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# **The Perception of Honour-Related Violence in female and male university students from Morocco, Cameroon and Italy**

## ABSTRACT

The study investigates the perception of honour-related violence against women in female and male university students from three countries - Morocco, Cameroon, Italy – all considered honour cultures but different in terms of various other sociocultural factors, such as family structure and gender roles. One hundred fourteen Moroccan (47 females, 67 males), 106 Cameroonian (41 females, 65 males) and 103 Italian (51 females, 52 males) students attending Turin University and currently living in Turin, answered a questionnaire to evaluate an act of honour-related violence by a father against his daughter. The results showed that the perception of this act was influenced by the participants' nationality: Italians evaluated the incident as more serious and more as a crime than Moroccans, and the latter more than Cameroonians. Furthermore, Italians attributed less responsibility to the victim and more responsibility to the assailant than Moroccans and Cameroonians did; accordingly, they also proposed more severe punishment for the assailant than Moroccans and Cameroonians. The results also showed an interaction between nationality and gender: Cameroonian women attributed more responsibility to the victim and less to the assailant than Cameroonian men, and Italian men attributed less responsibility to the assailant than Italian women. These results are interpreted in terms of the importance attributed to family honour in the three countries and their differences in social organisation and gender roles.

*Keywords: Honour-related violence; Culture; Gender roles; Morocco; Cameroon; Italy*

## INTRODUCTION

One of the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations is the prevention of violence against women (Garcia-Moreno & Watts, 2011), which is still “One of the most pervasive violations of human rights in all societies” (World Health Organization [WHO], 2005, p. 3). As reported by the WHO (2013), this kind of violence has not only dramatic consequences at a psychophysical individual level (e.g., injuries, mental health problems, substance use, etc.), but it also has a large public health impact.

Nowadays, as shown by Garcia-Moreno and Watts (2011) in their comment on the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence involving more than 90 countries, the rate of violence against women is still very high and this is particularly true in the so-called *honour cultures* (Cihangir, 2013; Sev’er, 2005) present for instance in some Mediterranean (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000, 2002), Middle Eastern (e.g., Baldry, Pagliaro, & Porcaro, 2013; Uskul, Cross, Sunbay, Gercek-Swing, & Ataca, 2012), and African societies (e.g., Okereke & Racheotes, 2007). According to a survey by the UN Population Fund (Sadik, 2000), in the year 2000, around 5,000 women were victims of honour killings, the most extreme form of honour-related violence.

In order to design specific intervention and prevention programs to eradicate this phenomenon, it is important to obtain detailed information about the attitudes related to these crimes and the possible determinants of such attitudes (Flood & Pease, 2009; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2013). Honour-related violence against women tends, indeed, to be very often justified by cultural norms and beliefs, as shown for instance by Cihangir (2013) in his investigation about cultural and gender differences in gender specific honour codes among Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch high school students.

Yet, as long as cultural norms justify such crimes, the perpetrators will enjoy greater

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impunity, whereas the women will have more difficulty reporting such acts and the implementation of effective prevention programs will be hampered, as sustained by Fontes and McCloskey (2011) in their review about the cultural issues related to different manifestations of violence against women across the globe.

Based on these considerations, the present study aims to investigate female and male perception of honour-related violence against women in people from three countries, all considered as honour cultures: Morocco (Welchman, 2013), Cameroon (Okereke & Racheotes, 2007), and Italy (Helkama et al., 2013), but different as regards various other social and cultural aspects, as will be described in more detail later.

In considering these three countries, two main issues regarding the perception of honour-related violence will be addressed:

- 1) Gender differences in the perception of honour-related violence: in the literature, there are contrasting results as regards gender differences in the perception of honour-related violence against women. For instance, Caffaro, Ferraris, and Schmidt (2014) showed that Turkish male university students tolerate honour killing more than their female counterparts, whereas Vandello and Cohen (2003) found no gender differences when investigating Brazilian students' perceptions of honour-related wife beating.
- 2) Cultural differences in the perception of honour-related violence: as suggested by Fontes and McCloskey (2011), several factors such as social and family structure, gender roles, religion, and cultural norms and values, could play an important role in shaping attitudes about violence against women, but less is known about the role played by these variables on the perception of honour-related crimes.

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To make a novel contribution on these issues, we used a questionnaire to assess how Moroccan, Cameroonian and Italian university students of both genders perceive a scene depicting a violent act by a father against his daughter in reason of her *dishonourable* behaviour.

### **Honour-related violence**

In their book *Crimes, paradigms and violence against women* discussing data collected in many different countries in Europe, the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia, Welchman and Hossain (2005) define honour crimes as:

A variety of manifestations of violence against women, including ‘honour killings’, assault, confinement or imprisonment, and interference with choice in marriage, where the publicly articulated ‘justification’ is attributed to a social order claimed to require the preservation of a concept of ‘honour’ vested in male (family and/or conjugal) control over women and specifically women’s sexual conduct: actual, suspected or potential.  
(p. 4).

Although each definition of honour crimes has to be used with caution since this concept is tightly linked to specific cultural contexts (for a detailed discussion on this issue, see Welchman & Hossain, 2005), in the present work, we will use this rather broad definition which entails several aspects shared by all so-called honour crimes.

This definition shows that violence against a *dishonourable* woman can assume different psychological and/or physical forms and different degrees of gravity (United Nations, 1993). As reported by Sev’er (2005) in her analysis of honour crimes in south-eastern Turkey, violence can go as far as murder, but also includes hitting, forcing into marriage, virginity testing, and segregation. The motivations

for honour-related violence can also be very diverse: they can range from adultery or merely alleged adultery, premarital sex, and rape, as shown by Faqir (2001) with regard to the Jordanian context, to more trivial reasons such as addressing a stranger, going out without the parents' permission, dating someone not acceptable for the family, or disobeying one's parents or husband regarding the values, religion and culture of the family, as reported by Sen (2005) in her analysis of the concept of honour in different western and eastern countries. What is at stake in these cases is the family's honour, which mainly depends upon the chastity and morally appropriate behaviour of the female family members, as pointed out by Van Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, and Bölük (2013) in their study about the relation between family honour and insult-related aggression in Turkish students. According to Cihangir (2013), who investigated the honour codes of Moroccan and Turkish adolescents of both genders, in cultures in which family honour is an important value, a woman's divergence from expected roles damages both her own and the male family members' reputation. As a consequence, when the woman does not behave accordingly, the man has to act urgently to protect and restore the honour of himself and of the whole family, as evidenced by Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) when analysing honour killings in rural Turkey. Moreover, honour-related beliefs can have such a powerful influence on attitudes towards violence against women that this violence will not be considered as a crime, but as something acceptable or even justifiable as attested by the study of Baldry et al. (2013) involving Afghan police officers.

### **Honour-related violence and gender**

Several studies suggest that men are more indulgent than women in supporting different kinds of violence against women (for a review, see Frieze & Li, 2010).

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For instance, this gender difference is supported by studies on attitudes towards rape in Turkish college students (Gölge, M. F. Yavuz, Müderrisoglu, & M. S. Yavuz, 2003), and in U.S. undergraduate students of both genders (White & Kurpius, 2002). In particular, Gölge et al. (2003) evidenced that men are more likely than women to blame the victim, to attribute less responsibility to the perpetrator, to consider violent behaviours as less a crime and less serious, to propose less severe punishment for the aggressor, and to evaluate that the victims should not report the violent act to the police. Moreover, when analysing attitudes towards spousal physical violence, a similar pattern of results was found by Nayak, Byrne, Martin, and Abraham (2003) in female and male undergraduate students from India, Japan, Kuwait and the USA, and by Sakallı (2001) in Turkish college students of both genders.

However, gender differences seem to show an opposite direction when the perception of wife beating in African countries is considered. On the topic at hand, in a meta analysis of the data from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) conducted in 17 sub-Saharan African countries and involving about 69,000 men aged 15-59 and 166,000 women aged 15-49, Uthman, Lawoko, and Moradi (2010) found that women were twice as likely than men to justify wife beating. As regards gender differences in the perception of honour-related violence against women, the few published researches report rather inconsistent results. Greater male indulgence is supported, for instance, by the study of Caffaro et al. (2014) investigating the perception of honour killings in a sample of Turkish and Italian male and female university students. Conversely, Vandello and Cohen (2003) found no gender differences when investigating Brazilian students' perceptions of a husband battering his wife in response to her adultery: participants of both genders agreed that husbands can use violence to protect their honour and wives



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have to tolerate it. This result, as well as the ones obtained by Uthman et al. (2010), suggest that at least in Brazil and in sub-Saharan Africa women themselves play a crucial role in transmitting social values and norms which facilitate crimes against women (Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

### **Honour-related violence and culture: The concept of honour in Morocco, Cameroon and Italy**

Morocco, Cameroon and Italy are considered as cultures in which family honour plays an important role in shaping familiar and social relationships (for Morocco, see Welchman, 2013; for Cameroon, Okereke & Racheotes, 2007; for Italy, Helkama et al., 2013).

In Morocco, several laws protect family honour: for instance, Article 475 of the Penal Code states that legal proceedings against the abductor of a minor girl will cease if the abductor and the girl subsequently decide to marry. Moreover, though not contemplated by law, victims' families very often offer abductors the possibility of marrying their victims in order to preserve the family's honour (Freedom House, 2005).

Additionally, as reported by Welchman (2013), Articles 418 and 420 of the Moroccan Penal Code contemplate less severe punishment in the case of honour violence against a spouse or a family member under certain circumstances:

#### Article 418:

Lesser penalties shall be applied to crimes of murder, wounding or beating, when committed by a husband against his wife and her partner when he surprises them in the act of adultery (in flagrante delicto).

#### Article 420:

Lesser penalties shall apply to crimes of wounding and beating without intent to kill, even if death does result, if committed by the head of a

family against persons whom he has surprised in his house in a situation of unlawful sexual intercourse. (p. 4).

Although there is a lack of reliable statistics about the number of women victims of honour-related violence in Morocco, it is possible to get an idea of the phenomenon by looking at the data regarding violence against women in general. A 2011 national study conducted among 8,300 women aged 18-64 estimated that 62.8% of Moroccan women within this age range had been victims of some form of violence during the year before the study. In particular, 31% suffered from violation of their individual liberty, 15.2% had been victims of physical violence and 8.7% of sexual violence (Moroccan Haut Commissaire au Plan, 2011). The same study also showed that 55% of all acts of violence were committed by the victim's husband, and that the violence was reported in only 3% of cases, among which only 1.8% gave rise to a formal charge. According to Sadiqi (2010), "[...] many women are reluctant to defend their rights in court, particularly if male family members are responsible for the violations or if it is perceived that their legal action could damage their family reputation." (p. 6).

As far as Cameroon is concerned, we are not aware of any literature that explicitly affirms that family honour is an important socially shared value in this country. Nonetheless, several factors allow us to sustain that very strong control is exerted over female family members in order to preserve family honour (Okereke & Racheotes, 2007). Widespread practices such as arranged and/or forced marriage at a very young age (Human Rights Watch, 2003), female genital mutilation (United Nations, 2003), and breast ironing (Tetchiada, 2006), attest that the protection of pre-marital virginity and the chastity of female members of the community is a central concern in Cameroonian society.

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Moreover, Article 361 of the Cameroonian Penal Code sanctions the wife who commits adultery, whereas the adultery of the husband is punished only if it has been committed several times or under the conjugal roof. Also, rape is tolerated by the Penal Code if committed against the own spouse or when the aggressor subsequently marries the victim (Articles 297 and 73).

Violence against women in the family seems indeed to be a serious problem in Cameroon. According to the 2011 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS, 2011), 34% of some 15,500 women who were interviewed (age range: 15-49), have experienced physical violence, 8% have experienced sexual violence, and 21% have experienced both physical and sexual violence. Violence had mainly been perpetrated by their current or most recent husband/partner, sometimes also by other family members (UN Women, 2012). As Beatrice Labangie of the Buea Court of First Instance explained to Face2FaceAfrica (2014), in Cameroon, the majority of women who have been victims of violence do not report nor take legal actions against their aggressors because of the fear of being stigmatised by their community. In addition, as denounced by some non-governmental organisations (e.g., Women in Research and Action, 2008), law officials usually consider domestic violence as a *private matter* or a *disciplinary action* (World Organisation Against Torture [OMCT], 2003), thus discouraging women from reporting such violence.

Italy is traditionally considered as an honour culture, too (Helkama et al., 2013; Uskul et al., 2012). However, during the last few decades, Italy has undergone a gradual transformation into an individualist country (Bimbi & Trifletti, 2006), which accounts for a concept of honour focused more on self-enhancement, moral integrity and personal responsibility for one's own actions (Cihangir, 2013).

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Honour crimes no longer exist in Italian law: in 1981 the law about honour killing was abrogated and honour was no longer considered as a mitigating circumstance in murder cases (Monacelli, 2009). In addition, with the approval of Law 66 in 1996, acts of sexual violence were no longer considered as *offenses against public morality and decency*, but as *crimes against the person* punished by 5 to 10 years of imprisonment, and in 2001 Article 154 of the Civil Code introduced rules against intrafamily violence, which allow a rapid removal of the abuser from the household. Finally, in 2013 Italy signed the Istanbul Convention and, in line with this convention, ratified the so-called *law against gender-based violence and femicide* (Law 119/2013) which comprises several urgent dispositions to contrast violence against women (for more detail, see the report of the Interior Ministry, 2014).

Since the abrogation of the law about honour killing, it is no longer possible to extract precise numbers on the incidence of honour crimes in Italy. However, it is possible to get an idea of the phenomenon by considering data about violence against women in general, which remains a relevant issue in Italy. A survey performed by the Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT, 2014) on a sample of about 25,000 Italian women aged between 16 and 70 years revealed that 31.5% of them have been victims of physical or sexual violence in their lifetime, but only 11.8% reported it to the police. This low rate of denunciation seems in contrast with the important changes the Italian legal system underwent in the last decades, and also with the attitudes of Italians towards violence against women. As shown by a recent survey by Ipsos (2014) on a sample of 1,000 Italians representative of the Italian population, 99% of them considered violence against women as a serious crime, and 91% agreed that it should be reported to the police. According to ISTAT (2014), the reasons that prevent women from reporting the violence

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suffered, rely in feelings of guilt and shame, fear of repercussions, economic dependence, but also in a persisting lack of trust in the law enforcement agencies and the judicial authorities.

### **Social structure, religious context and gender roles in the three countries**

We chose to investigate the perception of honour-related crimes in students from Morocco, Cameroon and Italy, because these three countries share similarities but also show important differences in terms of social and family structure, gender roles, religion, and cultural norms and values, that could have an influence on the perception of such crimes.

In more detail, Morocco is an Islamic country (98% of the population are Muslims, Carpanetto, 2006) in which the Sharia - a comprehensive and detailed corpus of laws, derived from the interpretation of the Quran and the Sunnah (Rehman, 2007) - intersects with various aspects of the secular law (Buskens, 2010). For instance, the Moroccan Family Code, or *Moudawana*, is based on the Sharia and its latest version was amended in February 2004. Prior to this reform, the Family Code obliged a woman to obey her husband, and limited the circumstances under which she could divorce. In the new Family Code, mutual rights and duties are granted to both spouses, including the joint protection and management of household affairs and the education of children. However, many non-governmental organizations (e.g., The Advocates for Human Rights, 2014) are still highly critical of the new Family Code, stating that it continues to allow polygamy, to maintain men's unilateral power to divorce without a cause, and to not adequately protect women's economic rights during marriage or upon divorce. Moreover, as pointed out by Hursh (2012), many judges have still not received any training on, or are unwilling to adopt, the reformed Family Code.

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These legal aspects are consistent with the male-oriented organisation of Moroccan society (Desrues & Nieto, 2009; Hursh, 2012; Montanari, 2011). Families are led by the older male members and have an enlarged structure, with people from many generations living together under the same roof (El Harras, 2006). Up until a few decades ago, the social hierarchy of men and women in Morocco was also based on a strict gender-based space dichotomy (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006): the street and the market place were public areas where men could evolve, while the house was the private space where women were confined to (Belarbi, 1997, in Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006). More recently, women's roles in Morocco have undergone some changes (Batnitzky, 2008), and several women, especially in urban areas, have started to work outside the home, delaying marriage and having fewer children (Assaad & Zouari, 2003). However, women's traditional function in the private space is still emphasised and valued: marriage continues to be a salient institution, with families often spending a great deal of their savings to improve their daughters' marriage potential (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006), and arranged marriages are still widespread practices (El Harras, 2006; Montanari, 2011).

Relevant gender inequalities are also documented by the Gender Gap Index of 2013, which shows that with a score of 0.585 (0 = inequality, 1 = equality) Morocco ranks 129<sup>th</sup> among 136 countries analysed worldwide. The gap between men and women is particularly relevant with regard to women's economic participation and opportunities compared to men (score of 0.395). In particular, on an estimated average income of 4,373 US\$ per capita, the estimated income for women (PPP = 2,296 US\$) is about a quarter of that of men (PPP = 8,175 US\$). In addition, the presence of women at the highest levels of political decision-

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making, is very low (score of 0.072) and the literacy rate is quite inferior for women (58%) than for men (76%) (World Economic Forum, 2013).

Cameroon, like Morocco, has a male-oriented family and social structure: families are just like clans, led by the father (Endeley, 2001; Konde, 2005). Contrary to Morocco, in Cameroon almost 70% of the population are Christians, whereas the rest are Muslims or Animists (Carpanetto, 2006). With regard to gender roles and power hierarchy, even if the Constitution assures the right of gender equality, civil and customary laws are much more favourable towards men (Sone, 2013), thus generating strong inequalities particularly in the areas of marriage and inheritance (Fonjong, Sama-Lang, & Fombe, 2012). For instance, the Civil Code determines the minimum age for marriage at 15 years for girls and 18 years for boys (Article 52), designates the husband as the head of the family and as its principal moral and financial manager (Article 213), and limits the wife's right over the use or sale of her property (Articles 1421 and 1428), even if that right is granted under the Constitution (Sone, 2013). Moreover, as reported by the OMCT (2003), law and tradition allow polygamy, but not polyandry, and early marriages and the payment of a *bride price* by the future husband are still widespread practices, so that the married woman is considered as part of her husband's *estate*. Women mostly continue to be subjugated by traditionally established social roles which confine them to domestic and farm work, simultaneously denying them the right to participate in decision-making either within the family or in society (Global Conscience Initiative, 2011).

Gender inequality is also documented by the Gender Gap Index 2013, according to which Cameroon ranks 100<sup>th</sup> out of 136 (global score: 0.656), this ranking being mainly due to a very low presence of women at the highest level of political

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decision-making (score of 0.090) (World Economic Forum, 2013). Inequalities also emerge from data regarding literacy rates among men and women: according to UNESCO (2014), in 2010, the adult literacy rate among men was 78.3%, whereas it reached 64.8% among women. Rather surprisingly, on an estimated average income of 2,083 US\$ per capita, although the estimated income for women (PPP = 1,816 US\$) is lower than men's income (PPP = 2,868 US\$), the difference is not as pronounced as in Morocco and, as will be described below, in Italy (World Economic Forum, 2013).

Finally, Italy is a mainly Christian country: 80% of the population are Catholics, the rest are atheists or agnostics (Carpanetto, 2006). The Italian family was male-controlled at least until the 60s (Cantarella, 2010), when this family structure was challenged by mass culture, modernisation and development of new-feminism (Bimbi & Trifletti, 2006). The traditional Italian family structure was then replaced by the nuclear family, composed of parents and one or two children, in which both parents take decisions about the children's education and provide economic support to the family, leading to more flexible and equitable gender roles (Volpi, 2007; Zoja, 2003).

Gender equality has been guaranteed by the Italian Constitution ever since 1947 (Articles 3, 4, 37, 29, 51). In 1963 (Law 66/1963) women were allowed to have access to every occupation and equal salary for both men and women was guaranteed in 1977 (Law 903/1977). Gender equality in family relations was introduced in the 70s: right to divorce (1970/1974), inheritance equality for both spouses (1975), right to abortion (1978).

With regard to the perception of gender roles, a national study carried out by ISTAT (2011) involving about 45,000 individuals of both genders, reported that



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many of the stereotypes about traditional gender roles have been almost overcome: 77.5% of the participants think that it is not only the man who has to decide the most important things in the family, and 87.4% think that in a couple where both partners work full time, housework should be shared equally.

Nonetheless, some stereotyped roles and responsibilities of women and men in the family and in society remain: 49.7% of the population agree on the fact that men are less capable of dealing with housework (Signoretti, 2013), and Italian women are still seen as the main providers of practical care and psychological support within the family (Mucchi-Faina, Pacilli, & Verma, 2010). In addition, a survey carried out in 2014 on a sample of 1,000 Italian women and men, showed that Italian men are still slightly more anchored to traditional gender roles than Italian women. For instance, of the 14% of respondents who considered the husband as the leader of the household, men outnumbered women by three to one, and of the 15% of respondents who agreed that, if a husband discovers the spouse's betrayal, it is normal that he gets angry to the point of becoming violent, men outnumbered women by four to one (Ipsos, 2014).

The Gender Gap Index of 2013 shows that, although gender equality is higher in Italy than in Cameroon and especially Morocco, the goal of equality has still not been reached: with a global score of 0.689, Italy ranks 71<sup>st</sup> among the 136 countries analysed worldwide. This global score is negatively influenced by the rather low presence of Italian women at the highest levels of political decision-making (score 0.191) and their economic participation (score 0.597). In particular, on an estimated average income of 27,093 US\$ per capita, the estimated income for women (PPP = 21,264 US\$) is about half of men's income (PPP = 40,000 US\$) (World Economic Forum, 2013).

### **Overview of the present study**

The revised literature suggests that the three countries investigated show important differences at a sociocultural level.

Although Italy is traditionally considered an honour culture, societal changes favoured a gradual shift from a family-centred to a person-centred concept of honour and enhanced more equitable and flexible gender roles. These changes are reflected in the Italian legal system which no longer attributes a particular status to honour crimes, while it guarantees the same rights to women and men and entails adequate laws to protect women against violence. Nonetheless, some traditional gender role beliefs are still enduring, especially among men (Ipsos, 2014).

On the other hand, Morocco and Cameroon are both characterised by a rather male-oriented society in which family honour is still very valued and gender roles continue to be quite strict. Violence against women is considered as a private matter, which has not to be denounced in order not to damage the family honour.

Furthermore, in Morocco as well as in Cameroon, the Civil Code is more favourable towards men, generating gender inequalities particularly in the areas of marriage and inheritance, and the Penal Code contains laws which envisage mitigating circumstances in the cases of honour-related violence against women.

Besides these similarities, Cameroon, like Italy, is a predominantly Christian country, while Morocco is a predominantly Islamic country.

With the aim of shedding new light on the factors which could be related to differences in the perception of honour-related violence against women, we asked female and male university students from these three countries to read a scenario describing a father who punishes his daughter because she behaves contrary to his will and to what he considers the behaviour that would be expected of an honourable woman. This scene was followed by six items created along the lines

of the questionnaire used by Gölge et al. (2003). In more detail, the participants were asked to evaluate the victim's and assailant's responsibility, the extent to which the incident described could be considered a crime, its seriousness, whether or not it should be reported to the police, and what would be the adequate punishment for the assailant. A more detailed description of the scenario and the six items will be provided in the Method section.

By assessing the perception of female and male students from Morocco, Cameroon and Italy of this scene, we aimed to test the following hypotheses:

- 1) Differences between countries: based on the sociocultural differences between the three countries summarized at the beginning of this paragraph, we expected that Italians compared to Moroccans and Cameroonians, would attribute more responsibility to the assailant and less to the victim, would rate the event as more serious and more as a crime, and would propose more severe punishments. Moreover, we expected that Italians would suggest to report the incident to the police more often than Moroccans and Cameroonians.
- 2) Gender differences: since previous research on gender differences in the perception of violence against women in general (Nayak et al., 2003; Uthman et al., 2010), and honour-related violence in particular (Caffaro et al., 2014; Vandello & Cohen, 2003), yielded different results in different cultures, we hypothesised that gender may overlap with the sociocultural peculiarities of the three countries investigated. As regards Italian participants, based on the persistence of some traditional gender beliefs among men, we expected that Italian men would attribute more responsibility to the victim, and less to the assailant, and judge the incident as less serious and propose less severe punishment compared to Italian

women. Nonetheless, given the legal system in force in Italy, we expected that both Italian men and women will judge the incident definitely as a crime and suggest to report it to the police.

As to Morocco and Cameroon, since previous research evidenced that in sub-Saharan African countries women are more indulgent than men towards violence against women (Uthman et al., 2010), and since Cameroon is a sub-Saharan country and Morocco is very similar to Cameroon with regard to traditional gender roles and male dominance in society, we expected Moroccan and Cameroonian women to attribute more responsibility to the victim, less to the assailant, and to judge the incident as less serious and to propose less severe punishment than their male compatriots. In addition, since in both countries the Penal Code contemplates mitigating circumstances for honour crimes and society as well as law enforcement agencies consider honour-related violence as a private matter, we expected that both women and men would evaluate that the incident was not really a crime and suggest to not report it to the police.

## **METHOD**

### **Participants**

A total of 340 questionnaires were filled in by Moroccan, Cameroonian and Italian students living in Turin (north-western Italy) and attending courses at the University of Turin. Seventeen questionnaires were excluded from the analyses for different reasons: seven had too much missing data, and 10 had been filled in by participants who could be considered as outliers with regard to their religious beliefs within their national sample (5 Italian participants gave their religion as

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Muslim, 1 Cameroonian student was Muslim and 3 stated they were atheists, 1 Moroccan student professed a Christian faith).

The final sample of 323 participants was composed of 114 Moroccan, 106 Cameroonian, and 103 Italian students. The main demographic characteristics of women and men from each country are reported in Table 1. While there was no significant association between nationality and gender proportions,  $\chi^2(2, N = 323) = 2.74, p = .25$ , the Italian participants were significantly younger than the Cameroonians and Moroccans. Within countries, no gender differences for age were observed.

Concerning religion, all Cameroonian participants were Roman Catholic Christians and all Moroccan participants were Muslims (85% Sunni, the others did not specify), whereas 66% of the Italian participants gave their religion as Roman Catholic and 34.0% stated they were atheists. Given the sociocultural characteristics of the Italian participants, and since preliminary analyses showed no differences between Italian Roman Catholics and atheists with respect to the dependent variables (see Appendix A), we decided to include the Italian atheist participants as belonging to a Roman Catholic religious context.

--- Insert Table 1 about here ---

### **Instrument**

In order to assess the perception of honour-related violence, we created a questionnaire entailing three parts along the lines of the questionnaire used by Gölge et al. (2003). In the first part, participants had to provide the following personal data: gender, age, nationality, religion.

In the second part, they had to read the following scenario:

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Cristine is an adolescent aged 17 and like her peers she enjoys dressing fashionably, wearing makeup, going out with friends and meeting new people. She has been dating Marc - a good boy aged 21 - for more than a year but their relationship is being hindered by Antony, Cristine's father. Antony, who is 55, is a possessive man and he does not accept that his daughter should live a modern way of life like that of her peers or that she should meet boys without his approval. Nonetheless, Cristine has been seeing Marc behind her father's back. Her father finds out and, feeling deeply ashamed about his daughter's behaviour, he beats her violently and confines her at home.

The third part entailed six items, each introduced by 'According to you,...', which assessed the subjective perception of the scenario described (labels within parentheses refer to the variable names reported in the Tables of the Results section). More in detail, participants answered the following four questions using 7-point scales (1=not at all, 7 = very much):

'..., to what extent can the father's behaviour be considered a crime?' (Crime),  
'..., how serious is what happened?' (Seriousness),  
'..., how responsible is Cristine for what happened?' (Victim's responsibility),  
'..., how responsible is her father for what happened?' (Assailant's responsibility).

A further item asked participants to indicate '..., which punishment should the father receive?' (Punishment), by choosing one of the following alternatives; 1 = no punishment, 2 = a fine rather than imprisonment, 3 = 1-3 years of prison, 4 = 4-7 years of prison, 5 = 8-12 years of prison, 6 = more than 12 years of prison.

Finally, by answering 'yes' or 'no', participants indicated whether or not:

'..., should Cristine report what happened to the police?' (Police)

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The whole questionnaire was first written in Italian, and then translated into French using the back translation technique, by two bilingual experts (see Appendix B for the Italian version and Appendix C for the French version).

### **Procedure**

A trained research assistant handed out the questionnaire to Moroccan, Cameroonian and Italian students enrolled on different courses at the University of Turin. In more detail, the research assistant went to different student residences and study halls, explained the aims of the study and informed the students that the questionnaire was anonymous and that data would be used for research purposes only. Then she distributed the questionnaire to the students from the three countries who agreed to take part. It took them about 5 minutes to complete the questionnaires, which were collected directly by the research assistant. Participants received no payment for taking part in the study.

## **RESULTS**

Table 2 reports for the men and women of each country the means and standard deviations for items 1 to 5 (crime, seriousness, victim's responsibility, assailant's responsibility, punishment), and Table 3, the percentages of 'yes' and 'no' answers to the dichotomous question about whether or not the incident should be reported to the police (item 6).

Descriptive statistics indicate that the incident described in the questionnaire was definitely considered as a crime by the Italian participants, followed by the Moroccans, and lastly by the Cameroonians, whose mean answer tended towards the middle of the scale (Table 2). The same trend can be observed for the seriousness attributed to the incident described. As regards the victim's

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responsibility, Italian participants gave rather low ratings, whereas Moroccan and Cameroonian participants, especially Cameroonian women, attributed a rather high degree of responsibility to the victim. On the contrary, Italian participants, especially women, attributed a high degree of responsibility to the assailant, whereas Cameroonian and Moroccan participants attributed lower degrees of responsibility to the assailant. Accordingly, Italian participants considered some years of imprisonment as an adequate punishment, while Cameroonian and Moroccan participants considered a fine or even no punishment as adequate.

--- Insert Table 2 about here ---

As to the question of whether or not the incident should be reported to the police, about 70% of the Moroccan and Cameroonian participants answered 'no', whereas only about 10% of the Italian participants gave the same answer (Table 3). Within the same country, men and women seem to share quite the same opinion.

--- Insert Table 3 about here ---

To test the significance of the differences observed at the descriptive level, regarding items 1 to 5, we computed a General Linear Model (GLM) by considering country (Morocco, Cameroon, Italy) and gender as independent variables; regarding item 6, we computed Chi-square tests to assess the possible effects of country and gender.

With reference to our first hypothesis, about differences between Italy and the other two countries, the results of the GLM evidenced a main effect of country,  $F(10, 628) = 18.01, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .223$ . Univariate statistics showed that this effect was significant for all dependent measures considered: crime,  $F(2, 317) = 34.10, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .177$ , seriousness,  $F(2, 317) = 35.06, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .181$ , victim's responsibility,  $F(2, 317) = 20.07; p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .112$ , assailant's



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responsibility,  $F(2, 317) = 10.04, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .060$ , punishment,  $F(2, 317) = 90.13, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .338$ . Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that Italians evaluated the incident described more as a crime than Moroccans did, and the latter more than the Cameroonians (Table 4). The same significant differences between groups were observed for the evaluation of the seriousness of the incident. These results confirmed that Italians considered the event more as a crime and more serious than the participants from the other two countries, whereas the differences between Moroccans and Cameroonians were not expected. On the other hand, confirming our predictions, Italians attributed significantly less responsibility to the victim and more responsibility to the assailant than the participants from Morocco and Cameroon, and the latter did not differ significantly from each other. Accordingly, Italians also proposed significantly more severe punishments than Moroccans and Cameroonians.

--- Insert Table 4 about here ---

Also for the dichotomous question of whether or not the incident should be reported to the police (Table 3), significant differences were observed between the three countries for the distributions of 'yes' and 'no' answers,  $\chi^2(2, N=323) = 100.79, p < .001$ . More in detail, as expected, Italians were more in favour of reporting the incident to the police than Cameroonians,  $\chi^2(1, N=209) = 70.88, p < .001$ , and Moroccans,  $\chi^2(1, N=217) = 84.41, p < .001$ . No differences were observed between Cameroonian and Moroccan participants.

Turning to our second hypothesis, there was no main effect of gender, ( $F(5, 313) = 1.79, p = .115$ ), whereas an interaction between country and gender was observed,  $F(10, 628) = 2.97, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .045$ . This interaction was significant for the attribution of responsibility to the victim,  $F(2, 317) = 6.99, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .042$ , and to the assailant,  $F(2, 317) = 6.08, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .037$ . Bonferroni post-

hoc tests showed that, Cameroonian women attributed more responsibility to the victim than their male compatriots, whereas among Italian and Moroccan participants there were no gender differences in the attribution of victim's responsibility (Table 5). As for the assailant's responsibility, Italian women attributed significantly more responsibility to the assailant than Italian men did; on the contrary, Cameroonian women attributed less responsibility to the assailant than Cameroonian men. No gender differences were observed among Moroccan participants in terms of the assailant's responsibility. With reference to the dichotomous question about whether the incident should be reported to the police, there were no significant differences in gender distributions for 'yes' and 'no' answers (Morocco:  $\chi^2(1, N=114) = 0.03, p = .874$ ; Cameroon:  $\chi^2(1, N=106) = 0.28, p = .595$ ; Italy:  $\chi^2(1, N=103) = 0.34, p = .563$ ).

To sum up, as regards our second hypothesis, contrary to our expectations there were no gender differences for Moroccans in the perception of the incident described, whereas, confirming our hypothesis, Cameroonian women were more severe towards the victim and more indulgent towards the aggressor than their male compatriots. In addition, some gender differences in the expected sense also emerged for Italian participants, as Italian men were more indulgent towards the assailant than Italian women.

--- Insert Table 5 about here ---

## DISCUSSION

Honour-related violence is still a widespread phenomenon (Sadik, 2000) and more data are needed about the determinants of the attitudes which justify such crimes in order to implement effective prevention programs (Flood & Pease, 2009; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2013).

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Based on this consideration, the present study aimed to investigate the perception of honour-related violence by a father against his daughter, in a sample of female and male students from Morocco, Cameroon and Italy. These three countries were chosen because they are all considered honour cultures, but they differ for various sociocultural aspects such as the family and social structure, gender roles, religion, and cultural norms and values, which could account for differences in the perception of honour-related crimes.

As expected, the results showed significant differences between the three countries investigated. Both Moroccan and Cameroonian participants attributed more responsibility to the victim and less to the assailant, and also proposed less severe punishment for the assailant than Italian participants. Accordingly, almost 70% of both Moroccan and Cameroonian participants judged that the incident should not be reported to the police, whereas only about 10% of the Italian participants gave this answer. In addition, Cameroonians considered the incident less as a crime and less serious than Moroccans, with the latter considering it less as a crime and less serious than Italians.

These differences might be explained by looking at the different types of family structure, social organisation and legal system in these countries. In Italy, the family is typically nuclear and gender roles are quite flexible and equitable (Volpi, 2007; Zoja, 2003). In addition, honour crimes are no longer justified by the Penal Law and most Italians agree that violence against women is a serious crime that has to be denounced and punished (Ipsos, 2014).

Conversely, in Morocco and Cameroon there are mainly extended families, based on a patrilineal structure (Endeley, 2001) and strict gender roles (Fonjong et al., 2012; Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006). In such a male-oriented organisation, female members have to respect their family and its tradition without disobeying their

parents, husbands, and fathers (Critelli, 2012; Douki et al., 2003; Mojab, 2004). If a woman breaks these rules, she is perceived as the person who is mainly responsible if a violent act is committed against her, whereas the male assailant's responsibility is perceived as marginal since he had the *duty* to intervene to restore family honour and the power hierarchy (Douki et al., 2003). In such cultural contexts, violence against women is seen as something that is acceptable or even justifiable (Baldry et al., 2013). Furthermore, the violent act has to be kept private since letting the violence and especially its causes be known could further undermine the family's honour (Face2FaceAfrica, 2014; Sadiqi, 2010).

The similarities that were found between Moroccans and Cameroonians and the differences between Italians and Cameroonians, could be quite difficult to interpret if we only consider the dominant religion of the three countries. Indeed, on the one hand, participants from a mainly Islamic and a mainly Christian country shared very similar perceptions about honour-related violence, whereas on the other hand, participants from two mainly Christian countries gave significantly different responses. More than by religion, these results could be interpreted by considering the differences between gender roles and the gender power hierarchies characterising the three countries (Endeley, 2001; Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006; Volpi, 2007), and the different status attributed to honour-related crimes by the legal systems in force in Italy on the one hand and in Morocco and Cameroon on the other hand.

As far as gender is concerned, our second hypothesis was only partially confirmed. Indeed, as expected, results showed no main effect of gender on the perception of the incident described, whereas a significant interaction effect emerged between gender and nationality. However, this effect was significant only for the attribution of responsibility to the victim and to the assailant. In

particular, confirming our hypothesis, Italian men attributed less responsibility to the assailant than Italian women, and Cameroonian women attributed more responsibility to the victim and less responsibility to the assailant than their male compatriots did. However, contrary to our expectations, no gender differences emerged among Moroccan participants.

The result about Cameroonian women is consistent with those by Uthman et al. (2010), and it may be explained by considering that for women in highly male-dominated contexts there is no possibility of escaping from societal gender rules, whereas men can choose the circumstances in which to exert their power to punish women's misbehaviour. This possible explanation would also be consistent with the findings of Schuler, Yount, and Lenzi (2012). In their survey about gender differences in attitudes towards wife beating in Bangladesh, they found that "Men often responded as if the questions were about their own behavior rather than their general attitudes about wife beating; women often responded as if the questions were about community norms or their husband's behavior rather than their own attitudes." (p. 8).

With reference to the fact that Italian men attributed less responsibility to the assailant than Italian women did, this result could be interpreted by considering that, even though in Italy gender roles have become more flexible and equitable during the last decades (Volpi, 2007), men are still more prone than women to justify some exertion of control and power over women's behaviours within and outside the home (Ipsos, 2014).

Rather surprisingly, no gender differences emerged among the Moroccan participants. Possible interpretations of this result could be that, as highlighted by some recent studies (e.g., Batnitzky, 2008; Desrués & Nieto, 2009; Hursh, 2012), Morocco is going through a process of social change and political transition in

view of more equitable gender roles and empowerment of women within both the family and society. Our participants, especially the female ones, may have been sensitive to these changes, also given their young age and high level of education.

### **Limitations of the present study**

Considering that societal and individual factors are interwoven in the development of attitudes towards violence against women (Flood & Pease, 2009), this study presents some limitations especially with regard to the assessment of some individual factors.

One limitation in this sense is that we did not measure our participants' perception of gender roles and their religiosity, since we considered the empirical evidence to be enough to indicate Italy as deeply rooted in Roman Catholic values and characterised by a rather low level of male-oriented social organisation, while Morocco and Cameroon are both characterised by highly male-oriented social organisations, but differ for their religious context, the first being dominated by Islamic, and the second by Roman Catholic values. Nonetheless, given the transformations all these countries have undergone in recent decades, in future research it would be worthwhile to assess the gender beliefs of the participants involved and their religiosity.

The lack of an assessment of the participants' socioeconomic status could be considered as another limitation of the present study. All of the participants were in fact young university students living in a big city in northern Italy, so the sample may indeed not be considered representative of the perception of honour-related violence of the Italian, Moroccan and Cameroonian societies as a whole. Finally, in future studies it would be very interesting to accompany data collection through questionnaires with structured interviews in order to gain a more in-depth

insight into the reasons for the participants' answers when evaluating incidents of violence against women like the one depicted in the present study. This could shed further light on the conceptualisation of honour and the gender beliefs of women and men in different sociocultural contexts.

## **Conclusions**

The results of the present study suggest that sociocultural factors such as male-oriented gender hierarchy and the inherent gender roles seem to play a major role in the perception of honour-related violence. Participants from Morocco and Cameroon, which are both highly male-oriented countries with strict gender roles and a deeply rooted sense of family honour, were more prone to justify an episode of violence by a father against his daughter than participants from Italy, which is a less male-oriented, less family honour-centred, and more gender egalitarian country. These results suggest that honour crimes might be conceived as an *educational method* to be used when a female member of the family goes against the male members will or tradition, or breaks the gender rules in force in her cultural context (Critelli, 2012).

Interestingly, Cameroonian women were stricter with the victim and more indulgent with the assailant than Cameroonian men, whereas no gender differences emerged among Moroccan participants. These results suggest on the one hand that Cameroonian women cannot escape the assigned gender roles that state men's superiority over women, whereas their male compatriots can choose whether or not to exert their power; on the other hand, they suggest that within the Moroccan context, women are becoming less willing to tolerate violence, and this could be in line with recent evidence about the social changes and political transition that have characterised Morocco in recent years, and which are leading

the country towards greater gender equality (Desrues & Nieto, 2009). Considering these transformations, in future research it will be important to include a more in-depth assessment of the gender beliefs and conceptualisations of honour of the participants involved.



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Perception of honour-related violence in Morocco, Cameroon and Italy

Table 1 Main demographic characteristics of the participants of each country

Country	Gender	N		Age			Religion		
		<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	range	M <sup>a</sup> (%)	C <sup>b</sup> (%)	A <sup>c</sup> (%)
Morocco	Women	47	41.2	24.1	2.3	20-28	100.0	0.0	0.0
	Men	67	58.8	24.7	2.1	20-29	100.0	0.0	0.0
Cameroon	Women	41	38.7	23.7	2.5	18-29	0.0	100.0	0.0
	Men	65	61.3	24.5	2.2	20-29	0.0	100.0	0.0
Italy	Women	51	49.5	22.1	2.3	19-28	0.0	68.6	31.4
	Men	52	50.5	22.5	2.4	18-28	0.0	63.5	36.5

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Muslims, <sup>b</sup> Roman Catholics, <sup>c</sup> Atheists



## Perception of honour-related violence in Morocco, Cameroon and Italy

Table 2 Means and standard deviations for crime, seriousness, victim responsibility, assailant responsibility and punishment by country and gender

Measure	Gender	Morocco		Cameroon		Italy	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Crime <sup>a</sup>	Men	4.65	2.09	4.30	1.96	6.17	1.41
	Women	5.36	1.77	4.39	1.93	6.51	1.07
Seriousness <sup>a</sup>	Men	5.16	1.84	4.69	1.83	6.15	1.23
	Women	5.53	1.46	4.39	1.95	6.65	0.89
Victim resp. <sup>a</sup>	Men	3.88	1.85	3.15	2.02	2.88	1.76
	Women	4.23	2.00	4.37	2.00	2.20	1.25
Assailant resp. <sup>a</sup>	Men	5.14	1.92	5.57	1.71	5.85	1.66
	Women	5.74	1.62	4.88	2.00	6.61	0.82
Punishment <sup>b</sup>	Men	1.95	1.30	1.82	0.69	3.37	1.13
	Women	1.57	0.74	1.73	0.92	3.43	1.35

*Notes.* <sup>a</sup> Participants answered by the use of 7-point scales (1=not at all, 7 = very much).

<sup>b</sup> 1 = no punishment, 2 = fine rather than prison, 3 = 1-3 years of prison, 4 = 4-7 years of prison, 5 = 8-12 years of prison, 6 = more than 12 years of prison.

## Perception of honour-related violence in Morocco, Cameroon and Italy

Table 3 Percentages of 'yes' and 'no' answers of men and women in each country at the question whether the incident should be reported to the police

Country	Gender	Answer (%)	
		Yes	No
Morocco	Men	26.9	73.1
	Women	25.5	74.5
Cameroon	Men	29.2	70.8
	Women	34.1	65.9
Italy	Men	86.5	13.5
	Women	90.2	9.8

## Perception of honour-related violence in Morocco, Cameroon and Italy

Table 4 Differences between estimated marginal means for crime, seriousness, victim responsibility, assailant responsibility and punishment by country

Measures	Morocco (M)		Cameroon (C)		Italy (I)		Differences <sup>a</sup>
	<i>EMM</i>	<i>ESD</i>	<i>EMM</i>	<i>ESD</i>	<i>EMM</i>	<i>ESD</i>	
Crime <sup>b</sup>	5.01	0.17	4.34	0.18	6.34	0.17	I > M > C
Seriousness <sup>b</sup>	5.35	0.15	4.53	0.16	6.40	0.16	I > M > C
Victim resp. <sup>b</sup>	4.06	0.18	3.74	0.18	2.54	0.18	I < M, C
Assailant resp. <sup>b</sup>	5.45	0.16	5.24	0.17	6.23	0.16	I > M, C
Punishment <sup>c</sup>	1.78	0.10	1.78	0.11	3.38	0.10	I > M, C

*Notes.* <sup>a</sup> Means differ significantly at  $p < .05$  in Bonferroni post-hoc tests.

<sup>b</sup> Participants answered by the use of 7-point scales (1=not at all, 7 = very much).

<sup>c</sup> 1 = no punishment, 2 = fine rather than prison, 3 = 1-3 years of prison, 4 = 4-7 years of prison, 5 = 8-12 years of prison, 6 = more than 12 years of prison.

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Table 5 Differences between estimated marginal means for victim responsibility and assailant responsibility by gender and country

Measures	Women (W)		Men (M)		Differences <sup>a</sup>
	<i>EMM</i>	<i>ESD</i>	<i>EMM</i>	<i>ESD</i>	
Victim resp. <sup>b</sup>					
Morocco	4.23	0.27	3.88	0.22	
Cameroon	4.37	0.29	3.12	0.22	W>M
Italy	2.20	0.26	2.88	0.26	
Assailant resp. <sup>b</sup>					
Morocco	5.75	0.24	5.15	0.20	
Cameroon	4.88	0.26	5.57	0.20	W<M
Italy	6.61	0.23	5.85	0.23	W>M

*Notes.* <sup>a</sup> Means differ significantly at  $p < .05$  in Bonferroni post-hoc tests.

<sup>b</sup> Participants answered by the use of 7-point scales (1=not at all, 7 = very much).

Appendix A: Comparison between Italian Roman Catholics and Atheists

To test possible differences between Italian Roman Catholics and Atheists, a GLM was computed by considering religious beliefs as independent variable and the following measures as dependent variables: Crime, seriousness, victim responsibility, assailant responsibility, punishment. No effect of religious belief was observed,  $F(5, 97) = 0.607, p = .694$ . Descriptive results are reported in Table A1.

Table A1: Descriptive statistics for Roman Catholic and Atheist Italians with respect to the dependent variables

	Roman Catholics		Atheists	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Crime <sup>a</sup>	6.19	1.47	6.63	0.60
Seriousness <sup>a</sup>	6.34	1.15	6.51	0.98
Victim responsibility <sup>a</sup>	2.61	1.48	2.40	1.72
Assailant responsibility <sup>a</sup>	6.16	1.36	6.34	1.39
Punishment <sup>b</sup>	3.36	1.28	3.40	1.17

*Notes.* <sup>a</sup> Participants answered by the use of 7-point scales (1=not at all, 7 = very much).

<sup>b</sup> 1 = no punishment, 2 = fine rather than prison, 3 = 1-3 years of prison, 4 = 4-7 years of prison, 5 = 8-12 years of prison, 6 = more than 12 years of prison.

Gentilissimo/a partecipante,

Di seguito Le verrà proposto la lettura di un piccolo scenario e alcune domande relative allo stesso. Quello che Le chiediamo gentilmente è di leggere attentamente questo scenario e scegliere le risposte a Lei più adatte; non ci sono risposte giuste o sbagliate e la compilazione del questionario occuperà all'incirca 5 minuti del suo tempo.

Grazie per la collaborazione!

**DATI ANAGRAFICI**

**Genere:**       Maschio     Femmina

**Età:** .....

**Nazionalità:** .....

**Religione:**

.....

.....

**SCENARIO**

Cristine è una giovane di 17 anni e come tutte le sue coetanee le piace vestirsi alla moda, truccarsi il viso, uscire con le amiche e conoscere nuove persone. E' innamorata di Marc, 21 anni, un bravo ragazzo con cui è fidanzata da oltre un anno ma la loro relazione è ostacolata da Antony, il padre di Cristine. Antony ha 55 anni ed è un uomo geloso che non vuole che la figlia viva in modo moderno

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come le coetanee e che frequenti ragazzi senza il suo consenso. Tuttavia, in sua assenza, Cristine esce di nascosto per incontrare Marc. Suo padre lo scopre e, vergognandosi profondamente del comportamento della figlia, la picchia violentemente e la segrega in casa.

- Secondo lei, quanto il comportamento di Antony si può definire reato?

Per niente

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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Moltissimo

- Secondo lei, quanto è grave l'accaduto?

Per niente

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Moltissimo

- Secondo lei, quanto è responsabile Cristine dell'accaduto?

Per niente

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Moltissimo

- Secondo lei, quanto è responsabile il suo padre dell'accaduto?

Per niente

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Moltissimo

- Secondo lei, Cristine dovrebbe denunciare l'accaduto alla polizia?

Si

No

- Secondo lei, che tipo di pena dovrebbe ricevere il padre?

Nessuna pena

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- Una pena pecuniaria
- 1-3 anni di detenzione
- 4-7 anni di detenzione
- 8-12 anni di detenzione
- Più di 12 anni di detenzione



Cher/chère participant/e,

Dans la suite, on vous proposera la lecture d'un petit scénario et quelques questions. Nous vous prions de lire attentivement le scénario et de choisir les réponses qui vous semblent les plus adéquates; il n'y a pas de réponses justes ou fausses et la compilation du questionnaire vous prendra environ 5 minutes.

Merci pour votre précieuse collaboration!

**COORDONNEES DU/DE LA PARTICIPANT/E**

**Genre:**         Masculin     Féminin

**Age:** .....

**Nationalité:** .....

**Religion:**  
.....

**SCENARIO**

Cristine est une jeune fille de 17 ans et comme toutes les filles de son âge elle aime se vêtir à la mode, se maquiller le visage, sortir avec les amies et connaître de nouvelles personnes. Elle est amoureuse de Marc, 21 ans, un garçon sérieux avec lequel elle sort depuis plus d'un an, mais leur relation est entravée par Antony, le père de Cristine. Antony 55 ans et c'est un homme strict qui ne veut pas que sa fille vive de façon moderne comme les jeunes files de son âge et qu'elle fréquente des garçons sans son avis. Toutefois, à l'insu de son père,

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Cristine sort pour rencontrer Marc. Son père le découvre et, ayant honte du comportement de sa fille, la frappe violemment et la renferme dans la maison.

- A votre avis, à quel point le comportement de Antony peut-il être défini comme un crime ?

Pas du tout

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Tout à fait

- A votre avis, à quel point les faits sont-ils graves?

Pas du tout

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Extrêmement

- A votre avis, à quel point Cristine est-elle responsable de l'incident?

Pas du tout

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Extrêmement

- A votre avis, à quel point son père est-il responsable de l'incident?

Pas du tout

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Extrêmement

- A votre avis, Cristine devrait-elle porter plainte?

Oui

Non

- A votre avis, quel type de peine devrait recevoir le père?

Aucune peine

Une peine pécuniaire

## Perception of honour-related violence in Morocco, Cameroon and Italy

- 1-3 année(s) de détention
- 4-7 années de détention
- 8-12 années de détention
- Plus de 12 années de détention