

The Role of Honour in Tolerance to Intimate Partner Violence against Women in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

The current study aimed to examine the role of the type of honour endorsement (masculine, feminine, family, moral integrity) in the tolerance to intimate partner violence against women (IPVAW) in Sri Lanka. Three hundred and sixty-two Sri Lankan participants completed an online questionnaire. Results revealed that feminine honour and masculine honour were positively associated with, and moral integrity was negatively associated with, tolerance to IPVAW. Results also showed that men were more likely to tolerate IPVAW than women, and women were more likely to endorse feminine honour and family honour than men. The results suggest that specific typefaces play a predictive role in tolerance to IPVAW along with gender differences that are in line with cultural and gendered norms.

Keywords: Attitudes, Culture, Honour, Intimate Partner Violence, Sri Lanka

INTRODUCTION

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a term used to describe physical violence, sexual violence, stalking, or psychological harm inflicted by a current or former partner or spouse (World Health Organization [WHO], 2021). According to a comprehensive analysis conducted by the WHO across 161 countries from 2000 to 2018, around 30% of women have experienced physical and/or sexual IPV or non-partner sexual violence at some point in their lives. Out of this figure, IPV accounted for 27% of the cases. Furthermore, WHO (2021) reported that intimate partners are responsible for nearly 38% of all female homicides worldwide. In the context of Sri Lanka, the estimated prevalence rate of IPV varies from 25% to 75% (Guruge et al., 2016). The Women's Wellbeing Survey furnished data indicating that Sri Lankan women are twice as likely to have experienced physical violence from an intimate partner compared to a non-partner (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2019). Many factors can predict these numbers. However, there is very limited research that explores the role of cultural predictors, therefore, the current research aims to examine the role of honour as a cultural predictor of tolerance to intimate partner violence against women (IPVAW) in Sri Lanka.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sri Lanka has endured a long-standing history of conflict due to the Civil War fought from 1983 to 2009; it has also undergone natural disasters such as the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, leading to 250,000 to 300,000 deaths (Tomita et al., 2006). At the time, many men sought

solace in alcohol as a response to the tragedy, and donor organisations neglected emotional support to deal with loss and emotional bewilderment, leading to increased violence against women (VAW) (Dominelli, 2020). Like in other South Asian countries, women in Sri Lanka are likely to remain silent about their IPVAW due to shame and the stigma that might be cast on their families, as well as the fear of exclusion from the community (Pande et al., 2017; Bhandari & Sabri, 2018). Nonetheless, Sri Lanka has established legal structures in place for women's welfare through the 2005 Domestic Violence Act and a ministry committed solely to women's affairs (Kohombange, 2012), however, reporting of violence and related research remains scarce (Colombini et al., 2018).

In a study done by Guruge et al. (2017) on post-war IPV prevalence in the country, participants called IPVAW a widespread but hidden problem. Similarly, Fulu and Miedama (2015) call IPVAW a "complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon" (p. 1431). Various factors, one of which is honour values, may play a role in the tolerance to IPVAW. A compact body of existing literature has emphasized high tolerance to IPVAW among individuals with a high honour endorsement (Dietrich & Schuett, 2013). The term 'honour culture' refers to social groups with strong beliefs, norms, and attitudes about the significance of individual and family reputation (Cohen et al., 1996). Such cultures create environments where their inhabitants are socialized to defend their honour fiercely against any threats to their social image or reputation (Souza et al., 2017; Uskul et al., 2015). According to Khan (2018), there is a contention

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that collectivist cultures centred around honour uphold patriarchal systems, resulting in the enforcement of distinct and unequal gender roles upon both men and women by other members of their respective groups. In these cultures, male identities are often associated with authority and dominance, while female identities are strongly linked to concepts of sexual purity, family reputation, and adherence to appropriate attire (Christianson et al., 2020). Deviation from these gender roles, particularly for women, is correlated with incidents of domestic violence, physical abuse, coerced marriages, and, in extreme cases, homicide (Bhanbhro et al., 2013).

Empirical studies provide substantial evidence of gender-based disparities in the acceptance of intimate partner violence (IPV). For instance, Simon et al. (2001) conducted a study involving 5338 adults and discovered that male participants under the age of 35 exhibited significantly higher levels of acceptance towards IPV, especially when the violence was initiated by the female partner. Both men and women in the sample showed greater acceptance of women perpetrating violence against men compared to men perpetrating violence against women. Female victims of IPV commonly experience fear and a sense of insecurity if they attempt to leave their abusers (Aziz et al., 2019). They often worry about potential legal repercussions faced by their partners, which can lead to retaliation and further violence (Abadi et al., 2012), and tend to overlook the violent nature of their relationships or partners (Bagshaw et al., 2000). Similarly, factors such as concern for the well-being of children (Özçakar et al., 2016), financial dependence (Ahmad et al., 2009), and fear of community rejection (Katerndahl et al., 2017) contribute to women's decisions to stay in relationships marked by IPV.

The Concept of Honour

The concept of honour is intricate and diverse, encircling multiple dimensions that operate at various levels, including the individual, group, and gender role domains (Novin & Oyserman, 2016). It encompasses a range of facets, such as reputation, adherence to moral values, and the acquisition of respect. At the individual level, honour entails the preservation of one's integrity, the demonstration of authenticity in one's actions, and the establishment of one's social standing. Additionally, it involves the resistance against insults and disrespect, as well as the safeguarding of one's own reputation, family, or social group from potential harm (Cross et al., 2012).

Female honour is predicated upon the observance of sexual chastity, adherence to societal standards of modesty, and the appropriate selection of attire (Mosquera et al., 2002; Uskul et al., 2012). Conversely, male honour is contingent upon the capacity to protect oneself, one's possessions, and one's family against insults and threats (Lopez-Zafra et al., 2019). Empirical research on honour distinguishes between cultures characterized by high honour and those characterized by low honour or dignity (e.g., Northern Europeans and Northern Americans; Mosquera et al., 2002; Uskul et al., 2015), which are associated with specific ethnic groups. In honour cultures, surveillance is frequent as members must ensure that other members adhere to the behavioural codes. Consequently, impression management is important for members in an honour culture as it ensures that others maintain behavioural adherence (Pearce & Vitak, 2016).

Patriarchal societies, characterized by a strong emphasis on honour, assign considerable importance to specific virtues

associated with female honour. These virtues are highly regarded as esteemed social assets and are subject to stringent control and protection (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). In Mediterranean cultures, for instance, the virginity of young women is perceived as a cherished or even sacred social commodity (Mernissi, 1982). Bhanbhro et al. (2013) propose that women are subjected to a socially constructed value system rooted in honour, which holds them primarily responsible for preserving the honour of their family. As a result, women are expected to rigorously uphold their purity, which aligns with male notions of honour, by refraining from engaging in actions deemed socially dishonourable (Cetin, 2015).

VAW in the Name of Honour

In cultures characterized by high honour, deviating from established honour values is often seen as disgraceful. Interactions between males and females in such cultures are considered turbulent as they challenge a man's ability to control and protect the women for whom he is culturally responsible (Araji, 2000). The presence of strong value systems, combined with tolerated practices, can lead to violence being justified in the name of honour. Intimate partner violence (IPV) typically arises from impulsive and harmful intentions, with perpetrators opportunistically using weapons or other means to harm their victims (Leone et al., 2016). However, honour-based violence (HBV) tends to be premeditated, serving as a public statement, and reprimanding those who are perceived to have dishonoured to their families or communities, often through alleged transgressions of cultural norms (Cohan, 2010). Vandello et al. (2009) conducted a study exploring the influence of honour values on relationship violence, and their findings indicated that Latinos who endorsed honour traditions were more likely to tolerate IPV committed in the name of honour compared to other forms of IPV. Therefore, a connection between honour and the tolerance of IPV is evident, but further research is required to examine the generalisability of this relationship due to the limited availability of studies in this area.

The Role of Honour in Tolerance to IPVAV

In Sri Lanka, there is a similar dynamic between perceptions of honour and women's conduct to that of other South Asian cultures. For example, in India, honour is a female commodity that is connected to the male prerogative to ensure that a woman does not disrupt the delicate balance through their actions (Vishwanath & Palakonda, 2011). Women are expected to conform to norms of sexual propriety and men are expected to be guardians of women's modesty in order to protect their family honour (Obeyesekere, 1984). Additionally, past research has shown that retaliatory violence due to high honour endorsement is common in cultures such as Turkey and Pakistan (cf. Leung & Cohen, 2011; Mosquera et al., 2008). Comparably, Sri Lanka has endured a history of political and collective violence since 1983 when the civil war began (Höglund, 2005). This type of violence can be linked to people's concerns of upholding honour and maintaining a united front. As a form of interpersonal violence and similar to neighbouring countries in the South Asian region, Sri Lanka ranks high on rates of IPVAV (cf. Guruge et al., 2016). Literature based in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and South America has found links between interpersonal violence and honour endorsement (Ceylan-Batur et al., 2021; Gengler et al., 2021), and the same has been found in other South Asian cultures (e.g., Couture-Carron, 2020;

Singh & Bhandari, 2021), however, there has thus far been no research pertaining to the relationship between honour and IPVAW conducted in Sri Lanka.

Young Sri Lankan men have an understanding that VAW should not be tolerated in society, yet they see themselves in instances of conflict when traditional patriarchal gender roles are deeply ingrained in their culture (Darj et al., 2017). In Darj et al.'s research, when asked about their perceptions of VAW, most men expressed that gender-based violence should be not accepted, "*Even though a man takes the major role he has no right to abuse*" (p. 4). However, some men believed that a man could engage in violence if a woman argues back during a family conflict. Moreover, Haj-Yahia and De Zoysa (2007) found that many individuals who tolerated IPVAW also justified it by reason that women who suffered from IPVAW also benefited from it, and that they were responsible for the violence inflicted on them. An 'honourable' man is expected to use violence in retaliation to theft, insult, or other attempts at subordination of himself or his family. As masculine honour is maintained when a man defends himself or his family (Mosquera, 2016), the inability or unwillingness to respond aggressively can result in stigmatisation because "*responding with toughness and strength becomes imbedded in the definition of being a man*" (Cohen et al., 1998, p. 266). Thus, individuals highly endorsing in masculine honour are more likely to have greater tolerance to IPVAW than individuals with a lower endorsement.

Mosquera et al. (2002) suggest that there are four types of honour which are feminine honour, masculine honour, family honour and moral integrity. Family honour has shown to be a key predictor of violence against female members of the family with protection and maintenance of family honour as being the main justification for such violence (e.g., Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). This link is deeply embedded in gendered norms of honour as described previously (Uskul et al., 2019). In the same way, honour cultures tend to also be patriarchal where the subordination of women is the standard (Glick et al., 2015). As honour is not only dependent on a man's reputation but also on the behaviour of their female family members, non-adherence to feminine honour codes can provoke shame in the family which can result in violence against women (Baldry et al., 2013; Vandello & Cohen, 2008). Therefore, feminine honour may also be a key predictor of tolerance to IPVAW.

On the other hand, notions of moral integrity attached to IPV have been found to act as a restraint to IPV acceptance and perpetration (Ferrer-Pérez et al., 2019; Wieslander, 2020). In an analysis of a randomised controlled trial with a sample of 409 families (mothers and adolescents), having positive attitudes towards IPV and sexual violence (low IPV morality) heightened the risk of IPV perpetration for adolescents (Foshee et al., 2016). Moreover, another study highlighted that the probability of involvement in any type of IPV increased by 10% with every one-step reduction in IPV morality measured on an attitude scale (Ybarra & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2019). However, the correlation between IPV acceptance and moral integrity is ambiguous, with some research showing opposite results. For instance, Vecina (2018) found moral absolutism (the ethical belief that certain actions are inherently right or wrong) to be an indirect predictor of sexist and violent attitudes in men, and moral justification of VAW through self-deception. Therefore, the relationship between IPVAW tolerance and moral integrity is unclear and requires further examination.

The Current Study

The current study aimed to examine the role of type of honour endorsement in tolerance to IPVAW in Sri Lanka. Since this study was the first to explore the relationship between honour and tolerance to IPVAW in Sri Lanka, a quantitative study served the function of identifying any meaningful differences which can later be used to advance follow-up studies that employ qualitative approaches in exploring the nuances of honour values and their role in tolerance to IPVAW. The study used a continuous dimension of honour where culture was considered to not only operate from the outside but also within the individual in guiding behaviour. We hypothesised that (1) higher feminine, masculine, and family honour endorsement would be associated with greater tolerance to IPVAW while moral integrity would be associated with lower tolerance to IPVAW. Furthermore, we predicted that (2) feminine, masculine, and family honour would be stronger predictors of tolerance to IPVAW than moral integrity. Additionally, we predicted that (3) men would report higher endorsement of all honour types and (4) show higher tolerance to IPVAW than women.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

An a priori power analysis was carried out using G*Power version 3.1. (Faul et al., 2007) to determine the minimum sample size required for linear multiple regression analyses using four predictors. Results indicated the required sample size to achieve 95% power for detecting a small to medium effect, at a significance criterion of $\alpha = .05$ was $N = 129$. We utilised an undergraduate student sample from higher education institutions in Sri Lanka. Volunteer sampling method was used. The inclusion criteria were that participants needed to have Sri Lankan nationality and be 18 years or above. Five hundred and forty-five participants completed the study survey on attitudes toward IPVAW. Participant responses that included a majority of missing values ($N = 183$) in the survey were removed. Thus, we included 362 participants (251 females; 104 males; 7 prefer not to say; $M_{age} = 24.4$, $SD_{age} = 8.18$) in the analyses. Data gathered from the survey was analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics version 25.0. The study was reviewed and approved by the Cardiff School of Sport & Health Sciences Ethics Committee (Ref. UG-4544).

The 20-item Attitudes of Acceptability of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women scale (A-IPVAW) developed by Martín-Fernández et al. (2018) was used to measure tolerance to IPVAW. The scale had three dimensions: physical violence (for instance, "*I think it is acceptable for a man to hit his partner if she has been unfaithful*"), verbal violence (for instance, "*I think it is acceptable for a man to shout at his partner if she is constantly nagging/arguing*"), and emotional violence (for instance, "*I think it is acceptable for a man to threaten to injure his partner or others if she leaves him*"). The questionnaire was in the form of a 7-point rating scale with the lowest value indicating 'strongly disagree' and the highest 'strongly agree' ($\alpha = .899$).

The Honour Scale (Mosquera et al., 2002) was used to measure participants' level of honour endorsement based on four types of honour. The scale consisted of 25 items in total ($\alpha = .931$). The feminine honour subscale consisted of 7 items ($\alpha = .880$), the masculine honour subscale consisted of 7 items ($\alpha = .723$), the family honour subscale consisted of 4 items ($\alpha = .833$), and the moral integrity subscale consisted of 7 items ($\alpha = .907$). The lowest value on the scale

represented 'not at all' and the highest value represented 'very bad'. Items such as "How bad would you feel about yourself if your family had a bad reputation?" were asked.

After clicking the study link, participants were directed to the information page which detailed the nature of the study. Participants were advised to reconsider their participation in the study topic distressed them. Participants were informed about their right to withdraw at any point of the study by simply closing the browser. However, they were informed that after submitting their responses, the data could not be withdrawn as responses were anonymous. The IPVAW scale was presented first and then the honour scale. At the end, participants were debriefed on the study and were thanked

for their participation. The debrief page included a list of mental health first aid services and their contact information. The approximate duration of the study was 10-15 minutes.

RESULTS

The Relationship between Honour Endorsement and Tolerance to IPVAW

To examine the relationships between the study variables, Spearman's rho correlation coefficients were used to assess the relationship between tolerance to IPVAW and the types of honour endorsement (Table 1).

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations of Study Variables

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
IPVAW	1.72	.981					
Feminine	4.65	1.58	.169**				
Masculine	4.55	1.06	.102	.467**			
Family	5.67	1.37	.001	.596**	.562**		
Moral	5.88	1.23	-.214**	.380**	.342**	.563**	

Note: Correlation is significant at the $p < .001$ level (***), $p < .01$ level (**), $p < .05$ level (*).

The Role of Types of Honour Endorsement on Tolerance to IPVAW

Multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to assess whether feminine honour, masculine honour, family honour and moral integrity significantly predicted tolerance to IPVAW. All variables were log10-transformed due to skewness before being included in the analysis. The results indicated that the model was a significant predictor of tolerance to IPVAW ($R^2 = .096$, $F(4, 357) = 9.53$, $p < .001$). It was found that feminine honour ($\beta = .289$, 95% CI [.119, .333], $p < .001$), masculine honour ($\beta = .209$, 95% CI [.059, .434], $p = .010$) and moral integrity ($\beta = -.263$, 95% CI [-.479, -.072], $p = .008$) were significant predictors of tolerance to IPVAW. However, family honour was not a significant

predictor ($\beta = -.166$, $p = .144$). Participants' scores on tolerance to IPVAW increased by .226 for each scale point of feminine honour, by .246 for each scale point of masculine honour, and decreased by -.276 for each scale point of moral integrity.

Gender Differences in Honour Endorsement and Tolerance to IPVAW

To examine gender differences in honour and tolerance to IPVAW, a one-way analysis of variance was conducted with gender as the independent variable and the types of honour (feminine honour, masculine honour, family honour, moral integrity) and tolerance to IPVAW as the dependent variables (Table 2).

Table 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and One-Way Analysis of Variance in Honour Endorsement and Tolerance to IPVAW between Men and Women

Variable	Male		Female		<i>F</i> (3, 357)	η^2
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
IPVAW	1.99	.082	1.61	.587	7.23***	.057
Honour Endorsement						
Feminine honour	3.90	.144	4.97	1.52	10.48***	.081
Masculine honour	4.46	1.18	4.60	1.00	1.36	.011
Family honour	5.33	1.46	5.82	1.29	2.97*	.024
Moral integrity	5.62	1.32	6.00	1.17	1.56	.013

Note: ANOVA is significant at the $p < .001$ level (***), $p < .01$ level (**), $p < .05$ level (*).

DISCUSSION

The aim of the current study was to examine the tolerance to IPVAW in Sri Lanka as predicted by type of honour endorsement. First, we examined the relationships between the types of honour and tolerance to IPVAW. Second, we assessed the role of feminine, masculine, and family honour and moral integrity on tolerance to IPVAW. Finally, we examined the gender differences in honour endorsement and tolerance to IPVAW.

With reference to our first hypothesis, we found a positive relationship between feminine honour and tolerance to IPVAW and a negative relationship between moral integrity

and tolerance to IPVAW. However, masculine honour and family honour did not show any associations with tolerance to IPVAW. Feminine honour centres on sexual shame which is denoted by virginity before marriage, limiting sexual relations, and modesty in clothing and relations with men (Mosquera et al., 2002). The nature of feminine honour suggests that the greatest threat to a family's honour lies in the woman's body (Chowdhary, 2007), and deviance from feminine honour codes can lead to violence in many South Asian communities (Welchman & Hossain, 2005). It is possible that participants who were higher endorsers of feminine honour reflected on the justifications of IPVAW which is commonly justified by the infidelity of women (Haj-

Yahia, 2002). This can be seen as degrading for people that highly endorse honour (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994).

Furthermore, we found that participants who were higher endorsers of moral integrity were less likely to tolerate IPVAW. Our finding is consistent with previous research (cf. Ceylan-Batur et al., 2021), and could be explained by the nature of the moral honour code, which is grounded on values such as being loyal, honest, and trustworthy (Mosquera et al., 2002). Moral compasses define what is to be considered acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, and religion and the law may also reinforce moral binaries of good and bad behaviour. However, previous research has shown that local constructions of morality can shape tolerance to violence (Scheper & Zway, 2012). For example, in one study conducted in South Africa, morality was judged by one's adherence to specific community codes such as respecting another person's privacy (Van Niekerk, 2015). This suggests that being moral could also mean the avoidance of intrusion or invasion of another person's privacy, and thereby tolerating any known occurrences of IPVAW.

With regard to our second hypothesis on the predictor roles of the types of honour endorsement on tolerance to IPVAW, we found that only three types of honour were predictors of tolerance to IPVAW. Feminine and masculine honour were positively associated with, and moral integrity was negatively associated with tolerance to IPVAW, with feminine honour being the strongest predictor, and masculine honour being a stronger predictor than moral integrity. As discussed above, feminine honour and moral integrity are characterised by varying elements of the honour code and thus can play different roles in predicting tolerance to IPVAW. Cohen et al. (1996) suggest that masculine honour is deeply embedded in the male roles that men are subscribed to in society. For example, Sakalli and Kuzlak (2018) found that in Turkish culture, men were described as strong, controlling, dominant, and protective of women as prescribed by the male gender role in Turkey. Similarly, the post-war context is particularly significant in understanding the conceptions of masculine honour in Sri Lanka. Höglund and Orjuela (2011) suggest that masculinities in Sri Lanka are strengthened by militarisation and honour. "*Honourable men must be prepared to risk harm and usually commit violence in order to defend their honour, even against minor insults and challenges*" (Dafoe, 2012, p. 43). Therefore, participants who scored higher on masculine honour might have been more tolerant to IPVAW due to the longstanding patriarchal norms in the country.

Relating to our third hypothesis, we found that feminine and family honour showed gender differences, where women scored higher on both types of honour than men. This rejects our third hypothesis. An explanation for this can be that honour rests on women's sexual conduct therefore the burden of shame accompanies women, as any 'shameful' physical conduct would dishonour their families (Christianson et al., 2020; Pitt-Rivers, 1968). Thus, higher endorsement of feminine and family honour may be more apparent among women than men due to the pronounced norms surrounding shame in Sri Lanka (e.g., Abeyasekera & Marecek, 2019; De Alwis, 2002). Although we found no gender differences in moral integrity, past research has suggested that in some cultures, people believe that hurting others is not only justifiable, but also fundamentally virtuous (Rai & Fiske, 2012).

For gender differences in tolerance to IPVAW, results indicated that men were more likely to tolerate IPVAW than women, which supports our fourth hypothesis. This is in line with previous research that suggests that men are more likely than women to be tolerant of VAW, view a smaller number of actions as violent and express less empathy toward victims (e.g., West & Wandrei, 2002). Men are expected to be strict and in charge of the women in their life in patriarchal honour cultures, which frequently encourages violence against them (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). A study that explored the motivation behind VAW across six different countries including Sri Lanka showed that VAW was closely related to narratives of masculinity that justify male domination and control over women (Fulu et al., 2013). These motivations are embedded in cultures that promote patriarchal dominance over women and such beliefs tend to manifest in the form of prejudice in the legal and medical systems in Sri Lanka (Centre for Women's Research, 2004).

CONCLUSION

To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the first studies conducted in Sri Lanka examining honour endorsement and its role in the tolerance to IPVAW. The study findings revealed that feminine honour and masculine honour were positively associated with, and moral integrity was negatively associated with tolerance to IPVAW. The findings also showed that men were more likely to tolerate IPVAW than women, and that women were more likely to be higher endorsers of feminine honour, and family honour than men. This suggests that specific types of honour play a predictive role in tolerance to IPVAW along with gender differences that are in line with cultural and gendered norms. Honour values originate from an intricate system of interdependent values, morals, and beliefs, that when studied together, provide a bigger picture of what may be called a 'cultural logic'.

There are a few notable limitations of our study. Firstly, due to the nature of the sample, participants may have embodied WEIRD characteristics (Henrich et al. 2010), which could serve as a buffer against tolerance to IPVAW (Bhowmik & Biswas, 2022). Secondly, some of the questions in the A-IPVAW scale may have influenced socially desirable responses. Nonetheless, the scale has been shown to be a reliable and valid instrument to assess tolerance to IPVAW (Martín-Fernández et al., 2018) and its items have been shown to present low loadings of social desirability (Villagrán et al., 2022). Additionally, the honour scale used in the study asked participants to rate how bad they would feel if they acted in a particular way (Mosquera et al., 2002). This type of question framing could be considered leading as it assumes that participants would feel bad. However, despite these limitations, our study contributes to the knowledge base, providing new insights into the understanding of honour and IPVAW in an understudied country.

We recommend that future research take into consideration the various types of violence against women (e.g., emotional, physical, verbal, sexual) when examining tolerance and its association to honour. Furthermore, future studies should aim to incorporate demographic factors such as socioeconomic status in the analysis to provide a more comprehensive understanding of tolerance to IPVAW. Growth in the empirical evidence surrounding these topics may help non-governmental and governmental organisations in Sri Lanka to better understand the

multifaced nature of IPVAW, improve public policy, encourage reporting of violence, and most importantly, protect victims.

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