my own *fāmil*/family, I can see my father's *Ghairat* is his responsibility to provide the *Nafaqa*/maintenance for his family. You know he is responsible to take care of all the family members. He is in charge of

paying attention to his family members' life. For instance, he prepares us with food, clothes, shelter and so on (PF3, 25-year-old).

A Tajik girl that recently graduate of Bachelor degree mentions about the root of this responsibility that lies in the Islamic believes. She also explains that if a man cannot meet this role, he would be considered as a man without *Ghairat*:

> Based on Islam, providing *Nafaqa*/maintenance is the responsibility of a man… If a man cannot fulfill his family's needs, then he will be perceived as someone who doesn't have *Ghairat*. Yes, he and others will see him like this (TF4, 21-year-old).

Man's ability to controlling the family: Another meaning of *Ghairat* that mentioned by 27 participants (5 men and 6 women from Pashtun, 6 men and 5 women from Tajik, and 2 men and 3 women from Hazara ethnic group) refers to the ability of a man in controlling and ruling over his family members. In this sense, a man is supposed to control and direct the conducts of his family members including his wife and children, boys, girls, and brothers and sisters:

The views of Participants can be exemplified in what PM3 shared as below:

> I am a man [pointing out to himself] and my family members are under my control and this means my *Ghairat*. I mean in my family nothing can happen unless I give my permission for it. A *Bā-Ghairat* man/having *Ghairat* can protect his family from external threats and all the family should be obedient to the man's word / *Da Gapesh Bashan*. A man who can protect his family either inside or outside the house, we call him a *Bā-Ghairat* man [Laughter]. Mahdi! [calling the researcher] this is all my experiences, I don't know if it's true or not but this is how we live. Just imagine, if someone doesn't know what is going on in his family, If someone doesn't know how his *Siāsars*/family female members and children behave, then he is a *Be-Ghairat* man/A man who doesn't have *Ghairat*. For example, when a man's son is a ruffian man or an addicted person to hashish … He is a *Be-Ghairat* man/lacking *Ghairat* because he couldn't prevent him from *Einherāf/deviance*. If a man can control his family properly, we, I mean Pashtuns call him a *Bā-Ghairat* man (PM3, 41-year-old).

The PM3 like the majority of man participants emphasize that his *Ghairat* manifests in his control over his family members. This means that he should have the authority and be considered as the main decision maker in the family. He also counts the ability of a man to protect his family as another component of *Ghairat*'s meaning; however, he immediately returns to his main point that a man who possesses the *Ghairat* he should prove his sovereignty over his family members. In this sense, a man is considered as the in charge person for the conducts of his family members in the community. Thus a man's *Ghairat* means

his ability to control the conducts of his family members and prevent them from misconducts.

The PF6 who is a mature woman from Pashtun ethnic is briefly corresponded to the above-mentioned view:

> … A man who has *Ghairat* is the one who knows about *fāmil*/family; he doesn't let his children to misconduct. My husband -God rest his soul in peace- was a *Ghairat-i* man/having *Ghairat*. When he was alive, in the family he ruled the roost. (PF6, 52-year-old).

HM5 who is a young Hazara man states his view about the importance of showing the authority in the family unit. Like other man participants he also pins the concept of *Ghairat* to the ability of a man in managing and ruling the family affairs:

> When a man has *Ghairat*, then all his family members will know that he has *Ghairat* and it will be kept in their mind that their father is a Bā-*Ghairat* and *Ba-Siyāsat* man/a man can rule and manage family affairs. His family members will understand that what he wants only when he looks at them and it is not needed for him to explain that what he wants; *Ghairat* will influence them and they will accept him as their role model and will act based on his wishes and demands. A man who has *Ghairat* can manage his family properly. He controls everything and his family members accompany him for having a better life. Such a family has a plan and they carry on their life based on it.

5.3.1.2. Manly *Ghairat* and *Nāmus*

***Nāmus's* meanings:** *Nāmus* is the most prominent concept that the participants of the study applied it while explaining their thoughts and experiences about the meaning of *Ghairat*. All the 37 participants explicitly used *Nāmus* in the narratives of their live-experiences of manly *Ghairat*.

The participants described *Nāmus* as a significant characteristic of their culture that always comes together with the *Ghairat*. As an instance, TM5 who is a Tajik man, a 12th grade graduate, and driver in a private company insists that *Nāmus* is a crucial aspect of *Ghairat*'s phenomenon. This is to the extent that he believes *Ghairat* initially goes back to *Nāmus* issue. He views having *Ghairat* and preserving *Nāmus* as an indicator of Afghanistan people's identity. Based on him, this is the aspect that confirmed by the emerged religions too:

> I think *Ghairat* has been originally taken from *Nāmus* and *Nāmus Dāri*/Preserving *Nāmus*. Our communities are very famous for this. We are

well-known as *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* and *Nāmus Dār*/Preserver of *Nāmus*. Maybe many different religions emerged in Afghanistan since the centuries ago, but they always had a common aspect. They all highlighted that we should have *Ghairat* regarding our *Nāmus* (TM5, 47-year-old).

Based on the participant's views two prominent meanings are extracted regarding *Nāmus* term:

- Female family members as *Nāmus*;
- Homeland or as *Nāmus*.

In this regard, *Nāmus* can be considered as a cross-cutting concept that exists in both family and homeland domains.

Figure 9 shows the meaning of *Nāmus* that is attached to manly *Ghairat*:
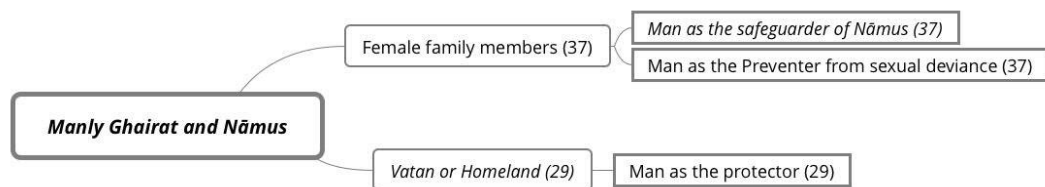
Figure 9. Meanings of manly *Ghairat* regarding *Nāmus*

Female family members as *Nāmus*: The first meaning of *Nāmus* that lies in the family domain and is attached to manly *Ghairat* refers to the women of the family. This is the main meaning of *Nāmus* that expressed by all the participants and can appear in their interactions with others. HF4, a young Hazara woman who is a 12th grade graduate mentions her perspective about the relationship between *Ghairat* and *Nāmus* as below:

> *Ghairat*! The first thing that it comes to my mind when hearing this word is the reactions that people have. I mean in Afghanistan, *Ghairat* appears when the topic is about women and of course this means an issue regarding *Nāmus*. In such a situation, it is men who react either positively or negatively (HF4, 20-year-old).

Concerning the definition of *Nāmus* in the family context, a common subjectivity can be seen among the participants which can be exemplified in the following quote expressed by PM2:

> Let me tell you about this. For a man, his wife, mother, sister, daughter and *Khahar-zada-ha*/nieces are considered as his *Nāmus*. In general, those intimate *Siāsars*/female family members are considered as a man's *Nāmus* (PM2, 30-year-old).

Accordingly, a family's women are considered as the *Nāmus* of the men in that family. These men are primarily the husband and father, and then brother, a young boy, and boys. By considering woman members as the *Nāmus* of a man, manly *Ghairat* finds meanings and appears in two main aspects:

- The ability of a man in safeguarding his *Nāmus/ Muhāfazat kardan*;
- The ability of a man in preventing his *Nāmus*.

Safeguarder of *Nāmus/Muhāfazat kardan*: According to all the participants, a sense of man's *Ghairat* lies in his ability to safeguard and protect his *Nāmus*. This is the meaning that participants perceive or found it dominant through their interactions with others. PM1, a young Tajik Pashtun man states that:

> [Smiling] *Ghairat* is *Ghairat* and *Nāmus is Nāmus*. Let me clarify these in this way: for me, *Ghairat* is an internal feeling of a man which he uses to *Muhāfazat*/safeguard and *Defā'*/defend his own *Nāmus*. … As I told you before, someone's sister, mother or his family's women are *Nāmus*. (PM1, 23-year-old).

TM2, who is also a young Tajik man who is 4th year student of his Bachelor degree shares his thought that as a man he is supposed to protect his *Nāmus* from harm:

> As per my point of view, *Ghairat* means that as a man I shouldn't allow others to hurt my needs, personality and above all my *Nāmus*. … A man's relatives and intimate people are his *Nāmus* like his mother and sisters.

HM4, who is a middle-aged Hazara man and has no formal education extends the meaning of *Ghairat*, considers all the Muslim women as Islam's *Nāmus*. And then make it clear that all women who are *Mahram* to a man [those who are unmarriageable kin based on Islamic rule] are his and should be protected:

> *Nāmus* is related to a man's family. In fact, all Muslim women are the *Nāmus* of Islam. For a man like me, those that I am providing them with *Nafaqa*/maintenance are my *Nāmus*. A man's sister, daughter, wife, aunt are his *Nāmus*. All female members of a man's family which are *Mahram* to him, are his *Nāmus*. These are those that a man is in charge of them and then he has to safeguard them. They should feel safe. I have been safeguarding my family in my entire life. I provided them with *Nafaqa* and made them sure that they are protected. Isn't this my *Ghairat*? (HM4, 30-year-old).

However, the main point that makes the type of safeguarding *Nāmus* or female family members totally different than securing all the family members by a man is related to the sexual threats. Since the female family members are at the danger of sexual harms like rape, teasing, and harassment, then the safeguarding *Nāmus*

specifically refers to a man's ability in protecting them from any sort of sexual harms. The following quote that shared by PF2, a young Pashtun girl represents the views of the majority of participants:

> In our Afghan society and culture, *Ghairat* term is mostly associated with men as they perceive themselves responsible for safeguarding their families and *Nāmus*… Like for my father as a man, *Ghairat* means that he is not letting anyone have an eye on his woman, daughter, and *Nāmus*; as he doesn't do so as well. You know I heard this from my father that he always says his *Ghairat* doesn't let anybody to has an eye on his *Nāmus*. Yes, my father frequently uses the term *Nāmus*. He says his *Ghairat* does not allow him to let others have bad eyes toward his *Nāmus*. He says that he doesn't do this in turn and he has *Ghairat* to support and protect his family and children (PF2, 22-year-old).

As it is clear in the above mentioned quote, the PF2 gives special attention on *Nāmus* and apply it independently besides the family term which shows the significance of this concept. Also, she represents his father's quote about *Ghairat* that is exchanged through the daily interactions. This can be seen as a reminder from her father's side about his *Ghairat*, social role, and the relationship that he figures out between himself as the man and father and women of the family. In his talk about his *Ghairat* and *Nāmus*, the father highlights the sexual threats from strangers side toward "his" *Nāmus*. He expresses his capability as a man of *Ghairat* to safeguard his *Nāmus* against such threats.

***Nāmus*'s preventer from sexual deviance:** The second key aspect that relates manly *Ghairat*'s meaning to *Nāmus* implies in the capability and power of a man in controlling and preventing his female family members from sexual mis conducts. In this regard, according to the participants personal and experiences or observations from their sub-cultures, a man's *Ghairat* makes him control and evaluates the conducts of his female family members in a focused way to make sure that she is not engaged in sexual mis conducts.

There were 9 women interviewees (including 3 Pashtun, 4 Tajik, and 2 Hazara) that explicitly stated they expect the head of their families to monitor and evaluate their conducts and they perceive this as a sign of men's *Ghairat*. This shows how manly *Ghairat* and meanings are internalized in both men and women. A Tajik woman who is married-TF1 mentions shares her personal experience in this way:

> In my point of view, when you can say a man had *Ghairat* that he is aware of his wife, and children. Not like mine that never asks where have you been? Where do you go? With whom you meet? He doesn't ask about my

works. If I say that I am sick and need a doctor, he says that I am lying. Is he a *Bā-Ghairat* man, then/A man who has *Ghairat*? (TF1, 30-year-old)

A Hazara woman, HF6 also views the meaning of man's honor in the family context attached to his ability to control the family:

> I think a man who finds *Halāl* food and can controls his family has *Ghairat*. Such a man when his wife goes out and comes back to home late, then he asks her that where were you? Why did you come late? What were you doing outside? He asks about everything because he shows his *Ghairat* (HF6, 27-year-old).

For the rest of the female participants, while they didn't raise such an expectation, they confirmed that they socially surrounded with such a perception.

According to the man participants, this is critical for a man to be aware of his female family members. And this is their responsibility to prevent their *Nāmus* from sexual deviance. This is to the extent that TM1 who is a Tajik man considers a man who doesn't have the authority and power to control his *Nāmus*, as a *Dayyus*/cuckold man. According to him this is something that the religion also confirms it and a man who does not have *Ghairat* is like a *Dayyus* man:

> A man who doesn't have sovereignty and cannot control his family members including his wife, mother, sister, nieces, sister-in-law, and wife of his uncle, and one they got misdirected, then he is called *Dayyus*. *Dayyus* means dishonorable. Even our religion has said that such a man is called *Dayyus* and the people should prevent themselves contacting him (TM1, 45-year-old).

In another instance PM3, a Pashtun man gives an instance about his family next door:

> Ok, I give you a clear example that you understand what I mean by saying that a man's *Ghairat* means his control over his *Siāsars*/female family members. In the apartment, we live in … [the places' name is not mentioned due to confidentiality]. we have a neighbor whose family head is an old man. He always goes for collective praying to the *Masjid*/mosque. And never leaves his prayers. However, we see that every day there is a car downside waiting for his young daughter. And she goes with that stranger car. And comes back after a while. We don't see this man as a *Bā-Ghairat* one/having *Ghairat*. In our apartment set nobody sees him as *Bā-Ghairat* one/having *Ghairat*. You tell me? Do you see this man as *Bā-Ghairat* one/having *Ghairat*? He is not aware of what his daughter is doing. He should know that. He should see if she is in an affair or like that. He is the father. If he had *Ghairat*, he was aware of his girl for sure (PM3, 41-year-old).

In the above mentioned instance, PM3 clearly mentions that how he expects that his neighbor as a man without *Ghairat*'s quality because the interviewee is

suspicious about his daughter's sexual affairs. Therefore, he considers the father as the responsible person for the daughter's behaviors and conducts and wants him to apply his *Ghairat* and prevent the girl from sexual misconduct.

Man as protector of *Vatan* or homeland: The second meaning of *Nāmus* that mentioned by about 29 participants including 5 Pashtun men and 6 women, 6 Tajik men and 6 women, and 3 Hazara men and 3 women refers to the country or homeland. In this regard, manly *Ghairat* means the ability of a man in defending his *Vatan*/homeland, *Khak*/land or called as the *Sarzamin-e Mādari*. In this regard, the country is like *Nāmus* that should be protected and defended from any threats and violation. The participants' views can be represented in the following quote:

> We have a common proverb that says: "If you haven't heard about my Afghani honor/*Ghairat*, you'll know it when you come to the battlefield /*Gar Nadani Ghairat Afghaniam, Gar ba maidan amadi midaniam*." We use such proverb against our enemies. We tell them that if they come to fight with us, then they will know what our Afghani *Ghairat* means? Our Afghani *Ghairat* doesn't allow us to lose against our enemies. We can't leave the battlefield without achieving a degree of success. We have to defend our *Ghairat*. The clear example is defending our *Khak*/country, our Nāmus. Pakistani people tried so many times to extend the Durand Line [the established border between Afghanistan and Pakistan in 1896] but our Afghan tribes used their *Ghairat* and defended from their land. Even the Afghan tribes gave a challenge to Pakistanis and said if you dare to cross the line even for some steps, it will be your cemetery forever. So, this is the duty of everyone in this county especially men to defend our *Khak*/homeland. Here, the responsibility is much more on the men's shoulder. They should apply their *Ghairat* and defend our country against all the threats, enemies, and violations (PM5, 65-year-old).

According to PM5, a man's *Ghairat* makes him protect his country and this is like a challenge for every man to fight and preserve the country. TM1-aTajik man also shares his view as follows:

> Some men their *Ghairat* to protect our national *Nāmus* which is our country. They fight in a battle only to protect their country. And sometimes they themselves are getting killed. Indeed, they use their *Ghairat* because of the values that they believe on. They think that it worth even to be killed for these values. They are *Bā-Ghairat* men/having *Ghairat*.

5.3.1.3.   Manly *Ghairat* in the Context of *Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya*/Communal Group

Another social setting where manly *Ghairat* makes sense is related to the communal group or so called *Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya* in Afghanistan. *Qawm* refers to the people from the same ethnic group and *Khish* implies the kin and relatives and *Hamsāya means* neighbors. However, summarizing the participants' descriptions their usage of the term *Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya* extends beyond specific ethnic members or limited number relative members. This term may refer to the people from the same village, tribe, city, and neighborhood based on the context of talk. However, here, a common point is the existence of a strong sense of solidarity and bond between the participant and those people that the *Ghairat* emerges toward them. Here, about the 30 participants including all the Pashtun men and women, all Tajik men and 7 women, and 3 Hazara men and 3 women, explained that a man's *Ghairat* makes him support and defend his *Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya*/Communal Group.

The meaning of manly *Ghairat* that is associated with the communal group domain is shown in figure 10:
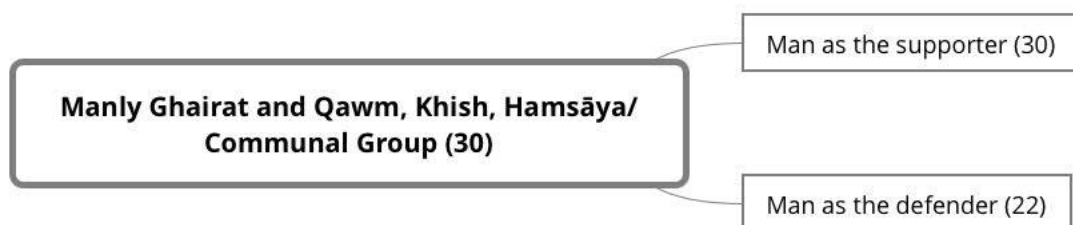
Figure 10. Meanings of manly *Ghairat* in the communal group domain

Man as the supporter of *Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya* /communal group: According to the mentioned 30 participants a man who claims as being *Bā-Ghairat*/has *Ghairat*, he should provide his communal group with the supports either financial or emotional. The participants' perception can be exemplified through the PM5's remark. He is a mature Pashtun man that highlights the significance of *Ghairat* in helping his communal group in below:

> Let me tell you another thing that is also very important for a man of *Ghairat*. I am a *Rish Safid*/whitebeard man. Can you believe of the seven days of a week, I am only two or three days in Kabul. The remaining days I have to go back to my *Mantiqa*/original village. You know why? Because

someone dies and they call me. So, I have to go and do *Qam Shariki* with them /join or stand in the grief at the time of misery and lost. My *Ghairat* doesn't let me do not go. It is far away but I have to go. How can I stay relaxed here while my people are in grief? It is not only about me. Everybody who lives in Afghanistan is the same. They have such a feeling. They do care about their *Mardom*/people, *Qawm va Khish*. And this is of their *Ghairat*. A *Siāsar* also does the same. But you know our responsibility as a man is more. A man's *Ghairat* does not allow him to not help poor people, to his relatives and neighbors [smiling] (PM5, 65-year-old).

TM3, who is a young Tajik draws special attention to the collective identity and mentions that he only considers men as the holder of *Ghairat* that take care of their relatives and help them when seeing their needs:

In my life and in my community, when I see a person who doesn't care about the things that hurt people whether it is physically or mentally, I see him as a man without any *Ghairat*; such a person only cares about his own safety and health and doesn't care about others. Definitely, he is a Be-*Ghairat*/without *Ghairat*. (TM3, 25-year-old).

TM1 who is another Tajik man shares his personal experiences in this regard. He provides an example of his sister who is widowed and her son that was the only family's breadwinner got killed. Then he feels responsible for his sister's family. He refers to *Ghairat*'s nature that appeared to him like a *Vojdan*/conscience. He explicitly mentions the pressures that feel like the older brother regarding his sister and her family. His *Ghairat* makes him provide with their expenses. Here, he feels himself in charge of his sister's family in terms of financial matters and more importantly the control issue. He is concerned about his niece. Therefore, the main reason that he mentions for the financial help is to prevent them from moral deviance:

I have a sister. Her husband passed away years ago. Her son became a solider in Helmand. His salary was about 12000 Afghani and he was always sending his salary to his family. He was the only breadwinner. After sometimes he got killed in a battle in Helmand, then some people brought his body to us and then we buried him in our *Watan*/original place, Panjshair.

When he got killed, his family's economy got worst. Then my *Ghairat* and the human sensation made me help my sister. I understood that my sister is someone headless, therefore, I took her and her family to Kabul and decided to help her at least with 6000 or 8000Afghanis each month so then she can feed herself and can cover her expenses. I helped her because she was part of my family. I cannot be careless about her. Because she is part of my family and we are from the same blood. My father has arranged her marriage.

All her property was just her son. Therefore, when her son got killed, then she became headless. Neither the government nor the law doesn't help her. There is no one to help her and ask about her life's situation. I am the closest person to her and I am the one who is related to her, therefore, I want to help her because I don't want to be perceived as a *Be-Ghairat* man/without *Ghairat*. I wanted to salve my *Vojdan*/Conscience.

You know *Ghairat* is associated with *Vojdan*/Conscience. If we don't use our *Ghairat*, then we won't have a clear *Vojdan*/Conscience. So, we will feel guilty about this every day. In this situation, my *Vojdan*/Conscience says that your sister is currently a headless woman because her young son got killed. Her son wanted the government to implement the law and he was the soldier or the protector of the law but he got killed. But now there is no law that helps his mother and covers his family, therefore I thought that I am the law to cover his family. However, if I don't support them then who will support them financially? Who will feel responsible to support them? Since my sister has weak and in the bad economic situation and doesn't have a head in her family from where they should find their expenses? Should she send her daughter to commit an illegal action and get involved with prostitution and corruption? Can I ever let this happen? Whose *Ghairat* and *Vojdan*/Conscience can remain indifferent upon seeing such a scene? Therefore, I feel myself full of *Ghairat/Bā-Ghairat* that I helped them. My *Ghairat*, my internal feeling makes me to control and provide my sister and her family. In turn, I don't have any expectation from her and from my *Ghairat* (TM1, 45-year-old).

Man as the defender of *Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya* /communal group: Another aspect of manly *Ghairat* is to defend the *Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya*/Communal group in the states of danger. About the 22 participants of 37 including 5 men and 3 women from Pashtun, 6 men and 3 women from Tajik, and 3 men and 2 women from Hazara women stated that a man should defend his communal group against the threats. The following quote that stated by a young Tajik man, TM2 reflects the views of other participants as well:

A man is connected to his relatives and close people that are from the same root. They are all my relatives and if someone tries to hurt them, it means that I am hurt. He thinks that if something bad happens to my family and my relatives, the people will blame me. The families care about their relatives because they think that if their relatives get hurt, they themselves will be hurt too. They feel that they are like one. When a family comes to an urban area like Kabul as we did, we left our rural district, all the people of that district will be counted as their relatives. Then in the new place, they don't allow someone to hurt the people of their district. Because they think that we are all the people of a district and the loss of my people is actually our loss. His *Ghairat* makes him defend those people. I know it seems strange but this is how it is. When they are living inside their own district, if you ask them who are your relatives? They will show you only those linked by an agnatic relationship such as uncles, brothers, aunts and so on. And other people of

the village or district are not considered as their relatives. However, when they live far from their district like in Kabul, all the people of that district or village is like their relatives [smiling]. Now, I am from Panjshir but I live here, so I consider all the people of Panjshir like my own relatives. Suppose that I am living in my village in Panjshir, if something bad happens in my village between our people, I don't care a lot because it is not related to my own family and close people. But as I live in Kabul now, if something bad happens to another Panjsheri, I am thinking of him as my relative and then I have to defend him. We do this because of our *Ghairat*. They don't allow someone to insult or hurt our people mentally or physically. He feels that he has to defend. We try to defend because we don't want to be blamed or ashamed. We feel as men of *Ghairat/Bā-Ghairat*. We should defend in any possible way. I don't know maybe it is like a challenge that we have to overcome (TM2, 22-year-old).

In his view TM2, in particular, explains the relationship between *Ghairat* and his feeling to defend those perceived as the communal group. According to him, a communal group is potentially a form of identification and recognition when interacting with others. The common group can vary based on the situation, similarities, and distinctiveness. In his original village since everyone is homogenous or counted as a part of in-group -due to their common ethnicity, religion, neighborhood, or as such – the focus is on defending from the family members, blood relatives, affine, and neighbors against the possible threats. However, in Kabul city, the relationship extended from inter-communal group to the intra groups-which pave the ground for the competition and contrasts between the in-group and out-group members. In this case, the in-group members feel responsible to defend each other because they form a whole and share a collective identity against others. The participant perceives this like a challenge in which attacking any group member is interpreted as the direct attack to him.

5.3.1.4. Manly *Ghairat* in the Form of Personality Traits

The 37 participants articulated the meanings of *Ghairat* in terms of specific traits that a man should possess. These traits that are related to a man's social persona are presented after the family, *Nāmus*, communal group, and religion domains. This is because that the participants explained these qualities in a way that is related to the above-mentioned domains and not as totally independent.

According to the participants' thoughts for a "man" to be seen as B*ā*-*Ghairat*/Having *Ghairat*, a required condition is that he should demonstrate

characteristics like *Hemmat Dāshtan*/perseverance and endeavor, *Shujāat Dāshtan*/ bravery and courage, *Javānmardi va Kākagi*/young-manliness and chivalry. The following figure also represents theses as the sub-codes and number of participants:
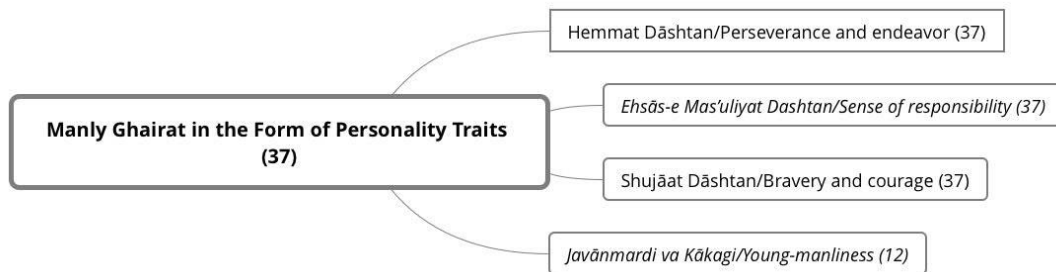
Figure 11. Meanings of manly *Ghairat* as the personality traits

Based on the participants, a man who holds *Ghairat*, is the one who feels responsible for his family, *Nāmus*, communal group, country, and religion. HF4, who is a young Hazara girl represents this as follow:

> A man who is *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* that feels himself responsible for his family. He knows that he should provide them with *Nafaqa* and this is assigned to him… and he has the ability to preserve his *Nāmus* (HF4, 20-year-old).

Another key feature that is mentioned by all the participants is showing *Hemmat*/perseverance and endeavor. A man who has *Ghairat* is the one who is very determined and performs his duties with high perseverance and endeavor/*Hemmat*. When he decides to achieve a goal, he works hard until he reaches it. A young Pashtun man-PM1 explains that how a man's *Hemmat*/perseverance and endeavor appears in terms of his *Ghairat* in fulfilling familial responsibilities:

A man should be a *Bā-Hemmat*/strong-willed person with high perseverance and endeavor. You know why? This is because of his responsibility to work and provide the *Nafqa*/maintenance of the family. He is the *NānAvar/*breadwinner of his family. A man who is careless doesn't have *Ghairat* at all (PM1-23-year-old).

HF5 who is a Hazara woman also shares a similar view:

> … why do we call him a man then? He is supposed to find work, have income and provide with the expenses of his family. A man should have *Ghairat*, *Hemmat*/perseverance, and endeavor. He should be the man to do this. Can he see his family's hunger? (HF5, 48-year-old)

Shujāat Dāshtan/Having bravery and courage is also among the meanings that counted for the personality characteristics of a man. A man who possesses *Ghairat* is brave and courageous. He can encounter the risks and threats to the domains and values that he is supposed to defend and protect them via his *Ghairat*. PM2 who is a Pashtun man explains the relationship between *Ghairat* and bravery as follow:

> *Ghairat* and bravery are always together. If a man is brave, we can call him a *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* because he can defend himself in every situation… You know bravery is something very close to *Ghairat*. When these two get together, you can do everything. For example, when someone tries to attack your country, if you have *Ghairat* you would react and defend.

PF2 who is a Pashtun woman shares a similar view:

> … For me, men's *Ghairat* is their bravery, and their firmness and determination (PF2, 22-year-old).

HM5 who is a Hazara man gives an example based on his religious believes. He views Ali ibn Abi Talib- the first imam of Shi'a and the fourth caliph of Sunni Muslim as a brave and B*ā-Ghairat* man/Having *Ghairat*:

> I want to share an Islamic historical narrative. If we focus on Islam's history, and if we focus on the *Ghairat* and bravery of Hazrat-e Amir-ul-Mo'minin Ali Ibn Abi Talib, we will find that he was a great role model for the society. He has a unique personality and was very famous for his *Ghairat*. He attended to all military career of Muhammad/*Ghazawat*, fought against infields and accompanied the prophet in all wars. And, there is no war where he has escaped from. It shows, that he was very *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat*, *Shujāat*/bravery, and chivalry (HM4, 30-year-old).

Among all the participants only 12 men including (5 Pashtun, 6 Tajik, and 2 Hazara) counted the characteristic *Javānmardi va Kākagi*/young-manliness and chivalry as a synonym for *Ghairat*. Their view can be best presented by the TM4 quote:

> *Ghairat* is something that exists among the people of Afghanistan since the centuries ago. In the past, those men were considered *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* were called as *Kaka*/ chivalrous. These people had *Sakhāvat*/Generosity and helped poor people. They fed other people while they themselves stayed hungry. The people called such men *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* because they were chivalrous and generous and nourished the poor people. Or they were resistant very poor but they resisted to cruel people. They were always supporting poor people. They were *Mard*/real man, *Kaka*/ chivalrous and had *Ghairat*. They didn't allow a cruel person to bully poor people. They wanted the people's rights not be ignored.

Such people were called *Bā-Ghairat* because they were always caring about poor people and those in need (TM4, 39-year-old).

5.3.2. Meaning of Womanly *Ghairat*

In the former part, the meaning of manly *Ghairat* is explained based on the participants' views and experiences. In this part, the sense of *Ghairat* when applies to a woman is explored. There were about 30 participants (4 men and 6 women from Pashtun, 4 men and 8 women from Tajik, and 4 men and 4 women from Hazara) that talked about the meaning of womanly *Ghairat*. Here, the argument is about the meaning and usage of *Ghairat* word regarding women. These meanings can come from the everyday experiences of the participants, their explicit reference to women in their social networks and community or the role models that they exemplify them. Womanly *Ghairat* theme reflects all the possible meanings that the participant can consider or practice in terms of describing a woman who has *Ghairat*.

The related codes are grouped into three main categories. Based on these categories, having *Ghairat* for a woman means:

- Being *Zan-e MārdanaVār/*Masculine woman: brave, protector, *Nafaqa* provider;
- Family context: Being *Sabur va Muqāvem* /Patient and resistant to life's problems, good educator of children;
- Fight for her rights: working outside the home, participating in social activities, attending education.

5.3.2.1. Womanly *Ghairat*: *Zan-e MārdanaVār/*Masculine Woman

The mentioned 30 participants considered the meaning of *Ghairat* for women in terms of qualities like being brave, protector, or *Nafaqa* provider. However, here the common aspect is that the participants in this context considered these qualities as *Mardana*/manly, masculine. Thus a woman is perceived as *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* since she possessed such masculine qualities and performed the manly tasks. This code family is shown in the following figure:
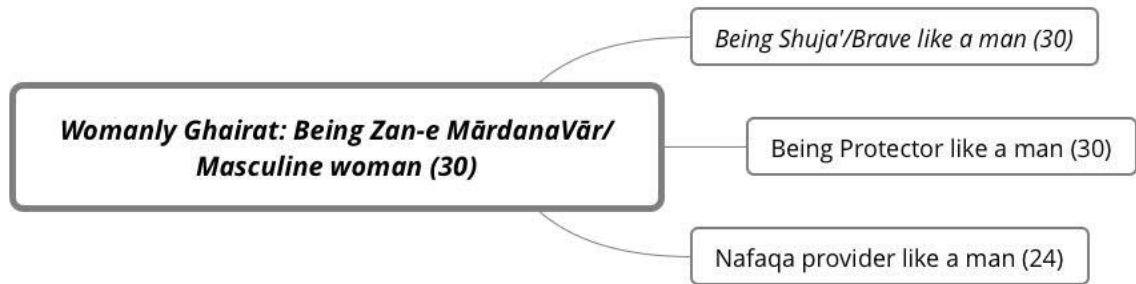
Figure 12. Meanings of womanly *Ghairat*: being a masculine woman

A prominent instance given by the majority of participants is Malalai of Maiwand or Malala. She is a national folk hero of Afghanistan who motivated and encouraged Afghan fighters during the Battle of Maiwand against the British troops in 1880. Based on the historical narrative, in that war when the Afghans were losing the field and morale, the Malalai took the Afghan flag and shouted: "Young love! If you do not fall in the battle of Maiwand, By God, someone is saving you as a symbol of shame!" (Ewing 2005). This is best exemplified as an instance of womanly *Ghairat* by many participants. This is best expressed in the quote by PM3:

> The term *Ghairat* is being mostly used for men. However, for me, there is only one exception that it is for women too. This is Malalai's case. As you know Malalai was the one, who fought against the *Angrizi-hā*/British troops in Kandahar. By that time, while the Afghan side [men] were escaping and withdrawing from the battlefield. She took the fallen flag and called them back. She loudly called the men that where is your Afghani *Ghairat*? So, when you men are escaping it's time for *Siāsars*/women to fight. [He got emotional and saying loud with pride] Yes, this was her *Ghairat* that couldn't see such a situation; that couldn't see Afghans will be defeated by *Angrizi-hā*/British troops and she decided to fight while men were escaping. It is the only case that I heard that when people remember Malalai, they say she was a very *Bā-Ghairat Siāsar*/a woman with high *Ghairat* who defended her motherland against the invaders (PM3, 41-year-old).

For PM3, Malala was an exceptional case among the women that can be seen as the holder of *Ghairat*. This is due to her great bravery, her sense of protecting her homeland, and arousing men's *Ghairat* who were withdrawing from the war. However, in this situation, the usage of *Ghairat* for women is a metaphor to make her look like a man. In the following quote, PM1, explains this clearly. He also mentions to Malala Yousafzai, Pakistani female activist that was shot by Taliban because of her standing on girls education. According to the PM1, the two

Malalais-both Afghani and Pakistani are very courageous and brave; one defended his homeland, and the second the girl's rights for education. And this can be interpreted as a symbol of *Ghairat* for them. This means that they have *Ghairat* as men do:

> I would like to bring the example of Malalai. She was called a *Bā-Ghairat* Afghan girl. Let me tell you that there are two Malalais. The one is from Pakistan and the second one is from Afghanistan. Both of them are *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat*.
>
> Our own Malali acted very bravely during Maiwand war. She took the flag with her hands and fought. She was a *Bā-Ghairat* girl because she defended her country. Here, I can say that the country was like her *Nāmus*. Malali didn't care about herself; however, she fought for her country.
>
> The other Malali was from Pakistan, her complete name is Malala Yousafzai. She put herself in danger to rescue the rights of girls. She is called a *Bā-Ghairat* girl too because she is defending the rights of girls in every place. For describing women, I have used the term *Ghairat*. But according to my opinion, in these cases, *Ghairat* doesn't mean anything independently. When I call the Malalais *Bā-Ghairat* I actually compare her to a man who has the actual feeling of *Ghairat*. I told you before, *Ghairat* is an internal feeling of a man which is used to preserve and defend his *Nāmus*. But when we use the term *Bā-Ghairat*/ having *Ghairat* for a woman, in fact, we liken her to a man. Actually, we liken a woman's internal feeling to a man's internal feeling that is *Ghairat*. A man defends his *Nāmus*, face and he encounters with so many problems because he has an internal feeling that is called *Ghairat*. However, when a woman is doing the same, we compare and liken her and her feelings to a man's (PM1, 23-year-old).

HM1, a Hazara man provides with a religious example. According to him Zainba-the daughter of the first Imam of Shi'a and the fourth caliph of Sunni Muslim as a brave and *Bā-Ghairat*/ having *Ghairat* woman. She and her two sons accompanied her brother, Husayn-the third Imam of Shi'a on the events of 'Ashura. In the battle that happened between the Husayn and his followers and the troops of Yazid b. Mu'awiya on the October 13, 680, Imam Husayn and his companions got killed and Zainab along with the rest of the caravan was taken as captive. According to the participant, Zainab was the one who informed objected to Yazid and informed people about his cruelty on Imam Husayn. The participant names her bas a role model who was greatly courageous and *Bā-Ghairat* like a man/*MardanaVār*:

> I have applied the word *Ghairat* to women too. For instance, I told you that Hazrat-e Zainab was *Bā-Ghairat* woman/having *Ghairat*. There are women which are more active rather than men. Some men are like a woman passive

and inactive and there are women who are more active than men. It doesn't depend on being a man or woman. … I told you *Ghairat* is mostly used for men but we cannot summarize it only for men. There are a lot of women in Islam which are the role models according to their *Ghairat* like Hazrat-e Kadija-e-Kubra and Hazrat-e Zainab. All of them fought in the wars like men. For example, after the heart-breaking battle of Karbala and after the martyrdom of Imam Husayn, Hazrat-e Zainab had the responsibility to lead all the Muslims who attended the fight in the Karbala desert. It shows that a woman can show her bravery and *Ghairat* too. She was the head of all the Muslims fighting against the infidels, she had preached and lectured in so many places and proved the legitimacy of her brother to the people (HM1, 50-year-old).

HF6, a Hazara woman also gives an example of women who fought with Taliban like a man:

I used the term *Ghairat* for women too, a lot but I can't remember the time exactly. Once I heard through media that the Taliban attacked a village but a woman in cooperation with her daughter and daughter-in-laws killed so many Taliban using a gun. She is the example of *Bā-Ghairat* woman/having *Ghairat* to me. She has protected herself, her village and her country while there was no man with her. It is a manly work. Even men cannot do that. She almost acted as a commander. She, her daughter-in-law and her daughters reacted very bravely against the Taliban. She can be perceived as a very *Bā-Ghairat* woman/having *Ghairat* (HF6, 27-year-old).

About the 24 participants including (3 Pashtun men and 4 women, 3 Tajik men and 6 women, and 4 Hazara men and 4 women) also mentioned to another state that can show a woman's *Ghairat*. In this case, women who are the *Nafaqa* provider of their family possess *Ghairat*. However, this not includes all the women who are working. Based on the participant's views, it only refers to those women who are widowed or their husband is disabled or cannot work. In such a case a woman who works and provides the expenses of the family can be seen as a *Bā-Ghairat* woman/having *Ghairat*. This is because she is performing a manly work:

You know the *Ghairat* can be used for some women who don't have someone in charge of their families. Like their husbands were dead and they themselves decided to work to provide the *Nafaqa*/maintenance for their children. They also supported their children to follow up their education even to the highest level. Those women acted like a man beside being a woman. We mostly call such women, *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat*. I have heard that people were calling such women *Bā-Ghairat* and brave. It is not easy to live without a head (PM4, 70-year-old).

TF7 who is a Tajik woman shares her experience:

Among out relatives, there is a girl whose father passed away when she was a child. She is young now and working and providing the expenses of her family. Since her childhood, she was taking a role in her family's stuff. We all were saying that she is like boys strong and brave. Neither their aunts nor uncles helped them financially. This young girl is educated now and working and have an income. She is the man of her family indeed. She has a manly *Ghairat/ MardanaVār* (TF7, 22-year-old).

5.3.2.2.   Womanly *Ghairat* in the Family Context: Being Resistant and a Good Educator

A second category includes two characteristics that are counted for a woman who possesses *Ghairat*. These are being *Sabur va Muqāvem* /Patient and resistant to life's problems and being a good educator of children. The two codes were grouped together because they share the main feature: these characteristics are applied for women in the context of the family and are not necessarily manly. About 18 participants including 3 men and 3 women from Pashtun, 3 men and 4 women from Tajik, and 3 men and 2 women from Hazara ethnic groups stated such a view:
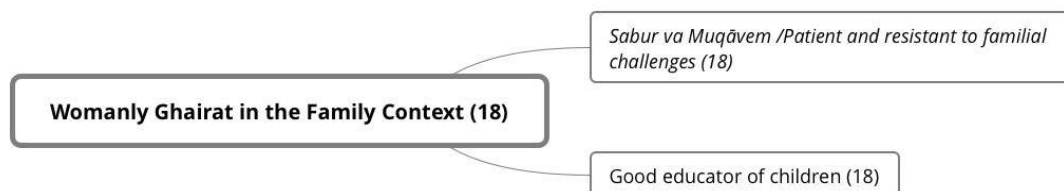
Figure 13. Meanings of womanly *Ghairat* in the family context

The following view that is expressed by a Tajik woman represents other participants views as well:

I am a *Sabur* patient woman, therefore, I think I am *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat*. A patient woman is called *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* too. You know, a wife who argues with her husband and doesn't have patience, she doesn't have any *Ghairat* and patience. If a wife argues with her husband because his income is not sufficient to cover needs of the family or due to lack of having good food, she is a *Be-Ghairat* woman/ a woman who doesn't have *Ghairat*. This is not only my view. In our community, they think like this too. Like a wife who asks for help from others to feed herself well and whose children are not educated is a woman who doesn't have *Ghairat*. In short, a woman who can bear any situation of his family, indeed she has *Ghairat*. … This means that she has to be patient and bear with any situation

of her life. She shouldn't complain if she doesn't have good food to eat or good clothes to wear. Because it is bad for her to complain. The people will call her an impatient woman; a woman who is not resistant to life's problems. The people will say that doesn't care about her children, she only cares about herself. To be a woman with *Ghairat*, she has the ability to deal with the challenges, ups, and downs of life in her family. If I always complain about poverty, my husband will become a thief and *Be-Ghairat* man / a man who doesn't have *Ghairat*, because he has to fulfill whatever I need through immoral ways. But I have to have my *Ghairat* and patience and I shouldn't allow my husband and my children to commit bad conduct because of my needs (TF9, 47-year-old).

The TF9 not only talks about the main characteristics of a woman who holds *Ghairat* but also explains how it operates as a motive for women to cope with all the difficulties and shortcomings in her familial life. The expression "dealing with the challenges, ups, and downs of familial life" is precisely applied by other participants to refer in the similar meaning. This shows the importance of *Ghairat* as a control tool in the family sphere. It makes a man find a job, have income, provide the *Nafaqa* of the family, rule over them. While a woman should tolerate the situation in the favor of being considered as a *Bā-Ghairat*, patient, and honorable woman.

She should only focus on her main task which educates and discipline the children.

5.3.2.3. Womanly *Ghairat*: Fighting for Women's Rights

The third meaning that is ascribed to woman's *Ghairat* is expressed by 13 participants including 3 Pashtun woman, 4 Tajik women, and 4 Hazara women and 2 men. These participants that are mainly young (all of them except one are under 30 years old) and with higher education shared a different view on the meaning of *Ghairat* for women. Based on these participants, a woman can have *Ghairat* in an independent way. And their *Ghairat* shouldn't be likened to the men. They also extend this meaning beyond the *Ghairat* as a motive for coping with the familial challenges. These meanings are shown in figure 14:
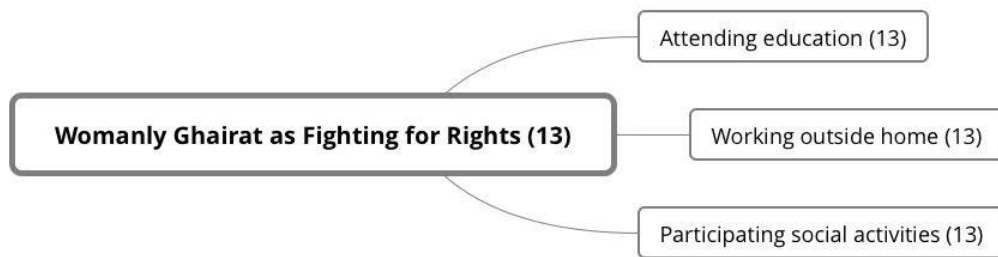
Figure 14. Meanings of womanly *Ghairat* as fighting for achieving rights

The mentioned participants illustrated a woman's *Ghairat* in her capability, perseverance and endeavor for achieving her rights to educate, work and attend social activities like sport outside the home. PF4 who is a young Pashtun girl and is at her first year of engineering faculty. She critically reflects on the notion of *Ghairat* that is mainly perceived merely as manly. She shares her experience that through a conversation with her father she asks him while Malalai is the only woman that they describe her as *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat*. She believes that girls like herself possess *Ghairat* too:

> … We all know about Malalai and her *Ghairat*. She is called a very *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* woman. Once I asked my father that you men are always saying that Malalai was very *Bā-Ghairat* because she fought with men while she was wounded and took the flag with her hands and finally became a martyr. But then why men call her *Bā-Ghairat* in a manly sense? And why don't you perceive other women as *Bā-Ghairat* too? I asked my father that please give me a satisfactory and reasonable response. However, no one has given such a response to me yet. And still, they refuse to apply this for women. I want to say that they cannot make an exception and don't see other Afghan girls who also have *Ghairat* like myself (PF4, 19-year-old).

PF2 is another Pashtun girl that is recently completed her 14th grade and wants to attend the *Kankor*/University entry exam. She defines the *Ghairat* in her bravery, *Hemmat*/high endeavor to pursue her rights for education, and social activities:

> [laughter] I don't know what to say about *Ghairat*…When I hear the word *Ghairat*, I conceive someone's bravery, patience, tolerance, and persistence against all the odds and difficulties. From my perspective, *Ghairat* is the bravery of a person, its patience and resistance over the problems, either economic, cultural, or social. [Getting more serious and continues] Like I see my own *Ghairat* in my hard work, efforts, perseverance, and endeavor for my education. This is my *Ghairat*. Isn't it? (PF2, 22-year-old)

Then the PF2 describes why pursuing the rights by a girl for her education and social activities can be considered as her *Ghairat* and then is distinguished from men's:

> … In our society, *Ghairat* for a girl is fighting and opposing old minded people that want a girl stays only at home. Yes, I think this is her *Ghairat* that while she surrounded with many people who are very old mind and traditional, she resists and goes outside the home, attends the university, or exercise. This is a girl's *Ghairat* that she goes out while she knows that she might encounter such people. What I mean is that anyone can have *Ghairat* and be brave if it's a man or woman. [laughing] But I think men rarely face such cultural problems like they don't need to be responsive for going out of the house or pursuing their educations, do they? Or being harassed in the streets by other man strangers? You tell me if I am wrong! (PF2, 22-year-old).

The view of PF2 is representative of the majority of the participants that believed *Ghairat* for a woman refers to her fight and struggle for obtaining the rights. The central theme here is that *Ghairat* is interpreted as the capability and ability of a woman to overcome the cultural barriers in particular sexual harassment and misogyny. The 13 participants are exclusively mentioned about the sexual threats like harassment and backbiting by the people that they might face when coming out of the home. Therefore, for them, *Ghairat* is accepting such a challenge and having the ability to pass these cultural barriers. A young Tajik woman who is also at the 3rd year of her university explains her view as follow:

> I apply the word *Ghairat* for women too. In my point of view this means that a woman while preserving her *Izzat*/honor and *Iffat*/chastity, she can be beneficial and influential for her society. A society is not getting better only by men. Instead, it is men and women who both constitute a society and make it progressive. But here, their *Ghairat* is different. Just imagine a woman who works in a ministry. Still, there are problems with her work. It is not easily acceptable yet. This is because we went through many years of war. In those years many urban people moved out. And many people who were traditional and old minded were replaced. They were settled in cities like Kabul. And this caused when a girl works somewhere they hamulate her or talk behind her. God forbid they might make her bad name and hamulated. I personally see a girl *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* that she ignores and resists all these nonsense words; the girl who continues her way despite all these problems (TF7, 22-year-old).

HF1 is a Hazara woman who got divorced and at the final year of her Bachelor degree. She describes her *Ghairat* in terms of her ability to pass her divorce that is considered as a stigma in Afghanistan. She explains that since her husband was a bigamist she faces many problems in her personal life and that made her get

divorced. However, since it was considered as a big shame, it was her *Ghairat* that she could fight with the social pressures and attend her education:

> I think the families call their children *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat* since childhood and when they get young, they habituate with the term *Ghairat*. …Boys actually bear with a lot of problems in their life because of this. But I have to tell you that I also encountered so many problems too. The problems that even boys cannot think of it. I lived with my husband who had another wife for several years. If someone were instead of me, she couldn't stay at that house even for one year. I got divorced in the end. But I believe this was my *Ghairat* that I resisted all these problems. I coped with a lot of problems because I felt that was thinking that I am a *Bā-Ghairat* woman/having *Ghairat*. Getting divorced was a big *Nang*/stigma for me. In Afghanistan and where I was living there, they all perceived divorce as a shame. You know, even I was thinking sometimes that if my husband gave my divorce, then I have to kill myself. Yes, I had such an idea but it changed. I couldn't tolerate that much difficulties. And that was my *Ghairat* that when I got my divorce, I attended my higher education in Kabul (HF1, 30-year-old).

However, among the men, there were only two Hazara men that believed *Ghairat* for women can be seen in their strive and ability to achieve their rights. HM2 who is a 12th grade graduate and a traditional women's clothing shopkeeper believes that women have their own *Ghairat* and capability to work and educate and shouldn't be likened to men:

> *Ghairat* is something inside human beings, as an internal feeling and it is specific for men or women. Everyone has its own *Ghairat*. We cannot say men have *Ghairat* and women don't or they have like men. [At this point a woman shopkeeper enters his shop and asks him to take care of her shop because she needs to go somewhere for a few minutes and will leave open her shop. The man accepts her request. When she leaves, he continues] Did you see her? She is my next door shop keeper [and points out to the in front shop]. She is a seller like me. You tell me, what is the difference between her and me? We both have our own business. And isn't this her *Ghairat* that she comes at the early morning and working in her shop until the evening? I can't understand the difference (HM2, 47-year-old).

5.4. *GHAIRAT* AND GENDER INEQUALITY

While the two previous themes were represented the nature, meaning, and settings of *Ghairat*, this theme focuses on the relational consequences of *Ghairat* between men and women. It particularly highlights the outcomes of manly *Ghairat* on gender inequality.

As seen in the second theme, *Ghairat* is prominently perceived concerning a man's capability and power in performing given features and roles. The *Nāmus* and Family domains were recognized as the most significant settings where manly *Ghairat* operates. The current theme reflects thoughts, experiences, and feelings of the men and women about *Ghairat*'s outcomes that emerge in their daily interactions and are mainly associated with the mentioned domains. The *Ghairat* and Gender Inequality theme explains the outcomes of manly *Ghairat* that create a stratification and inequality. The consequences are including four major family codes and thirteen sub-codes:

- *Nāmus* and inferior status of women:
    - Women as 'Ā*jiz*/Physically weak and emotional: women are called as *Siāsar*; women are only weaker than men physically;
    - Women as *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/deficient in mind; Believed that women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*; Believed that women are NOT *Nāqis-ul-Aql*;
- Restrictions on women's mobility: Women should ask men's permission for going outside; women should have a *Mahram* accompanier; Critically compared women's mobility to men;
- Restrictions on women's dressing code: Observing *Hijāb* is related to manly *Ghairat*; *Hijāb* shouldn't be imposed to women by men;
- Restrictions on women's employment: No need for women's work; Women should work.

The key feature that these outcomes have in common is that they all imply an unequal relationship between men and women as gendered beings. This feature brings together the codes under a common theme as gender inequality. Here, it should be noted that the term gender inequality was not applied explicitly by the interviewees. However, as a second-order construct, this concept can represent the imbalanced implications of *Ghairat* in the gender relations between studied men and women in the best way. The above-mentioned sub-themes are shared by all

the 37 participants od the study. However, the nuances and differences are explained when discussing each category.
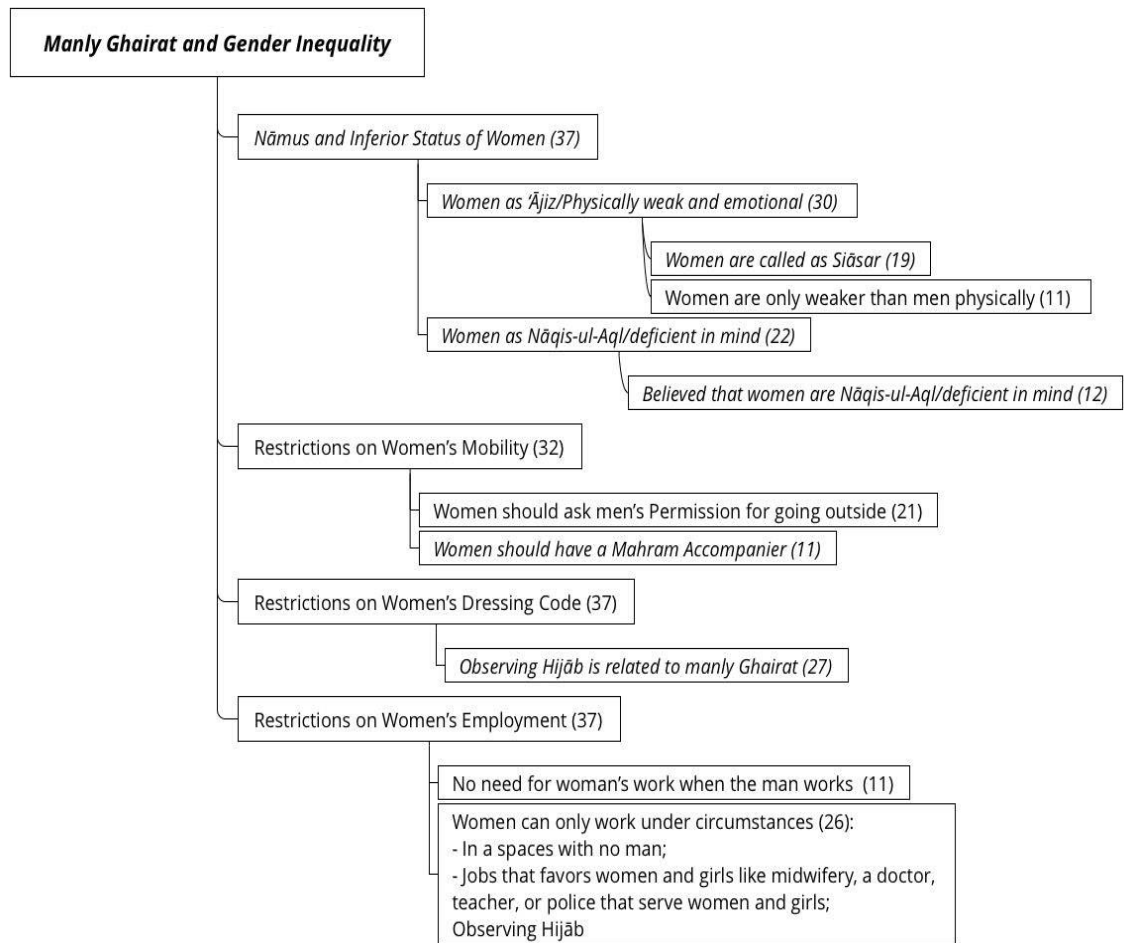
Figure 15. Manly *Ghairat* and gender inequality: the impacts, perceptions and number of the participants

5.4.1. *Nāmus* and Inferior Status of Women

When sharing their lived experiences on manly *Ghairat*, almost all the participants referred to the aspects that locate a woman in a lower status than a man as a result of practicing *Ghairat*. In particular, when *Ghairat* illustrates women as *Nāmus*, in this case, a woman can be perceived as 'Ā*jiz*/physically weak, emotional and *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/deficient in mind. Accordingly, she needs a man's protection, perseverance, and control. In the following figure the number of participants that talked about these outcomes is shown:
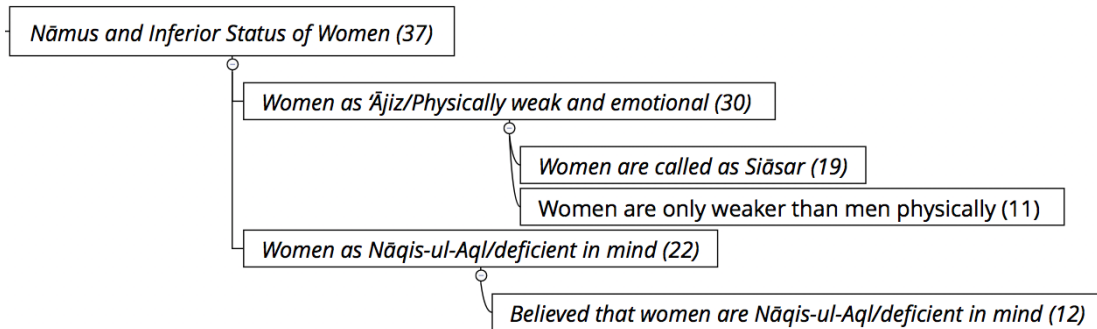
Figure 16. Manly *Ghairat*, *Nāmus*, and gender inequality

Women perceived as 'Ā*jiz*/physically weak and emotional: About 30 participants including 4 Pashtun men and five women, 5 Tajik men, and seven women, and 4 Hazara men and five women argued that based on their personal view or subculture, women are considered as *'Ājiz*/Physically weak and emotional. Such an attitude leads to an inequality since it categorizes the social actors as men who are strong and protectors and women that are weak and protected.

However, there are differences and nuances in the way that the participants talk about such a perception. Some participants agreed with the idea that women are weak and emotional while there were others who criticized it. This difference especially can be seen through the words that the participants applied to refer to a "woman" in the local languages. For instance, the 4 Pashtun men and two women, 5 Tajik men and three women and 3 Hazara men and two women used the term *Siāsar*. PM2 who is a Pashtun man clarifies the meaning of the mentioned term regarding emotionality and weakness of women. For him, the *Siāsar* word highlights that unlike men, women are emotional, sensitive, and weak and this is the main reason that *Ghairat* is considered manly. Instead, a man is tough, physically powerful, and decision maker:

> Personally, I have not used *Ghairat* term for *Siāsars*/women in my surrounding yet because *Ghairat* is something that can be found more in a man's existence than in a *Siāsar's*. For instance, a *Siāsar* is 'Ā*jiz* means she is a delicate and kind. They are incapable of doing difficult tasks as men do. Like imagine, if a police officer comes to prevent me from street vending, I can finally convince him that I have to do this job as there is no other option for me and that I am providing *Nafaqa* for my *Siāsars* and family. I know that he would appreciate then that I am a very hardworking and determined man [*Bā-Hemmat*] who works in such a dusty and insecure atmosphere to

provide my Family's *Nan* [bread]. However, a *Siāsar* cannot do this. So, we have not used the term *Ghairat* for my *Siāsars* yet. … Can *Siāsars* work like me in this winter in this cold weather in the street-side? You saw that how many times the convoy of foreigners army passed from this road and how much risk is that. Can a *Siāsar* stands here like me to sell stuff? Or you know it was just a few days ago there was an *Intihāri*/suicide attack happened just in the next square. This road got blocked by police immediately. I saw some *Siāsars*/girls who were students of the university crying and afraid. However, for me as a man, I was not afraid. I thought that *Siāsars*/weak are weak. However, I stayed all long and worked ignoring the incident (PM2, 30-year-old).

TM1 who is a Tajik man explains the general perception that he found in his community:

Honestly speaking, in my community, most of the ordinary people perceive women as *Z'aifa*/weak. They call woman *Z'aifa*/weak. It means, that woman is weaker than man. The term *Ghairat* is not being applied to a woman at all. No woman in our community has taken a role in the improvement of the community. They never take the final decision. So the term *Ghairat* and as such are not applied to them. Instead, applying the terms like *Z'aifa*/weak and *Siāsar* is very common. … [smiling] we know that *Siāsar* means the black-hair, but it implies the meaning being weak and should be protected. … Like as you know, women are physically *Zarif*/delicate and soft. Like if a man is carrying something with 70 kilos weight, then a woman can help him and can carry maybe 21 kilos (TM1, 45-year-old).

HM5 who is a young Hazara man describes his view regarding the needs of women to protection as below:

Somehow women are an *Nā-tavān*/defeated sex. I mean Men can protect themselves but women are weaker than men, and they cannot protect themselves. Women are *Zarif*/ delicate and soft creatures, and men should treat them in the way that they do not get disturbed and hurt. Men can defend themselves in anyways even violently. However, a woman cannot protect herself. Therefore, I think a man's sister, wife, mother, daughter, and aunt are his *Nāmus,* and a man should protect them. Women are weak and gentle physically (HM5, 22-year-old).

When it comes to woman participants, the women who were middle-aged or mature and uneducated used the *Siāsars* term to describe themselves too. Applying this term concerning its meaning shows that these women internalized gender inequalitwomany. The TF9 who is an illiterate and government employee shares her thought:

I have many rights on my husband because I am a *Siāsar* and dependent on him. I want my husband to fulfill my needs. However, I do not have any particular need because I am working myself. I just want him to keep his

parents happy from him, to behave everyone nicely, not to get addicted to drugs, not to encourage his children in a wrong way, to pray five times in a day, to make his children to pray too and to show the good and evil paths to his children. I want him to discipline and tell his boys to follow the religion and tease the girls. Also, he should discipline his daughters and make them understand that they tell his daughters that you are *Siāsar* so, please take care of yourself so much and don't get in relation with someone. He should tell them that he is doing his best and spend all the money for their life betterment. He should tell his daughters that try to be good human beings. If we train our children properly, then they will make us feel proud and being considered as *Bā-Ghairat*/having *Ghairat*. These are my wishes from my husband. I do not want him to buy pieces of jewelry or clothes or a building for me. I can accept whatever God has donated tome. These are my wishes from my husband (TF9, 47-year-old).

In the quote as mentioned above, the TF9 names her as the *Siāsar* of her husband that has rights upon him. She believes that her husband is in charge person to fulfill her needs, but since she is working, she extends her expectations beyond the economic needs. Among her most significant expectations of her husband is regarding their children. She wishes her husband to discipline their children. However, here, she describes the male children as boys/*Bacha-ha* and girls as *Siāsars*. Also, insists that the *Siāsars* should be aware of their responsibility of avoiding the immoral relationships.

However, there is another side of the story that stated by the participants (11 out of 30) who were young and educated girls. These participants when describing a woman, they never used the word *Siāsar*. Also, they argued that while women are physically weaker than men, this does not mean that they are incapable of fulfilling social activities. According to these participants women have abilities and should be treated equally with men. TF4 who is a young Tajik woman reflects this meaning as follow:

> … Women are weaker than men only physically. However, many women are much more capable than men in other aspects like education. You know when I say women are physically weaker than men, I am telling you this because we live in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, we [women] are willy-nilly weaker than men physically. Do you believe that you can beat a man? I am sure you understand this if you fight with a man and he breaks your hand. You cannot beat him, and you will not know that you cannot beat him until you experience it. In other countries, there are no differences between men and women. However, in our community there are, and we as women also believe that we have less physical power than men. My brother is younger than me, but I cannot beat him. However, he can beat my very easily. You know the community has affected us (TF4, 21-year-old).

PF2 who is a Pashtun girl also emphasizes that difference between the amount of physical power of men and women cannot justify the unequal treatment toward women:

> … For now the person whom everyone thinks is the perfect one from every aspect is a man, but in my opinion, it is not right! It does not matter if it is a man or woman. It only matters if the person has the ability and capability of fulfilling the task. For now, people see women as weak persons. Their physical power is less than men, but you know it should be treated between them equally. A woman should not feel weak or incapable. They can participate in society and make it better as men do. Does everything depend on the physical strength and force? [smiling] Of course not (PF2, 22-year-old).

HF3 who is a Hazara girl criticizes the general trend that considers women weak. She believes that women are in cahoots with men who see women as weak and incapable of attending social activities. According to her, the reason behind this is that women do not object to being subjected to violence and inequality. She also gives an example that she can be physically powerful as men if she finds the opportunity to attend the sport. However, her brother does not allow her.

> Mostly women are weak. You know why? Because they have always accepted the cruelty upon them. Their freedom has taken away, but they have never said anything. They have habituated with violence. Men do usually oppress them, but they do never say anything. They do not resist against the injustices that exist inside their home. Even they do not try to make their men know that they can work and can stand on their feet too. Mostly women show themselves weaker than men. So men misuse their weakness. Yes, men are strong physically. However, if a woman goes to the gym and workout, then she can get strong too. I can go but is my family allowing me for this? No, first is my brother who will not allow (HF3, 19-year-old).

Based on field observation, considering man as strong, powerful and practical and woman as ʻĀjiz/physically weak, and emotional who needs protection is also visible in the public spaces in Kabul city and even in the awareness campaigns on gender equality. As an instance, the following photo that took by the researcher as a part of his field observation includes a pained wall and a message about the elimination of violence against Afghan women.

Photo 3. Painted wall with a message fighting with gender-based violence
(Taken by the Research, February 2018, Kabul, Afghanistan)

The message comprised of two parts; the first section is a famous poem that in this context applied to inform and prevent from physical violence against women. It says:

Nāzam Ān Moshti ki Farq-e Zurmandān Beshkanad

Beshkanad Dasti ki Bazu-ye Z'aeifān Beshkanad

Shishe Beshkastan Nabāshad Eftekhār-e Sang-e Sakht

Sang agar Sakht ast Jay-e Shishe Sandān Beshkanad

I admire everyone who stands against the cruel and powerful people and defeats them

I curse everyone who beats the powerless and weak persons

A sturdy stone is never proud of its capability to break a glass

If the stone is impenetrable, unbreakable and powerful, it should search for a stronger component like an anvil.

Below the poem, there is a motto says "violence against woman is violence against religion." At the left side of the painting is a scared woman dodging a punch. Such a painting and message while intended to raise the awareness regarding the violence against women unintentionally reinforces the mentioned gendered stereotypes. In the poem, it compares a man's strength and power to a mighty fist, tough stone, and anvil while a woman to a glass that is weak and tangible. The message draws the attention of the men to not commit violence against women because women are weak/*Z'aeifā* and not an appropriate and powerful component for them.

Women perceived *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/deficient in mind: The second attribute that is discussed by 22 participants and shows the institutionalized gender inequality at the perceptional level is about considering women as *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/deficient in Mind. Of these 22 participants three Pashtun men, one woman, three Tajik men, three women, one Hazara man, and one woman believed that women are deficient in mind. By applying this term, these participants meant that women could be deceived and fall into the moral deviance. PM3 who is a Pashtun man shares his experience as follow:

> Noonday's situation is terrible. The people are too severe. For example, when a woman goes out of her house, all the people are looking at him. All the people focus on her body as much as they can. … The girls in our office are making fun with boys a lot, and they are going anywhere they want. Therefore, they can get misdirected very easily. … The situation is worse today. Some men deceive young girls very quickly and make them change based on their wishes. So many bad cases happened in the offices. Boys have sexually misused girls. Women are incomplete according to their wisdom (*Nāqis-ul-Aql*); therefore, they get misdirected very easily. A man cannot get misdirected easily, but women do. Islam has ordered to the women to cover themselves properly. If we give freedom to the women, they will get misdirected very easily. There is a common thing that says: "From 100 women only one of them goes to heaven while from 100 men only one of them goes to the hell." Women are incomplete according to their wisdom (*Nāqis-ul-Aql*). Their wisdom is weaker than men. Therefore, they can get misdirected very easily (PM3, 41-year-old).

In the quote as mentioned above, it can be seen how gender stereotypes lead to gender inequality. The PM3 describes his concern about the harassments and deceptions against women. Then he states that men can easily deceive women because women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/incapable of thinking wisely in this regard. As a result, he concludes that women's freedom should be restricted to keep them safe.

TM1 who is a Tajik man and already objected his community's perception of a woman as a weak and emotional creature, this time states his personal opinion that a woman is *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/deficient in Mind. He justifies his view with the religion and explains this with the high degree of emotionality and sensitivity that women have:

> … Our religion has determined red lines in term of differences between men and women that we cannot do anything about it. Like in case of women's testimony, it asks for two woman witnesses against one man. Isn't it? … Our religion tells us that woman is *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/deficient in Mind. Sometimes our religion has determined a red line about the woman, and we cannot pass it because of our religion. There are some limitations have been added to women by religion. We cannot pass these red lines, and we can neither say that it is good nor bad. … It has said so because women have a very gentle temper and they are very emotional. However, men are harsh. All around the world, men have been harsh (TM1, 45-year-old).

Also, TF4 who is a Tajik woman and objected the general perception that sees women as weak agrees with the idea that women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*. However, she applies this term in the sense that women are too emotional:

> There is a hadith that says: "women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*." This hadith has been misinterpreted by the people a lot. However, now it is proved that women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql* because they are very emotional. When emotions go up, then wisdom goes down. I believe that sometimes women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*. For example, when she feels too emotional, then she is perceived *Nāqis-ul-Aql*. Women are always emotional; therefore, they are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*. We cannot ignore this even if I am a woman myself [laughing] (TF4, 21-year-old).

In contrast, 10 participants that were mainly women, young-aged, and educated contrasted such as idea. These participants rejected the perception that a woman is incomplete in her intelligence and mentioned that such a perception create gender inequality. HF6 who is a Hazara woman says:

> … I do not believe this that women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*. Also, my relatives do not use this too. I have never heard this from my relatives though, but I have heard it a lot from other people in Kabul. You know I extremely hate this sentence. It is disgusting for me if someone calls me *Nāqis-ul-Aql*/deficient in Mind. Do you know what would be the result of such a view? For those who express this, they always want to supervise a woman thoroughly. For such a people *Nāqis-ul-Aql* means that a woman cannot decide properly and she needs a man to do this for her (HF6, year-old).

PF4 who is a Pashtun girl in her quote clearly explains that a man's *Ghairat* makes him protect his *Nāmus* or female family members because he thinks that

women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql* and cannot protect themselves. She rejects such a conception and gives a reason that men and women are created equal and should be equal accordingly:

> A man's *Ghairat* is aroused when the issue is about a woman, about his *Nāmus*. If I am wrong, you tell me why then he does not use his *Ghairat* toward his brother or his friend? Men always use their *Ghairat* toward women because they think that women are dependent on them. They say that women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql* and they do not know anything. They think that it is their responsibility to make women know everything. For these reasons, men are always using their *Ghairat* toward women. They have a sovereignty sensation toward women. They think that women are their property and they use women as property. They never want someone else to use their property. They create some limitations for their women because they think that they have to protect their property. If we ask a man that why are you doing such actions with your wife? He will say that I am doing so because I have a *Ghairat* and want to protect her. Men think that women cannot protect themselves. They think that women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*. Therefore, they cannot protect themselves. Men think that they are responsible for protecting their women and doing everything for them. They think that their women are their property; therefore, they can make their women accept all their wishes. … However, God created men and women as human beings. Therefore, we should not call women as *Nāqis-ul-Aql*. However, men in our country think that women are *Nāqis-ul-Aql*, therefore, in our country, it is the right of men to be the head of women (PF4, 25-year-old).

5.4.2. Restrictions on Women's Mobility

Women's mobility is a key feature that can clearly show the impact of *Ghairat* on unequal access to the opportunities. 32 out of 37 participants had discussed the manly *Ghairat* and its association with women's mobility:
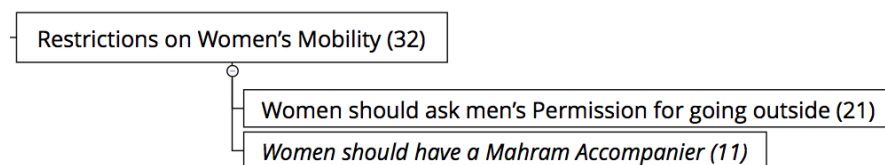
Figure 17. Manly *Ghairat*, restrictions on women's mobility and gender inequality

About 11 man participants including 5 Pashtun men, 3 Tajiks, and 3 Hazaras raised the issue that a man's *Ghairat* requires him to control and protect his *Nāmus's* mobility and be aware of her movement. In this regard, they expect that

their female family members should ask for their permission and also go outside with a *Mahram*/unmarriageable intimate relative male accompanier.

In the following quote, TM5 who is a Tajik man explains that regarding the mobility of his wife, since he has a *Ghairat*, he is supposed to protect his wife. Also, as there are sexual threats and insecurity issues outside the home, he urges his wife to asks for permission from him and has a *Mahram* male accompanier with him:

> … I have *Ghairat* and know about my responsibilities as a man. I tell my wife that she cannot go outside the home without a *Mahram*/unmarriageable intimate relative as the accompanier because there are so many strangers outside and they will talk behind you and will tease you. So, my *Ghairat* does not let me hear those backbiting about her and myself. In this country, there is no implementation of the law, and if my wife goes outside the home, then she will get harassed; therefore I do not allow her to keep her safe and sound. Our religion also made this clear that a woman cannot go outside the home without having a legal *Mahram*. I should obey this rule. Therefore, sometimes I do not allow my wife to go outside the home alone and I accompany her to go somewhere or shopping (TM5, 47-year-old).

In the quote mentioned above there are three justifications that used by the man interviewee regarding the restricting her wife's mobility:

First, he mentions about the strangers, their possible harassments and people that might talk behind her wife is she goes outside;

Second, he argues that according to the weak implementation of the rule of law, the possibility of encountering with sexual harassment is high;

Third, it relies on the religious teachings that banned a woman's movement without having a *Mahram* accompanier. Then emphasizes that as a *Bā-Ghairat* man/having *Ghairat*, he is supposed to protect his wife and in order to do this, he does not allow her to go outside or he accompanies her occasionally.

PM5 who is a mature Pashtun man, also share a similar view as below. In his thought, the Pashtun man insists that a man who has *Ghairat* is the one who protects his *Nāmus* adequately, and in this regard, he does not let her wife go outside the home without a *Mahram*:

> If our wife goes out of the home without asking our permission, indeed, it shows that we are *Be-Ghairat*/not having *Ghairat*. Like a man should never allow his wife to go to the doctor alone, he has to accompany her. He should never allow her to go somewhere alone. There has to be someone with her

because the situation is tough. A *Bā-Ghairat* Afghan man/a man who has *Ghairat* and is Muslim doesn't allow his wife to go somewhere alone. The money is not essential. The people devote their life because of their *Ghairat*. Therefore, money is not important. It does not matter if we spend some money to protect our *Nāmus*. We should accompany our wife while she wants to go somewhere. Some people ask the taxi drivers to take their wife to somewhere; they are *Be-Ghairat*/not having *Ghairat* because most of the taxi drivers are bad. At the current time in Afghanistan, a *Bā-Ghairat/*having *Ghairat* man should train and support his family members properly. If he does not, then his family members will get misdirected and he will be called *Be-Ghairat*/not having *Ghairat* (PM5, 65-year-old).

HM2 is a Hazara man that throughout his interview emphasized that *Ghairat* belongs to all the creatures as it looks like survival and defensive tool. However, when it comes to the women's mobility issue, he takes a different stand. He believes that in order to permit a woman to work, men should notice the cultural and security conditions. He gives an example of Iran as a proper place where women can go outside and work, but in Kabul, he states that there are cultural restrictions and the sphere is not suitable in this regard. Then he says that not letting a woman go outside the home is not about the patriarchal idea or disregarding women's rights; instead, it shows a man's *Ghairat* that he wants to protect his wife:

…. The conditions are different. We can allow women to work if we live in Iran. There is no problem for women to work in conditions like Iran. However, if we are living in a district like Company area in Kabul, then we cannot allow our women to work because if a woman goes out there, the people will look at her very strange. However, note that when we do not allow a woman to work, it does not mean that we are disregarding her rights. It means that our *Ghairat* makes us protect her. We keep her at home because we want to protect her. It does not mean that we have a patriarchal ideology. We care about the community and consider the limitations of our culture. We are men and have more physical power and responsibility; therefore, sometimes it is needed to protect a woman because we do not want her to get hurt (HM2, 47-year-old).

Corresponded to the views as mentioned earlier are the thoughts of 10 married or widowed women that were middle-aged and mature adults. These participants mentioned that as a woman they have to take the permission of their husband for going outside, and this is a compulsory norm. Acceptance of such a norm shows that gender inequality deeply internalized in the views of man and woman interviewees. The following quote stated by TF8 represents the idea of other nine women as well:

When a woman intends to go somewhere, she has to ask for her husband's permission first. For example, when I want to go to my brother's home, first I ask my husband about his permission. I want him to be aware of where I am going. If I go somewhere without informing my husband, and I die, how he will know about my death. Therefore, I want all my family members to know about where I am going. Women should always ask about their husband's permission when they want to go somewhere. A woman cannot go anywhere without her husband's permission. If she does not have a husband or if her husband is not around, then she should tell her son that I want to go somewhere. If a woman's husband is alive, then she is not allowed to go somewhere without her husband's permission. She should always ask about her husband's permission. I cannot and don't go to anywhere without my husband's permission. If a woman goes to somewhere without her husband's permission, then her husband should divorce her because men have more rights upon women. The Islam and Quran also confirm this. However, for a man, he should not ask for permission. He can tell where he goes but shouldn't ask for permission. Women cannot prevent their husband from going somewhere. For example, sometimes I tell my husband not to go somewhere, but he tells me that don't try to prevent me because I am not a child to get lost. He tells me that you should not go somewhere because you are a *SiāSar* and it is terrible for you. Men can go everywhere they want. Like they can attend a party. For example, they can go to picnic but women cannot. Men can have gathered with their friends at night but women cannot. Men can go everywhere. For example, they can go to a wedding and can come home at midnight but women cannot because their men do not allow them. Their men tell them you are *SiāSar*, the situation is not good, and the people talk behind your back if you go to somewhere at night.

A man can go outside the home at night but a woman cannot because she is a *SiāSar* and it is a defect for her. For example, if a woman goes out at night, she can be raped or can be killed in an explosion. If a woman gets killed in an explosion, she will be disgraced/*Be-Sirat*. However, it does not shame for men to do wherever they want. For men, even it is not a shame if they go out naked.

Women are *SiāSar*, and it is a shame for them to go out at night. For example, a man prevents his wife from going out, but she does not care about her husband and goes out, then she gets killed in an explosion. Indeed, she got killed *Haram* because her husband has already prevented her.

If I go outside the home while my husband prevents me, but I do not care about him and go out and get killed, then I will die in a *Haram* way, and everyone will talk behind my back because my husband has not allowed me to go out (TF8, 59-year-old).

In the mentioned quote, the participant accepted the social norm that she as the wife and *SiāSar* must ask for the permission of her husband for going outside. According to her, this is because she is a *SiāSar* and people talk behind her and

also Islamic rules require the same action. In turn, she believes that a man is entirely free to go everywhere because he is a man and there is no restriction for him. However, it seems that there is no issue concerning this gender inequality for her.

However, about 11 woman participants who were unmarried, and educated shared their lived experiences about the mobility issue in a way that they felt the imposed inequality in this aspect. These participants compared themselves with men and raised this question why men can freely attend everywhere while they cannot. Such views are represented in the following remarks:

> You know *Ghairat* of a man includes all his wishes that should be considered by others as well. I mean like when a woman wants to go to her father's house, his husband wants her to ask for his permission first, and if he allows, then she can go to her father's house. Is this *Ghairat* for them? It is a man's wish that wants her wife to always ask for his permission for going somewhere. Men make their women do whatever they want. If their women reject it because it is something illogical, men will not accept their reasoning. For example, a young man tells his sister not to go to bazaar alone because the situation is not good. Indeed, it is his wish that doesn't want his sister to go to bazaar alone. If his sister accepts him, then he says that yes, I am a *Bā-Ghairat* man/having *Ghairat* because I could make my sister to accept my saying. Also, the majority of men do not want their women like sister, mother, wife or daughter to go outside of the home alone. If a man does not allow his wife to go out without his permission, then his friends, relatives, and his own family will call him a *Bā-Ghairat* man/having *Ghairat*. Another instance that I am sure you saw it in the wedding invitation cards, it is only the grooms' first name that is written while the bride's first name is not there. Why? The groom will answer you that since he has *Ghairat*, he does not want others to know her wife's name! These are the cases that men call them *Bā-Ghairat* (PF3, 25-year-old).

The PF3 in her statement criticizes the inequalities that imposed upon women in the name of *Ghairat*. She started with the control issue that a man defines his *Ghairat* regarding controlling his wife and female family members and make them act upon his wishes. According to her, a control particularly regards women's mobility, and in order to prove his *Ghairat*, a man restricts women's movement.

5.4.3. Restrictions on Women's Dressing Code: *Hijāb*

Women's dressing code is another significant field that manly *Ghairat* is concerned explicitly with it. In this regard observing *Hijāb* is considered as a sign

that shows a man's *Ghairat* and capability in controlling his wife and preventing her from moral deviance. A detail of the participants' perceptions in this regard is summarized in figure 18:

Restrictions on Women's Dressing Code (37)

Observing Hijāb is related to manly Ghairat (27)
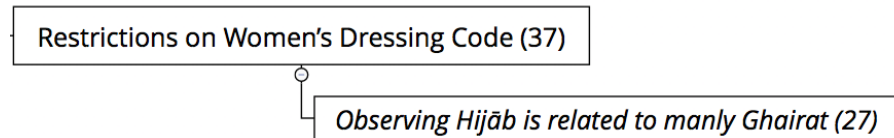
Figure 18. Manly *Ghairat*, restrictions on women's dressing code and gender inequality

Almost all the participants through their talks about *Ghairat*, they also mentioned *Hijāb*. The common aspect that emphasized by all the 37 participants without exception is that *Hijāb* actively originates in Islamic teachings and they as Muslims are required to follow it. However, 14 men (5 Pashtuns, 6 Tajiks, and 3 Hazaras), and 13 women (4 Pashtuns, 6 Tajiks, and 3 Hazaras) tied *Hijāb* to manly *Ghairat* in a necessary way.

The PM2's quotation represents this as following:

> Based on Islam women is considered as a full *'Awrat* and needs to be fully covered. It means, it is obligatory on women to cover all the parts of their body. However, for men, the amount that they should is different from *Siāsars*. All parts of a *Siāsars*'s body are her *'Awrat*. A woman who fully covers herself is called a modest/*Bā-Haya Siāsar*. A *Siāsar* who is fully in *Purdah* and *Hijāb* and her *'Awrat* is not seen is called a modest and covered/*Bā-Haya* and *Bā-Hijab*. You know stranger men should not see different parts of a *Siāsars*'s bodyseen by stranger men. That is 'Awrat … A man whose *Siāsar*/female family members are not well-covered, he does not have *Ghairat* (PM2, 30-year-old).

According to PM2, it is necessary for a woman to cover herself thoroughly. Discussing the *Hijāb* issue, he refers to women as *'Awrat* which is an Islamic term and refers to the parts of the body that should be kept covered. However, he believes that a woman or as he says a *Siāsar* is an *'Awrat* itself. Here, he reduces a woman to his body parts that she must fully cover them. Providing a religious justification, then he moves to manly *Ghairat* and explains that a man whose *Siāsars*/female family members are not in the appropriate Hijab, their man does not have *Ghairat*. So a man who has *Ghairat* necessarily makes sure that her female family members observe the appropriate *Hijāb*.

However, there were eight women (2 Pashtuns, 3 Tajiks, and 3 Hazaras) and 2 Hazara men that while confirmed the religious foundation of *Hijāb*, they insisted that men improperly impose Hijāb to women. The participants believed that while

women observe their religious norms, there is no need for men to claim their *Ghairat* by insisting on women's *Hijāb*. Such a perception is best reflected in the following quote by PF3:

> You know men feel themselves that they do not have *Ghairat* if their wife, sister or mother do not care about their *Hijāb* and other men see them un-covered/*Be-Hijāb*. The men feel shy in front of their friends if their sister or mother goes out while they are not adequately covered. Their friends call them *Be-Ghairat* because of inappropriate *Hijāab* of their mother and sister. Men always want us to have proper *Hijāb* then they say that see, we have *Ghairat* and we can make our women obey our wishes. I told you that *Ghairat* is connected to the men's wishes. I mean, they use their *Ghairat* to make their women accept their wishes. I am already observing my *Hijāb* and why there should be many emphasizes. [Smiling] I will resist and will not allow anyone to make me accept his wishes. It was just once that I asked my friend to wear her *Hijāb* because some boys were teasing her... By that time I was living in a community where there were a lot of close-minded people, and it affected me too. So, I told my friend, but now I think that I was not right to tell her this. Even I think a child should not impose its will upon other people. However, at that time I was thinking so different than now…. I also remember that when I was a child, my brother and I were going to Madrasa/religious school to learn Quran but you know he was forcing me to have my *Hijāb* (PF3, 25-year-old).

TF5 who is a young Tajik woman also shares her view and criticizes all the pressures that manly *Ghairat* places on women along with justifications from religion:

> … Unfortunately, our people mostly care about *Hijāb*. If they see a girl without proper *Hijāb*, then they think that she is a bad and immoral person. They do not talk with her and judge her very rapidly.

> Some girls cover themselves very correctly, but they are committing many bad conducts. They deceive people. They take care of their *Hijāb* but do whatever they want. In our country, the people think that God has sent down the *Quran* only for women. Also, the most crucial issue in the mosques is *Hijāb*. The *Mullah*s say if a man sees a woman's hair, then she is sinful and she will be punished in the hell! *Hijāb* is significant, but in our community, it is the only matter that everybody focused on it. If a girl covers herself and shows her good externally, then the people say that she is excellent. However, do they know if she is perfect spiritually? However, there are many girls whose sprites are excellent and observes all other religious issues but love to wear beautiful and free clothes. Then the people call them evil, and men say, oh dear! Our *Ghairat* does not accept this style (TF5, 22-year-old).

There were also two Hazara men that shared a critical view on the general trend that considered manly *Ghairat* as the guardian of womanly *Hijāb*. HM3 who is a young Hazara man share her lived experiences that he used to act upon his *Ghairat* when he was younger. However, his view regarding manly *Ghairat* and women changed when he entered the university and started reading Psychology. He explains that the time that he was identifying himself with *Ghairat*, he strongly expected his female family members to observe the *Hijāb*. It was like a stigma if his female family members went outside while not observing the *Hijāb*. In his remark the internal and external pressures that he felt is clear. However, for now, he finds all these pressures that men put on the women meaningless:

> When I came back to Afghanistan, I had some perceptions and *Ghairat* was an essential issue for me. For instance, I did not want a girl of my family to go outside the home without having a proper *Hijāb* because I thought that if she does so, then it will be like a stigma/*Laka-e-Nang* for me. I thought that if she does so, then my friends, relatives and the people of the community would talk behind my back. Therefore, I could not accept to allow a girl to go out without having a proper covering. It was difficult for me to accept they go without proper *Hijāb*. It was difficult to accept the people words. It was like a taboo and stigma/*Laka-e-Nang* for other men in my family and I if a girl did so. However, now everything is changed. I only review those memories sometimes and smile. I changed a lot since I attended the university (HM3, 28-year-old).

5.4.4. Restrictions on Women's Employment

Manly *Ghairat* can also impact and restrict women's access to economic opportunities since men perceive themselves as the ultimate *Nafaqa*/maintenance provider for the family. Also, it is a sign of losing a man's sense of control if his female family members start working outside the home. Figure 19 illustrates the general perceptions regarding the manly *Ghairat* and restrictions on women's employment:
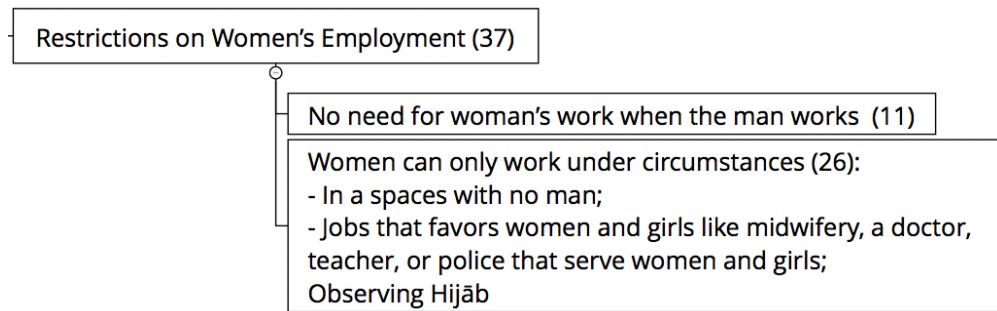
Figure 19. Manly *Ghairat*, restrictions on women's employment and gender inequality

Among the 37 participants, there were 3 Pashtun men and two women, 2 Tajik men and two women, and 1 Hazara man and a woman that stated their belief that when the head of the family who is a man works, there is no need for women to work outside the home.

Such an idea can be represented in the following expression said by PM2:

> …I think as a man this is my *Ghairat* to work and find the *Nafaqa* for my family. It is my responsibility that I have to work, so when a man works then, it is not necessary for women to work. For example, currently, I am working here. Therefore, it is not necessary for my *Siāsar* to work outside. She can ask me whatever she wants and I have to provide it. She should command me, and I will obey her will [smiling]. However, educated women and girls if they wish, they can work. It is fine. However, you know how is the situation. It is not good. There are harasser men everywhere. …

As the PM2 states, as the head of his family, he is responsible for fulfilling their needs and his ability and hard work to fulfill this duty is his *Ghairat*. In this case, he does not believe that it is necessary for a woman to work because he can provide her with all what she wants. Then he makes a point that the educated women can work, but in the end, he talks about the threats that they may encounter if they come outside for work.

Among the young and educated men there was a Tajik man who also expressed a similar view:

> I think when I am working, it is not needed for my wife to work. For example, if I am teaching in a school or university, I do not want my wife to do the same. I do not want her to teach the boys. When I am working myself; that is enough. It is not needed for my wife to work.

However, he gives the main reason as below:

> The reason that I do not want my wife to work is that I do not want her to teach the men or young boys. The people of my original community also don't see this an appropriate thing. Even if I allow her, the people will not

accept it. The people think that if a girl or woman wants to work, she has to work in a totally womanly space. So, I cannot and do not allow my wife to work in this case . This will affect my *Ghairat*. I can allow her to work in case if there is no man because I feel more comfortable when she is operating with women. If I allow her to teach the boys, her students will not feel good with her. They will not be able to be free with her. Also, my wife will not feel free too and if she does not feel free so how will she teach the students? For example, a student has a question about sexual matters, but he cannot ask it from a girl. The people in our community do not want a woman to work in a sphere that there are men is mixed with men. Some men teach the girls. The people don't have any problem because they know that we have to accept men to teach their daughters. They know the value of knowledge, and they see that there is no any other way. The people want the girls to teach the girls in the future (TM2, 22-year-old).

Working in the fields that related to women and dealing only with women and girls is a condition that also mentioned by some other male participants who agreed with woman's employment. So, about 26 participants accepted women's work conditionally.

The TM3 states that it is necessary for a woman to work, but through the examples he provides, he focuses on the fields that are associated only with women; such an emphasize although it opens windows for women to work outside the home but make their choices limited:

You know both men and women should work. If other people may don't want their women to work. It is their problem. Suppose that my wife is ill and want to take her to a doctor; She feels more comfortable if I take her to a female doctor. Women in our community feel more comfortable to be in touch with a woman doctor. Or, suppose my wife's phone is not working. She prefers to take it to a female technician. Because she feels relaxed sharing her problem with a woman. Thus, both men and women can work. Or if there is a female guard, women feel more good to be searched by a woman. (TM3, 25-year-old).

Another inequality that especially the woman participants shared is about the acceptance of the multitasking issue. They believe that as a woman beside having a job, fulfilling the household chores are also their responsibility.

PF4 shares her idea in this regard in this way:

I think a woman who is working shouldn't give her husband an excuse to complain about her. We are all living in Afghanistan, and if we were not here, then my thought was different. For example, one of my father's relatives is living abroad. She does not work at home and only works outside the home. She feeds herself and her family using fast food which is available in the stores, and no one can tell her anything. Both she and her husband are

working, and both of them are engineers. Also, their sons and daughters are engineers. However, in Afghanistan, if a woman does not prepare and cook the tea and food for men on time, then men will say so many things to her. They will tell her that it is your responsibility to work inside the home but why don't you know your responsibility? And will say, look at other women, they perform their tasks on time. They tell her so many things, and it affects her very severely. So, I think, if a woman wants to work outside the home, then she should not give an excuse to her husband, children, brother or father to complain. However, she has to work. She has to stand on her own feet and make her life herself (PF4, 19-year-old).

The PF4 also specifies the pre-conditions that her father made for her employment outside the home. These are the pre-requisites that mentioned by other men and specifically relate to their manly *Ghairat*, control, and observing the *Hijāb* by women:

… Also, I want to talk about the conditions which my father has determined for me. He told me that he would allow me to work if I wear long clothes for going to the office. He does not mean anything special but wants me to cover my *Satr-e-'Awrat*/body. He tells me to wear some loose clothes and to wear a veil properly. Also, of course, he does not want me to make up myself that may attract a man's attention. He always tells me to go outside and work but follow these rules. Also, he told me that if you find a job, then I want to check and make myself sure about the goodness of the working space and your colleagues first, then I will allow you to work there (PF4, 19-year-old).

5.5.   *GHAIRAT-BASED VIOLENCE: TYPES AND CONTRIBUTIONS*

As a step further, this theme deals with the consequences of manly *Ghairat* on gender relations. Violence and aggression have been among the most common items that have been mentioned by the participants of the study when sharing their thoughts, feelings, observations, and experience about *Ghairat*. As it showed in the previous sections*, Ghairat* mainly works in the family and *Nāmus* domains. In this section, the specific types of violence that contributed by manly *Ghairat* and affect *Nāmus* and female family members explained. Accordingly, while most of the man participants were not interested in sharing their personal experiences of being violent in the family because of *Ghairat* issues, woman participants took more role in this field. Three main types of *Ghairat*-based violence that explicitly affect women and girls extracted. Seven examples also were identified and divided among the categories:

- Physical violence: Explicit experience of physical assaults, Observation of physical assaults to other women;

- Emotional and psychological violence: Restriction of social rights, confinement, and intimidation, abuse/humiliation;

- Traditional practices: Killing in the name of *Ghairat*, Forced marriage.

The violence types, sub-themes, and the number of participants are illustrated in the following figure:
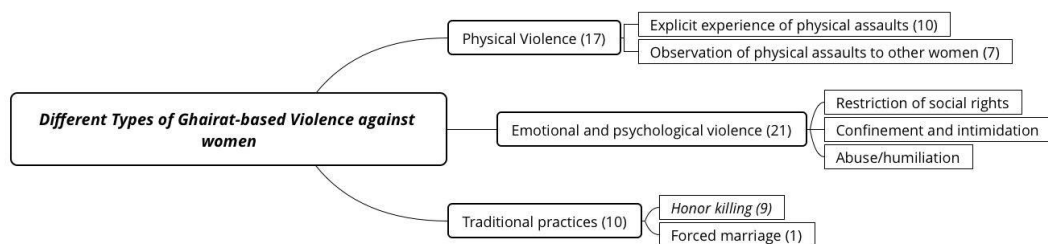
Figure 20. Types of *Ghairat*-based violence against women

Based on what the subjects of the study shared, *Ghairat* contributes to violence against women as a means. A man may use violence to protect, control and prevent, or punish his *Nāmus* and female family members. The contribution of *Ghairat* in gender-based violence is explained in each example. Also, regarding the categorization of *Ghairat*-based violence that committed against women, the

instances show that most often the victim of violence experience different types together at the same incident.

5.5.1. Physical Violence

17 Out of 21 woman participants including (5 Pashtun, 8 Tajik, and 4 Hazara) shared their experiences and observations of physical assaults that committed by their male family members because of the *Ghairat* related issues. However, among the mentioned number of participant, there were only ten women who explained their specific experience of physical violence. 7 participants also stated their observations of this violence among their social networks or community:

Physical Violence (17) — Explicit experience of physical assaults (10) / Observation of physical assaults to other women (7)
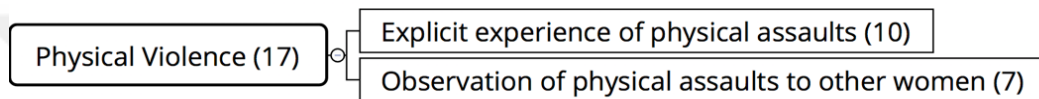
Figure 21. Physical violence against women because of *Ghairat*

It seems that since in a culture that respects to the father is a value, some participants did not want to mention that have been beaten by their father because of *Ghairat* issues.

PF2, a Pashtun young girl explained her experience that several times she was beaten by her smaller brother who is about 18 years old (3 years younger than her). According to her, the main reason is that her brother wants her to not go to the public spheres and stay at home:

> Most of the time my younger brother argues with me. He interferes my stuff all the time. Also, several times we fought, and he beat me. Once, I cried a lot. You know what the reason for these fights was? Going outside whether if it is for university or my relatives' homes. He wants me not to go out. It is awkward that all the time I should explain to him where I was or want to go; isn't it? So, two-three times I said that it is not his business, then our argument got intense and physical. He said if I want him to kick my ass, he is ready and then started beating me. I also responded by beating him in turn. However, you know he is stronger and I could not as much as he did. When I complained to my father about his beating, he said that he has *Ghairat* and his *Ghairat* does not accept to see that his sister is always out! (PF2, 22-year-old).

In the quote mentioned above, it seems that the PF2's brother feels that he lost his control over his sister because she goes out of the home while she is not informing him. According to his *Ghairat*'s prescription, his sister counted as his *Nāmus* and

was supposed to take his permission. Since she did not ask for the permission, then he reacts violently.

TF7 shared her observation of physical violence that happened in their neighborhood:

> … Among our relatives and neighbors, I have seen many women and girls who have been beaten by their man family members because of *Ghairat* issue. As an instance, it was two weeks ago that I was waiting for a car in the street. A little way further, there was a car that a wife was standing beside it. She was with her husband who was buying the fruit. I saw another man passerby said something to the woman and she replied him back. When they went back into the car. The husband started beating his wife. I am a woman myself. I got distraught. I know what the reason for sure was. It happened to many of us. I think the husband saw that his wife was talking with a stranger man and then thought that his wife is guilty too. It has caused him to behave his wife violently. I saw them inside a car, and he was beating his wife. You know the passerby already left, and the man did not do with him. He only showed his madness and *Ghairat* to his poor wife. Our men always wanted us to go outside less and warn about not arguing with the harassers. But why when we answer to the man that gives a remark, our men beat us! Is this *Ghairat*? (TF1, 22-year-old).

TF1 describes her observation with a strong feeling of empathy as she also experienced in similar situations. In this case, a man applies physical violence against his so-called *Nāmus*. Based on the story the reason can be punishing a woman that why she talked to a strange man in the public space. As the TF1 mentions and also confirmed by some male interviewees, the men expect a woman to not argue or riposte with men even if they conduct sexual harassment.

HF6, A middle-aged Hazara woman also talked about her personal experience. In her case, the husband severely beat her because she opened the door and talked to a man:

> Our next door man knocked our door once. Since the children were out and my husband was sleeping, I went and opened the door. He is a respected man, and his wife is my friend. He wanted to borrow our extension lead. I gave him that. When my husband waked up, I told him that I gave the extension lead to the next door man. He suddenly got agitated and angry. He shouted that why I opened the door to a strange man. Our argument changed to a fight. He punched my face, and my nose started bleeding. He is very *Ghairat-i*/has too much *Ghairat*. Did I do something wrong? I did This was not fair. We are all Muslim. He should not be a pessimist about me and our neighbors (HF6, 48-year-old).

HF6 who is a Hazara woman mentions about the dispute among her couple next door that ended to physical violence against the woman:

… We had a neighbor that one of their houses' windows was on the street side. Once, I saw his wife was standing close to the window. Then I heard that the man started shouting on her that "do not stand over there, people can see you." Then he was questioning her that why she was looking at the street? I said again this stupid man with his stupid *Ghairat* makes the poor woman doomed. He asked his wife that why did you stand to close the window because the people could see you while passing the street. Then he beat her. Such cases are happening a lot, every day in Kabul (HF6, 27-year-old).

5.5.2. Emotional and Psychological Violence

Emotional and psychological violence is the most common type of violence and abuse that all the 21 woman participants experienced it. In most cases, the examples of this violence occur together. For instance, several participants explained that they were intimidated and forced to stay at home and not attend their social rights. The most common examples of psychological violence said by the participants are the restriction of social rights, confinement, and intimidation, as well as humiliation. Figure 22 illustrates the different types of emotional violence that the woman interviewees encountered:
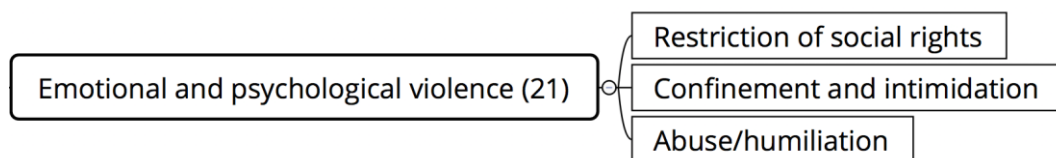
Figure 22. Emotional and psychological violence against women because of
Ghairat

In the following quote, PF3 who is a Pashtun girl shared her first impression of *Ghairat* when she was a child and were made to observe the *Hijāb* go outside:

For the first time when I heard the term *Ghairat*, I was tiny. I was not wearing the veil until I got 12 years old. I think I was 12 or 13 years old that my grandmother told my brother that he does not have *Ghairat* because I am going out without wearing a veil. So, it was the first time I heard the term *Ghairat* from my grandmother. Then my brother who is older than me a year started nagging me that I had to do that. So, in that time if I did not wear the veil when going out, for my family and perhaps our neighbors this could be seen that our men especially my brother are *Be-Ghairat*/not having *Ghairat*. Now, it is about ten years passed. My brother has changed a little. However, he lasted his interference in my stuff. He has pocked his nose into my works. Like, before my entrance to the university he told me once, that when I got

my bachelor degree, he will not allow me to have a job and I should stay at home until I get married. However, I ignored him, and I was lucky that I had the support of my father. [smiling] I will threat his *Ghairat* again when I start my teaching job at a university, and I will not budge an inch on my will (PF3, 22-year-old).

In the lived experience shared by PF3, it is evident that his brother restricted her social rights and forced her to wear *Hijāb* for going outside the home while she was a child. According to the participant's view, here, the focus is not on *Hijāb*. Throughout her interview, she emphasizes observing *Hijāb* as a Muslim. However, she argues that this is not fair that men are imposing their will regarding the dressing code and attending social activities on women. She objects the expectation that manly *Ghairat* creates through which men justify the limitations they place on women in order to prove their *Ghairat*. Another point that mentioned by the participant is that her brother was encouraged by the grandmother. In this case, she acted as a socialization agent and taught her grandson about the *Ghairat* that he should hold and follows it.

TF7 who is a Tajik girl talks about her closest friend that while she spends all her income on her family's expenses, she cannot reveal where she works. The main reason is that she is afraid in case her family knows that she is working in an NGO, she would be forced to leave her job since manly *Ghairat* sees this inappropriate. As a result, the participant concludes that girls live with constant pressure and stress:

> If I tell you there are many restrictions for women that are caused by *Ghairat*. Sometimes, I feel that we as women overstressed with this issue. Remember the girl that I told you about her before; the one that does not have a father and works to provide the expenses of the family. You know we are very close together like being sisters/*Khāhar Khāndah*. She is working in an NGO-non government organization in Kabul but can you believe that her family does not know about this. They think that she works in the ministry of communication. Nobody knows this other than me. You know why? Because the families do not have a good picture of the NGOs. So she is afraid that if her brother and nephews know this, they may make her leave her job. So, this is *Ghairat* of men that most the time put restraints on the girls (TF7, 22-year-old).

HF1 who is a Hazara girl also discussed the constraints she encountered because of uploading her photos on the social media:

> You know some people consider a man as *Bā-Ghairat/*having *Ghairat* that does not permit his daughter to go to school or university. For example, a few nights ago I argued with my cousin. His idea was different from me. I

have a Facebook account and have uploaded some of my photos there. However, my cousin was arguing with me that who has a Facebook account and puts her photos there is an immodest/*Be-Hayā*. He implicitly was saying that my brother and father are *Be-Ghairat*/not having *Ghairat* because they do not prevent me as their daughter! He was saying that a girl who wears thin clothes, wears a small veil and goes to bazaar alone is an immodest/*Be-Hayā* woman and her family is *Be-Ghairat* too.

I argued with him a lot. I told him that it is your idea and keep it for your old-mind. I told him that he should not compare me with other girls that you see outside and he cannot call me immodest/*Be-Hayā*. I told him that based on my idea it is not a *Nang/*stigma that I put my photos on my Facebook. I like to do this. I had my *Hijāb* and covered my hairs; God allowed women to leave their face open. So if someone saw a woman's face and hand, it does not matter. However, he is like that. He is nagging and complaining about my behavior. What does he want from me? Maybe he thinks that I am a deviant girl that he should guide me to the right path. Is this his manly *Ghairat* then? I am always at the university. Everyone has my photograph and my phone number. We had a graduation party, and my friends recorded some videos.

I do not care if someone sees my photograph on Facebook. I told my cousin that I do not believe these bullshit. However, he does. Even when I uploaded my photo on Facebook, he did not contact me since then. He told me that he feels ashamed because I had Facebook and uploaded my photos. … He also has a problem if I want to stay at the dormitory. When I came to Kabul for the first time to attend the university, I wanted to stay in a girl's dormitory; however, he firmly rejected this idea and said I should not do this (HF1, 30-year-old).

A Pashtun girl also stated her general observation about the restriction on women in their community:

… *Ghairat* can cause violence in different forms. For instance, there are Pashtun men says their *Ghairat* does not allow them to let their daughters or wife go to school and learn something. I saw such cases. Indeed, their *Ghairat* grabs a woman's right here. Grabbing a woman's right, itself is a kind of violence. They do not allow their women to go to school and study or work. They do not give the rights of their women and take their freedom. It is a kind of violence. In such cases, men's *Ghairat* cause to violence against women (PF2, 22-year-old).

In her experience, the HF1 explains that her cousin attempts to intervene in her social activities. He feels that he is in charge and labels the participant and her brother and father. He blames the intimate male members of the participant for not having *Ghairat* over their *Nāmus*. He sees the disconformity of the girl with

Ghairat norms as a result of poor control by the father and brother. On the other side, he abuses the girl by calling her an immodest/*Be-Hayā*.

In another experience that is shared by HF3, in an incident, she became the victim of threat, intimidation, and humiliation by her brother. Her brother forced her not to go outside. According to the participant, due to the impact of this violence, still, she feels highly stressed and anxious at times and left the educational courses that she was attending. Her brother mentions that he cannot tolerate if his sisters make a relationship with a man:

> … No one will ask a man that where was he or why did he come late in the evening? Even if he does not come, nobody questions him. However, if I get back home a bit late then my family especially my brother will question me that where were you? A woman cannot live alone. I do not want to get married at all, and I want to live alone till the end of my life. I want to study many books and do whatever I like. I do not like getting married because of these terrible experiences. Instead, I want to attend my higher education. However, for now, I realized there is no other way other than accepting the norms of the community. A girl cannot live alone in a community where the people are like wolfs. Currently, I believe that I have to get married. A man can do whatever he wants, but a woman does not have that freedom. Boys can even have a girlfriend, but girls cannot have a boyfriend. These issues are not acceptable in our community yet. However, sometimes we need to have a friend to talk to him. … You know, my brother, he thinks that he is the head of the family because he is working and having income. He decides for everyone including me. In the past, he was much worse. I should have taken his permission for going everywhere. If I did not ask his permission for going outside the home, then he accused me. I have been the victim of such issues. However, he accused me once in a way that I will never forget it. Still, it hurts. It was a horrible incident. His words affected me negatively. Since that time I am always with the pressure and stress. It was like a shock to me. It was *Muharram* month [this is a holy month, especially for Shi'a sect. In this month Husayn ibn Ali got killed]. I wanted to go to *TakyaKhāna*/congregational hall [The Shi'a people goes to congregational halls in order to attend the mourning of *Muharram*]. On the way to *TakyaKhāna*/congregational hall, I faced my brother. He was with his friend. Then he asked me that where do you go? I told him that I am going to *TakyaKhāna*. I did not have makeup. I just washed, and I was seen somehow more disciplined. However, he told me that you had made yourself like a princess so where do you want to go? He said that I think you want to meet someone near to *TakyaKhāna*. He insulted and humiliated me in front of his friend and told me to go back home with an aggressive voice. When I got home, then he threatened and humiliated me again. I could never expect myself to commit such an action. After that, I experienced a shock and couldn't dare to attend the seminars on Fridays. I could not dare to go to course anymore. It affected me very badly. He even threatened me to death and said that I would kill you if you intend to have a relationship. He said

that he is not a *Be-Ghairat* man/without *Ghairat* that see his sisters are in relation with a boy (HF3, 19-year-old).

5.5.3. Traditional Practices

The third category of violence facilitated by *Ghairat* is about traditional practices like killing, and forced marriage:

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐    ┌─────────────────────────┐
│                             │    │  Honor killing (9)      │
│  Traditional practices (10) │─○< ├─────────────────────────┤
│                             │    │  Forced marriage (1)    │
└─────────────────────────────┘    └─────────────────────────┘
```
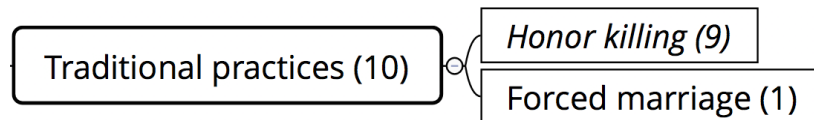
Figure 23. Tradition practices against women because of *Ghairat*

9 of 37 participants including 3 Pashtun men and a woman, 2 Tajik men and a woman, and a Hazara man and a woman found the killing of a woman justifiable when she is in a relationship with a man prior or out of marriage. According to these participants, in this case, a man should defend his *Ghairat* applying any possible means. PM2 who is a Pashtun man represents this idea as below:

> The first matter for sure is about family. When a man's *Nāmus* is in danger, he should defend his *Ghairat*. For example, when a man gets informed that his *Siāsar*/wife is in a relationship with another man, he has not to keep calm; he has to do something. If he does nothing and stays relax, indeed he is very *Be-Ghairat*/not having *Ghairat*. Because he knows that his *Siāsar* is in a relationship with another man. If he has *Ghairat* so, he has to prevent his *Siāsar* from doing such an immoral act. He has to find that person who was in a relationship with her *Siāsar* and does something against him. In our tradition, he may kill his *Siāsar*, the man or both of them (PM2, 30-year-old).

The PM2 believe as a man of *Ghairat*, he cannot see that his *Nāmus* has an affair with another man. If he finds out his wife's relationship, then automatically he should react violently; the interviewee insists that he should take action to prove his *Ghairat*. So he has to kill his *Nāmus* and the man. However, it was not only men who identified killing as a reaction to *Nāmus*'s sexual misconduct. Among the 9 participants, three women corresponded to the man participants. TF9 who is a Tajik woman represent their views in her remark:

> I think that men should use violence to defend their *Ghairat*. If a man knows that something is destroying himself, his family and his *Ghairat* then he should use violence to protect it. For instance, a girl's family is a good family, but she commits an immoral action outside the home with another man. Then her father should have *Ghairat* and kill her. If he knows that his

daughter committed a wrong action, then he should kill her. If he does not then, he will be like a pig and will be guilty too. I do not count him as a Muslim anymore. I see him a Jews or Nazarene instead. I think he should kill his daughter. He should kill his daughter's boyfriend if he can catch him. However, if he cannot, then he should kill the daughter (TF9, 47-year-old).

TF9 in her quote explains that if their daughter establishes a sexual relationship with a man, then she expects her husband to kill her. Otherwise, he is like a pig. In Afghanistan culture, a pig is a symbol of a man who is a cuckold and do not care about his *Nāmus*. The participant also adds that if he does not react, then she considers her husband as a non-Muslim and infidel person. She provides more details on her view and later explains that parents should discipline their daughter in a way that she stays on the right path. Here, she insists that man's *Ghairat* should prevent her from deviance. Then adds that if her daughter makes a sexual relationship with a man, then she should go on trial. However, she clarifies that if the father sees his daughter while she has a sexual relationship with a man, based on the religious view, he can kill the daughter. She gives a challenge to her husband that he can do the same to her if she gets into an illegal affair:

> You know I mean, first, we should advise our daughter, that she should not make a relationship with a man. We should discipline her in this way. His father should have a *Ghairat* and prevent her. However, if it does not work and she did not learn from our advice, we should beat her and at the end, if she did not understand the meaning of our harshness, then we should submit her to the government. Then the government and law know how to behave with her. God has also proposed this solution for us if a girl commits a Haram sexual action, it is acceptable and allowable to kill her. Her father should kill her. If I commit an immoral action and my husband sees me, then I allow him to kill me and my blood is *Halal* for him. However, he should only kill me if he saw me while committing an evil action with his own eyes. Doubting is not good. If a man doubts on his wife or daughter and kills them, then he will not be a good man. So, violence is justifiable only in order to protect *Ghairat* because no one's *Ghairat* can allow his daughter or wife to commit an evil act. If my daughter commits a wrong action [having an affair], I do not need her, and I will kill her myself. It is not needed and allowable for her to live in my house because she has committed sexual corruption. For instance, my husband and I showed the good and bad for our children because we have *Ghairat*. So, if my daughter commits a make relationship with a man, I will kill her myself because I am a Muslim and my religion does not accept it. My heart does not accept to allow her to be alive anymore (TF9, 47-year-old).

Other than the mentioned participants, there was a subject who talked about her experience that her brother threatened her to kill in case of her relationship with a man:

> … I told you about my experience and my brother. I was 15 years old in that time and even couldn't understand the meaning of a relationship with a boy. However, my brother accused me in my way to the *TakyaKhāna*/congregational hall in front of his friend. He told me that I wanted to meet a boy. He accused me. It affected me very negatively. You know I had the first rank in my class, but after this incident, I became discouraged and fell into the third grade. It was an educational failure for me. I became sick for two weeks. He told me that I would kill you if I see you have a relationship with a boy. He said that if I see you with a boy, then your place will be in the grave and mine in the jail. … He does not want us to be in touch with a boy. However, he had a girlfriend and entitled himself to love her. He talks to the girl through the phone; however, if he knows that we are in touch with someone even through a message, then he will break our phone. If he sees us with a boy, then he will kill me and the boy (HF3, 19-year-old).

Concerning the forced marriage, there was a case that is shared by PF3. She shared her observation of a girl that has been the victim of forced marriage because of *Ghairat*. She was a child that the father arranged her marriage and promised his friend for this marriage. When the daughter became 16 years old which was still a child, he makes her married to that friend because he did not want to return from his word:

> Where we were living there was a girl at the 8th grade in a private school. She was 16 years old, and she was engaged. Her father made her engaged with one of his friends when she was a child. Her father did not want to broke his promise to his friend. His *Ghairat* did not allow him to reneged his deal and it caused to violence. Because she was 16 years old, but her father arranged her wedding while she needed to go to school. She got married, but her husband was behaving very violently. Finally, she went back to her father's house, but her father made her go back to her husband's house. Her husband beat the poor girl. Their case went to the attorney general office at the end. Here that was the father's *Ghairat* that caused to violence against her little girl (PF3, 25-year-old).

5.6.   SOCIAL EVALUATION OF *GHAIRAT*

The final theme which named as the social evaluation of *Ghairat* reflects the procedure and social sanctions which make an individual-most often men to act following the *Ghairat* norms.

Throughout the descriptions and stories of all 37 participants, *talking about Ghairat* was always followed with the two labels: *Bā-Ghairat* and *Be-Ghairat*. The participants persistently used the mentioned labels to distinguish men who identified as the holder and possessor of *Ghairat* and those who lack this quality. The Labelling and categorization show a mechanism through which the social control takes place, and specific norms operate. The social evaluation theme attempts to explain the labeling and consequences of this process.

As emerged through the interviews, conformity and nonconformity are the two main bases for *Ghairat*'s evaluation. Moreover, the conformity and nonconformity depend on the state of man whether he successfully confirms to the assigned rules or fails to conform to it. Accordingly, the actor would be entitled as a *Bā-Ghairat* or *Be-Ghairat* man and led to social honor or shame.

For this theme, in total there were ten sub-themes identified and categorized into two main family codes. The main categories of social evaluation and related sub-codes are as below:

-   **Conformity with *Ghairat***: *Bā-Ghairat*/Possessing *Ghairat*; *Haysiyat*/Izzat/Honor, Feeling pride, proud internally, *Āb-ru*/face, honorableness, Enhancing prestige, *Khosh Nāmi*/Fame and social capital;

- **Nonconformity with *Ghairat***: *Be-Ghairat*/Lacking *Ghairat*; *Sharm*/shame, Internal shame, *BadNāmi*/dishonorableness, *Sharm*/Shame, and Social isolation.

However, the mentioned codes and categories are discussed together. The reason is that the categories are like two poles that contrasted each other. For instance, when a man conforms to the *Ghairat* related norms, this means that the people identify him as a *Bā-Ghairat* man, but if the same man does not fulfill the specific rules, then he is known as a *Be-Ghairat* man. As a result, explaining these two poles together can provide with a better picture of the participants' thoughts and experiences.

Figure 24 shows the codes mentioned above along with the number of participants for each category:
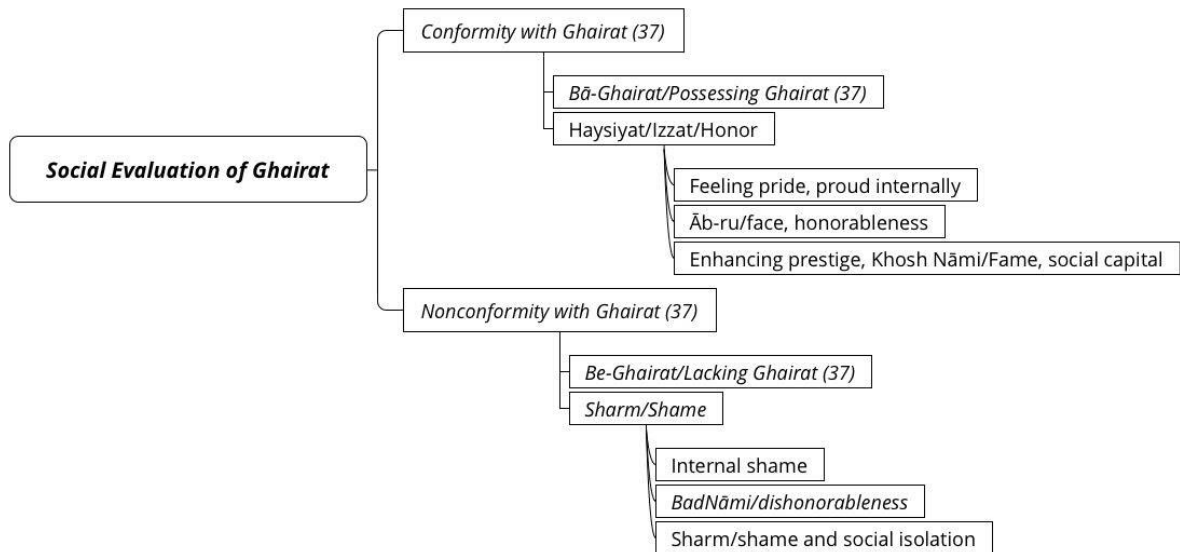
Figure 24. Social Evaluation of *Ghairat*

5.6.1. Conformity and Non-Conformity with *Ghairat*

Compliance and non-compliance with the features, standards, and rules that attached to the *Ghairat* comprise the main foundations for the social evaluation of actors in everyday life. The meaning and functions of *Ghairat* contained required expectations and characteristics in the four domains including family, *Nāmus*, communal group, and personality. It specifically referred to the capability and ability of a man to fulfill given expectations and feature. At the first look, the social actor can comply with the specific expectations or fail to in this regard which provides a base for the social audiences-his social networks, community members and others to assess him. This assessment ends to labeling that contested each other: one confirms that the actor possesses *Ghairat*, the second confirms that he lacks this quality.

This procedure is evident in the stories and lived experiences shared by all the participants. For instance, they described a man who has the capability and fulfills the required expectations and characteristics in the mentioned domains as a *Bā-Ghairat* man/possessing *Ghairat*. In turn, the one who fails to show his *Ghairat* in order to meet the requirements in the mentioned contexts are perceived as a *Be-Ghairat* man/lacking *Ghairat*. This content is best presented in PF2's remark:

> My father works so hard to prepare everything for us, and he is overwhelmingly *Bā-Ghairat*. If not then what is the difference between my father and a father who does not care about his responsibility regarding

preparing *Nafaqa*/maintenance and well-being of his family? When a man is *Be-Ghairat* he does not have *Ghairat*; he does not give importance to his family needs and cannot fulfill them. However, when a man who is *Bā-Ghairat* he can prepare the proper living conditions for his family and let his children get the education. He could attend the responsibility that God gave him to work for his family. So, he could fulfill his responsibilities, and he is a *Bā-Ghairat* man (PF2, 22-year-old).

In the statement mentioned above, the PF2 evaluates *Bā-Ghairat* as a label to name her father. She does this based on an evaluation. There are specific conducts performed by her father that represented his *Ghairat*. In this case, she gives specific examples that her father works hard, provides the *Nafaqa* and fulfills the needs of the family. As a result, she concludes that he is a *Bā-Ghairat* man. Also, for the more clarification, she compares him to a man who lacks *Ghairat*/*Be-Ghairat*. Such a procedure followed by almost all the participants of the study when they applied the two terms.

As another example, HM2 who is a Hazara man implicitly explains the importance of conformity and nonconformity in *Ghairat*'s social assessment as follow:

> *Ghairat* is a natural thing. It is naturally inside human beings. However, when the people apply the term *Bā-Ghairat* for a person, they have surely seen something from him. For example, he may has resisted against the problems or helped his relatives and is a generous man. Some men are very responsible for their family while some others do not care about their children. A man who works hard is called *Bā-Ghairat*. However, another person who has never thought about his future and does not care about his family's future life is a *Be-Ghairat* one. He does not have courage anymore. We do not live alone. We have a relationship with our kin and know about each other's' life. (HM2, 47-year-old).

However, the evaluation procedure is not always a conscious effort. Instead, most of the time it takes place automatically and unconsciously as a part of social life. As the majority of the participants stated they use the terms *Bā-Ghairat* and *Be-Ghairat* because it identifies the intended man in the best way and is inseparable as his performance:

> …A man who is brave, patient and has tremendous perseverance to face the difficulties is indeed *Bā-Ghairat*/possessing *Ghairat.* However, if he does not have them, he is *Bā-Ghairat* then. We call them in this way because they are like this.

> Moreover, the one who is coward, and irresponsible man is Be-*Ghairat*/lacking *Be-Ghairat*. Can you understand what I mean? You know a

Bā-*Ghairat* and Be-*Ghairat* are really like what I told you [laughter] (PF2, 22-year-old).

Like PF2, other participants also applied similar expressions that showed when they call a man as Bā-*Ghairat* or Be-*Ghairat*, they find these terms genuine. As an instance, PM3 who is a Pashtun man in his following quote insists that he does not know if the researcher accepts his definitions of a *Bā-Ghairat* and *Be-Ghairat* man. However, this is the way of his life:

I am a man [pointing out to himself], and my family members are under my control, and this means my *Ghairat*. I mean in my family nothing can happen unless I give my permission for it. A *Bā-Ghairat* man/having *Ghairat* can protect his family from external threats, and all the family should be obedient to the man's word / *Da Gapesh Bashan*. A man who can protect his family either inside or outside the house, we call him a *Bā-Ghairat* man [Laughter]. Mahdi! [calling the researcher] this is all my experiences, I don't know if it's true or not but this is how we live. Just imagine, if someone doesn't know what is going on in his family, If someone doesn't know how his *Siāsars*/family female members and children behave, then he is a *Be-Ghairat* man/A man who doesn't have *Ghairat*… (PM3, 41-year-old).

5.6.2. Labeling: *Bā-Ghairat* and *Be-Ghairat*

As mentioned before, the assessment process ends to the labeling through which people are categorized and differentiated. The two main identified categories include those who have *Ghairat* and those who do not. PM1 who is a young Pashtun man shares his idea that people judge each other for observing *Ghairat* based on their values and ideology. By using the word ideology as he gives an example at the end of his talk, he means the *Ghairat* related norms:

The people judge others based on the criteria and ideologies that they have. So believe me, people have a precise ideology and high sensitivity about *Ghairat*. When they see someone act according to their ideology, they feel that the person did something good and he is someone good, so it is for us to say something good about him. So, call him a *Bā-Ghairat*. Also, if the man ignores their ideology and *Ghairat* values, they feel unpleasant about that person. They do not like him and call the person a *Be-Ghairat*. The people judge according to their standards. Like they see if the man's *Siāsars*/female family members are under his control or not. So, people then use such terms (PM1, 23-year-old).

The labels are not merely words. Instead, they have an interpersonal and objective impact. The HM1 who is a Hazara man give an explanation that how the labels are about morality and values and distinguish goodness and badness. He argues

that there should be a rewarding system in order to praise the good ones and reject those who are not moral. Then his comment comes to the point that *Bā-Ghairat* term represents the value and goodness of the person who acted according to the *Ghairat* as well as the sense of praising that the community gives to that person. In turn, *Be-Ghairat* label reflects the carelessness of a man about the *Ghairat* related prescriptions:

> We use *Bā-Ghairat* and *Be-Ghairat* terms to say that a person is good or bad. If we do not say something admirable and good about the person who showed his *Ghairat* and ignores it, then how can we improve? The people should praise the good things, and it is a must. When we praise a man, then he tries to get the good things more. He wants to work harder. Praising leads to more improvement.

> When we say that someone is *Bā-Ghairat*, this means that he is good and indeed, he has done something right and worked hard in his life that we used this term for him [Laughter]. Therefore, when people apply the terms *Bā-Ghairat* and *Be-Ghairat* to someone, it is because they have surely seen something good or bad from him. Like if a man who does good conduct and is brave then he is a *Bā-Ghairat*. We have to admire him.

> Also, when someone does something harsh, the people hate him. For example, a man who is careless, and does not think about either his family or kin, then he is a *Bā-Ghairat* because he does not care about social rules (HM1, 50-year-old).

5.6.3. *Haysiyat/Izzat/*Honor and *Sharm/*Shame

However, applying the terms *Bā-Ghairat* and *Be-Ghairat* does not only reflect the values and morality. More importantly, it brings social honor and shame to the person who has been labeled. Based on the narratives of the participants labeling's outcomes are visible at three forms: an internal feeling of pride or shame, social identification for honorableness or dishonorableness, and enhancing prestige or social isolation at the interactional level. PM2 who is a Pashtun man describes the mentioned outcomes of labeling in the best way:

> It is difficult to say what *Ghairat* is. [Laughter …] I do not know what precisely it is, but I do feel something from inside. It is coming from inside, a sense maybe… You have to abide by the rules of your custom, and culture. If you don't so, [Smiling…], you know, it's not easy, you cannot hold your head up before your relatives, friends, and people/Sar Kham Shodan. You would be embarrassed. It is a *Be-Ghairat-i/*Dishonorableness. You don't dare to look in their face/*Negah nakardan da chashm* if you considered as *Be-Ghairat*. But to be known as a *Bā-Ghairat* man, then you have to keep your words and protect you *Nāmus* if you don't, the people make sarcasm on

you/*T'ana zadan*. And you know when there will be an assembly and gatherings to make decisions, you cannot give a remark. If you say so, they will make humor and sarcasm on you and say Ok, you first go and fulfill your work. So, practically he cannot. And this is not something that you can ignore it. The people make a sarcasm to put the *Be-Ghairat* man more on shame; to make him feel invaluable and less because of what he did. But if you are a *Bā-Ghairat* man, you feel you are strong, and you feel proud because of the capabilities that you have (PM2, 30-year-old).

HF5 who is a Pashtun woman also shares her brother's story that he got pressurized because of his friends assessment of his *Ghairat* and labeling him a *Be-Ghairat*. This example shows how *Ghairat* is imposed on the men, and they feel embarrassed in case they ignore the rules:

My family has not prevented my sisters and me from education though, but if I wear thin trousers, then my younger brother tries to prevent me. He is 19 years old. His complaints about our conducts are all because of his friends in the neighborhood. They tell him that it is terrible for your *Ghairat* that your sisters wear thin trousers.

If I go out without having proper clothes, then they stimulate my brother, or they talk behind my back. My brother tries to prevent me verbally. He doesn't block my way. He just says that please don't defame us in the community with wearing such clothes. He is doing the same with my younger sister too. Always tell her, that does not wear a thin dress and do not make us ashamed when you go out. Even they have fought with each other. Once one of his friends looked at my sister, then he told my brother that how a *Be-Ghairat* man you are [insulting: you do not have *Ghairat* at all] because you allow your sister to be in touch with bad girls and to wear thin clothes. He came home as he was very anxious and angry. He shouted at my younger sister and said that you made me embarrassed before my friends. I have my *Ghairat* why you can't understand it. I also argued with him that he should not say like that. But you know his face became red, and he suddenly started crying and shouting at my sister that why you wear narrow trousers? So, I think this *Ghairat* is very serious. Then I ask my sister to wear proper trouser in order to keep the brother happy; Just for the sake of her brother. You know it is a big shame/*Nang* if those ignorant people talk behind his sister and question his *Ghairat* (TF5, 22-year-old).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

During the semi-structured interviews for this research, the thirty-seven participants shared with me their thoughts, feelings, lived-experiences, and stories and helped the reconstruction of meanings and outcomes of *Ghairat* with their in-depth descriptions. The leading questions in this study were:

- What is the meaning of *Ghairat*/honor for Afghan citizens living in Kabul city, Afghanistan?
- What are the relational consequences of *Ghairat*/honor in terms of gender inequality?
    - How does *Ghairat*/honor contribute to gender inequality?
- What are the consequences of *Ghairat*/honor in terms of gender-based violence?
    - How does *Ghairat*/honor contribute to gender-based violence in social interactions?

Through the analysis phase, five major themes emerged that can provide with answers for the mentioned inquiries:

1- The essence of *Ghairat*;
2- *Ghairat*'s meanings;
3- *Ghairat* and gender inequality;
4- *Ghairat*-based violence: types and contribution
5- Social evaluation of *Ghairat*.

A summary of the mentioned themes and related subthemes are represented in figure 25:

Ghairat

Essence

GHAIRAT is

'Primarily' Mardana/manly (36)
'Secondarily' Womanly (26)
GENDERED (36)

Internal (9)
Sentiment (11)
Fitri/Innate Nature (10)
Inherited (7)
Vojdan/Conscience (2)
SUBJECTIVE (20)

Imposed (4)
Da Jush Amadan/Aroused by others (8)
Pressurizing (4)
OBJECTIVE (16)

To be defended (2)
To be proven (5)
To be shown (6)
Like an exam/Challenge (2)
PRECARIOUS (12)

Meanings of Ghairat

Manly Ghairat (37)

Fāmil/Family (37)
 Nafaqa provider (37)
 Family controller (27)

Nāmus (37)
 Female family members (37)
 Man as the safeguarder of Nāmus (37)
 Man as the Preventer from sexual deviance (37)
 Vatan or Homeland (29)
 Man as the protector (29)

Qawm, Khish, Hamsāya/Communal Group (30)
 Man as the supporter (30)
 Man as the defender (22)

Personality Traits (37)
 Hemmat Dāshtan/Perseverance and endeavor (37) Hemmat/Will and endeavor , Bakhtiar 2015
 Ehsās-e Mas'uliyat Dashtan/Sense of responsibility (37)
 Shujāat Dāshtan/Bravery and courage (37)
 Javānmardi va Kākagi/Young-manliness (12)

Womanly Ghairat (30)

Zan-e MārdanaVār/Masculine Woman (30)
 Being Shuja'/Brave like a man (30)
 Being Protector like a man (30)
 Nafaqa provider like a man (24)

Family (18)
 Sabur va Muqāvem /Patient and resistant to familial challenges (18)
 Good educator of children (18)

Women fight for social rights(13)
 Attending education (13)
 Working outside home (13)
 Participating social activities (13)

Manly Ghairat and Gender Inequality

Nāmus and Inferior Status of Women (37)
 Women as Ājiz/Physically weak and emotional (30)
 Women are called as Siāsar (19)
 Women are only weaker than men physically (11)
 Women as Nāqis-ul-Aql/deficient in mind (22)
 Believed that women are Nāqis-ul-Aql/deficient in mind (12)

Restrictions on Women's Mobility (32)
 Women should ask men's Permission for going outside (21)
 Women should have a Mahram Accompanier (11)

Restrictions on Women's Dressing Code (37)
 Observing Hijāb is related to manly Ghairat (27)

Restrictions on Women's Employment (37)
 No need for woman's work when the man works (11)
 Women can only work under circumstances (26):
 - In a spaces with no man;
 - Jobs that favors women and girls like midwifery, a doctor, teacher, or police that serve women and girls;
 Observing Hijāb

Different Types of Ghairat-based Violence against women

Physical Violence (17)
 Explicit experience of physical assaults (10)
 Observation of physical assaults to other women (7)

Emotional and psychological violence (21)
 Restriction of social rights
 Confinement and intimidation
 Abuse/humiliation

Traditional practices (10)
 Killing in the name of Ghairat (9)
 Forced marriage (1)

Social Evaluation of Ghairat

Conformity with Ghairat (37)
 Bā-Ghairat/Possessing Ghairat (37)
 Haysiyat/Izzat/Honor
 Feeling pride, proud internally
 Āb-ru/face, honorableness
 Enhancing prestige, Khosh Nāmi/Fame, social capital

Nonconformity with Ghairat (37)
 Be-Ghairat/Lacking Ghairat (37)
 Sharm/Shame
 Internal shame
 BadNāmi/dishonorableness
 Sharm/shame and social isolation

Figure 25. Summary of first-order constructs: major themes and sub-themes emerged from interviews

As it is visible through the summary figure, the majority of the themes and subthemes are the first-order constructs. In this section, to discuss the findings of the study, first-order constructs are related to the second-order constructs including theories, concepts, and empirical literature. The relationship between the findings and previous literature are first shown in the figure 26 called "mind map of *Ghairat*: Applied theories and concepts" and then explained.

Meanings of Manly Ghairat

Family

Men as the Nafaqa provider

Man as the main breadwinner of the family:
- Classic patriarchy: Kandiyoti 1988
- Role of a man as the breadwinner: World Bank 2004

- Afghan man as the Nafaqa provider: Abirafeh 2009

Men as the family controller

Man as the main decision maker and controller in the household:
- Classic patriarchy: Kandiyoti 1988

- Taking the responsibility for the family members (Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society): Bourdieu 1966

Nāmus

Nāmus as the Female family members

* Honor and female family members:
- Honour and social status (Sexual purity of female family members): Pitt-Rivers 1966
- Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society: Peristiany 1966
- Instance from Turkey, Namuslu, Şerefli: Delaney 1987

* Women as the symbol of family's honor:
- Classic patriarchy: Valentine M. Moghadam 2003
- Examples of honor, gender, and Nāmus in Turkey: Parla 2005

Nāmus as Vatan or homeland

Communal Group

Man as the supporter and defender

Sense of solidarity:
- Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society: Bourdieu 1966

Personality Traits

Hemmat Dāshtan/Will, perseverance and endeavor

Gheyrat as Hemmat in Iran:
- Cognitive Model of GHEIRAT in Persian: Bakhtiar 2015

Shujāat Dāshtan/Bravery and courage

Honor and bravery and aggressiveness features:
- Pitt-Rivers 1966: Honour and Social Status (Bravery and courage as a feature of masculine honor);
- Cohen, Vandello, and Rantilla 1998: Cultures of honor Hypothesis;

Ehsās-e Mas'uliyat Dashtan/Sense of responsibility

Javānmardi va Kākagi/Young-manliness

Meanings of Womanly Ghairat

Zan-e MārdanaVār/Masculine Woman

Being Shuja'/Brave and protector like a man

Patriarchy and Feminist Politics Perspective:
- In patriarchy, there is only one sex, masculine sex with its other: Baehr, 2007
- "Feminine Lost: Why Most Women are Male": Granger 2013

Nafaqa provider like a man

Family: Being patient and resistant to familial challenges, and good educator for the children

Motherhood as the hidden practice of patriarchy and violence:
- Radical feminism: George Ritzer 1992, 1996, 2018

- Significance of mothers in transferring patriarchal values to boys and girls: Gilmore 1997

- Reproduction of motherhood: Chodorow 1999

Women fight for social rights

Women who attend education, work outside the home, and social activities

Feminist theory:
- Women as the agents of change: Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2013

2- Meanings of Ghairat

Ghairat is Gendered

Honor is masculine:
- Cultures of honor Hypothesis: Cohen et al. 1996; Vandello and Cohen 2003
- Honor, masculinity, and violence: Saucier and McManus 2014

Ghairat is Subjective

Honor is subjective and objective:
- Honor: Pitt-Rivers 1968

Ghairat is Objective

Honor as a social fact:
- Social fact; Collective consciousness: Durkheim 2013, 2014

Ghairat is precarious

Honor is precarious:
- Manhood as a precarious state: Gilmore 1990

1- Essence

Nāmus and Inferior Status of Women

Natural attitude or doxic experience:
- Masculine domination: Bourdieu 2001

Restrictions on Women's mobility, dressing code, employment

Feminist theories and patriarchy:
- Patriarchy in private and public spheres (Theorizing Patriarchy): Walby 1990
- Theory on gender: Feminism on Theory: England 1993

3- Manly Ghairat and Gender Inequality

Physical Violence, Emotional and psychological violence, traditional practices

* Symbolic violence, mis-recognition, (mis)understanding:
- Masculine domination: Bourdieu 2001, Calhoun 2003
- Mentioning a case of Honor killing in Kabyle Society: Bourdieu 1966

* Violence as a response to defend or restore the honor and reputation
- Honor culture hypothesis: Nisbet and Cohen 1996; Cohen and Vandello 1998; Vandello and Cohen 2003; Cohen 2007; Vandello 2010; Bosson et al. 2009

4- Manly Ghairat and Gender Based Violence

Conformity and non-conformity with Ghairat

* Honor and shame as social evaluations:
- Honor and shame are social sanctions (Honour and social status): Pitt-Rivers 1966
- Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society: Peristiany 1966

* Honor, the individual and group:
- Honor as a tool for maintaining the group's cohesion: Simmel 1898, 1955

* Honor as a form of social control:
- Honor controls the conducts of individual members: Speier 1952

5- Social Evaluation of Ghairat

Ghairat

Main themes = Orange color
Main sub-themes = Light green
Used theories = No color
Empty-cells = No theory or concept found relevant

Figure 26. Mind map of *Ghairat*: applied theories and concepts

1. The essence of *Ghairat*: The first theme about *Ghairat* attempts to reveal the essence of this phenomenon based on the perceptions and experiences of the participants. The question here is what do participants see as the essential feature of *Ghairat*? Four main second-order constructs can merge the sub-themes of the participants about the *Ghairat*'s nature.

At the bottom level, *Ghairat* is perceived as a gendered thing which is predominantly masculine. Being gendered means that *Ghairat* prescribes a gender division of labor. Also,

The participants of the study most often perceived *Ghairat* as a masculine feature and all of them with no exception using the term for men. The main reason for considering *Ghairat* as a masculine feature is the association of *Ghairat* with other qualities that seen as manly too. These qualities are bravery, courage, physical strength, aggression, and being violent. In this sense, having *Ghairat* is considered as a precondition of being a man. While there is no theory or previous literature that discussed *Ghairat*'s phenomenon, there is a noticeable amount of the literature related to honor that portraits honor as essentially masculine. For instance, based on the honor culture hypothesis perspective, a significant meaning of honor relies on a man's strength and his power to enforce his wish on others or to command respectful manner (Vandello and Cohen 2003, Cohen et al. 1996). In this sense, the meaning of masculinity is associated with the honor:

> "Being a "man" includes fulfilling the norms and expectations of the masculine gender role. Central to this masculine gender role, for many men worldwide, is the notion of honor. Honor binds, dictating the connections that people have to each other, providing explication and regulation of behavior through the socialization and internalization of a specified code of conduct" (Saucier and McManus 2014, 85).

Moreover, *Ghairat* is both subjective and objective. The participants particularly men talked about sentiment, and motive that makes them act and react according to the *Ghairat* rules. The men participants especially shared their expression that *Ghairat* comes from "inside" and they feel it internally. Moreover, the participants discussed the objectivity of *Ghairat* through the commonality that they share with others on this phenomenon and more importantly, the pressure that they feel by others to manifest their *Ghairat*.

In the literature, Pitt-Rivers best explains the subjectivity and objectivity of the honor phenomenon:

> The notion of honor has several facets. It is a sentiment, a manifestation of this sentiment in conduct, and the evaluation of this conduct by others, that is to say, reputation. The notion of honor is both internal to the individual and external to him—a matter of his feelings, his behavior, and the treatment that he receives (Pitt-Rivers 1968, 503).

Also, borrowing Durkheim's two concepts (2013, 2014), on the one hand, *Ghairat* can be interpreted as a social fact that dictates the individual a specific way of thinking, feeling, and acting that are compulsory and external to him. On the other hand, it appears as a collective consciousness that represents the internalized values and norms that are respectively common in the three sub-cultures of Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara. This conscience for the participants especially men is significant to the extent that they consider it as an inherited and God-given phenomenon. In the context of Afghanistan, such a justification is very critical as the consequences of *Ghairat* leads to gender inequality and violence.

The precariousness of *Ghairat* reflects its significance in the social interactions. Since *Ghairat* represents the specific social norms and values in Afghan culture and is related to the masculinity, it should be continuously defended, proved, and challenged. Such a notion is a reminder of David Gilmore's theory about the precarious manhood. According to him in many cultures, being known as a real man depends on the individual's ability to prove this state and won the state of manhood (Gilmore 1990). Such a perspective corresponds to what the participants shared about *Ghairat*. According to them, there are always threats and challenges for *Ghairat* that should be encountered. In case of successful passing of the *Ghairat* exam, a man can claim that he has *Ghairat*.

2. *Ghairat*'s meanings: The second theme clarifies the meanings of *Ghairat* which participants are ascribed to both masculine and womanly *Ghairat*. Regarding the masculine *Ghairat*, it makes sense in the four main domains: Family, *Nāmus*, communal group, and personality.

Men in the family can claim their *Ghairat* when they prove their capability of providing the maintenance for the family and can control all the family members. The importance of family setting particularly is highlighted through the feminist theories, especially classic patriarchy. According to such a perspective which

conforms to the context of the study, classic patriarchy is an integral part of the extended households that are patrilocal a common in the South and East Asia and Middle East (Kandiyoti 1988). In this study other than a woman participant that her household comprised of two people, the average number of other household members was about ten people. There was only one case that a Tajik girl stated that their head of household is her parents both father and mother. Other all the participants the senior man such as the father, husband, older son, and brother headed the households. In her article on bargaining with patriarchy, Kandiyoti mentions that under classic patriarchy, the senior man has authority over everyone else (1988, 278). In the family domain, *Ghairat* regards two leading roles for a man: being a *Nafaqa* provider and controller.

In the literature, while there is an emphasis on the role of a man as the "sole breadwinner" of the family across the world particularly MENA region (World Bank 2004), it neglects the indigenous notions like *Nafaqa* provider that the participants shared in Afghanistan context. Taking this concept into consideration is crucial because it places a man in the position of ultimate decision maker and authority. Abirafeh (2009, 109) in her work on Gender and International Aid in Afghanistan explains the association of man's role as the breadwinner to honor as follow:

> … a man with honor is one who is able to provide for his family. Conversely, a man without work is one who has no honor.

A man also should be able to control all his family members. Having control and authority over all family members are considered as a symbol of man's *Ghairat*. Such evidence can be found for the honor too. Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1966) began his book section on the Sentiment of Honor in Kabyle Society by describing an observation. The conversation shows the expectation of the community members from the man who counted as the in charge person in the family to take the overall responsibility of his members. Otherwise, he will be on shame.

Bourdieu describes a man who is labeled as an *imahbal* or shameless and brazen person in his community. He also caused damage to the property of other community members. As a result, people avoid disputing with him because they believe that he is without shame and do not respect people's rights. Once that the *imahbal* damaged the wall of his next door. The victim who is a weaker man

comes to the brother of the guilty man and complains about his damage. When the brother says that why the victim did not use the same violence and aggression against his guilty brother. The victim person answers:

> "… One must be an *amahbul* to do what Si N. [your brother] has done, and I'm not going to make myself ridiculous and be put to shame. … If you've an *amahbul* in the family, it's up to you to deal with him first, before others do" (Bourdieu 1966, 194).

As a result, it can be seen that *Ghairat* guarantees and reinforces the man's traditional roles in the family. This is the finding that no literature argued it before.

The second prominent domain that relates to *Ghairat* is *Nāmus*. It primarily refers to the female family members and secondarily to the homeland. In this setting *Ghairat* refers to the capability of a man in safeguarding his *Nāmus* from all the threats particularly the sexual harms. Also, it requires a man to prove his ability in terms of preventing the female family members from sexual deviance. Most of the man participants compared the homeland to the *Nāmus* that should be protected. From the man perspectives, *Nāmus* needs a man's protection as it is weak against the violations.

The literature widely discussed the concept of *Nāmus* concerning the manly honor. This is mainly in the honor, and shame literature came from the Mediterranean and the Middle East societies (Peristiany 1966). As an instance, Julian Pitt-Rivers (1966) in his fieldwork on the Honor and Social Status in Andalusia argues a similar notion which is common in the nuclear family of Andalusian society and is similar to the first meaning of *Nāmus* in Afghanistan context. He explains that the division of labor in the aspects of honor involves the virtue expressed in sexual purity to the women and the responsibility of defending woman's virtue to the men. "The honor of a man is involved therefore in the sexual purity of his mother, wife and daughters, and sisters, not in his own" (Pitt-Rivers 1966, 45). Another example about the prevalence of Nāmus concept in the middle eastern society is presented from Turkey. Parla (2005) shows that *Nāmus* concept which she translated as sexual honor is dominant in Turkey. An evidence that she represents is about the socialization of girls with the modesty codes. As the participants shared in this study, Parla (2005) also writes that sexual misconduct or rumors brings shame to her, and her family lineage. Delaney also describes different forms of honor in the Turkish language with more focus on

Şeref and *Nāmus*. She states that in Turkish culture "a man who is *Nāmussuz* (without honor) cannot possibly have şeref; but a man who is *Nāmuslu* (with honor) does not necessarily possess *Şeref*" (Delaney 1987, 36). She means that there are also other requirements that a man should fulfill in order to gain social status.

The third setting that manly *Ghairat* expects to emerge is the communal group- a combination of ethnic, tribal, kin, and neighborhood communities. A man's *Ghairat* in this context is about his capability to support and defend his communal group. A unique analysis of this issue can be seen in the work of Bourdieu on honor as a dialectic of challenge and riposte. Bourdieu explains the rules of honor that govern fighting and defending the kinsman in the Kabyle:

> "A sense of solidarity obliged one to protect a kinsman against a non-kinsman, a member of one's own party against a man from another moiety, an inhabitant of the village – even though of a rival party – against a stranger to the village, a member of the tribal against a member of another tribe" (Bourdieu 1966, 201).

On the significance of supporting the kinsmen as a norm of honor, he also adds that when honor concerns kinsmen or those to whom one is allied, imposes a line of conduct that derives from the principle that "help your own kinsmen," runs the proverb, "whether they are right or wrong" (Ibid, 229). Although in the mentioned quote Bourdieu did not discuss *Ghairat*, it seems what he introduces as "a sense of solidarity" that necessitate one, is similar to the meaning of *Ghairat* in the communal group context.

Personality is the last domain that manly *Ghairat* is manifested concerning characteristics like being bravery, young-manliness, sense of responsibility, and showing the perseverance and endeavor. Among the mentioned attributes, the literature mostly talks about bravery and courage as a feature of masculine honor (Pitt-Rivers 1966). Based on the honor culture hypothesis, the concept of honor, shame, and manhood become entwined and are what inspire men in cultures of honor to do what is risky, courageous, belligerent and violent (Cohen, Vandello, and Rantilla 1998, 277). Also, the attribute that implies the meaning of *Ghairat* for a man to have *Hemmat*/perseverance and endeavor is found the same in Iranian culture (Bakhtiar 2015).

When it comes to the meanings that ascribed to the womanly *Ghairat*, the three categories remain specific for the studied context. The womanly *Ghairat*, on the

one hand, contains the characteristics and capabilities that predominantly perceived as masculine, however, a woman places steps into men's shoes and manifest it. The examples are heroines that showed masculine bravery in the wars or widows that they took responsibility for providing *Nafaqa*/maintenance for their family. The second meaning of *Ghairat* for a woman implies her resistance to difficulties especially when she does not complain about her family life. The mentioned two senses work in favor of classic patriarchy. However, a third meaning is mentioned by the participants of the study mainly young girls who were educated. For them, womanly *Ghairat* means being able to fight for achieving social rights that women have been deprived of them. In particular, the third meaning of womanly *Ghairat* is not argued in the previous literature at all.

3. *Ghairat* and gender inequality: Four main outcomes of manly *Ghairat* regarding gender inequality are identified: *Nāmus* and inferior status of women, restriction on women's mobility, restrictions on women's dressing code, restrictions on women's employment.

Ghairat contributes to gender inequality by establishing an imbalanced division of labor. It places a man in a higher social position than a woman and gives him the authority to rule over female family members in particular women. It illustrates a man as physically strong, protector, a defender who knows good and bad and can prevent the female members from sexual misconduct. In turn, it projects a woman as both physically and mentally weak that needs protection. In this sense, *Ghairat* turns a woman to "*Siāsar*" whose name also should be protected by men from other men. As a result, *Ghairat* makes the relations between men and women unequal by naturally justifying the masculine domination. The majority of the participants particularly men described *Ghairat* as a natural, inherited, and instinctive phenomenon. Moreover, for some man participants, *Ghairat* considered as a manly advantage that God bestowed this quality to the men. Bourdieu in his book Masculine Domination describes such a perception with what Husserl described as a 'natural attitude' or 'doxic experience.' According to him:

> "this experience apprehends the social world and its arbitrary divisions, starting with the socially constructed division between the sexes, as natural, self-evident, and as such contains a full recognition of legitimacy" (Bourdieu 2001, 9)

As Bourdieu mentioned the legitimation of masculine domination began with perceiving the division between sexes as a natural phenomenon. This can be seen in the views of 30 participants including 17 women out of 21 believed that women are physically weaker than men. Also, 22 participants including five women said that women are deficient in mind.

4. *Ghairat*-based violence: types and contribution: Three main types of *Ghairat*-based violence is identified including physical violence, emotional and psychological violence, and traditional practices. Like the gender inequality theme, *Nāmus* lies in the center of *Ghairat*-based violence. Here, *Ghairat* contributed to violence as a tool that can be applied to protect, control, prevent, or punish *Nāmus*. However, benefiting from the concept of symbolic violence by Bourdieu, *Ghairat* can be interpreted as a facilitator of symbolic violence. Through this term, Bourdieu meant "the ways in which people are harmed or held back not by force of arms but by the force of (mis)understanding" (Calhoun 2003, 285). The symbolic violence includes different forms from name calling or those that exist essentially in the very cognitive structure. *Ghairat* as a facilitator of symbolic violence, create a misrecognition regarding who is a man and who is a woman. It institutionalized and sentimentalized gender inequality and masculine domination. As an instance, the majority of the woman participants in describing man's violence used the expressions like "well, it is a man …," "we all know that they are violence …," "*Ghairat* for men is about being aggressive and violent." As Bourdieu shows in the symbolic violence, such perceptions make the woman victim's hands in glove with man preparators that justify their violence in the name of *Ghairat*. As a clear example, there were three women out of 9 participants who found the killing of *Nāmus* justifiable when she establishes a relationship with a man.

5. Social evaluation of *Ghairat*: The final theme dealt with the social evaluation of *Ghairat*. There are social sanctions in Afghan culture to reward and punish acting according to the *Ghairat*. The social evaluation is based on the compliance or non-compliance of the participants with the *Ghairat*'s prescriptions. The individual's community and social networks apply a labeling system that leads to objective impacts. A man who can fulfill the roles and expected features are labeled as a *Bā-Ghairat* man. As a result, the man individually feels pride and socially entitles to social honor and face. Being identified as a *Bā-Ghairat* man,

his prestige and social capital will be increased. In contrast, a man who fails or ignores the assigned roles and characteristics labeled as a Be-*Ghairat* man that brings him shame, and dishonorableness. Such a person loses his social capitals.

The analysis mentioned above of *Ghairat*'s social evaluation is similar to the analysis that scholars like Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers present on studying honor (Pitt-Rivers 1966, Peristiany 1966). However, there is no mechanism like *Ghairat* in their model. According to Peristiany,

> "Honour and shame are social evaluations and thus participate in the nature of social sanctions, the more monolithic the jury, the more trenchant the judgment. They are two poles of an evaluation. Honour and shame are the reflection of the social personality in the mirror of social ideals. What is particular to these evaluations is that they use a standard of measurement the type of personality considered as representative and exemplary of a certain society" (Peristiany 1966, 9-10).

In summarizing the explanations for the relationship between the mentioned five key themes and literature, a theoretical model is reflected in figure 27 called "theoretical model of *Ghairat* in Afghanistan." This model includes important theories and researches that are relevant to the main themes emerged in this study:

Meanings of Manly Ghairat

* Man as the main breadwinner of the family, classic patriarchy (Kandiyoti)
* Role of a man as the breadwinner (World Bank)
* Afghan man as the Nafaqa provider (Abirafeh)

*Taking the responsibility for the family members, Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society (Bourdieu)

* Sexual purity of female family members (Pitt-Rivers)
* Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society (Peristiany)
* Instance from Turkey on Namus and honor, Namuslu, Şerefli (Delaney)

* Women as the symbol of family's honor, classic patriarchy (Moghadam)
* Examples of honor, gender, and Nāmus in Turkey (Parla)

* Sense of solidarity, Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society (Bourdieu)

* Gheyrat as Hemmat in Iran, Cognitive Model of GHEIRAT in Persian (Bakhtiar)

* Bravery and courage as a feature of masculine honor (Pitt-Rivers)

* Being violent and aggressive to maintain the honor (Cohen, Vandello, and Rantilla)

Meanings of Womanly Ghairat

* Reduction of female identity, Patriarchy and Feminist Politics Perspective (Baehr; Granger)

* Motherhood and practice of patriarchy and violence (Ritzer, Gilmore)

* Reproduction of motherhood (Chodorow)

* Women as the agents of change, Feminist theory (Sadiqi and Ennaji)

2- Meanings of Ghairat

Ghairat

1- Essence

* Cultures of honor Hypothesis (Cohen et al.; Vandello and Cohen)
* Honor, masculinity, and violence (Saucier and McManus)

* Honor as subjective and objective (Pitt-Rivers)

* Social fact; Collective consciousness (Durkheim)

* Manhood as a precarious state (Gilmore)

3- Manly Ghairat and Gender Inequality

* Masculine domination (Bourdieu)

* Patriarchy in private and public spheres (Walby)

4- Manly Ghairat and Gender Based Violence

* Symbolic violence; mis-recognition, (mis)understanding; Masculine domination (Bourdieu; Calhoun)
* Case of Honor killing in Kabyle Society (Bourdieu)

* Violence as a response to defend or restore the honor and reputation (Nisbet and Cohen; Cohen and Vandello; Vandello and Cohen; Cohen; Vandello; Bosson et al.)

5- Social Evaluation of Ghairat

* Honor and shame as social sanctions (Pitt-Rivers; Peristiany)

* Honor as a tool for maintaining the group's cohesion (Simmel)

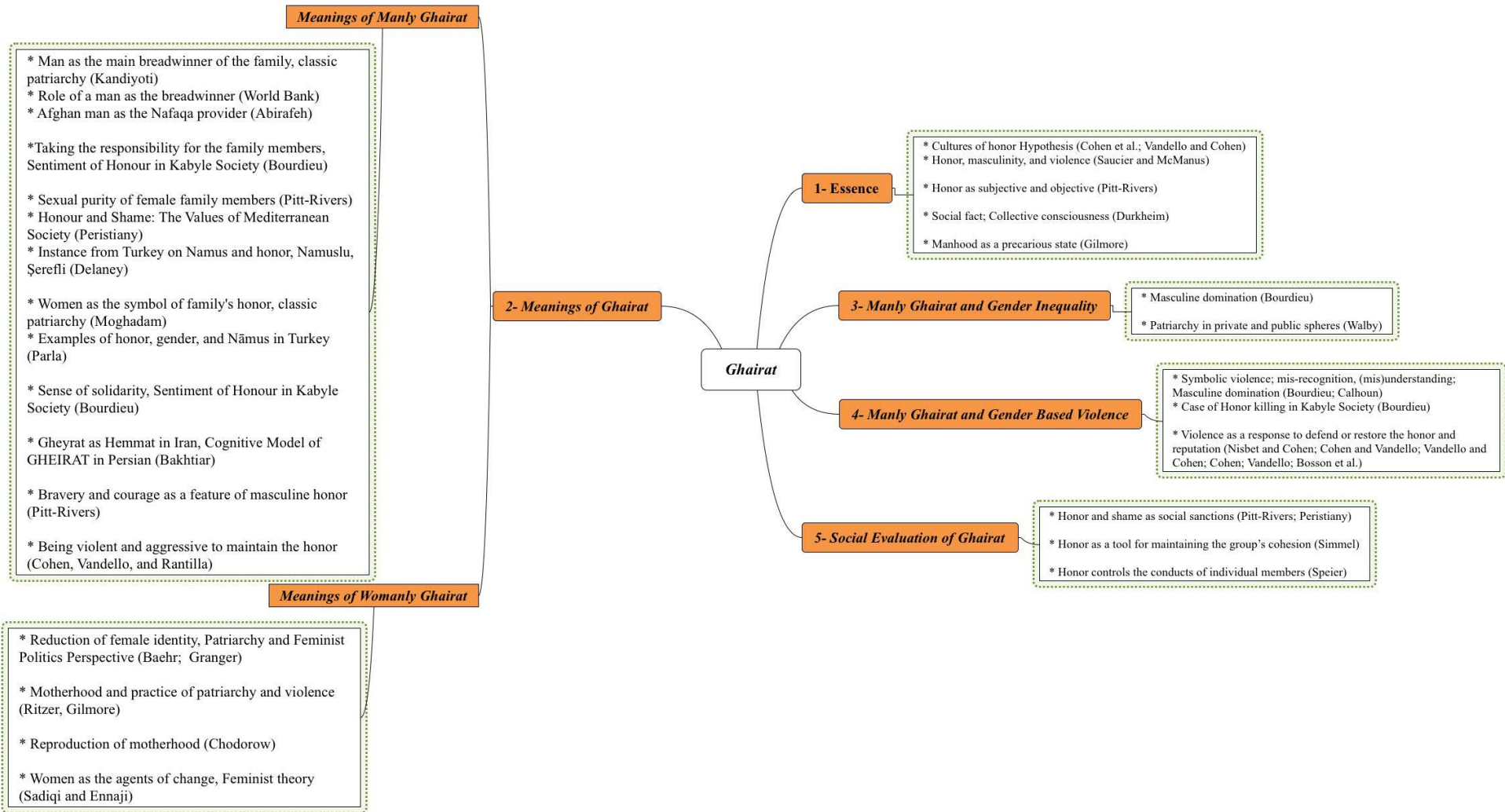* Honor controls the conducts of individual members (Speier)

Figure 27. Theoretical model of *Ghairat* in Afghanistan

6.2.   CONCLUSION

This study reconstructed and reflected the meanings and contributions of *Ghairat* in gender inequality and gender-based violence in an everyday setting in Kabul city, Afghanistan. By utilizing the empirical-phenomenological method, the research involved 37 individual participants- 16 men and 21 women from three ethnic groups of Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara to share their lived-experiences, opinions, emotions, and narratives about the *Ghairat*.

As an initial step, I started to extend my knowledge on the subject through the available resources. Looking at the literature, no specific studies were focusing on the *Ghairat* in the Afghanistan context. There was a handful of literature that partly discussed honor in Afghan folklore and cited the term *Ghairat* as 'honor' (Dupree 1973, Tapper 1991, Roy 1995, Azarbaijani-Moghaddam 2009, Wimpelmann 2013). As a result, I began the research with the premise that *Ghairat* is equal to the 'honor.' Such a view particularly re-enforced by reading a growing number of works that conducted since post-Taliban regime and dealt with the issue of honor killings or *Qatl-e Nāmus-i* (Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) 2013, 2015, Pejman and Mo'tamedi 2016).

However, two significant gaps were identified in the literature related to honor in Afghanistan. First, the meaning of honor was discussed in general. The honor was analyzed as an input of Pashtunwali (Edwards 1996, Glatzer 1998), a crucial cultural quality of Afghan national identity (Dupree 2002, 2004), or a concept that symbolized in Afghan women that encourage men to protect it (Abirafeh 2009). It seemed that no study attempted to grasp the sense and significance of *Ghairat* from the perspectives of ordinary Afghan people. In most of the available works, it is the researcher who is present and argues the honor, relying on the observations. Instead, the subjects or social actors who live honor and *Ghairat* are absent. In other words, in these studies, there are a few references to the direct remarks expressed by the subjects; quotations that start in this way: "we live *Ghairat* or honor … ." In turn, there are many expressions that state "honor is the foundation of the Afghan community."

The second gap was the lack of attention about the contextual characteristics of '*Ghairat*' or translated as honor in Afghan culture. Choosing the honor word as an equivalence for *Ghairat* can lead to the simplification of indigenous notions and

the ways through which they shape social interactions, inequality, and violence. Such reification is not only associated with the related literature on honor in Afghanistan. It is also visible in the works that conducted in the Mediterranean and middle eastern societies that perceived as honor culture. This deficiency in the literature led the scholars like Herzfeld (1980), Gilmore (1982), Tapper (1991), Wierzbicka (1997), and Abu-Lughod (2005) to suggest taking an in-depth and contextual investigation in studying honor-related concepts in a given society.

As a result, it was necessary and significant to conduct this study to go back to *Ghairat* phenomenon as it makes sense and appears in the experiences of Afghan citizens and comprehend the way that it contributes to gender inequality and gender-based violence in the setting of Kabul city.

The findings of the study revealed the complexity and significance of *Ghairat.* As a researcher, I can conclude that *Ghairat* is a phenomenon which is socially constructed and reproduced through the daily interactions. However, for the majority of the participants, it remains a natural phenomenon that always existed.

As a social phenomenon, *Ghairat* has several facets and meanings. It is internal, external, precarious and gendered in essence. Based on the lived experiences of this study's participants, the meaning of *Ghairat* categorized into manly and womanly.

The manly *Ghairat* which is dominant reflects the values and norms that are respectively common among the studied three sub-cultures-Pashtuns, Tajiks, and Hazaras. The values are about domains that consider very significant, and *Ghairat* should operates about them. These are the *Fāmil*/family; *Nāmus*; *Qawm*, *Khish*, *Hamsaya*/communal group; and personality.

There are also specific norms that express the manly *Ghairat*'s meaning: a man should demonstrate his capability, power, and ability in providing the family with *Nafaqa*, controlling family members, protecting and preventing *Nāmus* (female family members and homeland), supporting and defending the communal group. In doing so, he is supposed to display a combination of personal features like a great perseverance and endeavor/*Hemmat*, bravery and courage, aggression and violence, sense of responsibility, and chivalry and generosity.

Manly *Ghairat* is essentially gender imbalanced because from the outset it places a man in the higher position and a woman in the inferior position. It sets a series of mutual oppositions:

- A man as a *Mard*/man, *Nafaqa Āvar*/maintenance provider, *Bā-Nāmus*/controller and preventer of his *Nāmus*, physically strong, complete in mind, protector;

- A woman as *Siāsar*, *Nafaqa Khor*/maintenance consumers, *Nāmus*, physically weak, *Nāqis-ul*-aql/deficient in mind, protected.

Ghairat motivates a man to restrict his *Nāmus* concerning choices, decision making, mobility, dressing code, and employment opportunities.

Moreover, manly *Ghairat* operates as a means of violence. It gives a man the authority to prevent and restrict his so-called *Nāmus* from her social rights and justifies applying violence in the name of controlling, protecting, and punishing women.

However, unlike its title, manly *Ghairat* and the related values and norms are not internalized only in men. It is embodied in both men and women. While at the first look, men can be seen as the perpetrators and women as the victims, the findings of the study show that they are both the victim of a classic patriarchal ideology that manly *Ghairat* implies. The stories shared by the majority of the participants shows that manly *Ghairat* exercises as a mediator which assists reinforcement of classic patriarchy and masculine domination. As a result, this study introduces manly *Ghairat* as a central feature and instrument that classic patriarchy in Afghanistan employs to create a mis-recognition for both men and women about their gendered identity.

Manly *Ghairat* facilitates the classic patriarchy's principle that the power should be kept in the hand of men as the senior and head of households. It introduces the gender division of labor as a natural phenomenon in which some personality traits and division of labor are seen as utterly masculine. Therefore, even the time that some exceptional women perform such roles like providing *Nafaqa* and characteristics such as bravery, then they are also labeled as a masculine woman.

In the process of facilitating gender-based violence manly *Ghairat* appears in different forms of physical, psychological, and what Bourdieu defined as symbolic violence. The latter means that women as the victims of violence and objects of inequality take part in this process, and perceive it as legitimate. In the legitimization and social reproduction of *Ghairat*, it seems that women's role as the primary agent of socialization in the family is of much significance. Such a role is visible in many instances that shared by the participants:

> For the first time when I heard the term *Ghairat*, I was tiny. I was not wearing the veil until I got 12 years old. I think I was 12 or 13 years old that my grandmother told my brother that he does not have *Ghairat* because I am going out without wearing a veil. So, it was the first time I heard the term *Ghairat* from my grandmother. Then my brother who is older than me a year started nagging me that I had to do that (PF3, 22-year-old).

The most extreme form of cooperation between the perpetrator and victim is in justifying honor killing as the five-woman participants did.

However, there is another side of the story for *Ghairat* that seems contradictory to the first part. This meaning is ascribed to womanly *Ghairat* by one-third of the participants-about 12 subjects (11 women and a man). The new meaning although is not dominant, it is about the agency of women who felt and lived with the unequal and violent consequences of manly *Ghairat*; they constructed a new meaning. The woman participants that are all young-under thirty years old, educated at least until the 12th grade, and mostly unmarried, they define *Ghairat* in their capability and power in breaking the taboos through attending their social rights. So, they are aware that sexual harassment is prevalent in the public spaces, and a woman's education and work is not acceptable especially when it is mixed with men, and her outside home activities can stigmatize a girl's Izzat/honor. However, they define this as their *Ghairat* to fight for their rights. In this sense, *Ghairat* is perceived as the ability and power of these women to resist the misogyny and patriarchy. For these participants and the exceptional man participant, a woman who comes outside the home to attend her education, work, and social activities, is brave and possess *Ghairat* but not like a man because the men do not face sexual harassment or threats in the public spaces in Kabul city.

As a final point, I turn to the first assumption in this study that equalized *Ghairat* to honor. In contrast, the findings of the study clarify the difference between the two concepts. Honor is essential deals with social status, reputation, fame, and virtue. *Ghairat*, in essence, deals with the capability and power of a man to preserve his belongings. *Ghairat* operates through a social evaluation system that benefits from labeling mechanism and honor and shame as the social sanctions.

When a man can fulfill the *Ghairat* rules successfully, he is labeled as a man of *Ghairat*-Ba *Ghairat* man that leads him to feel the honor internally and considered as an honorable man socially/Ba-Haysiyat. In reverse, failure in fulfilling the required norms and preserving values leads the community to call the man as *Be-Ghairat*. Being *Be-Ghairat* means a man who is not a man. In this way, the community questions the social existence of a man and puts him in

shame and isolation. Therefore, *Ghairat* and honor while having many similarities, they are not the same. Honor and shame are the results of possessing and showing *Ghairat* or lacking and noncompliant with *Ghairat*.

Clarifying the difference between *Ghairat* and honor, I refer to a joint statement shared by the majority of the participants. When asking how do they perceive *Ghairat* as an honor/*Haysiyat*, *Izzat*, or *Itibār*? The first impression was like follow:

> "… See! These are not the same as you used in your inquiry. *Ghairat* is my hard work, my great endeavor for my family. As a man when I can provide the *Nafaqa* for my family, when I can preserve my *Nāmus* in this corrupted era, then I am a *Bā-Ghairat* man. In this case, I am an honorable man/*Bā-Haysiyat*" (PM2, 30-year-old).

6.3.   SUGGESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

I undertook the *Ghairat*'s issue with the hope that the findings of the study would be beneficial to understand a critical cultural mindset that is present in every day's experiences of Afghan citizens and contribute to gender inequality and gender-based violence. The study explored *Ghairat* as a cultural mechanism through which patriarchy and masculine domination operate. Relying on the findings of the study several courses of action can be recommended for changing the toxic results.

In a society where *Ghairat* is known as a value and indicator of Afghan identity, there is a crucial need to open the space for discussing and talking about the harmful consequences of *Ghairat* for women. This first can be started by disseminating the findings of the research to civil society, women's rights activists, policymakers and community members.

Changing a cultural mindset and value like *Ghairat* requires collective and continuous actions. The people should be aware of the outcomes of *Ghairat* and understand how *Ghairat* acts in favor of men and puts women in the inferior status. They should also be explained about the advantages of equality between men and women and a familial life free of violence.

The information and awareness raising about *Ghairat* can be initiated through the formal and informal education. This campaigns and programs can take part in changing *Ghairat* conceptions with two directions:

First, giving a folkloric typology on *Ghairat* concept and introduced as inappropriate and appropriate. As some of the participants applied the mentioned

terms in describing *Ghairat*, all the harmful and imbalance result of *Ghairat* can be explained as an inappropriate *Ghairat* and concepts like supporting women's rights as an appropriate *Ghairat*. Second, as a window for changing the unhealthy patterns, the general concept of manly *Ghairat* can highlight the importance of supporting women instead of preserving and protecting them as *Nāmus*.

At the official level, government organizations like Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher Education, Ministry of Public Health, and Ministry of Hajj and Religious Affairs should take joint action to include the knowledge about *Ghairat* and gender inequality and violence in their procedures and outputs. This can be reflected in their gender policies, strategies, and programs.

Achieving gender equality and eliminating violence against Afghan women needs a contextual understanding of the cultural roots, mechanisms, and practices that reproduce inequality and violence against Afghan women and girls. *Ghairat* as a central cultural entity should that leads to male domination should be taken into consideration. The outcomes of *Ghairat* for gender inequality and gender-based violence should also be considered as a part of gender harmful traditional practices and addressed in gender policies and programs in Afghanistan.

In fighting with the harmful contributions of *Ghairat*, the rule of law can act as an effective means. This can be done in two ways: since many participants of the study in particular men justified the restrictions on women's mobility as an strategy to overcome the sexual harassments and sexual threats against women, the existence of a trustworthy and the strong rule of law that protect women in the public spaces can question the mentioned justification. Moreover, the physical and verbal violence against women and honor killings that happens in the name of *Ghairat* and *Nāmus* should be categorized as a type of crime and particularly mentioned in the law on elimination of violence against women (EVAW).

At the grassroots level, there should be opportunities for men and young boys, women, and young girls to talk about their experiences of *Ghairat* and similar issues that they feel it is imposed on them because of their gender. Organizing such informal discussions can be turned into informal learning through which the participants find the concrete instances about Gender inequality and violence.

6.4.   SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study mainly designed to highlight the stories and lived experiences of men and women from three ethnic groups in Kabul city, Afghanistan. Without a doubt, there are also other stories and experiences that worth a deep comprehension in different settings. For instance, other studies can focus on the same phenomenon in a rural context where the ethnic groups of Pashtun, Tajik, and Hazara comprised the majority of the population.

Other methodologies might also provide for fruitful future insights. As per my knowledge, there is no ethnographic study of *Ghairat* phenomenon among the mentioned ethnic groups. An ethnographic study in small communities that benefits from observation method can provide with more cases of *Ghairat*, inequality and violence patterns that happen.

Another suggestion is to design a survey in Kabul city in order to identify the prevalence and types of gender inequality and violence caused by *Ghairat*. Last but not least, conducting a qualitative study that aims to understand the concept of *Haysiyat*/honor or face from the perspective of men and women would be valuable to clarify the contextual characteristics of such a phenomenon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

2007. *Nahj Al-Fasaha, Height of Rhetoric Translation of Wise of the Holy Prophet, Muhammad Arabic-English*. Translated by Hossein Vahid Dastjerdi. Qum: Ansariyan Publications. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2Ta7yVo . Accessed (20 June 2018).

Abedinifard, Mostafa. 2018. "Persian 'Rashti jokes': Modern Iran's Palimpsests of Gheyrat-Based Masculinity." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*:1-19. doi: 10.1080/13530194.2018.1447440.

Abirafeh, Lina. 2007. "An Opportunity Lost? Engaging Men in Gendered Interventions: Voices from Afghanistan." *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 3 (3):82-87. doi: 10.1080/15423166.2007.369594243172.

Abirafeh, Lina. 2008. "Afghanistan Gozargah: Discourses on Gender-Focused Aid in the Aftermath of Conflict." PhD, Development Studies Institute (DESTIN), London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

Abirafeh, Lina. 2009. *Gender and International Aid in Afghanistan : the Politics and Effects of Intervention*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2011. "Seductions of the "Honor Crime"." *Differences* 22 (1):17-63.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2013. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press.

Abu-Odeh, Lama. 2005. Honor: Feminist Approaches to. In *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures: Family, Law and Politics*, edited by Suad Joseph. Leiden ; Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Adams, Catherine, and Max van Manen. 2008. Phenomenology. In *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M. Given. Los Angeles: Sage.

Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). 2013. National Inquiry Report on Factors and Causes of Rape and Honor Killing in Afghanistan. Kabul: Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). Retrieved from http://goo.gl/YAsv7U . Accessed (18 October 2015).

Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). 2015. The situation of human rights in Afghanistan In 1393 [2014-2015]. Kabul.

Ahmed-Ghosh, Huma. 2003. "A History of Women in Afghanistan: Lessons Learnt for the Future or Yesterdays and Tomorrow: Women in Afghanistan." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 4 (3):1-14.

Anderson, Elijah. 2000. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*, *Norton Paperback*. New York, N.Y.; London: Norton.

Andrew, Sayer. 2010. *Method in Social Science*. New York: Routledge.

Andrews, Penelope. 2016. *From Cape Town to Kabul Rethinking Strategies for Pursuing Women's Human Rights*. London: Taylor and Francis

Antoun, Richard T. 1968. "On the Modesty of Women in Arab Muslim Villages: A Study in the Accommodation of Traditions." *American Anthropologist* 70 (4):671-697.

Arın, Canan. 2001. "Femicide in the Name of Honor in Turkey." *Violence Against Women* 7 (7):821-825. doi: 10.1177/10778010122182758.

Aristotle. 1984. "Rhetoric." In *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, edited by Jonathan Barnes, 2152-2269. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Aspers, Patrik. 2009. "Empirical Phenomenology: A Qualitative Research Approach (The Cologne Seminars)." *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* 9 (2):1-12. doi: 10.1080/20797222.2009.11433992.

Auerbach, Carl, and Louise B. Silverstein. 2003. *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Ayres, Lioness. 2008. Semi-Structured Interview. In *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M. Given. Los Angeles: Sage.

Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, Sippi. 2009. "Manly Honor and the Gendered Male in Afghanistan." In *Viewpoints Special Edition. Afghanistan 1979-2009: In the Grip of Conflict*, 184-187. Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/fCHYjC . Accessed (19 April 2017).

Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, Sippi. 2010. A Study of Gender Equity through the National Solidarity Programme's Community Development Councils. Kabul: Danish Committee for Aid to Afghan Refugees (DACAAR). Retreived from https://goo.gl/nPFJ5j . Accessed (10 January 2014).

Bahri, Javed. 2014. "Western Gender Policies in Afghanistan: Failing Women and Provoking Men." *Gender, Technology and Development* 18 (2):163-185. doi: 10.1177/0971852414529480.

Bakhtiar, Mohsen. 2015. "Cognitive Model of GHEIRAT in Persian." *Cognitive Linguistic Studies* 2 (2):257–288.

Baldry, Anna Costanza, Stefano Pagliaro, and Cesare Porcaro. 2013. "The Rule of Law at Time of Masculine Honor: Afghan Police Attitudes and Intimate Partner Violence." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 16 (3):363-374. doi: 10.1177/1368430212462492.

Barfield, Thomas. 2010. *Afghanistan A Cultural and Political History*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Barnes, Collin D., Ryan P. Brown, and Michael Tamborski. 2012. "Living Dangerously: Culture of Honor, Risk-Taking, and the Nonrandomness of "Accidental" Deaths." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 3 (1):100-107. doi: 10.1177/1948550611410440.

Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov. 2013. "Empowering Women through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan." *The American Political Science Review* 107 (3):540-557.

Beattie, Hugh. 1984. "Effects of the Saur Revolution in Nahrin." In *Revolutions and Rebellions in Afghanistan: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by M. Nazif Mohib Shahrani and Robert L. Canfield. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Benner, Patricia. 1994. Interpretive Phenomenology: Embodiment, Caring, and Ethics in Health and Illness. Thousand Oaks

Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Birks, Melanie, Ysanne Chapman, and Karen Francis. 2008. "Memoing in Qualitative Research: Probing Data and Processes." *Journal of Research in Nursing* 13 (1):68-75. doi: 10.1177/1744987107081254.

Blaikie, Norman. 2010. *Designing Social Research: the Logic of Anticipation*. 2 ed. Cambridge: Polity.

Blaikie, Norman W H, and Jan Priest. 2017. *Social research: Paradigms in Action*. Cambridge: Polity.

Boesen, Inger W. 1980. "Women, Honour and Love: some Aspects of the Pashtun Woman's Life in Eastern Afghanistan." *Folk* 21-22, 1979/80:229-240.

Boesen, Inger W. 1988. "What Happens to Honour in Exile? Continuity and Change among Afghan Refugees." In *The Tragedy of Afghanistan: the Social, Cultural and Political Impact of the Soviet Invasion*, edited by Bo Huldt and Erland Jansson, 219-239. London: Croom Helm, cop.

Boesen, Inger W. 1990. "Honour in exile: Continuity and Change among Afghan Refugees." In *The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism*, edited by Ewan W Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree, 159-174. London; New York: Pinter Publishers.

Bogdan, Robert, and Steven J. Taylor. 1975. *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: a Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences*. New York: Wiley.

Boonzaier, Floretta, and Tamara Shefer. 2006. "Gender Research." In *The Gender of Psychology*, edited by Floretta Boonzaier, Peace Kiguwa and Tamara Shefer, 3-11. Cape Town UCT Press.

Bosson, Jennifer K., Joseph A. Vandello, Rochelle M. Burnaford, Jonathan R. Weaver, and S. Arzu Wasti. 2009. "Precarious Manhood and Displays of Physical Aggression." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 35 (5):623-634. doi: 10.1177/0146167208331161.

Boston, Jennifer K., Joseph A. Vandello, and T. Andrew Caswell. 2013. "Precarious Manhood." In *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Psychology*, edited by Michelle K. Ryan and Nyla R. Branscombe, 115-130. London; California; New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1966. "The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society." In *Honour and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society*, edited by J. G. Peristiany, 191-241. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. *Algeria 1960: The Disenchantment of the World, the Sense of Honour, the Kabyle House or the World Reversed*. Translated by Richard Nice. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *Practical Reason: on the Theory of Action*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2001. *Masculine Domination*. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Boyacioğlu, Aslihan Öğün, and Ayfer Türkmen. 2008. "Social and Cultural Dimensions of Pregnancy and Childbirth in Eastern Turkey." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 10 (3):277-285. doi: 10.1080/13691050701673925.

Bozok, Mehmet. 2013. "Constructing Local Masculinities: A Case Study from Trabzon, Turkey." PhD, Sociology, Middle East Technical University.

Brandes, Stanley. 1981. "Like Wounded Stags: Male Sexual Ideology in an Andalusian Town." In *Sexual Meanings: the Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, edited by Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, 216-239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Ryan P., Kiersten Baughman, and Mauricio Carvallo. 2018. "Culture, Masculine Honor, and Violence Toward Women." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 44 (4):538-549. doi: 10.1177/0146167217744195.

Brown, Ryan P., Mikiko Imura, and Lindsey L. Osterman. 2014. "Gun Culture: Mapping a Peculiar Preference for Firearms in the Commission of Suicide." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 36 (2):164-175. doi: 10.1080/01973533.2014.882259.

Brown, Ryan P., and Lindsey L. Osterman. 2012. "Culture of Honor, Violence, and Homicide." In *The Oxford Handbook of Evolutionary Perspectives on Violence, Homicide, and War*, edited by Todd K. Shackelford and Viviana A. Weekes-Shackelford, 218-232. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Burki, Shireen Khan. 2011. "The Politics of Zan from Amanullah to Karzai: Lessons for Improving Afghan Women's Status." In *Land of the Unconquerable : the Lives of Contemporary Afghan Women*, edited by Jennifer Heath and Ashraf Zahedi, 45-59. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Calhoun, Craig. 2003. "Pierre Bourdieu." In *The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists*, edited by George Ritzer, 274-309. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Carbin, Maria. 2014. "The Requirement to Speak: Victim Stories in Swedish Policies against Honour-related Violence." *Women's Studies International Forum* 46:107-114.

Casimir, Michael J., and Susanne Jung. 2009. ""Honor and Dishonor": Connotations of a Socio-symbolic Category in Cross-cultural Perspective." In *Emotions as Bio-cultural Processes*, edited by Birgitt Röttger-Rössler and Hans J Markowitsch, 229-280. New York: Springer.

Çelik, Gizem. 2018. *Öldüren Erkek[lik]ler: Eşine Şiddet Uygulamış Cezaevindeki Erkekler*. İstanbul: Nota Bene Yayınları.

Central Statistics Organization. 2018. Afghnaistan Living Conditions Survey 2016-17. Kabul: Central Statistics Organization. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2BVhUO8 . Accessed (21 January 2019).

Central Statistics Organization (CSO). 2010. Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook 2009-10. Kabul: Central Statistics Organization (CSO). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/LCtT2z (Accessed 10 August 2018).

Charon, Joel M. 2013. *Ten Questions: A Sociological Perspective*. 8 ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Checchi and Company Consulting, Inc. 2014. Engaging Men in Women's Empowerment and Rights Achievement: An Explorative Study. Kabul: USAID, Mission to Afghanistan.

Chiovenda, Andrea. 2018. ""The War Destroyed our Society": Masculinity, Violence, and Shifring Cultural Idions among Afghan Pashtuns." In *Modern Afghanistan: The Impact of 40 Years of War*, edited by M. Nazif Shahrani, 179-199. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Cohen, Dov. 2007. Culture of Honor. In *Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*, edited by Roy F. Baumeister and Kathleen D. Vohs. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Cohen, Dov, and Richard E. Nisbett. 1997. "Field Experiments Examining the Culture of Honor: The Role of Institutions in Perpetuating Norms about Violence." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23 (11):1188-1199. doi: 10.1177/01461672972311006.

Cohen, Dov, Richard E. Nisbett, Brian F. Bowdle, and Norbert Schwarz. 1996. "Insult, Aggression, and the Southern Culture of Honor: An "Experimental Ethnography"." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (5):945–960.

Cohen, Dov, Joseph Vandello, and Adrian K. Rantilla. 1998. "The Sacred and the Social Cultures of Honor and Violence." In *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture*, edited by Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews, 261-282. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Colazzi, Paul F. 1978. "Psychological Research as the Phenomenologist Views It." In *Existential-Phenomenological Alternatives for Psychology*, edited by Ronald S Valle and Mark King, 48-71. New York: Oxford Univ. Press

Corbin, Juliet M, and Anselm L Strauss. 2015. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Fourth ed. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Costantino, Tracie E. 2008. Constructivism. In *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M. Given. Los Angeles: Sage.

Council of Europe. 2002. Crimes of Honour (Section 3.46).

Creswell, John W, and Vicki L Plano Clark. 2011. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. 2 ed. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE.

Creswell, John W. 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design Choosing among Five Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Creswell, John W. 2014. *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 4 ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

Creswell, John W., and Dana L. Miller. 2000. "Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry." *Theory Into Practice* 39 (3):124-130. doi: 10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2.

Crotty, Michael. 1998. *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. London: Sage Publications.

Davis, John. 1987. "Family and State in the Mediterranean." In *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, edited by David D. Gilmore, 22- 34. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Delaney, Carol. 1987. "Seeds of Honor, Fields of Shame." In *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, edited by David D. Gilmore, 35-48. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

Denzin, Norman K. 1978. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Orientation to Sociological Methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 2008. "Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research." In *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, 1-43. California: Sage Publications.

Desai, Kenneth M Cuno; Manisha. 2009. *Family, Gender, and Law in a Globalizing Middle East and South Asia*, *Gender and Globalization*. Syracuse, N.Y. : Syracuse University Press.

Deutsch, Francine M. 2007. "Undoing Gender." *Gender & Society* 21 (1):106-127. doi: 10.1177/0891243206293577.

Dillon, Michele. 2010. *Introduction to Sociological Theory: Theorists, Concepts, and their Applicability to the Twenty-First Century*. Chichester ; Malde: Wiley-Blackwell.

Dobash, R Emerson, and Russell Dobash. 1979. *Violence against Wives: a Case against the Patriarchy*. New York: Free Press.

Douglas, Jack D. 1976. *Investigative Social Research: Individual and Team Field Research*, *Sage library of social research, v. 29*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Dupree, Louis. 1973. *Afghanistan*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Dupree, Nancy Hatch. 2002. "Cultural Heritage and National Identity in Afghanistan." *Third World Quarterly* 23 (5):977-989. doi: 10.1080/0143659022000028549.

Dupree, Nancy Hatch. 2015. "Rural Society in Afghanistan." *Rural South Asian Studies* 1 (1):1-21. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/SchkMN . Accessed (20 March 2017).

Durkheim, Emile. 2013. *The Rules of Sociological Method: And Selected Texts on Sociology and its Method*. Translated by W. D. Halls. New York: Free Press.

Durkheim, Emile. 2014. *The Division of Labor in Society*. Translated by W. D. Halls. New York: Free Press.

Durkheim, Émile. 1952. *Suicide, A study in sociology*. Translated by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson, *International library of sociology and social reconstruction (Routledge & Kegan Paul)*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.

Ecevitoğlu, Pınar. 2009. "Siyasal İktidar-öldürme İlişkisi bağlamında Namus Kavramı ve Namus Cinayetleri: Siyasal Ontolojik bir Yaklaşım Denemesi " Doktora, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü, Ankara Üniversitesi.

Ecevitoğlu, Pınar. 2012. *Namus, Töre ve İktidar Kadının Çıplak Hayat Olarak Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları.

Edwards, David B. 1996. *Heroes of the Age Moral Fault Lines on the Afghan Frontier*. Edited by Barbara D. Metcalf, *Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Eickelman, Dale F. 1981. *The Middle East an Anthropological Approach*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Emadi, Hafizullah. 2002. *Repression, Resistance, and Women in Afghanistan*. Westport (Connecticut): Praeger.

Emadi, Hafizullah. 2005. *Culture and Customs of Afghanistan*. Westport ; London: Greenwood Press.

Ewing, Garen C. 2005. "Malalai - Afghan Heroine of Maiwand." *The Second Anglo-Afghan War 1878-1880. Retrieved from* http://www.garenewing.co.uk/angloafghanwar/biography/malalai.php . *(Accessed 12 November 2018)*.

Faraç, Mehmet. 2006. *Töre Kıskacında Kadın*, *Yayın; 28*. İstanbul: Günizi.

Ferguson, Harvie. 2001. "Phenomenology and Social Theory." In *Handbook of Social Theory*, edited by George Ritzer and Barry Smart, 232-248. London: SAGE Publications.

Flick, Uwe. 2000. "Constructivism." In *A Companion to Qualitative Research*, edited by Uwe Flick, Ernst von Kardoff and Ines Steinke, 88-95. London: Sage Publications.

Flick, Uwe. 2014. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. 5 ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Flick, Uwe. 2015. *Introducing Rsearch Methodology: a Beginner's Guide to Doing a Research Project*. London: SAGE

Frevert, Ute. 1991. "Bourgeois Honour: Middle-Class Duellists in Germany from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century." In *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*, edited by David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, 255-292. London: Routledge.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 1975. *Truth and Method*. Translated by Garrett Barden and John Cumming, *Continuum Book*. New York: Seabury Press.

Ganesh, Lena, Massouda Kohistani, and Rahim Azami. 2013. Women's Economic Empowerment in Afghanistan, 2002-2012: Information Mapping and Situation Analysis. Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ht97Kx . Accessed (13 April 2014).

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Gezik, Erdal. 2003. *Şeref, Kimlik ve Cinayet: Namus Cinayetleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma*. Ankara: Kalan Yayınları.

Ghanim, David. 2009. *Gender and Violence in the Middle East*. London: Praeger.

Gibbs, Graham R. 2007. *Analysing Qualitative Data*, *Sage Qualitative Research Kit*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Gilani, Sabrina. 2008. "Reconstituting Manhood: Examining Post-Conflict Remasculinisation and its Effects on Women and Women's Rights in Afghanistan." *In-Spire: Journal of Law, Politics and Societies* 3 (2):53-71.

Gill, Aisha K. 2014. "Introduction: 'Honour' and 'Honor'-Based Violence: Challenging Common Assumptions." In *'Honour' Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice*, edited by Aisha K. Gill, Carolyn Strange and Karl Roberts, 1-23. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gill, Aisha K. 2017. "Women Murdered in the Name of "Honor"." In *The Handbook of Homicide*, edited by Fiona Brookman, Edward R. Maguire and Mike Maguire, 149-164. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Gilmore, David D. 1982. "Anthropology of the Mediterranean Area." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11:175-205.

Gilmore, David D. 1990. *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Giorgi, Amedeo. 1985. *Phenomenology and Psychological Research*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Duquesne University Press.

Giovannini, Maureen J. 1987. "Female Chastity Codes in the Circum-Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives." In *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, edited by David D. Gilmore, 61-74. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Glatzer, Bernt. 1998. "Being Pashtun - Being Muslim: Concepts of Person and War in Afghanistan." In *Essays on South Asian Society: Culture and Politics II*, edited by Bernt Glatzer, 83-94. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch

Goddard, Victoria A., Josep R. Llobera, and Cris Shore. 1994. "Introduction: the Anthropology of Europe." In *the Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict*, 1-40. Oxford: Berg.

Goldberg, Ann. 2010. *Honor, Politics, and the Law in Imperial Germany 1871-1914*, *New Studies in European History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. 2015. State of Afghan Cities 2015 - Volume II. Kabul: GoIRA. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/CiJ2Mo . Accessed (01 March 2017).

Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. 2016. Atlas of Afghan City Regions 2016. Kabul: GoIRA. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/35Lwvo . Accessed (01 March 2017).

Gray, David E. 2009. *Doing Research in the Real World*. London: SAGE.

Grbich, Carol. 2013. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Introduction*. 2 ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Gregorian, Vartan. 1964. "The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Modernization, 1880-1930." Ph.D. Dept. of History, Stanford University.

Gregorian, Vartan. 1967. "Mahmud Tarzi and Saraj-ol-Akhbar: Ideology of Nationalism and Modernization in Afghanistan." *Middle East Journal* 21 (3):345-368.

Groenewald, Thomas. 2004. "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3 (1):Article 4. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Psjrzz . (Accessed 08 06 2018).

Groenewald, Thomas. 2008. Memos and Memoing.

Guba, Egon G., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 1994. "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 105-117. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Guimbert, Stephane. 2004. Structure and Performance of the Afghan Economy. Washington D.C.: World Bank. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2EjmO80 . Accessed (27 January 2018).

Hawkins, Jonathan. 2009. "The Pashtun Cultural Code: Pashtunwali." *Australian Defence Force Journal* 180:16-27.

Hearn, Jeff. 2013. "Methods and Methodologies in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities." In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini and Bob Pease, 26-38. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Herzfeld, Michael. 1980. "Honour and Shame: Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Moral Systems." *Man* 15 (2):339-351. doi: 10.2307/2801675.

Herzfeld, Michael. 1987. "As in Your Own House" Hospitality, Ethnography, and the Stereotype of Mediterranean Society." In *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, edited by David D. Gilmore, 75-89. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Hughes, Steven. 1998. "Men of Steel: Dueling, Honor, and Politics in Liberal italy." In *Men and Violence Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, edited by Pieter Spierenburg, 64-81. Ohio: Ohio State University Press.

Husserl, Edmund. 2002. *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*. London and New York: Routledge.

İçli, Tülin G., Şevket Ökten, and Aslıhan Öğün Boyacıoğlu. 2012. "A Study on Hierarchical/Normative Order, Marriage and Family Patterns in Bin Yousuf Tribe of Southeastern Turkey." *Advances in Applied Sociology* 2 (1):19-29.

Iliffe, John. 2005. *Honour in African History*, *African studies series, 107*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

İlkkaracan, Pınar. 2015. *Müslüman Toplumlarda Kadın ve Cinsellik*. Vol. 5. İstanbul: İletişim.

Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO). 2012. Socio-demographic and Economic Survey: Kabul. Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO). Retrieved from https://goo.gl/A4U5FB (Accessed 10 August 2016).

Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO). 2018. Estimated Populatiuon of Afghanistan 2018-19. Kabul: Central Statistics

Organization (CSO) Printing Press. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Vh831s . Accessed (02 August 2018).

Jamous, Raymond. 1992. "From the Death of Men to the Peace of God: Violence and Peace-making in the Rif." In *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, edited by J. G. Peristiany and Julian Alfred Pitt-Rivers, 167-192. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jenkins, Richard. 2002. *Pierre Bourdieu*. Revised ed, *Key Sociologists*. London; New York: Routledge.

Kaam, Adrian L Van. 1966. *Existential Foundations of Psychology*, *Duquesne Studies Psychological Series*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Kakar, Palwasha L. 2003. Tribal Law of Pashtunwali and Women's Legislative Authority. In *Afghan Legal History Project Papers Series*: Harvard Law School, Islamic Legal Studies.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1988. "Bargaining with Patriarchy." *Gender & Society* 2 (3):274-290.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 2005. The Politics of Gender and Reconstruction in Afghanistan. Switzerland: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

Kardam, Filiz. 2004. Namus Gerekçesiyle Öldürülme ya da Kendi Canına Kıyma: Kadın Cinselliği Üzerinde Baskıların Benzer Koşullarda Farklı Sonuçları mı? *Kadın Sorunları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (HUKSAM)*. Accessed https://bit.ly/2V7Z0L4 18 January 2019.

Kaufman, Michael. 2007. "The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men's violence." In *Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Laura L. O'Toole, Jessica R. Schiffman and Margie L. Kiter Edwards, 33-55. New York: New York University Press.

Kimmel, Michael. 2004. Masculinities. In *Men and Masculinities A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia*, edited by Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Kowaleski-Wallace, Beth. 2009. Father. In *Encyclopedia of Feminist Literary Theory*. London; New York: Routledge.

Kulczycki, Andrzej, and Sarah Windle. 2011. "Honor Killings in the Middle East and North Africa:A Systematic Review of the Literature." *Violence Against Women* 17 (11):1442-1464. doi: 10.1177/1077801211434127.

LaVaque-Manty, Mika. 2006. "Dueling for Equality:Masculine Honor and the Modern Politics of Dignity." *Political Theory* 34 (6):715-740. doi: 10.1177/0090591706291727.

Laverty, Susann M. 2003. "Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 2 (3):21-35. doi: 10.1177/160940690300200303.

Lawson, Jennifer. 2012. "Sociological Theories of Intimate Partner Violence." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 22 (5):572-590. doi: 10.1080/10911359.2011.598748.

Leao, Izabela, Mansur Ahmed, and Anuja Kar. 2018. Jobs from Agriculture in Afghanistan. International Development in Focus. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2EVdVQs . Accessed (23 January 2016).

Lee, Marvin, and Melanie Schuele. 2010. Demographics. In *Encyclopedia of Research Design*, edited by Neil Salkind. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Lerner, Gerda. 1986. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Leverenz, David. 2007. Honour. In *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, edited by Michael Flood, Judith Kegan Gardiner, Bob Pease and Keith Pringle. London; New York: Routledge.

Lincoln, Yvonna S., and Egon G Guba. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. California: Sage Publications.

M.Fortune, Marie, and Carol J.Adams. 2000. Domestic Violence. In *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*, edited by Cheris Kramarae and Dale Spender. New York: Routledge.

Magnus, Ralph H, and Eden Naby. 1998. *Afghanistan: Mullah, Marx, and Mujahid*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Malikyar, Helena. 1997. "Development of Family Law in Afghanistan: The Roles of the Hanafi Madhhab, Customary Practices and Power Politics." *Central Asian Survey* 16 (3):389-399. doi: 10.1080/02634939708400998.

Mandelbaum, David Goodman. 1988. *Women's Seclusion and Men's Honor: Sex Roles in North India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Manen, Max van. 1990. *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*. 2 ed. New York, NY: State University of New York Press.

Marcus, Michael A. 1987. ""Horsemen are the Fence of the Land": Honor and History Among the Ghiyata of Eastern Morocco." In *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, edited by David D. Gilmore, 22- 34. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Maxwell, Joseph A. 2013. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. 3 ed, *41 Applied Social Research Methods Series*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

McNamara, Lawrence. 2007. *Reputation and Defamation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miles, Matthew B., and A. Michael Huberman. 1994. *An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis*. 2 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Moein, Mohammad. 1381 [2002]. Ghairat. In *Farhang-e Farsi [A Persian Dictionary]: GH - Y*. Tehran: Adena.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2007. *From Patriarchy to Eempowerment: Women's Participation, Movements and Rights in the Middle East, North Africa and*

South Asia, *Gender and Globalization*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1992a. "Development and Patriarchy: The Middle East and North Africa in Economic and Demographic Transition." Working Papers UNU/WIDER Conference on Trajectories of Patriarchy and Development, Helsinki. World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/iYpvVL . (Accessed 10 October 2018).

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1992b. "Fundamentalism and the Woman Question in Afghanistan." In *Fundamentalism in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Lawrence Kaplan and Lawrence S. Kaplan, 126-151. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1992c. "Patriarchy and the Politics of Gender in Modernising Societies: Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan." *International Sociology* 7 (1):35-53.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1993. *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: L. Rienner.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1994a. *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies*: London : Zed Books ; Karachi : Oxford University Press for the United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economic Research.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1994b. "Revolution, Islamist Reaction, and Women in Afghanistan." In *Women and Revolution in Africa, Asia, and the New World*, edited by Mary Ann Tétreault, 211-235. South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1997a. "Nationalist Agendas and Women's Rights: Conflicts in Afghanistan in the Twentieth Century." In *Feminist Nationalism*, edited by Lois A. West, 75-100. New York: Routledge.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1997b. "Nationalist Agendas and Women's Rights Conflicts in Afghanistan in the Twentieth Century." In *Feminist Nationalism*, edited by Lois A. West, 75-100. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2002a. "Patriarchy, the Taleban, and Politics of Public Space in Afghanistan." *Women's Studies International Forum* 25 (1):19-31. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(02)00224-8.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2002b. "Women, the Taliban, and the Politics of Public Space in Afghanistan." In *September 11, 2001: Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Susan Hawthorne and Bronwyn Winter, 260-284. New Melbourne: Pinifex.

Moran, Dermot. 2000. *Introduction to Phenomenology*. London and New York: Routledge.

Moran, Dermot. 2005. *Edmund Husserl Founder of Phenomenology*. Cambridge: Polity.

Moritz, Mark. 2008. "A Critical Examination of Honor Cultures and Herding Societies in Africa." *African Studies Review* 51 (2):99-117.

Morse, Janice M. 2000. "Determining Sample Size." *Qualitative Health Research* 10 (1):3-5. doi: 10.1177/104973200129118183.

Mosawi, SayedMahdi, and Chona R. Echavez. 2015. "Challenges of Engaging Afghan Men in Gender Equality (A Case Study in Kabul, Afghanistan)." American Men's Studies Association (AMSA) XXIII / International Conference on Masculinities Engaging Men and Boys for Gender Equality, New York, March 5-8.

Moustakas, Clark. 1994. *Phenomenological Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Myrttinen, Henri. 2017. "Depictions and reflections: photographing visualizations of masculinities in Afghanistan and Democratic Republic of the Congo." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19 (4):530-536. doi: 10.1080/14616742.2017.1364910.

National Statistics and Information Authority. 2018. Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook 2017-18. Kabul: Central Statistics Organizations. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2GLJ7XS . Accessed (20 January 2019).

Nawid, Senzil. 2007. "Afghan Women under Marxism." In *From Patriarchy to Empowerment: Women's Participation, Movements, and arIGHTS IN THE mIDDLE eAST, nORTH africa, and South Asia*, edited by Valentine M. Moghadam, 58-. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Nisbett, Richard E, and Dov Cohen. 1996. *Culture of Honor: The Psychology of Violence in The South (New Directions in Social Psychology)*: Westview Press Incorporated.

Nisbett, Richard E. 1993. "Violence and U.S. Regional Culture." *American Psychologist* 48 (4):441-449. doi: http://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0003-066X.48.4.441.

Nixon, Hamish. 2008. Subnational State-Building in Afghanistan. Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2GKPzOQ . Accessed (16 January 2016).

Northcott, Nigel. 1996. "Cognitive Mapping: An Approach to Qualitative Data Analysis." *NT Research* 1 (6):456-463. doi: 10.1177/174498719600100610.

Odeh, Lama Abu. 2010. "Honor Killings and the Construction of Gender in Arab Societies." *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 58 (4):911-952. doi: 10.5131/ajcl.2010.0007.

Oprisko, Robert L. 2012. *Honor: A Phenomenology*. New York: Routledge.

Paley, John. 2017. *Phenomenology as Qualitative Research: A Critical Analysis of Meaning Attribution*, *Routledge advances in research methods, v. 20*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Parla, Ayşe. 2005. Women, Gender and Honor in Turkey and the Caucuses. In *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures: Family, Law and Politics*, edited by Suad Joseph. Leiden; Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Parla, Ayşe. 2006. Virginity: Discourses and Practices: Turkey. In *Encyclopedia of women & Islamic cultures*, edited by Suad Joseph and Afsaneh Najmabadi. Leiden: Brill.

Patton, Michael Quinn. 2015. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. 4 ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Pejman, Asadullah, and Zahra Mo'tamedi. 2016. Wazieyat'e Hoquq-e Bashar dar Afghanistan dar Sal-e 1394 Khorshidi [Human Rights Situation in Afghanistan in 2015]. Kabul: Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC),.

Peoples, James, and Garrick Bailey. 2012. *Humanity: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. 9 ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Peristiany, J. G. 1966. *Honour and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Peristiany, J. G., and Julian Pitt-Rivers. 1992. "Introduction." In *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, edited by John George Peristiany and Julian Alfred Pitt-Rivers, 1-17. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pitt-Rivers, Julian. 1966. "Honour and Social Status." In *Honour and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society*, edited by J. G. Peristiany, 19-77. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Pitt-Rivers, Julian. 1968. Honor. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by David L. Sills: London: Macmillan; New York: The Free Press.

Pitt-Rivers, Julian. 2012. "The Law of Hospitality |Reprint|." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (1):501–517.

Polit, Denise F., and Cheryl Tatano Beck. 2012. *Nursing Research: Generating and Assessing Evidence for Nursing Practice*. 9 ed. Philadelphia: Wolters Kluwer Health | Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Poulton, Robin Edward. 2003. "Honour, guns and Jihad—Improving Childhood and Communications in Afghanistan would Promote Peace." *Conflict, Security & Development* 3 (3):407-416. doi: 10.1080/1467880032000151653.

Pstrusińska, Jadwiga. 2017. "Content of Paštunwali – the Pashtun Code of Conduct." *Rocznik Orientalistyczny, T. LXX* 1:5–19.

Punch, Keith F. 2014. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. 3 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Qassem, Ahmad Shayeq. 2009. *Afghanistan's Political Stability: a Dream Unrealised*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Rahman, Najat. 2007. Patriarchy. In *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* edited by Michael Flood, Judith Kegan Gardiner, Bob Pease and Keith Pringle. London; New York: Routledge.

Ravitch, Sharon M., and Nicole Mittenfelner Carl. 2016. *Qualitative Research: Bridging the Conceptual, Theoretical, and Methodological*. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE.

Raza, Anjana. 2006. "Mask Of Honor—Causes behind Honor Killings in Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 12 (2):88-104. doi: 10.1080/12259276.2006.11666010.

Rickman, H. P. 1967. Wilhelm Dilthey. In *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Paul Edwards. New York: Macmillan.

Ricoeur, Paul. 1981. *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*. Translated by John B. Thompson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L., and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. "Unpacking the Gender System:A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 18 (4):510-531. doi: 10.1177/0891243204265269.

Ritzer, George, and Jeffrey Stepnisky. 2017. *Contemporary Sociological Theory and its Classical Roots: the Basics*. 5 ed. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Ritzer, George, and Jeffrey Stepnisky. 2018a. *Classical Sociological Theory*. 7 ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Ritzer, George, and Jeffrey Stepnisky. 2018b. *Modern Sociological Theory*. 8 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Roberts, Karl Anton, Gerry Campbell, and Glen Lloyd. 2014. *Honor-based Violence: Policing and Prevention*, *Advances in Police Theory and Practice Series*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Roy, Olivier. 1995. *Afghanistan: from Holy War to Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press.

Rzehak, Lutz. 2011. Doing Pashto: Pashtunwali as the Ideal of Honourable Behaviour and Tribal Life among the Pashtuns. Kabul: Afghanistan Analyst Network.

Saldaña, Johnny. 2013. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. 2 ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

Saltmarshe, Douglas, and Abhilash Medhi. 2011. Local Governance in Afghanistan A View from the Ground. Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2GJqWSD . Accessed (16 January 2016).

Saucier, Donald A., and Jessica L. McManus. 2014. "Men of Honor: Examining Individual Differences in Masculine Honor Beliefs." In *Masculinities in a Global Era*, edited by Joseph Gelfer, 85-99. New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Schmeidl, Susanne. 2009. "The "Undoing of Gender Inequalities" in Traditional Societies - The Example of Post-Conflict Afghanistan." In *Gender Dynamics and Post-conflict Reconstruction*, edited by Eifler Christine and Ruth Seifer, 71-92. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften.

Schneider, Jane. 1971. "Of Vigilance and Virgins: Honor, Shame and Access to Resources in Mediterranean Societies." *Ethnology* 10 (1):1-24. doi: 10.2307/3772796.

Schutz, Alfred. 1962. *Collected Papers*. Vol. I. The Hague: Martinus-Nijhoff.

Schwandt, Thomas A. 2006. "Constructivisit, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry." In *The Production of Reality: Essays and Readings on Social Interaction*, edited by Jodi O'Brien, 40-. Thousand Oaks (CA); London; New Delhi: Pine Forge Press, cop.

Sen, Purna. 2005. "'Crimes of honour', Value and Meaning." In *'Honor': Crimes, paradigms and violence against women*
, edited by Lynn Welchman and Sara Hossain, 42-63. Victoria, Australia: Spinifex Press; London and New York: Zed Books.

Shilling, Chris, and Philip A Mellor. 2001. *The Sociological Ambition: Elementary Forms of Social and Moral Life*. London: Sage Publications.

Simmel, Georg. 1898. "The Persistence of Social Groups." *American Journal of Sociology* 3 (5):662-698.

Simmel, Georg. 1955. "The Web of Group-Affiliations " In *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, edited by Georg Simmel, 125-195. New York, NY: Free Press.

Sirman, Nükhet. 2004. "Kinship, Politics, and Love: Honour in Post-Colonial Contexts - The Case of Turkey." In *Violence in the name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges*, edited by Shahrzad Mojba and Nahıla Abdo. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi.

Solotaroff, Jennifer L., and Rohini Prabha Pande. 2014. *Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Speier, Hans. 1935. "Honor and Social Structure." *Social Research* 2 (1):74-97.

Speier, Hans. 1952a. "Honor and Social Structure." In *Social Order and the Risks of War: Papers in Political Sociology*, 36-52. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Speier, Hans. 1952b. "Freedom and Social planning." In *Social Order and the Risks of War: Papers in Political Sociology*, 3-18. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Spierenburg, Pieter. 1998. "Masculinity, Violence, and Honor: An Introduction." In *Men and Violence Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, edited by Pieter Spierenburg, 1-29. Ohio: Ohio State University Press.

Stake, Robert E. 2010. *Qualitative Research : studying how things work*. New York / London: The Guilford Press.

Stets, Jan E., and Peter J. Burke. 2000. "Femininity/Masculinity." In *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by Edgar F. Borgatta and Rhonda J. V. Montgomery, 997-1005. New York: Macmillan.

Stewart, Frank Henderson. 1994. *Honor*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.

Strange, Carolyn, and Robert Cribb. 2014. "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion." In *Honour, Violence and Emotions in History*, edited by Carolyn Strange, Robert Cribb and Christopher E. Forth, 1-22. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Tamanoi, Mariko Asano. 1987. "Shame, Family and the State in Catalonia and Japan." In *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, edited by David D. Gilmore, 104-120. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Tapper, Nancy. 1984. "Causes and Consequences of the Abolition of Brideprice in Afghanistan." In *Rebellion and Revelutions in Afghanistan*, edited by
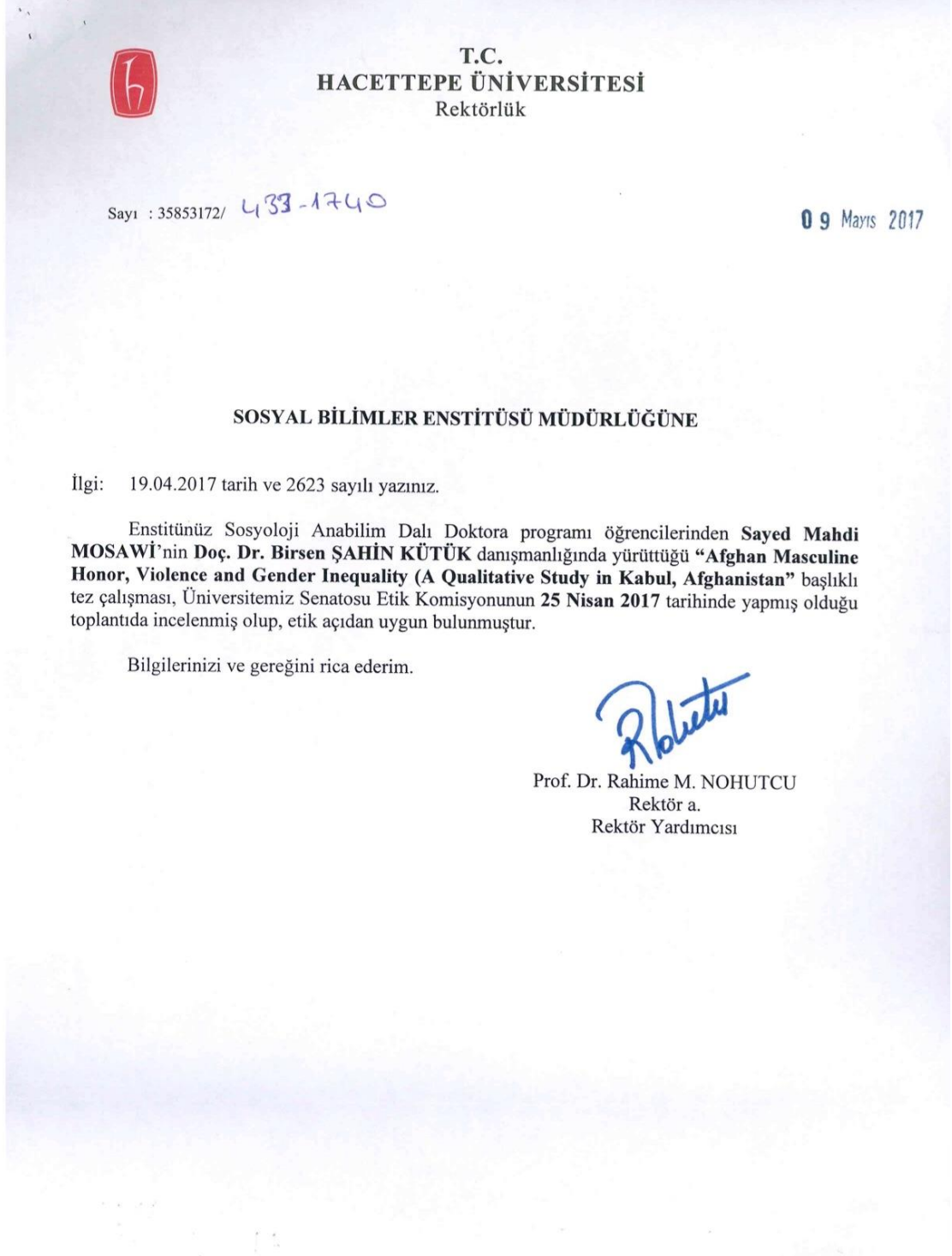
Nazif Shahrani and Robert Canfield, 291-305. Berkeley: University of California International Studies Institute.

Tapper, Nancy. 1991. *Bartered Brides Politics: Gender and Marriage in an Afghan Tribal Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tapper, Richard, and Nancy Tapper. 1992. "Marriage, Honour and Responsibility: Islamic and Local Models in the Mediterranean and the Middle East." *Cambridge Anthropology* 16 (2):3-21.

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). 1992 General Recommendation. No. 19, U.N. Doc. A/47/38.

Tisdell, Elizabeth J. 2008. Feminist Epistemology. In *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M. Given. Los Angeles: Sage.

Tokiharu, Mayeda David, and Vijaykumar Raagini. 2016. "A Review of the Literature on Honor-based Violence." *Sociology Compass* 10 (5):353-363. doi: doi:10.1111/soc4.12367.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. 2002. *Community and Society = Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Translated by Charles Price Loomis. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications.

Travaglino, Giovanni A., Dominic Abrams, and Georgina Randsley de Moura. 2016. "Men of Honor Don't Talk: The Relationship Between Masculine Honor and Social Activism Against Criminal Organizations in Italy." *Political Psychology* 37 (2):183-199. doi: doi:10.1111/pops.12226.

Turner, HJonathan H., Leonard Beeghley, and Charles H. Powers. 2012. *The Emergence of Sociological Theory*. 7 ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

UN Women. 2013. Like a Bird with Broken Wings: Afghan Women Oral History 1978-2008. Kabul: UN Women Afghanistan Country Office.

United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, and United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. 2010. Harmful Traditional Practices and Implementation of the Law on Elimination of Violence against Women in Afghanistan. Kabul: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan

United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

United Nations General Assembly. 1993. United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, U.N. Doc. A/RES/48/104.

United Nations General Assembly. 2001. Working towards the Elimination of Crimes against Women Committed in the Name of Honour. UN Doc. A/Res/55/66. Available at: https://goo.gl/PYPH69 . Accessed (2 February 2017).

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). 2000. State of World Population 2000 Lives Together, Worlds Apart: Men and Women in a Time of Change. New York: United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

Van Osch, Yvette, Seger M. Breugelmans, Marcel Zeelenberg, and Pinar Bölük. 2013. "A Different Kind of Honor Culture: Family Honor and Aggression

in Turks." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 16 (3):334-344. doi: 10.1177/1368430212467475.

Vandello, Joseph A. 2010. Culture of Honor. In *Encyclopedia of Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, edited by John M Levine and Michael A Hogg. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.

Vandello, Joseph A., Jennifer K. Bosson, Dov Cohen, Rochelle M. Burnaford, and Jonathan R. Weaver. 2008. "Precarious manhood." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 95 (6):1325-1339. doi: 10.1037/a0012453.

Vandello, Joseph A., and Dov Cohen. 2003. "Male Honor and Female Fidelity: Implicit Cultural Scripts that Perpetuate Domestic Violence." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84 (5):997-1010. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.997.

Vandello, Joseph A., and Dov Cohen. 2008. "Culture, Gender, and Men's Intimate Partner Violence." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2 (2):652-667. doi: doi:10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00080.x.

Vandello, Joseph A., and Vanessa Hettinger. 2016. "A Woman's Honor: Purity Norms and Male Violence." In *Honor in the Modern World: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Laurie M. Johnson and Dan Demetriou, 219-235. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Vincent A. Anfara, Jr., and Norma T. Mertz. 2006. *Theoretical Frameworks in Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Walby, Sylvia. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA, USA: B. Blackwell.

Weber, Max. 1964. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: Free Press.

Welchman, Lynn, and Sara Hossain. 2005. "Introduction: 'Honour', Rights and Wrongs." In *'Honor': Crimes, paradigms and violence against women*
, 1-21. Victoria, Australia: Spinifex Press; London and New York: Zed Books.

Wheeldon, Johannes, and Mauri Ahlberg. 2017. "Mind Maps in Qualitative Research." In *Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences*. Singapore: Springer.

Wheeldon, Johannes, and Mauri K. Ahlberg. 2012. *Visualizing Social Science Research: Maps, Methods, & Meaning*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Whitehead, Stephen M. 2007. Patriarchal Dividend. In *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* edited by Michael Flood, Judith Kegan Gardiner, Bob Pease and Keith Pringle. London; New York: Routledge.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1997. *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, Ara. 2000. Patriarchy: Feminist Theory. In *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*, edited by Cheris Kramarae and Dale Spender. New York: Routledge.

Wimpelmann, Torunn. 2013. "The Price of Protection: Gender, Violence and Power in Afghanistan." PhD, Development Studies, University of London. Retrieved from https://goo.gl/TzyCxy . Accessed (30 November 2018).

World Bank. 2004. *Gender and Development in the Middle East and North Africa Women in the Public Sphere*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. 2018. Afghanistan: Poverty in Afghanistan Results based on ALCS 2016-17. Washington DC: World Bank, Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2BWkgwf . Accessed (30 January 2019).

World Bank. 2019a. "Data: Land Area (sq. km), Afghanistan." https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.TOTL.K2, accessed 19 January 2019.

World Bank. 2019b. GDP per Capita (Current US$): World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. In *The World Bank Data. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2r0vgmI . Accessed (20 January 2019)*.

Yıldız Tahincioğlu, A. Nevin. 2011. *Namusun Halleri*. İstanbul: POSTİGA YAYINLARI

Zahedi, Ashraf. 2011. "When the Picture Does Not Fit the Frame: Engaging Afghan Men in Women's Empowerment." In *Land of the Unconquerable The Lives of Contemporary Afghan Women*, edited by Jennifer Heath and Ashraf Zahedi, 293-308. California & London: University of California Press.

Zeid, Abou A. M. 1966. "Honour and Shame among the Bedouins of Egypt." In *Honour and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society*, edited by J. G. Peristiany, 243-259. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. ETHICS' BOARD APPROVAL

T.C.
HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Rektörlük

Sayı : 35853172/ 433-1740

0 9 Mayıs 2017

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi: 19.04.2017 tarih ve 2623 sayılı yazınız.

Enstitünüz Sosyoloji Anabilim Dalı Doktora programı öğrencilerinden **Sayed Mahdi MOSAWİ**'nin **Doç. Dr. Birsen ŞAHİN KÜTÜK** danışmanlığında yürüttüğü **"Afghan Masculine Honor, Violence and Gender Inequality (A Qualitative Study in Kabul, Afghanistan"** başlıklı tez çalışması, Üniversitemiz Senatosu Etik Komisyonunun **25 Nisan 2017** tarihinde yapmış olduğu toplantıda incelenmiş olup, etik açıdan uygun bulunmuştur.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

Prof. Dr. Rahime M. NOHUTCU
Rektör a.
Rektör Yardımcısı

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Rektörlük 06100 Sıhhiye-Ankara
Telefon: 0 (312) 305 3001 - 3002 • Faks: 0 (312) 311 9992
E-posta: yazimd@hacettepe.edu.tr • www.hacettepe.edu.tr

Ayrıntılı Bilgi için:
Yazı İşleri Müdürlüğü
0 (312) 305 1008

APPENDIX 2. THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT – ENGLISH VERSION

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Ph.D. DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Date: 04/03/2019

Thesis Title : **AFGHAN MASCULINE *GHAIRAT*: A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN KABUL**

According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on ...04/03/2019 for the total of ...214. pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 9%.

Filtering options applied:
1. ☐ Approval and Decleration sections excluded
2. ☒ Bibliography/Works Cited excluded
3. ☐ Quotes excluded
4. ☒ Quotes included
5. ☐ Match size up to 5 words excluded

I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

04/03/2019
Date and Signature

Name Surname: Sayed Mahdi MOSAWI
Student No: N12148295
Department: Sociology
Program: Sociology
Status: ☒ Ph.D.   ☐ Combined MA/ Ph.D.

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Prof. Dr. Birsen ŞAHİN KÜTÜK
_____
(Title, Name Surname, Signature)

APPENDIX 3. THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT – TURKISH VERSION

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
DOKTORA TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORİJİNALLİK RAPORU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SOSYOLOJİ ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 04/03/2019

Tez Başlığı : **AFGHAN MASCULINE *GHAIRAT*: A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN KABUL**

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 214 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 04/03/2019.. tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı % 9. 'tür.

Uygulanan filtrelemeler:
1- ☐ Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç
2- ☒ Kaynakça hariç
3- ☐ Alıntılar hariç
4- ☒ Alıntılar dâhil
5- ☐ 5 kelimeden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallik Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esasları'nı inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermediğini; aksinin tespit edileceği muhtemel durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

04/03/2019
Tarih ve İmza

Adı Soyadı:	Sayed Mahdi MOSAWI
Öğrenci No:	N12148295
Anabilim Dalı:	SOSYOLOJİ
Programı:	SOSYOLOJİ
Statüsü:	☒ Doktora ☐ Bütünleşik Dr.

DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.

Prof. Dr. Birsen ŞAHİN KÜTÜK
(Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)