#JusticeForNoor:

Disinhibition, Social Concern, and the Online Discourse of the Noor Mukadam Murder

by

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Declaration

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not been previously submitted to this or any other third level institution.

Date: 30th April 2025   Signature:

Content Warning

This thesis investigates online discourse about a high-profile case of gender-based murder in Pakistan. It contains references to femicide, graphic violence, victim-blaming, misogynistic and hateful language, and threats of harm. Some social-media excerpts may be distressing or offensive. Reader discretion is advised.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This research examines how digital anonymity, platform affordances, and moral outrage interact to shape online discourse surrounding the high-profile Noor Mukadam murder in Pakistan. Building on the Online Disinhibition Effect, which posits that anonymity can facilitate aggressive or extreme behaviours, and Social Concern Theory, which highlights the role of empathy and collective activism, this study offers a culturally nuanced look at public reactions to gender-based violence. Literature shows that moral outrage in networked spaces can deepen polarisation. Meanwhile, emotionally charged social media debates can mobilise collective empathy yet fuel hostile victim-blaming, highlighting the role of local socio-cultural norms. Comments from YouTube and Reddit were analysed using qualitative reflexive thematic analysis to capture variations in moderation practices and community norms. Ethical measures like anonymisation of usernames and incognito browsing were applied to mitigate bias. Analysis revealed five distinct themes encompassing negative discourse toward the victim and women, calls for accountability and punitive justice, systemic reflections and societal commentary, emotional engagement and sympathy, and factual as well as analytical discussion. Preliminary findings reveal striking platform differences: YouTube comments frequently showed harsher victim-blaming and moral policing, while Reddit discussions adopted more reflective approaches calling for systemic change. These insights emphasise the urgent need to address online hostility and promote culturally informed moderation strategies. By illuminating the interplay of digital disinhibition, social concern, and local cultural frameworks, this evolving study contributes to global conversations on safer, more empathetic online spaces.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

1. Introduction

This research examines the Noor Mukadam murder in Pakistan, exploring how the Online Disinhibition Effect (ODE) (Suler, 2004) and Social Concern Theory (SCT) (Agnew, 2013) shape the online discourse around the case. ODE describes how the absence of face-to-face interactions in online spaces leads to reduced self-awareness and inhibition, making individuals more likely to express extreme opinions or engage in aggressive behaviours (Suler, 2004). SCT, on the other hand, posits that human behaviour is shaped by moral and empathetic inclinations, which can be influenced by societal frustrations, social bonds, and institutional trust (Agnew, 2013). Analysing these discussions, the study aims to illuminate how psychological factors influence public perceptions of crime and its outcomes. Reddit and YouTube were selected due to their contrasting moderation approaches and popularity in Pakistan, allowing for a nuanced analysis of ODE and SCT. This understanding could foster more constructive and empathetic online conversations surrounding future high-profile cases.

1.1. Online Discourse: The Noor Mukadam Case

Online reactions to high-profile crimes, sometimes termed viral crimes when they trigger rapid, wide-ranging engagement, arise when a single incident is repeatedly shared, commented on, and remixed across platforms under the influence of news cycles and platform algorithms (Berger & Milkman, 2012). This surge of attention (virality) creates a temporary public online atmosphere in which features such as anonymity, recommendation feeds, and community norms shape how users debate responsibility, justice, and social change. Reddit and YouTube, with their open comment architectures (Gruzd et al., 2020), provide a useful lens for examining the Noor Mukadam discourse. Studies specific to Pakistan show heightened emotional mobilisation around gendered violence online (Aqeel et al., 2024) and collective mobilisation around social justice issues (Tufekci, 2017), underlining the cultural resonance of this case along with group mentality.

YouTube is not only a space for video sharing but also serves as a participatory medium where discussions, both constructive and antagonistic, shape the narrative around viral events

(Murthy & Sharma, 2019). Moreover, gendered analyses of comment sections on YouTube reveal that hate speech, including racism and sexism, is prevalent and may influence how users engage with such viral cases (Döring & Mohseni, 2020).

Research suggests that platform affordances, such as trending algorithms and selective visibility, can prioritise outrage-driven discourse over nuanced discussion (Ronzhyn et al., 2023). This has implications for cases like Noor Mukadam's, where narratives of justice and misinformation were amplified simultaneously, creating a fragmented information ecosystem. While social media facilitates activism, it may also obscure complex legal realities by favouring emotionally charged over fact-based engagement (Gillespie, 2018).

The Noor Mukadam murder in Pakistan was a crime that ignited a lot of online discussion, offering a compelling case study to examine how human psychology shapes online discourse within the context of a crime. Social media not only serves as a space for collective grief and debate but also enables collective activism, rallying individuals around a certain cause while simultaneously being a breeding ground for toxicity (Jackson et al., 2020). This literature review explores the factors that contribute to the intensity and potential polarisation of these discussions, providing insights into the complex interplay between societal issues, online platforms, and human behaviour.

1.2. The Murder of Noor Mukadam: A Summary

On July 20, 2021, Noor Mukadam, a 27-year-old woman and daughter of a former Pakistani diplomat, was brutally murdered in Islamabad. She had reportedly been held captive for at least two days and tortured before her death through a beheading (Dawn News, 2021). The primary suspect, Zahir Jaffer, the son of an influential family, was arrested at the scene of the crime. While the case ignited a national conversation on gender-based violence, the protection of women's rights, and flaws within Pakistan's justice system (Saifi, 2021), many took to social media to lay blame on the victim, the parents, the police, and the systems in place. Initial police response was criticised as slow and hesitant, allegedly due to the suspect's elite status (M. Alam, 2021). The case received extensive media attention with rapidly evolving

details, and public calls for swift justice were amplified using the hashtag *#JusticeforNoor*. Alongside the outcry, a coordinated social media campaign led by Noor Mukadam's close friends and supporters played a crucial role in sustaining public pressure, mobilising activism, and keeping the case in mainstream discourse. Their efforts included organised Twitter trends, digital advocacy, and targeted efforts to ensure media coverage, demonstrating the power of collective digital action in influencing real-world judicial processes. This intense public scrutiny was a key factor in keeping pressure on authorities throughout the investigation and subsequent legal proceedings.

Some argue that online movements pressure legal institutions to act (Jackson et al., 2020), while others caution that public scrutiny may interfere with due process by shaping pre-trial narratives and judicial outcomes (Phillipson, 2008).

1.3. Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding Online Discourse

From various psychological themes noticed, this research implements two key theoretical frameworks to illuminate the important psychological factors at play within these discussions.

Coined by John Suler, ODE is a reduced sense of self-awareness and behavioural control in online environments (Suler, 2004). ODE illuminates the psychological factors shaping online behaviour caused by factors like anonymity, invisibility (lack of physical cues), desynchronisation (reduced sense of time and space), and a lack of real-time feedback (Suler, 2004). ODE also explores solipsistic introjection (imagined dialogue that projects assumed traits onto the message sender) and imagined intimacy (increased sense of closeness with the online audience) within online communities (Suler, 2011). These factors can contribute to more extreme expressions, including offensive language and the formation of echo chambers, which can hinder constructive dialogue (Guess et al., 2019).

Developed primarily by criminologist Robert Agnew, SCT posits that individuals are shaped by biological and social inclinations towards empathy, strong social connections, and a sense of morality (Agnew, 2013). SCT challenges the common assumption of pure self-interest

in human behaviour. SCT also investigates how these social concerns influence criminal behaviour (Chouhy et al., 2016). It suggests that societal strains (like unequal opportunities), frustrations (such as anger towards those in power), and weak social bonds (lack of community support) can contribute to both crime and attempts at social control (Agnew, 2006). SCT helps us understand the surge of public outrage, calls for justice, the drive towards activism, and demands for systemic change that often emerge within online communities.

1.4. Viral Criminal Cases in the Digital Era

Online attention can manifest in extensive sharing, commenting, and the creation of related content (memes, videos, hashtags). Research suggests that content provoking strong emotional reactions, such as anger, disgust, or sadness, is more likely to be widely shared (Guadagno et al., 2013). The Noor Mukadam case exemplifies this phenomenon by highlighting issues of gender-based violence and social inequality in Pakistan (Ali et al., 2022).

Existing research highlights how online reactions to criminal cases are shaped by victim empathy, perpetrator slander, misinformation, and emotional responses (Marwick & Boyd, 2011; Papacharissi, 2014). Anonymity can further foster aggressive behaviour within these emotionally charged discussions (Jane, 2014; Barak, 2005). However, research on online petition platforms shows that even non-anonymous users may resort to toxic or combative language when defending issues central to their identity (Klein & Majdoubi, 2024). This observation resonates here, as many of Noor's friends and family, posting under their real names, helped drive the online campaign.

Social network features and exposure to misleading content can contribute to heightened polarisation (Chen & Wang, 2022). Polarisation refers to the widening gap between opposing viewpoints within a discussion (Bakshy et al., 2015). For instance, Marwick and Boyd (2011) conducted a qualitative analysis of digital public shaming cases, revealing how moral judgment and outrage are shaped by social validation mechanisms. Similarly, Papacharissi (2014) employed discourse analysis methods to explore emotional framing in viral online discussions, emphasising how affective intensity often supersedes rational debate.

The geographical and cultural limitations of existing research present a gap in understanding how digital discourse differs across regions. Most studies focus on Western contexts, where platform regulations and societal attitudes toward gender-based violence differ substantially from those in South Asia or the Middle East (Lynch, 2019). The rapid nature of virality also means that misinformation or misleading narratives can spread before fact-checking mechanisms catch up, potentially distorting public perception of criminal cases (Schmalleger, 2012).

1.5. Role and Reason of Toxic Masculinity

Reddit's potential for anonymity and disinhibition, coupled with underlying societal frustrations within Pakistan (Rahman, 2023) could create a breeding ground for toxic masculinity within online discussions. Additionally, the tendency to blame victims of gender-based violence may also be influenced by the Just-World Hypothesis (Lerner, 1980), a psychological mechanism where individuals assume that people get what they deserve in life. This belief helps individuals preserve a sense of safety and order by attributing misfortune to the victim's perceived moral failings rather than acknowledging the randomness or injustice of violence (Dalbert & Donat, 2015). In contexts where toxic masculinity dominates discourse, this cognitive bias often intersects with patriarchal values to rationalise female victimisation, especially when women are perceived to have transgressed cultural norms (Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2007).

Toxic masculinity refers to a socially constructed set of harmful beliefs and behaviours that emphasise dominance, aggression, and the suppression of emotions. These traits are often linked to traditional gender roles and can manifest in harmful behaviours like violence, misogyny, and homophobia (Kupers, 2005). The interplay of SCT and ODE reveals how societal frustrations can be amplified in this environment, potentially leading to shifts in opinions as details of a crime emerge. ODE explains how reduced accountability fosters uninhibited expressions, making online discussions more emotionally charged. Simultaneously, SCT suggests that individuals experiencing social strain, such as frustration with systemic injustices,

may find online activism as an outlet for their grievances. This combination can lead to both constructive advocacy and reactionary hostility, shaping discourse in unpredictable ways.

Furthermore, the digital reinforcement of toxic masculinity operates through both explicit and subtle mechanisms. While overt misogyny is well-documented, researchers have also observed the emergence of soft misogyny (Dunlap, 2016), a form of veiled anti-feminist discourse that appears progressive but reinforces patriarchal norms (Banet-Weiser, 2018). In discussions around gender-based violence, this often manifests in the form of faux-concern, where users claim to support victims but subtly discredit them by emphasising male victimhood or false accusations (Marwick & Caplan, 2018). This creates a discursive double-bind where misogynistic ideologies can spread even within seemingly neutral or pro-feminist spaces (Ndawana & Chisambiro, 2024).

Research suggests that online spaces can become rife with misogyny and anti-feminist discourse (Mcguirk, 2021). This potentially shapes how individuals who are commenting on the forums or boards are blamed, yelled at, silenced, agreed with, or understood, especially in instances of discussions around gender-based violence and feminism. McGuirk (2021) conducted a thematic qualitative analysis of 80 Reddit threads from 'Manosphere' communities, identifying key narratives that fuel online misogyny. The study highlighted how specialised jargon and ideological reinforcement create a self-sustaining environment where extreme views become normalised. However, the study's reliance on textual analysis without engagement with user intent poses limitations, as meaning can often be ambiguous in online discourse. The 'manosphere' refers to a loosely connected collection of online communities where men's perspectives, frustrations, and grievances are shared often with hostility toward women and feminism (Farrell et al., 2019). While McGuirk focuses on how people talk in these forums, Farrell et al. provide additional insight by examining how misogynistic language appears and spreads across different Reddit communities.

Anonymity on platforms like Reddit may exacerbate this problem by encouraging extreme views and toxic behaviours, as people feel less accountable for their words or actions (Gruzd et al., 2020).

1.6. Rationale for the Research

Emotional expressions of social concern encompass feelings such as outrage, empathy, and a sense of shared pain driven by the violation of moral values or harm inflicted upon others (Agnew, 2006). These emotions can manifest in online communication through emotionally charged language, expressions of support for victims, and condemnations of injustice. Instrumental action, on the other hand, refers to concrete steps aimed at bringing about change or justice. Online discourse can involve calls for legal reform, accountability, protests, or digital awareness campaigns (Earl et al., 2022).

Bakshy et al. used large-scale data from Facebook to quantify ideological exposure, revealing that social networks play a stronger role than algorithmic curation in limiting diverse viewpoints. Their findings challenge assumptions about filter bubbles, instead highlighting the active role users play in self-selecting information sources (Bakshy et al., 2015).

This research examines these dynamics by addressing the following research questions:

Research Question 1: How did the Online Disinhibition Effect shape the polarisation of discussions on the Noor Mukadam murder case on Reddit and YouTube?

Research Question 2: Did these online conversations demonstrate a greater emphasis on emotional expressions of social concern (e.g., outrage, empathy) or on calls for instrumental action (e.g., legal reform, protests, activism)?

Examining online comments directly through thematic analysis will provide an empirical bridge connecting these theoretical insights to real-world digital discourse. This focus is essential for testing whether disinhibition and social concern actually govern how outrage-driven conversations evolve into either polarised echo chambers or concrete demands for justice. By answering the two research questions, the study sheds light on how Pakistani social-media users frame gender-based violence today; insights that can guide platform policy, support activist strategy, and sharpen future scholarship on online harm.

2. Methodology

This research employed a qualitative reflexive thematic analysis to examine online disinhibition, polarisation, emotional expression, and potential calls for action in public discussions of the Noor Mukadam murder case online.

2.1. Data Collection

Reddit and YouTube were the primary data sources for this study. Data were collected from the r/pakistan subreddit on Reddit and from user comments on YouTube videos. Iterations of the same search terms or hashtags were used across both platforms to identify relevant content: Noor Mukadam, Zahir Jaffer, Noor Mukaddam, and Justice for Noor. These keywords encompassed the victim's name, with spelling variations, and references to justice for the case, ensuring that all major discussions related to the case were included.

Relevant Reddit discussions were identified through the platform's search function using the above keywords, with attention focused on r/pakistan, a subreddit selected for its active user base and frequent debate on national issues, including the Noor Mukadam case. Reddit threads and YouTube videos were selected for high engagement; a systematic interval sample of top-level and reply comments was drawn (see Appendix A for video and thread selection based on criteria).

From the search results, 5–7 high-engagement threads per search term were chosen, and within each thread, a systematic sampling strategy was applied: every third top-level comment and every second reply to those comments were collected, yielding roughly 10–15 comments (and sub-comments) per thread. This method minimised selection bias while producing a manageable, yet representative, cross-section of Reddit discourse for analysis.

On YouTube, the same search terms, entered as general keywords rather than hashtags, were used to locate videos discussing the Noor Mukadam case; to guarantee substantial engagement and contextual relevance, inclusion criteria required a minimum of 15,000 views, at least 50 user comments, and upload by a Pakistan-origin channel (e.g., local news outlets or

content creators). For each of the four search terms, three videos meeting these benchmarks were selected, producing a corpus of 12 videos. From each video's comment section, every fifth comment, starting at a random point near the top of the feed, was then sampled, a strategy that dispersed selection across the discussion and avoided over-reliance on the most visible remarks. All chosen comments were subsequently transcribed and compiled into the dataset for analysis.

In total, 1,618 comments were captured (1,170 from YouTube and 448 from Reddit), providing a balanced set of data that is large enough to show a wide range of ideas, but still small enough to carefully examine and code.

2.2. Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was conducted using Braun and Clarke's (2021) reflexive six-phase model due to its flexibility, allowing for a nuanced examination of culturally charged discussions across Reddit and YouTube. The method is particularly useful for revealing underlying narrative structures that might be missed in large, unstructured comment streams (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Feminist research practices were incorporated to ensure that the collected data was analysed with a well-informed, theoretically grounded understanding (Leavy & Harris, 2018). Following multiple readings of the data set for immersion and familiarisation, inductive codes were generated line-by-line, capturing both explicit content (such as victim-blaming remarks) and implicit moral standpoints (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The details of the codes are available in Appendix B along with the respective figures. These codes were then organised into preliminary themes (mentioned in Appendix C), which underwent iterative refinement by reviewing against the entire data set, ensuring clarity, coherence, and thematic distinction. Throughout the analysis, meanings were approached as socially constructed rather than inherent, focusing specifically on the role of anonymity and community norms in shaping online discourse. Final themes were subsequently named, clearly defined, and integrated into a coherent narrative directly addressing the established research questions, while reflecting critically on the analytical process itself (Braun & Clarke, 2021).

2.3. Ethical Considerations

Although this study analysed publicly available online content and did not involve direct interaction with human subjects, several ethical measures were implemented due to the sensitive nature of the topic. The case involved traumatic content including speech that is violent and abusive, and sparked intense online debates in Pakistan. Thus, ethical considerations were crucial to protect the privacy of online contributors, ensure researcher's well-being, limit biases, and uphold research integrity.

To protect user privacy and ensure anonymity, all data were drawn from open forums; informed consent was therefore not required. However, every username or identifying detail was stripped and quotations were used sparingly to prevent reidentification, in line with online-research guidelines and the ethical frameworks.

In order to mitigate algorithmic bias, searches were conducted in incognito mode on google chrome to minimise personalisation effects and yield neutral results, ensuring that sampling was not skewed by prior browsing history or platform recommendation systems. This helped preserve the neutrality of the dataset.

A reflexive journal was kept throughout the project (Bell & Waters, 2018) to note down personal reactions, assumptions, and thoughts. This helped the researcher recognise and set aside potential biases during coding and theme development. To support this process, post-it notes were also kept handy so that emotionally challenging comments or moments could be addressed immediately through quick journalling techniques.

As the dataset contained graphic and hateful content, structured breaks and access to professional support were built into the workflow to safeguard personal well-being. The journal also served as a tool for processing distress, honouring the 'do-no-harm' principle for both participants and researcher (Flick, 2014).

3. Results

Drawing on the iterative coding process (Braun & Clarke, 2021), each comment collected was closely examined, and recurrent ideas were developed into 20 codes (see Appendix B). Five overarching themes were identified (see Appendix C). The following is a figure depicting each theme and the impact of one over another.

Figure 1

Themes Emerging from Collected Data and Their Interconnectedness
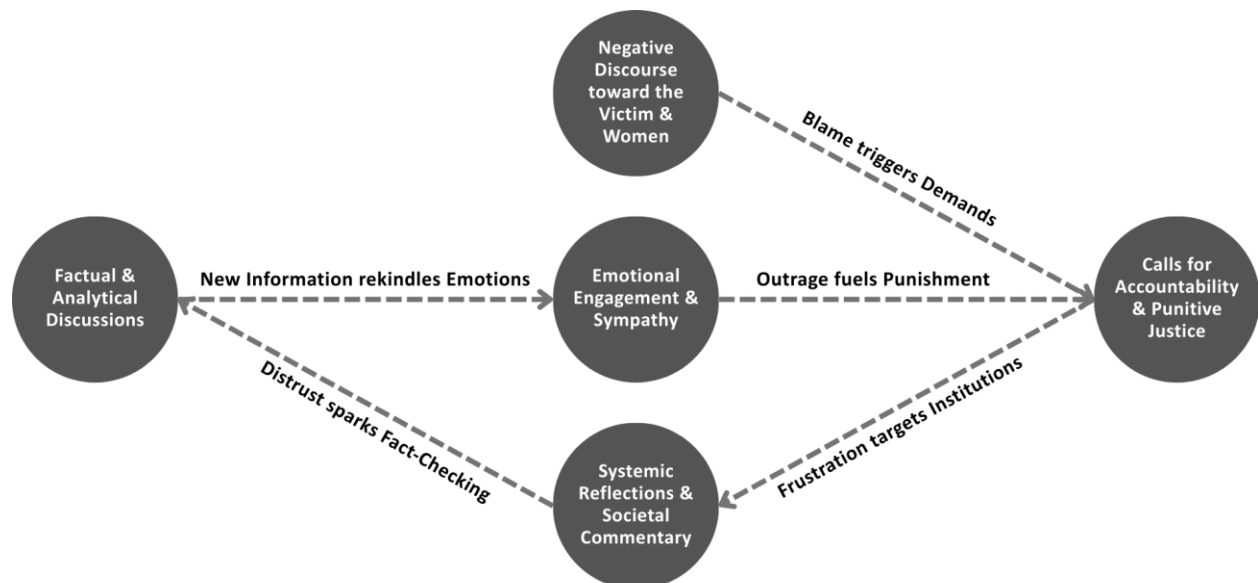
Figure 1 outlines five interconnected themes identified within online discourse, illustrating how factual discussions lead to emotional responses and prompt further fact-checking when users distrust information. Negative discourse toward the victim, collective outrage, and broader frustrations with institutions collectively fuel demands for accountability and justice. Recognising these relationships between themes helps clarify how online conversations evolve.

The collected data included comments written in Roman Urdu, a phonetic form of the Urdu language using the Latin alphabet. Given the researcher's native proficiency in Urdu, these comments were read, understood, and interpreted without reliance on external translation

tools. Contextual nuances, colloquialisms, and cultural references embedded within these comments were carefully noted to ensure accurate representation. Specific remarks reflecting tone, sentiment, and rhetorical style were documented separately to aid in thematic analysis. Additionally, where necessary, transliterations and summaries of particularly complex or idiomatic expressions were included to ensure consistency in coding and later thematic categorisation. This process allowed for a more authentic and precise engagement with the dataset, ensuring that Urdu and Roman Urdu discussions were analysed with the same depth as English-language comments (see Appendix D).

3.1. Overview of Identified Themes

Below, each theme is laid out in depth, along with excerpts of what was posted online (comments can be found in Appendix D) and the perspectives it offered.

3.1.1. Negative Discourse toward the Victim and Women

A dominant theme within the online discourse involved extensive negative commentary towards Noor Mukadam, extending broadly into misogynistic rhetoric against women. Central to this theme was explicit victim-blaming, focusing on Noor's decisions and character, suggesting her actions somehow precipitated her fate.

One participant remarked, *"This is what happens to call girls"*, suggesting that the victim was perceived as deserving of the violence due to behaviour that, in the respondent's view, resembled that of a 'call girl'. In the context of a patriarchal and Islamic societal framework, such terminology carries strong negative moral and social connotations, implying culpability on the part of the victim. It reflects deep-rooted patriarchal beliefs as people seek reassurance by believing that victims somehow deserve their fate.

Many users spoke contemptuously about the slogan *mera jism meri marzi* meaning *my body, my choice* , leaving comments such as, *"It is the fault of Aurat March [Women's March] and mera jism, meri marzi, which is the main promoter of nudity and vulgarity in Pakistan,"* These reflect deep disdain and moral panic, framing the slogan, and by extension, women who

participate in Aurat March or advocate for bodily autonomy, as a direct threat to cultural values, honour, and religious norms.

3.1.2. Calls for Accountability and Punitive Justice

While many commenters demanded capital punishment for Zahir Jaffer, for example, a user commented, *"Public beheading of all rapists and murderers,"* the dominant YouTube focus shifted to blaming his parents for *"..raising a monster"* and *"..using money to shield him."* Notably, both sets of parents were criticised, though in different ways.

Conservative commentators redirected blame toward Noor Mukadam's parents, arguing that excessive freedom and a 'liberal' upbringing exposed her to danger. Comments claimed stricter oversight would have averted the crime: "*Noor's parents should also be punished because they had permitted their daughter to be in a live-in relationship.*" Others linked responsibility to class privilege or moral upbringing, insisting, "*I blame the girl's parents for not doing a background check on the man, I guess money blinded them.*" Extending this logic, some users demanded punishment for household staff and guards viewed as negligent, one asserting, "*The driver and security guard also deserve the death penalty…"* Accountability rhetoric spread beyond the perpetrator to a wider circle of familial and institutional actors perceived to have failed Noor.

Although Zahir himself was described using dehumanising terms like "*beast"* and "*evil,"* many comments paired these with equal, if not stronger, condemnation of his parents and others surrounding him. This indicated a broadening of perceived culpability, portraying the act of murder not simply as a personal act of brutality but as the outcome of elite privilege, failed parenting, and systemic negligence.

3.1.3. Systemic Reflections and Societal Commentary

Beyond individual blame, a substantial part of online discourse expanded to broader systemic critiques triggered by Noor Mukadam's murder. Users shifted focus from isolated

details to deeper societal and institutional reflections, questioning why such violence occurs and what it reveals about societal values.

Criticism frequently targeted law enforcement and judicial systems, highlighting perceived negligence or bias, especially regarding delayed police action and anticipated legal loopholes favouring the wealthy or influential, as someone posted a comment, *"Buy the judge or buy police, it's very simple practice, go for it."* Such commentary illustrates profound institutional distrust, prompting demands for reforms to enhance victim protection and transparency.

Discussions also underscored class privilege and inequality. Commenters debated whether Noor's high-profile status influenced judicial attention, contrasting her case against those of less-privileged victims who typically go unnoticed. Concerns about the perpetrator's ability to exploit wealth and connections further fuelled anxieties around systemic injustice. One person commented, *"She only got that verdict because of the fame and her father's status."*

3.1.4. Emotional Engagement and Sympathy

The theme revealed how deeply Noor Mukadam's murder affected individuals on a personal level. While this theme appeared less frequently compared to others, its presence reflected a quieter, more human dimension of the online response, one marked by empathy, sorrow, and a desire to express solidarity in the face of tragedy. Some users across platforms shared heartfelt condolences, creating a communal space for mourning amid broader conversations about justice and accountability. Simple yet sincere expressions like *"Prayers for Noor and her loved ones"* reasserted Noor's humanity in spaces where, at times, she had been reduced to a symbol in political or moral debates.

Some comments showed cautious optimism or deep emotional investment in the outcome of the case. Statements such as *"I can smell a controversial verdict"* or *"Justice delayed is justice denied"* hinted at guarded hope while also anticipating disappointment.

3.1.5. Factual and Analytical Discussions

Alongside emotional responses, online commenters also engaged in factual and analytical discussions, collaboratively unpacking case details, interpreting evidence, and debating legal implications. While not as emotionally charged as other themes, these contributions reflected a kind of crowdsourced investigative effort, where users across platforms, especially on Reddit, pieced together timelines, clarified facts, and examined the judicial process surrounding Noor's murder.

Many users attempted to predict legal outcomes or assess the likelihood of justice being served. Comments such as *"Yes, they will challenge the verdict in court. After a couple of years, he will be out"* expresses a sense of pessimism, rooted in perceptions of systemic flaws in Pakistan's judicial system. These users viewed the process as vulnerable to delay and manipulation, based on precedents and a lack of faith in legal accountability (Imran et al., 2023). Analytical engagement was not limited to the specifics of Noor's case; many users contextualised her murder within broader patterns of gender-based violence. Drawing comparisons with other femicide cases.

YouTube threads also contained unverified rumours about ransom demands and body disposal, illustrating the platform's susceptibility to conspiracy narratives.

3.2. Overview of Comment Patterns

Across the 1,170 YouTube and 448 Reddit comments analysed, the distribution of themes highlights clear platform-specific patterns, providing insights into both research questions. On YouTube, discussions were heavily concentrated around two dominant themes: Theme 1: Calls for Accountability and Punitive Justice (26.2%) and Theme 2: Negative Discourse toward the Victim and Women (24.7%). This division illustrates how the Online Disinhibition Effect facilitated polarised responses, ranging from intense calls to punish the perpetrator and his associates, to overt victim-blaming and expressions of gendered hostility, often appearing across the same thread or discussion space. It is important to clarify that although Theme 2 emphasises accountability and justice, this does not always translate to explicit support for the

victim; rather, it often involves assigning blame to others associated with the crime, such as the perpetrator's family or domestic staff. In contrast, Theme 1 directly targets Noor and women more broadly, embedding deeply misogynistic and moralistic attitudes.

On Reddit, however, the conversation significantly shifted. Direct negative comments targeting Noor or women generally were notably lower (5.4%), while Theme 3: Systemic Reflections and Societal Commentary emerged as the dominant theme (41.3%). This indicates a stronger tendency among Reddit users to discuss structural issues, institutional failures, and social injustices, rather than attributing blame to individuals. These platform-specific differences suggest that Reddit's design and community norms may encourage more analytical, reflective conversations, whereas YouTube's affordances seem to amplify emotionally charged and polarised discussions.

Regarding the focus on emotional versus instrumental discourse, both platforms emphasised action-oriented responses over purely emotional reactions. On YouTube, action-focused comments, combining demands for punitive justice and systemic reform, accounted for 50.2% of the conversation, compared to only 9.9% reflecting emotional expressions of concern or empathy. Reddit demonstrated an even stronger preference for instrumental responses, with 59.4% of comments mentioning accountability, reform, or systemic critiques, against just 10.5% displaying emotional engagement. Although emotional expressions such as sorrow and solidarity were present, they were significantly outweighed by calls for tangible action and systemic change. This overall distribution underscores that while emotional reactions provided context, the primary focus of online discourse was interpreting and addressing the crime through broader sociopolitical or corrective frameworks.

4. Discussion

To understand how the ODE influenced discourse polarisation and whether emotional expressions or instrumental calls dominated online reactions, research questions 1 and 2 respectively, it is helpful to interpret the themes through a dual lens. ODE can manifest in both toxic and benign forms, depending on whether anonymity unleashes hostility or, conversely, encourages candid empathy. SCT complements this by foregrounding the moral bonds and collective duty that drive users toward either retributive anger or prosocial support. Reading each theme through this perspective maintains focus on how platform dynamics and user psychology shaped the public response.

4.1. Analysis of Thematic Patterns

4.1.1. Theme 1: Negative Discourse Toward the Victim and Women

Pakistani society remains deeply entrenched in patriarchal ideologies (Ali et al., 2022), where notions of female honour, modesty, and obedience continue to dictate women's perceived value and safety (Arshad et al., 2024). In such environments, women who deviate from socially sanctioned behaviour, whether in lifestyle, dress, or speech, are often constructed as morally deficient and thus partially responsible for any violence inflicted upon them (Mcguirk, 2021).

Victim-Blaming and the Just-World Hypothesis. The tendency to blame victims of violence is consistent with Lerner's Just-World Hypothesis (Lerner, 1980). In contexts of extreme violence, such as the murder of Noor Mukadam, this psychological mechanism serves to protect individuals from feelings of vulnerability by attributing causality to the victim's actions. In Pakistan, this tendency is reinforced by cultural norms that idealise the obedient woman and vilify female autonomy. Such patriarchal constructs are historically rooted in societal expectations that women's honour is tied to their conformity and family reputation, a notion preserved through deeply ingrained feudal and religious traditions (Salman, 2019). Consequently, a woman's deviation from these prescribed roles is perceived as a threat to

communal values, inviting social sanctions that punish her perceived disobedience (Hussain et al., 2015).

Anti-Feminist Rhetoric and Religious Influence. Within the framework of this study, the hostile re-framing of the slogan is instructive on two fronts. First, it shows how ODE-enabled anonymity magnified polarising, anti-feminist takes; second, it demonstrates that the energy of the debate was channelled into moral outrage far more than into concrete proposals for legal or social reform.

The feminist slogan *mera jism meri marzi* (my body, my choice) became a flashpoint in the online discourse, frequently distorted by users to equate feminist advocacy with moral decline. This backlash aligns with what Banet-Weiser (2018) defines as popular misogyny, a cultural mode in which anti-feminist rhetoric is framed as rational critique, often weaponised under the guise of protecting tradition, religion, or family values. The vilification of this slogan reflects deep societal discomfort with women's bodily autonomy and reveals the persistence of postfeminist double binds, where women are simultaneously expected to be empowered and submissive (McRobbie, 2009). Such reactions typify toxic disinhibition, where minimal identity cues and loose moderation on YouTube let patriarchal or violent judgments surface with little fear of repercussion, exactly as ODE predicts (Suler, 2004).

Religious ideology likewise framed Noor's murder not as a crime but as a moral consequence of her supposed transgressions. The use of terms like *"..zaani aurat"* (fornicating woman) and comments invoking divine punishment reflect a theological lens through which gender-based violence is interpreted and justified. This pattern accords with SCT (Agnew, 2013), which suggests that moral and institutional frustrations can lead to collective judgments about what is socially acceptable or punishable. Here, public outrage was diffused toward the victim rather than concentrated on the perpetrator. Crucially, the anonymity and visibility asymmetries identified by ODE magnified these polarising, anti-feminist and religiously framed judgments, illustrating the first research question on how ODE shaped polarisation across Reddit and YouTube; at the same time, the debate remained rooted in moral outrage rather

than concrete legal or policy remedies, showing that emotional expressions of social concern outweighed instrumental calls for action, thereby addressing the second research question.

4.1.2. Theme 2: Calls for Accountability and Punitive Justice

Public discussion around Noor Mukadam's murder revealed a widespread demand for rapid and severe punitive measures, with an outpouring of anger that transcended the crime itself to indict the broader handling of gender-based violence in Pakistan. Many commenters viewed the brutality of the murder as emblematic of deeper institutional failings, especially when affluent or powerful perpetrators appear to evade accountability. As explained by SCT (Agnew, 2013), moral emotions such as empathy and anger coalesce into a collective call for corrective justice when societal norms are somewhat violated (Chouhy et al., 2016). It helps explain why empathy for the victim coexists with anger toward elite impunity and heightened social concern channels strain into demands for visible punishment rather than apathy.

A recurring thread is widespread scepticism about Pakistan's courts and police, fuelled by the belief that wealth and status can bend the rules. Agnew's General Strain Theory holds that such perceptions intensify moral strain; when that strain meets the affordances of ODE (anonymity, invisibility, asynchronous exchange), users feel freer to articulate retributive fantasies or extreme punitive demands that might remain unspoken offline (Agnew, 2001). The same disinhibition, however, also lowers the barrier for counter-voices that challenge victim-blaming and moral policing, allowing a more heterogeneous debate to surface than would likely occur in face-to-face settings (Buckels et al., 2014).

4.1.3. Theme 3: Systemic Reflections and Societal Commentary

The Noor Mukadam case became a catalyst for broader societal critique, revealing deep-rooted distrust in Pakistan's legal and institutional systems. Agnew (2013) notes that in environments where legal systems are perceived as inconsistent or compromised, public confidence erodes, giving rise to alternative moral orders grounded in collective frustration and demands for systemic accountability.

Digital spaces, in this context, served as a space of civic engagement, where institutional critique merged with calls for reform. The discourse surrounding the case illustrated how online publics are operating as political actors, using digital spaces to contest state authority and draw attention to structural inequalities shaped by gender, power, and class (Dahlberg, 2007). Such engagements mirror what Marwick and Boyd (2010) describe as 'networked publics', where users not only consume but shape discourse, often critically. The role of the media exemplified this ambivalence. While mainstream coverage and campaigns like *#JusticeForNoor* helped sustain pressure on the legal process, critiques of sensationalism reflected anxieties over narrative distortion and the commodification of tragedy. As Gillespie (2018) argues, platforms and media intermediaries both enable and constrain justice-seeking efforts, complicating how public discourse navigates truth, urgency, and spectacle. Moreover, the *#JusticeForNoor* movement illustrates Tufekci's concept of 'networked protest', which emphasises how digital platforms facilitate collective mobilisation around social justice issues while also complicating the sustainability of public attention.

The *#JusticeForNoor* hashtag illustrated digital activism's ability to sustain pressure, but it also fuelled distrust of mainstream media. Some users urged major outlets to cover the story, while others alleged bias, bribes, or elite influence, echoing a wider 'blame-the-media' subculture (Baele et al., 2021). Demands for transparency reflected fears that skewed reporting could distort public understanding and weaken faith in the justice process.

4.1.4. Theme 4: Emotional Engagement and Collective Sympathy

In moments of national tragedy, digital platforms act as affective infrastructures, i.e. spaces where collective grief, fear, and anger are publicly processed and emotionally negotiated (Papacharissi, 2014). The Noor Mukadam case prompted an outpouring of grief that functioned as a form of networked mourning, echoing Papacharissi's concept of 'affective publics', where emotion becomes a mode of civic expression. Digital mourning spaces, far from being merely reactive, serve as tools of psychological resilience, providing validation and collective coping mechanisms in the face of gender-based violence (Ndawana & Chisambiro, 2024). SCT also offers a more hopeful reading of the discourse. The case mobilised users who

may not typically engage in social issues but were compelled to act through sharing, protesting, or analysing out of a perceived moral imperative. This reflects how hashtag activism can serve as a digital manifestation of civic concern, where public outrage signals deeply held social values and collective norms (Jackson et al., 2020).

Such dynamics underscore the dual function of social media: not only as a site of public critique but also as an emotionally sustaining space where users collectively process trauma, fear, and moral injury (Tufekci, 2017). From the lens of SCT, these emotionally charged responses represent not just personal distress, but a communal reckoning with violated social norms, mainly those surrounding safety, justice, and gendered vulnerability. When institutions fail to deliver justice, public expressions of grief and solidarity online can act as surrogate forms of collective action and moral reaffirmation. Moreover, the affordances of digital platforms lower psychological barriers to emotional expression (Ronzhyn et al., 2023), a phenomenon consistent with ODE. Users often feel more comfortable sharing deeply personal reflections, fears, and emotional responses in anonymous spaces, allowing grief and empathy to be externalised in ways that might be constrained in offline settings (Suler, 2004). This convergence of disinhibition and social concern creates affective communities that can temporarily offset feelings of helplessness, transforming social media into an interactive site for emotional resilience and civic engagement (Aljasir, 2023).

Across both platforms, comments reflecting calls for instrumental action outnumbered those expressing sympathy, grief, or emotional solidarity. This suggests that while emotional concern was a significant part of the discourse, demands for justice and accountability were even more prominent.

4.1.5. Theme 5: Factual and Analytical Discussions

Alongside emotional expression, digital platforms, mainly Reddit, served as arenas of collaborative sense-making, where users engaged in the interpretation of legal developments, evidence, and institutional processes. These discussions align with the view of platforms as knowledge mediators, where decentralised users act as civic participants in the information

ecosystem (Gillespie, 2018). Legal frameworks, forensic details, and media claims were frequently scrutinised, suggesting a shift from passive consumption to participatory oversight. As described by Gillespie (2018), this kind of analytical engagement is facilitated by the unique affordances of digital platforms. Reddit, for instance, enables pseudonymity, threaded discussions, and community-driven moderation, making it particularly conducive to extended, evidence-based dialogue (Gruzd et al., 2020). In contrast to platforms like YouTube or Facebook, the relative emotional detachment of such forums allows users to process events cognitively rather than effectively, engaging in more deliberative forms of discourse (Murthy & Sharma, 2019). In the context of high-emotion cases like Noor's, this distance becomes psychologically valuable as it provides users with a space to reason through outrage, to test and refine their moral intuitions against factual detail. That pattern reflects benign disinhibition; the same anonymity and asynchronicity that fuel hostility elsewhere can also lower social risk for careful legal analysis, collaborative fact-checking, and expressions of solidarity (Joinson, 2007).

Additionally, the ODE plays a role here too, not only in enabling emotional expression, but in facilitating a freer exchange of ideas, critique, and argument. The anonymity and asynchronous nature of these platforms reduce social risk, encouraging users to challenge dominant narratives, correct misinformation, and collectively perform a kind of informal legal analysis (Gillespie, 2018). These cognitive behaviours reflect an emerging digital citizenship, where public knowledge production becomes a participatory act of accountability (Zuckerman, 2014). Ultimately, this illustrates how digital publics, when equipped with both access and autonomy, can function as a form of distributed oversight, supporting a more transparent and critically engaged civic culture.

Taken together, these findings show how ODE shapes the tone of debate while SCT explains its moral direction, revealing a digital sphere that can expose prejudice yet also incubate collective empathy and calls for reform.

4.2. Platform Differences: Influences on Online Discourse

The differences in discourse between YouTube and Reddit were not merely superficial but rooted in each platform's structural and cultural affordances (Ronzhyn et al., 2023). YouTube's open-access model, limited moderation, and emphasis on engagement over deliberation fostered a space where toxic disinhibition thrived, visible through the proliferation of misogynistic, emotionally reactive, and often vitriolic comments. The anonymity and performativity embedded in the platform's architecture facilitated expressions that were raw, polarising, and frequently devoid of nuance. These affordances interact with ODE by shaping the visibility of extreme versus reflective posts, and with SCT by influencing whether empathic responses are amplified or buried.

In contrast, Reddit's semi-anonymous but community-moderated environment enabled more reflective, critical engagement. Users often invoked legal frameworks, corrected misinformation, and challenged misogynistic discourse, reflecting Reddit's potential to cultivate norms of civic deliberation and peer-regulated empathy (Gruzd & Mai, 2020). Importantly, Reddit's threaded format and karma system empowered the community to elevate informative, empathetic voices and suppress inflammatory or harmful ones. These distinctions underscore how platform design doesn't just shape how people speak, but what kinds of speech are made visible or marginalised and, by extension, which narratives dominate the digital public sphere.

YouTube's limited identity signals, where users often appear anonymous or loosely identified, made toxic disinhibition worse, creating a bigger divide between groups supporting the victim and those blaming the victim, while Reddit's upvote and downvote system helped close that divide by pushing extreme posts lower.

4.3. Strengths and Limitations

This study offers several methodological and contextual advantages that bolster confidence in its findings, even as important caveats remain. A key strength lies in the comparative analysis of two distinct platforms (Reddit and YouTube) whose contrasting architectures furnished a rich, textured dataset and allowed the influence of platform

affordances on discourse to be observed directly. Nevertheless, these sites represent only a slice of Pakistan's digital ecosystem; conversations on Twitter (now called X), Facebook, or TikTok, each with different user demographics and moderation regimes, may display alternative patterns, tempering the generalisability of the results.

Collecting comments from the time of the peak of public attention provided an authentic snapshot of sentiment at a moment when emotions and activism were most intense. The trade-off is that the study remains cross-sectional; without longitudinal follow-up, it cannot trace how narratives evolved from the same people once media interest subsided or legal proceedings advanced. Future work that tracks discourse over time could reveal whether outrage, empathy, or calls for reform endure or dissipate.

Additionally, cultural and linguistic competence further strengthened the analysis. The researcher's native fluency in Urdu enabled accurate interpretation of comments in the Perso-Arabic script as well as Roman-Urdu comments and culturally specific idioms, reducing translation loss and ensuring that nuances in sarcasm, slang, or religious references were preserved. Even so, voices expressed in other vernaculars or through non-textual media (memes, short-form video, voice notes) were beyond the present scope, limiting coverage of the case to its full expressive range.

Finally, strict adherence to ethical guidelines, including removal of identifiers and non-interaction with commenters, protected user privacy and researcher well-being. This came at the cost of deeper insight that direct interviews might have given. While open-access for Reddit and YouTube was used, many users likely cross-post, complicating attempts to attribute behaviours to a single platform.

4.4. Recommendations for Future Research

Future studies should widen the platform scope beyond Reddit and YouTube to include additional social media ecosystems, because each platform's culture, moderation style, and algorithmic design can shape discourse in different ways. This broader sampling would give a more complete view of how digital publics discuss gender-based violence across varied

technological and demographic settings. A longitudinal design is also needed. Following conversations over time would show whether outrage, empathy, and calls for justice fade, persist, or lead to lasting cultural or institutional change. Tracking how online mobilisation turns into offline action, for example policy advocacy, legal reform, or public-education initiatives, would clarify the practical impact of digital expression noted by Papacharissi (2014) and Tufekci (2017). Finally, an interdisciplinary, mixed-method approach is recommended. Combining media studies, social psychology, digital anthropology, gender studies, and political communication, and adding interviews or ethnographic work, would deepen understanding of online victim-blaming, digital mourning, and public legal analysis, while recognising how local gender norms and religious values shape discourse in contexts that differ from Western settings.

While this study focuses on the Noor Mukadam case as a lens to examine online discourse, it is essential to acknowledge that digital engagement does not operate in isolation from offline power structures. Online activism is contingent on legal, social, and institutional dynamics, raising the question: To what extent does online discourse actually drive systemic change? Research on past viral cases suggests that public outrage often wanes without long-term institutional reforms (Zuckerman, 2014). Therefore, while this study examines how social concern and disinhibition shape digital activism, future research should investigate whether such discourse results in meaningful legal and policy changes.

4.5. Practical and Theoretical Implications

This study carries both practical and theoretical weight for Pakistan's digital sphere. Practically, it underscores the need for platform-specific moderation that recognises local languages, cultural nuances, and the distinctive misogyny and moral policing common in South Asian online spaces. Unmoderated pockets of YouTube, for example, allow hate speech and victim-blaming to flourish (Lewis et al., 2021), retraumatising survivors and derailing justice-focused dialogue (Theobald, 2009). Adopting stronger, community-driven moderation, similar to Reddit's model, could limit harmful rhetoric while still enabling constructive debate (Seering, 2020).

Digital literacy programs tailored to Pakistan's socio-political context are also essential. These initiatives should extend beyond basic media literacy to encompass education on gender justice, the psychological impacts of online harassment, and the responsibilities inherent in digital citizenship. Promoting empathy-based participation online, through public service campaigns, influencer-led initiatives, or educational curricula, could counteract the normalisation of misogynistic commentary and reinforce prosocial norms within online communities. In a society where expressions of emotion and outrage are often influenced by patriarchal, class, and religious hierarchies, such interventions could help shift the cultural narrative toward one that values dignity, critical thinking, and collective care (Chowdhury, 2014).

Theoretically, this study contributes to the growing body of literature examining how online spaces function as a place of both moral mobilisation and social rupture. By integrating ODE with SCT, the analysis demonstrates that online discourse is not monolithic; it embodies a volatile mix of empathy, hostility, activism, and apathy. These dynamics are shaped not only by digital affordances but also by deeply embedded social norms, gender hierarchies, and power structures. Localising these frameworks adds nuance to global theories of online behaviour by illustrating how they are influenced by national culture, collective trauma, and socio-political distrust.

The findings call for future theoretical work to consider how digital publics in the Global South, particularly in conservative and postcolonial contexts, articulate justice, grief, and dissent in ways that are simultaneously universal and culturally specific.

5. Conclusion

This research explored how the Online Disinhibition Effect and Social Concern Theory help explain digital reactions to the Noor Mukadam case, addressing how polarisation and emotional expression unfolded across Reddit and YouTube. It found that online discourse was shaped not just by anonymity and platform dynamics, but by deeper societal values and frustrations. It showed that emotional expressions of social concern like outrage and empathy were more prominent than concrete calls for action, and that Reddit facilitated more reflective, empathetic discussions while YouTube amplified polarised, often misogynistic responses. These findings highlight the dual role of digital spaces as both constructive and harmful, underscoring the importance of culturally grounded moderation, digital literacy, and interdisciplinary insight. When critically examined, online platforms can reveal societal fractures but also offer glimpses of collective moral reckoning and the potential for change. Answering the research questions confirmed that disinhibition largely fuels polarising tone, while social concern determines whether discourse tips toward empathy or punitive zeal. This research uniquely integrates psychological theory with platform-specific analyses within a South Asian cultural context, contributing significantly to cyberpsychological scholarship and digital policy discourse.

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The rows marked red were disqualified for not meeting the criteria set forth.

	REDDIT	Criteria: 2021-2022
	Thread Name	Dated
	Search Term: Noor Mukadam	
1	Reddit Thread A1	Jul 24, 2021
2	Reddit Thread A2	Jul 25, 2021
3	Reddit Thread A3	Sep 23, 2021
4	Reddit Thread A4	Feb 22, 2022
5	Reddit Thread A5	Nov 14, 2021
6	Reddit Thread A6	Dec 1, 2021
7	Reddit Thread A7	Oct 7, 2021
8	Reddit Thread A8	Mar 13, 2023
	Search Term: Justice For Noor	
9	Reddit Thread B1	Jun 16, 2024
10	Reddit Thread B1	Jul 25, 2021
11	Reddit Thread B2	Feb 14, 2022
12	Reddit Thread B3	Apr 17, 2024
13	Reddit Thread B4	Jan 28, 2025
14	Reddit Thread B3	Jul 21, 2021
15	Reddit Thread B4	Jul 25, 2021
16	Reddit Thread B5	Sep 11, 2021
	Search Term: Noor Mukaddam	
17	Reddit Thread C1	Aug 1, 2021
18	Reddit Thread C2	Feb 2, 2024
19	Reddit Thread C2	Aug 8, 2021

20	Reddit Thread C3	Feb 15, 2022
21	Reddit Thread C4	Oct 13, 2021
22	Reddit Thread C5	Feb 24, 2022
	Search Term: Zahir Jaffer	
23	Reddit Thread D1	Feb 27, 2022
24	Reddit Thread D2	Jan 28, 2022
25	Reddit Thread D3	May 21, 2023
26	Reddit Thread D4	Feb 24, 2022
27	Reddit Thread D5	Jul 27, 2021

	YOUTUBE	15,000	50	2021-2022	Pakistani
	Video Name	No. of Views	Comments	Dated	Channel Name
	Search Term: Noor Mukadam				
1	YouTube Video A1	910,031	2,846	Dec 4, 2023	Coffeehouse Crime
2	YouTube Video A2	91,738	39	Nov 3, 2021	DawnNews
3	YouTube Video A1	426,986	203	Nov 14, 2021	BOL News
4	YouTube Video A2	46,949	70	Oct 17, 2022	DawnNews English
5	YouTube Video A3	86,530	29	Jul 24, 2021	BOL News
6	YouTube Video A4	1,572,558	6,413	Mar 12, 2024	SR PAY
7	YouTube Video A5	45,988	23	Jul 29, 2021	Geo News
8	YouTube Video A6	86,336	174	Jul 20, 2024	BBC News اردو
9	YouTube Video A3	236,413	307	Oct 19, 2022	Desi Studios
10	YouTube Video A4	33,546	14	Feb 24, 2022	24 News HD
11	YouTube Video A4	50,291	134	Feb 24, 2022	TCM Originals
12	YouTube Video A5	205,829	93	Nov 13, 2021	Capital TV
13	YouTube Video A6	23,188	11	Feb 24, 2022	BOL News

14	YouTube Video A7	89,485	20	Nov 9, 2021	Geo News
15	YouTube Video A8	18,470	9	Nov 14, 2021	BOL News
16	YouTube Video A9	44,902	33	Sep 21, 2021	SAMAA TV
	Search Term: Justice For Noor				
17	YouTube Video B1	23,568	129	Sep 12, 2021	ARY News
18	YouTube Video B2	22,319	5	Jul 27, 2021	Oneindia News
19	YouTube Video B3	7,700	29	Jul 27, 2021	DawnNews
20	YouTube Video B2	59,939	167	Aug 1, 2021	ARY News
21	YouTube Video B3	2,887	5	Oct 20, 2021	BOL News
22	YouTube Video B3	150,100	539	Jul 27, 2021	MARIA ALI
23	YouTube Video B4	45,542	88	Jul 24, 2021	SAMAA TV
	Search Term: Noor Mukaddam				
24	YouTube Video C1	7,218	8	Dec 11, 2021	SAMAA TV
25	YouTube Video C2	18,448	23	Jul 28, 2021	Geo News
26	YouTube Video C1	347,702	496	Jul 27, 2021	Geo News
27	YouTube Video C2	41,151	53	Aug 6, 2021	Geo News
28	YouTube Video C3	382,962	1,479	Aug 7, 2024	Raftar
29	YouTube Video C3	239,381	162	Nov 13, 2021	Public News
30	YouTube Video C4	630,064	528	Jul 23, 2021	Dunya News
	Search Term: Zahir Jaffer				
31	YouTube Video D1	141,090	415	Jul 26, 2021	TCM Originals
32	YouTube Video D2	88,086	297	Feb 24, 2022	ARY News
33	YouTube Video D3	9,138	13	Feb 9, 2022	Capital TV
34	YouTube Video D3	40,923	57	Feb 24, 2022	TCM Originals
35	YouTube Video D4	38,620	89	Jul 27, 2021	BOL News

Selecting videos and threads that meet the criteria

	Platform		Reddit (Community:	2021-2022
	Thread Name		**Thread Link**	**Dated**
	Search Term		*Noor Mukadam*	
1	Noor Mukadam Holding A Placard At The Aurat I		https://www.reddit.co	Jul 24, 2021
2	[Noor Mukadam murder] Update by DC Islamaba		https://www.reddit.co	Jul 25, 2021
3	Everything you need to know about the Noor Mul		https://www.reddit.co	Sep 23, 2021
4	Islamabad court to announce verdict in Noor Mul		https://www.reddit.co	Feb 22, 2022
5	Pemra prohibits airing of leaked CCTV footage o		https://www.reddit.co	Nov 14, 2021
6	Counsel finds flaws in conviction of Noor Mukada		https://www.reddit.co	Dec 1, 2021
7	Noor Mukadam murder case: Islamabad court to		https://www.reddit.co	Oct 7, 2021
	Noor Mukadam murder : IHC upholds trial court's		https://www.reddit.co	Mar 13, 2023
	Search Term		*Justice For Noor*	
	What happened to Noor Muqadam case?		https://www.reddit.co	Jun 16, 2024
1	Anyone else just broken by Noor Muqaddam's ca		https://www.reddit.co	Jul 25, 2021
2	In written testimony, Zahir Jaffer denies killing Nc		https://www.reddit.co	Feb 14, 2022
	Why is Zahir Jaffer still alive?		https://www.reddit.co	Apr 17, 2024
	Noor Muqaddam case: Some questions that I wo		https://www.reddit.co	Jan 28, 2025
3	HR Minister: The barbaric murder of young woma		https://www.reddit.co	Jul 21, 2021
4	Update: Therapy works CEO alleged in a zoom r		https://www.reddit.co	Jul 25, 2021
5	Noor Mukadam made six attempts to escape sav		https://reddit.com/r/p	Sep 11, 2021
	Search Term		*Noor Mukaddam*	
1	PM Imran regarding the Noor Mukaddam case: "		https://www.reddit.co	Aug 1, 2021
	Was Noor Mukkadam's murder a ritual sacrifice?		https://www.reddit.co	Feb 2, 2024
2	The beheading of a diplomat's daughter shows h		https://www.reddit.co	Aug 8, 2021
3	Zahir accuses Noor's family of framing him for m		https://www.reddit.co	Feb 15, 2022
4	Noor Mukadam murder case: Zahir Jaffer's parer		https://www.reddit.co	Oct 13, 2021
5	Noor Mukaddam Holding A Placard At The Aurat		https://www.reddit.co	Feb 24, 2022
	Search Term		*Zahir Jaffer*	
1	Are All Men Zahir Jaffer?		https://www.reddit.co	Feb 27, 2022
2	'Zahir Jaffer's fingerprints not found on murder w		https://www.reddit.co	Jan 28, 2022
3	The way the rich are treated is absolutely horren		https://www.reddit.co	May 21, 2022
4	Court sentences Zahir Jaffer to death in Noor Mu		https://www.reddit.co	Feb 24, 2022
5	[Noor Mukadam murder] Murderer Zahir Jaffer ha		https://www.reddit.co	Jul 27, 2021

	Platform	YouTube	15,000	50	2021-2022	Pakistani
	Video Name	**Video Link**	**No. of Views**	**Comments**	**Dated**	**Channel Name**
	Search Term	*Noor Mukadam*				
	Wealthy Magnate to Despicable	https://www.youtube.com/wa	910,031	2,846	Dec 4, 2023	Coffeehouse Crime
	Noor Mukadam Case | Judge Tl	https://www.youtube.com/wa	91,738	39	Nov 3, 2021	DawnNews
1	Noor Mukadam Case Shocking	https://www.youtube.com/wa	426,986	203	Nov 14, 2021	BOL News
2	Life after death: Remembering N	https://www.youtube.com/wa	46,949	70	Oct 17, 2022	DawnNews English
	Noor Muqaddam Case Shocking	https://www.youtube.com/wa	86,530	29	Jul 24, 2021	BOL News
	Tragic Case Of Noor Mukadam	https://www.youtube.com/wa	1,572,558	6,413	Mar 12, 2024	SR PAY
	Noor Mukadam case mein Maze	https://www.youtube.com/wa	45,988	23	Jul 29, 2021	Geo News
	Noor Muqadam's Murder: What	https://www.youtube.com/wa	86,336	174	Jul 20, 2024	BBC News اردو
3	This Pakistani Millionaire BEHE.	https://www.youtube.com/wa	236,413	307	Oct 19, 2022	Desi Studios
	Big Disclosure!! What Was Turn	https://www.youtube.com/wa	33,546	14	Feb 24, 2022	24 News HD
4	What do Pakistanis Think of the	https://www.youtube.com/wa	50,291	134	Feb 24, 2022	TCM Originals
5	Noor Mukdam ne kaise Jaan Ba	https://www.youtube.com/wa	205,829	93	Nov 13, 2021	Capital TV
	Noor Mukadam Case Verdict | Z	https://www.youtube.com/wa	23,188	11	Feb 24, 2022	BOL News
	Noor Mukadam Case Update, 9	https://www.youtube.com/wa	89,485	20	Nov 9, 2021	Geo News
	Noor Mukadam Case Updates |	https://www.youtube.com/wa	18,470	9	Nov 14, 2021	BOL News
	Noor Mukadam ka qatal kab kiy	https://www.youtube.com/wa	44,902	33	Sep 21, 2021	SAMAA TV
	Search Term	*Justice For Noor*				
1	Will there be justice in Noor Muc	https://www.youtube.com/wa	23,568	129	Sep 12, 2021	ARY News
	Noor Mukadam case: Pakistani	https://www.youtube.com/wa	22,319	5	Jul 27, 2021	Oneindia News
	Zara Hat Kay - 26th July 2021 |	https://www.youtube.com/wa	7,700	29	Jul 27, 2021	DawnNews
2	PM Imran Khan assures influen	https://www.youtube.com/wa	59,939	167	Aug 1, 2021	ARY News
	Noor Mukadam Parents Protest	https://www.youtube.com/wa	2,887	5	Oct 20, 2021	BOL News
3	Noor Mukaddam Case | Noor M	https://www.youtube.com/wa	150,100	539	Jul 27, 2021	MARIA ALI
4	The shocking incident of Noor M	https://www.youtube.com/wa	45,542	88	Jul 24, 2021	SAMAA TV
	Search Term	*Noor Mukaddam*				
	Who is Noor Mukaddam? - Her	https://www.youtube.com/wa	7,218	8	Dec 11, 2021	SAMAA TV
	Noor Mukaddam Case: Therapy	https://www.youtube.com/wa	18,448	23	Jul 28, 2021	Geo News
1	Shahzeb Khanzada | Noor Muk	https://www.youtube.com/wa	347,702	496	Jul 27, 2021	Geo News
2	Noor Mukaddam Case Me Forei	https://www.youtube.com/wa	41,151	53	Aug 6, 2021	Geo News
	Untold Story Of Noor Mukadam	https://www.youtube.com/wa	382,962	1,479	Aug 7, 2024	Raftar
3	Noor Muqadam Aur Zahir Jaffar	https://www.youtube.com/wa	239,381	162	Nov 13, 2021	Public News
4	Case ki Complete Details | دفعہ	https://www.youtube.com/wa	630,064	528	Jul 23, 2021	Dunya News
	Search Term	*Zahir Jaffer*				
1	An account on the Background	https://www.youtube.com/wa	141,090	415	Jul 26, 2021	TCM Originals
2	Zahir Jaffer sentenced to death	https://www.youtube.com/wa	88,086	297	Feb 24, 2022	ARY News
	Noor Muqaddam ka Qatal kiya y	https://www.youtube.com/wa	9,138	13	Feb 9, 2022	Capital TV
3	Noor's Father on Zahir Jaffer's [	https://www.youtube.com/wa	40,923	57	Feb 24, 2022	TCM Originals
4	Is Zahir Jaffer a Psychopath? | N	https://www.youtube.com/wa	38,620	89	Jul 27, 2021	BOL News

Codes and Frequencies in YouTube and Reddit Comments

	Code	Description	YT	R
1	Victim Blaming	Comments that blame the victim for the incident, questioning Noor's choices or suggesting she was at fault, e.g. questioning why she went to the perpetrator's house or implying she brought it on herself.	122	07
2	Misogynistic Attitudes	Sexist or derogatory remarks about women in general, often not just targeting the victim but women's behaviour at large, e.g. slurs like calling the woman shameless for her clothing, or claiming all women like her should be treated the same.	31	02
3	Anti-Feminist Rhetoric	Using mera jism meri marzi (my body, my choice) slogan as a cause for this or commenting on feminism being the reason for this to have happened.	51	13
4	Moral Policing	Critiques of the victim's morality according to conservative norms, often invoking religion or honour, e.g. insinuating Noor sinned by being with a man outside marriage, using terms like zaani aurat (fornicating woman) or blaming her for not adhering to proper behaviour.	85	02
5	Sympathy & Condolences	Expressions of empathy, sorrow, or prayers for Noor and/or her family, e.g. comments offering condolences like heart-breaking, may her soul rest in peace, or I feel so sad for her parents.	48	11
6	Calls for Justice/ Punishment	Demands for justice and severe punishment for the perpetrator, often advocating capital punishment, e.g. hang the murderer, he deserves the death penalty, no mercy for such a beast.	74	18
7	Perpetrator Condemnation	Vilification of the perpetrator's character, using labels and insults to express anger, e.g. referring to him as a monster, darinda (beast), animal, psychopath, or degenerate and cursing him for the brutality of the crime.	97	29

8	Blame on Family/ Accomplices	Attributing blame to people other than the perpetrator who were connected to the case, e.g. condemning the killer's parents for raising a monster or covering up, accusing friends, security guards, or a therapy centre of failing to prevent or reporting the crime).	119	31
9	Critique of Authorities	Criticism of police, judiciary, or authorities regarding the case or general law and order, e.g. comments about police incompetence, slow courts, VIP treatment for the rich, or fear that he might escape punishment due to a flawed system.	100	37
10	Class Privilege in Justice	Discussion of how socio-economic status influenced the case's handling, e.g. noting Noor's father was an ex-diplomat and saying she got justice because she was an ambassador's daughter, or conversely that the perpetrator's wealthy family might have interfered.	59	26
11	Activism & Media Commentary	References to social activism or media coverage in context of the case, e.g. mentions of the Aurat March or feminist slogans, debating whether feminists spoke up; also meta-comments on news coverage such as the host keeps interrupting or background music is too dramatic in case-related videos.	59	33
12	Societal Problem Awareness	Linking the incident to broader societal issues, e.g. patriarchal culture, violence against women in society, comparisons that Pakistan is becoming the worst country for women, or expressions that such crimes reflect broader social issues.	33	44
13	Comparative Case References	Mention of other cases or victims to highlight consistency or hypocrisy, e.g. citing other recent femicide victims like Quratulain Baloch or Mahira, or asking what about thousands of other rape/murder cases? to question why only Noor's case got attention.	13	17
14	Legal Outcome Speculation	Speculation about the trial outcome or legal technicalities, e.g. fear that he will use an insanity plea to get off, or uncertainty will justice actually be served?, discussions about evidence and verdict delays.	60	27
15	Misinformation / Conspiracy	Spread of unverified or false claims and conspiracy theories about the case, e.g. unfounded allegations that the victim's family was trying to trap a rich man or other	20	5

		rumours about Noor and the perpetrator's relationship and motives.		
16	Deterrence & Setting an Example	Calls to make the perpetrator an example to deter future crimes, e.g. advocating public execution or saying such beasts should be made an example of, so no one dares do this again.	16	3
17	Emotional Impact on Users	Comments describing the personal emotional impact of the case on the commenter, e.g. users admitting they felt depressed since hearing the news, shaken to the core, or expressing how disturbing the details were.	33	25
18	Case Details & Evidence	Reconstruction of events or sharing factual details of the case, e.g. summarising the timeline of the crime, discussing CCTV footage, how she was trapped, or asking factual questions about what exactly happened and who was involved.	85	62
19	Outcome Appreciation	Celebrating or positively mentioning the capture of the culprit, or celebrating the court's decision of punishment specific to the culprit only.	35	11
20	Gender Roles Debates	Discussions about gender norms and what the case signifies for gender relations, e.g. debates on women should be more careful vs. men's attitudes must change, or arguments about appropriate behaviour for women and men in society sparked by the incident.	30	45

Coding Process for YouTube and Reddit Comments

	Video	Comment	Reply to Comment	Victim Blaming	Misogynistic Attitudes	Anti-Feminist Rhetoric	Moral Policing	Sympathy & Condolences	Calls for Justice/Punishment	Perpetrator Condemnation	Blame on Family/ Accomplices	Critique of Authorities	Class Privilege in Justice/ Money Talks	Activism & Media Commentary	Societal Problem Awareness	Comparative Case References	Legal Outcome Speculation	Misinformation/ Conspiracy	Deterrence & Example	Emotional Impact on Users	Case Details & Evidence	Outcome Appreciation	Gender Roles Debates
18	A1	This demon along with his accomplices must b awarded capital punishment.. We feel that if this case will drag on then the chances of justice may diminish.							1	1	1												
19	A1	Ye seb darinde hai in ko sazai mot milna chahy							1	1													
20	A1	Mali ny main door ko band krta h noor bahir na jye n Mali noor ko band nae kia balky zahir ny tarrace sy jump kia n noor ko khud andar band kia																			1		
21	A1	InshaAllah Moat. Hi muqaddar ha zaheer							1														
22	A1	Kab saza milay gi noor muqadam kay qatil ko?							1														
23	A1	Servants and others involved must be hanged									1												
24	A1	Phansi pur latkai sb ko .ab ks chez ke taheer ha							1		1												
25	A1	This is terrifying. To knoe that someone out there might turn out mike this !																		1			
26	A1	Bagairat aurat ny nikar pehni hui thi		1	1																		
27	A1	Justice delayed is justice denied															1						
28	A1	Why is justice being delayed. The security guard need to be pulled into court as well. They are part of the crime as well. Instead of calling the police, they took part in it	Justice been delayed because this is pakistan jaha ladkiyon ki life jhannum hai								1				1		1				1		
29	A1	Zahir ke sath un gaurds ko b phansi do they played an equal role in this murder!!!									1												
30	A1	Justice for noor						1															
31	A1	How many more evidences are required 💔 this is so heart breaking to watch						1												1	1		
32	A1	Sab kuch phly din sy judgesk samny ha ab b agr judges iss Adam khoor Family ko phansi na dy saken tu judges ko phansi py latka dyna chahye							1		1	1											
33	A1	How many more test evidence and Dna is required to Hang the killer to death???????????							1												1		
34	A1	So disturbing. You should be ashamed of yourself for posting this private video of someone's last moments online just to generate views.						1						1									
35	A1	The servants need to be hanged to death...																					

Thread	Main	Comment	Sub-comment	Text	Victim Blaming	Misogynistic Attitudes	Anti-Feminist Rhetoric	Moral Policing	Sympathy & Condolences	Calls for Justice/Punishment	Perpetrator Condemnation	Blame on Family/ Accomplices	Critique of Authorities	Class Privilege in Justice/ Money Talks	Activism & Media Commentary	Societal Problem Awareness	Comparative Case References	Legal Outcome Speculation	Misinformation/ Conspiracy	Deterrence & Example	Emotional Impact on Users	Case Details & Evidence	Outcome Appreciation	Gender Roles Debates
6	A1	☐	✓	☐	here on r/Pakistan), I wish for a day all these scum get what they deserve. iA this guy will be made an example for the rest of these fake-ass burger chutiy*s we have running around our cities. My hope in our criminal justice system relies on this. (Fist in the air for all the women of Pakistan 🤜)						1	1	1	1	1										1
7	A1	☐	☐	✓	It's not even about elite, all men including qurat al ains husband, in villages. They all need to be taught a lesson							1			1										1
8	A1	☐	✓	☐	A woman gets her head chopped off and all the mullahs and the liberals can talk about is how the other one is a mullah or a liberal. Aurat march has some flaws but is necessary for Pakistan at its core,its not the greatest movement in Pakistan but its not the worst thing either.Most of us are Pakistanis here,look at your homes,your neighbourhoods,you know whats happening and you know its wrong and you choose to do nothing about it,You even go out of your way diss the movement. "Mera jism meri marzi" is stupid slogan and most people interpet it as the person saying it to be a whore,Again,that dosent mean we just out right deny women rights		1							1		1	1						1		
9	A1	☐	☐	✓	Mera jism meri marzi Doesnt mean u want to sleep around! Tauba Pakistanio ka ganda damagh hai tab bhi har baat sexual lete hain											1									1
10	A1	☐	☐	✓	I know it dosent mean that,but if you saw some of the interviews,every jahil is saying and using this slogan against the movement. I clearly said that people misinterpet it that way.Bhai jan yeh koi unpar sune ga isko yehi lage ga,damagh kharab hai kya?										1	1									
11	A1	☐	✓	☐	Was she really slaughtered??																	1		
12	A1	☐	✓	☐	Interesting how this post is filled with our conservative types, but they all get really shy when posts about molesting mullahs are posted.								1		1									
13	A1	☐	☐	✓	Why the fuck are u lying? Liberals are not extremists aise liberal liberal keh rahe jese gaali ho 😂 and everyone is speaking against him all the "liberals" i know										1									
14	A1	☐	✓	☐	Poor soul RIP . I wonder what would happen if all the elties start crying the same when any murder happens in the country ? As per the UN reooet on crime there are about 9k murders in Pakistan every year.i veive they are using some official source for a certain city/ area and extrapolating it to the rest of the country. Nevertheless I veive the actual rate would be much higher - police don't even let you file and FIR for a murder ubless you come up with a strong connection . Assuming a conservative number of 18k murders - that's about 50 people per day . But hey tvose are peasents and who cares about them - the Instagram crowd oy gets shocked when it's one of them					1					1									
15	A1	☐	✓	☐	wE dOnT nEeEeEd AuRaT mArCh, AuRaT fAcE nO pRoBlEmS iN pAkIsTaN!! Also the obligatory: AnY 1 WhO sUpPoRt WoMeN aRe WeStErN boOoOoOt LiCkErS*										1	1								
		☐	☐	✓	Don't understand what this horrific murder has to do with that argument. It's obvious that both the culprit and victim belong to upper class families that are most likely liberal, and don't adhere to the same politics of the anti-Aurat March crowd. If I'm not mistaken, but these people oppose extra-marital relations and wouldn't even tolerate a girl going into a non-mahram's home. Apart from all of that, this savage deserves the death penalty,			1		1				1							1			1

49

Appendix C

Themes and Frequencies in YouTube and Reddit Comments

	Theme	Codes	Description	YT	R
1	Negative Discourse toward the Victim and Women	Victim Blaming, Misogynistic Attitudes, Anti-Feminist Rhetoric, Moral Policing	Broadly, these codes involved questioning Noor's moral choices, clothing, or personal life; using her behaviour to justify the crime, and discrediting broader feminist movements.	289	24
2	Calls for Accountability and Punitive Justice	Calls for Justice/Punishment, Perpetrator Condemnation, Blame on Family/Accomplices, Deterrence & Example	Collectively, these reflect users' demands for severe legal or extralegal measures, condemnation of the perpetrator, and calls to hold associated parties responsible.	306	81
3	Systemic Reflections and Societal Commentary	Critique of Authorities, Class Privilege in Justice, Activism & Media Commentary, Societal Problem Awareness, Gender Roles Debates	Within this theme, commenters engaged with institutional failings and societal structures that either enable crime or impede justice.	281	185
4	Emotional Engagement and Sympathy	Sympathy & Condolences, Emotional Impact on Users, Outcome Appreciation	This theme addresses how commenters felt about the crime, including sorrow, shock, or even relief that the perpetrator was apprehended. It highlights the collective shock and empathy triggered by Noor's murder. While many commentators reacted with profound sadness, a subset conveyed guarded optimism when accountability seemed likely.	116	47

5	Factual and Analytical Discussions	Case Details & Evidence, Legal Outcome Speculation, Comparative Case Reference, Misinformation/Conspiracy	The focus here is on factual reconstructions, trial updates, broader comparisons, and potential rumour-spreading.	178	111

Selected Comments and their Translation

Following are the original comments along with their translations that were used in the *Results* section.

Original Comment/ Part of Comment	Transliterated/ Translated
Mera jism, meri marzi	My body, my choice.
Call girls k sath aesa e hota ha	This is what happens to call girls
Bagairat aurat ny nikar pehni hui thi	This shameless woman was wearing shorts
Noor muqadam beparda awara lag rahi hai	Noor seems bepadah [not observing purdah i.e. is unveiled] and lewd
Ye hay kanjaron ki Haqeqat . Mera Jisem Mery Marzi walon ki.	This is the reality of all kanjars, women who claim rights to their bodies
Mera jisam or meri mrzi walo ka ye hi hal hita h	This is what happens to the mera jism meri marzi [my body, my choice] ones
It is the fault of Aurat March and mera jism, meri marzi, which is the main promoter of nudity and vulgarity in Pakistan	It is the fault of Aurat March [Womens March] and mera jism, meri marzi, which is the main promoter of nudity and vulgarity in Pakistan
FACEBOOK ,TIKTOK MERA JISM MERI MARZI. NEY HUM SEY KHANDANI IZZAT ,SHARM ,HAYA REET RAWAYAAT CHEEN LI HAIN	Facebook, TikTok, mera jism, meri marzi have all stripped us from family honour, decency, and tradition
Ager betiyaa Mera jism Meri marzi k Mutabiq Nikal parengi aur Gair Mard k sath Aise hi Nikal paregi to Bheryaa apna Rang to Dikhayegaa	If daughters because of mera jism, meri marzi will roam around without a nikah [the Islamic marriage contract under which their union is permissible under law] with a non-related man, then the wolf will show its true colours
Mera jism meri marzi doesnt mean you want to sleep around My God, Pakistani minds are gross because they make everything sexual	Mera jism meri marzi doesnt mean you want to sleep around My God, Pakistani minds are gross because they make everything sexual
دونوں کو قتل کر دینا چاہیے کیونکہ وہ غیر اسلامی اور گناہ گار تھے۔	Both should die because were being unislamic and sinful

Noor koi victim nhi ha . Zani mard or zaniya ort ka yhi anjam hota ha . 1 ebratnak moot mre . 2ra dunya ma zlil o khwar ho	Noor is not a victim. This is the result of a zani man and a zani woman. 1. They die a fearful death, and 2. Get humiliated and disgraced in the world
Phir to noor k oarents ko b saza seni chahye ti q k unho ne b beti ko liveing relation ki ajzat de rakhi ti	Noors parents should also be punished because they had permitted their daughter to be in a live-in relationship
MAA baap inko nashay ki . Dance party ki ijazat daitay hain . Awargi khulay aam kartay Hain yeh so called ayaash log	Parents give permission to their children to do drugs, go to dance parties, and openly roam free
She only got that verdict because of the fame and her father's status	She only got that verdict because of the fame and her fathers status
Sir yi to thi amer ki beti isk liye bht kuch kia jayga mgr ap yi btaen k ksi ghareb ki beti ki b dadrsai h	Sir, this was the daughter of a rich man, so a lot will be done for her. But tell me this - who stands up for the daughters of the poor
Police must expose CCTV footage so the people get involved in the case and stand for the innocent Noor	Police must expose CCTV footage so the people get involved in the case and stand for the innocent Noor
Shukar Alhamdulillah finally main stream media is talking about this case 🙌 warna becharey you tubers hi iss case ko chala rahey hein 😥🙌	Thank God, finally mainstream media is talking about this case, otherwise poor YouTubers were running this case
How many more evidences are required💔 this is so heart breaking to watch	How many more evidences are required This is so heartbreaking to watch
It was planned and organised. He kept body and head separate, so that he could bury them separately, and the body wouldnt be identified	It was planned and organised. He kept body and head separate, so that he could bury them separately, and the body wouldnt be identified
Liberal larkion ki sath Isa hi hona chai	This is what should happen to liberal girls.
Zahir jaffer ko maaf kardena chahiye	Zahir Jaffer should be forgiven
ظاہر جعفر یزید پر کھربوں بار لعنت اور اسکے والدین پر کھربوں بار لعنت لعنت ملازمین بھی ظالم ہیں ایمان نہیں ہے ہمت ایمان کی طاقت سے ہوتی ہے	A million curses on Jafar Yazid and a million curses on his parents. Even the servants are cruel. There is no faith. Courage comes from the power of faith.