

University of Derby

**The Role of Education in Preventing Honour-Based Abuse in
England**

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Declaration

This thesis is the sole work of the author and has not been submitted in the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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***“Ya Rabb, La haula wa la quwwa
Ta illa billahil a’liyyil a’zhim
Hasbunallahu wani’mal waakil
Ni’k mal mau la wa ni’man nasir”***

*"There is no power nor strength except by Allah the Lofty, the Great,
Sufficient for us is Allah, and the best Disposer of affairs, the Excellent Protector, and
the Excellent Helper. "*

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Abbreviations and Glossary

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ALIES	Anti-Labelist and Identity Equality Subgroup
ASC	Athena Awan Charter
BAME	Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic
BEM	British Empire Medal
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CBE	Commander of the Order of the British Empire
CEMB	Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DfE	Department for Education
DHR	Domestic Homicide Reviews
DVA	Domestic Violence and Abuse
DV	Domestic Violence
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FM	Forced Marriage
FMPO	Forced Marriage Protection Order
FMU	Forced Marriage Unit
FOI	Freedom of Information
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GM	Greater Manchester
HARM	Honour Abuse Research Matrix
HBA	Honour-Based Abuse
HBV	Honour-Based Violence
HE	Higher Education
HMG	Her Majesty's Government
HO	Home Office
FE	Further Education

HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
IKWRO	Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation
IZZAT	Honour, Prestige
KN	Karma Nirvana
LEA	Local Education Authority
LGA/s	Local Government Associations
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning, Intersex, Asexual/Allies, Nonbinary/Genderqueer+
MARAC	Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference
MASH	Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub
MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOC	Marriage of Convenience
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPCC	National Police Chiefs' Council
NSPCC	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OBE	Officer of the Order of the British Empire
PCC	Police and Crime Commissioner
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
PSHE	Personal, Social, Health, and Economic
REG	Race Equality Group
RSE	Relationship Sex Education
SRE	Sex Relationship Education
TEAU	Tackling Exploitation and Abuse Unit
TPB	Theory of Planned Behaviour
UCLan	University of Central Lancashire
UCU	University and College Union
UK	United Kingdom
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNPF	United Nations Population Fund
VAW	Violence Against Women
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls

Abstract

Honour-based abuse (HBA) is a form of abuse that frequently remains undetected despite its pervasive nature and catastrophic effects. As an act of violence perpetrated predominantly against women and girls, HBA is the overarching term used for abuse inflicted upon victims because they have supposedly dishonoured their family and brought shame to their community. To date, there is a paucity of research that specifically explores the role of education in preventing HBA in England. In seeking to strengthen and advance knowledge in this area, this research aims to gain insights into the perspectives of key participants about the cross-cultural and contested nature of HBA, including the factors contributing to it, the ramifications for local and national policy, and the role of education in preventing HBA in the context of England. This thesis also illustrates how the insidious and invidious practices of HBA continue to be perpetuated toward the most vulnerable within society.

Underpinned by a feminist theoretical framework, qualitative analysis was employed to explore how participants perceive how education may contribute to prevention of HBA. The research participants interviewed for this study, over a period of eight months, included four activists, three politicians, one Home Office senior civil servant, four academics, two Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) staff, and one senior police officer. The semi-structured interviews provided a comprehensive understanding of the significance and meaning that the research participants placed on the role of education in HBA, and HBA prevention.

Thematic analysis was undertaken after the data was transcribed and input into NVivo to detect themes, identify codes, and define key themes and underlying subthemes. This analysis uncovered five key themes within this research inquiry. The first theme related to the definitions and practices of HBA and exploring participant perceptions of the elements that contribute to and influence HBA. The second theme identified the origins and perpetuations of HBA. In broad terms, this theme focused on the origins of the cultural practice, identified the trigger factors, and examined the impact of gender and patriarchy in relation to HBA. The third theme was in relation to

identification and definition of perpetrators and victims. The fourth theme provided an overview of the positionality of the research participants including their backgrounds, roles, and responsibilities. The fifth theme explored solutions to HBA, including methods of eradication, taking into account interviewees' views on how to address HBA, and the role of education and government organisations in preventing HBA.

Whilst it was clear that steps have been taken by the State to address the phenomenon of HBA through community initiatives and statutory education, the impact of these initiatives on HBA was limited due to several factors, such as lack of effective training for teachers, community literacy in HBA, race relations within the migrant community, funding constraints, and the multiple viewpoints and experiences due to the intersectional nature of HBA. Weaving through the tapestry of migration, culture, discrimination, gender norms, and societal roles, this research generates new understandings on the role of education in preventing HBA in England by drawing on the views of key participants on policies and initiatives related to HBA.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late mother and father – “***Inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un***”. (“*We surely belong to Allah and to Him we shall return.*”) They both taught me to persevere and to face challenges with faith and humility. With love and eternal appreciation: I miss them every day.

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The journey has been an experience of enormous personal growth. A great deal has been learned, and a great deal remains to be learned.

A special mention goes to my sister and brother in-law for their indispensable impact, constant encouragement, moral support, and prolonged conversations that helped ease my self-doubts.

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I also bestow my work to the victims of honour-based abuse: the individuals who have died, and those who survived.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and Rationale for the Study

This thesis explores the theory, practice, impact, and prevention of honour-based abuse (HBA). It places a primary emphasis on the role of education in preventing HBA in England, and the extent to which recent and current policies related to HBA introduced in England have addressed the complex context for HBA, and the intersecting needs of women who are victims of HBA. There are undoubtedly male victims of HBA, as briefly explored within the literature review. However, the thread of feminist theory that underpins this thesis delves into the concept of patriarchy and the subjugation of women, and as the perceived 'keepers' of family honour, women are disproportionately targeted as victims of HBA. Consequently, the central focus is victims who are women and the role of education in preventing HBA in England.

For the purpose of this thesis, the term honour-based abuse (presented as HBA), is used throughout rather than Honour-based Violence (HBV), as I believe it accurately represents the phenomenon and allows for a broader context within which to examine the research question posed: What is the Role of Education in Preventing Honour-Based Abuse in England? Particular attention is also given to examining the position of HBA within South Asian communities, which include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka (Alamgir, *et al.*, 2022). Garg (2020) argues that HBA is a phenomenon with profound roots within these diaspora cultures, as discussed in chapter three.

This chapter presents the personal and national context that guided this study. Three key areas are explored: how the choice of thesis topic connected to my personal and professional background; a review of existing literature to determine gaps within the field; and the relevance of the project to educational policy and practice in England.

Personal Context

The topic of this thesis emerged from my own lived experiences as a second-generation British South Asian woman battling against societal and community practices. As a young girl being brought up in a traditional conservative, patriarchal South Asian community in the United Kingdom (UK), I observed many social and community practices, such as female genital mutilation (FGM), forced marriage (FM), and restrictive education, conducted as the cultural norm. It was only in my teenage years through reading memoirs of abused women, that I began to question our community's beliefs and practices, including family honour and the use of violence to coerce and control the behaviour of women (primarily). Having observed many family members and friends being forced to travel thousands of kilometres overseas to marry strangers, and/or threatened with violence if they dared to question their elders' or counterparts' expected honour codes, I quickly realised that the acts I witnessed as a child were in fact practices that infringed on fundamental human rights. It was not until the age of 11 that I experienced first-hand honour-based abuse. Fearful of the effects of the British education system and the 'Western' otherwise known as the Global North, lifestyle on his daughter, my father removed me from formal education to reinstate his authority and to reaffirm my dedicated 'role' as a woman in a patriarchal South Asian society. It can be argued that the perpetuation of HBA through cultural practices and culture reproduction maintains patriarchal control over women through the practice of HBA (Gill, 2012). Fortunately, in later life, I found my respite and my renaissance in gaining my right to education.

It is perhaps because of my experiences that my quest took root for equality, regardless of age, ethnicity, religion, gender, ability, or social background. It was not surprising that I joined the University and College Union (UCU) at the University of Derby as the Deputy Chair, as well as several equality groups at the University of Derby such as Athena Swan Charter (ASC), Race Equality Group (REG), and the Anti-Labelist and Identity Equality Subgroup (ALIES) as a committee member. In 2015, I began to work with Karma Nirvana (KN), a charitable organisation that supports victims of HBA. Initially, I organised guest speaker visits and conferences in Higher Education (HE) to raise awareness of HBA. I focused on disseminating information about HBA to undergraduate and postgraduate teacher trainees to equip

them with the necessary knowledge and skills to support young people. I was recruited as a Trustee to the Board of KN in 2016 and then appointed Chair in 2017.

In September 2019, I was appointed as a Trustee for the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO) and selected as an advisor to the Greater Manchester (GM) Rochdale Children and Adult Safeguarding HBA and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Board. In September 2020, I was appointed as Deputy Chair to the GM Rochdale HBA and FGM Board, driving frontline training on HBA for all statutory and non-statutory sectors in GM. In addition to the above, in 2021 I secured a place on the Domestic Homicide Reviews (DHR) Committee for Rochdale and GM as an external expert advisor.

I have actively engaged in regular meetings/conferences with statutory organisations, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), as well as policy advisors in England on the topic of HBA and FM – notably on the question of raising the legal age of marriage in England and Wales. I am also the founding member and engage actively with the Honour Abuse Research Matrix (HARM) Network, an active research group at University of Central Lancashire (UCLan), that focuses on facilitating multiple collaborations, unifying the worlds of research, policy, and practice. These opportunities have helped inform both my research and teaching of HBA to undergraduates and postgraduates at the University of Derby.

As a British South Asian woman who has previously worked in the Further Education (FE) sector and is currently working in HE as a Senior Lecturer, I have worked with external agencies such as social services, mental health professionals, and the police to support students in their quest for independence and sanctuary from HBA.

These experiences have each contributed to shaping me into what I am today: a daughter, wife, human rights activist, teaching academic, and a researcher, who is an interpreter of meanings and interpretations (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). This thesis has undoubtedly been influenced by my own experiences, interests, values, and perspective; and it has been shaped by the voices of victims, survivors, and the research participants in this study. Researcher positionality is examined more

extensively within the thesis's methodological chapter, offering a deeper understanding of the influences and potential biases that have moulded my position as a researcher.

National Context

This section explores the national context regarding the phenomenon of HBA in England, exploring statistics, facts and figures which illustrate the depth of HBA entrenched in South Asian society.

Honour-based abuse is a critically important topic that must be addressed with immediacy, in order to protect victims, survivors and raise awareness. In 2012, the BBC reported that approximately eight honour-based incidents, which can range from forced marriage, restricted education, and FGM, take place daily in the UK, although this figure will be less for England overall. In 2022, 2,887 HBA cases were recorded by police forces across England and Wales combined (Gov, 2022). Over the past two decades HBA, formerly termed honour-based violence (HBV), has definitively transitioned from a marginal community concern to a mainstream national policy issue (Julios, 2015). In England, despite HBA offences soaring by 81% from 2016 to 2021 (Siddique, 2021), governments have not prioritised HBA as a national crisis.

In England, for example, government policy and practice guidance have been developed to describe HBA in terms of (1) common risk factors, ethnic groups, and profile features such as community involvement; (2) what honour means to communities and what 'honour code' means; (3) trigger factors for families, for example, what could be perceived as Western behaviour observed and adopted via continuing educational settings and experiences, which may influence the child's worldview. National policy has been successful to some extent by developing guidance and intervention procedures to respond to specific needs for HBA (Association of Chief of Police Officers [ACPO], 2008; Her Majesty's Government [HMG] 2014a).

Honour-based abuse is the term used to define a collection of practices predominately used to control the behaviour of women, girls, and (at times) men,

within families or other social groups. The purported reasoning is to protect cultural and religious beliefs, values, and social norms, supposedly in the name of honour. HBA incidents and crimes include specific types of offence, such as FM, FGM, and other acts including assault, rape, emotional abuse, and murder (Welchman and Hossain, 2005; Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO), 2014; Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), 2015). Commander Andy Baker (cited in Centre for Social Cohesion, 2013) estimated in 2003 that 1,000 women in the UK are subjected to HBA annually, and moreover, that at least 12-15 honour killings occur per year. This UK data has been used as there is limited data on England as a standalone country. This demonstrates the lack of reliable and consistent data on HBA, as the BBC figure (above) was significantly lower, indicating eight HBA cases daily occurring in 2012. It is recognised that these numbers are likely to have been underestimated (Idriss, 2018), stemming from two specific factors. Firstly, HBA is a distinct type of abuse that happens behind closed doors, and secondly, there is currently no statutory duty or regular monitoring at a national level to specifically record HBA in particular locations (Bates, 2017; Julios, 2015).

The concept of this research project is especially pertinent to education policies as a method of preventing HBA. There is no specific law that applies to HBA, although there are existing laws that address the connected offences. This thesis aims to investigate the efficacy of current practice and policy in relation to education as a preventative measure.

The National Helpline that is operated by the charity Karma Nirvana (2022), which covers the UK, received 2,508 enquiries in the final quarter of 2021. The highest number of calls originated from West Yorkshire, London, and Greater Manchester, followed by West Midlands (KN, 2022), all of which have a high proportion of South Asian migrant communities (Gov, 2020). However, despite the existence of HBA, civic and professional understanding is still slanted to the highest risk incidences, involving, rape, honour killings and FM (Siddiqui, 2014). Regardless of the long-standing and ubiquitous occurrence, HBA has only gained widespread recognition in Britain over the last two decades. When Shafiea Ahmed's and Banaz Mahmud's tragic murders resulting from HBA were reported by the media, the profile of HBA

became a more prominent and urgent topic for political agendas, rousing municipal policy responses (Idriss, 2018; Bates, 2017).

Government officials have been reluctant to 'interfere' in what was viewed as 'family' or 'cultural' matters. In August 1999, with the issue of HBA commanding the attention of the new Labour government, a Home Office Working Group on Forced Marriage in England and Wales was created. Its intention was to identify preventative measures in liaison with government departments and the wider Asian community. Since then, HBA has been recognised at a ministerial level, giving way to many policies, including the 'Ending Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy' (Violence Against Women and Girls [VAWG], 2016). The strategy was headed by Theresa May (the Home Secretary at that time) and Karen Bradley MP, whose portfolio focused on preventing abuse, exploitation, and crime. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) pledged £5.5 million in funding to the cause. This money was to be shared by NHS England, Barnardo's, and Local Government Associations (LGAs). The report also highlighted that appropriate training needs to be provided to professionals to address these issues (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2016). The most recent strategy is the VAWG 2022 strategy, which emphasises the need for education as a coordinated national and local strategy response (VAWG, 2022).

The developments identified above highlight that the British Government has attempted to address the emerging gap in understanding, while arming organisations and practitioners with the appropriate skills to identify, support, and prevent HBA. Recent governments have recognised that a multifaceted approach is necessary to tackle HBA in order to target a number of vital areas such as health, training, and LGAs. Despite formal recognition of these areas, this thesis aims to uncover the complexities embedded within and surrounding the role of education in preventing HBA in England.

Payton (2015); Idriss (2018); Gill (2003); KN (2015); and IKWRO (2018) argue that education is at the heart of prevention. This means practitioners need to campaign and raise awareness in schools and communities, where potential victims may begin their journey into understanding, experiencing, or even passively collaborating in HBA. Many charities, for example, KN established in 1993 and IKWRO established in

1998, continue to campaign fight to raise awareness of HBA in schools and communities. KN and IKWRO have recruited Young Persons' Project Officers to lead on school engagement programmes to improve awareness of HBA and increase referrals to supporting agencies. KN has also invested in Community Roadshows to improve knowledge, build community resilience, and respond to the occurrences of HBA, through supporting victims, survivors and professionals whilst raising awareness of the challenges of HBA. Currently NGOs and charities undertake such work through their own funds. There is, however, a desire from NGOs and charities that government should provide more funding to raise awareness of HBA across the community and education sectors (Idriss, 2018).

Longo (2013) posits that community-based education can serve as an important contribution to educational reform and community cohesion. Community-based education is a useful strategy to develop and evaluate interventions that address unique community needs such as HBA (Gill, 2019). However, it is difficult to establish the efficacy of preventive community education programmes owing to a lack of thorough and systematic evaluation (Ellis, 2004). To develop a thorough analysis of the status quo, it is necessary to ensure there are adequate data to analyse. Yet, conversely, the lack of existence of such non-curricular community-based programmes arguably hinders such evaluation. Where evaluations do exist, for example, the parallel deep-seated crisis of domestic violence (DV), they are often qualitative and on a small scale, providing relatively limited insight (see, for example, Hester and Westmarland's 2005 study). By having a comprehensive understanding of harmful cultural practices, including their underlying causes, community involvement at a grassroots level can create effective opportunities to educate and support the target audience, including victims of HBA.

Karma Nirvana (2021) and IKWRO (2015) are of the firm belief that front-line teaching staff are vital in identifying and supporting children and young people who may be at risk of, or already experiencing HBA. These charities continue to lobby parliament and have raised collective concerns in the House of Commons. KN's and IKWRO's common vision is to designate HBA as an inspection area for all educational establishments. This was already highlighted as a recommendation in the *Domestic Violence, Forced Marriage and "Honour"-Based Violence: Making the*

grade report (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2008), which recommended that all postgraduate certificate in education (PGCE) courses and professional qualifications within the education sector should include specific training on HBA and how to respond. However, this sector has long faced criticism for its widespread unwillingness to engage with attempts to raise awareness about HBA. According to the abovementioned *Making the grade* report (2008, cited in Julios, 2015), the reluctance stems from a fear of causing offence within communities where HBA is prevalent.

Karma Nirvana (2021) and IKWRO (2015) believe that the lack of understanding and training of teaching staff about HBA will affect their ability to support vulnerable people, especially when practitioners who work with children and young people have a duty of care (a difficulty faced by all charities in the sector). Summer holiday periods been reported as the peak time for young people to be taken overseas and forced into marriage against their will. Education-based projects are vital in raising awareness of this phenomenon. To date, the youngest victim of a FM in the UK is identified as a two-year-old (BBC, 2013; Julios, 2015). A lack of widespread and thorough experience, understanding, and training cannot only prove damaging, but also be fatal for a victim. Of note, all trainee teachers are required to be aware of the current legal requirements, national policies, and guidance on safeguarding the well-being of children and young people (Department for Education [DfE], 2020a). Both trainee and qualified teachers are also expected to know how to identify and support children and young people whose progress, development, or well-being is affected by changes or difficulties in their personal circumstances and be able to identify when to refer someone deemed at risk to colleagues for specialist support (DfE, 2020a, p. 53). However, there is no specific mandatory training provided to practitioners on HBA, particularly during their initial teacher training courses. Within all schools in England and Wales, a designated teacher has the responsibility for safeguarding children and young people (DfE, 2022; 2020a), and yet, these teachers do not have any specific training to help them respond confidently and competently to HBA. These problematic aspects within the education sector pertaining to HBA are discussed in further depth within this thesis.

This present research takes place in a policy environment characterised by paradoxes, conflicts, and controversies. With the growth of migrants and refugees in England in recent years, HBA concerns have come to the fore, (Goodhart, 2017) and are discussed in detail in chapter three. It is anticipated that this brief introduction has demonstrated the difficulty involved to comprehend and address the phenomenon of HBA. Due to the 'hidden' nature of HBA and disagreement over how to approach and address it in practice, practitioners must negotiate appropriate and successful responses in the face of ambiguity, which is marked by a lack of clear and trustworthy data (see above).

Study Aims and Research Methods

This research seeks to make an original contribution to literature by investigating the meaning, causes, practice, and prevention of HBA in England. This study examines the views of practitioners and policymakers on the cross-cultural and contested nature of HBA, factors contributing to HBA, the ramifications of HBA on local and national policy, and the role of education in preventing HBA in England through critical engagement. It does this through:

- (1) Critical analysis of contemporary literature on the theme of HBA, to understand conceptualisation, theorisation, and research evidence.
- (2) Thematic analysis of original data, gathered through an empirical study focused on the perspectives of practitioners, such as police, politicians, activists, and academics.

The research seeks to answer the following question:

What is the Role of Education in Preventing Honour-Based Abuse in England?

The research sub-questions for the thesis are:

- (1) What is the nature and character of HBA? Who are the perpetrators and victims?

(2) What is the impact of gender and patriarchy in relation to HBA?

(3) What role does education have in developing an understanding of HBA?

(4) What ramifications does this have for local and national policy?

Prior to undertaking the research, invitation letters, consent forms, interview questions, and a debriefing information document were developed and piloted. The development of these resources was informed by the ongoing review of the literature up to and including 2021.

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with all but one of the total fifteen research participants from London, Leeds, Gloucester, Warwickshire, Birmingham, and Bristol (see Appendix 1) including politicians, activists, academics, and other valued sources. These interviews focused on the role of education in preventing HBA. The interviews were transcribed verbatim (see example Appendix 4), and the data was manually input in NVivo; an inductive thematic analysis approach was used to identify emergent themes from the data.

Ethical considerations were at the centre of the research practices adopted in this study, from the research design to the publication of findings, and conclusion. All research participants were treated respectfully with consideration and care by protecting their interests and minimising any potential adverse effects (see methodology).

It was recognised that personal values could intrude, with the potential to impact subjectivity, at a number of points throughout the process of research, in particular during the data collection phase. I had to maintain clear and consistent awareness of my personal values throughout this research process. I ensured that my opinions were managed effectively to reduce potential bias and to ensure reflexivity throughout this study. This research sought to generate new understandings of the views of people with expertise in the area of education as a preventative strategy in HBA.

Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of seven chapters, as outlined below.

Chapter 1 consists of an introduction and the contextualisation of the research, by providing a brief summary of HBA in England, presenting the rationale for this research and the personal and national context. Finally, the study aim and central research question, followed by the sub-questions are established. The body of the thesis structure is outlined below.

Chapter 2 describes feminist theory, the chosen theoretical framework of this thesis, including the rationale for drawing on this theory. With feminist theory deeply entwined and interwoven into the framing of patriarchy and intersectionality, this chapter delves into the origins and fundamental principles of feminist theory and draws connections to the main topic of the thesis: the role of education in preventing HBA. By analysing ideologies, underlying values, and principles of feminist theory, and how this theory relates to HBA in the contexts of education and national policy, an interpretative framework for the interaction between HBA and feminist theory is constructed.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the existing research and identifying gaps by undertaking a comprehensive examination of relevant theoretical and empirical literature on the phenomenon of HBA, with a particular emphasis on the main research question. This chapter also addresses South Asian migration, culture, and identity in relation to HBA, exploring the perceived prominence of HBA occurrences within these communities, based on honour codes. Alongside this, consideration is given to how industrialisation has influenced concerns about migrant identity, and how HBA has aided the preservation of unwritten conventions. This chapter also discusses the perpetuation of HBA through cultural practices and how culture reproduction maintains patriarchal control over women through the practice of HBA (Gill, 2012). The paucity of research available on the role of education in preventing HBA is illustrated in this chapter, and this reveals the substantial impact of the lack of research within this field, including the damaging effect of this void for victims and survivors of HBA.

Chapter 4 addresses the methodological approach of the study. Fifteen research participants who are key stakeholders in their respective fields were recruited and interviewed to gather their opinions on the role of education in preventing HBA in England. This chapter details the rationale for the qualitative research design, critiques the methodological framework, and explains the philosophical underpinning of research identified for the study, being interpretivism. This chapter also evaluates the merits and limitations of semi-structured interviews, recruitment of participants, interviewing research participants, and the rationale for the use of an inductive thematic analysis framework (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Chapter 4 also examines the ethical considerations required to conduct this study, alongside the author's positionality and the impact of the research outcomes.

Chapter 5 presents a comprehensive overview of the analysis and results that emerged from the semi-structured interviews conducted. The use of thematic analysis to extrapolate from participants' verbatim responses led to the identification of five primary themes. **Theme 1:** Definitions and practices of HBA; **Theme 2:** Origins and perpetuations of HBA; **Theme 3:** Victims and perpetrators of HBA; **Theme 4:** Positionality of participants in relation to HBA; and **Theme 5:** Solutions to and eradication of HBA.

Chapter 6 builds on the previous chapter with a comprehensive discussion and analysis of the key themes identified in Chapter 5; it also expands upon existing literature in the field and the analysis based upon the research conducted and data collected for this study. The intertwined dynamics of feminist theory, patriarchy, policy, and practice are addressed in depth, thereby highlighting the need for further research and a collaborative approach between policymakers and stakeholders (see Appendix 1).

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter of this thesis. Here, implications for policy and practice are elucidated, making the argument that there is scope for a practical application of the thesis findings. In doing so, this could enrich governmental policy and practice in relation to the role of education in preventing HBA in England, to benefit practitioners as well as victims and survivors of HBA. This chapter presents key conclusions from the research and demonstrates how this thesis has made an

original contribution to knowledge, as well as addressing the limitations of the study, and next steps for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Framework

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework which has informed this study, drawing heavily on the feminist theory, with critical theory providing the gateway to understanding feminist theory. With feminism deeply entrenched and weaved into the framing of patriarchy and intersectionality, each theoretical framework, its history and key concepts are examined. Further, each framework is contextualised within the research focus of HBA. Consideration is given to the values and principles underpinning these ideologies, and how each informs and interacts with the present research on HBA and its relationship with education, policy, and practice.

Grant and Osanloo (2016) contend that a theoretical framework is critically important in research projects, allowing researchers to guide and support their studies by engaging with critical theories, scholarly sources and empirical research. Theories are an empirical way of making sense of the numerous interpretations of concerns that confront societies. Thomas (2017, p. 1) defines “theory as a description of a phenomenon and the interactions of its variables that are used to attempt to explain or predict”. Theoretical and philosophical research frameworks can be seen as structures or a set of relevant theories within which the constructs of a specific theoretical framework can be devised, justified, and implemented (Thomas, 2017). Furthermore, these frameworks allow for the expansion of the current knowledge and perception of a topic under scrutiny, in this case the phenomena of HBA. This iterative process is described by Egbert and Sanden (2014, p. 60) as “an integration of the theoretical concepts that apply to the problem under investigation”, in this case exploring feminism, patriarchy and intersectionality in the context of understanding and preventing HBA.

Theories are vital tools to understand imperialism and the intrinsic relationships connected, as well as the fundamental links to deprivation, underdevelopment, and education. It is crucial to contextualise the topic of HBA and the role of education in prevention within a theoretical framework in order to comprehend limitations and

generalisability of the study, with the ultimate objective of finding the critical variables that influence the observed phenomena of HBA. The overarching aim of this research is to advance current knowledge of the role of education in awareness and prevention of HBA, by contextualising the study within the existing body of knowledge and making an original contribution.

Critical Theory

The complex and multidimensional history of critical theory arose from generations of academics and social philosophers from the Marxist-orientated Frankfurt School in Germany, originating in 1929 (Browne, 2017). Marx's philosophy, according to the Frankfurt School critical theorists, remained a beacon of hope for the persecuted as an endeavour to revive and re-examine Marxism ultimately led to an attempt to critique and transform dysfunctional society as a whole, forming the basis of 'critical theory' (Browne, 2017). Although rooted in Marxism, "critical theory questions many of the assumptions made by Marxism and highlights the problems of distorted communication in ways that cut across class lines" (Sumner, 2003, p. 3). Critical theory has been significantly more attentive to the cultural evolution of sophisticated capitalist society than orthodox Marxism.

This paradigm is historically associated with five leading critical theorists: Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Eric Fromm, Walter Benjamin, and Herbert Marcuse. Horkheimer allocated a regulatory role to oversee critical theory, with Jürgen Habermas joining to collaborate on the research in the 1970s. Horkheimer and Habermas contested the predominant use of framing critical theory from the traditional scientific method to understand social phenomena. As a result, they sought different methodologies and interpretations for social research theory (Tejan-Sie, 2018) arguing that "both social phenomena and the scientific research methods used to explore them were linked to social and historical contexts that rendered them neither impartial nor value-free" (Jennings and Lynn, 2005, p. 16). Having witnessed human brutalities in World War II, Horkheimer and Habermas sought to determine why mankind was nosediving into a new form of dehumanisation (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997). Adorno and Horkheimer were particularly interested in comprehending the system that brought about and sustained totalitarianism, as well

as the emotional effects on people's emotional state, as ingrained in the capitalist system (Portfolio, 2008). The overall vision of Horkheimer and Habermas was to establish a fair and equitable civilisation. This is particularly relevant for HBA practices, as it establishes the legitimacy of the phenomenon's absence of human rights. The physical brutalities and emotional abuse that victims endure are evidence of the dehumanisation they face in pursuit of the maintenance of the status quo.

According to Kincheloe and McLaren (1994, p. 138), "critical theory is a process of disrupting and challenging the status quo". It is viewed as a source of liberation through self-conscious critique in order to challenge the narrative and seek human emancipation to unshackle individuals from the conditions that enslave them (Horkheimer, 1982). The ultimate goal of critical theory is to evaluate and change the system of social dominance and power relations within society. Thus, critical theory is predicated upon delving beneath the surface of social life in order to expose preconceptions that prevent people from grasping the true breadth of how the world works (How, 2003).

Horkheimer (1947) stated that a theory is only a legitimately critical theory if it is informative, pragmatic, and authoritative, and further, chastised mainstream theorists for writing works that did not challenge authority, dominance, or the status quo. Therefore, when examining HBA and its components, it is important that a theory effectively describes the existing societal problems, provides practical answers for dealing with these problems, and adheres to the established critical norms of the field. As a result, critical theory aligns with how these realities are formed in order to challenge the dominant and established beliefs on which they are founded (Prasad and Caproni, 1997). As a social theory, critical theory "aims to give us knowledge of society: its structure and its dynamics and its lifeworld" (Nielsen, 1992, p. 265). One could argue that critical theory provides a critical prism through which to view the operations of HBA. This process reveals the insidious practices that oppress women in South Asian societies, where the objectives of men within that society successfully persuade the majority that their interests coincide with those of society at large, frequently with human rights violations, resulting in tragic endings and repercussions.

Horkheimer and Adorno considered the state of the world as a product of nefarious globalisation, grounded in thought that arose during the Enlightenment period. Accordingly, modernity and Enlightenment blend to create a new universal illusion, entrapping individuals with its allure whilst controlling and diminishing freedom at every step:

Enlightenment, understood in the widest sense as the advance of thought, has always aimed at liberating human beings from fear and installing them as masters. Yet the wholly enlightened earth is radiant with triumphant calamity. Enlightenment's program was the disenchantment of the world. (2002, p. 37).

It was the goal of the Enlightenment, which was viewed as the growth of the mind, to liberate people from fear and establish them as rulers, tracing the persistence of control all the way back to the 17th and 18th centuries. It was within this period where religion was questioned, and science, philosophy, and political discourse moved to the forefront.

Social scientists and philosophers such as Horkheimer, Adorno, and Marcuse who came to prominence following the Frankfurt School have adopted the goals and views of critical theory, which has extended many disciplines of research, such as feminism, critical race theory, and critiques of colonialism. As stated previously, the theoretical framework focus is to introduce feminist theory, while also analysing perceptions of patriarchy and intersectionality in relation to HBA; both are explored individually further within this chapter. Consequently, many theoretical approaches, including this examination of feminism, patriarchy, and intersectionality, are deep-rooted within concepts of critical theory.

By examining critical theory from an evaluative perspective, numerous tensions across multiple schools of thought are apparent, especially in regard to the lack of a universal definition or common approach. According to Bohman (2021), any given theory which seeks human liberation and social justice can be categorised under the critical theory umbrella, while Gibson (1986, p. 22) contends that “critical theories suffer from cliquishness, conformity, elitism, immodesty, anti-individualism, contradictoriness, criticalness, and naivety.” Whereby, Ellsworth (1989) identifies that critical theorists are captivated by their image of reality and that they fail to

understand themselves as one of many voices, and that educating the perceived cognitive dissonance of others may be a form of dominance rather than emancipation. Although portrayed as a solution to society's problems, critical theory can be critiqued as an inaccurate set of assumptions about the nature of reality: our culture, like all civilisations prior to it, has vulnerabilities and challenges (Allen, 2013). Critical theory is well-suited to dismantling power structures, and focusing on liberation and justice; however, the challenges posed for HBA victims and survivors in relation to inaccurate assumptions about their reality poses a significant risk.

If the proponents of critical theory were to achieve the goals and create the society critical theorists claims to seek, that society would be damaged too (Abrams, 2016). However, critical theory is, arguably, more suited to dismantling the power inequalities and interplay of culture, identity, and patriarchy that are pertinent to HBA practices, and hence provides a superior analytical lens through which the themes can be viewed more clearly and to illuminate the issues faced by women in South Asian communities.

Many feminist ideologies and approaches to social science research are traced back to female empowerment, first/second wave of feminism movement which often employ critical theory as an analytical lens (How, 2003). Critical feminist theory in particular is concerned with concepts of power and strive to understand the origins and effects of gender interactions that favour men. Critical feminists investigate how gender stereotypes and ideologies are constructed, reproduced, rejected, and transformed in and through the daily lives of women and men (Coakley and Pike, 2014).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the DV movement arose out of the civil rights and anti-war revolutions. The second wave feminism examines violence against women as a political, societal, and personal phenomenon through a feminist lens, thus ensuring the feminist movement phenomenon that it was not restricted only to physical violence. However, lately within the UK the inclusion of coercive control as a form of violence against women has been recognised.

Although feminist theory and critical theory are both concerned with social and economic disparities, and have a goal of encouraging systemic change, the two theories have arguably developed independently and rarely draw on the work of the other. As proponents of critical theory, numerous critical feminist theorists have criticised Marxism as another patriarchal 'grand theory' of modernity, deeming Marxism incapable of adequately resolving the specific nature of women's oppression (Hewitt, 1995). This divide has arisen due to feminist theorists placing sex and gender at the centre of their analysis, whereas critical theorists, whose ideology is rooted in Marxism, position class at the forefront of their research, with sex, gender, race, and ethnicity receiving minimal prominence (Alvesson and Willmott, 2003).

Given the specific aim of this thesis in terms of dissecting social and cultural reality in relation to HBA, there is a convergence between the theoretical foundations of all three identified theories: feminist theory, patriarchy, and intersectionality. Applying these theories is an attempt to elicit ways of understanding challenges of HBA.

Feminism

The framing of this thesis has evolved by exploring HBA through the lens of the feminist theoretical perspective. This goal of this section is to convey the theoretical concerns of this study and its aims are to map many types of differences in order to exhibit how systems of privilege and subjection may collide to generate a "multi-layered blanket of oppression" (Crenshaw, 1991, cited in Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 196).

The term 'feminism' was first applied in the 1830s in alliance with the movement for equivalent constitutional and lawful rights for women. First-wave feminism took place from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century. The second wave of feminism emerged in the 1960s, generally considered to end in the early 1980s. The first-wave feminism centred on suffrage, property and voting rights, while second-wave feminism covered a far wider range (reproductive control, sexuality, workplace inequality, legal matters that denied women's rights, custody, divorce) and including patriarchal oppression and male dominated cultures.

The most common feminist positions identified were Liberal, Marxist, Radical, Dual, and Black feminism (Bhopal, 1996). Liberal feminism examines the denial of equal rights to women and education. Marxist feminists contend that gender discrimination originates from capitalism, while Radical feminists claim that the patriarchal control men hold over women is the misuse of power and control within a context of male privilege and should be eliminated. Dual feminists combine Marxist feminism and Radical feminism by exploring the interrelationship of capitalism and patriarchy. Black feminism is a philosophy of intersectionality focused on race, class, and gender. According to Gelles (1997, p. 41) “feminist perspectives are now becoming the dominant explanation model for understanding domestic violence against women because of its major strength in the proxies and advocacy approach.” Due to the inherent principles and activism strategies within feminist approaches, this has led to feminist theoretical views being the preferred explanatory paradigm for comprehending HBA against women.

It could be argued that for females, feminism is an aspect of a woman's ‘own’ identity or consciousness. However, for communities and some men, feminism is a nebulous concept of rights and responsibilities particularly linked to HBA and associated ideologies. Men and women may approach feminism from different perspectives: for females, personal experience, while for males, a philosophical approach (Meese and Parker, 1989). Cultural expectations based on sex are far from new, and not limited to non-Western societies. As far back as the medieval period, women were constrained to the home environment even within Western society, whilst men were permitted actively to participate in public life (Purvis, 2018). Women were restricted in all areas of life, with no right to own property, no access to equal education, and lack of involvement in the political sphere (Stuard, 2017). There were still compulsory expectations for women to cover their heads in France towards the middle of the 20th century, and a husband could still ‘sell’ his wife in parts of Germany and the UK (Purvis, 2018; Stuard, 2017). The practice of wife selling continued into the early 20th century. Married women could not exert decision-making over their children without their husbands’ authorisation (Radtko, 2017). Women also had little to no access to education and were disbarred from most occupations, with further restrictions imposed once married (Feigenbaum, 2015). To this day, many women remain excluded in different capacities, in several parts of the world.

Overall, feminism is a social, political ideology with a broad objective of improving women's rights and position. Critical tenets involve expressing different philosophical or theoretical explanations for the sources of inequality women face and identifying different paths toward abolishing inequality (Tong, 1989). The preceding perspective is critical for this research on HBA as it sheds light on the injustices endured by women as a result of the phenomenon, whilst also guiding this study by defining key variables that influence HBA and quantifying the rationale for relationships between the identified variables. Arguably, these injustices arise as a result of a lack of education, as well as a lack of government action in establishing clear policies and practices to address HBA, and strategies for prevention.

Feminism is based on the tenet of gender equality; but there are multiple approaches within feminism. As a phenomenon that predominately affects women, HBA has been situated within a feminist discourse over several centuries (Meeto and Mirza, 2007). There is no one single definition of feminism, and significant differences across various schools of thought are prevalent (Mackay, 2015; Tong, 2009; Saul, 2003).

HBA is at a severe societal crisis that has yet to be effectively acknowledged and addressed. Relying on religion and sexism alone as contributing factors is not sufficient properly to understand the cultural practices of HBA. Using a feminist perspective to examine HBA potentially offers additional advantages, as a central premise of feminist research is that studies should aim to improve the position of the group(s) being studied. As Harding (1987, p. 127) explains, "feminist politics is not just a tolerable companion of feminist research but a necessary condition for generating less partial and perverse descriptions and explanations." In accordance with these concepts, this research seeks to provide a tangible contribution to actions targeted at resolving HBA, most specifically looking at the role of education in preventing HBA. In this thesis, it is argued that HBA is a form of informal social control, an evil side of modernisation in which communities and socioeconomic groups have been compelled increasingly to rely on traditional honour codes for civic engagement, where HBA is accepted as a norm and common practice. This thesis also explores how developing a more successful approach to combatting HBA necessitates addressing concerns such as misogyny and fanaticism.

This study explores feminism and HBA in terms of its origins, catalysts, dynamics, and practices, and aims to offer a complex framing of this phenomenon to understand how patriarchy and honour manifest in forms beyond the choice of a sexual and romantic partnership. As feminism and patriarchy are necessary for the purpose of inequality and power structures, including cultural tradition and violence carried out in the name of honour that is rooted in male dominance, the complexity is necessary to create a framework that enables a thorough examination and understanding of the complex nature of HBA in and of itself.

A sexual identity matrix is used to investigate the daily standards of behaviour of women (Morrison, 2015). Subjugated women may jointly oppose strict religious and/or cultural patriarchal oppression structures, especially when taking gender and intersectionality into account. Gender-based violence (GBV) is a phenomenon that stems from sexism and patriarchal practices and remains one of the most serious abuses of human rights globally. While gender-based abuse affects both men and women, it remains that women and girls are more frequently the target, representing the vast majority of survivors of HBA (Morrison, 2015). The terminology of 'gender-based violence' and 'violence against women' are often used interchangeably, largely due to the fact that the majority of acts of gender-based sexual harassment and assault are committed by men. HBA and violence against women are rooted in societal power disparities between men and women, which perpetuate these forms of patriarchal constructs that allow for power disparities to continue.

Honour-based abuse affects individuals of all ages, frequently starting in the family home and impacting children from a young age (Aplin, 2021). HBA disproportionately impacts girls and women, but boys and men are not exempt, and may be at elevated risk if there are factors such as disability, sexual orientation, or mental ill-health (Aplin, 2018). Following the realisation that 'honour' is not a sexual identity, feminist researchers studied this difficult term in the light of uneven power relations, control over women's sexuality, and inadequate access to properties and commodities (Houghton, 2015). Hundreds of women are killed every year for the sake of 'honour', (Hadi, 2017), the concept of which is arguably tied into patriarchal values and beliefs that often dismiss feminism in its entirety.

According to the feminist theoretical perspective, society requires a major transformation, which may only be achieved through reducing the inequalities women continue to experience from a broad societal viewpoint. Gill (2009) highlights several ways to enhance and assist survivors and victims of HBA, for example, improving women's protection under the legal system; further research to obtain specific information directly from HBA survivors/victims; and construction of clear, defined strategies to develop successful policies to meet the needs of those who have experienced HBA.

It is frequently argued that HBA differs from DV (Idriss, 2018). Aujla and Gill (2014) highlight the need for HBA to be placed inside the context of DV. Garg (2020) posits that it is necessary to distinguish HBA from DV in order to comprehend and address the unique disparities between HBA and DV offences. It is essential to understand HBA independently from DV in order to implement effective and responsive interventions for survivors seeking help (Idriss, 2018; Payton, 2015). In Garg, 2020; Idriss, 2018; and Payton, 2014, a clear distinction between DA and HBA is highlighted when comparing the two practices, and the communal element of HBA is said to be distinctively lacking in DV cases.

It is worthy to note that DV was the most prevalent cause stated in cases of children in need in England in 2016–2017. The DfE (2021) highlights the need to tackle this long-standing issue via preventative early intervention, and education. Media depictions, broader cultural and social change are needed so that HBA and DV are no longer trivialised nor depicted as the fault of (primarily female) victims. HBA and DV must be treated as a public health issue rather than a private, interpersonal one. If DV and HBA against women are to be critically addressed, it must be understood that it is based on and perpetuated by traditional social inequality between women and men, and a lack of authority women hold in comparison to men (Humphreys, 2010). Women's status cannot be enhanced until they achieve economic freedom, have greater access to quality education, participate more actively in political activities, and have a broader understanding of socioeconomic and political concerns.

Feminist theory emerged as a critical response to the extensive inequalities between men and women deeply ingrained in societies across the world. In response to systemic gender inequality in various spheres of life, including violence against women, feminist theory emerged as a means of critically analysing and challenging the acceptance of women's subordination in society. With its wide-reaching movement feminist theory is characterised by many groups as steadfast in enlightening women's civil rights and safety, despite its Western foundations (Chambers-Letson, 2006). It is imperative to highlight that as much as feminists have criticised outdated partisan theory for discounting and relegating women, feminism itself has been at the receiving end of accusations in relation to universalising the needs of white women when talking about the emancipation of women of colour, with criticism levied that white women were viewing themselves as 'saviours' of so-called Third World women. Gordon (2016) asserts that white females are oblivious to the fact that their viewpoints and solutions to socioeconomic challenges often conflict with the lived experiences and concerns of women in these communities. As a result, there has been a call for Western feminist theory to adopt an intersectional and global perspective that is both anti-racist and anti-imperialist (Eisenstein, 2004).

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a very complex practice model and has produced many analyses by various social scientists and educational anthropologists. It is a longstanding social system of human civilisations, and though it has changed 'faces' over time, the fundamental purpose of patriarchy is men's control over women (Lerner, 1986), a deep-rooted, historically embedded system of the oppression of women.

Although we do not understand exactly how patriarchy came to be, we do know that it transpired after centuries of more egalitarian human organisation (Oren, 1996). Indeed, it could be argued that patriarchy was a socially evolving phenomenon: Lerner (1986) pinpoints a timeframe between 3100 BC to 600 BC during which the concept became galvanised within societal norms.

According to Chafai (2013), patriarchy is a social framework that derives legal power from religion, tradition, and culture. Patriarchal systems are rooted in societal

structures for example, political, economic, cultural views, sometimes formed from 'beliefs', sometimes formed from certain 'values' or 'traditions' that are fundamentally rooted in inequality and oppression where men and women are not viewed equally.

As a dynamic control, patriarchy is often described as a set of systems or constructs that prevent women from accessing or participating in areas of a higher power or what are thought to be spaces of power (Gibson-Graham, 2020). Through this lens, it is argued that women are collectively excluded from active participation in political and economic life in a patriarchal culture (Eisenstein, 1977). Both the private and public worlds are controlled by patriarchal interactions, with men dominating commanding both familial and public life. Characteristics that are assumed 'feminine' or more related to women are underestimated, whereas attributes that are perceived as 'masculine' or more likely affiliated with men are valued (Kimmel, 1994). Despite this, there are varying degrees of subjugation of women within patriarchal societies, as different cultures will manifest patriarchal traits dependent upon their societal norms. Not all women are treated consistently within a patriarchal society, and not all women are subject to restrictions and limited opportunities. Each individual will not have the same privilege or power under any particular patriarchal society.

Patriarchy is a systematic construct that refers to a system of public, societal, and economic foundations. It is regarded as a weapon to limit women's self-determination and independence, and a so-called cause for HBA when family or community standards are questioned by the female. This is further identified by Gill (2011, p. 219), who defines HBA as:

An expression of patriarchal power, with women as its victims ... violence perpetrated against females within the framework of patriarchal family structures, communities and/or societies where the main justification for the perpetration of violence is the protection of a social construction of honour as a value system.

It has been proposed by Sabharwal, (2023) that in patriarchal societies, GBV is a phenomenon that stems from gender discrimination and is amongst the most prevalent of human rights violations. "GBV is based on patriarchal power relations and gender discrimination" (UNCHR, 2020 p. 5), entrenched in the abuse of power

and harmful customs. Gender-based abuse affects both men and women, although women and girls represent the vast majority of victims and survivors (Morrison, 2015). GBV and violence against women are phrases that are frequently used interchangeably, given the common general knowledge that it is primarily males who are the perpetrators of gender-based sexual harassment and assault in patriarchal systems (Khan *et al.*, 2017). According to Parrot and Cummings (2006, p. 13), “women are particularly at risk within cultures where unchallenged patriarchy and misogyny are embedded in political, religious, or social systems.” Within South Asian societies, numerous forms of violence against women are founded on power imbalances between men and women which result from patriarchal practices (Garg, 2020).

The feminist theory of patriarchy provides a useful analytic lens within this study, due to patriarchy being conceptualised as a gendered issue intertwined with systemic patterns of male and State subjection. Patriarchy and the pattern of male dominance and female subjugation are the principal reasons behind violence against women – an argument supported by the theoretical framework of feminism. Patriarchy is viewed as systemic oppression of women with a focus on societal power structures that allow and perpetuate male dominance.

In terms of the continuation of patriarchal interactions and norms, feminist theories investigate the histories and geographies of patriarchal relationships to illustrate the ways in which patriarchy presents in dynamic and changeable ways, for example attitudes to female education. These theories explore the interconnections between class and status, colonialism, and nationalism, demonstrating that patriarchal dynamics exist on many scales (Miller, 2010).

Interconnections between patriarchy and capitalism have been proposed by societal psychologists (Cudworth, 2020). Eisenstein (1979, 1981) contends that both patriarchy and capitalism establish gender relations, and finds a significant connection between the two constructs, arguing that the two comprise a unified capitalist-patriarchal system. Similarly, Brah (1987, p. 39) asserts that “capitalism and patriarchy are not independent albeit interlocking systems – they are part of the same structure.” Capitalism arguably provides an economic foundation for patriarchy – and

patriarchy offers a legal and political framework for capitalism. This is in contrast to feminism, which argues for collective action (Ramamurthy *et al.*, 2021). Furthermore, capitalism has also been condemned as being overly fundamental and overwhelming in its definition of discrepancies between men and women, providing a dualist construction of gender identity.

Interestingly, Fraser (2013) emphasises the link between patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism's universality, stating that essentially all contemporary patriarchal societies today may be considered capitalist patriarchies. Through symbols and mythologies, women and their occupations are given negative connotations in every known patriarchal society. These symbols and superstitions vary by culture, but all equate women or femininity with negative characteristics. Men and the masculine are installed in the elitist 'higher type' of culture, while women and the feminine are deposited in the different lower 'divisions' of nature (Idriss, 2021). As a consequence, 'man' and male dominance become the parameter or paradigm of living beings, while the enslavement of women is justified based on their allegedly inferior 'natural roles'. Perceptions of women may differ by socioeconomic background, age, and culture in patriarchal constructs; however, these roles and assumptions appear almost natural and universal due to the mechanisms, structures, and institutions that patriarchy functions from and within.

Clearly, different patriarchal structures exist – in different eras, cultures, and places – but the lesser value placed on women and their duties compared to men is universal. In other words, patriarchy aligns with a wide variety of government and socio-religious democratic systems and further, is entwined within capitalism and socialism.

Women are more prone to varying degrees and forms of violence across the various ways in which patriarchy manifests; some are fundamental, and others are particular to a specific cultural, religious, or economic model (Gill, 2011). Though the guidelines are meant both for men and women, it is crucial to highlight that within patriarchal societies women are forced to comply with these expectations. However, for men within these societies, there is much more flexibility and manipulation of the expectations where a need arises.

Though descriptions of patriarchal societies and their oppressive consequences are many and extend into history, the concept of patriarchy has been challenged by some feminists who dismiss the existence of patriarchy precisely because one of the central facets is its concealment (Facio, 2013). Patriarchy is premised on a hierarchical, cultural, and sexualised worldview, which the concept both manufactures and maintains equally. Indeed, HBA practices of education restriction arguably may be a form of patriarchal oppression, imposed upon women by male relatives. Existing research demonstrates that patriarchy is a global phenomenon that transcends geographical, cultural, racial, ethnic, religious, or secular boundaries (Idriss, 2018), and has an underlying presence in the filial extended family members and societal conceptions of female existence.

Exploring feminist identity theories in juxtaposition with research focused on patriarchal structures contributes to theoretical knowledge of women's identities and struggles. It is critical to comprehend the feminist theory of patriarchy in relation to ethnic minority groups and to respect and shed light on their lived experiences in relation to HBA. Women of colour have long criticised the feminist movement for concentrating only on 'white women issues' (Zakaria, 2021). One way to address these concerns, as explored in the following section, is to examine feminist patriarchal theory through a wider lens of intersectionality, by incorporating race, culture, and identity, which provides a deeper understanding of the components of HBA and its influence on deep-rooted patriarchal behaviours and norms.

Intersectionality

The place of feminist theory, and particularly the feminist theory of patriarchy in the theoretical framework of this study, is defined in the previous section. In addition, this research also briefly links with intersectional accounts of identity and oppression. Lorde (1984, p. 22) justifies this, explaining: "there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives." The multi-layers of HBA practices present a challenge: reactionary and single-issue activity is not and will not be sufficient to stem the tide. If society is to resolve anything, society must take a broader approach. Intersectional theory offers the opportunity to study, analyse, and explain HBA in a way that acknowledges the overlapping conditions that construct an

individual's vulnerability to its oppressive effects which are explored in this section. This research endeavours to extrapolate the complexities and challenges in terms of intersectionality that are presented to victims and survivors of HBA and the role of education in preventing HBA.

As a critical theory, intersectionality is best affiliated with societal constructionist and feminist perspective epistemologies (Else-Quest and Hyde, 2016). Intersectionality is a critical methodology that arms people with the attitude and vocabulary that, arguably, allows one to examine the interconnectedness and mutuality across classifications of identity and power structures. Individuals have multiple characteristics that are shaped by their life experiences and social interactions. Intersectional hypotheses acknowledge that subjugation is power based and cannot be identified as one singular action or target, with discrimination working simultaneously to produce persecution (Hill Collins, 1990).

HBA is one of these marginalised fields, conceivably not considered significant because of the complex ways that gender, culture, race, migration, and nationality intersect to define the phenomenon (Mayeda *et al.*, 2016). The question remains as to why this is not a significant area of concern across the board. Yet intersectionality presents a valuable approach to unpack the ways in which GBV takes place in communities across disparate international contexts. HBA is not always experienced in comparable circumstances; factors such as prejudice, civilisation, and language make accessing help and support far harder for victims and survivors of HBA (Jeraj, 2013). The uniqueness of each situation that HBA victims and survivors are subjected to can become the focus of a developing intersectional valuation framework (Imkaan, 2020).

Crenshaw (1991) presented intersectionality as a mechanism to combat social injustices toward African American females who were being discriminated against on the grounds of both gender and race. Furthermore, Crenshaw (1991) posited that existing social justice frameworks did not adequately support Black African American females in relation to their experiences of inequality. And that existing systems that were in place to contest misogyny were developed to support white women and therefore, not reflective of the lived experience of non-white women. Amos and

Parmer (1984, p. 8) explain that “White mainstream feminist theory, be it from the socialist feminist or radical feminist perspective, does not speak to the experiences of Black women, and where it attempts to do so it is often from a racist perspective and reasoning.” Parmer and Amos (1984) extend Crenshaw’s argument, asserting that disregarding feminism that is essentially a white ‘Eurocentric’ or Western-based ideology has been a critical element of Black feminism and has attached significance to the intersection of origin, sex, and race in women’s daily lives. Critical ideology of Black feminism lies in disregarding ‘traditional’ feminism, on the premise that it is founded in ‘white’ or Western-based roots and thus, does not speak for other women.

Although intersectionality is founded in Black feminism, the development and evolution of intersectionality as a concept means it can be applied to the present research topic by taking into consideration patriarchal ideology, feminism, and the diverse identities within the South Asian population. It is critical to recognise that South Asian societies are not hegemonic. The intersectional lens allows for a more comprehensive exploration of the issues surrounding HBA.

Merging intersectionality with the feminist perspective allows for an examination of the numerous levels on which HBA functions within historically oppressed populations. While HBA cannot be applied universally to women of all backgrounds, its prevalence in South Asian communities specifically makes it a larger cultural issue. Thus, it is crucial to recognise how HBA emerges differently in distinct class and cultural settings, and how victims’ experiences of HBA are impacted by their intersectional identities and locales. Research has shown that minority ethnic women, who live at the crossroads of various systemic inequities, face additional challenges and pressures that increase their risk of being subjected to HBA (Thiara and Gill, 2010). While it is vital to recognise contextual distinctions in minority ethnic HBA experiences, it is just as important to contend that these disparities are frequently exaggerated in discriminatory ways. Without an intersectional perspective to analyse HBA, any attempts to address disparities and injustices against women are likely merely to perpetuate existing imbalances. As Samudzi (2019, p. 1) points out, “intersectionality is such a critical paradigm for comprehending power networks, because ‘woman’ is not a catch-all term that encompasses all of our interactions with power.”. Women’s rights activism must be intersectional, because any feminist

movement or advocacy that focuses exclusively on the experiences of white women, particularly white middle-class women, will inevitably fall short of achieving equality.

The theory of intersectionality ultimately concedes that women in particular have multifaceted characteristics resulting from nature, nurture, constitutional battles, financial status, and societal power composition (de la Ossa, 2019). Philosophising intersectionality requires exploring how we think about concerns of multiple societal structures and interconnected oppressions, as well as establishing societal explanations to manage these structures of power. It is through intersectionality that the significance of power relations in the structure of consciousness, involvement, and acquaintance can be recognised. To comprehend GBV and HBA, we must analyse social and cultural disparities and have the means to articulate these differences in ways that do not simply repeat stereotypical portrayals of minority ethnic women's subjectivity to their patriarchal oppressors, or everyday experiences with their cultures and communities (Thiara and Gill, 2010). HBA ultimately results from a complex interaction of elements across cultural, societal, familial, and individual levels that continually perpetuate the practice. Each perpetrator and victim has a complex fusion of interacting identities, positions, capabilities, and vulnerabilities. Due to the complexity and nuances of HBA and the interaction of such intricate and interwoven variables, intersectionality is employed as one of the theoretical framings for this thesis.

Bilge (2013) argues that the term intersectionality, as a framework, is ambiguous and lacks defined goals which can lead to uncertainties and a failure to recognise conventional causes of subjugation. It is critical to avoid concentrating solely on the underprivileged, as doing so obscures the role of those in power within systems of unequal social relations. People whose actions perpetuate prejudice and oppression are typically overlooked in favour of those who are discriminated against and oppressed (Petsko *et al.*, 2022), markedly in relation to patriarchal practices within HBA households. While HBA is a manifestation of patriarchal authority, entrenched in cultural norms, it may be incorrect to believe that women are incapable of showing, maintaining, or associating with the phenomenon of HBA, as the same culpability can be placed upon women in addition to men, as perpetrators and enablers of HBA. Kandiyoti's (1988, p.275) study of the "patriarchal bargain" offers a theoretical

explanation for such behaviours, arguing that in order to oppose absolute male dominance, women become 'participants' with a vested stake as an oppressor in the oppressive system. Aplin (2017) contends that female perpetrators can equally be seen as secondary victims of HBA due to the potential threat of violence carried out against them, and potentially becoming stuck in the cycle of the oppressed transforming into a collaborative oppressor. It can be argued that it is meaningless for intersectionality to focus solely on the perceptions of a certain disadvantaged group to accomplish the purpose of the theory as a paradigm for explaining a wide range of societal phenomena (Villesèche *et al.*, 2018). That said, intersectional theory recognises the significance of power relations in the structure of consciousness, involvement, and acquaintance, by creating systematic oppression and ostracism that reflects the crossroads of multiple forms of discrimination. Individuals' perceptions are influenced by the multifaceted factors that make up a person's identity, which the approach of intersectionality within this thesis seeks to explore.

Most formulations of intersectionality are based on two dimensions that emphasise power relations (Carastathis, 2014). The initial postulation is that individuals are intertwined to the moment in time where their cultural practices in one segment are linked to their subscription to each other and are not independent (Carastathis, 2014). A second theory emphasises intersectionality formulations, such as the notion that each established single category (such as gender, race, or sexual orientation) have interconnections of power which shape and impact the many identities and oppressive structures of individuals (Wyatt *et al.*, 2022). As a response, it is imperative that intersectional investigations pay close attention to power relations: in this case, within the field of HBA. Levon (2015) provides a third presumption, which is that all societal constructs have individual and contextual components. That is, societal types are inextricably related to individual identities. Even though all intersectional studies have found the need for numerous marginal statuses for understanding, one constant difficulty is how to distinguish between them. Factors are so complex and multi-layered that differentiating between the elements is not possible. Power dynamics present themselves in variations and are inextricably linked to the extent of HBA practices.

Intersectionality has provided the most useful framework for ‘capturing’ and understanding individual and collective experiences, in relation to this thesis. Hill Collins (1990, p 4-5.) posits that “in order for an oppressed group to continue to exist as a viable social group, individuals must have spaces where they can express themselves apart from the hegemonic or ruling ideology”. An intersectional approach to HBA includes an understanding of where gender intersects with other prejudices and disparities, for example, sexuality, gender, identity, ethnicity, indigenous, immigration status, and disability. The feminist and critical race theory framework of intersectionality makes obvious the social and cultural structures, spiritual beliefs, relationships, and the different rules of conduct demanded of both males and females. However, these aspects do not effectively scrutinise how these structures impact the individual (Sugarman and Frankel, 1996). An intersectional feminist approach demands that society centres its thinking not only on how women as a social class are positioned, but also on other inequalities to ensure all women have a voice in the struggle for equality. By understanding the distinct ways in which HBA is perpetrated and experienced, intersectionality can be used as a framework to address the issues of HBA.

One advantage of intersectionality is that it enhances knowledge of how people place themselves – and are positioned by others. Salem (2016) warns against the normalisation of intersectionality, claiming that scholars have crushed the concept by focusing on individual personalities with little regard for the original socio-political and emancipatory goals. According to Salem, intersectionality has lost its critical edge as a nomadic philosophy and that mainstream feminism has appropriated intersectionality in the same neoliberal manner that managerialism embraced and monetised diversity. Salem contends that power must be returned to the grassroots and emphasises the importance of theory in this regard, looking to the Global South for further information, and contextualisation of South Asian diaspora to form an understanding of the function of authority, racism, and colonialism. Conceptualising from an intersectional framework necessitates recognising that much understanding is contextual and shaped by political power. As it stands, the present Government in England has not established a clear precedent for tackling HBA through education, which have resulted in varied approaches to addressing HBA and how policies and practices translate to real-life practice. However, one may claim that the recent

Government has addressed this via laws pertaining to PSHE and RSE in both primary and secondary schools in England, as mandated by the Children and Social Work Act (2017).

Lancianese (2014) warns that applying the paradigm of feminist theory to intersectionality avoids essentialising the concept of HBA. Instead of claiming a global advantage held by disenfranchised groups in understanding societal hierarchies, he suggests emphasising how ordinary participants' individual experiences within a research study offer powerful insights into the particular issues in the context of HBA defined as the ratio to the intersecting identities. According to Lancianese (2014), specific discoveries from these intersectional situations should be validated empirically. In addressing this phenomenon, this study and research design produced empirical data by investigating how the research participants explain the strategies to address HBA, thus providing an opportunity to investigate each participant's individual intersectional viewpoints.

Whilst intersectionality has shown to be a valuable paradigm for exploring factors and oppressions, it has failed to achieve the same degree of power in terms of evaluating the numerous perks and intersections of marginalisation and privilege.

Deviating from flawed concepts of intersectionality which marginalise people of colour, Rodriguez and Freeman (2016) argue that intersectionality should prioritise individualised differences above systemic inequities.

Ultimately, intersectionality aims to broaden our understanding of how humans perceive situations by adding depth, diversity, and nuance (Bilge, 2013). Through the lens of intersectionality, the disparate facets of HBA can be examined to determine what has developed as a result of the absence of clear government guidelines on designing education policies to address HBA. This has a knock-on effect on educational methods, eventually affecting both victims and perpetrators and contributing to the perpetuation of HBA and the complexities attached. Although assessing the success of education strategies in preventing a practice as deeply rooted as HBA is problematic, if educational initiatives were more effective, they could have the potential to direct stakeholders in their efforts in addressing HBA.

Chapter 2 Conclusion

This chapter explored the theoretical framework for this research project, identifying the importance of sociological theories that seek to explain how society is constructed. These theories focused on gender-specific power imbalances that have existed historically and have become embedded within societal norms, thereby continuing the subjugation of women, not only historically, but through to the present day. Examining HBA practices through the lens of a layered theoretical framework provides a foundation upon which to construct a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. This chapter explored the concepts of critical theory, feminism, patriarchy, and intersectionality in relation to HBA and education. The concepts highlight the importance of recognising that humans are not a homogeneous group (Rodriguez and Freeman, 2016) and therefore their experiences will differ due to a complex set of interacting identities, such as positionality, race, and culture. Recognising power imbalances between men and women as an embedded concept that transcends culture, race, and religion, however, is particularly invidious and pervasive when this imbalance manifests as HBA. Whilst these power imbalances exist within society, the State attempts to function as a correcting force towards creating social and legal rules in order to elicit change, improvement, and to create an egalitarian society. Using the medium of universal education, the State can access wide sections of society to educate and empower individuals to understand how HBA practices have a damaging and detrimental effect on vulnerable sections of society.

CHAPTER 3

Literature Review

A literature review is an essential component of any research investigation. To place this study into context and to fulfil the research question, it is crucial to define the parameters and breadth of current knowledge and existing studies regarding HBA.

In this chapter, some of the theoretical literature pertinent to this topic is explored and analysed. Then, a critical analysis of existing research and literature on the key themes within this thesis is presented. This includes the meaning of ‘honour’ and ‘honour-based abuse’; social factors contributing to HBA; South Asian communities, migration, and culture; the status of HBA in England, including initiatives and policies on preventing HBA; the role of education in communities; and England’s current National Curriculum in preventing HBA.

Aveyard (2007) describes the objective of the researcher in a literature review process; it is to search systematically, review, and critique existing literature pertaining to the focus of the study, with a view to illustrate a gap in the current research base. The literature review process in a doctoral thesis cannot be underestimated: it is an integral step as Hart (2001, p. 2) explains “a search of the literature is an essential part of every research project”. Oliver (2014, p. 125) elaborates, stating that “the principal purpose of the literature review is to establish the academic and research areas which are of relevance to the subject of the research”. To ensure a thorough range of perspectives were reviewed, the literature gathered in the present work comprised secondary sources; published and unpublished reports; peer-reviewed journal articles; webinars; doctoral theses; monographs; and UK Parliament debates, guidelines, and policy documents.

Defining ‘Honour’

Before exploring the meaning of HBA, clarifying the meaning and origin of ‘honour’ is vital as a starting point. Honour is typically considered a virtue or character trait

associated with such qualities as honesty, moral righteousness, and altruism. The meaning of honour differs from one culture to another, and tends to be problematic, especially when there is no agreement on what the word translates to, for example, in Arabic, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Turkish, and Bengali, the equivalent word for honour is *izzat*, *sharaf*, *şərəf*, *onur*, and *maryada*, respectively. Looking at it from an English definition perspective the meaning of honour alludes more to the fame of an individual or to regard someone with respect or prestige. Most cultures define honour as noble behaviour, excellent moral character, integrity, and selflessness (Vandello and Cohen, 2003). However, it is frequently used in specific communities to justify violence, abuse, and at times murder (Bhanbhro *et al.*, 2016; Gill *et al.*, 2012).

According to the Online Etymology Dictionary (2010), and Britannica (2019) the noun *honour* is from Anglo-French *honour*, which means, “honor, dignity, distinction, position; victory, triumph.” It is derived from the Latin *honorem* or *honor* meaning, “honour, dignity, office, reputation.” There is also the individual definition, which differs vastly, when it comes to defining honour. Culture and nationalism both have an impact upon the parameters of how an individual feels, and perceives honour, but that individual sense of meaning is quite slippery because of distinct interpretations dependent upon which culture obtains.

Despite the difficulty in defining honour, it is generally accepted that it consists of three elements: an emotion, the manifestation of that feeling via actions, and the evaluation of those actions by others (Pitt-Rivers, 1971). In other words, honour encompasses not only an individual’s sense of worth but also the validation of that perception by others in the form of respect. Therefore, honour can be associated with a range of characteristics and emotions, including pride, regard, dignity, notoriety, and virtue.

When seeking to define the meaning of the term ‘honour’, several philosophers have pointed to the compelling concept of shame through dishonour. Wikan (2008) believes that individuals in honour-based cultures are equally motivated by the desire to acquire and exhibit respect. There is a reciprocal relationship between honour and dishonour, as each is necessary for the growth of the other. Mandelbaum (1988) believed that honour must be constantly maintained via effort alone, as well as

defended against attack and reclaimed through competition. To be shamed and therefore dishonoured is the result of failing to live up to the expected norms or conduct as members of a patriarchal society, whereas being honoured is associated with accomplishment.

The question of honour and how to achieve it has been the subject of discussions by many civilisations from the ancient Greek and Roman eras. For example, Aristotle (1925) [originally published in 350 B.C.E] wrote in *Nicomachean Ethics* that honour is the most important of the secondary goods and not to be disdained (Ross, 1925). Aristotle argues that a man of virtue will pursue honour because they consider nothing to be more virtuous. Similarly, Plato's work as translated by Waterfield (2008, p. 62) wrote in *The Republic*:

Good men will not consent to govern for cash or honours. They do not want to be called mercenary for exacting a cash payment for the work of government, or thieves for making money on the side; and they will not work for honours, for they aren't ambitious.

Cicero's work translated by Griffin and Atkins (1991) speculated that no individual will abandon their own interest for the greater good if they are not compensated with either fame or honour. However, he also warned that the quest for honour can also work against the common good. Cicero believed the more determination we invest into the pursuit of something, the more easily our desire for recognition can lure us to act unjustly. Many Romans, as he illustrated, were more willing to sacrifice their money or life than forgo the slightest amount of personal glory in the interest of the state.

The value of one's honour has also had its mention in many poems and plays, such as the Shakespearean verse from *King Richard II* (translated by Dawson and Yachnin 2011, pp. 182-183):

Mine honour is my life; both grow in one.
Take honour from me, and my life is done.
(Act 1, Scene 1).

Clearly, to many civilisations and writers, 'honour' was perceived as the most valuable and treasured commodity of all, more precious than money or human lives. However, this precious and rare currency can also mesmerise and spoil even the most virtuous (as presented in the subsequent sections in this literature review).

American anthropologist Stewart (1994) believes that Western honour culture weakened between the 12th and 19th century, with the death of the collectivist Western cultural values. Oprisko (2012) agrees that honour has been devalued in almost all developed societies, especially since the end of World War II with many families no longer living together. According to Stewart (1994), when individualism and subjectivity were given more weight at the expense of the community, the notion of honour was altered, resulting in a weakened Western honour culture.

Is it accurate to say that there is no 'value' left in honour, or that it has weakened/disappeared? If honour has disappeared, as Stewart (1994) and Oprisko (2012) contend, why do we continue to attach honour to certain acts, services, and individual traits? Many countries continue to reward or bestow medals of honour to individuals deemed to be exceptional (for example, members of the armed forces along with other actions in service of their country, activists, and individuals from other fields such as entertainers, lawyers, and academics), and to organisations for their outstanding service to the local or international community. For instance, some notable medals of honour include the US Medal of Honour and the UK's bestowed honours such as the British Empire Medal (BEM), Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE), Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE), Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE), and Knighthood/Damehood.

Ultimately, it is to be noted that honour is prevalent in many societies, for example Muslims, Christians, Druze, and Jews (Gill, 2009). This practice predates Islam and occurs in the Indian subcontinent, Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the Mediterranean (al-Attar, 2013). Honour continues to have both a private and civic aspect: on one hand it defines an individual's self-respect, however it also relates to how society perceives that individual's self-worth and significance (Brandon and Hafez, 2008).

Defining 'Honour-Based Abuse'

Falling under the umbrella of VAWG, HBA is a key issue that demands a robust and a systematic approach to tackling insidious patriarchal practices against women and girls. Due to various perceptions of HBA practices, it is difficult to define the issue, as there is no one agreed definition for HBA and the literature itself is not consistent in terminology used. For example, some writers refer to HBA as 'honour-based violence', while others label it as 'so-called honour-based abuse', and still others group HBA in the same category of 'so-called honour-based abuse and forced marriage'. The definition of HBA is by no means straightforward, given that this overarching term encompasses a wide range of crimes, which may be culturally explicit.

This section of the literature review examines a variety of definitions and perspectives of HBA, as well as the meaning of the term to a variety of organisations, including the UK Government, statutory bodies, academia, and NGOs. Gill *et al.*, (2014, p. 10) argue that HBA partially falls on the religious and cultural beliefs linked to gender roles and patriarchal practices of communities and individuals, adding that, if anything, the "patterns of gender-based socialisation have an even more important role to play."

Siddiqui (2014) contends that HBA first became a prominent part of public debate in 2002 following the death of Heshu Yones, a 16-year-old Iraqi Kurdish woman whose father murdered her due to her relationship with a Christian Lebanese boyfriend. This was the first case in the UK regarded by the police as an honour killing, subsequently becoming part of a wider debate about HBA and its association with South Asian culture. The next three sections provide an overview of the definition of HBA from varying perspectives, each developed through the lens of their respective field of expertise.

Definitions of Abuse and Violence from Advocates for Women's Rights

Uncertain as to what 'honour-based abuse' means, Radhika Coomaraswamy (2005, p. xi), an internationally renowned human rights advocate and activist for addressing violence against woman, equates 'violence against women' to HBV:

Honour is generally seen as residing in the bodies of women. Frameworks of 'honour' and its corollary, shame, operate to control, direct and regulate women's sexuality and freedom of movement by male members of a family. Women who fall in love, engage in nonmarital relationships, seek a divorce or choose their own husbands are seen to transgress the boundaries of 'appropriate' (that is, socially sanctioned) behaviour. Regulation of such behaviour may in some cases involve horrific direct violence - including 'honour killing', perhaps the most brutal control of female sexuality - as well as indirect subtle control exercised through threats of force or the withdrawal of family benefits and security.

Similarly, to Coomaraswamy, Idriss (2017, p. 1) describes HBA as mainly, but not exclusively, violence perpetrated upon women who bring "shame and dishonour upon their family for reasons usually involving their sexual behaviour" which ties into the patriarchal notion of *izzat* (see section on The Unwritten Law: *Izzat*)

Definitions used by Government Agencies

Until recently, there was little to no recognition of HBA and the broader context of violence against women regardless of culture, age or race. HBA is increasingly being viewed as a violation of human rights by many international and national organisations including the UN (Gill, 2011) and is seen as a criminal act by the NPCC (2015). It is recognised that HBA differs from FM. However, one may argue that FM is a subset of HBA, given that HBA consists of acts of abuse in reaction to what is perceived as dishonour upon the family, whilst FM may also occur due to a family's desire to control the sexuality and prevent objectionable relations (Idriss, 2015).

The UK Government and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS, 2019) use HBV and HBA interchangeably, describing HBA as:

An incident or crime involving violence, threats of violence, intimidation coercion or abuse (including psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional abuse) which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of an individual, family and/ or community for alleged or perceived breaches of the family and/or community's code of behaviour.

In the publication from Her Majesty's Government (HMG) (2014, p. 3) titled *Multi-agency practice guidelines: Handling cases of forced marriages*, the authors refer to the terms honour crime or honour-based violence (rather than HBA) or *izzat* in the name of honour as including different types of violence, not only against women, such as "assault, imprisonment and murder" committed by family or community members for "undermining what the family or community believes to be the correct code of behaviour." The UK Government differentiates HBA from other forms of abuse, due to the collusion element of the phenomenon which may be present between family members and the wider community. As HMG emphasises, victims may have perpetrators in and outside the UK. In fact, as HMG (2014, p. 3) adds, HBA "can be a trigger for a forced marriage." The Forced Marriage Unit (FMU), as well as the CPS, provide further detail about HBA and what it involves. In a guide to prosecutors developed by the FMU (2017), HBA is described as:

A collection of practices, which are used to control behaviour within families or social groups to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and or honour. Such violence can occur when perpetrators perceive that a relative has shamed the family or community by breaking their honour code.

As the FMU emphasises, women are mostly, but not solely, victims of HBA as men impose their authority over female autonomy and sexuality. The FMU categorises HBA as a particular type of abuse and regards this act of violence as being perpetrated with collaboration and collusion of close family members and the community. One may argue that protecting the notion of 'honour' of an individual family or community is attributed to South Asian communities practicing subjugation of women through patriarchy. However, the reality being that patriarchy also exists in Western civilisations as well as other cultures. Patriarchy conceals the purposeful nature of the crime and instead places a strong focus on honour, which serves to

legitimise the motivation for committing the crime. As a result, persons with a motive for abuse have an additional layer of protection from the family and the community.

Definitions used by Academics and NGOs

Honour crimes are defined by academics as threats, intimidation, verbal abuse, coercion, murder, and harassment – including the exclusion of women’s participation from economic and political life (Rigoni 2022; Gorar, 2020; Idriss, 2018). The United Nations’ (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (A/RES/48/104) also defines violence against women as:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. (UN, 2015, p. 10).

In exploring HBA, experiences, and counter-strategies in Iraqi Kurdistan and the UK Kurdish diaspora, Begikhani *et al.*, (2015, p. 4) defined HBA as:

Generally understood as consisting of a variety of forms of intimate violence committed most commonly against (young) women (and some men) by uncles and fathers, brothers, husbands, and other male (and sometimes female) relatives. It generally involves a premeditated act aimed at restoring lost or threatened ‘honour’ as constructed by the family and wider community.

The International HBV Awareness Network (no date) states that:

Women in patriarchal ‘honour’ cultures may be subjected to constant surveillance, the family may try to restrict their movements to ensure they do not develop relationships outside the family or community grouping, thus reducing the individual’s freedom of movement and association. Such levels of control may limit women’s opportunities to take part in the social world, form relationships of their choosing, and to seek adequate help in the event of violence or coercion. Women (and men) are expected to conform to the wishes of their elders who are presumed to be acting in the greater good of the family as a whole.

The UK-based charity IKWRO (Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation) defines HBA as a:

Restriction to a women's autonomy, families may collaborate to commit violence against a relative who is thought to have violated the restrictions around the expected female behaviour. Such violations might include dress or make-up which is not approved by the family, resisting an arranged marriage, seeking divorce, reporting domestic violence. (IKWRO, Honour-based violence, 2013).

Honour crimes are defined by Welchman and Hossain (2005) as a variety of indicators of violence against women, including honour killing, physical attack, internment or imprisonment focused on control over women, and most frequently, women's sexual conduct: assumed, tangible or probable. An honour crime is an action aimed at removing the stain of dishonour through the use of emotive, social, or physical coercion enacted upon the individual whose actions are considered to have brought dishonour (Sen, 2005). Siddiqui (2005, p. 263) describes HBA as:

One of a range of violent and abusive acts committed in the name of honour, including emotional, physical or sexual abuse and other controlling and coercive behaviours, such as forced marriage and female genital mutilation, which can end in, in some extreme case in suicide or murder.

Sen (2005, p. 50) suggests that HBA is distinguished by six key elements which pinpoint the distinctiveness of honour:

- Gender relations that problematise and control women's behaviours, shaping and controlling women's sexuality in particular
- The role of women in policing and monitoring women's behaviour
- Collective decisions regarding punishment, or in upholding the actions considered appropriate, for transgressions of these boundaries
- The potential for women's participation in killings
- The ability to reclaim honour through enforced compliance or killings, and
- State sanction of such killings through recognition of honour as motivation and mitigation.

The emphasis of all the above definitions is the ongoing behaviour of control, where potentially violent behaviour acts as a form of communal and coercive control (Myhill, 2015). There is widespread agreement and awareness that HBA is used to regulate

the behaviour of females, families, and other social groupings in order to keep cultural and religious beliefs and/or ‘honour’ from being destroyed (Gill *et al.*, 2018; Idriss, 2018; Bates, 2018). This establishes unequivocally that women are at greater risk of HBA, and that the patriarchal practices they endure have a continual impact on, and often suffocate, their human rights.

Data and Honour-Based Abuse

The following data have been obtained from the CPS VAWG Report for 2016/18:

CPS VAWG Data (2018)	2016 - 2017	2017 - 2018
Police Referrals	200	145
Police Prosecutions	171	127
Police Convictions	90	71
Percent of convictions from prosecutions	52.6%	55.9%

Figure 1: CPS VAWG Report (2018) Police referrals and convictions for 2016 - 2018

These data from the CPS’s VAWG report (2018, p.12 - 13) for 2017-2018 illustrates that the number of referrals from police for HBA fell from 200 in 2016-2017 to 145 in 2017-2018. In this period, the CPS (2018) also reported that the number of convictions for HBA decreased from 90 to 71 over the same period, with the conviction rate increasing from 52.6% to 55.9%. The report indicated that there was a decrease in non-convictions for HBA cases that were attributed to “complainant issues” (VAWG, 2018, p.12). The term complainant issues refers to instances where the complainant (victim/survivor) withdrew support for prosecution or refused to cooperate with legal proceedings.

Pending further research, one could attribute these improvements to the different initiatives introduced by charities and government organisations, such as HBV and FM master classes and training videos delivered since 2017, and the update of HBV and FM protocol and legal guidance. However, given the hidden nature of HBA crimes, it is probable that many victims will never seek out authorities due to lack of

support (Walker, 2020) and multifaceted pressures. In addition to fear of reprisals, shame about victimisation and perceptions of an indifferent system may inhibit reporting (Burton, 2015). The stigma surrounding abuse can deter help-seeking, as victims may feel profound shame at the loss of 'honour' and status within their communities. Reporting may also be seen as futile if authorities are perceived as passive or dismissive of HBA cases. Financial, linguistic, and cultural barriers can further impede access to support services and the justice system. However, in the particular context of HBA, fear of victimisation within family or community are pivotal factors influencing victims' decisions on reporting abuse. These reprisals may include ostracisation, physical abuse, forced marriage or even honour killing. In this context, profound fear of coming forward can silence victims and create reluctance to seek justice (Eshareturi *et al.*, 2014; Gill, 2009). While multifaceted personal and systemic barriers exist, fear of violent retaliation by family or community members constitutes a primary deterrent keeping many HBA victims from reporting. Protection measures like injunctions may be unknown or carry risks by further targeting victims (Burton, 2015). Overall, fear of harm persists as a key driver of under-reporting, even amidst other disincentives like shame or perceived institutional indifference.

CPS VAWG Data (2019)	2018 – 2019
Police Referrals	80
Police Prosecutions	72
Police Convictions	41
Percent of convictions from prosecutions	56.9%

Figure 2: CPS VAWG Report (2019) Police referrals and convictions for 2018 - 2019

The CPS's VAWG (2019, p.19) reported that 70 complainants were recorded in the Witness Management System for 2018-2019, showing a decline of 52 fewer complainants in comparison with the previous years (CPS, 2018). Out of 80 suspected HBA cases, 49 suspects were charged according to CPS data (2019). There were 72 prosecutions completed in the period with 68 cases identified as domestic abuse and 24 cases dropped. Overall, the CPS (2019) recorded 41 convictions (56.9%), a 1%-point increase from 55.9% in 2017-2018 (CPS, 2018,

p.13). Furthermore, CPS (2018) also documented 17 non-convictions due to “complainant attrition.” This is particularly concerning given that the decision not to proceed with prosecution may be a result of complainants succumbing to pressure and returning to their abusers, which raises the question of what happened to these victims. The data insights from SafeLives (2017), for instance, have shown an increase annually in the proportion of high-risk clients who are HBA victims in their overall client base in recent years (from 69% in 2015 to 82% in 2017). While accessing support services through organisations such as SafeLives has increased, there remains a noticeable discrepancy in the number of cases proceeding to trial as a result of complainant attrition. The CPS switched from yearly to quarterly reports in the second quarter of 2019–2020, so there are no comparative annual data for 2018 - 2019 onwards (CPS, 2020).

The Mayor of London (2010) and Oliver *et al.*, (2017) warn that the officially reported cases of HBA are likely to be markedly higher than the data collated suggests. In fact, in research commissioned by Home Office, written by Oliver *et al.*, (2017), the researchers point out that not all documented crimes are referred to the CPS for charges to be laid due to insufficient evidence to undertake a prosecution, and in cases where the victim does not want to go to trial. Burton (2008) argues that there is a myriad of factors that lead to individuals averting reporting HBA such as coercion; psychological attachment to the perpetrators; fear of retribution; and the lack of support and/or rejection by State agencies. Moreover, as the NPCC and CPS (2018) indicate, some vulnerable victims and witnesses may not want to support prosecution because they are fearful of their immigration status, in circumstances where they came to England as a dependant spouse; fears include losing their rights to a settlement, public funds such as social security benefits, and public housing. Some victims may also have a lack of confidence in the criminal justice process and/or feel a loyalty to their family and/or community, and hence will not cooperate with the CPS team (2018). Victimless prosecutions can be an important avenue in HBA cases due to familial and social pressures deterring victim participation (Chesler, 2010). By relying more heavily on forensic evidence analysis and expert testimony regarding relevant cultural practices, prosecutors may advance cases despite victim reluctance or refusal to testify (Meetoo and Mirza, 2007). However, the feasibility of this approach depends on context, as victimless prosecutions pose certain challenges.

Without victim cooperation, securing convictions becomes substantially more difficult in minor cases with limited physical evidence beyond the victim's account (Aplin, 2019). Yet, it can be argued that victimless prosecutions have achieved success in severe crimes like honour killings, as demonstrated in the Surjit Atwal case.

Enhanced cultural sensitivity training for authorities and more rigorous evidence gathering procedures could bolster the prospects of victimless prosecutions holding offenders accountable without further endangering already marginalised victims (Gill *et al.*, 2014). But evidentiary and systemic barriers persist, underscoring the need for nuanced solutions that prioritise victim safety while advancing justice.

In 2020, the Home Office requested the first ever gathered and published statistical data mandate, which was recorded from April 2019 to December 2020 encompassing data from England and Wales, not made available separately for England. According to this report, the number of HBA offences reported and recorded to 43 police forces in England and Wales (excluding GM Police due to IT issues), was 2,024 over this period of time. Of these cases 140 related to FM and 74 concerning FGM. Further information from 30 police forces recorded a variety of offences, including assault without injury (28%); assault with injury (17%); kidnapping (10%); stalking (2%); threats to kill (10%); rape of women aged 16 and above (6%); public fear, alarm, or distress (1%); and cruelty to a young person (2%).

The Home Office (2020) denoted this inaugural data collection as experimental statistics due to several issues. Firstly, some police forces lacked consistency in recording and identifying HBA acts. Secondly, the data excluded the GM Police who were unable to provide data due to IT issues. Given that GM Police serve a population of over 2.8 million, it is possible that missing GM data led to flawed estimates of the number of HBA offences reported. Another problematic factor for statistical integrity is that HBA is a hidden crime – not all victims report their abuse. Therefore, this Home Office report is illustrative only and does not represent all the areas in the country and the actual offences committed from 2019 to 2020. The National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) admits that “we acknowledge that these abuses are hugely under-reported, and we remain focused on giving victims the confidence and come forward” (Siddique, 2021, p.1). By the NPCC's own admission, they appear limited in trying to have victims come forward. It can be argued that this

approach may not take into account the cultural factors involved, for example, victims are often cut off from the world beyond their homes and communities. Even language barriers may be part of the wider problem, resulting in victims feeling that there is nowhere to turn, and uncertain about what support there may be - this uncertainty surely makes it harder for victims to begin the process of 'escape'.

As a result of the Home Office publication, the Domestic Abuse Commissioner for England and Wales and the Victims Commissioner for England and Wales each raised concerns about the slow progress of the Home Office and the impact: [not only does this] "undermines victim confidence to engage with police, but fundamentally exacerbates the hidden nature of HBA, thus intensifies victims' risk and compromises victim safety." (Khan *et al.*, 2021, p. 7). It can be debated whether this has provided any way forward at all. For example, the statement appears to indicate that the risk and safety of victims have been increased from the Home Office investigation - which is not only a failure of the project, but one that may have fatal consequences.

Taken together, these findings imply that the problem is far larger than that which police reported data alone can indicate, even when combined with data on cases that progress to trial and those which lead to conviction. This is significant because, even in the absence of good baseline data, these findings demonstrate that HBA is a systemic crisis affecting a large number of children, adolescents, and adults in the UK, with potentially deadly implications. The imprecise estimates available highlight the importance of gathering comprehensive and comparative statistics on HBA crimes in future, in order to have a clearer understanding of the true scope of the dangers HBA pose. This failure at both police and justice level to be able to tackle HBA in any kind of majority, even from the cases that go to trial, means in the wider context that victims may be failed, and their safeguarding compromised.

HBA comprises multiple crimes, including, but not limited to, oral threats, rape, domestic abuse, FM, kidnapping, false imprisonment, threats to harm and kill and in some instances, murder. (NPCC, 2015). Despite the social, psychological, and emotional effects of HBA, not only on individuals and their families but also on communities and organisations, there are no national or local statistics to assess its scale or motivation. Most HBA reports have relied on police and media information

which may conflict and may be contradictory. Generating robust statistical data as to the scale of HBA is extremely challenging due to the variety of data sampling, compilation, and reporting, thus making it extremely challenging to assess and confirm. In fact, the CPS (2019) admitted that despite their scrutiny of the data they gather and report, the quality of information still ‘needs to be reviewed and updated.’ It could be argued that the lack of scrutiny arises from not knowing how to approach HBA confidently and competently.

An examination of recorded cases from 2010-2014 from 39 of 52 UK police forces revealed 11,744 incidences of potential HBA (HMIC, 2015) including FM and FGM. Contrary to these statistics and based on a Freedom of Information (FOI) request in 2016 to 43 police forces across England and Wales, evidence showed that there had been only 7,048 reports filed to the police. The forces which received the highest number of reports were the Metropolitan Police Service (2,330), followed by the Thames Valley Police (1,000) and then GM Police (857) (Snowden, 2016). Furthermore, in 2018-2019, the CPS’s (VAWG) recorded the most dominant areas recording HBA incidents included London, North-West, West Midlands, Yorkshire, and Humberside. Their data revealed that “64 defendants were male and eight were female ... [and] of all complainants, 31 were female, 16 were male and the sex of 23 complainants was not recorded.” (CPS, 2019, p. 22).

According to the Home Office’s FMU (2012), from January to December 2012

Where the age was known, 13% (approximately 1,500) involved victims aged under 15 years; 22% of victims aged from 16 to 17; 30% aged 18 to 21; 19% aged 22 to 25; 8% of the victims aged between 26 to 30; and similarly, 8% of victims were aged 31 and above.

Two particularly shocking cases were the oldest victim recorded aged 71, and the youngest only two years of age.

Dyer (2015) highlights growing concern that police forces are failing to identify and record HBA crimes. This is further intensified by the lack of clarity on what type of crime HBA constitutes (Aplin, 2019). For example, the CPS (2015) classifies HBA separately from FM and FGM. This is contrary to the NPCC’s definition, which

identifies HBA as an 'umbrella' term that encompasses a broad array of offences, for example, emotional abuse, FM, controlling sexual activity, unexplained death, suicide and murder. HBA encapsulates a wide range of offences that are connected under the 'umbrella' of HBA but demonstrate an escalation. Emotional abuse embeds the fear of seeking help as the process of dehumanisation is continually perpetuated. As the abuse increases in form and frequency, the victim is more and more isolated, and the fear increases at the same time. In terms of offences, there is also the matter of 'justice', each offence is treated differently by the judicial system rather than being grouped and illustrated as a more pervasive form of abuse in HBA, which means that perpetrators may not face conviction under the umbrella of HBA.

In 2015, an investigation by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) found that just three of England's 43 police forces were "properly prepared" to protect and support victims of HBV effectively (HMIC, 2015 p.2). This report, commissioned by the Police Watchdog (HMIC, 2015) found that not enough is being done by the police to protect victims of HBA, FM, and FGM. The Police Watchdog, otherwise known as the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) manages police complaints in England and Wales independently of the police and government (IOPC, 2020) and has recognised that HBA is a complex and multi-layered crime; it also recognises that more needs to be done by the police to protect vulnerable victims from this insidious crime.

In 2013, Britain's then Chief Prosecutor, Nazir Afzal, overseeing the national portfolio for FGM, FM, and HBA in England, and also the Board member of the Halo Project, reported that there is an estimate of "12 to 15 honour killings of British girls" (cited in Halo Project, 2013; Siddique 2021), and "around 8,000 to 10,000 forced marriages or threats of forced marriage in the UK each year based on NGO and police data" (cited in the AHA Foundation, no date; Clawson and Fyson, 2017; Home Affairs Committee, 2011). However, it can be argued that these troubling numbers likely underrepresent the full scale of the issue. It is critical to note that available data may exclude many hidden victims of HBA. Some individuals may be smuggled overseas, trapped in households without outside access, or even murdered. Thus, while Afzal's, Siddique, Home Affairs Committee 2011; Clawson and Fyson's revelations offer initial quantification of known HBA cases, the provided figures are constrained by

challenges inherent in identifying victims whose abuse may deliberately remain concealed. As the certainty of statistics rely on reported data the full magnitude remains difficult to conclusively determine given secrecy and coercion dynamics fundamental to HBA practices. Though there are potential flaws in the data reported by Afzal, it is of value when considering the prevalence of HBA nonetheless because it provides initial quantification of known cases from authoritative sources. Afzal drew on data from police, government agencies, and NGOs to estimate the scale of honour killings, forced marriages, and related threats in England. Despite constraints inherent in identifying concealed victims, these revelations offer important baseline metrics on HBA cases. Though incomplete, these figures highlight the pressing need to combat HBA.

There have been several reports describing the financial cost of DV (see Oliver *et al.*, 2019; Coy and Kelly, 2011) in comparison to HBA (SafeLives, 2018). In terms of monetary cost of domestic abuse for the UK Government, Walby (2009) reports the estimate total cost across various relevant services, such as the Criminal Justice System (including the police), civil legal services, healthcare system (including mental health), social services, and housing and refuges, as £5.5 billion per year. To help close the gap in spending, Walby (2009) recommended a collaborative, cross-government approach to tackling violence and abuse be put in place. Since Walby's original publication in 2004 and the update in 2009, it is estimated that England is incurring a daily human and emotional cost equivalent to almost £26 million. According to Oliver, *et al.*, (2019) the Government has spent approximately £15.8 billion every year to public services to address DV and the lost economic output of women affected by violence.

With an estimate of 2.4 million adult victims of domestic abuse, an estimated 1.7 million women and 699,000 men in the year 2022 (Elkin, 2022), the Home Office estimated the monetary cost of domestic abuse over this same period for England and Wales was £66 billion. Of course, this does not include the lost income of victims of abuse and the psychological and physical cost for victims (SafeLives, 2018).

Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic

In 2020, there was a record increase of incidents of abuse during the COVID-19 pandemic. With the closure of schools, community centres, mental health charities, and the re-routing of police and statutory social services, many families in 2020 found themselves isolated and defenceless to perpetrators of violence, including sexual violence. As the End Violence Against Women Coalition UK (EVAW) (2020, pp. 12-13) commented, this made “child sexual abuse online, child sexual exploitation of young people who are not in school and are away from home unsupervised, and sexual violence against girls by their ‘peers’ (on and offline), all serious risks during this crisis.” In fact, KN (2020) found that in England the Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) specialist sector had seen more victims of domestic abuse coming forward and fewer victims of HBA in the first two months of the COVID-19 lockdown from March to April. The charity cites the high profiling of DV services in the media and the lack of HBA coverage contributing to shaping a different narrative. Victims experiencing or in danger of culturally specific abuse are far more isolated; therefore, it is much more crucial to highlight the distinctive experiences of individuals at risk in order to safeguard them effectively. In light of this, it is vital to ensure that a more customised assistance package is offered to recognise the unique difficulties inherent in combatting frequently ‘hidden’ culturally specific types of abuse such as HBA.

Karma Nirvana’s (2020) impact survey, conducted with 18 service users of 12 charities and 6 statutory agencies, found that in comparison to the immediate pre-months (from 17 February to 22 March 2020), during the lockdown period (from 23 March to 24 April 2020) the coercive control and emotional abuse reported amongst women and men was a record 162% increase across 12 services in England. Official figures have not yet been published to illustrate the effects on women and men since the COVID-19 pandemic related lockdown, it can be argued that the latter has likely increased the opportunities for perpetrators to commit HBA and remain undetected.

The UK’s Counting Dead Women project (Ingala-Smith, 2020) founded by Karen Ingala-Smith also saw a record increase in killings, with many of the victims being from minority communities. The project reported that between 23 March and 12 April 2020, 16 domestic abuse killings had taken place, whilst calls to the National

Domestic Abuse Helpline had increased by 49% three weeks into lockdown. Gill (2020) postulated that COVID-19 and austerity has greatly reduced the support services available to BAME individuals. She further states the lack of adequate funding and co-ordination makes it particularly difficult for women living in volatile home environments to assess their options to leave. Leaving became more difficult for abused women than during the pre-pandemic period. Further, many services across a range of sectors have fundamentally changed how they operate as a result of the pandemic, particularly moving services online through MS Teams and web chats, and with psychologists operating through video-calls only – all these shifts have taken away opportunities to escape a volatile home environment even for a short period to ask for help.

To combat VAWG, the charitable organisation Women's Aid (2020) estimated that an investment of £393m is needed to secure sustainable specialist support mechanisms to help victims in England. Women's Aid (2020) admits that its data and statistical evidence do not depict "the experiences of marginalised women, the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 and the role of structural inequalities and institutional racism" (p.15).

Imkaan, a charity focused on addressing violence against Black and minoritised women and girls have been critical of research data recorded from 2013-2020 on VAWG from the World Health Organization (WHO), particularly in relation to the impact of COVID-19. Imkaan has stipulated that further research is needed to interpret the scope and scale and effects of COVID-19 on the violence against women and girls, especially for BAME where "multiple discrimination is also evident" (Imkaan, 2020, p. 4). The COVID-19 epidemic has exposed the profound inequities throughout society. According to Abdelshahid, and Habane (2021) during the epidemic, women, particularly those from BAME populations, have encountered a distinct set of obstacles. Living at the nexus of racial and gender inequity, they have had to shoulder substantial challenges. Furthermore, Imkaan contends that the effects of lockdown have exposed the inherent weakness in the UK's political system in crucial areas. Imkaan has demanded "transparency, accountability, and participation in decision making about the investment of resources in the social sector

and civil society” (2020, p. 7). What is ultimately required, Imkaan concludes, is an essential structural change in the UK political system.

Factors Contributing to and Impacting on Honour-Based Abuse

In examining the complex dynamics of HBA, it is crucial to consider various theories that attempt to explain perpetrators' abusive behaviour. These theories have been developed by social scientists throughout the 20th century, providing different perspectives on the underlying causes of violence (see, for example, Freud, 1915; Jung, 1948; Erikson, 1950; Lacan, 1978). While their direct association with HBA may not be explicit, they offer valuable insights into the broader understanding of violence and its social, cognitive, and cultural influences.

For example, psychoanalytic theorists postulate that violent behaviour is involuntary: a neurobiological problem that impacts the ability to control impulse (Freud, 1915; Jung, 1948; Erikson, 1950; Lacan, 1978). Psychoanalytic theorists contend that human behaviour is predestined. It is governed by unconscious and irrational impulses as well as biological and intrinsic drives (Mills, 2022). They do not believe in free will due to the deterministic character of their theory. These theories suggest that HBA may be influenced by underlying psychological factors that impact individuals' abilities to control their actions.

Unlike psychoanalytic theorists, behaviourism theorists maintain that one's behaviour is the result of other individuals' reactions to their behaviour (Thorndike, 1932). Within a behaviourism framework, theorists contend that humans are conditioned to behave in a particular way as a result of rewards and punishments learnt through their interactions with others. In an ideal situation, certain behaviour is supported by rewards and extinguished by negative reactions or punishments. Linking behaviourist theories to HBA, it can be argued that certain patriarchal behaviours may be learned and reinforced within certain social and cultural contexts, highlighting the role of conditioning and external influences on human behaviour.

Unlike the above theories, social learning theorists, for example Bandura (1977), contend that humans are not born with an innate ability to act violently. Instead, their

learnt violence is argued to be the result of modelling through the observation of others and that modelling, and observation takes place during formative years, when individuals are most impressionable. If aggressive acts are rewarded, then the children are likely to adopt this behaviour. Social theorists posit that aggression, abuse, and violence are all socially constructed, learnt in early childhood, and transferred by individual members of the family or the community to other members. The influence of social learning may play a significant role in the transmission and perpetuation of HBA, as individuals learn violent behaviours through observation and replication of abusive acts within their family or community settings.

Furthermore, Bandura (1977) emphasised that the social context is the most influential factor in influencing the frequency, form, and circumstances in which aggressiveness occurs, as well as the target of violent activities. This leads to the view that families have a crucial role in not just exposing individuals to violence, but also inculcating an acceptance and support of violence (Ali and Naylor, 2013).

Cognitive theorists agree with the social theories developed that perceive violence and abuse as the result of societal norms and behaviour, but cognitive theorists also believe that rational individual thinking interplays to influence decisions (see Piaget 1936; Kohlberg, 1969). Individuals with lower levels of moral reasoning will, for instance, engage in violence and abuse as the individual feels that there will be no consequences for their actions. The above could also be recognised within the practices of HBA, as perpetrators are protected from the consequences of their actions due to patriarchal societal norms and behaviour.

Whereas functionalist theorists examine society from a structural perspective (see James, 1890; Spencer, 1898; Dewey, 1938) based on conformance to assigned social roles within the family environment and identifying a shared responsibility (Allen and Henderson, 2022). To ensure that the social system is able to function effectively, responsibilities are delegated, and these responsibilities are fulfilled via collaboration and agreement. From this perspective, it may be argued that violence may be used to impose order on delinquent or disobedient members. In the context of HBA, this theory suggests that the imposition of violence may be used to maintain

order and exert power over individuals deemed delinquent or disobedient within patriarchal family structures.

Feminist theory on the perspective of abuse places the blame on the patriarchal societies that encourages a patriarchal family structure in which men are expected to exert power over women based on cultural norms. For comprehending violence, Dutton (2011) suggests a layered ecological theory, believing that an individual's environment and connections are crucial to understanding intimate relationship violence. Feminist theory, which critiques patriarchal societies and their impact on gender-based violence, provides insights into the societal norms and power structures that perpetuate HBA. It underscores the connection between cultural norms, gender inequality, and the enforcement of violence within certain communities.

The purpose of multiple studies has been to explore the scope of the above theories in understanding violence, and the reasoning which has led to such behaviour; this includes Roberts (2014). Roberts adopted Ajzen's (1985) Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) to explain the intentions of perpetrators who endorse and carry out violence in response to perceived dishonour. He found that the behaviour of perpetrators is dependent on their motivation or intention, and their ability (or behavioural control) to commit an abuse. The decision to engage in forms of abuse involves multiple factors including the perpetrator's attitude, behavioural intentions, social norms, subjective norms, perceived power, and perceived behavioural control. Of course, Roberts's adoption of the TPB does not account for the perpetrator's access to resources and opportunities to undertake the abuse. Furthermore, it also does not consider other variables that may impact the perpetrator's decisions, such as their behavioural intention and motivation; mental health; well-being; past experience/s in terms of perpetrating violence; or violence being part of their cultural 'norm'. While Roberts' adaptation of the TPB does account for normative influences, it does not consider the environmental and economic factors or changes over a period of time that could skew someone's intentions/motivations.

It is evident that the linkages between culture, behaviour, development, and susceptibility for violence are the overarching themes underlying all of the theories

presented above. Therefore, it is important to research the roles of victims and their offenders from these many angles in order to better comprehend HBA. By exploring these various theories and their associations with HBA, we can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the multiple factors that contribute to the occurrence and perpetuation of HBA. These theories highlight the complex interplay between psychological, social, cultural, and gender-related factors that shape individuals' involvement in HBA. Understanding these associations is crucial for developing effective prevention strategies, interventions, and support systems to combat HBA and promote change within affected communities.

The Unwritten Law: *Izzat* (Honour)

The traditional unwritten law known as *izzat* عزت (Honour), an Arabic term for 'honour,' forbids any act that dishonours the community and family; *izzat* therefore contributes to the constructed perception of women as the 'honour' of the family and the 'community' (Gilmore, 1991). South Asian women may be at risk of being ostracised and labelled as 'outcasts' for failing to remain passive (Wilson, 1978; Trivedi, 1984). Lees (1997) observed that many ethnic, religious, and cultural groups place a premium on reputation and honour and that male pride *or izzat is* contingent on reputation, making it a powerful conservative factor.

Maintaining honour can often lead to the silencing of abused women in order to keep the required level of respectability of the family (see, for example, Sahgal, 1992; Wilson, 1978). Nonetheless, *izzat* remains the responsibility of women within the family, as it is women who must maintain their honour and respectability (Gillespie, 1995; Ballard, 1982). Therefore, the effects of cultural beliefs in motivating patriarchal behaviour cannot be negated. *Izzat* acts as a form of social control, and in order to maintain *izzat*, strict moral and social guidelines are imposed upon women's behaviour through various cultural norms and expectations.

Cultural practices that function based on strict gender differentiation may be employed under the guise of being 'what is best' for young women (Hennink, Diamond and Cooper, 1999; Drury, 1991; Gillespie, 1995). Thus, maintaining the

izzat of a family necessitates strict surveillance of women's activities. The threat of 'being seen' is a central motivating force to this panoptic concept, as parents are likely to fear how their daughter's actions are perceived by others within the community. Serious repercussions are likely for a woman who exhibits behaviour that breaks the *izzat* code.

These repercussions may be in the form of rumours or gossip spread throughout community, which directly affects the *izzat* of the family concerned, and in turn, brings *sharam* (shame) upon family members (Hennink, Diamond and Cooper 1999; Drury 1991; Gillespie 1995; and Ballard 1982). The repercussions may also be far more severe: women have been killed in the name of *izzat* (Burke, 2000). The practice of 'honour killings' in the name of so-called honour, exemplifies the most extreme response to the violation of *izzat* which continues to be practised within British South Asian communities. These murders are not isolated incidents, or rare, though the hidden nature of HBA and the 'closed' communities marginalised communities, the silencing of women, and overall responses to HBA all contribute to a certain lack of awareness of the majority of honour killings.

The United Nations Population Fund (UNPF, 2000) report estimated that around 5,000 honour killings occur annually across the world. Sex and sexual relations are crucial in the maintenance of *izzat*. Elias (1982, cited in Skeggs, 1995, p. 123) suggested "psychosocial surveillance through intensive self-regulation of sexual relations itself engenders shame, producing the ultimate coercion." In South Asian societies, women are viewed as embodying the honour of their male counterparts. A woman engaging in sexual relations would be in danger of being murdered. As the solitary guardian of the female, the man must maintain his dignity lest his *izzat*. Protecting the virginity of women and safeguarding cultural and familial honour endows a man with *izzat*, which is political influence, power, and authority (Shahani, 2013).

Shame also involves the recognition of the judgement of others and awareness of social norms; as Skeggs (1995, p. 3) explains, "one measures ... oneself against the standards established by others. The discourse of shame is one of the most insidious means by which women come to recognise, regulate and control themselves through

their bodies". Relating this to the diasporic experience, Buitelaar (2002) suggests that groups who experienced migration and hold minority status often overemphasise moral superiority and this leads them to place a higher symbolic value on women's virginity (please see section on culture, identity, and honour-based abuse).

Reaffirmation of Masculine Patriarchal or Feminine Matriarchal Control?

This section of the literature review seeks to explore the complexity behind male and female led HBA. Several studies have indicated that men commit more crimes on average, despite the fact that women make up 6-10% of the prison population (Heidensohn and Gelsthorpe, 2007; Vogel and Spa, 2019). For decades, criminologists have overlooked women, while the legal system has been focused on controlling women and girls' sexuality and behaviour (Franklin, 2008). Feminist theorists contend that practices of HBA are a result of the patriarchal system, which is defined by Johnson (1997) as "a society that is 'male-dominated, male-identified, and male-centered' and whose fundamental premise is the oppression of women" (quoted in Franklin, 2008, p.342). Nonetheless, researchers have seen a rise in female crime rates, particularly violent crime, over the previous two decades (Vogel and Spa, 2019), raising the question of why this is the case.

The causes of HBA are complex, varied, and remain contested. For example, some blame religion for amplifying the inequality between men and women and paving the way to HBA. The Quran (4:34) calls for men to manage their female counterpart's affairs and protect their chastity for example:

Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel (strength) the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means. Therefore, the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and GUARD in the husband's absence what ALLAH ORDERS THEM TO GUARD. As to those women on whose part you SEE INFIDELITY (NUSHUZAHUNNA), admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly), but if they return to obedience, seek not against them. Surely, Allah is Ever Most High, Most Great.

The Bible also calls for men to protect their "weaker vessel," otherwise their wishes will not come true: "Likewise, husbands, live with your wives in an

understanding way, showing honour to the woman as the weaker vessel, since they are heirs with you of the grace of life, so that your prayers may not be hindered." (The Bible KJV 1: Peter 3:7)

In contrast to these religious foundations, popular beliefs consider HBA as an uncivilised code of morality attributed to a form of patriarchal violence that stems from male domination over women (Reddy, 2014; Salter, 2014). HBA is a means to allow the male counterpart to control both the general behaviour of women, and their social and sexual autonomy. According to Sen (2005), many abusive males believe that male honour can only be preserved if men conform to the male's imagined acceptable norms of behaviour. It is evident that the killings of Tulay Goren, Heshu Yones, and Banaz Mahmod have factors in common, namely, that they all were young female victims of HBA killed by key male figures from within their family.

Although acts of HBA appear to be a form of patriarchal violence, one should not exclude women as perpetrators given that reported incidents demonstrate women are indeed capable of inflicting violence on other women or men (Sen, 2005). Studies (see, for example, Elden, 2010; Hussein, 2010) show that some victims' mothers have used bargaining strategies to protect themselves from violence (Wilson, 2006; Kandiyoti, 1988), and they have collaborated with their subordinates to ensure their offspring (especially daughters) are submissive and loyal to the patriarchal system (Stanko, 1990).

In the majority of cases, women in the family tend to support the honour killing of one of their own, agreeing that the family is the property and asset of the men of the household (Bates, 2018; Aplin, 2017; HMIC, 2015). Bates study of HBA found that female family members often internalise and reinforce paternalistic beliefs that women's bodies and sexuality must be controlled to uphold masculine honour. Similarly, Aplin's research reveals how women frequently monitor and subjugate other women's behaviour to uphold patriarchal family structures. HMIC indicates that female relatives may be complicit or involved in planning honour killings, viewing it as justified preservation of the family's reputation. However, their complicity may also stem from pragmatic calculations rather than personal conviction about women as "property" (Kirti et al., 2011). For instance, a female may support an honour killing to

preserve the reputation and marriage prospects of other female relatives, as well as self-preservation (HMIC, 2015). In many South Asian societies, men refuse to marry women of a shamed family not seen to reprimand the accused woman suitably, with many HBA perpetrators proceeding to purify the family's name by killing the suspected insolent individual.

This is another component of the hidden nature of HBA that helps to maintain the practice, alongside the total control and power over women who cannot defend themselves against claims since they are silenced. In the so-called name of honour, mere suspicion or even perceived suspicion is enough for a human being to be murdered. Siddiqui (2006), Hoyek *et al.*, (2006), Sen (2006), and Kirti *et al.*, (2011) argue that the role of female family members in prompting or colluding with honour crimes, particularly in imposing controls over marriage choices, cannot – and should not – be ignored (Kirti *et al.*, 2011). Women's role within the practice of HBA should not be seen as a lesser crime and recognised alongside the role of male perpetrators.

One need not look far to find examples of HBA crimes masterminded or facilitated by women - mothers to be precise. Perhaps the most notable case in the UK of an HBA crime facilitated by a woman/mother, was that of Shafilea Ahmed. In this case, her mother was exposed as a willing participant and the co-conspirator in her daughter's murder. According to her sister, Shafilea was attacked by her mother on several occasions, locked her up in her room for several days without food, had her money stolen by her parents, and was psychologically taunted by her mother about her pending forced marriage in Pakistan. Not only that, but Shafilea's mother also lied to the police about her daughter's bleach swallowing incident claiming it was accidental (Gill and Brah, 2014). Similarly, the mother of Rukhsana Naz also played a critical part in her pregnant daughter's abuse and ultimate murder; holding Rukhsana's feet whilst watching her son strangle his sister to death with a piece of plastic flex. Rukhsana's mother justified the killing saying, 'it was her kismet' [fate] (Keyhani, 2013). Despite the fact that both mothers are serving life sentences for these crimes, they continue to deny any wrongdoing to this day (Khan, 2017b). Stanko (1985) has highlighted that female involvement in crimes is not just a distinctiveness to so called 'ethnic' communities, many survivors of domestic violence of indigenous white British

heritage who have attempted to seek help from their mothers do not always receive the acknowledgement and support that they need or would value.

At first glance, it may appear that women perpetrating HBA is at odds with their intended duty of protecting their children; this has been subject to study Aplin (2017) examined 100 HBA police investigations conducted between 2012 and 2014 and found that the 48% of female attackers were predominately mothers, who acted either independently or in collaboration with a male counterpart (8%). In addition, Aplin found from her fifteen semi-structured interviews with specialist police officers in one UK police force that “despite the tremendous and at times continuous relentless attacks on helpless victim, findings showed that victims and their siblings abstained from reporting their mothers mostly out of loyalty” (2017, p. 6).

Despite many victims coming to the realisation that their mother did reveal their ‘indiscretions’ to their male attackers, Aplin (2017) reports the so-called guilt, these victims continued to hold and their belief that their mothers will continue to protect their best interests or “eventually support them” (p. 6) outweighed their fears of staying in the precarious situation. Bates (2017) also found that female perpetrators (often the victim’s mother) were more likely to be involved in HBA thus resulting in the criminal case being judged as low risk, as the mother is seen as a protective factor. For practitioners, this finding suggests that when investigating a suspected HBA it is crucial to keep an open mind on the identity of the perpetrators. Furthermore, Khan (2017b, p. 15) has argued that: “Globally, in the male-controlled honour cultures, females can protect themselves with a ‘respectable’ image, and this in part involves identifying ‘dishonour’ in others and that females can be just as abusive as their male counterparts”.

Gender role expectations in society continue to shape perceptions, particularly in the context of HBA, impacting both societies at large and the victims themselves. Despite evidence contradicting traditional views, many victims of HBA still perceive their mothers as secondary victims (Aplin, 2017), influenced by societal expectations that portray mothers as nurturing, loving, and supportive (Bates, 2018). This perception becomes even more complex when the mother is the perpetrator of HBA, as it can lead the victim to develop a belief in the humanity of their oppressor, especially if the

victim sees the mother as a victim herself (Aplin, 2017). The shared experience between victim and aggressor can undermine the victim's perception of the mother as a threat, despite both being potentially victims of HBA (Idriss 2019; Bates 2018; Aplin 2017; HMIC, 2015).

Therefore, it is crucial to recognise the complexity of HBA. Simplistic notions that portray women solely as victims and men as perpetrators fail to acknowledge cases where patriarchy and sexuality may influence HBA behaviours, challenging exclusive gender-based interpretations. By acknowledging these complexities, we can develop a more nuanced understanding of HBA and its underlying dynamics.

Male Victims of HBA

Victims of both genders are viable research subjects, but it must be acknowledged that each group has its own unique needs, concerns, and difficulties that demand examination, debate, and discussion. While there are areas of overlap, there are also significant disparities and obstacles. Some of the published evidence (see, for example, Karma Nirvana, 2014; 2020) has identified that the majority of victims are female, yet it is often ignored that a notable proportion of victims are males. So-called 'honour crimes' make the news when females are targeted, but in fact UK males represent every year, one fifth of cases reported to the forced marriage unit and one third of honour killings (Khan, 2017a). There is little research data into HBA, especially in male victims in the UK due to a number of reasons. Boys and young men who are victims of HBA abuse (often referred to as the 'hidden group') refrain from reporting their abusers or their abuse to authorities for fear of ridicule, shame, embarrassment, or physical and/ or psychological retaliation from their immediate families or community (Idriss, 2019). Alongside their drive for self-preservation is the social attitude towards male victims of HBA. 'Honour' in the mainly BAME cultures is constructed through dualistic notions of male 'honour' and female 'shame', whereby masculinity is largely constructed in terms of female chastity (Idriss 2019). Conceptions of 'honour' are tied to male self-worth and social worth, but most closely in relation to the reputation and social conduct of female family members (Spierenburg, 1998 p. 2; Araji, 2000, p. 2). Due to social stigma and social attitudes that have evolved and developed over the years, males are not seen to be victims.

Young males may feel that if they disclose abuse, they are not adhering to gender norms of society, such as getting involved with a girl from a different culture, being gay, refusing an arranged/forced marriage or being a cause of gossip in the community. This in turn makes many male HBA victims reluctant to disclose any form of abuse that they may be suffering.

From a young age, boys and young men are 'trained' to preserve and defend the family honour and not engage in any culturally unacceptable activities that may bring shame or dishonour to the family (Idriss, 2019). Gill (2003) highlights familial and community dignity and social status, where the male is the custodian of that honour are most prominent in BAME communities. Wider society plays a huge part in family life. Nuclear traditional families are expected to portray a perfect family image; and they will do anything to preserve its reputation in the community. As mentioned above, fear of repercussions from any form of disclosure often leads to boys and young men keeping quiet of any HBA that they may encounter. Sanghera (2007, p. 273) notes the communal nature of the wider community and emphasises the interests of the collective; "in the community the will of the family still comes first."

One aspect that is now getting a level of acknowledgment via media and research is forced marriage in the BAME's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (or Questioning) and others (LGBTQI+) community (Probation Services, 2020). Many non-heterosexual BAME men are reported to be forced into marriages if their sexuality is thought to pose a threat to the family's reputation. The notion of 'coming out' has led many BAME LGBTQI+ to become victims of HBA (Khan and Lowe, 2019). Young men from the LGBTQI+ community suffer greatly as South Asian communities do not 'understand' or accept the concept of sexual orientation that deviates from the heterosexual norm (Khan and Lowe, 2019). Many families do not believe their family members' non-heterosexual orientation has any place in their religious and cultural codes.

Notably, Islam goes merely beyond disapproving homosexuality, Sharia law teaches that it is a vile form of fornication and is punishable by death. "For ye practice your lusts on men in preference to women: ye are indeed a people transgressing beyond bounds ... And we rained down on them a shower (of brimstone)." (The Quran, 7:80-

84). The Bible (KJV) also states “they shall surely be put to death”: “If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination; they shall surely be put to death; their blood is upon them.” (Leviticus, 20:13)

Due to social stigma and dishonour, young men are often forced to marry women, shamed into silence, threatened to be disowned, evicted from the family home and community, or threatened with blackmail to keep quiet as it may have wider implications such as an impact on their siblings’ marriage prospects (sister/s). Studies (see, for example, Jaspal and Sirag, 2011) claim that four superordinate themes are reported as main reasons for not seeking help for abuse: social representational constraints; shame and a threat to distinctiveness; fear of physical violence; and false prediction of the bleak future/coping strategy. Many individuals have reported experiences of isolation and prejudice, which have been defined by numerous terms such as dual marginalisation, double oppression, multiple oppressions, and double marginalisation (Greene, 1999; Nabors *et al.*, 2001). Seabrook (1999) comments that Western conceptualisation of homosexuality is incompatible with those of other cultures, indicating that the words homosexual and gay generate different social negative connotation in distinct societies. Sexual orientation and identity-related human rights violations are pervasive and well-documented throughout South Asia. Many South Asian immigrant parents consider sexual orientation as a Western ‘wicked creature’ that contaminates their culture (Estrada and Rutter, 2006). These contestations are typically seen as putting Western ideals against non-Western values, with the former upholding homosexual rights and the latter opposing them (Dalacoura, 2014).

The inability to reveal one’s true sexual orientation due to cultural pressures has given rise to a number of Marriages of Convenience (MOC) (also referred to as ‘lavender marriage’) cases reported in many charities between HBA non-heterosexuals who are fleeing from persecution and from heterosexuals. In 2017 and 2018, for example, the FMU (2017 and 2018) has identified 21 (1.8%) and 12 cases (1%), respectively, of abuse victims who identified themselves as LGBTQI+. Also, in 2014, the Sharan Project (2014), a national registered charity supporting South Asian women who have or are at risk of being disowned due to abuse or persecution, found similarly that MOC is a preferred option for many HBA non-heterosexuals to

safeguard their sanity and lives. It is worthwhile noting that the two charities' information is based on volunteered information by victims, the true number of force marriages amongst the LGBTQI+ community is unknown.

Thus, honour cultures often establish norms where female chastity, purity, and modesty are valued, as emphasised in an Arab expression that a man's honour "lies between the legs of a woman." (Beyer, 1999, cited in Vandello, 2008, p. 6). In contrast, "sexual prowess and assertiveness are often central to the male role in such cultures" (Gilmore, 1990 cited in Vandello, 2003, p. 12).

It can be claimed that male and female victims of HBA share a common platform, as it is obvious that a patriarchal thread runs through the experiences of both genders. In patriarchal society, men are viewed as powerful and manly, while women are viewed as weaker vessels. As discussed above, male victims who identify as LGBTQI+ are exposed to HBA due to their lifestyle choices that contradict gender roles, norms, religious and cultural beliefs, and ideals of such patriarchal societies within the South Asian diaspora. The next three sections will specifically explore HBA through the lens of South Asian migration to the UK; by examining culture, identity, culture reproduction, recognition of patriarchal practices and the challenges faced by migrants as they navigate the Western world.

Migration and Demographics

As previously discussed HBA cuts across a number of cultures and minority communities and is practised by individuals from a wide range of religious and cultural backgrounds (Begikhani *et al.*, 2015). On the other hand, Payton (2014, p. 2866) contends that "In the UK, HBA is mostly connected with South Asian groups." Although the phrase 'Asian' refers to a diverse variety of faiths, civilisations, languages, and geographical regions, for the purpose of this research, this study concentrates on individuals from the Indian subcontinent communities (South Asian), with a particular emphasis focusing on the current demographics within the UK. The term 'South Asian' refers to persons with a South Asian cultural, racial, ethnic, or national ancestry. This classification includes first-generation immigrants who later became naturalised British nationals, and second and third generation citizens.

As per the 2011 Census Data on Ethnic Groups, the UK has 1,451,862 Asian/Asian British Indians (2.3 percent of the total population), 1,174,983 Asian/Asian British Pakistanis (1.9 percent), and 451,529 Asian/Asian British Bangladeshis (0.7 percent) (ONS, 2013). In total, 3,078,374 South Asians (4.9 percent of the overall population) live in the UK (ONS, 2013). In comparison, the 2001 Census revealed that there was a total of 2,083,759 South Asians (3.6 percent). In the previous two decades, the population of South Asia has clearly increased (Ballard, 1994). South Asians are the largest minority ethnic group in the UK, with BAME women accounting for about 4 percent (around 2 million) of the total population. Figure 4 illustrates how the UK population of South Asian ethnic minorities has changed during the last ten years (ONS, 2011).

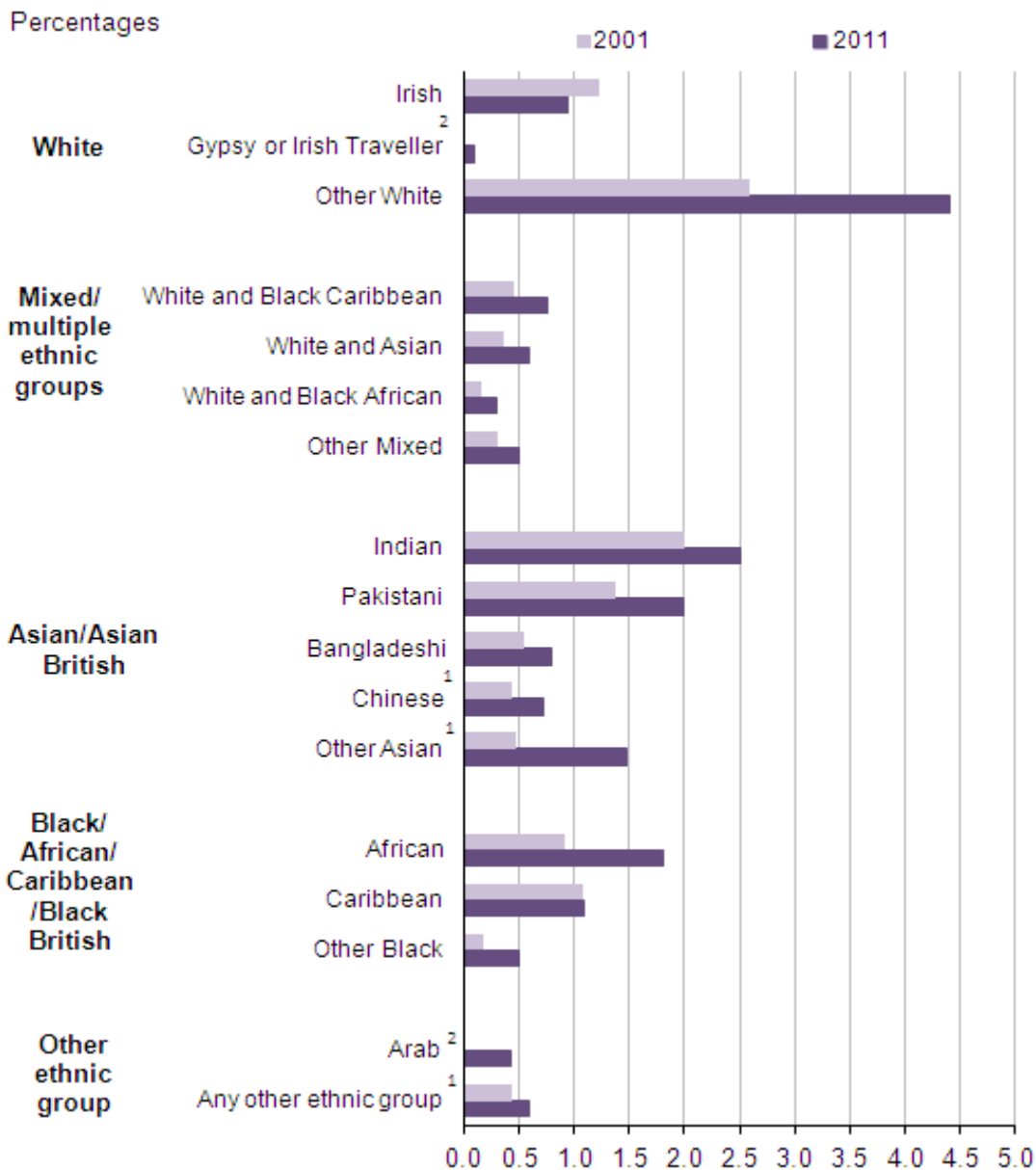


Figure 3: ONS South Asian Ethnic Minorities Data

Since the early 1950s, successive British administrations have devised a variety of schemes for resettling significant populations of migrants. As Akinpur (2003) points out, for both migratory men and women, migration is a process that can bring both benefits and potential drawbacks. With severe unemployment and poverty levels in the Indian subcontinent, a new wave of migrants arrived in the UK throughout the 1950s (Maan,1992). After the colossal destruction inflicted by World War II, the UK began reconstructing itself; with significant labour shortages the Government’s response to this challenge was immigration. All persons born in a (former) British colony were considered UK nationals under the British Nationality Act 1948 and were

granted special immigration status allowing them freely to work, earn, and reside with their families in the UK (Ballard, 1994). As a result, South Asian men from all social and economic echelons migrated to Britain bringing with them their culture, values, and beliefs. The migrants left entire villages depopulated 'back home' and settled in areas with textiles, cars, and engineering factories; they gained employment and utilised the skill-sets that they already possessed (Edwards, 2000). With the initial trials and tribulations of not being able to break into the labour force, it became clear that employers were eager to hire South Asian migrants, albeit for work that no one else wanted to do.

According to Laungani (2004), South Asian migrants arrived in the UK with no assets other than their religious, communal, and ancestral beliefs, instilled in them by their own respective ancient indigenous civilisations. Many South Asian workers were employed in menial and poorly paid positions. With racism as a risk factor, South Asians were 7.8% more likely to be victims of racially motivated attacks, than their white counterparts at 0.3% (Ballard, 1994). The majority lacked formal education and worked long hours in deplorable circumstances for pitiful wages (Hussain, 2005). They lived in abject poverty, but their tenacity, determination, and strong belief in their community presented them with permanence and prosperity. However, as the position of the middle class grew within the UK, the gap widened especially in terms of deprivation.

Despite social marginalisation in a number of areas of society, they were able to control and recognise their place in contemporary Britain providing themselves with a variety of strategies to assert a distinct uniqueness. By adopting a new cultural identity that combined Eastern and Western values, they confidently embraced native British characteristics but did not lose sight of their cultural roots or the ethics that were pertinent to them and their communities (Chatterji and Washbrook, 2013). They were able to build and organise their domestic lives on their 'own terms', allowing them concurrently to build ethnic colonies, which are still a prominent feature of the inner-city environment across the UK (Ballard, 1994).

Many migrants had no plans to settle in the UK permanently and so had not considered their relocation from a socio-cultural perspective with. As a result, there

was no need to become accustomed to a new way of life. In fact, the measure would have just made it more difficult for their families to return to their homeland (Metlo, 2012). Their primary motivation was to earn, accumulate money, and return to their native country. Although it was initially viewed as a temporary solution by both migrant workers and their employers, it actually set in motion a process of inverted colonisation (Ballard, 2003).

As a result of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 coming into force and migrants fearing stricter rules coming into power, there was a surge in migrants' wives and daughters joining their husbands and fathers in the UK (Metlo, 2012). As a result, the immigrant population in Britain began to diversify. Azim (2006) emphasises the trepidation of tighter immigration regulations coming into effect rather than a genuine desire for female family members to join them in the UK. This migration pattern clearly reflects patriarchal attitudes toward women. Khadria (2006) claims that South Asian men left their homes to pursue a life in the UK, leaving their wives and children behind, with the aim to improve their financial circumstances and increase their family's social status within their community. Azim (2006) furthers this by providing an additional interpretation as to why they voyaged alone; the initial 'challenges of not knowing where they were going to end up', and how they were going to fend for themselves. The objective was to establish a suitable base in the UK and then assess the situation (Idriss, 2018). Whilst Metlo (2012, p. 64) asserts that the power of elders and their control over their sons was also a driving factor; the elders aimed to "protect and remove" males from "Western culture", and by supporting the relocation of women and young children, the men who did not wish to migrate were compelled to remain loyal to their families and their intrinsic culture.

Culture, Identity, and Honour-Based Abuse

There is a school of thought which identifies culture as a vibrant social activity with multiple ideologies (Bottomley, 1992). Having arrived in the UK there was a strong desire and a need for cultural identity, (Tajfel, 1982). Migrants created groupings (or 'communities') in various parts of the UK in order to preserve their traditions and culture (Alam, 2006). The concept of culture in itself is a nebulous one (Yuval-Davis 1997). Campbell (2020) defines culture as a set of ideas, interconnected beliefs, and

behaviours and emphasises its importance for self-identity and self-esteem. Similarly, Giddens (1983) asserts that culture is a collection of common patterns of behaviour, relationships, mutual rules, and standards that are utilised to generate and comprehend behaviour and experience. Likewise, Moore (2000) believes that culture is a set of shared values and norms amongst a group of people that, when combined, form a blueprint for how people should live. 'Culture and subcultures are an important source of social identity (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013, p. 6). As a result, culture can be described as the process through which a group develops its identity through the adoption of social patterns that are unique to that particular community.

As the number of South Asians in Britain grew, a network of institutions was formed to satisfy the religious and cultural requirements of the families (Lewis, 2007). According to Giddens and Sutton (2013), many migrants found their ideals of honour and familial loyalty substantially missing from the white British community. South Asian migrants became increasingly reliant on kinship bonds as a result of institutional antagonism by white workers. For South Asian individuals' migration had distinct connotations, and the intersections of gender and ethnicity created diverse individual experiences. Communities developed through mutual interests, kinship, and *biraderi* (clan) politics which dominated daily lives. Anwar (1979) postulates that living in extended families allowed the migrants to keep hold of their cultural and religious traditions, as well as maintain close ties with family and friends. Similarly, research undertaken by Somerville and Dhudwar (2010) on South Asian immigration to the UK, discovered that living in close-knit communities allowed migrants to build their aspirations without having to completely abandon their cultural values. One of the primary reasons for the lack of integration in British society was the fear of being seen as a 'moral' failure having been taught from a young age that Western ways were morally corrupt and should be avoided (Anwar, 1979). When new ideas threaten the established culture and way of life, the opposition is often based on a genuine fear of losing their identity and traditional societal values.

There is no solid, indisputable fact explaining why HBA is prevalent in South Asian migrant communities in established liberal modern cultures like the UK. One could contend that this behaviour is the result of modernity. Though evidence shows that with modernity, deviance, and criminality have decreased (Elias, 1994), it still

survives on the margins of society, in disadvantaged communities. It could be argued, that amongst minority migrant communities characterised by poverty and inequality, and a sense of powerlessness, some members of those communities might have been driven to retaliate and exert control over those closest to them.

Merton (1968) highlights the consequences of economic and social inequality on some of these side-lined individuals (such as South Asian men and women) who turn to illegitimate acts against others in and or outside their family in the name of 'honour'. Drawing on Merton's theory, which posits that deviance can emerge from the gap between culturally defined goals and the institutional means available for achieving those goals, HBA represents a form of deviance driven by the goal of preserving family honour. Within patriarchal honour cultures, the preservation of family reputation through the sexual purity and subordination of female members is a pivotal cultural mandate (Ercan, 2014). Thus, advancing HBA by male family members as an unsanctioned means of preserving masculine esteem and enforcing feminine compliance (Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2012). Merton's theory illuminates how ingrained cultural stimuli may promote HBA in the name of family honour.

Another possible explanation to the widespread cases of HBA within South Asian communities, one could postulate, is the result of the Government's lack of 'fair' response to attacks by other culturally violent transgressors against marginalised groups' honour. In the absence of government sanctions, one could maintain, the oppressed minority find themselves without an alternative, but to take matters in their own hands to fight off transgressors and preserve their way of life by practising honour codes.

One might also claim that the frequency of HBA among South Asian populations in the UK could be connected to the imported cultural values of ethnic minority offenders from their ancestral homelands. The desire for freedom from oppressors during colonisation may have persisted long after their forefathers struggled for their independence, and they left 'home'. When violence begins, Fanon (1990) argues, it is hard to stop it, even when it has been important for struggles for liberation. Practices of violence that were once part of resistance to power lingering to older regimes,

maintains Von Holdt (2014), can become part of the oppression practices of the weakest.

Shah and Iqbal (2011) provide a valuable interpretation in the context of South Asian diaspora communities in the UK, claiming that when communities come together to preserve specific cultural beliefs, a kinship can be formed among persons living in the migrant lifestyle. However, diasporas are vulnerable to restructuring; for example, the South Asian migration to the UK may have started with young, male migrants, but by the late 1960s it had expanded to include women and young children. It is critical to note that migration is experienced differently by different groups and, more importantly, by different members of that particular group. As Brah (1996, p. 184) points out, diaspora can be a completely distinct experience for different genders, ethnicities, and socioeconomic classes: “all migrations are distinct ... they are lived through a variety of modes, such as religion, gender, race, and class.” It can be argued that the experiences of South Asian females are fundamentally different from those of South Asian males of the same ethnic group and society, and also differ between the diverse communities that they inhabit. In any discussion of culture in relation to honour and HBA, it is crucial to acknowledge that different groups and communities value honour differently and are not monolithic. Maintaining personal and familial honour is a fundamental organising principle in some communities, defining what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable behaviour (Gill *et al.*, 2012). While some societies and cultures may place a lesser premium on honour, anxieties and expectations may still influence behaviour and practices.

Women's subjugation within the South Asian diaspora is studied from a variety of perspectives by feminist theorists, including the nature of oppression in relation to women's class and social status, as well as the cultural, political, racial, and economic oppression they face in their daily lives. For example, culture and HBA have been of major concern for South Asian women's rights activists for more than a century; their critical work on HBA is still part of the larger feminist movement today (Idriss, 2018). Regardless of who advocates for or seeks to justify harmful traditional practices, through the lens of religious conviction, culture, or tradition, these practices are fundamental violations of human rights designed to control the behaviour of females. However, Okin (1999) contends that considering HBA as a cultural issue

elevates culture above gender as a distinguishing characteristic of HBA, essentially neglecting and undermining the key concept of unequal gender-power relations. Many feminists have pushed for a cultural interpretation of HBA by placing these behaviours in the context of gender discrimination and violence against women (Bates, 2017). Campbell *et al.*, (2020) asserts that females are disproportionately subjected to HBA and that the prevalence and continuance of HBA and cultural practices serve as a strategy to perpetuate male supremacy in society. According to Thiara and Gill (2010), South Asian feminists and activists face the tough task of opposing patriarchal control in their societies whilst also highlighting racial and gender imbalances to ensure that their voices are heard.

With the influx of South Asian women and children into the UK, the patriarchal structure of domesticity and gender hierarchy necessitated a greater emphasis on morals and rules (Werbner, 2002). South Asian women's and children's lives are largely regulated by distinct social boundaries and patriarchal attitudes. According to Walby (1989), patriarchal order functions in ethnic communities providing a variety of ways to marginalise and ostracise women based on their ethnicity and social status. Within South Asian communities, cultural traditions and ethics are crucial as they form part of a culture's interpreted and applied governance, defining what is and is not acceptable behaviour for its citizens. In order for a culture to function properly, its practices and values must be present since they are a component of the culture's expansive behavioural control (Ballard, 1994). According to Bowlby *et al.*, (2000) honour codes pertain to the strict supervision of women's societal roles; preserving the family's reputation, or *izzat*, which can impact numerous facets of women's lives, such as their interaction with males, personal attire, and access to education. It has been argued that compliance with these norms is highly associated with feelings of familial honour, integrity, and overall well-being (Idriss, 2018). The stringent expectations surrounding female modesty and conduct in the name of family honour can also produce significant challenges especially for women and girls from patriarchal communities in Western contexts. As Korteweg (2012) highlights, women facing clashing cultural demands often experience role confusion, intergenerational conflicts, and a repressed sense of selfhood while trying to balance their autonomy and family obligations.

Honour is a concept that transcends religion and culture, influencing and determining many parts of women's lives. When HBA is singled out as an example of the UK's immigrant community, it attracts attention to issues of ethnicity, culture, and religion (Eshareturi *et al.*, 2014). Numerous scholars have demonstrated how religion and culture may become entwined in their underpinnings of gender inequality and violence, making it difficult to trace behaviours such as HBA (Bates, 2017). Samad and Eade (2002) argue that activities that discriminate against women should be attributed to sexist cultural practices rather than religious beliefs. The ways in which religion is hijacked to underpin cultural violence, are multifaceted, leading to the creation of cultural-based abuse. Campbell *et al.*, (2020) claim that individuals are strongly influenced by cultural standards and values, and those who do not conform face seclusion, societal marginalisation, and weakened self-esteem. As a result of patriarchal practices, women's place in such communities becomes increasingly precarious and fragile as they are subjected to multiple layers of subjugation from their families.

Culture Reproduction and Honour-Based Abuse

Multiple and multi-directional influences affect immigrant cultural retention and identity. According to Samuel (2010) postcolonial immigrant identity arises from historical and ongoing ties between nations, as well as situational variables such as gender and cultural ideology that shape the immigrant experience.

British South Asians have received a lot of attention for how they identify and develop their identities considering the hybrid and intersectional landscape in which they find themselves (Modood *et al.*, 1997). Hybridity is a concept coined by Homi Bhabha (1994) regarding ethnic minorities; he describes a hybridised environment that is always being restructured, is indeterminate, and is loaded with paradoxes. Culture, according to Bhabha is dynamic, an ever-shifting entity influenced by a wide range of factors, with diasporic identities produced in a variety of ways, depending on how culture and cultural practices are adopted. It is not easy to navigate the tense cultural waters that arise when one person is immersed in two very different environments. The relevance of hybridity, according to Bhabha (as cited in Rutherford, 1990, p. 211) is not in being able to pinpoint two distinct beginning moments from which the third

emerges. Rather, hybridity is the 'Third Space' that permits the formation of new viewpoints. Thus, it is critical to investigate culture through a process of translation in which culture is not a fixed source, but a dynamic process of interchange and negotiation from which a reinvention of cultural identity arises (Pragatwutisarn, 2005). People of diasporic origin face unique challenges in their attempts to negotiate and retain cultural practices that are viewed as essential to their identity in the country of destination. Crowley (1999) argues that 'belonging' is a 'deeper' term than just citizenship; it pertains to an individual's feelings of belonging to a nation, as well as their rights and responsibilities as a citizen. 'Belonging' to a 'cohesive' society becomes exclusionary when the practices and customs of migrants are regarded as not 'belonging' to the polity and citizenship. Consequently, for migrants, identity and identification represent many points of reference and numerous allegiances; an individual's identity is constantly viewed as interconnected, contextual, and imperfect (Hall, 1996).

Changes in geography do not necessarily entail changes in symbolism, it takes more time and effort to re-construct symbolic cultural ideals (Metlo, 2012). When people migrate across borders, their patriarchal views, cultural norms, and heritage continue to dictate lifestyle choices (Derne, 1994). It is particularly important to note that patriarchal beliefs do not simply vanish; they are culturally reproduced and survive in migrating communities for a long time (Idriss, 2018). Migrants are marked by ambivalent, sometimes conflicting, loyalties, which are particularly visible in second-generation adolescents trying to integrate into British society (Werbner, 2007).

According to Gill (2006), as the number of British-born South Asians in the UK rises, many of these children and young people are exposed to Western liberal values. South Asian adolescents growing up in Western countries like England, Australia, and Canada experience distinct social adjustment issues due to a clash of ideals (Ghuman, 2001, 2002). They struggle to reconcile their diverse cultural beliefs and as a result, they battle to build an identity and a healthy sense of self-esteem (Sodowsky *et al.*, 1995). As a result, there is a cultural renaissance and identity clash between first-generation migrants (who want to uphold cultural heritage) and their children who want to live a more Eurocentric lifestyle (Samuel, 2010). Likewise, Anwar (1998) holds the view that young South Asians are stuck between two cultures, where the

culture taught at home is distinct from the culture experienced in schools, in wider society, or at work. While opposing cultural demands are not inherently harmful, they can weigh heavily – and result in severe sanctions within families and close-knit communities. This is where acculturation offers a deeper insight into the multifaceted and often versatile interactions between immigrants and the dominant culture (Brah, 1996). Whilst all persons face daily impediments, immigrants frequently face additional challenges related to adjustment and the acculturation experience. These obstacles can lead to conflict amongst family members in their native culture and especially around 'honour' practices. Gelfand (1989) maintains that the acculturation process for South Asians is challenging as their belief system differs from the western society they may have entered. However, it must be noted that other immigration communities can encounter similar belief-related acculturation challenges, including those who are Arab-Muslim (Al Wekhian, 2016) and of African descent (Agbemenu, 2016). According to Lay and Nguyen (1998), many second-generation immigrants confront challenges due to their parents' traditional views, which often conflict with the mainstream culture. Furthermore, South Asian cultures tend to emphasise hierarchical relations between younger and older generations, which clashes with the youth-centered values of Western countries (Ghuman, 2000). South Asian parents view the Western lifestyle's norms and goals in contradiction to the values of their own culture and make every effort to instil subconscious South Asian cultural values and beliefs in their children (Salam, 2005), hoping that their children will have a strong sense of belonging and mutual commitment to their extended family and community (Salam, 2005). Similarly, Rangaswamy (2000) observes how South Asian culture values one's 'dharma', or life-calling, for each individual to be on the path to redemption; this calling or responsibility is to a bigger entity, such as one's family. This is where practices of HBA pose significant challenges for individuals; with South Asian parents wanting their children to fulfil their responsibilities by honouring their choices, based on cultural values and distinctive beliefs but which may then clash with their children's desire to follow a different path (Agarwal, 1991).

Aykan and Kanungo (1998) propose that the conflicts experienced by second-generation immigrant children tend to focus on their own self-identification and that of their parents, however, they have a higher ability to integrate into the host society in

comparison with their parents. Numerous scholars have argued that immigrant adolescents who become bicultural by keeping aspects of their ethnic group while embracing aspects of the mainstream culture face fewer psychological difficulties (Berry and Kim, 1988; La Fromboise, *et al.*, 1993; Berry, *et al.*, 1988; Farver, *et al.*, 2002). These individuals perform better academically and have a higher sense of self-worth than those youngsters who either reject their culture and identify exclusively with the prevailing culture or embrace their culture and reject the dominant culture (Farver, *et al.*, 2002). As a result, individuals who acquire the culture of their host nation without relinquishing their native lifestyle have a much greater grasp of their place in the world (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

In an increasingly multicultural Britain, it is critical to have a firm grasp on the complexities of identity formation, including topics such as multiple identities and hybridity. When it comes to understanding the relationship between ethnicity, culture, and identity amongst South Asians in the UK, Brah (1996) argues that any study of culture must be understood in the context of power interactions and power hierarchies that characterise prevailing British social systems. Parenting styles in South Asian households are often based on established familial and cultural paradigms (Ghosh, 2000). Having a strong desire to maintain their traditional ways of life and sense of identity but, equally concerned that their reputation remains untarnished (Gill, 2006).

In order to carve out a niche for themselves, South Asian women must constantly negotiate an identity that balances the needs of two opposing, and sometimes antagonistic, forces in their lives (Samuel, 2010). The fact that South Asian migrant women are moving into a culture with different value sets operating alongside those of their origins (Inman, 2006) may pose a problem, especially given the Western values of independence and separate identities (Ali and Northover, 2020). Similarly, Asher (2002) describes how South Asian individuals are affected by the 'push and pull' of contradictory signals from their families and their schools. While the outside/educational environment promotes self-reliance and critical thinking, the family setting places a greater emphasis on obedience and conformity. Females view these traditions and parental expectations through the lens of underlying power imbalances between men and women. According to Dasgupta and Warriar (1996),

abuse occurs more frequently in situations where there is gender imbalance rather than in egalitarian unions. While proponents of intersectionality theory assert that identities are intrinsically linked to individuals, they are ultimately shaped by power structures (Mattis *et al.*, 2008). As a result, individuals who fall into particular social categories are forced to negotiate power structures that can further challenge and confound their lives. Some South Asian youngsters master the ability to negotiate in accordance with the context and situations in which they find themselves (Metlo, 2012). Tang (2007) observes that identity confusion happens frequently amongst South Asian youngsters as they discover that expectations at home differ from expectations outside the family. Thus, it is this disorientation or learning to live between cultural areas that generates negotiation. “By recognising these various competing, and frequently contradictory messages, individuals encounter a ‘culture collision’ or ‘the coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference’” (Anzaldua, 1987, p. 100). Therefore, being equipped with the skills and self-assurance necessary to successfully negotiate the ‘culture conflict’ (Ballard, 1994).

According to Hall (2014, p. 93), these difficulties can be exacerbated for South Asian women, since some such women struggle with their “hybrid cultural experiences, particularly in connection to the principles that support their sexual purity” which conflict with Western liberalism and “hyper-individualism.” Some find themselves trapped between the two cultures. Patriarchal dominance over women is further strengthened by the use of religion as a powerful weapon for subjugating and abusing women (Pope, 2004). Women are frequently expected to shoulder the burden of “cultural reproduction” as they are created as the “symbolic bearers and are portrayed as embodying cultural standards both individually and culturally” (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 116). Women are viewed as “cultural reproducers”, defined as “carriers of collectivist honour” and “cultural guardians”, and charged with the responsibility of conserving and re-creating intergenerational cultural traditions (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 116). South Asian females who stray in thought, conduct, or behaviour are labelled as “Westernised (culture/community traitors)” (Dasgupta, 1998, p. 6).

Females are not only responsible for cultural reproduction, but men also play a critical and significant role in ensuring that females comply with cultural and familial norms. According to Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001), men of all ages are expected to participate in penalising women who break from the accepted standards, which are developed directly out of male jealousy and possessiveness, and a patriarchal system that rules and dominates women. Women in such circumstances are objectified, making it easier to justify HBA if they undermine patriarchal structures. In South Asian households' males have complete control over family members who are women: guarding a woman is a fundamental component of honour culture, and men learn this behaviour from a very young age (Idriss, 2018). Most families assign their sons the responsibility of protecting their sisters, even if there are elders in the household (Reddy, 2008). This is where the patriarchal paradigm is perpetuated, with males being assigned a guardianship duty over their female counterparts in society.

Part of the rejection of Western culture is the surveillance and policing of women's sexual behaviour in order to protect 'honour' and to punish those who violate social norms (Idriss, 2018). When women attempt to exercise their rights, the hurdles they face become even more challenging. There is a fundamental distrust of acculturation, which can lead to social control and the surveillance of social interactions (Choudry, 1996). The problem is exacerbated for women, whose relationships with men are seen as a betrayal of traditional ideals and an unpleasant source of embarrassment (Metlo, 2012). To protect the honour of the family and to sustain patriarchal and societally imposed standards, men retaliate violently when social norms are violated. According to Reddy (2008) whenever men's ideals are endangered, they will turn to violence in order to protect themselves. Patriarchal values such as the promotion of sex, personal independence, and the concept of the independent woman are strictly monitored and controlled. This is most clearly demonstrated in cases of HBA which are used to regulate women's perceived infractions (Gill, 2011). It can be argued that we must address the perpetuation of these destructive cultural traditions that continue to jeopardise the safety of women. By rejecting HBA and sexism, we may challenge men's unearned privilege resulting from patriarchy.

South Asian immigrant families have long been the subject of scholarly attention because of the contrasting cultural value systems that exist between the East (the

ancestral homeland) and the West (host country). Besides the inherent dominating nature of HBA, its perpetuation is aided by the involvement of successive generations of relatives within the same family (Idriss, 2018). According to Julios (2015), HBA is no longer limited to first-generation migrants. Contrary to popular belief, such customs are passed down through succeeding generations of UK-born citizens, with younger generations now embracing such belief systems (Julios, 2015). In February 2012, the BBC's Panorama programme commissioned a poll (ComRes, 2012) to ascertain the sentiments of UK-based South Asian men and women toward HBA. Five hundred participants aged 16 to 34 were questioned, the study found that more than two-thirds (69%) of young South Asians in the UK stated that their families should adhere to the concept of *izzat*, a figure that rose to 75% amongst young men, compared with 63% of young women. When presented with a list of possible reasons for justifying violence, a startling 18% of those polled said they thought physical punishment for women who did something to bring shame to the family justified violent retribution. Reasons included disobeying a father, marrying someone unacceptable, or wanting to end a marriage. However, when asked broadly, just 6% of both male and female participants agreed that violence is justified towards a woman. The female role within the family was viewed as critical to preserving family honour, prestige, and respect. The survey illustrated that South Asians between the ages of 16 and 24 are more likely than those between the ages 25 and 34 to believe that families should live according to the principle of *izzat*. Concerningly, the poll also discovered that 6% of young South Asian men believed that so-called 'honour killings' were justified. The above data verify Brandon and Hafez's (2008) assertions that HBA is an indigenous and conscience phenomenon that is endorsed by second-generation youth who have been raised and schooled in the UK. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001, p. 150) "the process of ethnic self-identification of second-generation children is more difficult (than that of the first generation) and frequently includes juggling many allegiances and attachments". Many individuals endure emotional difficulties as a result of making decisions that violate their culture, class, or gender standards. It is undeniably true that second-generation South Asians are at an intersection in terms of balancing cultural traditions and familial expectations with wider societal norms of the host culture. The following section will discuss the history of State Education in England, and the importance of social reform in enacting change within society.

The History of State Education in England

Blass (1997, p. 29) reminds us that the role of education is not only about imparting information; “it transmits the lore, belief, customs, value, rites, and ceremonies that shape a society and govern its functioning. In short, education transmits culture.” The question is: should the purpose of education be focused on educating individuals to be prepared to enter the labour force, or an understanding that the emphasis should be more on the social, academic, cultural, and intellectual development, ultimately to enable individuals to grow up to be engaged people within their society?

Debates about the purpose of education have existed for millennia. Key scholars who debated this issue in ancient times include, for example, Aristotle, Plato, and Augustine, whilst more recently, the debate has included work by Bloomer (1991); and Pring *et al.*, (2012). Examining such matters on an historical basis, Roosevelt (1930) postulated that we can create citizens who are not ignorant and uneducated with the appropriate education to enable them to be more informed with their surroundings and communities. Socrates (cited in Waterfield, 2008) believed that the idea of education was inseparable from philosophy and politics especially in preparing the citizen and helping one to understand thyself. Plato as translated in Jowett (1941) saw the strength of the state being directly linked to the education of people and believed improving society could only be done by improving the individuals within it, thus advocating education for all by providing each individual with the opportunity to develop his or her abilities.

With the debate on the role of education, the main crucial question remains, what should be the balance to educate the youth for their personal benefit or the society’s main good? On one hand, Hirsch (1996) suggests that schools have monopolised education and what is needed is an education for the good of society. On the other hand, Hirsh posits that educational curriculum is in need of ‘valued content’ that can feed the famished minds of children from impoverished socioeconomic background as a way to address social inequality. On the other hand, Dewey (1902), a humanist and leader of progressive education, agrees with Hirsch and Plato in the need to educate all members of society. However, Dewey argues against teaching to one

prescribed national curriculum. He advocates a student-centred curriculum tailored to the individual student's interests, strengths, and needs.

Augustine (cited in Augustine and Dods, 1950) emphasises that a true education leads one to God and, God can only be reached through a contemplation of ideas; therefore, a true education is concerned with ideas rather than matter. Similarly, Farrakhan (1983, p. 47) believes that true education helps fulfil the individual's objective for existence so that they can be of succour to "self, family, community, nation and then to the world." Power (1982) highlights that educational philosophy should both have formal and informal education as part of its objective, however greatest emphasis should be given to identifying the aims of formal education.

The debate about the role of education never seems to end and has been a constant in the vocabulary of philosophers and education practitioners. To ask the question: '*What is the role of education?*' encourages as many replies from as many respondents. The degree to which anyone who can reliably ascertain what education is, and should be, is very sparse, Peters (1973) asserts that it is not possible, for anyone to determine one singular overall aim for education.

The change in the focus and the role of education has been, as detailed below, overwhelmingly also the result of historical, economical, and social trends nationally and internationally, driven by different sections of the society (for example, politicians, philosophers, and philanthropists). The call for education of the unprivileged was fought all over the world. In the UK, the physical and psychological abuse against children was not questioned, with markets for hiring children to workmen and tradesmen set up in towns and cities. No consideration was given to the physical, emotional, or mental health of the poor. Education was only for the few privileged. English historian Stone (1979, p. 298) described how some unprivileged children:

Had their teeth torn out to serve as artificial teeth for the rich; others were deliberately maimed by beggars to arouse compassion ... Even this latter crime was one upon which the law looked with a remarkably tolerant eye. In 1761 a beggar woman, convicted of deliberately putting out the eyes of children with whom she went about the country in order to attract pity and alms, was sentenced to no more than two years' imprisonment.

Education was feared by many important pillars of the community all over the world for fear that if the underprivileged young labourers were to be educated, they may demand better working conditions, and more entitlements. Some notable French Enlightenment scholars such as Voltaire condemned any attempt to educate the young labourers. In fact, he was quoted facilitating his colleague La Chalotais for fighting against their education: "Thank you for condemning the education of the labourers. I who farm the land need agricultural workers and not tonsured clerics. The lower classes should be guided, not educated, they are not worthy to be educated." (Voltaire, cited in Morot-Sir, 1964)

Lobbied by the new emerging newly rich Protestant middle class industrialists, philosophers, and politicians, entitlement to free education for the underprivileged children labourers began to be recognised in the 1830s. The aim of education at that time was to build individuals of good moral character who has the basic literacy and numeracy skills to help them function in society (Cockburn *et al.*, 1969). Grants to attract and train teachers were set up by Anglican and nonconformist churches. The 1833 Factor Act was signed requiring 13-year-olds to attend school for 12 hours a week. In February 1870, W.E. Forster called for the introduction of yet another legislation, the 1870 Education Act (Foster's Act). Representing the views of Parliament and Government officials in that era, Forster stated:

We must not delay ... Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends [on] our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to give technical teaching to our artisans without elementary education ... if we leave our workfolk any longer unskilled ... they will become over-matched in the competition of the world. (Forster, 1870, cited in Morgan, 2006, p. 325)

By 1900, there were 2,500 new schools functioning in England and Wales. One of the principals announced that between 1882 and 1900 boys had become (Morgan, 2006, p. 325): "Much more docile; insubordination, then endemic, now almost unknown ... Truancy almost extinct. Personal cleanliness greatly improved; verminous cases among boys rare, but among girls almost universal, due to their long hair." Best (1973) summarises the 19th century as dominated by education policy that, though progressive, continued to re-emphasise class differences and prejudices; social mobility certainly did not have any place.

From developing the moral character in the unprivileged social class and the need for “increasing of the intellectual force” (Forster, 1870, cited in UK Parliament, 2021 p.2), the 20th century had a new take on the nature and role of education. Debates amongst practitioners and politicians on what and how to teach increased, with growing interest in the works of Dewey, Montessori, Edmond Holmes, and Isaacs on the cognitive and social development of children. Some of the notable legislations passed in the 20th century included the Balfour Education Act of 1902 that decreed the development of a bipartite system of education including grammar and secondary school, with free places and scholarships dedicated for grammar school, and the inclusion of ‘3Rs’, English literature, one language, geography, history, mathematics, science, PE, and housewifery. Despite the 1902 Act, very few (10%) children did subscribe to secondary schools.

Education during World War I (and II) was not entirely neglected. The 1917 Lewis Report recommended that with no exemption the school leaving age be 14, and school attendance for at least eight hours a week up to the age of 18. Post-WWI, the 1918 Education Act (Fisher Act) extended the educational provisions, raised the school leaving age from 12 to 14, and offered all young workers right of access to day-release education. The inequality between social classes was narrowed but not eliminated, with only one in seven children reported to have remained in school after their thirteenth birthday.

The necessity to follow their counterparts in Germany, the United States, and France, pushed the UK Government to respond to the Norwood (1943) and Spens (1938) Reports and brought about the Education Act of 1944. The new policy document was mainly aimed at addressing the social and economic changes needed post-war.

Rather than by social class, children’s ability dictated which type of school best fitted them- technical, grammar, or secondary-modern school. 11-Plus attainment testing was used to differentiate between students’ ability, created as a tool for meritocracy selection. Politicians and educators were split on the 1944 Act to offer training best suited to students’ capacity and future occupation. The tripartite system of schools later lost its momentum as a result of the several reports from the 1950s and 1960s including the Crowther Report (1959), the Early Leaving Report (1954) and Parity

and Prestige in English Secondary Education (1955). All of the above warned repeatedly against the continued 'waste of talent' produced by the divided education system. Hasley *et al.*, (1980, p. 48) maintained that despite the reliance on testing, "it still turns out that meritocracy has been modified by class bias throughout the expansion of secondary opportunity."

The debate and criticism against the existing education system continued to intensify well into the late 1970s with the publication of the Black papers in 1975 (and 1977) and the following year by the Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan. In what is arguably considered one of the most significant speeches in the history of UK education policy. Callaghan (1976, cited in Gillard 2010) criticised the country's comprehensive schools' unsatisfactory standards. He affirmed the Black papers' views that the education system of the time was not appropriate for the needs of modern economy. School graduates, he argued, were not being prepared with the appropriate skills needed in the job market. Callaghan reaffirmed, that the pursuit for consultation and retraining of teachers, he expressed his unease about the "new informal methods of teaching," going as far as to challenge the teachers' monopoly of teacher education over the question about the methods and purposes of education. He asked that the "secret garden of the curriculum" be opened up. Callaghan (1976, cited in Gillard, 2010, p.17) added:

The goals of our education, from nursery school through to adult education, are clear enough. They are to equip children to the best of their ability for a lively, constructive, place in society, and also to fit them to do a job of work. Not one or the other but both.

Both of the basic purposes of education require the same essential tools. These are basic literacy, basic numeracy, the understanding of how to live and work together, respect for others, respect for the individual. This means requiring certain basic knowledge, and skills and reasoning ability. It means developing lively inquiring minds and an appetite for further knowledge that will last a lifetime. It means mitigating as far as possible the disadvantages that may be suffered through poor home conditions or physical or mental handicap.

Clearly, to Callaghan, the role of education was to equip today's students for tomorrow's role in society- the role of service provider- an employee. Callaghan

echoed the concerns from industry about students' lack of basic skills for the workplace. Towards addressing the weak comprehensive education, he called for more emphasis on the basic numeracy and literacy and compensation for what some students have been disadvantaged with at home.

Despite Callaghan's stern speech, little was accomplished, educational (and other service) reforms had to wait. In 1979, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party resumed where Callaghan left, but instead of re-regulating the existing public institutions, it saw de-regulation, liberalisation, and privatisation. Individualism replaced collectivism, and market freedom and competition meant that many government-owned services were not internally audited and reformed but privatised. In one of Thatcher's (cited in Beckett, 2006) first party conference, she said: "Let me give you my vision, a man's right to work as he will, to spend what he earns, to own property, to have the State as servant and not as master, these are the British inheritance."

Thatcher's era saw a return to Victorian political and economic ideologies (Beckett, 2006). One of the notable educational legislation changes was the Education Act of 1980 that gave the parents the right to choose their children's education, and the Local Education Authority (LEA) to govern their schools as they deem appropriate. It is worthwhile mentioning that during the 1980s, the philosophy of education has been much more diverse with the development of mixed fields and new areas of attention such as arts education, and was dominated by political currents such as, feminism and intercultural education (Peters *et al.*, 2015). During the Thatcher era, concerns over the rise of racism and sexism called for a reform to the school education. In a 1987 Thatcher speech (cited in Beckett, 2006 p. 324), she insisted that the education of inner-city youth was "snatched from them by hard-Left educational authorities and extremist teachers. Children who need to be able to count and multiply are learning anti-racist mathematics."

The reform to school education implied a restoration to the golden days of assimilation, nationalism, and political consensus. Adamant that education is the answer to the ill of society, the Conservatives introduced the Education Reform Act in 1988 which brought about the first ever national, and possibly nationalist curriculum.

The role of education was seen as reinstating the British cultural heritage in every home and eradicating the misguided relativism and multiculturalism. The old failing curriculum was replaced by a more current one; and out of control schools were in the 1980s more controlled, held to account, and followed the market's ideology of competitiveness and market choice. The Conservatives also introduced a bipartite education comprising of technical and vocational schools that will ultimately prepare 14 to 18 -year- olds for the world of business and industry.

1997 to 2012 saw a shift in view in the role of education. From an industrial nation, Prime Ministers Tony Blair and David Cameron wanted the country to become an informational and service economy. Rentoul (1997) adds that Tony Blair saw the role of education as a mean to “instilling discipline and responsibility than equality.” (p.431). Policies from the cutting down of class size, protection of schools from private ownership, raising educational achievement, supporting failing schools, etc. meant an increased spending on education. Once again, we find the return to the priority of learning the basics of literacy and numeracy in primary schools, performance monitoring, ensuring school accountability and assessments of standards. The Department for Education's (DfE, 1997, p. 3) message was clear, the role of education is to “investing in human capital in an age of knowledge. To compete in the global economy.”

The Comprehensive education system was yet again the centre of debate and mistrust by the new Labour, with the Secretary of State for Education Estelle Morris (2001-2002) emphasising that comprehensive schools do not appreciate differences in its pupils. Equality, she added, will not be achieved in having comprehensive, “one size fits all’ school. (Morris, 2002).

With the Coalition party, education saw some change to the New Labour party's policies, in the form of more of the return to nostalgic policies, such as the abolition of non-school subjects, a new primary curriculum, and school accountability measures to ensure students achieve in the national examinations. Some courses and programmes were abolished, and a more rigorous GCSE was introduced; the expansion of Grammar schools was resumed; teachers were given more powers to

discipline pupils; and schools were given the right to bid for teacher training places under the School Direct scheme.

By the summer of 2016, the strategy of the Conservative Prime Minister, David Cameron, for addressing social inequality and improving life chances was replaced by that of the new Conservative PM, Theresa May; her vision was for Britain to become 'The Great Meritocracy.' She called for equal access to schools, such as Grammar Schools, for all social classes.

Clearly, the views of politicians on what role education should play is steered by their own philosophical beliefs, social upbringing, and experiences in education. Whilst Thatcher perceived seeking and enjoying justice as the primarily responsibility of individuals and celebrated the rights of individuals 'to be unequal and the freedom to be different,' Blair regarded it to be the Government's responsibility to ensure social equality. Cameron believed in meritocracy, that people should be given 'fair reward for talent and effort', which was later reinforced by May's view of Britain as 'The Great Meritocracy' that puts the interests of ordinary people first.

In 2019, Boris Johnson, was selected as the new leader of the Conservative Party, the same year in which the Conservative Manifesto *inter alia* continued Teresa May's quest for the expansion of grammar schools. The party, however, introduced radical reforms including providing more support for children with SEND, supporting teachers and headteacher in improving student discipline; boosting childcare, delivering additional funding for schools, and increasing teacher recruitment and pay (plus top-ups for teachers employed in the capital) (Local Government Association, 2019). In addition to the above, the government party seemed to want to re-adopt emphasis on Hirsh's (1987) knowledge base education that focuses on the role of cultural literacy. To implement Hirsh's recommendation, the Government pledged that the school curriculum would be rich in historical and cultural knowledge, encompass extra-curricular enriching activities for all students, and include more physical literacy and competitive sport. Since the start of the COVID pandemic in March 2020, the barriers to education increased worldwide, with the closure of 1.6 billion schools (Coughlan, 2020).

Historically, it is evident that the purpose of education in England has evolved according to the perceptions and desires of the ruling elites. Certainly, these views have also been shaped by external forces such as the industrial revolution, technological advances, and international competitions. The aim of education has ranged from reinstating a sense of nationalism, integration, discipline, and preparing individuals for the workplace. The education system in England, one could argue, seemed to have nostalgic calling for the 1870 system of education with businesses and philanthropist having a large saying in the delivery of policies on school selection of students, curriculum content, and type of interventions and assessments for both students and teachers to support teaching and learning. Reay (2017, p. 2) described the English State system as widening the gap between social classes: “Even within a comprehensive school, when they’re all in the same building, the working classes are still getting less education than the middle class ... we are still educating different social classes for different functions in society.”

Evidence shows that children on free school meals and receiving pupil premium, are 27% less likely to achieve five or more GCSEs at grades A* to C including English and mathematics (Gov, 2014). Reay (2017) adds that it is the wealth and inclinations of parents rather than the child’s ability or effort that have the most bearing on children’s educational success today.

Ball (2013) argues (2013) that the purpose of education, what it means to be educated, what schools are for, and most importantly who should be making such decisions, are questions that have not been resolved. Ball (2013) believes that this is a new beginning for education, a new type of back-to-basics that reinstates traditional topics, canonical knowledge, and celebrating nationalism. This has been pre-determined by successive Secretaries of State in consultation with a selection of education experts and relying on ‘evidence- based data’ (Gove, 2012). Also, we see a resurrection and re-emphasis on quality assurance and academic achievement based on local, national, and international comparisons through the league tables of national examinations and PISA testing. On this, Professor Andrew Pollard (2012, cited in Headteacher Update, 2012) argues that public school curriculum is incohesive, repetitive, and ‘will test even the most committed teachers.’

Ball (2013, p. 6) recommends a move away from a:

System of education driven by economic necessities, to one which gives priority to social and political necessities ... Education would be reconceived in relation to other aspects of social policy and to social problems. What is outlined is somewhere different from where to start.

Having analysed the history of UK education, and the journey that the State has taken to reform the education sector, the following two sections examine in detail the role of school-based education and community-based education in preventing HBA. Cognisance will be placed upon how the State, through the medium of learning, attempts to influence patriarchal behaviours in order to create an egalitarian society.

The Role of School-Based Education in Preventing Honour-Based Abuse

As evident from necessarily extensive research the historical account on the evolving view on the role of education covered in the foregoing, the schools' function is not only to teach basic subjects or prepare children for the world of work, but also to nurture students' mental and physical wellbeing, and to address social and cultural inequality. Achieving this is no easy task. There is no quick answer to the purpose of education, with many philosophers and educational theorists such as Dewey and Hersh offering their own formulae. John Dewey's influential perspectives argued that education must be rooted in experiential learning that makes classroom lessons relevant to students' lived experiences and interests (Dewey, 1938). Rather than passive absorption of abstract concepts, Dewey advocated active, democratic participation in learning processes situated in students' lives. Dewey saw community ties as crucial contexts for meaningful education. In contrast, Richard Hersh's "three ethics" framework contends central aims should cultivate skills for labour, citizenship and culture (Hersh, 1997). This entails developing students' economic potential, sense of social responsibility, and appreciation for the humanities, respectively. While divergent, both illuminate the complex question of how to improve harm-prevention and early identification for HBA victims. Like defining the purpose of education, developing interventions to address HBA requires reconciling varied viewpoints and philosophies in order to determine appropriate policies and practices. It is perhaps, no wonder that politicians, activists, and educators have deliberated for

years on the similarly complex question of how to improve harm-prevention and early identification of vulnerable victims impacted by HBA. The perspectives of Dewey and Hersh philosophies reinforce that addressing HBA requires reconciling varied standpoints to develop nuanced educational policies and practices responsive to community needs and dynamics.

Between 2012 and 2013, 'BigTalk Education', a social enterprise and leading provider in the UK of school relationship and sex education programmes and training, saw a significant shift in the behaviour of young people. This looked to be the tipping moment at which access to the internet, ownership of mobile/tablet devices, and the subsequent exposure to inappropriate content had swept over a whole generation (Heah, 2019). Meanwhile, Ofsted was undertaking an assessment of primary and secondary school Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) and Personal, Social, and Health Education (PSHE) provision. According to the 2013 Ofsted assessment, the provision of SRE in more than one-third of English schools "needed improvement" (Ofsted, [2013], p. 54). It recognised that while primary schools outperformed senior schools on the interpersonal component of SRE, both were "not yet good enough" (Ingham and Hirst, 2010). In 2014, the Education Select Committee conducted an enquiry into PSHE and SRE, with the Life Lessons report recommending that SRE should be made mandatory, highlighting the critical role of SRE in safeguarding children and young people. In February 2019, the Department for Education released new RSE guidance for all UK schools, updating the curriculum for the first time in 20 years (Mahendru, 2019).

SRE was referred to as Relationship Sex Education (RSE) in the Children and Social Work Act (2017), which gained Royal Assent in March 2017. This Act prioritises the relationships over sex education, transforming SRE into RSE (Calvert, 2020). This statute mandates relationship and sex education in all secondary schools and relationship education in all primary schools, applying equally to maintained and independent schools, as well as all faith-based institutions. Since 2020, RSE in elementary schools has been designated as a mandatory topic, alongside Health Education (Calvert, 2020). Schools are encouraged to include a relevant and suitable sex education curriculum in their overall RSE/PSHE curriculum.

It was after six years of debate and consultation with over 23,000 parents, young people, school staff, experts, and 40,000 other individuals who contacted the Department for Education, the Government decided in 2020 that one component of safeguarding, HBA, ought to be incorporated in the secondary (but not primary) school's Relationships and Sex Education (RSE) curriculum (DfE, 2020). It became mandatory for schools to include HBA instruction in their RSE and health education curricula (Mahendru, 2019).

In the Statutory RSE (DfE, 2020, pp. 27-28), schools are expected to cover themes explored in primary schooling, along with topics relating to: "Families, respectful relationships, including friendships, online and media, being safe, and intimate and sexual relationships, including sexual health." Under "being safe," the guidance (DfE, 2020, pp. 27-28) emphasises:

- The concepts of, and laws relating to, sexual consent, sexual exploitation, abuse, grooming, coercion, harassment, rape, domestic abuse, forced marriage, honour-based violence and FGM, and how these can affect current and future relationships.
- How people can actively communicate and recognise consent from others, including sexual consent, and how and when consent can be withdrawn (in all contexts, including online).

Schools are advised that grooming, sexual exploitation, and domestic abuse, including coercive and controlling behaviour, should also be addressed "sensitively and clearly" (DfE, 2020 p. 26). In the hope of preventing teenagers from becoming victims and perpetrators of abusive relationships, the Home Office independently developed and ran two campaigns that were brought together under the programme "This is Abuse" for 13- to 18-year-old for boys and girls from 2010 to 2014. Evidence unfortunately showed (Home Office, 2013) that despite investing in £3.85 million campaigns, attitudes amongst teenagers did not seem to change. This study postulated that this may have to do with the wide "growing availability of internet porn and sexting behaviour, along with harmful attitudes towards women within the media/social channels." (Home Office, 2013 p. 4). Schools were given advice (for example, the PSHE Association's "Disrespect NoBody Teaching Resources on

Preventing Teenage Relationship Abuse” 2018) on how to incorporate a section on identifying abuse within the curriculum.

In addition, the DfE guidance (2020) expects schools to address safety in the context of the law, how to recognise unhealthy and abusive relationships (including family relationships), and how to manage and access support for themselves and others. The guidance warns schools that their role in supporting students in unhealthy or unsafe relationships at home or socially is crucial. Staff are required to provide a consistent and safe environment for their vulnerable students to “speak to trusted adults, report problems and find support.” (DfE, 2020, p. 41).

Parents are typically considered to have the right to guide their children's education and to shape it according to their religious and philosophical values (UNCRC, 1989). Therefore, parents are permitted, under English and European/International law, to remove their children from RSE (sex education) classes if they believe that these classes contradict their own religious and philosophical beliefs. However, the parental authority to withdraw children from RSE sessions is not without its challenges. The DfE regulation (2021, p. 121) reads:

If a parent of a pupil enrolled in a maintained school in England requests that the pupil be excused entirely or partially from sex education provided as part of statutory relationships and sex education, the pupil must be excused until the request is withdrawn, unless or until the headteacher determines that the pupil should not be excused.

The headteacher may utilise the parental right of withdrawal at his or her discretion. The guidance elaborates on the process for exercising this discretion. When a parent seeks withdrawal, the headteacher should explain the benefits of RSE and the risks to the child. In other words, parents should be discouraged from exercising their withdrawal rights. If parents opt to keep this privilege, it should be respected, except under exceptional circumstances. Heah (2018) points out that the guidance, on the other hand, does not define what are 'exceptional circumstances. Additionally, the revised guidance takes a more child-centred stance on the parental right to withdraw as it encourages consulting the child when parents seek withdrawal from RSE (Heah, 2018).

To be able effectively to satisfy children's needs, it is first necessary to investigate why children's education needs to correspond with changes in thinking and understanding (Heah, 2019). The reform of PSHE/RSE is not without controversy, and some schools and instructors have already received backlash from communities who believe that the new legislative guideline contradicts their cultural and religious values (Calvert, 2020). There is an expectation that schools are meant to interact with parents and communities on the content and method of instruction they intend to use. While the Government encourages parental involvement in RSE provision (DfEE, 2000; DfES, 2001), certain schools have historically kept parents at a distance. This gap is created to avoid offending a small percentage of parents or religious groups (Walker, 2004; Ingham and Hirst, 2010). These new reforms have tested the very foundations of certain communities and religious systems. The opinions of a minority of parents or religious/interest groups can lead to the RSE framework in schools being altered or parts of the content being purposely ignored. This is illustrated by the Anderton Park School demonstrations in Birmingham with parents from South Asian backgrounds objecting to their children being taught LGBTQI+ community equality messages in PSHE within the classroom. Not only are South Asian parents opposing the new curriculum, but a conservative Christian secondary school assistant recently lost her job after submitting an online petition against the teaching of LGBTQI+ subjects at her son's primary school (Mahendru, 2019).

The level of support for SRE/RSE among parents from South Asian (Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh) communities (49%, 78%, and 75%, respectively) suggests that parental attitude is influenced by cultural and/or religious background (Sex Education Forum, 1996). Parents are critical in assisting children to develop a sense of identity, culture, and religion. The right of parents to raise and guide their children's upbringing is claimed to be founded in religion and spirituality, with parents wanting to nurture their children in line with their traditional beliefs (Burns-O'Connell, 2018). The preceding is not without difficulties, since many South Asian parents may struggle with RSE lessons that emphasise as unacceptable and undesirable some traditional cultural practices and behaviours, for example FGM, honour killings, and forced marriage. It can be argued that given HBA practices are inextricably linked to religion and culture, RSE is a curriculum that impacts on religious and cultural values, which explains why

there are regular disputes over its delivery. To assist students in making educated choices, schools' RSE should be impartial and factually correct, while also covering a broad spectrum of opinions (Burns-O'Connell, 2018). According to Calvert (2020) this may mean exposing youngsters to opinions and ideas that differ from their families' cultural and religious values in a pluralistic society. As a result, parents fear that RSE will be taught within a moral framework incompatible to their own. One may argue that for certain South Asian parents, what the general public views as HBA practices are in fact, set moral guidelines that they adhere to within their family in order to maintain coercive control over their female family members. As evidenced by the literature review HBA has a catastrophic effect on children and adolescents; equipping them with the information to safeguard themselves enables them to detect traits of HBA and seek external support. Therefore, it may be argued that school based RSE has the potential to expose children to a variety of perspectives and ideas they may not encounter otherwise; access to RSE also gives crucial knowledge to children that will benefit in their future decision-making especially around relationships.

There is no defined curriculum for SRE, and English schools are allowed to construct their own curriculum in accordance with the interests of parents and the communities they serve (Heah, 2018). This is thought to have been a deliberate attempt by the Government to sidestep the controversy surrounding RSE and equality (Ingham and Hirst, 2010). Regrettably, HBA educational practices become a casualty and do not assist the feminist objective of ethnic minority populations equality.

According to Keating *et al.*, (2018, p. 15) amongst the barriers to RSE implementation were “an overloaded curriculum, time constraints, teacher discomfort and the pressures of examination subjects.” Towards preparing schools for the new compulsory addition to its secondary school curriculum, in September 2020 the Government granted the RSE Association additional funding to help advise schools in how to enhance their RSE curriculum, develop their teacher's safeguarding responsibilities, and improve the quality of teaching and learning (Calvert, 2020) Currently, schools take vastly varied approaches to RSE. Some schools incorporate RSE subjects within the broader subject of PSHE, whereas others teach RSE as a separate subject with its own timetable(s). Some schools have a 'whole school'

approach, in which RSE issues are handled throughout all disciplines. It is noteworthy that there are currently no RSE-specific credentials available at training institutes for trainee teachers who may be interested in specialising in PSHE or RSE (Burns-O'Connell, 2018). Due to the absence of mandated teacher training in this subject area, schools are expected to develop unique teaching structures and methodologies. Some schools have dedicated PSHE instructors, while others rely on form tutors or other subject specialists (Formby *et al.*, 2010). In other schools, RSE is provided at a bare minimum to avoid offending cultural and religious beliefs; in these cases, the RSE provided to students will not be comprehensive, so that the threads of HBA will not be effectively unpicked within the school setting to make a significant impact on outcomes. Ingham and Hirst (2010) claim that schools that opt to teach only the bare minimum RSE standards rather than risk antagonising local communities risk depriving students of critical instruction in recognising and addressing inequality.

It is worth noting that the DfE does not make any reference to the role of either colleges or universities in preventing HBA through their curricula. Universities and colleges are, however, expected to ensure that prospective practitioners working with vulnerable groups are trained in safeguarding albeit not particularly in HBA. Under the Children Act of 2004, these institutions are required to safeguard and promote the welfare of their vulnerable students.

Education institutions have been asked to publish their policies and procedures on identifying and responding to domestic abuse. Stakeholders were also signposted to national and local organisations addressing domestic abuse. Recently (2020), the Government consulted with some of its partners such as Universities UK to establish its taskforce and help identify ways to support the higher education sector in responding to harassment, hate crime, and violence. Consequently, in 2020, Universities UK published its 'Beginning the Conversation: policy documents' to help combat domestic violence and abuse of their staff and students.

One may argue that transferring authority to schools to determine what is taught and when, based on the needs of their students, has a substantial influence and impact on teaching and learning. RSE delivery exposes teachers on the front lines,

subjecting them to antagonism, and tasking them with making critical judgments concerning children's needs, for which they may lack proper training especially in the complexities of cultural practices of HBA. Without a sufficient understanding of the subject and its influence on children and their development, teachers may struggle to establish and comprehend precisely what is necessary (Burns-O'Connell, 2018). Their personal degree of confidence in delivering and initiating discussions about cultural beliefs and practices with youngsters will be a limiting factor. Calvert (2020) pointed out that teaching staff must evaluate their own feelings on cultural practices, gender, mental health, and relationships. It will be impossible to offer training on these issues without sufficient contemplation and reflexivity (Calvert, 2020). One might claim that it is not just information that is required, but also an understanding of one's own views. Without this self-awareness, any discomfort or bias may influence how individuals may teach and what students conclude from the teachings. Very little is known on how confident and supported teachers feel in teaching culturally sensitive issues relating to gender roles and responsibilities - sexual orientations, practices such as HBA, FM, and FGM, for example - to safeguard their vulnerable students. The present study investigates policy makers' and other key stakeholders' perspectives on the role of education in preventing HBA including the culturally sensitive challenges that they face and the availability of viable solutions to combat HBA.

The Role of Community-Based Education in Preventing Honour-Based Abuse

Having emphasised the importance and challenges of school-based education in HBA prevention, this section examines the significance and the difficulties associated with education provided in a community setting for the purpose of preventing HBA.

Obviously, community-based education is not the same as classroom education; instead, the former refers to the general education and awareness within the community. To comprehend the benefits of community-based education, one must be familiar with its definitions. Patel (2019) defines community-based education as an effective way in which the challenges of the community are responded to with the promotion of education at a national, or local level. It is also referred to as 'marketing' presented by the Government to aid community awareness (Peters and Marshall,

2002). According to Khan *et al.*, (2017), community-based education is a phenomenon that is characterised by the promotion of concepts connected to life-long learning opportunities available to members of the community. Considering these definitions, it is possible to define community-based education as planned initiatives and programs which can help in addressing issues in society or a community via education, and providing awareness related to life lessons, of which HBA is just one element. This implies that with the support of community-based education, society and communities may be educated as to why HBA is of concern, and why it is necessary to take action to safeguard vulnerable women and girls who are victims of HBA or face related dangers. Based on this argument, it is necessary to evaluate the role of community education regarding HBA so that awareness of such aspects can be addressed.

Numerous academics have emphasised that community-based education can play a significant role in moulding society and its beliefs to reduce the prevalence of societal and community-based problems such as HBA. For example, according to Idriss (2018), community-based education can help to change attitudes and behaviours at a community level which can contribute to shaping mindsets for betterment of society. Begikhani *et al.*, (2010) postulate that community-based initiatives can be conducted by the Government so that education for righteous behaviours can be developed and human rights can be promoted effectively. This can also include feminist education which can help to promote women rights and help society and communities to foster social acceptance (Begikhani *et al.*, 2010). It can be argued that such programs can support the promotion of respect, and protection of women in societies, on the basis of basic human rights. The above theorists clearly theorise that community-based education initiatives can enhance community awareness and protect women and girls from HBA.

Though HBA per se has not been the particular focus of national policies, the Government has committed to the ending of all types of domestic violence. Defying inherent social norms, attitudes, and behaviours is recognised by the UK Government (2016, p. 15) as an important step towards preventing domestic abuse in all communities. It acknowledges that “once violence is established, it is difficult to

break the cycles of abuse, help victims, and prevent perpetrators.” (UK Government 2016, p. 19)

The Home Office (2016b) acknowledges that the NHS, Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs), youth workers, specialist VAWG organisations, and other local partners are all significant agents in the prevention and tackling of HBA. But to help gather evidence and identify gaps to intervene and address HBA, the Government relies primarily on police records. It also depends on research organisations such as the research and innovation flagship programme of the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Offices (previously known as the Department for International Development) called, ‘What Works to Prevent Violence’, to inform its policies and advise on new prevention interventions.

Existing interventions are geared more towards DV awareness rather than HBA, for example, ‘SafeLives’, ‘One Front Door’, and Women's Aid ‘Change that Lasts’ are nation-wide community-based initiatives to tackle DV. The ‘Troubled Families Programme’, which is delivered nationally by all 150 top-tier local authorities, is another programme that is comparable to the aforementioned multi-agency models.

In addition to the above, perpetrator interventions that combine various civil orders such as, Domestic Violence Protection Orders, Stalking Protection Order, and Sexual Risk Orders to restrict potential offenders have also been implemented. For example, ‘Drive’ has been devised in collaboration with Respect, SafeLives, and Social Finance to address the high levels of repeat victimisation within DV. Also, Multi Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC) and Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs (MASHs) share information to help identify patterns and devise risk management plans to reduce harm to victims and their families.

For individuals working with victims of DV, there are several programmes provided to develop their competencies, such as the Identification and Referral to Improve Safety (IRIS) training, support and referral programme for health practitioners; the Chief Social Worker’s ‘Social Work Post-Qualifying Standards: Knowledge and Skills statement’ for frontline practitioners, supervision and guidance to equip staff with the necessary skills; free online training via Against Violence Abuse (AVA), access to

'Spotting the Signs' toolkit to improve awareness amongst healthcare professionals; and other types of training such as the free responder training by the College of Policing.

As already noted, the above programmes all have a particular focus on DV. Nonetheless, there have been some activities undertaken towards addressing the context and circumstances of HBA. These include holding stakeholder meetings with NGOs, focus groups, gathering and recording statutory information. However, what has been missing are specific projects that tackle community-based interventions and targeted support for victims and survivors of HBA.

Research evidence from the voluntary sector and local areas, suggest that while some services around VAWG are admirable, many are hindered due to the absence or dwindling of central government funding; poor collaborative and joined up commissioning practices; inconsistent and weak data collection; unfair and unequal support to victims; overburdening staff with increased reporting tasks; and "difficulties in identifying appropriate support to victims of complex needs." (HM Government, 2016 p. 29).

The tenuous relationship between the UK Government and NGOs who actively fight against HBA, whilst also advocating for community-based education in raising awareness of HBA in closed communities, presents substantial obstacles. According to Khan *et al.*, (2017) if NGOs were adequately supported and funded for delivering key community-based messages and training, the number of occurrences of HBA could be greatly reduced. It is possible to argue that the Government does support NGOs for example KN and the Halo Project. But if HBA is to be addressed in society then substantially greater efforts are required. Julios (2016), argues that the UK Government is unwilling to prioritise the issue of HBA, thus endangering vulnerable members of society. Hague *et al.*, (2013) further indicated that the UK Government's ignorance of HBA must be tackled if HBA practices are to decline in the UK.

The preceding illustrates that the absence or reduction of central government financing, the absence of official coordination and the ignorance of the UK Government are some of the hurdles facing community-based education in its efforts

to prevent HBA. To guarantee the safety of women and girls these issues must be addressed urgently.

While there is literature available on the significance of community-based education in shaping society, there is very little evidence and limited discussion on the ways in which community-based education around HBA in England is being provided, and outcomes that it has generated. One possible explanation for this may be due to the fact that neither the Government nor welfare organisations have a good grip on the underlying dynamics and theories that must be investigated in order to identify which approaches would be effective in dealing with the phenomenon of HBA. Who should be educated, and what type of education should be supplied to individuals, must be questioned. Rather than merely teaching victims on how to seek assistance, the community must be educated on how to combat HBA. This discussion may be missing due to a lack of knowledge and postmodern education that considers the significance of multiculturalism in influencing society as a whole.

There are studies on the significance of postmodern theory in delivering moral instruction to the community, but they do not address HBA specifically (Peters and Marshall, 2002). These studies demonstrate the need for subjective rather than objective education in multi-cultural societies such as England, where individuals have diverse perspectives due to their membership in different communities; for example, the South Asian community which can be culturally distinct and can have levels and multi layers of intersectional values and beliefs. According to functionalists like Durkheim, education can help in providing awareness to society, and educating communities about moral principles so that they can learn how to behave positively (Pope, 1975). If education can teach moral principles, as functionalists believe, community education could play a great role in shaping mindsets to combat HBA. However, this theory has obstacles regarding the implementation and relationship of core values in a multicultural nation. It can be argued that community-based education needs to be provided to communities and cultures based on their distinct values to fight the root cause of HBA. According to Peters and Marshall (2002), individualistic orientation should be taken in to consideration, and that it is reasonable to assume that the thought process and the way of life of a migrant will be distinct. It can be argued that migrants who feel alienated from their host community are less

likely to be open to educational programmes that aim to challenge and alter their core belief systems as discussed in the earlier section of culture, identity and HBA.

According to Idriss (2018), basic human rights are taught in the curricula of numerous professions, including teaching and law enforcement, so that such institutions can safeguard vulnerable members of the society. Based on their professions, it can be argued that these individuals can make a significant contribution to community-based education in preventing and regulating HBA practices. As previously noted in the literature review, HBA does not fall under a particular criminal statute. It is essentially an umbrella phrase for multiple offences, including FM and FGM. Ward (1998) argues that community-based education can aid in the detection of criminal behaviour that is harmful to society as whole. In addition, it can raise awareness of the consequences of law enforcement on those who perpetrate such heinous acts (Ward,1998). According to Bates (2018), there are 50 domestic abuse agencies who have reported that women from migrant communities are seeking help to protect themselves from HBA practices. The opportunity to access community-based education will enable empowerment and safeguarding of these vulnerable individuals impacted by invidious patriarchal practices. Thus, it can be said that the benefits of community-based education in preventing HBA include a greater understanding of human rights, collaboration with key members of the community, educating women, and a decrease in crime rate.

Chapter 3 Conclusion

This chapter has examined existing literature relating to HBA and the role of education in preventing HBA. It has explored specific definitions and examined key data highlighting inherent inconsistencies. By recognising the instances of male victims and the participation of women in HBA situations, the available literature provided very limited answers or explanations. The gap in knowledge therefore requires a thorough empirical exploration to ensure that further research and debates are had around the distinctiveness of HBA and its many facets. Feminist literature makes it very clear that the term 'honour' relates only to the honour of males, to the disadvantage of women. Women are objectified as a result of their perception as inconvenient obstacles that threaten masculine dignity and self-esteem (Idriss, 2017).

By exploring HBA and the role of education, through a feminist lens intertwined with culture and migration, this research seeks to address some of the existing gaps in the literature.

This chapter has also examined the significance of South Asian migration whilst acknowledging HBA's existence in other communities, such as Eastern European and Roma Traveller. Focusing on migration patterns of South Asian communities in the UK, the literature illustrates how the notion of cultural reproduction aids in maintaining control over women by perpetuating harmful traditional practices that exert power over women and how these communities pass honour to successive generations.

By placing victims at the centre of the study, this research intends to examine methods which can challenge patriarchal attitudes that condone VAWG, and which could bring to an end the practice of HBA through the power of education. The literature has highlighted that the current education provision to tackle HBA adopts a simplistic view without fully understanding the complexities of the phenomenon, for example, culture, race, and power struggles within the South Asian diaspora. There is a paucity of HBA specific educational initiatives available within community settings and those that are in place are predominately DV focused, resulting in limited targeted support for victims and survivors of HBA. In regard to school-based education provision, it is seen that steps have been taken recently to combat HBA within schools via a structured curriculum (PSHE and RSE). However, the right to pupil 'opt out' by parents, means that the statutory delivery of PSHE and RSE effectively leaves vulnerable children without the tools to protect themselves from harmful practices of HBA. The challenging nature of HBA provides another layer of complexity within schools as practitioners and teachers may struggle to have adequate knowledge, confidence, and experience to deliver culturally sensitive messages to children and young people. Consequently, within a limited classroom context, the strands of HBA will not be efficiently unpicked to make a significant impact on outcomes.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

In light of the preceding literature review on HBA, one question that came to mind when considering the methodology was:

How can the quality of policies in preventing HBA be determined, and what is the role of education in developing understanding of HBA?

A further question became dominant:

Against which criteria should a model of assurance be built?

In other words:

How can it be warranted if the findings of this study are 'true' representations of the policy and practice of HBA?

As evidenced by the literature review and below discussion, very few research studies have investigated the suitability of different policies and procedures for recognising and addressing HBA. Relatively little research has been conducted on the role of education in the UK in preventing and controlling HBA.

The nature of this study is based on the perceptions of key stakeholders and how they interpret views in relation to the role of education in preventing HBA. As stated in Chapter 1, the objectives are to aid comprehension of the current status, inform the literature, and influence future policy and practice. This chapter outlines the limited research on the role of education in preventing HBA to further set the scene; it then proceeds to define the central research question, research sub-questions, and how they will be achieved. In addition, the research topic is explored, the qualitative research approach is discussed, the interpretivist methodological approach is applied, and detail around ethical considerations is provided. A description is given of sampling and recruitment strategies employed. Furthermore, this chapter examines

how the author's personal position as a South Asian female shaped the research process through a feminist theoretical lens. Ultimately, this chapter attempts to convey what Adler and Clark (2014) refer to as the "inside story" by providing an educated, translucent, and truthful account of the research journey (p.72).

Study Justification – Limited Research on Honour-Based Abuse and the Role of Education

To ensure that HBA policies and procedures, as well as programmes and initiatives, meet the needs of HBA practitioners, victims, and survivors, it is necessary to draw on participant experience and perspectives to examine how HBA is conceptualised, theorised, perpetuated, and eliminated.

Since the initial high-profile media coverage of the 'honour' killing of Heshu Yones in 2002, such HBA research as has been undertaken has only scratched the surface of this mainly patriarchal phenomena.

Although there are no particular empirical studies that have specifically explored the role of education in preventing HBA, the present research builds upon the works of Idriss (2018), Hague (2013), Dogan (2018), and Bates (2017), which are explored in further detail below.

Existing Studies

The pioneering transnational study carried out by Hague (2013) assessed the nature of HBA, in Iraqi Kurdistan and the Kurdish movement in the UK. The aims of this study were to evaluate the impact of HBA practices on Kurdish women and to assess the development of strategies and policies addressing it in the UK and Iraqi Kurdistan. A total of 166 semi-structured interviews were undertaken in Iraqi Kurdistan with government officials, police, women's NGOs, and other agencies. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with HBA survivors/family members, and professional agencies in the UK were interviewed. In respect to the UK, the investigation uncovered "fundamental mistakes in policing" that placed the lives of women and children at unnecessary danger (Begikhani *et al.*, 2010, p. 118). The

authors also advocated, for the continuation of proactive policies on HBA in the UK, better provision (and funding) for specialist support organisations, a more holistic approach that acknowledges the complexities of HBA, and a more comprehensive approach that focuses on educating government agencies and the public.

While Idriss's (2018), study assessed whether various police investigations to identify and charge perpetrators of HBA were fit for purpose, he found that existing methods of interventions were flawed and that there were inconsistent approaches adopted by State agencies which were sometimes endangering victims of HBA.

Bates (2017) scrutinised whether national definitions of victims, perpetrators and forms of abuse were adequate to identify and respond to HBA. She developed a typology of HBA based on the relationships of victims and perpetrator, number of perpetrators, characteristics of the individuals, and abuses involved. A revised policy definition of HBA was proposed. Aplin (2019) assessed the discretionary police practices and decision making in response to incidents of HBA through examination of 100 UK police cases of HBA. Similarly, Aplin's findings highlighted issues associated with policing, partnership working arrangements, and safeguarding victims of HBA crimes. Additional research on HBA was carried out by Doğan (2018, p.225); these findings showed that in some honour based killing cases, rejection and exclusion may have led some individuals to seek "validation or approval through killing" in order to be reinstated and respected by their community and family. Despite the extensive studies mentioned above, the relationship between HBA and education has not been the subject of any dedicated research. Clearly, there are overlapping themes evident throughout; however, this study can be distinguished in its own right as it examines the role of education in preventing HBA.

Research Questions

According to Greene (2007, p. 97), "[the] methodology is ever the servant of purpose and questions, never the master." Taking into consideration Greene's notion that the selection of research methods is dependent upon the research questions (see also Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004 and Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009), my research question and sub-questions are:

Research question:

What is the Role of Education in Preventing Honour-Based Abuse?

Research sub-questions:

- (1) What is the nature and character of HBA? Who are the perpetrators and victims?
- (2) What is the impact of gender and patriarchy in relation to HBA?
- (3) What role does education have in developing an understanding of HBA?
- (4) What ramifications does this have for local and national policy?

Researcher Positionality

An important part of addressing potential issues of quality in qualitative research is to maintain a reflective positionality (Charmaz and Thornberg, 2020). Reflexivity enhances the development of insights and knowledge about the subject of study as well as the research process itself (Watt, 2007) and may be particularly useful in qualitative research (Thomson and Holland, 2003). "Positionality refers to the way in which others position the individual identity and affiliations he/she may have." (Sanghera and Thaper-Bjorkert, 2008, p. 553). Charmaz and Thornberg (2020) argue that researchers can be viewed as 'experts' who can detach themselves from the research environment and examine matters objectively. However, the conventional view in social-scientific research is that the researcher is 'bound up' in the inquiry and cannot provide anything more than a limited account of what they have discovered (Bernasconi, 2010).

As a fluid process that undergoes constant modification (Bourke, 2014), this thesis illustrates my positionality and its impact on the research throughout. This section describes the elements that influenced my positionality prior to undertaking this research. Recognising a researcher's individual impact on their study enables a

greater awareness of its strengths and limitations, as well as the adoption of strategies to overcome limitations in order to boost the data's validity and acquisition of information. It is recognised that government agencies have developed different and varied policies to ensure transparency, accountability, participation, and engagement of victims of HBA and relevant multi-agencies. The team at the Women Against Homelessness and Abuse [WAHA] (2019) project argues that there are “patterns of systemic and institutional failures and discrimination by public authorities when dealing with Black and minoritised women’s cases of violence.” (p. 37). Whether indeed there are systematic and institutional failures in providing support and preventing BAME women from accessing information and the needed support, is not the scope of the study. What this thesis has proceeded to explore, through the perspective of key research participants, are: (1) the role of education in preventing HBA, and (2) whether targeted policies prevent and address HBA, (3) impact of patriarchy and the subordination of the female gender.

Monahan and Fisher (2010) stress that the influence of researchers must be deliberated before, during, and after undertaking a study. Consistent with Monahan and Fisher, I have engaged in critical reflection and reflexivity, not merely in the point of analysis, but also throughout the study. Mason (2002, p. 7) writes: “Qualitative research should involve critical self-scrutiny by the researcher, or active reflexivity ... this is based on the belief that the researcher cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are generating.” Malterud (2001) acknowledges that a researcher’s experiences and status will affect what they choose to investigate, and the angle of the investigation. However, it is acknowledged that personal biases need to be embraced to enable objectivity. Positionality should be recognised as a strength, but it can also be a detriment to research if not acknowledged and questioned. It is impossible to separate the way research is undertaken from overlapping identities and subjective knowledge (Subreenduth *et al.*, 2009). I am aware that our function as researchers necessitates an acknowledgment and understanding of our positionality, which not only impacts on the research but also influences our interpretation and, ultimately, our conviction in the credibility of our disseminated study (Holmes, 2014). According to Wellington (2015, p. 87), “to be critical of oneself and one’s research can be painful.” Certain features of positionality, such as gender, ethnicity, and skin colour, are culturally

assigned or commonly perceived as fixed. Others, including political perspectives, personal life history, and experiences, are more flexible, subjective, and contextual (Chiseri-Strater, 1996). It is imperative that as a researcher, I am constantly aware of the influences and interpretations that my positionality holds to maintain academic rigour and identify truthfulness and validity. Throughout this investigation, there has been a keen awareness of positionality and its contribution to the construction, development, and implementation of the work, given my background and distinct knowledge of HBA. In this section, I will illustrate by an open and honest declaration and explanation and the research method, technique, and conclusion have been affected. This will help the reader to create an educated opinion of the study's substance and possible effect, or lack thereof; this is “particularly crucial in research”, according to Wellington (2015, p. 102), as a considerable portion of the responsibility falls on the reader ... The 'value' or veracity of the study is dependent on both the reader and the researcher.

This research is rooted in my own personal experiences as a British born female second generation immigrant with procured mix of Asian and Anglo-Saxon analytical traditions, and someone who was deprived of her right to education from the age of 11 and experienced the subjugation of a patriarchal family environment. For this study specifically, my positionality as a researcher was equally complicated by my overlapping structures of subordination such as, my own South Asian heritage and my work as an activist and a survivor of HBA. According to Metlo (2017), many feminist academics are of the belief that feminist researchers cannot be separated from the research they undertake due to the researcher and the study participants are two sides of the same coin. While facing challenges stemming from my own beliefs and experiences and employing tactics to address them, such as the interpretation of the interview data, I must also realise that the mere recognition of positionality does not imply a reflective approach. Griffiths (1998, p. 143) cautions against “intellectual tourism” or utilising a position announcement for solely aesthetic purposes without being open to having viewpoints challenged. There are obvious challenges in objectively judging the level of one's own reflexivity and willingness to have one's viewpoints questioned; therefore, the reader may be the only one who can measure the degree of reflexivity and relative openness to the evidence.



Figure 4: My overlapping structures of subordinations

Informed by my many variables above, for example, personal experience, education, training, and work experience with victims and survivors of HBA, I do recognise that predominately (not all) women from South Asian backgrounds are subjected to HBA in the name of preserving family honour. I also believe that for ethnic minority women, experiences of HBA and HBA services are affected by their personal experiences, upbringing, and intersectional characteristics such as racial inequality, disability, education, English language proficiency, immigration settlement status, age, etc. By establishing myself clearly at the centre of the investigation, this was as much about my interpretation as it was about the spectral characteristics of my own existence.

This work is epistemologically feminist and focuses on women's oppression. I am acutely aware and in agreement with Mehrotra (2001) that feminist theory does not have one single meaning and that the term is burdened with the task of connotation and definition. The meaning of feminist theory has indeed experienced immense transformation and categorisation over the past three centuries. Budgeon, (2011) postulates that within modern-day society feminism continues to be heavily subjected to detailed and incessant scrutiny. But Carrington (2015) argues that for feminism to survive in the twenty first century, it needs to augment its relevancy with audacious new directions and take into account worldwide divisions and disparities. The significance of qualitative research in a feminist context derives from the worldview that states women are oppressed and there is a commitment to defeating this oppression (Kelly, 1988; Gelsthorpe, 2009). Feminist researchers have dedicated themselves to giving women a voice and to break their silence by enabling them to convey their experiences and pave the way for reforms.

When considering feminist theory, I recognise that firstly research epistemology ought to consider women's self and subjectivity. Feminists hold a moral position that advocates social justice for women including their right to freedom of choice, education, and access to all social support services. Women-focused qualitative research strives to raise awareness by emphasising the significance of women's experiences (Kelly, 1988; Gelsthorpe, 2009; Hesse-Biber, 2014). When exploring policy and practice on HBA, I found myself questioning their application and relevance to women's identity, and the meaning of identity in women. According to Hebert (2007), the identity of women is the consequence of female experiences which are separate to the male counterpart whose experiences are fundamentally patriarchal. Though this may be the case, I felt this reasoning gave an inadequate and partial view of women's identity. It can be argued that it is void of explaining women's behaviour and reasoning. I hence proceeded to investigate the construct of women's identity by carefully pondering on the construction of self with autobiographical narrative (Griffiths and Seller, 1992). As Moss (2001, p. 9) asserts, "self-scrutiny, can contribute to a better understanding of and provide a clearer insight into who we are and where our world has come from." Reflecting on my own and other published narratives (i.e., the literature), I felt at times that my interpretations of policies and practices and the identity of women were heavily

grounded on my experiences and self-scrutiny. Certainly, the triangulation of different interviewees has helped me to step aside and police my thoughts, interpretations, and conclusions based on the research data I gathered. In agreement with Crenshaw (2020, p.15), that “all inequality is not created equal,” I felt it would be inappropriate and indeed unfair to investigate the appropriateness of different policies without using a multi-dimensional lens. Griffiths (1995, p. 231) described intersectionality as a wariness of foundational positions:

There being no neutral arbiters of truth or knowledge (or 'God's eye view'), a rejection of the notion of the unified empirical self as the source of action and reason, and an emphasis on the power of discourse to create subjectivity.

Philosophies of intersectionality intend to make a single structure for evaluating power that incorporates sexism, racism, class persecution and other axes of oppression and its multifaceted interrelation (Lindeman, 2019). Dobash and Dobash (2000) remind us that the position differs amongst women depending on their social class, education, experiences, geographical location, the prevailing regional culture, and their family's relative socioeconomic status. Hence, feminist theory frames their concept of understanding of social and cultural phenomena, issues, problems, or themes on intersectionality. Homogenised BAME women are identified as much more needy and substandard in comparison to their Western parallels, highlighting a Western feminist superiority (Carrington, 2015). Hence the concept of feminist intersectionality considers how biological, social, and cultural variables interrelate on various and frequently on instantaneous levels. Feminist theory is a framework that has facilitated my understanding of whether, how, and why policies were addressing women's injustices and inequality on a multitude of levels including, access to support services in relation to HBA.

Through this research I identified that a feminist framework was needed to help investigate how being a woman of 'colour,' 'culture,' 'religion,' etc. can influence one's experiences with HBA and ultimately one's choices. As Crenshaw (1998, p.248) explains;

The basic function of intersectionality is to frame the following inquiry: How does the fact that women of colour are simultaneously situated with at least

two groups that are subjected to broad societal subordination bear upon problems traditionally viewed as monocausal- that is, gender discrimination or race discrimination?

I have begun and completed my research journey for this study with the understanding that I am committed to feminist theory and to the ethical/ political organisation which is education. Through my research I've concluded that feminist philosophy is congruent with my ethical and political views. The next section explores the philosophical underpinning of this study.

Philosophical Underpinning - Research Paradigm

This research sought to identify knowledge that is prevalent within the field of HBA and extract meaning from research participants and how they interpret worldviews in relation to the phenomenon HBA. After much debate and significant research on a range of paradigms, as well as the understanding that this thesis has a transformative intention from a theoretical framework perspective (feminist theory), it was determined that from a methodological perspective Interpretivism was the dominant paradigm for this study's endeavour. O'Donoghue (2007) argues that it is important to extract meanings individuals assign to circumstances and behaviour, and which they employ to comprehend their reality. Below is set out a thorough, critical review of the Interpretivist paradigm, as well as an explanation of why it was chosen for this study.

Before moving on to the selected paradigm, it is essential to emphasise the ontological and epistemological orientation of the study. The epistemological and ontological assumptions serve as the foundations for one's own contemplation and comprehension of the world and its phenomena (Hathcoat *et al.*, 2019).

Each research endeavour is comprised of a research paradigm, which includes its ontology, epistemology, method, and methodologies (Scotland, 2012). The ontology and epistemology of a research effort are reflective of the inquiry's underlying beliefs. Ontology is concerned with assumptions about the nature of the universe, whereas epistemology is concerned with assumptions about how the world may be studied (Chamberlain, 2014). There is a recognised overlap between ontology and

epistemology due to the fact that ‘to speak of the formation of meaning is to speak of the development of meaningful reality.’ (Crotty, 20017, p. 10) Consequently, ontology and epistemology inform the project's theoretical approach, method, and methodologies in tandem (Crotty, 20017). Methodology is “the strategy, plan of action, process” that guide the choice of methods, while theoretical viewpoint is “the philosophical attitude influencing the methodology”, and methods are “the tools or processes used to obtain and analyse data.” (Crotty, 20017, p. 3). How a social scientist perceives the social context, and the nature of reality influences his or her perspective on the gathering and diffusion of knowledge. The researcher will therefore adopt a supplementary epistemology to augment her ontology.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest that epistemology boils down to whether one believes that knowledge can be learnt or must be gained from direct experience. A researcher with a highly objective vision of reality is inclined to accept positivist epistemology. One can argue that this perspective views social and physical reality as substantial structures that can only be completely comprehended via rigorous empirical and scientific inquiry. Only observable and verifiable events, processes, and phenomena are considered relevant from a positivist epistemological standpoint. Personal and subjective knowledge, on the other hand, require direct interaction with the subjects of study (Creswell, 2013).

As this inquiry is not focused on HBA per se, but rather on the participants' views of the topic it is therefore argued that my research paradigm is an interpretivist one due to the nature of the inquiry, and that it is essential to gain knowledge from those who have a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of HBA. When research is evaluated under the lens of interpretivism, the viewpoints of the participants reveal that each individual's perspective on HBA is distinct, despite the potential that it may be affected by prevailing forces such as one's own personal experiences and professional discourse (Parton, 2003). It can be argued that research led by an interpretivist methodology tries to reveal the many realities that persons perceive, yielding rich data and a profound comprehension of the lived experience in a particular culture and context. This creates some hurdles for the transferability of learning to populations, although it is feasible for groups or people with comparable traits (Holloway and Wheeler 2010). Feminist research is well-suited to the

Interpretivist paradigm, which can accept a variety of experiences and takes the researcher's values into account.

During the 19th century, when social sciences were beginning to emerge as a distinct field of study, the interpretative movement emerged focusing on the ideas and motives of individuals in order to comprehend social practices and cultures. As Interpretivism focuses on the ideas and motives of individuals in order to comprehend social practices and culture, therefore, it can be argued then when one examines HBA the paradigm of interpretivism can be relied upon to unpick the threads of social constructs, such as patriarchy, intersectionality, and elements of deep-rooted culture to clarify the insidious practices of HBA. Weber (1905) was a key figure in the development of the interpretivist school of thought. He argued that the study of social action should be conducted using interpretive methods, with the primary focus being on gaining an understanding of the goals and significance that individuals ascribe to their own actions (Macionis, 2012). By applying an interpretivist approach to this research, I am able to examine 'social action' to comprehend the motives and values underlying HBA, thereby gaining a greater comprehension of the phenomenon. Humans are viewed as reality's creators, with the ability to think and learn, have self-awareness, and possess motivations and purposes (Neuman, 1994). Interpretivists seek deeper meanings and motives while attempting to comprehend human behaviour and how individuals interact in society and culture (Whitley, 1984). Similarly, civilisations may be comprehended by analysing people's fundamental ideas, beliefs, and meanings (Boas, 1995).

The primary principle of the interpretivist paradigm is that reality is socially created; however, it is worthy to note that the interpretivist paradigm it is also frequently referred to as the constructivist paradigm by some theorists. Consideration of social constructivism is also applicable given that constructivism is characterised by realities that are local, specific, and built; they are socially and experientially grounded, and are dependent on the persons or groups holding them (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). There is not one truth of reality; rather, there is a plethora of them (Creswell, 2007). Similarly, there is not one type of knowledge; rather, there are many types of knowledge (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

The interpretivism concept tries to comprehend and explain human and social reality, by viewing humans as separate from physical phenomena in that they add greater depth to meanings, based on the assumption that humans cannot be examined in the same manner as a physical phenomenon (Al-Ababneh, 2020). The interpretative researcher, according to Wellington (2015), recognises that the observer affects the observed and that reality is a human creation.

The primary drawbacks of interpretivism are the subjectivity of methodology and the researcher's propensity for prejudice (Wellington, 2015). I was acutely aware of my positionality in relation to the chosen methodology and the predisposition for bias, this was mitigated through an interview style where I adopted a non-leading stance rather than guiding the interviewee towards a specific thought process. It can be argued that interpretivist studies cannot generalise their primary data since the data are significantly influenced by personal perspective and values. Consequently, data reliability and representativeness are compromised to some degree. In the view of interpretivism, there can be no value-free facts to be found since the enquirers employ their own biases to direct the process of inquiry, while researchers interact with human subjects, altering both sides viewpoints (Walsham, 1995). However, Lin (1998) noted that interpretivist researchers investigate not just for the presence or absence of a causal link, but also for its unique manifestations and the environment in which it happens. Thus, these scholars can go beyond what has transpired to determine how it has occurred (Kelliher, 2005, Lin, 1998). As a direct result, it may be claimed that interpretivists adopt an explicatory rather than a competitive position while researching the modern social environment. According to Blaikie (2007), social actors are not always aware of the relevance of institutional structures and power relations, and by placing a greater focus on subjective experiences, these structures and limits run the danger of being unrecognised and unexamined. Recognising the validity of this critique, I contend that while the focus of this research is on the subjective experiences of key research participants, the results will be recognised and analysed in the context of the larger literature, allowing for interaction with broader social and political issues. Consequently, an aim of the thesis is to illuminate the many facets as well as the intersectional nature of HBA through the perceptions of key participants.

In order to obtain legitimate data, it was crucial to comprehend and value what Weber (1949) posited as 'Verstehen' in relation to interpretivism. Elwell (1996) defines it as understanding, perceiving, knowing, and comprehending the nature and meaning of a phenomenon. Interpretivists utilise this to understand the intended or expressed meaning of individuals. For Schutz, intersubjectivity was a key term since it may be suggested that persons in the HBA field can draw on a common set of social conceptions, symbols, and meanings for their work. Schutz's theory (1962), on the other hand, claims that people have a common understanding of society, other people, and the world, and that this understanding is built up via communication through various interactions. As a result of the present research, participants' meanings and interpretations were of main importance throughout the research process, while acknowledging that they might be complicated, varied, and multifaceted. Epistemologically speaking, these can only be comprehended through the real voices of individuals immersed in their own knowledge, experience, and circumstances of HBA (Wellington, 2000). To elicit these voices, I had to take a reflective stance. Understanding, as opposed to explanation, is perhaps the foundation of interpretivism (Schwandt, 1999). Despite the fact that subjectivity and interpretation play a leading role in every investigation, the reflective research approach provides a level of openness regarding these challenges (Lee, 1993).

This study recognises that thought is erected by social scientists in an attempt to unravel the social reality that is built on the rational thinking of the social actors as they go about in their daily lives (Bernstein, 1976). An implication of this theoretical assumption is that policy makers, lobby groups, and practitioners hold personalised, unique conceptions and beliefs that play an important role in decisions and practices around HBA. Therefore, the subjective aspects of people's behaviour and interpretations of experiences underlie the interpretivist approach. It is based on the premise that understanding a phenomenon from the participants' points of view will enable me as the researcher to bring the least amount of distortion possible into the description of the phenomenon under investigation (Bogdan *et al.*, 1992). People's thoughts, feelings and perceptions are hence used to describe and understand their experiences (Walsham, 1995).

By taking an interpretivist stance, I realise that I was actively involved in the act of interpretation throughout the whole research process. This allowed me as a researcher to focus on my research participants' descriptions and constructions of their knowledge, movement, and experiences of HBA. The main assumptions underlying this approach in this study were hence:

(1) Each research participant's reality is the result of the interpretation and meanings; and

(2) For every experience, there are common elements that are shared by individual research participants.

To summarise, guided by the underpinning research questions and my interpretivist methodology, my role as a researcher in this study has attempted to first understand the meaning of events from the interviewees' perspectives, and second to uncover the essence of the phenomenon shared by policy makers, lobby groups, and practitioners by identifying the commonalities in their knowledge and experiences; and thirdly, to build multiple elements that would help ensure the trustworthiness of my study (Ward and Delamont, 2020; Bogdan and Bicklen, 1992; Patton, 1990). In conclusion, I found the tenets of interpretivism's foundational values, which emphasise the pursuit of individual experiences, understandings, and perceptions, effective in achieving my research objectives.

Research Approach

It is essential that methods chosen are appropriate for the task at hand and the selection of such methods are congruent with the research paradigm and the focus of the study.

This study has employed a qualitative research approach within an interpretivist paradigm to collect the views of policy makers, activists, and practitioners involved in the development and/or implementation of policies on HBA. Stanko and Lee (2003) highlight that in violence-based research, the 'hidden' character of the issue under investigation frequently raises fears about bias in any research based on seen

violence, which might result in the omission of research on some topics. They suggest that this can result in certain topics being “undeveloped... depriving policymakers of data upon which to construct policies that can minimise violence” (Stanko and Lee, 2003 p.43). This argument seemed especially important to the present research, since there was an obvious absence in empirical studies examining the relationship between the role of education in preventing HBA. Although several studies on HBA have been undertaken using a quantitative approach, a quantitative methodology may prevent the researcher from focusing on both the comprehension and the significance of the topic under examination. Quantitative studies, according to Silverman (2000), draw from further positivist ontologies, whilst qualitative methods are associated more with the interpretive paradigm (O’Donoghue, 2007). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) qualitative research is a method that provides results based on meanings as opposed to quantitative statistical techniques. Qualitative techniques are especially well suited to producing rich data, such as analysing meaning, developing descriptions, or delving into reasoning (Gilbert, 2008). The nature of my interpretivist research using a qualitative design which specifically examines HBA provides a comprehensive platform; this derives from the views of Eagle (2010), who asserted that qualitative research is favoured over quantitative methods when studying sensitive themes such as abuse. Semi-structured interview is an effective method for capturing a participant's thoughts on a certain topic or area, especially when the participant’s responses prompt the interviewer to continue forward for further in-depth questions (Honey, 1987). Furthermore, if a quantitative technique is used, respondents' comprehension of their experiences may be hampered, as quantitative approaches have their own limits in offering insights into those experiences (Griffin and Phoenix, 1994).

There is a perceived duality between qualitative and quantitative paradigms and approaches, with the former being regarded as soft, intuitive, and exploratory, and the latter as solid, scientific, and thorough (Kincheloe *et al.*, 2018; Punch, 2009). In reality, a number of studies have demonstrated that different techniques may frequently complement one another, and that no method is ideal since each has its own strengths and shortcomings in regard to certain demands (Wellington, 2015; Cohen *et al.*, 2007; Bryman, 2008). However, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) dispute this notion, arguing that positivist approaches continue to hold a greater prestige in the

research community. Methodologically, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative data mirrors the larger conflict between subject and object in sociology. Bryman and Burgess (1994) argue that there is an epistemological contradiction between qualitative and quantitative data collection. Thus, the subjects of their analysis are essentially distinct. Quantification, processing, and statistical processes used to validate the outcomes of quantitative research (De Vaus, 2002) are worlds apart from qualitative data, which is resistant to routinisation, coding, and standardisation (Potter and Wetherell, 1994). When researchers combine them to triangulate their study object (increasing validity) and/or present two viewpoints from which something might be evaluated, this tension can arise. However, Bryman and Burgess (1994) suggest that the use of survey techniques might only offer a rudimentary description of the study environment, negating any benefit gained from the use of in-depth instruments. In surveys, the researcher and their connections with respondents tend to be 'invisible.' (Wellington, 2000).

When considering which methods to adopt, I reflected on the view of Plano-Clark and Badiie (2010) that researchers ought to account for the status they attribute to each research paradigm. Leaning to a quantitative focussed study will suggest a more interpretivist approach to ontology, where an objective, external reality is deemed to be identifiable (Ward and Delamont, 2020, Guba and Lincoln, 1994). At the same time, I reasoned, supporting a more qualitative investigation will associate the study with interpretivism and the acceptance of a multifaceted image of authenticity (Bryman, 2016). The analysis of my data involved explicit interpretations of views and recommendations of my research participants mainly taking the form of verbal descriptions and explanations from the exploratory interviews; hence I found myself using a qualitative research method approach. When weighing up a qualitative methodological approach, I also considered Burgess's (1984) argument that researchers ought to acknowledge their choices are inevitably shaped by their own personal goals and value systems (Maxwell and Loomis 2003). I was acutely conscious of my biases, attitudes, past information, and preconceptions that I brought to the research. Keeping these factors in mind, it is essential to recognise how our own culture, prejudices, personal experiences, and perspectives influence how we understand the world (Kincheloe *et al.*, 2018; Guba and Lincoln 1985).

Considering the foregoing, I concluded that a qualitatively oriented methodology would best serve not only my research objectives but also my own research interests and ontological assumptions in regard to my research questions.

As a result, after contemplating the technique and methodological framework for this thesis, I concluded that a qualitative approach would give the best scaffolding to answer my research question, because the qualitative technique enables the researcher better to comprehend a complex issue such as HBA.

Piloting Research Methods

As frequently mentioned in the literature (see Braun and Clarke, 2013), a comprehensive piloting process is necessary for all interview questions in order to test the appropriateness and to provide an early insight into the viability of the research. As a researcher, I found Yin's (2009) emphasis on piloting particularly pertinent, as it assisted me to maximise the validity of the data by analysing the lines of investigation and specific questions. In order to ensure that the interviews flowed smoothly and to reduce ambiguities, I conducted a number of pilot interviews, allowing me to analyse the content, purpose, and aim. As Wellington (2000) suggests, a pilot can be invaluable in developing a structure for the interview by highlighting any types of alterations that may be required to enhance the information gained. The pilot interviews gave me the opportunity to develop my interviewing abilities, particularly in terms of questioning, probing, and navigating brief silences (Wellington 2000; Fielding and Thomas, 2008). In addition, they helped to assess the suitability of my questions and interview techniques, enabling me to adapt the interview questions where required to facilitate a success. After all, as Brookman (2010) argues, research involving narratives can provide a far richer and deeper understanding. Further, Bachman and Schutt (2003) advise that interviews can help capture the 'social reality' of participants from their perspectives as they have witnessed or experienced it, using a 'mirror reflection' and their 'own words' rather than making assumptions or using predetermined categories about their experiences.

Recruitment and Sampling

Since the case for an interpretivist paradigm and a qualitative approach has been made, and my positionality explained, it is appropriate now to discuss the recruitment and sampling method for this research. The foundation of this thesis is built on a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews with fifteen research participants who are engaged in the field of addressing HBA phenomena across local and national sectors. In addition to meeting the requirements of the study, the decision to conduct in-depth interviews was motivated in part by a desire to give participants control over the structuring of their narratives, and to elicit the full richness and complexity of their understanding of the role of education in preventing HBA. Alongside this the research participants were provided with a voice in the research process.

To ensure a good representation of different policy makers, activists, and practitioners, I opted to start with purposefully sampling. This entails, "... selecting information-rich cases for study in depth... to permit inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon ... (with the goal of) yielding insights." (Patton, 2002 p. 230). I contacted activists, policy makers, and practitioners whose names have been cited in much published literature - some of whom I knew directly or indirectly through my work in HBA. In addition to purposeful sampling, snowballing (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 2008; Goodman, 1961) soon followed with many prospective interviewees referring to other possible candidates to include in this study. The snowball non-probability sampling method helped maximise recruits to the study. According to Bryman (2016) snowball sampling is an excellent method for conducting exploratory research and/or qualitative research with a specific target audience. As a result, the interviewees were not concentrated in one particular area, and they were geographically dispersed across England. This approach supported a strong recruitment and was extremely beneficial to the planned research.

This study did not seek to sample geographically in order to make generalisable comparisons of differences in context or experiences across regions, as it utilised a qualitative methodology. However, participants were selected from a range of geographic regions across England in order to enrich and diversify the perspectives represented in the sample. This ensured that experiences and views on HBA were

captured from diverse communities and backgrounds across the country, rather than concentrated in one locality. While not aiming to explore localised variations, incorporating geographic diversity provided an opportunity to elucidate the complexity and nuances of HBA experiences and perceptions existing within different cultural contexts across England. The goal was to develop a broader understanding of the issue by including participants from multiple regions, without seeking to compare or generalise differences between specific areas. This expansive approach enriches the qualitative insights into the multifaceted sociocultural dynamics shaping diverse manifestations of and perspectives on HBA practices. This study did not seek to sample geographically in order to make generalisable comparisons of differences in context or experiences across regions, as it utilised a qualitative methodology. However, participants were selected from a range of geographic regions across England to enrich and diversify the perspectives represented in the sample (Bates, 2021). This ensured that experiences and views on HBA were captured from diverse communities and backgrounds across the country, rather than concentrated in one locality. While not aiming to explore localised variations, incorporating geographic diversity provided an opportunity to elucidate the complexity and nuances of HBA experiences and perceptions existing within different cultural contexts across England. Recent data indicates significant regional variations in contact rates related to HBA across England (Karma Nirvana, 2023), pointing to potential differences in prevalence and risk perceptions. However, this study did not quantitatively sample or compare regions, instead qualitatively capturing a breadth of perspectives. The goal was to develop a broader understanding of the issue by including participants from multiple areas, without seeking to generalise differences between specific localities. This expansive approach enriches the insights into the multifaceted sociocultural dynamics shaping diverse manifestations of and perspectives on HBA practices.

When deciding on the number of participants, my research led me to believe that generally there is no ideal number recommended, although Lichtman (2010) suggests between 6 to 12 participants for qualitative research purposes is ideal, the crucial criteria for interviewing being that the research participants had to be key stakeholders within the field of HBA.

In total, 15 research participants were interviewed, representing a mix from different sections of society that influence the sector of HBA. Including, activists, police, politicians, civil servant, academics, and CPS lead and advisors.

The following are brief biographies of the research participants' backgrounds, drive, roles, and responsibilities in the pursuit of addressing the injustice of HBA within their respective fields.

Please note, all interviewees have confirmed their rights to non-anonymity, their names, hence have not been altered (see Appendix 2, and the ethical considerations and consent section).

Diana Nammi is an Iranian Kurd Kurdish refugee who has been campaigning for women's rights and safety for the past 19 years. A former Peshmerga fighter who came to the UK in 1996, she has been instrumental in the campaign to bring 'honour' killers to justice in British courts. In response to the honour killing of her own, British-Iraqi interpreter. As a result, she founded the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO). IKWRO campaigns for the rights of Middle Eastern, North African and Afghani women in the UK, focusing on forced marriage, child marriage, sexual violence, female genital mutilation (FGM) and practical issues like housing and benefits. Her organisation has been involved in several campaigns to change the law on HBA, from 'Stop Honour Killing in the UK' to 'Ending child Marriage in England and Wales.' Diana and her charity were instrumental in the criminalisation of forced marriage in the UK in 2014. The charity has delivered key training to midwives, school staff, students, and police officers to raise the awareness of HBA. It was the first to establish a refuge in the UK to support women of MENA heritage. This has been fundamental in ensuring that the victims are supported adequately. IKWRO was a key player in the '*Justice for Banaz*' campaign which succeeded in securing the first extradition from Iraqi-Kurdistan to the UK bringing Banaz Mahmud's killers to justice.

Jasvinder Sanghera was born in Britain from a Sikh Indian emigrant family. Her interest in women's rights originated from her personal first-hand family life experience. Year after year, as she grew up, she watched her sisters being taken out of education and forced to marry men they have never met. Then, schools did not

investigate or challenge young girls' sudden unauthorised long absenteeism (up to nine months), wedding ring on their fingers, or unexpected change of attire, or temperament. Similarly, to her siblings' fate, at the age of 15 years, she was taken out of school in preparation for her imminent marriage. It was only after she was imprisoned for weeks at her home that she consented to marrying a stranger. Unable to accept her fate, Jasvinder ran away from home. Subsequently, her family disowned her. Several years later, she learnt that one of her young siblings took her own life. Jasvinder believed her family had no regrets for forcing her sister to marry an abusive stranger. They applauded her for choosing not to dishonour her family by leaving an abusive relationship. Appalled by her family's HBA and inspired by the Scottish Saheliya mental health project and Southall Black Sisters' campaigns for equal women's right, she decided to establish her own charity dedicated to the Asian community, called Karma Nirvana.

For the last 25 years, Jasvinder and her staff have successfully delivered thousands of presentations, workshops, authored and co-authored several packages of training materials (such as risk assessments) for university and school students, education staff, social workers, child practitioners, and police officers. She claims her organisation has trained 50 percent of the 43 UK police forces. The training is informed by the stories of victims that have been collated over the year from the charity's helpline and face-to-face interactions with victims and their families. In the words of Jasvinder, the aims of the charity's training are "to raise awareness ... and enhance their (audience's) learning and understanding, for them to be able to identify those at risk to refer to the helpline." (Sanghera, 2009, p. 233). The aim is to undertake talks in venues like schools and 'top up' people's understanding on the subject matter to help reduce the potential victim's isolation,

To empower them because you're speaking a language that they understand that very few people have knowledge about... It puts them in touch with a service that immediately has that empathy with them, in terms of the, the deeper level of understanding. (Sanghera, 2009, p. 233)

Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten is a web designer, born and brought up in Birmingham. His quest for social justice was triggered from his partner's own personal experience of HBA. His story started the day he met and fell in love with a young, male Muslim

medical student in 2001. After a long-term relationship, the couple decided to move away to London to escape the stress of his partner's family finding out about his sexuality. Thirteen years on, the couple became engaged, to be married in 2014. Unfortunately, his partner's family took it upon themselves to confront their son about his sexuality and suggested he sees a psychiatrist to help cure him from his 'ailment.' Deeply ashamed, several days later, Matthew's partner Dr. Nazim Mahmood took his own life. In trying to cope with losing his partner, Matthew set up a charity, a foundation called the Naz and Matt Foundation, to help others in similar situations. According to Matthew, "The charity's mission is to ensure that religion does not come in between the unconditional love of a parent of a child..." (Naz and Matt Foundation, 2014). By training sectors in understanding honour-based abuse and coercive control, and tackling homophobia triggered by religion or culture, the Naz and Matt foundation has been instrumental in building bridges between religious and LGBTQI+ communities.

Sadia Hameed defines herself as a 'survivor of HBA' and a 'British ex-Muslim.' She originates from a Muslim (South Asian) Pakistani background, growing up in Oxfordshire before moving to Gloucestershire in 2009. She came out publicly as a British ex-Muslim to pay tribute to her brother, an atheist, who committed suicide in 2015 at the age of 28. Sadia has worked as a spokesperson for the Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (CEMB) for a number of years, CEMB is an organisation that supports the freedom to criticise religion and end what they call, "religious intimidation and threats." (2007). She has worked in the women's sector, with a specialist focus on the issues faced by BME women for a number of years, prior to joining CEMB. Sadia founded the Gloucestershire Sisters in 2017 to provide support to the hardest to reach groups.

For the last fourteen years, she has been campaigning against domestic abuse and sexual violence experienced by women in BAME groups. She has been involved in developing the only specialist training on BAME women's issues in Gloucestershire, specifically concerning HBA. Her literature has been informed by her university research in 2009 and published research on issues affecting women such as, HBA, FM, trafficking, grooming, acid attacks, breast ironing, dowry-related abuse, widow abuse, and marriage abandonment. For the past five years, she has delivered

training on HBA/V, FM, and FGM to the police, NHS, and social care workers within the county of Gloucestershire.

Mike O'Brien was elected as the Member of Parliament for the West Midlands constituency of North Warwickshire in August 1999. He served on the Home Affairs Select Committee focusing on reports on Youth Justice and the defence of provocation in murder cases involving a partner. The Home Affairs Committee also undertook research and presented a report on Domestic Violence (DV), which was ground-breaking in expanding the provision for refuges for DV victims. In 1999, Mike became the Home Office Minister for Community Relations; he established the Home Office Working Group to investigate the problem of forced marriage in England and Wales and to make recommendations for tackling it efficiently. The Working Group undertook a wide-ranging consultation exercise, engaging all key service delivery organisations and a broad range of community and voluntary associations, in particular women's groups.

In responding to the debate on forced marriage, Mike's pivotal statement, "...multicultural sensitivity is no excuse for official silence or moral blindness. We long ago abolished laws that treated women as chattels. We cannot shelter or tolerate bad practices under the guise of sensitivity" (O'Brien 1999). Thus, providing a national dialogue on how to deal with forced marriage. This then ultimately led to the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) being opened in 2000 and run jointly by the Foreign Office and the Home Office.

Estelle Morris is a former Labour MP from Birmingham Yardley and a former Secretary of State for Education and Skills (2001-2002). A strong educationalist, Estelle was a comprehensive schoolteacher for 18 years before entering politics. Her first teaching role was in a multi-racial inner-city school in Coventry. During this formative time, she taught a range of pupils including asylum seekers from many different countries. Estelle witnessed first-hand the elder Asian community members and their lack of aspirations for their daughters' in comparison to their sons' education. Alongside observing the disappearances abroad of young Asian girls, who returned to the UK married, with no opportunities to undertake further education, which she now recognises as practices of honour-based abuse. Born to a political

family, Estelle always intended to enter politics, becoming a local councillor before being elected to Parliament in 1992. She was the first former comprehensive schoolteacher to hold the position of Secretary of State for Education and Skills. She was appointed Minister for the Arts in 2003 before stepping down from Government in 2005. A life peer, Baroness Morris was Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sunderland (2005-2009) and has been a Council Chair at Goldsmiths, University of London. Estelle works at the Institute of Effective Education which aims to transmute the relationship between education research and practice, so that policy making, and teaching can become more data-based.

Sarah Newton is a former Conservative MP for Truro and Falmouth (2010-2019). She was appointed Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Crime, Safeguarding and Vulnerability (2016-2017), with responsibilities including violence against women and girls, FGM, forced marriage, modern day slavery, prostitution, the rape review, and other related areas. Sarah's interest was piqued when listening to debates on domestic violence as part of her role, and within that recognising honour-based abuse and getting to know the scale of the challenge. She worked closely with the now ex-prime minister Teresa May in her role as Home Secretary, and with May's drive to raise the profile of domestic abuse and violence, developed her interest further and improved her knowledge base. Sarah's active participation in listening to survivors of HBA and visiting/liasing closely with NGOs provides a good foundation to identify prevention strategies and support for victims of HBA.

Christian Papaleontiou is a Senior Civil Servant who has worked in a variety of crime and policing roles in the Home Office. Christian has been involved in tackling Violence Against Women and Girls for the Home Office since 2013. He started off as the Policy Lead on Violence Against Women and Girls and was quickly promoted to the Head of the Public Protection Unit, which leads on both violence against women and girls, and other public protection matters, for the Home Office. His current roles include Head of the Tackling Exploitation and Abuse Unit (TEAU) and Head of the Interpersonal Violence Team, Safeguarding and Vulnerable Peoples Unit at the Home Office, whose portfolio deals with FGM, Forced Marriage, HBA, and Domestic Violence. Christian has a great deal of experience in dealing with and understanding HBA under the auspices of the Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy. He has

a plethora of experience working with frontline professionals, third sector organisations, NGOs, victims, and survivors of HBA. Christian has headlined many conferences and delivered compelling presentations on the subject matter linking intrinsically to the most current and up to date information on HBA.

Dr. Rachael Aplin is a Senior Lecturer in Applied Criminology and Policing Centre at the University of Huddersfield. Prior to this she was a Senior Lecturer at Leeds Beckett University. Rachael has worked in a number of areas within the Police Force over a career spanning 20 years. She has a wealth of operational and strategic policing experience in investigating and managing serious and complex crime. Rachel became a Criminal Investigation Department (CID) Detective in 1998 investigating rapes, violent disorders, manslaughter, domestic homicides, and honour killings in Greater Manchester. She became a Domestic Abuse Sergeant in the Public Protection Division in 2012 working on cases of HBA, child abuse and domestic abuse. Rachael was astounded by the number of cases that were coming through in relation to HBA, hence the immersion to seek more detailed information to support such cases, and ultimately the motivation for undertaking her PhD in improving the policing response to HBA. Her book 'Policing UK Honour-Based Abuse Crime' analyses the different forms that HBA crimes take, and further examines the flexible police practices employed when responding to these significant cases. Rachael has also authored a number of journals articles and presented at key conferences on the matter of HBA.

Dr. Mohammed Mazher (Maz) Idriss is a Senior Lecturer at Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) in the Law School. He has been lecturing for approximately twenty years. He started his career as a Researcher at the University of Birmingham in 2001 after completing his Master's Degree in Human Rights and Criminal Justice. Over his career he has worked at a number of universities including Anglia Ruskin University, where he taught law and criminology and the University of Derby; he was appointed Lecturer in Law at MMU in March 2016. Maz completed his PhD studies in 2018 at Anglia Ruskin University on the subject of 'Honour'-Based Violence in Ethnic communities in England and Wales.' His first interaction with honour killings and honour-based violence was an article that he came across in the law library at Coventry University focussing on honour killings in Pakistan. From there

it piqued his interest in HBA practices across the world, which then catapulted into a desire to undertake a Scholarship-funded PhD at Anglia Ruskin University. Maz is an accomplished publisher, from chapters in books, journal articles and books focusing on violence against women, honour-based violence and forced marriage. His works and reports have influenced policy and have created debates in the Houses of Parliament with a view to provide improved intervention and protection to victims and survivors. He is also a Trustee of a domestic abuse organisation The Elm Foundation based in Derbyshire.

Dr. Lis Bates is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Policing Research and Learning at the Open University. Prior to this, she held an equivalent position at the Centre for Gender and Violence Research, School for Policy Studies at Bristol University. Her PhD investigated the profile of 1,472 of HBVA cases identified by police and victim support services in England and Wales. She furthered this research in a postdoctoral fellowship to conduct comparative policy research on HBVA between the UK, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden, entitled 'Improving international policy responses to honour-based violence and abuse (HBVA)'. Amongst her published research, her article 'Honour Based Abuse in England and Wales: Who Does What to Whom?' responds to a statement from a 2008 inquiry by the Home Affairs Select Committee into honour-based violence which cites a lack of comprehensive responses as a hurdle to forming appropriate policy responses. The paper investigated whether and how HBA differed from other forms of domestic abuse and forced marriage, as well as proposing a new typology of HBA, based principally on the relationships between victim and perpetrator. Her extensive resumé includes work on major research projects on Justice, Inequality, and Gender-Based Violence. Prior to working in academia, she began her career in the Home Office as a non-political policy adviser to parliamentary select committees (specifically Home Affairs and Education) before joining the national domestic abuse charity Safe Lives as Head of Research and Evaluation.

Jonny Mitchell has been an educator for over twenty years, working in a variety of schools and educating individuals from many diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. He is currently the Head Teacher at Netherwood Academy, moving there in September 2020. Previously he was a Principal at Co-op Academy Leeds and prior

to that he was Head Teacher of Thornhill Community Academy - a role which he held when he appeared in the popular Channel 4 television program Educating Yorkshire (2013). Jonny's extensive experience within the education sector has provided him with a great insight into community challenges around diversity and cohesion, whilst supporting and educating students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Jonny has worked intensively to further the cause of challenging HBA, which he considers a clear-cut child protection issue, raising awareness within his secondary school and beyond. He is active in campaigning and supporting initiatives to combat HBA with the clear understanding that his student body is particularly susceptible to HBA practices. Jonny is also a Patron for Karma Nirvana, a charity that supports victims of HBA.

Jasbinder Sidhu is the Senior Policy Advisor for the Crown Prosecution Service National Policy Division. She was the key provider for responses to the Attorney General's Office, acting in response to parliamentary question requests, producing briefings, creating policies, and writing speeches on matters such as hate crime, child sexual offences and traditional harmful practices. From a personal perspective Jasbinder has always had an interest in this subject matter due her heritage, personal experiences, and challenges growing up in a South Asian Society. So was delighted when this particular policy area became available, and she was successful in securing the policy portfolio area for HBA within the CPS. With a keen desire to improve policies around HBA, Jasbinder liaised closely with community groups, policy professionals, stakeholders and partner agencies to ensure that they were fit for purpose.

Jaswant Narwal is the Chief Crown Prosecutor for Thames and Chiltern CPS. She was born in Bradford into a South Asian family and was very much aware of 'community issues' and practices of HBA. Jaswant studied Politics at University, gained a scholarship, and undertook her Bar exams. On qualifying as a Barrister, she joined the CPS in 1989 and currently is the National CPS Lead for FGM, FM, and HBA. As a Barrister Prosecutor she encountered many cases of HBA in her day-to-day role, from forced marriage, honour killings, and abuse. Jaswant was the Head of the Old Bailey Unit for approximately three years. She became the National Commissioner in 2017 on the Commission on Victims of Domestic/Sexual Violence

facing multiple disadvantages (2019), chaired by Baroness Hilary Armstrong. Her special interests include prosecuting hate crimes, honour-based abuse, and sexual cases. Jaswant has worked as Chief Crown Prosecutor for several regions including Lincolnshire, Sussex, and the Southeast of England, and has over 30 years of experience handling complex and high-profile cases. Her previous expertise includes Youth Justice, Homicide and Cross Border Crime. A firm believer in fairness, equality and inclusion, Jaswant is a mentor to university students and is committed to increasing BAME representation across the criminal justice system. She has been involved in several projects addressing the impact on women's wellbeing in the criminal justice system. She is also a Patron of True Honour, a charity that raises awareness of victims of HBA and FM.

Palbinder Singh is a Detective Sergeant at New Scotland Yard. As a member of the Metropolitan Police for over 20 years Palbinder's roles included acting as specialist and expert witness; tackling honour-based abuse; requiring review of serious and organised crime; evaluating and directing investigative strategies; and presenting cases to the CPS. He has led on various complex and extended investigations, including the first successful UK prosecution of domestic servitude within a marriage, which presented exceptional challenges previously judged as insurmountable. Palbinder, also worked on the landmark case of Surjit Atwal, the first case in UK legal history to convict an outsourced honour killing where the murder was plotted in the UK but carried out abroad. He is second-in-command to Commander Ivan Balhatchet, who is the National Police Chiefs' Council lead on HBA, FM, and FGM. Palbinder firmly believes that forced marriage is a violation of human rights and that undue emphasis on racial and cultural sensitivities puts lives at risk. In 2017, he came forward as a whistle-blower to reveal that the CPS had been shying away from fully pursuing convictions in cases of honour-based crime, for the fear of upsetting the British Asian community. In 2012, Palbinder appeared in a British documentary entitled *Banaz: A Love Story* covering the 2006 honour killing of British-Iraqi woman Banaz Mahmood.

Power Dynamics and Positions of Authority - Interviews and the Power Relations

As a female researcher in the field, I wished to establish a non-hierarchical research relationship and function as “co-equals” who are “mutually relevant” throughout the interviewing process (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 354). To avoid the “hierarchical trap”, it is important to minimise status inequalities between the interviewer and respondent and to build a more equal relationship based on trust, which includes both self-disclosure by the researcher and reciprocity (Reinharz, 1992, p. 44). The relevance of power relations should not be disregarded as a trivial aspect that may be overlooked in study inquiry. In fact, Neal (1995) investigates the conceptions of helplessness that might be felt when there is a power difference (perceived or otherwise) between interviewer and respondent. It is suggested that the outcome of the conversation may have been different had it been conducted between two co-equals in the field. However, because this research wanted to identify knowledgeable and specialists in the subject matter, it aggressively solicited contributions from informed and, arguably, more prominent individuals. In accordance with Foucault’s (1975) perspective, the project coincided with the understanding of power described by Limerick *et al.*, (1996, p. 12): “that it is fluid and discursively generated during the interview, as opposed to being the exclusive domain of either party”.

However, it would be remiss not to highlight the methodological challenges in interviewing the ‘elites’ in this study. By elites is meant the powerful and influential individuals who have control over the policies and characteristics of organisations. Notably, they are individuals in senior elected political and executive government roles or those who hold positions of professional prestige (Littig, 2009). The privileges and responsibilities of elites are often not tangible or transparent, making their world difficult to penetrate; however, by undertaking their approaches it provides us with the opportunity to glimpse behind the veil of their worlds and to acquire human understanding (Beyens *et al.*, 2010).

Odendahl *et al.*, (2001) raise an important question about accessibility, noting that elites are difficult to identify and are often impenetrable because they are much less open for inquiry. It was determined that the research participants in this study should

represent a cross-section of society; therefore, participants were selected based on their particular professional reputations and experiences. Barriers to reaching elites are real and involve getting past their 'gate keepers.' Owing to my active and varied roles in HBA, I felt somewhat accepted by the ingroup of elites; I managed to call on some I worked with and some I met, who ultimately introduced me to other elites in their inner circle of friends and colleagues, from politicians to academics. By utilising the snowball sampling approach, and very minimal cold calling emails to identify particular participants for my research, my sample of 'elite' grew from one to fifteen elite participants.

The notion of a power balance between the interviewer and the elite interviewees, as highlighted by Richards (1996), was not as notoriously challenging as he describes by the very nature that the elites command the information the interviewer is trying to attain. This is not to imply that finding dates, avoiding gatekeepers, and securing times that were convenient for the interviews did not present formidable obstacles.

Elites are difficult to identify and often are inaccessible, being much less willing to be the subject of examination; they seek to protect themselves from outsiders (Odendahl *et al.*, 2001). There has been inadequate guidance in the theoretical literature about how to prepare for interviewing elite subjects and what type of trials to expect and tactics to implement. Handbooks and manuals devoted to interview techniques rarely differentiate elite from non-elite, but if they do, they do not offer a perfunctory reference to any specialised approaches (Kvale, 1996).

To learn about them and their reality and experiences, Harvey (2010) identifies three key areas in undertaking interviews: flexibility, transparency and maintaining good etiquette. Harvey argues that when interviewing elite research participants, it is crucial to combine open and close ended questions. This, he adds, offers the elite some flexibility in answering the questions. The following section explores the interview process with these key participants.

Methods of Data Collection – A Qualitative Approach: Semi Structured Interviews

Qualitative research interviews contribute to a body of knowledge that is conceptual and theoretical and is based on the meanings that life experiences hold for the interviewees (Wellington, 2000; DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Semi-structured interviews are consistent with feminist and interpretivist approaches and were selected as the primary means of data collection as they should provide a clearer understanding of the significance and meaning around sensitive issues such as HBA (Ellesberg and Heise 2005). Research participants were given a schedule with a predetermined number of questions (see Appendix 3); however, the schedule was kept open so that extra questions and prompts may be offered to promote in-depth replies (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Bryman, 2004). The decision to undertake in-depth interviewing was to offer the research participants primacy in the structuring of their stories, and the opportunity to bring out the full richness and complexity of their knowledge of HBA. Therefore, it was necessary to have a flexible interview schedule (see Appendix 3) in order to investigate with participants, their specific ways in which they comprehended and uncovered some of the unstated and assumed intelligence around HBA and the role of education in preventing HBA. As Fielding (1993) argues, it is only possible to gain access to sensitive and complicated issues by talking to people. Interviews, he emphasises, provide deep insight into "... actions, attitudes, feelings and beliefs rather than just rehearsed rhetoric." (p. 137). Interviews also allow for the probing of ideas and encourage more open conversations (Fielding 1993; Ward and Delamont 2020). A semi-structured format, Fielding (1993, p. 138) adds, allows flexibility and "adaptability for respondents within the interview process". The objective was to let the research participants speak for themselves as much as possible, crafting their own replies based on their unique experiences and contexts (Stockdale *et al.*, 2013; Bryman, 2004).

However, semi-structured interviews do have their critics. The absence of rigour in the interview schedule (see Appendix 3) may permit the researcher to ask leading questions (Bryman, 2012) and hinder them from obtaining interview-wide uniformity (Barriball and While, 1994). Whilst interviews are a common and effective way of accumulating data, it is also recognised that a key factor with this approach is the

acknowledgment that in depth understanding is to a large extent dependent on the interviewees and the interviewer's ability to form a trusting connection with one another (Kincheloe, 2011; Punch, 2005). Though my interview schedule (see Appendix 3) did not include a mix of open and closed questions, my dialogue with the interviewees was guided by a flexible interview protocol supplemented by follow up questions, probes, and comments.

Denzin and Lincoln (2008, 2005) argue that it is important to create a relaxed atmosphere for both the researchers and participants. Therefore, I made sure that I conducted the interviews in a venue of the interviewee's choice. During the interview, I occupied an informal and friendly stance, by omitting all types of formality through language and non-verbal communication. Spradley's stages of rapport (1979) were at the forefront of my mind, ensuring that maintaining rapport and attaining meaningful information was observed. This allowed for greater rapport and reducing the opportunity for leading questions (Ward and Delamont, 2020, Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Furthermore, utilising a semi-structured interview format meant that I was able constantly to adapt the sequence of the questions, to allow for more in-depth responses, whilst maintaining a certain level of structure (Fielding 1993).

The interview questions undertaken for this study were open-ended. Aberbach and Rockman (2002, p. 674) emphasis that when engaging elites in interviewing, "open ended questions enable the interviewees to organise their answers and engage in wide-ranging discussions". Moreover, they add, Elites especially – but other highly educated people as well – do not like being put in a straightjacket of close-ended questions. They prefer to articulate their views, explaining why they think what they think. Perhaps it is owing to the symbolic subjective status I held in the eye of my interviewees (i.e., they saw me as part of their ingroup, or a 'peer') or my persuasive marketing skills, or the personal importance the research topic has for them, but I found the interviewees extremely forthcoming with information and they did not seem to hesitate in sharing what they thought or asking or seeking clarity on any of the questions I posed.

To enrich the discussion with the participants, I made sure that prior to the interview I had researched their organisational biographies and profile on social media and had

read their publications. This in some sense helped address what Zuckerman (1972, p. 164) called for, “intensive preparation (to) facilitates the process of interviewing ... it gives evidence of the seriousness of the interviewer and helps to legitimise expenditure of time on the interview.” According to Mitchell (1993, p. 54), “researchers must ... be receptive to the emotional worlds of their subjects, whether or not they find these worlds appealing.” They have to come to terms with the dichotomy of their portrayed and experienced identities at the same time, which can be both flawed and lack authenticity. To create a reflective awareness that helps to strengthen the quality of interpretative actions, Peshkin (2000) highlights, honesty, and forthrightness of researchers.

Harvey (2010) asserts that good etiquette is crucial when undertaking research with elite subjects. Researchers, he commends, need to maintain good etiquette by, for example, “gaug[e]ing early the atmosphere of the interview and adjust[ing] their behaviour, speaking voice and mannerisms accordingly.” (p. 2) When I conducted my interviews with the research participants, I ensured my demeanour, including my voice and mannerism was communicating professionalism and encouragement. Some of the codes of conduct I adopted also included arriving to the interview venue before time, dressing professionally, making eye contact with the interviewees, and being polite but firm. In addition to the power the elite interviewees may exert on the data findings, I also considered my role as a researcher as possibly biasing how interviewees respond to the research questions. Towards addressing this, I offered interviewees access to the interview transcriptions and interpretation of data. This, I felt helped on the one hand to address research reliability, but on the other hand to reduce elite interviewees’ anxieties.

Aberbach and Rockman (2002) and Kincheloe *et al.*, (2011), recognised that open-ended interviews are time consuming, not only in undertaking them but also in transcribing and preparing and coding them. Moreover, open ended interviews, they added, may incur (as in the case of this study) financial cost to researchers on a budget. Despite the time and financial cost implications, I decided, in this instance, that the advantages of open-ended interviews’ out-weighed the disadvantage of cost because they provided the interviewees with the opportunity to explain and expand their responses, ultimately providing more details and in-depth data.

Once I had conducted the interviews, I felt a level of confidence as I was able to obtain deeper sources of information whilst remaining to the true source (see following section). There are differences in the power dynamics and end goal: for the classic sociologist these are conversations with a purpose, Burgess (2002). Although information contained in the consent forms advised participants that interviews would take no more than sixty minutes, in reality each interview took well over the suggested time. For those who felt that they had more that they wanted to share, the interview was extended. Whilst one or two were within the time frame or just over, the remainder were more than two hours.

Having outlined the methods of data collecting, the next section reviews the ethical considerations in relation to the study.

Ethical Considerations, and Consent

The following section elaborates on the ethical lines of concern referred to within this study; it also outlines the steps taken to ensure ethical engagement of individuals within this research.

There are a variety of ethical issues regarding qualitative research methods. The Nuremburg Code (1947), the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and the work of Beauchamp and Childress (2013) have clearly outlined the principles of ethical research with human beings for a number of years. Working in accordance with ethical processes established by organisations or bodies is crucial (Tracy, 2010), and in this study the design and implementation of the research were directed by the University of Derby 's ethics policy. As a preventative measure, the selection and execution of certain ethical research procedures were carried out with the intention of preventing the emergence of any ethical concerns throughout the course of the study. Due to the nature of the study and the chosen technique, the researcher was obliged simultaneously to adopt a number of ethical attitudes in a transparent manner. According to Simon and Usher (2000), this calls for a unique notion of ethics in comparison to what is offered by contemporary philosophy. Primarily, one might argue that subjectivity is formed by the context and the humans that are contained inside it. Consequently, ethical considerations made at the beginning of the project

served as a foundation upon which to build a solid ethical positioning. Decisions on research activities were based on ethical considerations that had to be considered at each level and regularly negotiated (Wellington, 2015; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

Ethics approval for the research was conferred by the University of Derby's Research Ethics Committee consisting of academics from a number of disciplines at the University. Approval was granted (non-anonymity – see Appendices 2 and 5) and obtained before any invitations, recruiting of interviewees, or commencing interviews with prospective research participants was carried out.

The ethical implications associated with this research primarily involved around power relations and the position of being an insider researcher. Interviewing elites and the power that they hold over the construction of the interview and the potential analysis of the data. A key factor in the management of this power, warns Gubrium *et al.*, (2001), comes in the form of recognition that the privileges and the responsibilities of the elites are often not tangible nor transparent, making their world difficult to penetrate. It is worthy also to note that what may be impractical for one interviewer, cautions Dexter (2006), or in one situation, may be feasible for another interviewer or another situation. Drake and Heath (2011) describe the fundamental obstacles and dilemmas that the inside researcher faces. Ethical procedures and processes may be formalised and customary at the institutional level, as may be professional codes of conduct. However, the researcher is in a position to establish an ethical perspective that is located inside and emerges from the context of the research. This is significantly influenced by the personal ethical principles that researchers bring to their studies, as well as by the numerous ethical norms and procedures in place (Drake and Heath, 2011). As the primary data source, the author bore all of the ethical responsibility. According to (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2006) in certain situations, the pursuit of high-quality interview data, which involves exploring interviewees' statements critically and investigating alternative interpretations, may conflict with ethical issues.

Informed consent can be defined as a controlled, uncoerced choice, made by a sufficiently competent or self-governing individual on the basis of adequate

information and deliberation (Butler, 1990). In order to ensure that the consent obtained by participants is informed, Wahidin and Moore (2011) identify two basic criteria: Firstly, participants must be made fully aware of the nature and purpose of the study; and secondly that the participants are fully well-versed of their rights as research subjects. Gaining consent from the participants requires the researcher to explain in a way that is clear and understandable what the research is about, who is undertaking it, why it is being conducted, how it is to be used and disseminated, and who or what is financing the research (Social Research Association, 2003). These points were explained to the research participants when initial contact was made via email and face to face. It was made clear that this was a PhD research project, examining the role of education in preventing HBA, and that participation in this research was not anonymised. Research participants were also informed that the interviews were to be recorded via a digital voice recorder to allow their own words to be used in the analysis and findings section of the report.

Johnson and Christensen (2004) postulate that ethical scepticism indicates a possible vulnerability in the veracity of any acquired data by encouraging subjectivity via the researcher's own methodological lens. It was essential not to be lured into a situation where legitimacy would be compromised, and participant trust would be lost. Johnson and Christensen (2004) further disassemble the ethical implications of interpretative research into three distinct threads. According to what they refer to as the "deontological approach," ethics must be founded on a universal rule that is shared and understood by all parties (p. 99). This led to an examination of ethics from a situatedness perspective. The concept of the researcher's objectivity may be undermined by the notion that the researcher's cultural, historical, and personal circumstances could impact the study. It was also determined that these conditions are likely to evolve during the course of the project. This adheres to Kvale's (1996) conception of the seven ethical concerns associated with research: "theorising; designing; interview circumstance; transcribing; analysis; verification; and reporting." (p. 111). It can be argued that it is important to recognise not just the existence of morality, choice, and responsibility, but also the notion that the whole research process must be ethically evaluated.

In addition to the preceding concerns, the content of the research outcomes would be open for scrutiny and surveillance by peers and interested parties within the field of HBA. This is an essential consequence of the social creation of knowledge. The researcher undertakes fieldwork and disseminates their findings via conferences, essays, and books. This level of publication is in the public domain, despite the fact that it does not reach a large readership beyond the academic community, such open societal surveillance must be taken into account if a reflexive approach is to be pursued. Researchers owe a duty of care to research participants who have courageously consented to forego anonymity and put their heads above the parapet, and they must assume some degree of responsibility for the consequences of speaking openly, especially when discussing parts of HBA that may provoke backlash from some segments of society who think that shedding light on such behaviours dishonours their culture and religion. It is far too easy, in the present world of social media access, to harass somebody using an anonymous identity. It is not beyond the realms of possibility that the disseminated findings of this study may fall into the hands of such entities who could constitute a threat to the research participants.

In qualitative educational research the standard practice dictates that participants remain anonymous during the research process. However, there are circumstances in which researchers and participants may waive anonymity for their research. According to Holloway (2017) the use of actual names in qualitative research adds value and makes the study authentic. The method of recruitment for identifying key agents (non-anonymised) already in the field of HBA was based on the idea that they could shed light on the phenomena in question, from an informed and detailed position (Greenberg, 1986). In this vein, the participants' identities provided contextual information to help establish their credibility.

To avoid violating any of the ethical considerations, consent forms (see Appendix 2) were used to gain permission from each participant, to ensure verification in advance of the interview and referred to again at the interview stage. All **research** participants gave their informed consent and were made fully aware that their right to anonymity would be relinquished. According to The Social Research Association (2003) consent forms are increasingly being used in social research as they provide proof that

consent was given by participants to take part in the research. The participant information sheet explained in detail in regard to the purpose of the study, and all the necessary information to avoid breaching ethical considerations. The consent form was to gain official consent for the information acquired through the interview process. Consent forms were signed and handed back to the researcher to securely transfer, scan and store on a university password protected computer.

In the interim, the field notes were stored in a locked filing cabinet in my office at the University, to which only I have access. The building is secure and accessed by an electronic key card. Although the interviews were not anonymised, consideration was still given to secure and confidential storage of the data set. Hence, in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) (2018) and the University's Code of Conduct for Research, the transcribed interviews were all saved on a password-protected computer, and they will be archived for ten years.

Each interview took place in a quiet room, chosen by the participant. Once the interview had commenced, each participant was thanked and reminded of my personal contact details, and for the sake of transparency, the research participants were briefed and debriefed on who I am, where I worked, and the focus and aims of the study, to fulfil ethical protocols and considerations. I also reminded them that their names (as agreed) will not be anonymised for this research described their role, my ethical responsibilities to them, clarification of any academic jargon, and an explanation as to how the data will be used and disseminated. Although the research participants had each previously received a letter and an email explaining that the interview would be digitally recorded, I felt it was necessary to remind the interviewee of this again to ensure transparency.

In conclusion, doing such study presents a variety of ethical challenges and dilemmas. Anyone following a similar path must have a reflexive approach regarding the intellectual and political perspectives they hold, as well as their relationships and possible points of conflict. It entails having a transparent study objective and being truthful with participants and with us about the potential effects of knowledge production on opposing social movements. It is essential not only because it is a good concept. It is essential for doing thorough, scientific social research.

Validity, Reliability and Trustworthiness

These three principles are essential in evaluating the research inquiry.

These criteria must be considered during the methodological procedure, as the conclusions of a research project are frequently susceptible to criticism based on their validity, reliability, and trustworthiness. Validity and reliability are key aspects to assessing the trustworthiness and credibility of research tools and data findings. Recently the term 'trustworthiness' and 'credibility' have been used interchangeably within the expression of validity and reliability. Morse *et al.*, (2002) argue that dependability and validity are accorded considerable weight in all research methodologies, and that without rigour, research is useless, becomes fictitious, and loses its value. They suggest that investigator responsiveness, methodological coherence, theoretical sampling, sample adequacy, an active analytic posture, and saturation must be incorporated into the qualitative research process to assure the study's rigour, reliability, and validity. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 277) assert that all research should seek to establish "standards for the quality of conclusions".

Whenever human subjects are involved in qualitative research, it can be assumed that quite convincing research could be rendered invalid because of the variables involved. Meticulous attention to the two aspects can make the difference between good research and poor research and can help to assure that fellow researchers accept findings as credible and trustworthy (Brink 1993). This is particularly vital in qualitative work, where the researcher's partiality can so readily cloud the interpretation of the data, and where research results are often questioned or considered with cynicism by the research community. The fundamental nature of qualitative research is to make sense of and recognise patterns among words in order to build up a philosophical picture without compromising its richness and dimensionality (Leung, 2015). It is clear that concerns exist with the concept of stability in respect to the social sphere. Marshall and Rossman (1989) state that positivist ideas of dependability presume an underlying reality in which the inquiry might be duplicated. This assumption of a static social world stands in stark contrast to the qualitative/interpretive premise that the social world is always changing, and the idea of replication is problematic in and of itself. This assertion suggests that

there are no stable qualities in the social environment, that research cannot be duplicated, and it is erroneous to believe otherwise.

According to Flick (2002), trustworthiness in qualitative research necessitates that the provenance of the data be clarified so that it is able to distinguish between a statement of the subject and the researcher's interpretation. To increase the comparability of the conduct of various interviewers or observers, she proposes explicit training. Flick (2002) argues that recording the entire research procedure boosts the trustworthiness of the research. Qualitative data validity can be addressed through the scope, depth, richness, and truthfulness of the data achieved (Morse *et al.*, 2002). Gronlund (1981, p. 21) emphasises that “validity should be seen as a matter of degree rather than as an absolute state.” This is an essential consideration when designing the research paradigm. Whatever procedure for collecting data is selected, Kincheloe *et al.*, (2018), and Swetnam (2009), argue, it should be examined critically to assess to what extent it is reliable and valid.

However, Wellington (2015) reminds us that there is no 100 percent valid research, especially with the possible different variables that interplay in any research practice. No researcher examining the social environment, according to Le Compte and Preissle (1984), can reach complete dependability. When examining the validity of my research, I was extremely mindful of any margin of error, given that this qualitative social science research is not based on numerical or statistical data. To ensure data dependability, according to Sajimandani (1996), one must consider if the research techniques (in this case, semi-structured interviews) are adequate for the construct being measured.

To illustrate the rigour of data collection and interpretation in this study, a variety of factors were taken into account. The transcription of the semi-structured interviews word-for-word aimed to eliminate any room for error in expressing the opinions of individuals participating. By audiotaping all interviews, concerns over the very essence of what verbatim meant were eliminated (McLellan-Lemal, 2008). All interviews were compared with the transcriptions to guarantee the accurate capturing of oral accounts.

In addition, Miles and Huberman (1994), suggest that researchers ought to consider if the assigned method can be used by a number of different researchers with consistent results, a degree to which the method is free from errors. To address this, the interview schedule was piloted. Questions that were unclear or leading were rewritten, reorganised, and any academic jargon was eliminated. In addition, each interviewee received their audio recording and a copy of the corresponding transcribed data to ensure complete transparency and the absence of any ambiguity, thereby preserving the authenticity of their voice. The entire process was explicitly explained, and every effort was made to adopt a non-leading stance. Every effort has thus been made to ensure the rigour, dependability, and validity of this work.

Data Analysis Software – NVivo

Qualitative research typically yields volumes of textual material in the form of transcripts and field notes. Preparing and analysing qualitative data methodically and rigorously is typically a laborious and time-consuming process (Pope *et al.*, 2000). During the course of coding, a number of challenges emerged. The top priority was data management. As stated by Huberman and Miles (1998, p. 180):

Operations necessary for a systematic, unified process of data collection, storage, and retrieval. These actions are meant to provide a) high-quality, accessible data; b) documentation of precisely what analyses have been undertaken; and c) data and associated analysis retention after the study has concluded.

According to Werner and Schoepfle (1987), this management system must exist before data collection can begin. For Richards and Richards (1998), the issue is that ease of access must not come at the expense of data richness, which is a tough balance to strike when using software to facilitate analysis.

Taking these factors into account, NVivo software was used to enhance the analytical process of the scripts. NVivo was selected because of its high reputation. According to Richards and Richards (1998, p. 445), the majority of software, including NVivo, has been viewed as "atheoretical." Computer programmes are typically seen as neutral instruments that organise data without affecting the content. NVivo does not

analyse data but aims to facilitate the analysis process, allowing the researcher to retain full control over the data. Zamawe (2015) notes that NVivo is extremely compatible with thematic analysis research methodologies and has the capacity to inspire creativity in the researcher.

Taking a comprehensive approach to thematic analysis, each interview was read, and emerging themes were coded. Setting up nodes in a transcript is part of the coding process within NVivo. Many smaller sub-categories (child nodes) can be organised under the parent category thus enabling sub sections. NVivo was utilised to add rigour to the analytical process and aid in the extraction of critical data, with key phrases or words being searched, discovered, recognised, and placed into nodes. This aided in the data analysis as well as the identification of important reoccurring terms used by the participants; for example, the word 'education'. According to (Bachman and Schutt, 2003) NVivo may be used to group phrases or texts to enhance the research process.

The NVivo tool helps improve the precision and clarity of data analysis (Mclafferty and, Farley, 2006). By applying a manual study of the data, it could be argued that my technique would be nearly impossible to repeat or comprehend. Materials requiring manual analysis are usually difficult to sort and are best understood by the researchers themselves. Those who are conversant with NVivo may traverse the project and comprehend how the data were analysed without difficulty.

Transcript processing software is not without its problems; Richards and Richards (1998 p. 450) use the term "decontextualisation" for when a coded item is re-embedded in a scenario and the delicate connotations it may represent in the original context may be lost. This goes against the basic purpose of qualitative research, which is to describe lived experiences and situations as a whole. As a result, using out-of-context quotations to illustrate and make theoretical arguments about the value-added model, the narrative flow of the transcripts may be rendered incomprehensible and meaningless.

From my position as the person responsible for organising the material, I was aware of the complexities, meanings, and contexts in which the interviews were conducted;

nonetheless, this information can only be provided in part if the thesis text contextualises the questions that were asked. NVivo is ultimately contingent on the researcher's decisions. The fact that coding was conducted with a keyboard and mouse does not make it any less valid than coding is completed with pen and paper. NVivo may favour one way of data organisation over another, but it is unable to emphasise sections of the transcript that the researcher chooses to ignore.

Thematic Analysis Method

Identification, classification, thinking, exploration, and mapping are all steps in the qualitative data analysis process (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). Using a framework allows the analyst to deal with the large volumes of data generated and to integrate all these interrelated phases to help make sense of the data in a coherent and systematic manner, in order to give the data creative significance.

To analyse qualitative data for this thesis, a thematic analysis was employed focusing on Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-step framework. The six phases of the framework are as follows: 1) becoming familiar with the data; 2) creating initial codes; 3) looking for themes; 4) evaluating themes; 5) defining and labelling themes; and 6) preparing the report (Braun and Clarke, 2006). As previously indicated NVivo software was utilised to ensure that the 6 steps of thematic analysis for this research project were executed.

A thematic analysis method was chosen because it is a common component of several qualitative methods and is also theoretically flexible. It is also independent of theory and epistemology (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The objective of thematic analysis is to identify and characterise themes, which may be either explicit or implicit notions within the data, as opposed to just counting the number of explicit words or phrases. By utilising this approach, one is able to discover common threads and patterns within the interview transcripts. Sanders and Wilkins (2010) postulate that "the researcher is seeking meaning as opposed to establishing or rejecting a theory while offering a rich description and/or interpretation of the investigated event." (p. 214).

Thematic analysis is a typical qualitative data analysis approach that systematically attempts to uncover, organise, and explain patterns of meaning, or themes, within a data collection (Braun and Clark, 2013; Lyons and Cole, 2021; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Despite criticism in the past for missing defined methods (Terry *et al.*, 2017), Braun and Clarke (2013) established a solid basis for thematic analysis, which has now gained international reputation as a trustworthy method of qualitative data analysis.

The thematic analysis approach is usually referred to as a bridge between qualitative and quantitative data analysis due to its versatility. For Braun and Clarke (2013), thematic analysis is grounded in the qualitative paradigm, which recognises the importance of the researcher's subjective perspective and the plurality of truths (Bryman, 2016).

The coding procedure, which can be deductive or inductive in character, is the most important instrument for thematic analysis. Deductive coding is more positivist in nature, necessitating cross-checking with another researcher to remove prejudice and subjectivity (Guest *et al.*, 2012; Joffe, 2012; Boyatzis, 1998). This notion is in opposition to the inductive coding approach, in which the researcher becomes acquainted with the data and the codes are based on facts rather than a predetermined theory, resulting in a more organic coding and theme development process (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In order to achieve the objectives of this thesis, an inductive approach was utilised, in that codes were drawn from the semi structured interview transcripts in the hope to discover patterns, themes, and categories within the transcription data.

Braun and Clarke (2013) postulate that themes do not spring from the data; rather, themes are chosen by the researcher based on their “own theoretical perspectives and ideals in regard to qualitative research.” (p. 21). As a result, the research questions, as well as the researcher's subjective viewpoint, have an impact on the selection, presentation, and interpretation of themes from the data. Due to the researcher's knowledge of the issue, research skills, and position, all of which impact the interpretation of the data, the quality of the analysis is maintained throughout the inductive method process. Due to the formation of themes and the re-examination of

data during the analysis process, it is feasible for researchers to generate a complete audit trail of their conclusions (Finlay 2021). This demonstrates a greater engagement with the data as opposed to a preoccupation with coding accuracy.

As a versatile analytical approach within the theoretical framework, thematic analysis may accept a variety of paradigms and methodologies (Braun and Clarke, 2013), making it a valuable resource for enhancing this qualitative study.

Thematic Analysis Process

As highlighted above, thematic analysis is a 6-step procedure. The thematic analysis procedure was used to analyse the qualitative data generated by the semi-structured interviews for the purpose of this study. It is important to recognise that the nature of analytical approaches is repetitive and recursive, since the researcher travels back and forth between phases in an indeterminate manner (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

1) Becoming familiar with the data

All interviews were recorded digitally, and thorough fieldnotes were obtained. Before the interviews were transcribed verbatim (see example Appendix 4), time was spent listening to the digital recordings and reviewing of supplementary field notes. “The process of verbatim transcription, whilst it may be time-consuming, frustrating and at times boring, it can be an excellent way to start familiarising yourself with the data.” (Braun and Clarke, 2006 p. 87). The recordings were listened to and examined multiple times to aid auditory and visual analysis and to obtain the substance of the interviews - to “get a feel of the text as a whole” (McLeod, 1999, p. 128). The procedure was extremely time-consuming and labour-intensive, as I had repeatedly to listen to each digital recording to ensure that the transcription was accurate. This allowed me to become familiar with the data, making it extremely valuable for the process of thematic analysis. I made certain that punctuation and grammatical accuracy were upheld throughout transcribing. This was to ensure accurate meaning where possible.

2) Creating initial codes

The next process after transcribing the qualitative interviews was the coding process. Following the thematic analysis of inductive process, emergent rather than structural coding was adopted to ensure that the content of the data rather than the structure of the questions determined the development of the codes. As this was an inductive process of thematic analysis, and as prescribed, I coded all of the qualitative data interview sets. The coding process was very similar to the process of verbatim interview transcription and extremely extensive in nature. In the coding process nodes were used to store similar account patterns. Depending on their placement, nodes can serve as the starting point for a network of sub-nodes or dimensions (Bazeley, 2007). As I continued through the analysis of the qualitative data, I revisited and re-worded codes to ensure that there were no overlaps. After the coding process had been completed a set of preliminary codes was developed. According to Backman and Kyngas (1999), the open coding stage entails a condition in which the researcher and the study data are integrated. From my experience, generating codes required a great amount of attention as well as motivation. I reviewed the codes in more detail, grouping, merging, and separating them to verify that the themes remained indicative of the codes used (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3) *Looking for themes*

During the third phase, notable trends in the meanings of the created codes emerged. According to Ezzy (2002), “the researcher seeks to construct a systematic account of what has been observed and documented; this is the process of discovering themes or concepts in the data.” (p. 86). The difference between codes and themes is that the former summarises and describes data, whilst the latter involves interpretive data analysis. (Braun and Clarke, 2013). I looked at the codes in more detail, grouping, merging, and separating them to verify that the themes remained indicative of the codes I had already identified (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Themes comprised of codes had to be established, since this method facilitated the compression of unprocessed data into digestible chunks. This phase of reflection demanded a great deal of my time, as I sought several views on the data inside each transcript as well as strategies for making sense of the data across all transcripts. It was often difficult to choose which code to insert in a certain theme. I re-examined

the study question and transcripts in conjunction with seeking advice from my research supervisors. As a consequence, new codes were generated, and existing codes were either relocated to another theme or used in several themes (Gray, 2014). It is important to note that none of the codes took a role of a theme, but there were points in the process of analysis that identified emergent opportunities for reflection.

4) *Evaluating potential themes*

In this phase of the analysis the categories are often refined (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The data should cohere in a meaningful way. Using the available data, I assessed whether the selected themes gave a persuasive solution to the study question. A comprehensive assessment of the selected themes was conducted to determine whether to combine, enhance, or eliminate them. Identifiable and distinct contrasts were developed across themes to reduce overlap (see Figure 5).

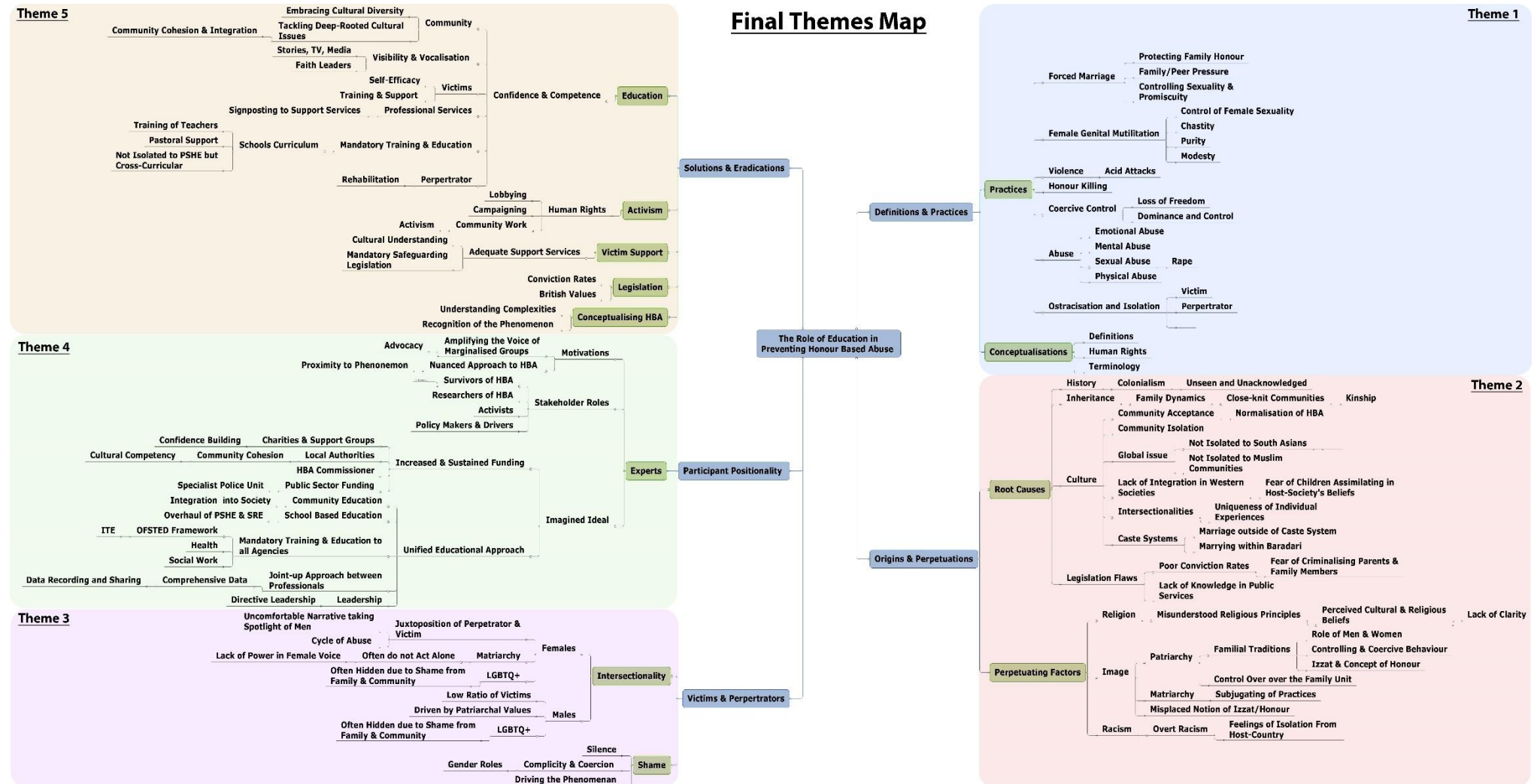


Figure 5: Final Themes Map

Theme 1 **Definitions & Practices**



Figure 6: Theme 1 - Definitions and Practices of HBA

Theme 2 Origins & Perpetuations



Figure 7: Theme 2 - Origins and Perpetuations of HBA

Theme 3
Victims & Perpetrators

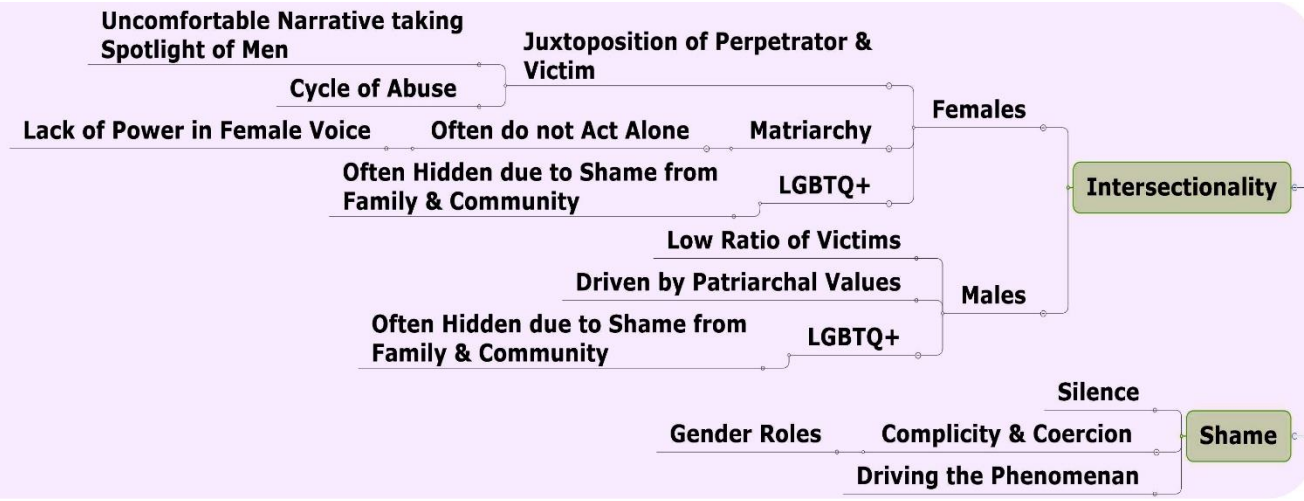


Figure 8: Theme 3 - Victims and Perpetrators of HBA

Theme 4

Participants' Positionality



Figure 9: Theme 4 - Research Participants' Positionality in relation to HBA

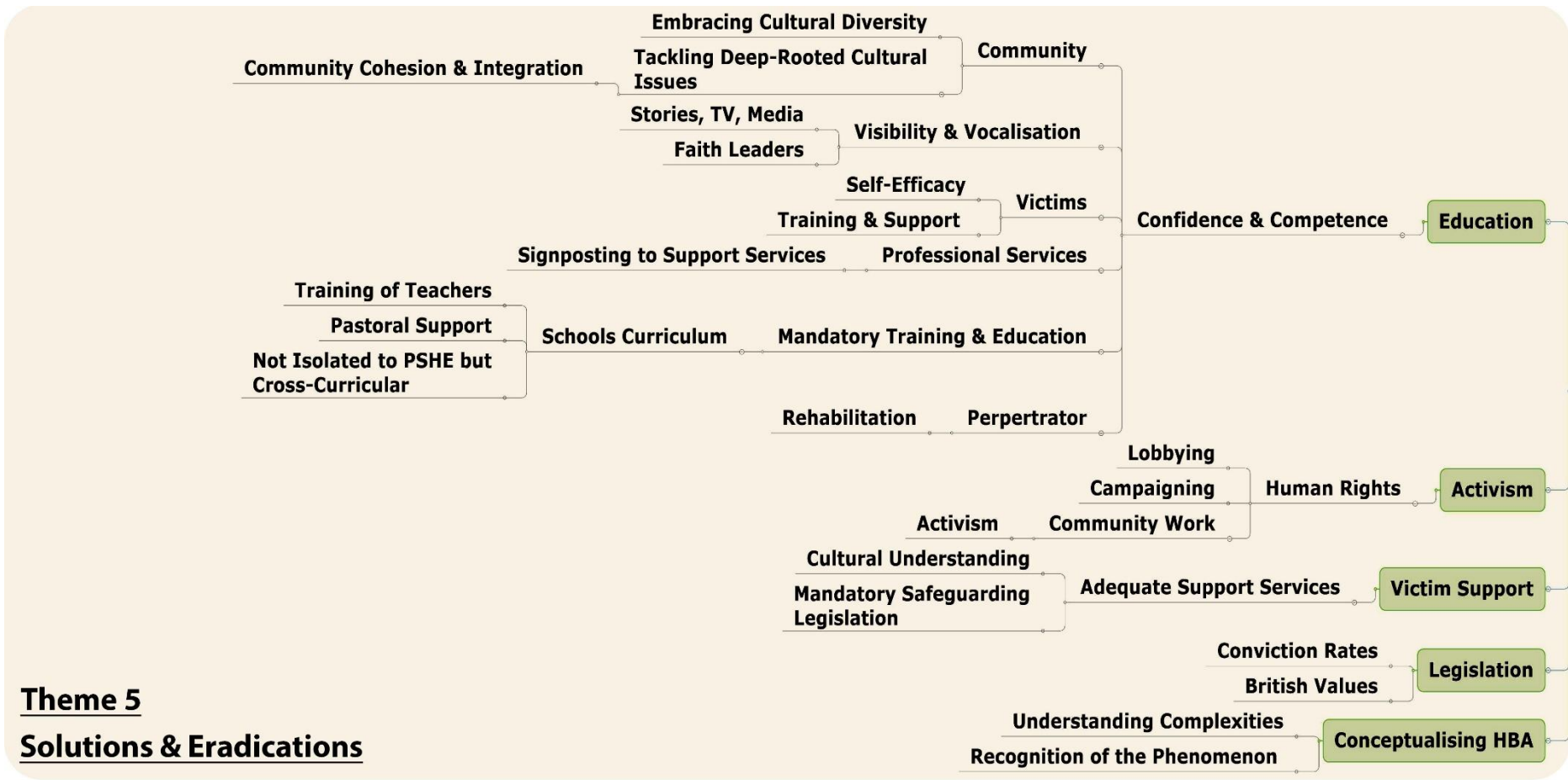


Figure 10: Theme 5 - Solutions and Eradications of HBA

5) *Defining and labelling themes*

This part of the analysis defined each topic to ensure clarity, continuity, precision, and quality of the developing thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Once all the potential themes had been identified, the evaluation and reviewing process could begin.

This enabled me to increase the clarity and depth of each topic and gave me confidence that the titles and descriptions of the themes accurately reflected the subject matter in a succinct and compelling manner.

6) *Preparing the report*

The final phase of the analysis consisted of developing an overall report for the findings section of this thesis, connecting the data, and 'weaving together' the numerous themes with an analytical narrative that was ready for presentation in the final write-up of the results (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I also ensured that the findings section went beyond the simple summary of the themes and included an empirically substantiated analysis that reflected and answered the research question.

The qualitative thematic analysis conducted via NVivo uncovered five major themes. The first theme provided an overview of the participant positionality including their background, roles, and responsibilities. The second theme related to the definitions and practices of HBA and the participants' perceptions of the elements that contribute to and influence HBA. The third theme was identification of perpetrators and victims, who are the perpetrators and victims of this phenomenon? The fourth theme identified the origins and perpetuations of HBA - broadly speaking, where does this cultural practice stem from and what are the triggers? The last theme was solutions and eradications of HBA, taking into account interviewees' views on preventing HBA, and the role of education and government organisations in preventing HBA. The above and the sub themes will be discussed in greater detail within the findings chapter.

The researcher has entire responsibility for the reliability and veracity of the data collection procedure, from its start to its finish. The thematic analysis method of detecting themes, identifying codes, and defining major and subthemes in accordance with the results analysed was carried out in a consistent manner. Consultations with the research supervisors guaranteed the legitimacy, dependability, and credibility of this procedure. For a study of this scope, it is contended that thematic analysis was an excellent method for evaluating the similarities and contrasts across the data.

Chapter 4 Conclusion

This chapter has described the study's methodological approach and procedures. An emphasis has been placed on elucidating major features of the study design in an effort to provide clarity to the reader. In addition to considering personal positionality as a researcher and exploring certain aspects of researcher reflexivity and ethical issues, I have attempted to give an insight into the research process, highlighting key challenges and my approaches to them. The following is a reflection on how a qualitative analysis approach informed the research methods throughout the methodology.

Reflecting on Qualitative Methodological Insights from this Study

Rigorously examining the qualitative research process provides invaluable opportunities for methodological growth. By evaluating the strengths and limitations of the employed methods offers an opportunity for critical reflection on improving rigour and quality when investigating complex social issues like HBA. This research illuminated important considerations for strengthening qualitative approaches in investigating a very complex social phenomenon. By modelling best practices across ethical engagement, adaptability, analytical thoroughness, and inclusivity, this research provided an invaluable touchstone for qualitative studies.

The interview sample incorporated 15 participants, spanning, activists/survivors, politicians, CPS leads, and academics drawing from an interpretivist paradigm to construct knowledge from extensive experiences. This multiplicity of perspectives

from key research participants enriched the dataset's complexity. Double badged participants identifying as both activists and survivors, provided a unique perspective of lived experience thereby uncovering a rich tapestry of data. As Campbell (2002) argues, excluding harder to reach populations risks incomplete understandings of complex social issues. Therefore, by intentionally including the survivor voice through extensive interviews, this research was able to offer rarely documented insights directly from lived experience, thus providing a more complete picture of the multidimensional dynamics of HBA. As Collins (1986) discusses, positioning diverse participants as knowledge producers whilst recognising their full humanity generates greater research integrity. By meticulously interweaving perspectives from key research participants, a rich multilayered thematic tapestry emerged. This powerfully demonstrated how centring and interconnecting participant narratives provided systemic insights while preserving nuanced subjectivities.

The semi-structured interview questions focused dialogue on key topics while allowing participant-guided emergence of themes. The flexible approach led to opportunities to probe unanticipated insights raised organically by the participants. By providing a greater flexibility and following the research participants fruitful tangents yielded additional nuances. As Hesse-Biber (2014) advises, adapting questions 'in-the-moment' can uncover fresh perspectives and deeply enrich findings. Culturally responsive interview protocols were essential in creating open sharing around sensitive information and experiences. As Fontes (2004) describes, rapport and transparency regarding research aims are instrumental in ethical engagement. This underscores the centrality of relationship ethics in qualitative approaches. By cultivating an environment of trust and transparency, research participants openly shared rare insights regarding the complex nature of HBA and the role of education in addressing it.

Through meticulous inductive coding of interview transcripts using NVivo software, this research systematically unveiled the complex roots of repressive norms enacted under the pretext of honour codes. The research surfaced recurring patterns revealing how harmful notions of honour become embedded in social and cultural norms. By rigorously examining the transcripts, themes emerged that exposed the underlying societal mechanisms which allow patriarchal subjugation and violence to

be justified as HBA. However, going beyond NVivo's analysis, this research also undertook extensive thematic mapping that delved deeper to identify and unpick the multilayered threads comprising the phenomenon of HBA (See page 154). Meticulous interlinking of keywords and emerging themes highlighted the sheer complexity of the phenomenon. Each strand of data intersected others, mirroring the intersecting identities and experiences of those impacted by HBA.

This detailed process elucidated HBA not as a unitary concept, but rather profoundly context-dependent, with each incident shaped by distinct constellations of family ties, loyalties, traumas, fears, and hopes. The themes map thus rejected simplistic assumptions, instead revealing the deeper specificity of the research participants' interpretation and experience. Such commitment to mapping intersectional diversity within larger patterns aligns with Collins' (1986) emphasis on embracing the "distinctive self-defined standpoint" of marginalised groups. This undertaking honoured that standpoint through painstaking attention to nuance. Ultimately, this granular thematic charting promoted conscious research that imbedded plurality and signalled the emancipatory potential of intersectional narratives.

In summary, this research provided a guiding light to researchers pursuing similarly impactful investigation of multidimensional social issues affecting vulnerable populations. The research methodology offers a seminal model of rigour, ethics, and humanity for the qualitative paradigm.

CHAPTER 5

Findings

Through the data analysis process, this chapter aims to provide a detailed summary of the findings for this research. As outlined in the previous methodology chapter, thematic analysis was utilised to analyse the data from the research. Data were extrapolated from fifteen interviewees' verbatim responses which resulted in five key themes being identified through the distillation process. **Theme 1:** Definitions and practices of Honour-Based Abuse; **Theme 2:** Origins and perpetuations of Honour-Based Abuse; **Theme 3:** Victims and perpetrators of Honour Based Abuse **Theme 4:** Research participants' positionality in relation to Honour-Based Abuse; and finally **Theme 5:** Solutions and the eradication of Honour-Based Abuse.

Theme 1: Definitions and Practices of Honour-Based Abuse

Data in this theme identify the definitions and practices of HBA. The research participants were given the opportunity to explore their thinking around the notion of HBA. There were unified themes that identified patriarchal practices that adversely affect female members of the diaspora communities.

Terminology and Definitions

Interestingly, one of the participants, Jasvinder Sanghera (activist), emphasised the absence of a professional specific definition that accurately described the phenomena that was being practised at a familial and community level within the host country, while she was growing up. Whilst support groups would have existed within the host country these offered limited grassroots-level support to victims of HBA. What was required was a comprehensive authority-led strategy that understood the terms, recognised the difficulties, and identified the impact of HBA on a specific cross section of society. Though realistically how could cases of HBA be recognised if a unified term for the phenomenon had not yet been defined? Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) explained "*we didn't have terms like honour-based abuse. Nobody used the*

word forced marriage, in a professional context. I used it as a young person because it was happening to me.” (Jasvinder Sanghera).

In his capacity as a Government official, Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant: Home Office) also noted that there is some debate over the use of the acronym HBA. Consulting with relevant affiliates and stakeholders has shown that this term is useful in identifying a specific form of abuse and therefore providing a tailored response. Having the umbrella term HBA could arguably have its limitations. It is usually difficult to characterise social phenomena with precision. Consequently, there are always differences between theory and practice.

There has been some controversy about the use of the terminology of honour-based abuse. The terminology of honour-based abuse is helpful for them [stakeholders] and the communities that they work with, in terms of identifying a specific form of abuse. (Christian Papaleontiou)

Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten (activist) confessed he grappled with the meaning of HBA and its relation to HBV. In fact, at the start of the interview, he used both terms/acronyms interchangeably. However, after some deliberation, he began to differentiate between the two. Unlike HBV that focuses on violence, HBA includes a spectrum of abuses, not exclusively involving physical abuse, but also psychological and emotional abuse.

I, we've used it [definition of HBA] interchangeably because we see it interchangeably, but if now I am actually having the opportunity to properly analyse it, it is really the fact that I would be preferring to use HBA because often there is no violence involved ... HBA is a wider, it is a wide spectrum it could be mental abuse, it could be physical abuse, or emotional abuse, which could also encompass violence as well. (Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten).

Maz Idriss (academic) also drew attention to the intersectionality between the terms HBA and HBV, while clearly recognising the distinction between mental health/abuse and violence through both lenses. He went on to define the term(s) via a feminist/patriarchal prism, emphasising that women are believed to exemplify honour which in turn permits family members to govern certain behaviour.

I use the word HBV or honour-based violence. And I understand that people use the word honour-based abuse because, erm, abuse may not always be physical or violent, you can talk about the psychological, erm, and mental aspects of abuse, which are just as harmful as the affliction of violence [...]. I'm sure that you appreciate that when you're talking about honour-based violence or abuse it's bound up and intertwined with female sexuality. (Maz Idriss)

Unlike Maz Idriss (academic) and Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten (activist), Sarah Newton, (politician) identified the relationship between HBA and DV, highlighting the familial nature of both. She emphasised that in certain communities, women are seen as the keepers of family, culture and communal honour, and any breaches of honour codes are penalised. For Sarah Newton, the honour element related specifically to parts of a tradition or culture where certain behaviours and ways of being are expected of women:

There's a familiar of domestic abuse or violence, I mean not all abuse is violent, it can be controlling and coercive behaviour, it can be financial control ... In terms of where the honour comes in, I understand it to be part of a culture, a tradition, in some communities where there is a feeling that certain behavioural, or certain activity is expected of people, particularly women. (Sarah Newton)

Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant) is not one for long-worded definitions. Whilst understanding their need and value, he offered three simple questions to consider whether a case can be classified as HBA: is there an element of (1) shame, (2) embarrassment, and/or (3) dishonour. By keeping it simple, it provides a good starting point and precludes any assumptions of what a HBA case can potentially look like. Palbinder Singh explained *"I tell [colleagues] to take in three considerations, if any case has any notion of embarrassment, shame, or dishonour, any three of those, can potentially be an HBA case."* (Palbinder Singh)

For Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) who has witnessed and experienced HBA first-hand, HBA is the family's and community's sentences handed to rebellious members who dishonour their ancestors' values.

[As a child], what you understand about behaviours is, this is what brings honour to our family, this is acceptable. But if you do something that is not acceptable, that is dishonourable and it's going to be a cause of shame and

you understand that ... the consequences on yourself if you were to do that ... And it's reinforced through fear, and it's also reinforced through discipline ... You have got the power to honour and dishonour your family. (Jasvinder Sanghera)

Similar to Jasvinder Sanghera (activist), Sadia Hameed (activist) was also a victim of HBA and identified HBA as a type of abuse sold to victims as a means to protect the family's honour, reputation, and status. It is also, she added, the indoctrination of family's and community's ideas and opinions on the role of women and the marriage sanctuary from birth to the grave without the right to question them:

So, the straightforward definition that everybody uses for [HBA] honour, reputation or status of that family within the community, or the extended family ... honour-based abuse doesn't just start at, you know, forced marriage or some kind of violent act or, or anything like that ... All of these ideas are actually ingrained in us from a very young age. (Sadia Hameed)

According to Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA), Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten (activist), and Rachael Aplin (academic), HBA arises when an individual defies their family's honour code/s. Within the South Asian diaspora communities there are strict moral codes which provide the absolutist framework through which all behaviour is governed. *"HBA [honour-based abuse] is what I, we, would call the victim has done some behaviour, or some attitude, that has displeased the family and that results in the family taking a particular course of action."* (Rachael Aplin). Social codes are seen as the threads that bind families and communities together; how the family is perceived within the community overrides any familial relationships.

Honour-based abuse, its where a family or an individual or typically family or parents, where they're going to act in a certain way to uphold the honour the PR the public image of their family within their community or within their religious community or their family's community. (Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten)

In addition, Jaswant Narwal said that HBA occurs when a dominate set of values dictates how a group or individuals live. Breaching these community and family values results in a penalty which justifies abuse. Amongst South Asian communities, this value is called *izzat*.

So, for me it [HBA] means that a victim is subject to whatever type of abuse it is, be it an assault or anything else in a context where there is a predominant set of values and system of values, which dictate how that community lives [...] there's an overriding, erm, or predominance of cultural, kind of, values, 'izzat' which dictates lifestyles. (Jaswant Narwal)

Human Rights

One of the abiding principles of a civilised democratic state is the protection of the human rights of its citizens within society. The human rights of individuals should transcend the public and private sphere debate ensuring equality and protection of vulnerable individuals at threat of HBA. As the research participants Diana Nammi (activist), Mike O'Brien (politician), Jonny Mitchell (headteacher), stated, HBA clearly violates a number of well-established human rights. Contrary to the commonly held belief that HBA is primarily a familial issue among specific cultures, the human rights framework can be utilised to portray HBA as a social issue. Understanding the origins of ethical notions and reasoning in diverse groups necessitates a thorough investigation of the impact of cultural values and norms in relation to victims and survivors of HBA.

Diana Nammi, (activist), stated: *"I personally think, it's [HBA] a crime and is nothing less than a crime. [HBA] is jeopardising, the rights to live, err, and access to human, basic human rights, for a woman,"* Stating a similar point to Diana Nammi, Mike O'Brien (politician) and Jonny Mitchell (headteacher) believed that HBA is a blatant breach of fundamental human rights under British and international law. Mike O'Brien elaborated on this point, saying:

Honour-based abuse is a wider term, erm, it means that things are being done to people without their consent, erm, which are an invasion of their human rights. And not just their rights under the Human Rights Act but also their, basic rights under international law. (Mike O'Brien)

Jonny Mitchell's perspective was brief, but also referred to the ethics of human rights, concluding *"it [HBA] almost boils down to basic human rights."* (Jonny Mitchell)

Practices of Honour-Based Abuse

All research participants (see Appendix 1) were able to identify the different forms of HBA resulting from FM, coercion, FGM, and honour killings, stating that HBA is an act undertaken or contemplated in order to uphold or restore a family's or a community's reputation. The research participants were clear that the term HBA does not refer to a single crime; rather, it is a subcategory of domestic abuse that typically occurs in the family home and can involve a variety of behaviours (criminal and non-criminal offences) used against individuals in order to control and protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and honour.

Banaz [Mahmod] was raped and tortured before she was killed by the same family they were talking about her honour, and family's honour. A victim can be forced into a marriage ... she can be imprisoned, she can be ... facing [an] acid attack and even killing ... controlling them [by] not having [allowing them an alcoholic] drink, [they are] not allowed to wear Western clothes. (Diana Nammi)

"It [HBA] can be controlling and coercive behaviour, it can be financial control, ... basically one person is exerting their power over another person, preventing them from being able to play their full part in society." (Sarah Newton). Estelle Morris (politician) stated: *"The reputation of the community overrides any other emotion they might have for individual people who feel that they [have] broken the community norms."* (Estelle Morris). Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten's (activist) response was succinct: *"Loss of freedom, the worst is murder and death."* (Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten). However, Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant) appreciated the analogy of HBA as an umbrella term for the many forms of abuse. Taking this description further, he argued that the umbrella's shaft – what upholds most forms of HBA – is FM. Almost from birth, all coercive actions taken around a female' upbringing focuses on her eventual role as a wife. Therefore, Palbinder Singh believed marriage is the basis of most honour-related abuse:

The umbrella is ... all matters of honour-based abuse, all notions of honour, is the umbrella. And forced marriage is the umbrella shaft, and without that the whole thing will collapse. Because if you look at it, every single thing that happens from birth of the female, is done to keep the female pure, chaste, and proper so she can undertake a marriage, a marriage of the parents ... father's

choice, okay? If there was no marriage, then this wouldn't be an issue.
(Palbinder Singh).

Isolation is a key player for both the perpetrator and the victim. There was recognition across the board that this was one of the greatest challenges for those trapped by or under threat of HBA. By isolating HBA victims, abusers have the opportunity to exert dominance and control by limiting their access to people and resources. *“Honour-based abuse is that it is ... it is so supremely isolating.”* (Lis Bates). Despite being subjected to HBA, many victims may still feel some type of familial loyalty to the perpetrators, with the fear of being alone, isolated, and rejected outweighing the risk to which they are exposed. *“Quite simply because the victim is petrified, and is obviously conflicted, suffering from duality, not wishing to get her family into trouble but at the same time worried about her own safety.”* (Palbinder Singh)

Jonny Mitchell (headteacher), Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) and Estelle Morris (politician) speculated on the levels of isolation victims face as a result of walking away from patriarchal control. *“They will be ostracised; they will be isolated.”* (Jaswant Narwal). By leaving the family unit they may well have been emancipated from the shackles of HBA. However, their courageous steps into the wider Western world are tainted with the emotional turmoil of navigating this new wider world of which they have had limited, if any experience. *“[...] physically or mentally or emotionally abused, their lives can be ruined but [...] those who are brave and walk away actually lose, [...] their family also.”* (Estelle Morris). Trying to navigate an alien culture isolated from familial networks and community results in a profound loss of identity leading to loneliness and a possible grieving process for the individual. *“They are living in complete isolation from everybody that they knew in their original communities because they simply cannot go back there for fear of what might happen to them. The emotional, impact is probably immeasurable.”* (Jonny Mitchell).

Summary of the Theme

All research participants (see Appendix 1) were asked to provide their understanding of the term (HBA) and what it meant to them. It was recognised that the term HBA was not in common use or even identified by professionals or authorities historically. The consensus of the research participants was that HBA is a type of intimidation,

isolation, power, and control. It deprives individuals of their basic human rights; it is conducted in secrecy behind closed doors; it is a crime that surpasses religion and cultural norms; and it should be punishable by law. According to the data, the notion of honour and HBA is closely tied to patriarchal practices and the conduct and actions of female family members. The preservation of a women's chastity and modesty elicits respect for men and must be protected at all costs; one of the ways is through marriage, albeit forced if no consent is forthcoming. The way HBA was perceived by the participants indicated that there was an emphasis on communal lives and that the purity and chastity of a female were essential to her reputation. This indicates that there was a common conviction that actual or perceived impurity or challenges of honour codes by females caused harm to families and communities. For a few research participants, namely Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten (activist), Sarah Newton (politician), and Maz Idriss (academic), the terminology of HBA provided some overlap with other key definitions such as Honour Based Violence (HBV) and Domestic Violence (DV). Ultimately it was determined that the latter two shared some intersection and commonalities with HBA.

Theme 2: Origins and Perpetuations of Honour-Based Abuse

Data in this theme capture the research participants' perceptions on the origins and perpetuations of HBA. The following were identified: prevalence of HBA in migrant communities was fuelled by cultural norms; the desire to preserve family reputation; and challenges around legislation.

Origins

In Estelle Morris's (politician) view, while many high-profile cases have involved Asian women, she was not of the opinion that it only affects the Asian community. *"I think there is a danger in saying [...] it's only people from, [...] Bangladesh, I think my, experience is that it is mainly Asian women, but I'd be surprised if it was only from the Asian community."* (Estelle Morris)

Mike (politician) added to Estelle Morris's (politician) assertion that HBA was not only a South Asian issue, but that it also affected Somali, Yemeni, and certain West

African populations. According to Mike O'Brien, whilst it was not specifically a 'Muslim' problem, studies do show that HBA disproportionately affects individuals from a Muslim heritage. And within these cultures, patriarchy is also recognised as the significant factor that contributes to HBA.

Is this also a problem caused by patriarchal traditions in some families? Is it exclusively a South Asian problem? No. It is also in the Somali community, Yemeni community, and in some of the West African communities, where we picked up problems, [the] majority South Asian. Is it exclusively Muslim? No. Is it predominantly Muslim? Probably ... well, in fact we know that, that most of the people have been from a Muslim background, so we're aware of that, the statistics show that. (Mike O'Brien)

Palbinder Singh's (Detective Sergeant) knowledge of HBA's beginnings emerged naturally and spontaneously from his lived experiences of being part of the South Asian Punjabi Sikh community. He claimed that the majority of HBA crimes occur because they do not involve the notion of Western 'traditional nuclear' families. The sheer structure of villages and kinships creates incestuous, close-knit societies where everyone is aware of the good and bad in everyone other's life. Certain activities (arguments, regulating behaviour) are accepted as usual, and conceptions and perceptions of honour prevail.

Once you understand the communities you know that we're not conventional nuclear families. If you go back to the villages, it's impossible for you to have an argument without the neighbour or the two neighbours, or four neighbours down knowing about it. If you look at the architecture and the structure, and the way that our houses and villages are designed, and these are rural villages, and it's so incestuous. (Palbinder Singh)

Maz Idriss (academic) did not deny the reality of the problem which he believes exists within the South Asian community, but equally emphasised that Kurdish, Afghan, and some Eastern European communities practise honour codes. Looking back at their history, some communities that arrived in the UK in the 1960s have tried strongly to retain their traditions, despite how things might have changed back home. It is acknowledged that integration is a delicate and critical process, and that successful integration is difficult to quantify due to its complex nature. However, through this lens Maz Idriss identified HBA as a direct result of reverse colonialism and immigration, whereby culture and tradition have been transported to the host country and frozen in

time. Within these communities, patriarchy remains as the most established system of male domination where a man has absolute control over the life and property of a female.

Most of that problem sadly exists, within the South Asian community, but there is also, as I said, the Kurdish communities, or Eastern European communities. I think, in terms of Pakistani, they are the most significant. The culture is so strong, Pakistani, North Pakistan including Azad Kashmir, has a greater volume of these cases, as well as select, Bangladeshi communities, some Punjabi Sikh communities. Because these communities who have come to this country, ... early [19] 60s etc. Things have changed back home, but their minds are still very much practicing those traditions that they were used to. (Maz Idriss)

Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) was of the opinion that HBA is not predominately a South Asian issue. She believed that we must avoid labelling certain populations, since in doing so might have the unintended consequence of converting the issue into a culturally specific one. According to Jaswant Narwal, HBA can impact many groups such as the 'Roma Travellers' and 'tight-knit' working-class communities. By taking a similar historical approach to understand the origins of HBA Jaswant Narwal proposed that immigrants seek to preserve their cultural identity and communal cohesion. HBA thus ultimately originates from a place of fear – the fear of losing a way of life, cultural continuity, and communal identity – which then becomes a tool to preserve and enforce traditions and cultural practices within communities.

It's not just the South Asian communities. It's a whole range of communities. And I think you can say it's within the Roma Traveller communities as well. And you can say it's within very tight-knit working class communities to a degree. You've gotta look historically ... waves of immigration that we've had, and different groups [that] have come to this country. There's a fear that their cultural identity, is going to be diluted if. If you don't have your cultural identity, then you don't have the power and strength. (Jaswant Narwal)

Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant) postulated that honour killing and HBA are often an inherent part of the migrant's culture. As a form of cultural baggage deeply imbedded in the psyche, he believed it is naive to assume these practices are easily dismissed in the new environment/host country, explaining: *"it's naïve to think that they've come into, erm, Western societies that believe in, erm, the notions of*

democracy and, err, fraternity and equality, and they're gonna start bestowing that on their womenfolk." (Palbinder Singh)

Factors that Drive Honour-Based Abuse

In Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten's (activist) opinion, HBA is driven through the need of the family to uphold its public persona within the community. Any family member who strays from the family's honour is justified in receiving physical or psychological discipline. Many parents are drawn to HBA due to low self-esteem and a fear of being embarrassed, humiliated, or condemned by other community members. *"[...] to uphold the honour, the PR the public image of their family within their community."* (Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten). Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office) equally highlighted that deeply ingrained in the perpetration of HBA crimes is a misplaced notion of honour and rejection from the community. *"The driver of the abuse can be misplaced notions of honour, in their way of thinking [it] is justified on the basis of, err, some notion of honour, there is also a fear of rejection and loss of identity."* (Christian Papaleontiou)

As a politician with a long history of involvement on HBA issues, Mike O'Brien (politician) deliberated on situations where HBA occurs in the name of misunderstood religious principles, familial traditions, patriarchal control over the family unit, and restrictive views on the role of women. For Mike O'Brien (politician), HBA is caused by a perception of traditions, embedded in patriarchy. It involves inaccurate understanding of religion and is caused by the closeness of families in some communities where the strength of familial bonds can result in controlling and coercive behaviour.

A misunderstanding of religious doctrine. Sometimes family tradition, very often it is patriarchal ... with a concern that females or males may not be following what he wants. People are pressured into marriages because they are told this is for the family and, erm, particularly in some communities the family is enormously important. (Mike O'Brien)

Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) emphasised the perception of honour (*izzat*) as the driving force for HBA, identifying it as a collection of practices which are used to

control behaviour within families to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs. *“There’s an overriding, erm, or predominance of cultural, kind of, values, ‘izzat’, which dictates lifestyles.”* (Jaswant Narwal)

In Jasvinder Sanghera’s (activist) opinion, families committed HBA for fear that their children are being assimilated in the ‘host-society’s’ beliefs. By embargoing what their children can and cannot do, Jasvinder Sanghera argued, they were preserving their culture and ensuring the longevity of their family identity both within their host country and their ancestral home:

So, some of the factors ... the reputation, the status of the family, is all fundamentally underpinned by this [honour] concept, it’s important that reputation is upheld ... A motivation will be to increase status and reputation within the family. (Jasvinder Sanghera)

Legislation

During his tenure as Solicitor General, Mike O’Brien’s (politician) initial intention was to criminalise HBA. However, this was not implemented since it would have required victims to report on, and so criminalise, their parents. Mike O’Brien established civil law as an alternative - a distinction he was eager to underscore – to encourage reporting of HBA crimes whilst protecting victims.

If we wanted them to come forward then [...] they would not want their family honour destroyed, their father or mother put into a prison, because of them [victims] reporting that they’d been forced into a marriage. This should remain geared to reducing the problem, and that should be the primary objective, protecting the victims. (Mike O’Brien)

Religion or Culture?

Lis Bates (academic) argued unequivocally that HBA is founded on cultural beliefs and has no religious origins. *“I don’t think religion drives it [HBA] but I do think that tradition, is often a context or contributing factor.”* (Lis Bates). On the other hand, Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten (activist) pointed out that there is clearly a lack of clarity between the two, dependent upon the situation and conversations to hand, thus raising the complexity and confusion around culture and religion, *“We see some*

people blame the religion, for their behaviour or justifying it [HBA]. “[...] in another conversation they will actually blame the culture. “[...] there is a lot of confusion.” (Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten). However, all participants asserted how culture plays a vital role in allowing families and communities to rationalise HBA behaviours and practices, thus allowing manipulation and risking entrapment of victims. Rachael Aplin (academic) emphasised that teachings on 'cultural relativism' are very much needed for promoting HBA awareness and comprehension; in doing so, this will allow detailed examination of diversity of other cultures and exploring of different religious beliefs and values. *“[...], this isn't a religious practice, no religion condones this behaviour. [...] honour is used as a justification for abuse. Simple messages on cultural relativism, multiculturalism are needed [...].”* (Rachael Aplin).

Interestingly, for Maz Idriss (academic) HBA is caused by a perception of traditions, embedded in patriarchy. It involves inaccurate understanding of religion and is caused by the closeness of families in some communities where the strength of familial bonds can result in controlling coercive behaviour.

[...] again, it goes back to the same patriarchal interpretation of religion. The patriarchal interpretation of religion to suit, men. Going back 1,400 years ago what you have to appreciate is the cultural aspect of society and the community led expectations. (Maz Idriss)

Summary of the Theme

All research participants (see Appendix 1) in one way shape or form believed patriarchy played a significant part in the causation of HBA, and that women were not seen as distinct individuals; rather, they were seen as a commodity through the prism of honour. It was acknowledged that HBA was predominately operating within the diaspora of the South Asian community, but by no means exclusively so.

Authoritarian figures within patriarchal social groups reinforced and established gender roles and expected moral behaviours. The centrality of family and community to the social identities of adherents to the culture of honour was stressed. It was also the consensus that HBA may emerge from actions seen by the family and community as a violation of the 'honour code.' The narratives of the research participants (see Appendix 1) emphasised the community's involvement in preserving compliance with

these regulations by unwittingly pressuring parents to exert control over their children. A breach of household or community codes was cited as the main reason for HBA where victims (in particular females) were harmed for actual or perceived corrupt behaviour. It was considered standard practice to choose one's social standing over the lives of a 'rebellious' family member. Ultimately the motivation for HBA was the preservation of a family's reputation in the community and the observance of cultural norms that contribute to honour. Alongside the fear of rejection from a social group and the loss of identity within those parameters. It was noted that criminalised legislation is hindered by the reality of the potential emotional impact on the victim whilst not effectively dealing with the practices of HBA. Tackling HBA through the criminal justice system has its limitations as HBA is culturally ingrained within practicing communities. The relationship between culture and religion was explored with compelling arguments presented about how HBA is manifested, motivated, and embedded within cultural expression rather than religion.

Theme 3: Victims and Perpetrators of Honour-Based Abuse

This theme grapples with the juxtaposition of females being both victims and perpetrators of HBA. Whilst men are predominately the perpetrators of HBA, at times their choice of partner or sexuality can also subject them to the horrors of HBA. Fuelled by the hand of patriarchy, and the desire to control victims with the fear of losing social standing within the community, clearly drives the perpetrator.

Categorisation of Victim Dynamics

Mike O'Brien (politician) asserted that roughly 15% of victims are men, making it a phenomenon that predominantly affects women. *"Well from memory it was about 15% men, so predominantly women [...] some of the perpetrators, they're also women."* (Mike O'Brien). This notion was also echoed by Jonny Mitchell (headteacher) and Diana Nammi (activist) who clearly stipulated that 'South Asian Women' are far more impacted as victims of HBA, but conversely are also participants in reproducing honour codes.

[...] women can be perpetrators in honour-based cases, in cases like Rukhsana Naz [...] mother holds her, for her brother to kill her. In the case of Heshu Yones, her mother, left her, alone with her father to kill her. (Diana Nammi).

Due to the strong desire to perpetuate established honour and cultural values, it is arguable that women in family and community settings can be both active and implicit participants in HBA.

[...] the majority of victims are, are South Asian women, erm, and I think that's probably a widely held perception as well. In terms of the abusers being Asian women, I know from personal experience that, there is some evidence that Asian women are also the perpetrators/abusers, but probably not in as high a percentage as indeed the victims. (Jonny Mitchell).

While agreeing that women are predominantly affected by HBA and that perpetrators at times can be females, Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor - CPS) also gave examples where HBA is carried out against male victims: young men with alternative sexual orientations and young people (male or female) proposing to marry an individual outside their caste system or to someone that the family simply does not approve.

I don't think it's just exclusive to women. I think men can also be victims of honour-based abuse. Particularly if you think about, [situations] where people are in relationships where maybe people aren't of the same caste or sexual orientation. (Jasbinder Sidhu).

In response to the assertion that the 'majority' of victims are South Asian women, Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) contended that there is insufficient factual information to make a conclusive statement, particularly because she felt there are some shifting tendencies. However, in her experience a very significant number of victims are Asian women compared with perpetrators who are predominantly Asian men. She highlighted a particular high-profile case (the Athwal Case, 2007) which confirms that women can be perpetrators. In all her career, Jaswant Narwal has never seen a case where women are acting alone. She attributed this to the patriarchal structure of these communities where a woman's voice carries less weight and has minimal power over the management of her household.

[The] majority of victims are women we've got more female Asian victims as opposed to male Asian victims. As far as the perpetrators are concerned, the majority aren't Asian women. The suspects are largely Asian men. You will have the women involved, and in some of the high-profile cases, as we have in forced marriage cases, the mother's involved when they are acting in conjunction with their husbands. In the case of Athwal [we]. have [...] grandmother who was a matriarch ... was acting in conjunction with her son. So, I don't think you ever get cases where it's just a female perpetrator acting on her own. There are usually other male co-defendants. (Jaswant Narwal)

Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant) agreed that there is too much evidence to disagree, on whether South Asian women are predominantly victims and sometimes perpetrators of HBA. This he feels is an uncomfortable narrative particularly for charities as it takes the spotlight off men. Instead, Palbinder Singh argued that many women as victims themselves perpetuate these forms of abuse later in life. Having gone through these experiences, they have either become 'indoctrinated' or perhaps even wholeheartedly believe in its value. 'Menfolk' often are not aware of the perceived dishonourable actions of females within their household; rather, Palbinder Singh said, it is the gossiping of other women which can get females into trouble. And in some cases, it can be malicious rumours borne of inter-family rivalries.

It's a very uncomfortable narrative ... that the charities don't like. The female offender has gone through the [HBA] 'system'. Having been policed through her entire life, she's now one of two things, either she's indoctrinated, and she believes this ideology, or dare I say this, controversially, she's been enlightened, and she thinks this is the best thing to do. ... their [women's] loose tongue, because there's so much inter-rivalry, family feuds, rumour mill, which is, giving it [HBA], oxygen. they're then going and telling the menfolk. (Palbinder Singh).

People may intuitively view the roles of victims and offenders as mutually incompatible and dualistic. However, Sarah Newton (politician) recognised how deeply cultural the issue of HBA can be, affecting the wider family and community, which can have further unintended consequences for other relatives. In this way, it was not surprising to Sarah Newton that women can be both victims and perpetrators. *"It does seem a deeply cultural thing in their families so [...] whole family, the whole community can be affected so it doesn't surprise me when I hear it can be women who are both victims and perpetrators."* (Sarah Newton).

Similarly, to Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant), Rachael Aplin (academic) also recognised the duality of potentially being a victim and a perpetrator within the realms of HBA. Rachael Aplin pointed to the immense pressure and fear felt by family members, fuelled by shame, which often compels them to commit acts of HBA. From engaging with survivors, Rachael Aplin identified an aspect of HBA - 'silence'; the silence that comes from individuals witnessing the abuse. This silence can represent either complicity or the fear of consequences of intervening.

The biggest factor is shame, they have that pressure that they need to do something in order [...] bring that individual, into line. [...] The debate round the table was that the silence could actually mean two things. [It] could almost mean the fear of stopping the behaviour, [...] silence wouldn't necessarily mean that somebody's condoning it. (Rachael Aplin)

Summary of the Theme

It was confirmed that gender plays a significant part in HBA, with women and girls being at a greater risk than males. The transfer of attitudes from one generation to the next has been suggested as a possible explanation for this phenomenon, with the emphasis being placed on the continuity of a society that preserves certain cultural norms and values. The findings also highlighted that females are far more involved in perpetrating HBA than previously thought the extent to which these women are acting under duress or are willing participants was not determined. However, it is evident from this study that male coercion is believed to play a significant role in perpetuating HBA. Primarily, perpetrators of HBA are still mostly male, and the context of abuse is the maintenance of patriarchal values based on gender roles.

Theme 4: Research Participants Positionality in Relation to Honour-Based Abuse

This theme refers to the participants' positionality in relation to HBA. As stakeholders in the field, the research participants could draw upon their specialist knowledge and personal experiences to identify the challenges that victims of HBA faced alongside the limitations of current practices in tackling this phenomenon.

Roles

All of the research participants had years of expertise in their respective fields (for more details see Appendix 1). Several of the participants who directed local support organisations were also survivors of HBA and former service recipients. *“In 2002 ... I decided to establish an organisation [IKWRO] to help women ... to raise awareness about Honour Based Violence [HBA] in the UK.”* (Diana Nammi). Having worked in the sector and observed the lack of resources available to tackle HBA, Sadia Hameed (activist) took the initiative to address the limitations of the existing support available within her geographical area.

I have worked in the women’s sector for about 10 years in various capacities and I found that there was a serious lack of, focus on BME women’s issues, particularly harmful traditional practices. I started my own organisation, [Gloucestershire Sisters] two years ago. (Sadia Hameed)

Jonny Mitchell (headteacher) operating within the educational sphere had seen first-hand how the impact of HBA cuts through the diverse economic sections of community groups. *“I’ve been, an Educator for coming up for 20 years. ... worked in a variety of different schools, both socioeconomically, and, in terms of education attainment.”* (Jonny Mitchell). Lis Bates and Maz Idriss tackled HBA through the medium of academia and research: *“I am doing research, based within the centre for gender and violence research in the school for policy studies [Bristol University], we look at different types of gender-based violence, including ... forced marriage, honour-based abuse, and FGM.”* (Lis Bates). *“I’m currently lecturing law at Manchester Metropolitan University. I’ve been lecturing there for approximately 18 years.”* (Maz Idriss).

Mike O’Brien’s (politician) position as a Member of Parliament and Government Minister for more than a decade, combined with his legal expertise, provided him with a greater understanding of transformative social policies, legislative frameworks, and challenges surrounding the phenomenon of HBA and its effects on ethnic minority communities.

I'm a previous Labour Government Minister. I was a Minister between, 1997 and 2010. A Member of Parliament between 1992 and 2010. Minister in the Home Office between 1997 and 2001[...] Minister in the Foreign Office between 2002 and, 2004, when I dealt with issues, particularly from 1997 to 1999 on relationships with, minority communities. By training I am [...] QC and, therefore I had some knowledge from my legal background of, some of these [HBA] problems. (Mike O'Brien)

Trigger for Engaging with Honour-Based Abuse

Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) was born in Britain into a Sikh Indian immigrant family. Her interest in women's rights originated from her personal first-hand experience of HBA. *"My background is rooted in personal experience [of HBA] ... Being born in Britain from a Sikh traditional family ... I became a campaigner when my sister Robina, who was forced to marry a stranger, committed suicide."* (Jasvinder Sanghera). Sadia Hameed (activist) is also a survivor of HBA which provided motivation for setting up her own charity to support victims of HBA.

I'm a survivor, of it [HBA], from about 17 years ago which drove to create [my own organisation] Gloucestershire Sisters and I also work for an organisation called the Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain. In both capacities I deal with, [...], honour-based abuse daily. (Sadia Hameed)

Drawing on personal experiences as well as campaigning for societal change provides a distinct dual function where they are not only able to give emotional support to victims but can also comprehend the difficulties victims may face in finding and establishing their positions outside of the family/community.

Lis Bates (academic) and Maz Idriss's (academic) unintended encounter with the concept of HBA inspired them to focus their academic and professional careers on researching the phenomena of HBA. As a consequence, they provided a powerful example of advocacy through the medium of research, thereby giving a voice to a hidden and marginalised section of a community, by shining a light on HBA practices through academia.

I came a bit by accident to the subject, [...] back in 2007, I was working for the House of Commons as a parliamentary civil servant but working for the Home Affairs Select Committee. I ended up running for the committee, looking at domestic abuse, forced marriage and honour-based violence. [...] that was

my, first interaction with the subject and it just, it gripped me. So as a result of that, I ended up doing a Master's degree and then a PhD [on HBA]. (Lis Bates)

My first interaction with honour killings and honour-based violence was an article that I came across in the law library at Coventry University. [...]. Having identified that there were further gaps in the work, on HBV and forced marriages I undertook a PhD [...] specifically on this area. (Maz Idriss)

The triggers for engaging with HBA for Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant – Home Office), Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor – CPS), Rachael Aplin (academic), and Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) initially stemmed from their respective careers. Rachael Aplin ultimately moved into academia, but her preliminary and longstanding interest was through her role as a Domestic Abuse Sergeant overseeing the portfolio of 'domestic abuse'. *"I became a Domestic Abuse Sergeant [20 years], my area was domestic abuse. And under that umbrella, was honour-based abuse."* (Rachael Aplin). All of the research participants were immersed in the Violence Against Women and Girls' (VAWG) agenda and were all active in raising awareness through policy and practice.

I've been involved in tackling Violence Against Women and Girls in the Home Office since 2013, so five years now. I started off as the Policy Lead on Violence Against Women and Girls in 2013, since I have become Head of the Public Protection Unit, which leads on both violence against women and girls' issues and other, public protection matters for the Home Office. (Christian Papaleontiou)

Due to their heritage and a stronger grasp of the cultural perspective, Jasbinder Sidhu and Jaswant Narwal were able to examine HBA from a personal lens, providing them with a deeper insight into the phenomenon.

I'm born into one of the cultures where some of this, originates from those communities ... from a work perspective, interestingly, it was my predecessor moved on and the policy portfolio became available, I volunteered, and I was really pleased to hear that I was going to be assigned this [HBA] area of work. (Jasbinder Sidhu)

I was born in Bradford ... so [from a] very, large South Asian community, and grew up, understanding ... community issues ... I'm a Chief Crown Prosecutor of CPS Thames and Chiltern. So, all Chief Crown Prosecutors have national portfolios. I have, so called honour-based abuse, FGM, and forced marriage. (Jaswant Narwal)

Blue Sky Thinking - Imagined Ideal

Seven out of the fifteen research participants, namely Diana Nammi (activist), Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office), Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA), Maz Idriss (academic), Rachael Aplin (academic), Estelle Morris (politician), and Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor - CPS) had expressed that funding should be a priority for this area of work, and that 'education' was a key to eradicating HBA, be that through primary, secondary, tertiary, work-related, mandatory training, or community-based education. The overall belief was that education should play a crucial role in ensuring that HBA is identified, treated, and destigmatised in communities across the UK. All research participants (see Appendix 1) believed that a transformation in cultural attitudes is required in order successfully to respond to the phenomenon of HBA.

According to Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office), “[...] *training and education across the board is important. You can apply that to any agency, with social workers or healthcare professionals, educationalists, community leaders.*” (Christian Papaleontiou). Robust statutory intervention can be used as a platform to shine a light on the injustices of HBA, according to Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead – HBA) *“It [HBA awareness] needs to be there in the curriculum, awareness raising, local authority support training, support for charities, who can train, and raise these issues.”* (Jaswant Narwal). The heart of the issue is to raise awareness, in order to unpick the pervasive nature of HBA. One of the most effective tools in the armoury to tackle HBA is through the medium of education. *“I think there has to be education, [...] available to everyone, online, in schools, awareness, help and support in the local community.”* (Maz Idriss)

Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) emphasised the mandatory positionality in educating teachers, alongside external agencies playing a critical role in raising awareness of this phenomenon. The question is how to incentivise a generation of leaders to tackle HBA with precision and vigour in the education sector from a safeguarding standpoint in the absence of government support.

From a preventative point of view, is going to be to educate the teachers, make it mandatory ... But equally, to bring people into the school to raise awareness about it amongst the pupils to safeguard children from honour-based abuse. (Jasvinder Sanghera)

Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) also argued to put HBA on the Ofsted framework, highlighting that effective processes should be in place to safeguard children and young people within schools. Fundamentally, honour-based abuse prevents one from integrating into society. That is, its sole objective; to prevent one from becoming an independent thinker, embracing democracy, embracing rights, all the things that really are encouraged within the educational setting. Due to the directives within which Ofsted operates, such a divergence from existing statutory guidance would have to be mandated by the Government. *“As soon as you put that [HBA] onto an Ofsted framework and schools know they’re gonna be inspected, it increases engagement from schools.”* (Jasvinder Sanghera)

When asked for her thoughts on how to eradicate HBA in the UK, Sarah Newton (politician), as the former Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Crime, Safeguarding and Vulnerability (2016-2017) said that she believed that funds are growing for education, media, and community-led initiatives, and that compulsory SRE and PSHE is carving the way forward to ensure that HBA is addressed within the curriculum. She was not of the opinion that additional funding should be allocated, since there were already effective working practices in place throughout the relevant departments. This is in stark contrast to the majority of the research participants within this study who are of the opposite perspective, feeling that there is insufficient funding devoted to HBA phenomena and that education at all levels must take precedence in order to help eliminate HBA in the UK. Could this response be related to her Ministerial position?

Clearly the education budget is growing every year and there is compulsory SRE for secondary children and there is PHSE all introducing compulsory SRE education in primary schools and really looking at the modernisation of the curriculum and there will be money for training and money for resources, the home office I think is extremely good at working with third parties on videos and targeted campaigns, co-producing campaigns with communities to get out targeted media, which I think is, I’ve seen all kinds of work that the home office do that is really good working with media partners to reach

particular audiences and there is quite a sizeable budget for that every year and there would always be. (Sarah Newton)

Jaswant Narwal's (CPS Lead - HBA) suggested that one way to address HBA is by ensuring longer-term sustainable funding is provided to Local Authorities and charities to combat HBA. *"They've [charities] only got 12 months' worth of money, or 2 years. You can't change anything if you're going to constantly have people changing, [...]"* (Jaswant Narwal). The cumbersome bidding procedure for financing is a formidable obstacle for non-profit organisations. A well-structured financial position would be essential to provide charities with the ability to recruit and retain people, to plan and innovate, and to respond to social, political, or legal developments. Diana Nammi (activist) had the same perspective as Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) on the lack of consistency and the need for sustainable support with regard to monetary restrictions. Inconsistent funding has a substantial effect on HBA victims in the long run. *"I think the budget needs really to consider more money towards [...] the specialist charities work against honour-based violence."* (Diana Nammi). The non-profit sector has been disproportionately impacted by austerity and related government cuts during the past few years. As a result, victims and survivors are not adequately supported, and charities lack the confidence to make decisions about services that they may offer to both British and migrant women subjected to HBA.

In addition to the above, Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) provided a powerful recommendation that the Government ought to consider appointing a HBA Commissioner. This, in her opinion, should be synonymous to Children's Commissioner and the Anti-Slavery Commissioner. *"They've appointed a Children's Commissioner. So why do we not have a Commissioner to deal with so called, honour based-abuse and forced marriage. They need somebody with some clout."* (Jaswant Narwal). This will serve as an impressive illustration of advocacy for marginalised communities. Active lobbying and campaigning on behalf of HBA victims within a deliberative government system will provide the ability to raise awareness of this phenomenon inside the corridors of power.

The four major players highlighted by Jonny Mitchell (headteacher) had a resounding effect on HBA victims and survivors; thus, he emphasised, it is essential to provide appropriate financing for all these sectors to enable care and adequate support for HBA victims and survivors alike.

We are underfunded in the Police, we are underfunded in social services, we are, underfunded in terms of mental health, and they're all intrinsically linked and oh, by the way, educations massively underfunded as well. These are the four key players aren't they when we're talking about identifying abuse and resolving abuse. (Jonny Mitchell)

The holistic approach spanning all four domains enables understanding by not analysing its basic parts, but rather the sections that let us comprehend and see the reality of HBA via an interconnected lens.

Ideally for Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant), a specialist police unit supplied with sufficient resources would best serve to tackle HBA.

I'd make a specialist [police] unit and I'd resource it sufficiently, that was knowledgeable in HBA, that had personnel that were committed to tackling it dispassionately and were courageous enough to do so. [...] They do it when it affects the national interests, but they won't do it when it affects the individual interest because it is so resource intensive, and there will be a backlash, and the backlash is the patriarchal members of the community. (Palbinder Singh).

He argued this has been done for numerous other causes and issues of national interest, yet not for individual interests. He thought politicians are reluctant to push the cause of HBA because it might not be a 'vote winner'. The challenges around community cohesion begged the question: 'Where does safeguarding start and where does it end?'

We do need to consider the promotion and protection of ethnic minority identities, but the risk factors involved for victims of HBA surpasses cultural sensitivities. In responding to the debate of forced marriage and HBA, Mike O'Brien's (politician) pivotal statement, "*Multicultural sensitivity is no excuse for official silence or moral blindness. We long ago abolished laws that treated women as chattels. We cannot shelter or tolerate bad practices under the guise of sensitivity.*" (Mike O'Brien). As a

result of their cultural upbringing and beliefs, communities which engage in harmful traditional practices may not recognise or accept certain situations as abusive. The above clearly demonstrates the need for cultural competency by balancing sensitivity without compromising safeguarding.

Lis (Academic) and Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) concurred with Palbinder Singh's (Detective Sergeant) perspective on ensuring that the police are fully trained, and appropriate recording of HBA crimes is maintained to recognise and mitigate harm to HBA victims. *"It would be excellent to have ... specialist advisors on honour-based abuse based in Police forces."* (Lis Bates). *"I would make sure that every Police Force had a statutory duty to record honour-based abuse ... recording the data is absolutely important."* (Jasvinder Sanghera). The lack of comprehensive data makes it difficult to bring HBA into the public consciousness, alongside the significant risk of not being able to measure or understand the extent of the problem, resulting in the inability to formulate appropriate policy responses and to safeguard victims.

Summary of the Theme

To summarise, the research participants (see Appendix 1) represent a mix from different sections of the community including activists, politicians, civil servant, academics, CPS, and police. As key research participants in the field of HBA, they were able to illuminate the subject matter with a clear focus and forensic eye, but also with their own prejudices and conscious/unconscious biases. Their imagined ideals varied, but there was commonality around the theme of how imperative it was to ensure that HBA services were sufficiently resourced. The importance of a unified educational approach within the school system was required to ensure that victims were appropriately safeguarded from HBA practices. It became apparent that many of the issues highlighted, for example regulatory approach by Ofsted, lack of specific budgetary allocations, and structural reorganisations require political will and committed support from key decision makers. In the absence of a comprehensive social blueprint, policies effectively to tackle HBA will remain limited in their breadth and reach. Currently, the piecemeal approach is insufficient to address this deep-rooted cultural phenomenon.

Theme 5: Solutions and Eradications of Honour-Based Abuse

The final theme illustrates the systematic challenges that were reported by the research participants in relation to solutions and eradications of HBA. Adequate teacher training, and school education alongside community-based solutions were at the forefront of tackling HBA. Conversely, sensitivities around race relations and community isolation inhibits proactive approaches in addressing gender-based violence.

School Based Education and Training

Diana Nammi (activist) discovered that some, but not all teachers and headteachers are aware of HBA, how to deal with it, and where to get assistance. Nevertheless, they choose not to become involved, considering it to be a family issue that does not affect the school. Ultimately, they fear reprisal and retaliation from the family and community. *“Many of the professionals [...] are aware of the existence of Honour Based-Abuse, and many of them they know how to deal with it [...] many professionals feel that is a complex case, this is a family matter.”* (Diana Nammi)

Similarly, to Diana Nammi (activist), Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) believed teachers are reluctant to report abuse in their school. She put this down to lack of ‘professional judgment’. Despite having been trained to be culturally sensitive, many prefer not to report any cases in fear that they be ‘labelled a racist.’ It is clear that education and progressive leadership is key to combatting HBA in schools.

In terms of professionals lacking the confidence for two reasons. (1) It could be about their own awareness and ability to professionally judge that situation. (2) But I think it's about...and it trumps it maybe, is the fact that they have been taught to be culturally sensitive, to work with parents and families and the fear of being culturally insensitive, the fear of being labelled a racist.
(Jasvinder Sanghera)

Diana Nammi (activist) believed that education is crucial to raising awareness and changing perceptions of HBA. Some schools, she found, have welcomed campaigners and trainers into their classrooms, which has resulted in disclosures from potential victims of HBA.

When we provide training in schools it is very easy for children to learn about and, understanding it quickly. After training they came to us and make the disclosure, it shows if there is no training for children, perhaps they don't know where to go, what to say and perhaps they don't understand if there is a problem. (Diana Nammi)

Diana Nammi (activist) 'hoped' that PSHE education, RSE, and the wider curriculum will be the appropriate vehicles to raise pupils' awareness of honour-based abuse in schools. She believed it is imperative for the Department for Education, and indeed teachers, to consider the importance of talking to young girls about the possible risks of forced marriage, HBA, and FGM; and where to go and find more information on these issues. Moreover, she added, trainee teachers and qualified teachers must also be trained in how to spot risks and opportunities for raising awareness of HBA.

It needs to be part of the school curriculum. It can be part of the social issue, part of the history, part of the sex education, [...] there are lots of space to talk about. Department of Education really has got a crucial, [...] role in identifying these problems, because we are talking about young girls who are at risk of forced marriage, who are at risk of honour-based violence, who are at risk of FGM. They are the first and the frontline organisation to be able to help and identify HBA within their, pupils. Honour based abuse needs to be part of the education for Teachers, and part of the study for them. Before they become a teacher, [trainee] they need to receive proper training about HBA. (Diana Nammi)

Mike O'Brien (politician) also accentuated the necessity for teachers/trainee teachers to have adequate training, emphasising the need to cover the distinction between a forced and an arranged marriage, knowledge of FGM and why it is illegal, as well as the concepts of HBA and modern slavery. He regarded all these cultural practices as unconstitutional and a violation of fundamental human rights.

As part of their training Teachers should know the difference between a forced marriage and an arranged marriage, what female genital mutilation is, and why it's wrong. What modern slavery is, and that honour-based abuse is abuse. All of these things are unlawful in different ways, not necessarily criminal, they're not necessarily illegal, but they are unlawful, and they are breaches of a person's human rights. (Mike O'Brien)

Like Diana Nammi (activist), Mike O'Brien (politician) recognised that people vary across the spectrum of knowledge, experience, and quality of service in relation to

HBA within schools. He was certain that there are gaps in teachers' knowledge in relation to HBA and many fail to recognise or understand what HBA entails.

Honour-based abuse, do all teachers understand it? I'm sure all teachers do not. Do most teachers understand it? Yes, probably some teachers don't. People vary in terms of the quality of what they do, so is there room for improvement? ... You can always improve the quality of education and recognition of the nature of the problem. (Mike O'Brien)

Mike O'Brien (politician) also echoed the uncertainty regarding the adequacy of PSHE and SRE in teaching children about HBA. Based on the continued incidences of HBA, he felt the current efforts are inadequate. There are ample opportunities to introduce the topic of HBA within the curriculum, for example in religious studies. On the other hand, adding anything to the curriculum is difficult because there are so many demands to fit in everything. With a wealth of equally important issues to consider, how are these various topics covered and which are more viable and valuable to the community?

Is it [PSHE/SRE] seeking to raise awareness? I'm sure it is. Is it adequate? I don't know. Do we still have problems of honour-based abuse? Yes. Therefore, what we're doing is inadequate to stop it. Could we do more? [...] ensuring that it's part of the process of education, that people become aware that some people, indulge in honour-based abuse, that's enormously important. But it's also important that people ... kids know where they can go to get help. ... Various kinds of religious studies give the opportunities to discuss what people's individual rights are and how they should be respected [...] there are other parts of the curriculum that you might be able to raise it in. But getting something into the curriculum is easy to suggest and difficult to achieve because there are so many demands to fit everything in. (Mike O'Brien)

Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office) thought a delicate balance is also necessary to manage what should be mandated on a national level and what is for the local school to decide. PHSE covers a huge range of issues, including drugs, alcohol, online harassment, etc. Similarly, to Mike O'Brien (politician), Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office) noted the time constraints to the school curriculum and believes a successful programme would focus on tools applicable across all safeguarding areas. This allows freedom for

schools to focus on topics pertinent to them, which in some cases would include HBA.

Now there is only so much time in the school curriculum ... there are some fundamentals that should be embedded within the school curriculum in terms of things like critical thinking, critical reasoning, building children's resilience, which can have an application across all of the safeguarding areas. We have to get the right balance between what is dictated at a national level must be covered in RSE or PSHE, or any other part of the curriculum [...] Making sure that schools have got good access to good materials that can address those particular challenges in the schools, such as HBA and FM. (Christian Papaleontiou)

In Estelle Morris's (politician) view, when it came to whether PSHE and SRE were meeting the objective of raising awareness of HBA in schools, the answer was mixed. When Lord Nash made his 2015 statement (see literature review), PSHE was not compulsory whereas now it is. Similarly, to Diana Nammi (activist) and Mike O'Brien (politician), Estelle Morris (politician) and Lis Bates (academic) felt that aside from PSHE, there are other areas within the curriculum where HBA can also be addressed, for example, during History, in topics around women, or the pastoral care system which should seek to build solid relationships between educators and pupils. Therefore, these informal curriculums are equally vital and important as well.

If you look at the record of PSHE sometimes it is taught well and sometimes it is barely taught at all. When Lord Nash made that statement, I don't think PSHE was compulsory. It is now and that has been a good change. So PSHE provides a vehicle for where it can be taught, I've not got a problem with that, but I don't think it has to be taught in PSHE, I think there's other places in the curriculum and in schools where it can be taught as well. (Estelle Morris)

There is a role for education on ... honour-based abuse within sex and relationships [Education] or PSHE. I don't think it should just be constrained to that. I think, as with other kinds of gender violence, you can do this in any, in lots of different subjects in the curriculum. (Lis Bates)

Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) believed education was proactive in the past in funding training and commissioning pamphlets and guidelines on how to address risk. For example, it developed the 2018 statutory requirements entitled, 'Keeping Children Safe in Education: Statutory Guidance for Schools and Colleges' to safeguard against HBA. Unfortunately, Jasvinder Sanghera found, schools were not necessarily

on board because school guidelines, as the title suggests, are not legally binding. *“You issue statutory guidelines, statutory guidelines, there’s a hint there that, you know, schools are meant to implement them. [...] You’ve issued statutory guidelines with no teeth.”* (Jasvinder Sanghera)

Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office) was aware that the Government was working towards updating guidance’s around child safety in schools. However, his direction of thought went towards an inspectorate regime to ensure good safeguarding measures were in place in schools. His primary concern was that he felt a government directive would not manifest the necessary awareness and changes. Rather, what was required was an understanding of the intrinsic value of this awareness on the part of educators.

The Government’s looking into updating Keeping Children Safe in Education. Also looking to update working together to safeguard children. ... this is about how you can make sure that those guidance documents have the fundamental building blocks ... But we should not be looking to a couple of high-level documents to be the answer to, err, what good safeguarding looks like. And that’s where I think the important bit is to think about how you can use inspectorate regimes to make sure that schools are delivering on what they should be delivering. (Christian Papaleontiou)

Like Diana Nammi (activist) and Mike O’Brien (politician), Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) believed the subject of HBA ought to be included in the wider curriculum, the same way are British values. She did worry, however, that including it in school subjects such as Sex Education may not be as productive because parents, if they so wish, could opt to remove their children from the subject altogether.

I think I agree with Lord Nash to the degree that it’s an opportunity to raise issues of honour-based abuse, as is British values. So British values is on the curriculum so and the reason I say that to you is because Ofsted said that to me. They told me that, British values could be an opportunity to raise honour-based abuse ... let’s not forget that the girls we’re talking about, the parents have the option for them to opt out of sex education. (Jasvinder Sanghera)

Pertinently, Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) emphasised that education is a source of strength and protection, as it provided both a firm foundation and the self-assurance necessary to safeguard children and young people. *“When you are educating*

professionals in this field you've, you've empowered them, you've given them the confidence to frame this as a safeguarding issue.” (Jasvinder Sanghera)

Community Based Education and Training

Mike O'Brien (politician) argued that public discussion of HBA was the best way to raise awareness, despite the risks of uncomfortable conversations and unpleasant accusations. Considering the MacPherson report (1999), Police were slow to accept a charge of institutional racism and felt they were all accused of being racists. This created tension, as they attempted both to tackle HBA issues and increase recruitment amongst minority communities. Religious leaders had concerns as some did not want the 'State' involved in their community or places of worship, fearing reprisal from their community members. For Mike O'Brien, the UK needed to evolve towards a 'mature multiculturalism' that embraces cultural diversity while maintaining the basic rights owed to every individual in British society.

It's only by putting this [HBA] out in the public. [...] just as in 1999 [MacPherson Report], where there was a reluctance to talk about this for fear of being accused of being racist. Religious leaders, some Imams were scared of the state cause. And that's why I kept using that phrase, we need a mature multiculturalism that recognises that people have a right to their own cultural traditions, providing they don't interfere with the individual rights of members of that community. (Mike O'Brien)

Maz Idriss (academic) believed communities needed to be reminded what HBA is at every level. He outlined pragmatic questions around the meaning of consent and how it could be affected by different forms of pressure, such as emotional blackmail and other abusive behaviour. For Maz Idriss, these questions were crucial to understanding and challenging HBA.

I think the community need to be taught and educated at every level, people need to be reminded what honour-based abuse is. And it's that fine line where, you know, erm, consent, and then whether that consent was obtained because of pressure, err, moral pressure. I think people they [communities] need to be aware. (Maz Idriss)

Maz Idriss (academic) was not keen on the role media play in educating communities, as he felt they could sometimes demonise groups and communities.

However, he felt religious leaders had a large role to play in educating communities and that information should be readily available online; HBA should be discussed and taught through religious and interfaith groups, particularly the Imams who had unfettered access to communities.

I think media sometimes ... sensationalises some of this and demonises some communities. I think places of worship have a role. I think the authorities have a role; the community has a role. And I think that there should be seminars and information, which should be available. There should be online information available ... I think in cities with overwhelming percentage of Asian children ... Local authorities work with places of worship, and I think where there are inter-faith groups, they should also have a role, because I honestly think that Imams should be able to raise this. Every Friday they have unrestricted access to a huge number of people, and they can sit in the name of the Prophet and say anything they want. (Maz Idriss)

Like Maz Idriss (academic), Estelle Morris (politician) believed that the answer to dealing with HBA must come from within the community; if this could happen, nobody else would need to do anything to raise awareness of HBA. According to Estelle Morris, most community members, religious leaders, community leaders and residents, were driven by a desire to affect their community positively. Members of the community were better able to distinguish between right and wrong and the repercussions of wrongdoing.

I mean if the answer comes from the community if the change comes from within the community no one else needs to do anything about it ... I suspect, most members, religious leaders, members of the community are modern people wanting to succeed strive in where they live ... By helping people who are not from these communities to have a greater understanding of why it [HBA] happens. I suspect a lot of them don't understand, really understand, the forces which brings it [HBA] about. (Estelle Morris)

Furthermore, Jonny Mitchell (headteacher) and Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten (activist) like Estelle Morris also emphasised the significance of educating and training 'others' from outside these communities so that they might better comprehend the problem and its underlying causes. *"People assume that you only really need to know anything about this [HBA] if you live in a community where this thing is likely to happen. I think it's important that there's a general awareness, across the board."* (Jonny Mitchell) *"There's a lot of misinformation about honour-based abuse and*

honour-based violence, there's a huge opportunity for training to be delivered specifically targeting [...] non - Asian communities.” (Matthew Mahmood-Ogsten)

Sarah Newton (politician) posited that there needed to be more work carried out to train and educate across the board. Sarah Newton did not feel we should solely rely on the legal system to respond to HBA. Rather, education was key to combatting the issue. When things go wrong, the criminal justice system comes into play. Whilst perpetrators are within the criminal justice system, Sarah Newton viewed this as an opportunity to re-educate them.

From educating girls and families and boys about what good relationships are like, what the laws are of our country ... what rights people have got, you know right through education and employment, when perpetrators are in the criminal justice system again, we should see that as an opportunity to re-educate them.
(Sarah Newton)

It is interesting to note that, Diana Nammi (activist) highlighted the significance of educating and empowering women who come from migrant communities, in order to provide them with the resources necessary to recognise the detrimental behaviours associated with HBA. By using this medium, empowered women develop the capacity to think independently and make strategic decisions that challenge the status quo of patriarchy. *“What is more important is working with community and specially with women.”* (Diana Nammi)

Community Cohesion and Integration

Estelle Morris (politician) suggested a there was a clear lack of integration into host communities where the issue might be raised and discussed. Values are socialised, and when members of a community remain isolated within their community, there is less challenging of prejudice. In these cases, she believed it is a case of values taken to an extreme place encouraged by communal isolation.

Lack of integration into other communities. So, I think isolation, I think that is the problem, only meeting or only talking to people who confirm your prejudices. I think if I had to choose one thing, I'd put it down to communities being too isolated and not open enough to other people's views. (Estelle Morris)

Sarah Newton (politician) concurred with Estelle Morris (politician) that a root cause of HBA was the isolation of certain communities living apart from wider society. Isolation can prevent exposure to societal values, whilst language barriers can also limit access to educational opportunities. This might in turn mean individuals are not aware of their rights, responsibilities, and protections as members of British society. She made a striking comparison with LGBTQI+ people in Britain who, in the past, faced pressure either to marry and conform or to risk the social ostracisation of being different. She therefore made the point that HBA was not necessarily an unfamiliar problem in the UK. It is important to promote a socially accepting and inclusive society with cultural differences but at the same time we are all governed under British law and British values.

I think that some people are very isolated and are living apart from the rest of our community so while I think it's great that we welcome people from all over the world and we celebrate diversity, and we celebrate the fact that people have got all kinds of cultural backgrounds [...] how awful it must have been for people to [...] say they were going to be gay and the social norm was you know all men got married and had children, so I think this has happened in Britain over time and so it's not an unfamiliar problem. [...] promoting that inclusive society accepting that here are cultural differences but absolutely there are British laws and British values which everybody must abide by.
(Sarah Newton)

Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) also addressed the cultural differences that arose over time in communities separated from their cultures of origin.

Very closed off communities like bubbles within wider society, is it fear that's making them still inward looking? What are they trying to protect? Western culture has penetrated the societies there [back home] and they are way advanced. [...] we're still holding on to something, which is very different from back home. (Jaswant Narwal)

Mike O'Brien (politician) felt it was important to have influential guest speakers on migrant issues in places of worship. As part of the forced marriage initiative, British Asian members of the House of Lords such as Baroness Uddin and Lord Ahmed, as well as officials, spoke on the subject matter of HBA. They often found it very difficult and received a lot of back-lash from the communities which felt it was an attack on their culture. For Mike O'Brien, the UK needed to evolve towards a mature multiculturalism that embraced cultural diversity while maintaining the basic rights

owed to every individual in British society. Acceptance by the community is integral to creating a cohesive environment that promotes safeguarding of vulnerable victims of HBA. Shining a light on such matters in the heart of the community is the crucial first step in preventing the hidden phenomena of the damaging practices of patriarchy within the diaspora communities.

We have got to send people in to talk in the mosques. Naz Ahmed and Pola Uddin did. People from the Home Office, and later the Foreign Office, they hated it. They were Pakistani by background or, Bangladeshi and they had to deal with some of the kick back from the community. "You're attacking our community," err, "You're victimising us as a community," "You're advertising the fact that this is a problem in the community, and it makes people look down on us". That's why I kept using the phrase, we need a mature multiculturalism that recognises that people have a right to their own cultural traditions, providing they don't interfere with the individual rights of members of that community. (Mike O'Brien)

Maz Idriss (academic) perceived a critical role for mosques, but he lacked confidence in their commitment and capacity to be transformational communal players in the fight against HBA. The possibility of alienating community leaders and congregation surpasses the need to defend and protect the human rights of HBA victims. *"So, what role do mosques have to play? A massive role. Could they be very powerful and instrumental in challenging honour-based abuse, violence, or forced marriages? Absolutely. Will they allude to that task? I'm not very confident."* (Maz Idriss)

Summary of the Theme

According to most research participants, dissemination is arguably the primary function of a school. Unfortunately, the activists claimed, most schools have failed in this notion given that they have been unreceptive to charities' coming in to talk to their students about HBA. Some participants argued that the role of the school was to identify and offer support to children and young people experiencing HBA, with adequately trained teachers. Again, it was believed, that most teachers would/have fail/ed in this regard. The research participants hypothesised that the reason for the schools' reluctance to induct their students into HBA and address the fundamental issues, was the lack of training, and the fear of community and parental reprisals. When asked if HBA should be included in PSHE and Sex Education, the

overwhelming view amongst the research participants was, 'no.' They stated that these subjects were elective and that parents may opt their children out of them. There was a strong case across the board for including HBA awareness within other curriculum subject areas such as History, RE, Dance, and Drama. The research participants considered that strong government leadership, school awareness, and training of school staff were essential. Many of the communities have historically been isolated resulting in a fear of mixing with the wider society, resulting in the perpetuation of a patriarchal society where women are subjugated and seen as chattels rather than individuals with their own rights and freedoms.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter takes us on a journey which examines the origins of HBA, defines its practices, offers possible solutions and explores the route to eradication. The shackles of culture, patriarchy and power arrived with the diaspora community and continue to permeate due to isolation and fear of change. Gender based violence takes many forms, but HBA is specifically characterised by the fear that the female members will bring dishonour to the family and community. Damaging practices of HBA are carried out behind closed doors and a closed community. Combatting this secretive phenomenon requires proposals that tackle limitations in education, raising awareness, community integration, and political will. The next chapter presents a discussion on the findings to address the research questions.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion

This objective of this chapter is to examine the findings in light of the research questions. Prior to this point, the majority of research on HBA has been undertaken using library resources and a focus on anonymous survivor interviews capturing accounts of their experiences. The present study departs from conventional approaches by applying empirical methodologies and conducting non-anonymous interviews with key research participants (see Appendix 1) in order to elicit their unfiltered perspectives and expertise on preventing HBA. The overarching aim of this study was to explore the role of education in preventing honour-based abuse.

The research sub-questions were:

- 1) What is the nature and character of HBA? Who are the perpetrators and victims?
- 2) The impact of gender and patriarchy
- 3) What role does education play in developing an understanding of HBA?
- 4) What ramifications does this have for local and national policy?

What is Honour-Based Abuse?

According to Welchman and Hossain (2005) and Payton (2015), there is still no internationally recognised definition of HBA. Rather, the phrase is often used to refer to a sort of domestic abuse that is distinct by purpose and occurs exclusively amongst certain communities. HBA is a difficult notion that is described as a crime that has been excused or rationalised by its offender on the grounds that it was performed to defend or safeguard the family's honour. This absence of a common or consistent definition was reflected throughout the participants' interviews. The

majority of research (e.g., Gill, 2014, Roberts, Campbell and Lloyd, 2014, Welchman and Hossain, 2005) describe HBA as an act perpetrated to restore the honour of a family member who is thought to have brought dishonour to the family. Similarly, each respondent in this research started with a variant of the statement that HBA occurs when the honour of the family has been 'perceived' to be violated. Thus, the distinction between HBA and other forms of crime is based on its origins and motivations. All research participants were able to provide overarching examples of HBA (FGM, forced marriage, honour killing, financial control); most were also able to express more detailed specific reasons and motivations for HBA. However, participants with a South Asian background, personal experience of HBA and activists in the field were able to provide deeper reflections on specific causes and motivations of the phenomenon, namely coercion, culture, and patriarchy. According to Gill (2009), honour is a temporally and spatially variable symbolic and rhetorical construct. Therefore, it is not surprising that many participants had difficulty articulating their comprehensions in a manner that was brief and succinct. Even survivors/practitioners who had first-hand experience with HBA struggled to come up with a simple/specific definition. These results are comparable to those of Welchman and Hossain (2005), who stated that identifying HBA is often difficult, centred on motivation, and tends to emphasise the unusual character of violation. When talking about definitions in relation to HBA, interestingly Jasvinder (activist) raised the absence of a specific definition of HBA that accurately described the phenomenon of HBA whilst she was growing up and the impact it had on her. The inability to articulate what was happening resulted in a deep sense of fear and helplessness in not knowing what to do or whom to approach. Having a recognised and unified term not only gives identification to the phenomenon, but it is vitally important in giving survivors of HBA an accepted platform which addresses their traumatic experiences. Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office) was the only one of the 15 research participants (see Appendix 1) who talked about the importance of having a term/acronym to recognise the phenomenon of HBA. Christian Papaleontiou argued that the term HBA provided context and helped identify high risk cases, thus providing a tailored response to victims. Research participants frequently used the term HBA as an umbrella word to represent a number of offences, and the majority of respondents indicated that HBA includes both criminal and non-criminal offences.

Categorisation of Gender-Based Abuse

HBA has been compared to other types of gender-based violence including DV (Coomaraswamy, 2005). Although there are clear parallels between HBA and DV, there are also noteworthy differences in the characteristics of the abuse. These distinctions are essential to knowing, evaluating, and controlling risk (Payton, 2011). Sarah Newton (politician) equated HBA to DV, while Maz Idriss (academic) and Matthew Mahmood-Ogston (activist) drew attention to the overlap between HBA and HBV. However, their deliberations concluded that while HBV centres on enacting physical violence, HBA involves a broader spectrum of abuses including coercive control and emotional manipulation, not solely direct harm (Bates, 2021; Gill *et al.*, 2014). While some equate HBA with DV or HBV, closer examination reveals key nuances (Idriss, 2017). Unlike HBV's narrow focus on enacting physical harm, HBA encompasses an array of abuses including emotional manipulation and coercive control (Bates, 2021; Gill *et al.*, 2014). Furthermore, the involvement of extended families and communities, as well as pre-meditated coordination, differentiate HBA from the intimate partner dynamic typical of DV (Dyer, 2015; Idriss, 2017). At its core, HBA stems from a desire to uphold reputation through social control, distinguishing it from DV motivated by individual pathologies.

Adapting the ideas of Dyer (2015) and Idriss (2017), I agree that HBA should be distinct and there should be no significant overlaps with DV. As Payton (2010, p. 73) states: "it is a distinct phenomenon existing within its own parameters". During the investigation into the murder of Banaz Mahmood, more than 50 people were involved in the murder inquiry (Idriss, 2018). These resulted in immediate family, extended family, and community members. Therefore, it can be argued that HBA cannot simply be classified as a type of DV due to the wide variety of perpetrators involved in the perpetuation of HBA. Perpetrators of HBA may include both intimate partners and communal figures, so that the cross-government definition of DV is not accurate. Although it is easy to understand the necessity of avoiding perpetuating any cultural stereotypes regarding HBA, it is imperative to recognise the complexities behind this phenomenon to fully appreciate and safeguard victims.

Pervasive Nature of Honour-Based Abuse

Literature describes a variety of motivations or explanations for perpetrating these crimes against women and men. Idriss (2021), believes that both genders can be victims in order to avoid partnerships judged 'unsuitable' by family members and as a technique of managing undesired sexuality, which may include LGBTQI+ relationships, but refers mostly to the sexual activity of women (Brandon and Hafez, 2008). Sadia (activist) described HBA as beginning at birth and continuing throughout a women's life until death, as opposed to something that begins and ends with the conduct of abuse. The leading causes of HBA identified by the research participants (see Appendix 1) were disobedience and the relationship between 'Westernisation' and HBA, thus indicating that victims who strayed from traditional cultural values and adapted into Western civilization were at great risk of being subjected to HBA. As found in previous research (e.g., Chesler, 2010; Welchman and Hossain, 2005), the wearing of Western attire and dating someone outside the victim's race/ethnicity/religion were cited as direct causes of HBA. Similarly, the relationship between homosexuality and platonic interactions between males and females were said by participants also to be frequently direct sources of HBA. Research participants Jonny Mitchell (headteacher), Lis Bates (academic), Estelle Morris (politician), Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA), Maz Idriss (academic), Christian Paplaeontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office), Jasvinder Sanghera (activist), and Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor - CPS) also highlighted the isolation factor of HBA. HBA victims frequently make the decision to abandon their family and community in order to survive. By doing so, they may become a part of a dispersed community in desperate need of assistance and support. They may have been liberated from the limits of HBA by leaving the family unit, but their heroic foray into the wider Western world has been tainted by the emotional turbulence of navigating this unfamiliar environment. When attempting to circumnavigate a new culture separate from one's family and community, it can be argued that an individual suffers a profound loss of identity, which can lead to feelings of isolation and a deep bereavement process.

Human Rights

Consistent to the literature review, described elsewhere in this thesis, the findings of this study have highlighted that HBA is a grave violation of human rights, and that HBA is a microcosm of the pervasive patriarchal tendencies in society. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Human Rights Act (1998), which each comprise 30 articles, establish the rights of all people, regardless of location, race, gender, age, sexual orientation, or citizenship. Human rights legislation has always placed a major emphasis on safeguarding people against abuse in the public realm, and their interactions with the Government (Benninger-Budel, 2008). As a result, various types of violence against women, many of which are domestic in origin and related to the private domain, have been viewed as abuses of human rights that are not the responsibility of the State. Nevertheless, recent advancements in women's human rights have forced a re-examination of the ideological division between the public and private realms, and nations are now required to recognise the privatisation of human rights as a juridical truth (Benninger-Budel, 2008). Therefore, States are unable to just renege on their duties under international treaty law by asserting that all actions by private parties are not their responsibility. All research participants (see Appendix 1) in one way shape or form made the connection between human rights and the devastating impact on female victims, emphasising that HBA is a persistent and widespread human rights violation and that under the guise of honour, human rights are violated via forced marriage, oppression, honour killing, and restriction of education, amongst countless other acts of abuse. Coomaraswamy (2013) argues that HBA violates human rights in three distinct ways: failure to exercise due diligence, denial of equal protection, and torment. She further notes that discrimination against women contradicts the concept of equality of rights and respect for human dignity and is an impediment to women's participation in the political, social, economic, and cultural sphere, which impedes the growth of social and familial prosperity. Since women are the most frequent victims of HBA crimes, prejudice against women should be of a global concern (Gill, 2011). Even though many of these laws and acts have been in existence for many years, women's rights have been eroded. Despite the universality of human rights laws, many nations choose to reject them in favour of cultural values and continue to condone or overlook HBA and other abusive cultural practices that violate women's rights.

According to cultural relativism, a community's culture serves as the standard for determining the nature of its rights and HBA is defended as acceptable cultural standards (Zechenter, 1997). For instance, Pakistan sees over 1000 honour killing cases annually condoned under the guise of defending religious values (Hadi, 2017). Iraq's Article 409 allows reduced sentences for murders committed in the name of honour (AlQahtani *et al.*, 2022). In Iran, Sharia laws permit men to kill female relatives to defend morality with impunity (AlQahtani *et al.*, 2022). India witnesses thousands of cases of abuses, with the UNPF reporting that one in five honour killing cases reported internationally come from India each year (D'Lima, Solotaroff, and Pande, 2020). Estimates suggest socially sanctioned honour killings claim over 5,000 lives annually, though data is inadequate due to gross underreporting (Chesler and Bloom, 2012). It could be argued that it is the responsibility of the State to prevent HBA against women and to avoid cultural intrusion into the borders of protection.

South Asian Migration and Patriarchy – Back to the Roots

Honour based-abuse crimes are perpetrated for a variety of motives and purposes in various cultures stemming from patriarchal practices. The present findings corroborate a patriarchal gendered explanation of HBA that highlighted male authority and control over the autonomy and sexuality of women. It is argued that women's real, suspected, or potential sexual behaviour can result in conjugal authority over women as a preservation of family and community honour (Welchman, 2007), whereby the justification of social order is openly presented as a reason for oppressive patriarchal practices directed towards women. While the South Asian population is the focus of this study, other researchers have been quick to point out that HBA is not exclusive to that demographic (Baker *et al.*, 1999; Welchman and Hossain, 2005; Reddy, 2014). Using the standard feminist paradigm to explain HBA, all research participants (see Appendix 1) identified patriarchy as the lead underlying cause of HBA and that predominately HBA was present within South Asian communities. On occasions where the matriarch plays a significant role in practices of HBA it was argued by Jaswant (CPS Lead - HBA) and Palbinder (Detective Sergeant) that such behaviour is underpinned by patriarchal foundations whereby female perpetrators perpetuate HBA in order to retain the status quo of the family and patriarchal traditions. Cooney (2014) argues that patriarchy cannot be the sole

explanation for HBA, as it is a constant whereas violence is dynamic. Hence a static variable such as patriarchy cannot cause a dynamic act of violence. In addition, patriarchal explanations for female offenders, and for homosexual and male victims of HBA, are insufficient (Dogan, 2014).

Research participants discussed race and ethnicity, Mike O'Brien (politician), Maz Idriss (academic), Rachael Aplin (academic), Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor - CPS), Diana Nammi (activist) and Sadia Hameed (activist) claim that HBA is primarily a South Asian community crime but not exclusive to those diasporas. Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA), Estelle Morris (politician), and Maz Idriss (academic) argued that HBA is incorrectly associated with primarily South Asian cultures, maintaining that HBA also occurs in a variety of other communities, including Traveller, West African, and Eastern European cultures. This emphasises that HBA may find analogies outside the boundaries of ethnicity, so that it is crucial that practitioners think about HBA with an open mind. When ethnicity is permitted to decide the type of care and response a victim receives, the needs of victims who do not easily fit established stereotypes may be disregarded. For instance, Hester *et al.*, (2007) points out that the practice of associating forced marriage solely with individuals of South Asian origin contradicts research showing that it also occurs in African, Middle Eastern, Latin American, and Western civilisations and other areas of Asia.

Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) emphasised that HBA prevalence is not synonymous exclusively among South Asian communities. She also accentuated the notion of honour and its preponderance within close-knit Traveller communities. Clearly, it is important to state that the Travelling community itself is formed of a wide variety of groups; therefore, one should not generalise about a single community. There is little research on HBA within Traveller communities, and such research that does exist rarely uses the word 'honour' (see, for example, Cemlyn *et al.*, 2009; Allen and Forster, 2010; Allen, 2012). Nonetheless, there is a number of similarities, such as the concept of a close-knit community. In modern literature, the word honour has been discussed, and there are several connections to HBA. According to Friends, Families and Travellers (2017), female virginity was highly valued, and women and girls were responsible for maintaining the family's honour. Any loss of this distinction

might result in widespread dishonour that would be difficult or impossible to overcome. While empirical study is needed to demonstrate this further, recognising the above and the lack of exclusivity of the phenomenon demonstrates that South Asians do not have a monopoly on honour. Among the cases reported by participants at least, the majority of victims were young South Asian women (Dyer, 2015).

HBA has been strongly ingrained in cultural and societal conventions not just in rural South Asian villages, but all around the globe (Julios, 2015). Taking this into account, Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant) identified the impact of the historical nature of physical structures of South Asian villages and kinships and their promotion of operating closed communities. Many South Asians consider it as a given that children would adopt and accept particular behaviours, such as accepting an arranged or forced marriage. Those adolescents who contravene these norms are penalised. To preserve the integrity of a group, arguably mutual surveillance is needed to keep predominately female members of the community on the right moral path, thus resulting in both family and community members policing moral behaviour and honour codes.

Studies have shown that South Asian communities keep to their traditions, morals, and cultures even once migration has occurred, placing a strong emphasis on family and community connection as the major source of identity and protection (Idriss, 2007). Culture has a strong impact on our ideas and behaviours, which influences an individual's propensity to conduct ethically. It is undeniable that some migrants that have come from BAME communities have deeply entrenched views regarding cultural practices and the need to maintain cultural heritage strongly, underpinned through patriarchal beliefs and subjugation of females.

Integration is regarded to be a sensitive and crucial process whose success is difficult to assess owing to its inherent complexity. However, through this lens, Maz Idriss (academic) identified HBA practices in the UK as a direct result of reverse colonialism whereby culture and tradition have been transported to the host country and frozen in time. As an immigrant, it is natural to find solace and identity from the customs and ideas that were brought from 'back home'; Palbinder Singh (Detective

Sergeant) talks about this as a form of baggage deeply embedded in the psyche of the migrant.

Legislation

The application of a criminal justice response to all types of violence against women and girls has often succumbed to selective essentialism (Corvo and Johnson, 2003). Activists in the UK have been instrumental in bringing the issue of violence against women and girls to the forefront, grounded within human rights (Walklate, 2008). This has helped to position the issue of HBA within key policies addressing gender-based violence and inequality. The criminal justice system as a preventive strategy for HBA is a hotly debated topic that has been received with varied reactions. While the UK Government's response to honour killings as homicides is praiseworthy, UK law does not specifically acknowledge honour crimes that do not result in death. Criminalising HBA has been given consideration through government legislature, but it became apparent that criminalising HBA could potentially hinder victims from coming forward. Rather than empowering 'victims', the criminalisation of HBA actively might prevent individuals reporting instances of abuse (Southall Black Sisters, 2001). It has been argued that criminal law provides little practical protection for victims of HBA (Sabbe *et al.*, 2014).

As a then Government Minister, Mike O'Brien's (politician) intention was to criminalise HBA, but it was maintained that criminalisation would not have protected victims because they would be reluctant to criminalise their parents or family members if they felt that prosecution would be the result of their complaint. Kathrada (2014, p.106) refers to this as "the challenges of contrasting the delicate areas of justice and family loyalty." A complex dilemma arises in how to balance legal authority and criminal sanctions in a way that acknowledges the complexity of identity, family and community ties related to HBA, while still protecting the most vulnerable members of affected societies (Gill, 2009; Sabbe *et al.*, 2014).

There is limited research examining the utility of pursuing HBA through civil rather than criminal proceedings. Some argue a civil route may encourage reporting and better protect victims by providing a less intimidating process with a lower burden of

proof compared to criminal prosecution (Bates, 2018). However, others contend the civil system fails to adequately punish offenders or deter crime (Gill *et al.*, 2014).

On encouraging reporting, some note the higher evidentiary requirements and public nature of criminal trials may deter victims (Rew *et al.*, 2013). Civil injunctions and protection orders have a lower threshold of proof, while still restricting offenders' actions (Bates, 2018). This may allow victims to seek protection without fear of the criminal justice process. However, no empirical studies directly assess if civil remedies increase reporting rates.

Regarding victim protection, civil orders like non-molestation injunctions can prohibit offenders from contacting or approaching victims (Burton, 2008). Victims may feel safer with these restrictions in place. Yet some observe that offenders may still ignore such injunctions with the absence of rigorous enforcement (Gangoli *et al.*, 2006). On punishing offenders, critics argue civil proceedings like injunctions fail to adequately sanction criminal behaviour (Gill *et al.*, 2014). With no criminal record or custodial sentence, offenders may not be deterred. Though lower burdens of proof make legal victories more feasible, some contend this allows offenders to avoid appropriate criminal penalties (Cooney, 2014).

In terms of protecting the wrongly accused, the civil standard of a 'balance of probabilities' requires less proof than the criminal 'beyond reasonable doubt' threshold (Gill, 2014). This may benefit those falsely suspected of HBA. However, the majority of scholars emphasise civil measures must supplement, not substitute, proper criminal prosecution in severe cases where evidence permits (Bates, 2018; Gill *et al.*, 2014).

While civil remedies offer certain potential benefits, current research is limited and lacks definitive assessments. More rigorous empirical evaluation of civil versus criminal justice approaches would provide clearer insights into optimal policies to combat HBA.

Religion or Culture?

Indirect causes were described by the research participants as related to or associated with HBA. Similar to other studies (e.g., AHA Foundation, 2012; Ouis, 2009; Welchman and Hossain, 2005), the majority of research participants – Maz Idriss (academic), Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor - CPS), Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office), Diana Nammi (activist), Rachael Aplin (academic), and Lis Bates (academic) - connected HBA to culture, which was frequently characterised in terms of race and ethnicity. Matthew Mahmood-Ogston (activist) was not fully clear regarding the boundaries of religion and culture. Others argued that HBA has nothing to do with religion and is a pervasive type of violence against women in patriarchal societies under the guise of religion - Estelle Morris (politician), Sarah Newton (politician), and Jonny Mitchell (headteacher). No major religion endorses committing murder to regain one's honour (Metlo, 2012). Within this context, the notion of HBA is intimately associated with virginity, loyalty, and humility, which are regarded as virtues in some faiths. However, violence motivated by honour has no religious foundation. HBA is linked to a systematic cultural psychopathology stemming from the ingrained atavistic customs, cultures, and beliefs of certain migrant communities. Whereas domestic violence in general is explained in terms of an individual's desire for power and control, violence committed in the name of honour is linked to deeper cultural infiltration (Walker, 2018). Interestingly, the subject of HBA turned to Islam and Muslims; Mike (politician) argued that whilst HBA is not specifically a 'Muslim' problem, studies do show that HBA disproportionately affects individuals from a Muslim heritage. This may be a result of the UK's substantial South Asian Muslim community (Bates, 2017). While it may be true that HBA does not impact all Muslim communities in the same way, saying that it occurs in some segments of these populations lends credibility, however unknowingly, to the notion that it has a theological base. Consequently, although it is correct to state that HBA is present in almost all Muslim and Muslim-dominated civilizations, the prevalence of HBA varies significantly across nations (Idriss, 2011).

Victim Gender and Patriarchal Control Through the Lens of Patriarchy

According to research, the majority of victims are female (HMIC, 2015), although there are also male victims (Aplin, 2021). The proportion of male victims in the UK is estimated to range between 4% (Gill *et al.*, 2009) and 26% (Home Office, 2020). The consensus among all research participants (see Appendix 1) was that the HBA phenomenon predominately affected women, with men being subjected to HBA due to their mental health or sexual orientation. Research participants did recognise male victims of HBA, but implied, as did the literature, that their experiences were not directly equivalent to those of women. Idriss (2021), believes that both genders can be victims by family members in order to avoid partnerships judged by them as unsuitable, and as a technique to manage undesired sexuality, which may include LGBTQI+ relationships; nonetheless, HBA refers mostly to the sexual activity of females (Brandon and Hafeez, 2008).

According to the research participants (see Appendix 1), the planning of crimes, the assistance of family members, and the concept of shame all played a significant role in the actions of HBA.

At first glance, it may appear that Palbinder (Detective Sergeant) was describing little more than 'curtain twitchers.' However, the usage of the word 'loose tongue' strongly suggests more than simple curiosity. A woman's body is depicted in a wide sense as a source of power requiring continual monitoring, surveillance, and discipline (Gill, 2007). Specifically, Palbinder explored the notion of communal surveillance of women which has been identified in previous academic research (Gangoli *et al.*, 2006). This can function as a form of informal social control, which affects women on average more frequently than men (Carlen, 1995). Since gossip is "at the core of a family's code of honour" (Awwad, 2001, p. 45), the behaviours and actions described by Palbinder can have severe consequences for victims.

In order to prevent instances of shame and disgrace within communities, the research participants emphasised that male family members are taught through honour codes to uphold systems of concepts based on male dominance, patriarchy, and family honour and respect. Due to the fact that their female counterparts are

regarded to represent respect, men are intuitively trained to monitor the behaviour of women. Arguably, victims of HBA, especially women, are rendered defenceless. Men are expected to take the initiative in safeguarding the honour of their families and/or communities in many cultures.

It can be argued that gender roles and duties are reinforced across society, it is increasingly difficult for women to fight injustices. Taking into account all of these factors, it is plainly obvious that there is an urgent need for treatments that, first, tackle gender role misunderstandings in HBA and, second, strive to diminish culture and religious explanations, which may help to strengthen the offenders' ideas.

The research participants interview data suggests the dynamics of power and control in HBA instances and illustrate the complexity of the interactions between survivors and their perpetrators. The research data points towards the recognition that patriarchal views are vitally important in regard to HBA and its practices. All research participants (see Appendix 1) were unequivocally clear that men were responsible for HBA in order to demonstrate authority, and dominance through a patriarchal lens. The findings corroborate previous studies showing that patriarchy, along with other kinds of VAWG (Welchman and Hossain, 2005; Reddy, 2008; Begikhani *et al.*, 2010, 2015), is a significant contributor to HBA.

Whilst research has largely conceptualised patriarchy as an enabling structure for HBA that positions women as victims, in addition to recognising that patriarchy was the main driving force behind HBA, all participants (see Appendix 1) contended that women may also serve as active perpetrators of the social norms underpinning such violence. Though acknowledging the extensive literature on women's vulnerable positioning as victims, all research participants (see Appendix 1) concurrently argued for recognition of some women's complicity in sustaining the patriarchal value systems that engender HBA practices. These results are not new, but rather, they corroborate previous research showing that women might be pressured into engaging with HBA practices (Kandiyoti, 1988; Akinpar, 2003; Balzani, 2010; Aplin, 2017; Bates, 2018). The findings in this study reveal that in addition to men, women may and do initiate abuse of other women; like their male counterparts, women can be ruthless and without remorse (Chesler, 2009).

Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) contends that there is insufficient factual information to make a conclusive statement in regard to matriarchal HBA practices, particularly because she feels there are some shifting tendencies. Jaswant Narwal highlights a particular high-profile case (the Athwal Case, 2007), which confirms that women can be perpetrators (see also Rukhsana Naz [1999] and Shafilea Ahmed [2003] cases). British-Indian, Surjit Kaur Athwal was killed in an honour killing in India. In this case, the mother-in-law was confirmed as the perpetrator and the matriarch of the family. In all her career, Jaswant Narwal, has never seen a HBA case where women are seen as acting alone. She attributes this to the patriarchal structure of these communities where a woman's voice carries less weight and has minimal power over the management of her household. In addition to others embracing patriarchal beliefs, this demonstrates how certain women may be compelled to submit to the patriarchal system; others may bargain with patriarchy to protect their own existence (Kandiyoti, 1988; Stanko, 1990; Hunnicutt, 2009). Some women may use violence against other women to promote their own power or position, however this is deep-rooted in patriarchy.

When specifically asked who the female perpetrators would be, the general agreement across all research participants (see Appendix 1) was that mothers and mothers-in-law were the major players in propagating HBA against women. Diana Nammi (activist) cited two instances, the first being that of Rukhsana Naz, whose mother held her legs while her brother strangled her to death. Second, in the case of Heshu Yones, whose mother left her alone with her father to kill her, knowing that a barbarous deed was going to occur.

Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant) argues that many women as victims themselves perpetuate these forms of abuse later in life. Having gone through these experiences, they have either become 'indoctrinated' or perhaps even wholeheartedly believe in its value. While this research has not delved further into the reasons or agency of female perpetrators, it does reveal two aspects. First, research suggests female offenders do not constitute a single, homogeneous group. Women abusers take on several roles in these situations, as Elden (2011) has observed, and these positions may refer to various internal power connections within families that are still not fully understood. There is evidence of both female solidarity and

advocacy on behalf of the victim. This shows that there is a danger of not recognising the many roles that females may play in perpetrating abuse, similar to the concerns identified by other academics (e.g., Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010) in viewing all BME abuse as essentially same.

This supports the intersectional idea that female offenders should not be seen as a single, homogenous group but rather as several distinct individuals whose acts are impacted by a variety of variables (Anthias and Yuval-Davies, 1992). Even though they may not be the primary perpetrators, these women seem complicit or complaisant in the maltreatment of their family members (Bates, 2017). Research participant Rachael Aplin (academic) argues that silence must not be mistaken for compliance. Possible causes include self-interest or dread (Payton, 2014), female relatives avoiding stigma by affiliation (Aplin, 2017), and navigating through patriarchal negotiation (Kandiyoti, 1988).

Balzani (2010) asserts that certain women can embody and carry out hegemonic masculinity in service of a patriarchal gender system. Clearly, the idea of women acting as honour guards is loaded with peril. This behaviour by women reveals, from a theoretical sense, the inadequacies of patriarchal reasons for mistreatment. Furthermore, existing feminist theories do not address the power dynamics of HBA (Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Kimmel, 2002; Saunders, 2002; Carney *et al.*, 2007; Bates, 2017). The basis of these ideas is that the majority of female-initiated violence is carried out in self-defence. Practitioners should recognise that collectivity may trump gender, and resist using their own opinions and beliefs in gendered stereotypes to detract attention from persons who may be perpetrating the abuse. Despite female members' engagement in the commission of HBA, Aplin (2017) reveals that officers are bound by gender-role assumptions, which hinders practitioners' ability to identify genuine perpetrators. The Home Office's (2014) definition of HBA extends beyond the concept of family to encompass females, neighbours, and community members. Practitioners must conceptualise the notion of collective responsibility as existing along a continuum rather than as a binary construct. This allows for greater appreciation of the manifold ways in which this phenomenon manifests within different socio-cultural contexts. As the participants contend, fully understanding the persistence of HBA requires nuanced analysis that

transcends deterministic categorisation of women as either victims or perpetrators. Research largely positions women as passive victims within oppressive patriarchal structures that engender practices like HBA. However, it has been debated that women occupy multifaceted and complex positioning in either resisting or potentially enabling elements that sustain HBA. Adopting a continuum view of collective responsibility resists simplification and allows examination of women's diverse agency within the patriarchal systems underpinning HBA. To put an end to HBA, all its perpetrators should be punished, even the women who may pander to it for their own individualistic and personal reasons (Aplin, 2017).

Role and Trigger for Engaging with Honour-Based Abuse

All of the research participants (see Appendix 1) within this research were experienced professionals, policy makers and key stakeholders with years of experience in their respective fields. Several research participants, namely Diana Nammi, (activist) Jasvinder Sanghera (activist), Matthew Mahmood-Ogston (activist), and Sadia Hameed (activist), who led local and national support organisations, were themselves HBA survivors and past service users. The objective of expert interviews was to uncover insider knowledge (Doring, 2021). Each participant's positionality was extremely important to this research as their expert knowledge was imperative to finding meaning and understanding of the phenomenon in relation to the research question.

Four of the fifteen participants, Diana (activist), Jasvinder (activist), Sadia (activist), and Matthew (activist), had the dual functionality of being survivors and key stakeholders in the field of HBA. The duality provided a powerful platform in sharing their expertise to create and direct change. It also provided a deep inside knowledge as to how to support victims of HBA. Some of the research participants, Maz Idriss (academic), Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA), Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor - CPS), Jasvinder Sanghera (activist), Sadia Hameed (activist) and Palbinder Singh (Detective Sergeant) were born and raised in South Asian diaspora communities, giving them a profound cultural awareness of the phenomenon and enabling them to have a deeper understanding of the complexities that are faced by South Asian communities. They can apply a dual perspective, comprehending both

the devastating effects of HBA on its victims as well as understanding the patriarchal and cultural mechanisms that drive HBA.

Through their individual career choices, all of the participants, in one way shape or form, have made significant contributions to combatting HBA, whether through academia, policy making, legislature or activism; they have changed the landscape so the voices of the victims can be heard.

Blue Sky Thinking

All research participants were asked for their thoughts about their imagined ideal if they oversaw the UK budget for eradicating HBA. The participants provided a plethora of creative ideas with no limits. All respondents emphasised that a shift in cultural attitudes is necessary for an effective response to the HBA phenomenon. Due to the research hypothesis of this study and the preliminary conversations, it was not much of surprise that the initial simple reaction was that education was the overarching theme. However, as the interviews progressed the participants were able to provide some innovative options/solutions without fetters.

Palbinder (Detective Sergeant) recommended a specialist police unit with sufficient resources to tackle HBA, ensuring that officers that were assigned to the unit were fully trained and “courageous enough to do so.” The use of the term courageous was a powerful intervention during the interview as the complexity of HBA and the tackling of cultural competency is a tall order. The primary objective of the police is to enhance the safety and well-being of individuals and communities (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015). Despite the understanding that reform must build linkages between services and communities (Brunton-Smith *et al.*, 2018), addressing this is a formidable obstacle. As with all units, the expectation would be to collaborate with community specialists to enhance the police forces’ knowledge of HBA and assist officers in efficiently combatting the phenomenon, thus improving services for victims. Services must be culturally responsive and accessible (Idriss, 2018). Lis Bates (academic) and Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) equally emphasised the police’s pinnacle role in eradicating HBA. The need for comprehensive data and specialist advisors within police forces helps to establish an empirical case to understand the

instances and pervasiveness of HBA within the diaspora communities. The restricted breadth of existing data likely conceals the full magnitude of the issue (Baird, 2020).

Higher visibility of HBA within the police force is only one part of the solution. In tandem with robust policing there must be government will and higher visibility of HBA within the corridors of power. Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) advocated the need to appoint an Honour-Based Abuse Commissioner. Having a non-departmental government organisation advocating for the rights of HBA victims should guarantee that these heinous crimes are acknowledged and that the sector benefits from significant government influence.

Equally, research participant Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) argued that there was an imperative need for HBA to be on the Ofsted framework and not just stay a guidance for schools to consider. Years of campaigning by Karma Nirvana and other charities has resulted in very little movement within this agenda as the belief was/is that PSHE and RSE will bridge the gap and will sufficiently meet the needs. This is clearly not the case; as the present research participants are of the view that the current efforts of PSHE and RSE are inadequate. The role of Ofsted is critical in ensuring that the needs of children and young people are met, but it can be argued that by addressing HBA through guidance rather than a legislative structure, Ofsted is breaching its core principles.

Grassroot level organisations and charities comprise another weapon in the armoury to tackle HBA, but lack of funding is an ongoing issue within the NGO sector. Short-term funding pots do not provide long term solutions. There is evidence that charities offering specialised services to ethnic minority groups are hit most by budget cuts (Imkaan, 2015), thus resulting in a persistently cash-strapped HBA sector (Julios, 2015), which poses a variety of difficulties for charities and victims alike. Diana Nammi (activist) and Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) advocated a well-structured financial position for the non-profit sector so that it could appropriately serve victims, and plan and adapt in response to social and political changes. This is very much needed as the focus on short-term funding makes it difficult to address long term problems. Charities endure enormous hardship in the grant-seeking process, which is

notoriously difficult and highly competitive thus resulting in situations of uncertainty (Imkaan, 2015).

As a singular voice Sarah Newton (politician) was the only participant who argued that enough funding and resources were in place adequately to deal with the phenomenon of HBA. Sarah's divergence of opinion was in sharp contrast to the rest of the voices within this research. The remainder fourteen research participants felt that the existing approach was lacking and that there were areas for improvement.

School Based Education and Training

Every participant in the study emphasised the need of school-based teaching as a way of boosting public awareness of the problem and encouraging long-term HBA reduction. A Home Affairs Select Committee report in 1975, on Abuse in Marriage, emphasised the need to address VAWG through educational institutions, so this conclusion is not a novel one (Refuge, 2008). Schools are regarded as the optimal learning environment (Refuge, 2008) for questioning the attitudes and concepts that promote HBA, however, doing so remains laden with many obstacles.

The importance of school-based teaching and learning of HBA via PSHE and RSE was discussed with all research participants. Several of the participants, Mike O'Brien (politician), Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office), and Jonny Mitchell (headteacher), asserted that HBA education in schools was not given enough prominence. They emphasised the impact of austerity, making fewer alternative sources of knowledge for students accessible owing to budget cuts (Unison, 2016), and also referred to considerable curriculum time constraints.

Many strategies for eradicating HBA were proposed by the research participants. All research participants (see Appendix 1) were unanimous in their belief that cultural shifts are necessary to end violence against women and girls alongside emphasising the necessity for universal primary preventive interventions designed to influence attitudes and behaviours towards HBA. Education was cited by all research participants as a key component in achieving this goal. It was agreed that priority should be given to addressing young persons who are more susceptible to modifying

purposeful behaviours depending on the attitudes around them. Given the age, nature, and variety of the student population in contemporary Britain today, educational institutions should be obligated to educate students within a human rights framework on how to obtain assistance for HBA, as they are in the age range most susceptible to HBA. The conclusion from all research participants was that this could be accomplished through educational initiatives.

The present UK Government has acknowledged the need to raise awareness of addressing inequality and building positive relationships. The literature review refers to educational programmes such as 'This is Abuse' and 'Disrespect NoBody', so that the State is arguably being proactive in delivering school based educational programmes that target damaging behaviours. However, these initiatives do not specifically address nor understand the complex nature of HBA due to pervasive, hidden and 'normalised' honour codes within the South Asian diaspora communities. Honour codes for such communities is a way of life and generalised educational programmes have limited efficacy.

After six years of debate by Lord Nash through the parliamentary legislature process the Government decided that, as a component of safeguarding, HBA ought to be incorporated within the school curriculum, ultimately making it mandatory for schools to include HBA instruction in PSHE and RSE (Mahendru, 2019). The current major reform of PSHE and RSE has no doubt raised some challenges across school systems whereby schools have received backlash from communities who believe that the new legislative guideline contradicts their cultural and religious values (Calvert, 2020). Diana (activist) and Jasvinder (activist) stated that many schools avoid discussing HBA out of fear of family and community retaliation and being labelled racist. This is a reason of concern since the schools most likely to be fettered from teaching HBA are those with high numbers of students from BAME backgrounds. Equally of concern is the lack of official recognition, and no defined curriculum for PSHE and SRE, with schools being allowed to construct their own curriculum in accordance with the interests of parents and the communities that they serve (Heah, 2019). Indeed, Jasvinder (activist) highlighted that when parents felt that their cultural and religious needs are being contravened through PSHE and RSE instruction, they can ultimately exercise their parental right to exclude their child from this element of

the curriculum. Bearing in mind that the victims of HBA are more likely to be from a BAME background, this egregious act of exclusion effectively places a barrier for the child in accessing crucial knowledge to safeguard and inform future decision-making, effectively removing the tools at their disposal to recognise and combat the invidious nature of HBA. This results in HBA educational practices becoming a casualty which does not assist the feminist theory objective of ethnic minority population equality.

Noting the preceding, interestingly the majority of research participants, namely Lis Bates (academic), Maz Idriss (academic), Jasvinder Sanghera (activist), Estelle Morris (politician), Diana Nammi (activist), and Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Officer) considered that integrating HBA education across other curriculum subjects was significantly more useful than limiting it to just PSHE and RSE. They emphasised the inadequacy of the current efforts of the curriculum and noted that there were varied opportunities across the board to introduce the topic of HBA within other subject areas, namely Drama, History and Religious Education (RE). For example, the Sharaf Heroes Project in the United Kingdom and Sweden, where role-play through drama demonstrated how the approach of role play may have a substantial influence on young people and help destroy patriarchal notions that support sexism (Thaper-Bjorkert, 2006; Hall, 2014; Julios 2015). Kvinnoforum (2005) also posits that schools should offer the opportunity for discussion forums, role-play, and group work to equip children and young people with the necessary skills to seek help and combat gender stereotyping.

All research participants (see Appendix 1) believed that school-based preventative programmes targeting healthy and unhealthy relationship patterns, encouraging zero tolerance for HBA through altering norms related with this crime, and reducing gender stereotypes would be advantageous. This strategy would aid in ingraining a concept of gender equality within the framework and will act as an effective primary preventative tool. This type of instruction might help youngsters develop a negative opinion of HBA, hence reducing the possibility that they would commit or tolerate HBA in or outside their communities. To lessen occurrences of HBA, it is vital to address children's views that are congruent with patriarchy and male domination.

It is difficult to establish the efficacy of preventative education projects due to a lack of thorough and systematic evaluation (Ellis, 2004). Where assessments do exist, they are often qualitative and on a small size, providing very limited insight (see, for example, Hester and Westmarland, 2005). This lack of evaluation should not deter the educational setting from shining a light on the harmful practices of HBA.

Adequate teacher training on HBA was also a key factor of debate by the research participants (see Appendix 1). All were in agreement that teachers and trainee teachers required mandatory and sufficient training to ensure that they were able to spot signs and symptoms of HBA in their pupils. Currently, HBA is not a mandatory part of the Initial Teacher Training (ITT) curriculum within the UK. Due to the absence of mandated teacher training in this subject area, schools are expected to adapt and develop their own coping strategies and methodologies to ensure that learners are safeguarded appropriately. There is a huge risk here, as inadequate understanding and misconceptions of this subject matter can mean life or death for an individual.

The first approach is to instil the notion that all teachers must undertake robust safeguarding training. HBA is acknowledged as a safeguarding concern, but currently ITT providers are free to offer the safeguarding curriculum content in whichever way they deem suitable. There is no stipulation that HBA must be taught as a core topic. Due to the heterogeneous makeup of the UK, all teachers should anticipate having BAME students in their classes. Therefore, their training should reflect this reality by placing an emphasis on high-quality education and training on how to help and support BAME/HBA students. Recognising children's differing cultures and experiences is crucial within schools; embedding HBA awareness into its culture allows the educational establishment better to meet the needs of its student demographics, thus overcoming any misconceptions surrounding HBA that might exist.

Karma Nirvana (2017) believes that mandatory teacher training (ITT), should place a higher priority on HBA within the core curriculum of safeguarding, followed by compulsory ongoing continuous professional development (CPD) for staff to continue to raise the profile of HBA within the school environment. To ensure that teachers are able to fully engage in their CPD training, it is essential that they have access to

opportunities to expand their own knowledge and expertise of the complexities of HBA. This includes both financially supported courses and the flexibility to study and work around other curriculum commitments. Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office) and Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) both argued for the importance of having top-down leadership to give HBA high visibility within the educational sector. Engagement is vital at the senior leadership level in order to assist schools to institutionalise a culture where HBA awareness is valued highly. It is important to realise that the difficulties surrounding HBA go much beyond whether education on the subject is required or not. Although making PSHE and RSE mandatory is a critical step in the right direction, Jasvinder Sanghera (activist) and Christian Papaleontiou (Senior Civil Servant - Home Office) highlight that it must be supported through strong leadership and ensuring that individuals administering programmes on HBA are professional, confident, and knowledgeable on the subject matter.

Community Based Education and Integration

The research participants discussed in great depth the necessity of preventative education, public awareness-raising, and active community participation. Despite the fact that each of these solutions offered substantial advantages, there were significant obstacles to their adoption. Consistent with the findings of research on HBA (see Chantler *et al.*, 2017; Idriss, 2017; SafeLives, 2017), academics have acknowledged the need for expanded efforts in awareness-raising and community involvement. Effective community participation can have several advantages, since the term 'community' has been identified as a crucial location for dialogues about decreasing and eliminating HBA (Fullwood, 2002, p. 34). According to Whitaker *et al.*, (2006) and Idriss, (2021) there is a widespread dearth of empirical data on the efficacy of community based HBA prevention programmes that have been proved beneficial. We have to remember we are talking about sections of the community who historically have been somewhat isolated. In order to access these communities, we have to break down established barriers and importantly we have to have uncomfortable conversations about HBA - conversations such as patriarchy and the rights and freedoms of oppressed female members of their society.

Generally, the State intervening in the private sphere of citizens lives has always been a contentious issue. Ethnic minority communities view the State with suspicion and have felt that historically the State has not treated BAME communities fairly. There could be an argument for this suspicion of the State especially when we look at the Windrush scandal Abbot, (2018) in the UK. Regardless of pushback and perceived cultural sensitivities, the State must continue to combat HBA in its various manifestations. Ultimately, HBA is a crime against vulnerable members of our community and should be addressed robustly through State mechanisms and law enforcement. The most recent HMIC report (2020), suggests that community participation may help the police to gather intelligence about HBA, and enable them to communicate crucial messages or guidance to impacted populations. The police have a crucial role to play here, by using various media to communicate key messages to engage with communities that practice honour codes, and to shine a light on the harmful practices of HBA. Undeniably, prevention is a key pillar of policing, but in order for BAME communities to 'buy into' the key messages, there needs to be an element of confidence and trust in the police. Historically some minority ethnic and immigrant communities in the UK have harboured suspicions toward the police and perceived systemic racism across certain public institutions and policies (Bowling and Phillips, 2002). This brings challenges around how they can operate and infiltrate these communities. Mike O'Brien (politician) reflected on how, in the aftermath of the MacPherson report (1999), police were hesitant to accept the accusation of institutional racism, and thought they were individually being accused of racism. The report highlighted systemic failures in how the force investigated violence against ethnic minorities (MacPherson, 1999). Such findings contributed to enduring perceptions among some communities that racism exists within policing institutions, policies, and procedure in a way that disproportionately impacted minority communities (Souhami, 2013). This clearly had a detrimental impact on combatting HBA effectively, because the communities they are trying to penetrate and educate about their harmful behaviours are the very same communities who have felt themselves victimised by the police. These accusations of racism against the police are further compounded through the lack of widespread knowledge and awareness of HBA within police forces (Hall, 2014; Begikhani *et al.*, 2015). There are instances where police officers do not understand HBA, how it presents itself, and how they should respond to victims (Idriss, 2017). To address

these shortcomings in recent years, police forces have implemented training programs to address the complex issue of HBA. However, it can be argued that there continues to be significant limitations as Palbinder Singh's (Detective Sergeant), first-hand accounts of HBA training, highlight significant flaws in the curriculum's ability to provide accurate and nuanced guidance for officers. Furthermore, he described the content as highly 'inaccurate' and 'misleading' in portraying the intricacies of HBA. He concluded that these well-intentioned but deficient training programs may reinforce prejudices and fail to enhance officers' practical understanding of handling HBA cases sensitively. Clearly, developing an improved police training programme on HBA requires close consultation and partnership with BAME advocacy groups thus creating evidence-based curricula that provide nuanced and balanced perspectives on this complex issue.

The State and the police are not the only players in tackling HBA; third sector organisations and charities also play a role in educating communities about the damaging practices of HBA. However, Jaswant Narwal (CPS Lead - HBA) and Diana Nammi (activist) emphasised that the lack of sustained funding within the non-profit sector was greatly impacted by austerity and related government cuts. This lack of funding means that policies at the grass roots level, which may well be successful in raising awareness and education of HBA, cannot be sustained over the long term due to short term funding resources.

Raising awareness within the community of HBA must also involve key individuals within the BAME community. The majority of the research participants advised including local leaders and religious leaders in the fight against HBA. They stated that this is significant since many individuals lack a thorough comprehension of their faith, as many are of the belief that violence is acceptable or even expected as a norm. All research participants (see Appendix 1) were of the opinion that communities are more willing to listen to religious leaders than perceived State-sanctioned enforcers (police) and that cultural capital within the community may also be used as preventative measures to combat HBA. Whilst the majority of research participants, Diana Nammi (activist), Mike O'Brien (politician), Maz Idriss (academic), Jonny Mitchell (headteacher), Matthew Mahmood-Ogston (activist), Sadia Hameed (activist), Sarah Newton (politician), Rachael Aplin (academic), Jaswant Narwal (CPS

Lead – HBA), and Jasbinder Sidhu (Senior Policy Advisor - CPS) agreed that HBA is not religious but rather cultural, they did however acknowledge that perpetrators could/would cite religion as a justification for inflicting HBA. Some research participants, Matthew Mahmood-Ogston (activist), Rachael Aplin (academic), and Lis Bates (academic) identified this as a genuine misinterpretation of scriptures as no religion condones HBA.

Throughout this thesis, it has been maintained that HBA is not a theological phenomenon but rather a social one that occurs in many societies. If HBA is committed as a result of a misplaced religious conviction, then enlisting the aid of faith-based organisations to oppose this looks to be a conceptually desirable option. Religious and community leaders have long served as gatekeepers for populations afflicted by HBA (Southall Black Sisters, 2001). However, research cautions that members of affected communities enlisted as advisers may occasionally be complicit in reinforcing, rather than ameliorating, problematic practices associated with HBA (HMIC, 2015; Chishty, 2015). While many community members fully condemn HBA, some may hold more ambivalent or nuanced stances based on cultural justifications (Jafri, 2008). Nevertheless, most scholars warn against assuming all those from affected backgrounds are complicit. Community input is still vital (Balzani, 2010). Regardless of the above, many of the research participants identified that using places of worship as a conduit for engaging the community would allow a greater opportunity for community cohesion. Mike O'Brien (politician) articulated public discussion of HBA, and the inclusion of prominent community members was the best way to raise awareness despite the risks of uncomfortable conversations and unpleasant accusations.

Estelle Morris's (politician) and Sarah Newton's (politician) comments demonstrate how the collective (i.e. the community) wields power over individuals when members of the community remain isolated, which can increase opposition to change. Maz Idriss's (academic) thoughts reveal that some mosque leaders may hesitate to speak out against HBA due to potential backlash from conservative elements within their diverse communities, despite having a platform to raise awareness, further highlighting that community dynamics may allow HBA practices to endure, despite faith spaces having potential to drive change. Rather than a lack of faith in mosques,

Maz Idriss (academic) points to pressures from within communities that can silence religious leaders on addressing HBA.

This problematically creates a potentially harmful scenario since it enhances the susceptibility of victims, who may continue unsupported for an extended amount of time. In addition, it is assumed that religious or communal leaders speak for the whole community when messages are delivered exclusively via them. However, communities are not monoliths, and basing an interaction strategy on the presumption that they are would be misguided. Rather, there is a need for tactics of community participation that are broad and comprehensive, and that target various sectors with audience-appropriate messaging. For instance, a study on community attitudes of HBA uncovered age disparities and demonstrated that younger generations had limited confidence in religious leaders (Samad and Eade, 2002). The aforementioned problems might be alleviated by using tactics for community-wide awareness-raising that are effective with various demographic groups. However, this again becomes more challenging in practice.

Sarah Newton (politician) emphasised the need to re-educate HBA offenders inside the criminal justice system. There are currently no programmes designed explicitly to treat the behaviour of HBA offenders. Due to the communal nature of the phenomenon, HBA creates distinct difficulties. Programs designed to target the behaviour of a single individual, (DV scenario) for instance, are unlikely to be effective. Instead, it may be necessary to interact with others outside the actual perpetrator(s) in order to tackle the belief systems and social norms that legitimise HBA, thus highlighting the frightening communal and community driven aspect of HBA.

Interestingly, Diana Nammi (activist) was the only participant to raise the need to empower and educate women from migrant communities. In doing so, she emphasises that if women are taught their rights, they will be stronger and better equipped to seek remedy if they are victims of HBA. Supporting women to develop the capacity to think independently and make strategic decisions allows them the opportunity to challenge the status quo of patriarchy. Education is a powerful instrument for the liberation and empowerment of women (Qasim and Singh, 2014).

Idriss (2017) believes that community education projects on HBA should ideally be administered by members of such communities, which may be accomplished through the employment of professionals from ethnic minorities. Mike O'Brien (politician) sheds light on the difficulty of selecting persons to interact with ethnic minority populations on the subject matter of HBA. On the one hand, it is necessary to have members of that community who have a knowledge of the group's customs, values, and beliefs; on the other hand, it may be difficult to locate such individuals owing to a desire to avoid being shunned and receiving backlash from the community. This is not to imply that community engagement techniques with minority ethnic populations are unachievable; rather, it is to emphasise that such endeavours require careful consideration of both the target communities and the messengers. When communicators are viewed as dependable, trustworthy, and comparable to the audience, attitude shifts are more likely to occur (McGuire, 1985). In addition, successful community engagement should motivate communities to take responsibility for challenges and solutions (Baobaid, 2010). Nevertheless, there is a fine line between this and releasing the State from its responsibility to protect ethnic minority women from patriarchal abuse (Siddiqui, 2016).

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This final chapter sets out the interpretations and contributions of this research, research limitations, contribution to knowledge, impact on policy and practice and suggestions for further post-doctoral research. The primary objective of this thesis was to answer the question; *What is the role of education in preventing honour-based abuse?* By delving into what can only be described as a diverse but inconclusive subject area, the study has addressed some of the most pressing concerns about HBA and the role of education.

Towards achieving the above, the study gathered the perspectives, and experiences, of key research participants in order to gain a deeper understanding of the role of education in preventing HBA. Furthermore, this research provided an in-depth analysis of the origins, instances, and perpetuations, of HBA focusing on the South Asian diaspora, and examined through the lens of feminist theory.

The literature review revealed that, despite the existence of some research on HBA in the UK and worldwide, there is a paucity of research that focuses only on the role of education in preventing HBA. Despite the need for more research in this understudied area, the present work has contributed to the relevance and direction of future research.

Within the sphere of HBA research, there has been a number of influential studies that have sought to shine a light on the phenomenon of HBA. Whilst they provided a range of persuasive messages and enabled me as a researcher to further contribute to the enrichment of the sociological phenomenon of HBA, in comparison, their methodological scope was somewhat narrow. I felt that if we were to better understand the phenomena of HBA it was imperative to include stakeholders within the pool of my participants to leverage their positions and drive systemic change at both a macro and micro level.

Thus, research has shown that whilst society wide statutory remedies seek to address harm within society, when policy is applied shortcomings are revealed. This became strikingly apparent within the present research where the research participants identified the possible lack of remedial application when HBA is predominately tackled through statutory PSHE and RSE curriculum learning. The opt-in and opt-out choice for parents and carers means that the opportunities to intervene and educate children and young people on the damaging and insidious practices of HBA are lost. Therefore, addressing HBA should be tackled curriculum-wide.

It was clear from this research that the NGOs were being impeded by the lack of financial security resulting in a piecemeal approach to community learning initiatives. The reality of short-term funding impacts community groups, charities and projects, hindering long term solutions for addressing HBA. This results in the loss of innovative community educational projects due to ongoing financial constraints within the sector. Examples include project-led community activists delivering HBA messages directly to children and young people within educational establishments, and the wider public through Community Roadshows.

Such community education projects are crucial in infiltrating sections of marginalised communities where HBA and honour codes are practised. Community groups are vital in delivering key messages at the grass roots level. Historically, such groups have been isolated from mainstream sections of society due to their mistrust of the State. BAME communities treat initiatives predominately targeted at them with suspicion. Therefore, the State needs actively to break down barriers to influence those isolated sections of societies by collaborating and rebuilding trust within communities to protect vulnerable citizens from harm. This research argues that grass root engagement within those sections of society is imperative for success, because marginalised segments of society have to co-produce initiatives, buy-in to them, and be the drivers of change.

Whilst there is an onus on the State to challenge HBA practices, it must be recognised that some communities that practise HBA have deep rooted cultural beliefs that perpetuate subjugation of women through patriarchal control. Emphasis must be placed on altering cultural attitudes that drive HBA, and violence against

women must be understood from the perspective of migration, religion, and culture. Long held patriarchal beliefs were transported by South Asian migrant communities along with their journey to the Western world. They held on to those beliefs and embedded them within their daily norms and families to retain their identity, provide security, and maintain their social standing. Undeniably, they suffered isolation and discrimination which prevented integration into wider society, the repercussions of which are still felt today. Nevertheless, within the South Asian diaspora the expression of patriarchy is not only rooted in gender inequality and gender oppression, but also deeply associated with conceptions of female honour and sexual behaviour. This research suggests that ultimately patriarchy drives HBA and that foundations of patriarchy are cultural rather than religious. Honour based patriarchal practices are frequently disguised behind religious dogma, but in reality, cultural practices are used to maintain control over female purity, chastity and virginity, thus continuing to perpetuate a culture where women remain oppressed.

This research has shown the necessity for dialogue and debate. Discussion is necessary for interpreting experiences, comprehending the principles upon which beliefs are built, expanding the frontiers of knowledge, and driving policy and practice. This is the initial step in shining a light on the phenomenon along the journey to eradicate HBA in the UK. Building on this, the following reflection explores potentials for transformative pedagogies to catalyse sustainable evolutions in norms and beliefs, across schools, communities, and survivors of HBA.

Implementing Transformative Pedagogies to Address Honour-Based Abuse

Humans are “meaning-making” beings, constructing complex worldviews through accumulated knowledge and experiences (Mezirow, 1991, p.111). Transforming repressive socio-cultural practices like HBA requires pedagogical approaches catalysing shifts in how individuals and communities generate meaning regarding gender, family, and honour. Research indicates transformative education grounded in critical analyses of oppressive norms can foster attitude shifts, yet best practices remain contested (Keddie, 2012; Begikhani *et al.*, 2015). This reflection will examine considerations for effective pedagogy across school, community, and survivor contexts.

Formal School Pedagogies

Schools play a formative role in socialising young people and shaping norms. However, establishing best practices for school-based HBA education remains challenging. Tensions exist between respecting pluralism and promoting human rights, positioning curriculum appropriately, and managing backlash risks (Sharma and Guest, 2013; Rew *et al.*, 2013). Educators must thoughtfully foster dialogue and critical thinking about dominant honour discourses. Dewey's educational philosophy advocated experiential learning centred on students' lived realities and interests, rather than just passively receiving abstract concepts (Dewey, 1938). This perspective underscores the need for dialogue based HBA curricula connecting lessons to young peoples' identity, negotiations and relationships. By creating opportunities for students to deconstruct dominant discourses, critically analyse root causes of oppression, and envision alternative possibilities, transformative feminist pedagogies can effectively confront the drivers of HBA (Mucina and Jamal, 2021). Educators can foster critical thinking regarding dominant honour discourses through constructive learning situations channelling reflection on real-world impacts (Dewey, 1938). Experiential learning is key for deep engagement with a complex social phenomenon like HBA. Active learning methods within the curriculum like discussions, collective reflections, simulations, and analyses of case studies, allow students to grapple with real-world complexities and moral ambiguities. As McBride (2015) notes, case-based strategies create empathy while avoiding stereotyping. Dramatic enactments of ethical scenarios can also build perspective-taking and responsible decision-making skills. While outcomes are contingent on many complex factors, research suggests transformative educational models grounded in human rights and gender justice can positively impact knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours related to HBA (Nyoni *et al.*, 2022; McKay, 2000).

Community Education Strategies

Dewey argued learning occurs through shared experience and should empower collective social progress (1930). Community-based pedagogies emphasise active collaboration with community members and organisations. Thus, providing invaluable perspectives and knowledge to complement academic resources (Strand *et al.*,

2003). Shifting broader community attitudes presents ongoing challenges. Many argue multifaceted programs are needed to spur intergenerational shifts, including awareness campaigns, outreach through religious and community centres, arts and media initiatives, and public forums creating space for diverse dialogue and consciousness raising regarding the impacts of harmful honour norms (Khan, 2021; Idriss, 2018; Sabbe *et al.*, 2014). Partnerships with local NGOs, women's networks, human rights groups, and survivor advocates enable community-rooted teaching and learning. Bodorkós, (2016) advocates community-based participatory action models where marginalised groups play central roles in knowledge production and solution development. This grassroots, decolonising approach to public pedagogy fosters empowerment and sustainable change by centring lived realities (Koirala-Azad and Fuentes, 2009). A collaborative process allows communities to shape learning priorities and outcomes based on their goals and cultural frameworks (Lave, 1991). This makes community-based education more responsive, sustained, and empowering. While uneven, research indicates contextualised, dialogic approaches may progressively transform restrictive honour conceptions within families and communities (Gill *et al.*, 2017; Sabbe *et al.*, 2014). Through reciprocal municipal partnerships, education can build community capacity and promote human rights.

The research evidence reinforces Dewey's (1930) emphasis on grounding learning within lived cultural contexts and communal relationships as crucial for transformative learning. Participants stressed the importance of family and community dialogue in reconstructing restrictive honour norms. Mothers were identified as potential change agents, with intergenerational communication enabling critical reflection on assumptions and values. Sustained engagement with honour-based values is needed at the familial and communal levels to spur gradual shifts in perspectives. Dialogic education embedded within these networks can catalyse this process. Consistent with Dewey's educational philosophy, the evidence suggests that transformative learning is fundamentally enacted through communal processes. Situating education within lived cultural contexts and shared community experiences may enable the incremental reconstruction of restrictive honour conceptions via open dialogue and critical reflection. The study offers robust support for grounding pedagogical strategies within familial and community relationships to catalyse collective unlearning and reimagining of traditions in line with human rights values.

Supporting Survivor Education and Growth

Dewey's educational philosophy focused on building capacities for growth through learning tailored to lived experiences (Dewey, 1938). This can inform pedagogies empowering HBA survivors. Many NGOs provide consciousness-raising education on rights, relationships, counselling, and skills to help women overcome trauma, exercise autonomy, and pursue purpose after abuse (Boyle and Boyle, 2019). Dewey saw developing talents and interests as key for freedom (Dewey, 1938). However, many organisations struggle with inadequate funding, reaching only a fraction of those needing help (Gill, 2009). It can be argued that Government schemes rarely provide sufficient resources to sustainably nurture marginalised women's development. Collaborative learning focused on survivors' goals and strengths can aid healing while expanding consciousness of conditions enabling abuse.

However, programmes must avoid lapses into unreflective imposition (Campbell, 2002) of external perspectives, disregarding survivors' pluralism, and self-determination. Nuanced pedagogical approaches should create spaces where survivors rediscover their own voices and humanity. As Dewey stressed, education must be learner-driven and relevant (Dewey, 1938). Tailored supports situated in survivors' realities can nurture agency, solidarity, and growth.

Developing thoughtful educational initiatives that encourage questioning of restrictive honour norms without cultural imposition remains an ongoing challenge. Participant-driven pedagogical approaches grounded in human rights show potential as socially transformative. However, effecting sustainable change requires continued conceptual and empirical work examining how diverse teaching strategies can empower rethinking of embedded issues like HBA. While promising educational approaches exist, leveraging them to catalyse progressive shifts regarding deeply rooted issues like HBA requires navigating complex tensions around cultural sensitivity, knowledge creation, and social transformation. Further research can delineate how tailored, dialogue-based learning allows individuals and communities to re-examine traditions critically yet sensitively in ways that promote human rights and collective growth. This calls on educators, activists, and policymakers to collaboratively envision and assess

pedagogies that create spaces for reconstructing how we teach, learn, and find meaning around deeply embedded social issues like honour.

Research Limitations

Although this thesis was successful in answering the study's research questions and adding to the body of knowledge about the role of education in preventing HBA, as with all research, limitations must be acknowledged.

If I were to prepare and execute this study again, I would consider a few additional aspects.

It may be considered that the size and composition of the sample has limited the generalisability of the results. The sample size of 15 research participants may be deemed small, but it was never the purpose of this study to reflect the opinions of 'all' participants working in the subject of HBA. Rather, the intention of this research was to elicit in-depth thoughts on HBA from a variety of participants, a goal for which the present sample is deemed adequate.

Efforts were made to invite participation from across the field, but in the event some fields of expertise were not represented; for example, social workers and GPs who would have had interactions with victims of HBA as part of their role within the safeguarding arena. Whilst it would have been useful to have the perspectives of these individuals in this specific study, it is contended that their contributions would have been limited within the scope of the research on the role of education in preventing HBA.

Whilst it is strongly contended that one of the strengths of this study is that the research participants, which include survivors of HBA, agreed to non-anonymised participation, it could conversely be argued that this was a limitation. Debatably, if participants are anonymised, they can speak freely and express their views without hinderance behind the veil of anonymity. Therefore, it may be argued that this might be a limitation. Yet, it became clear from the detailed and rich comments that these

research participants had shared unrestricted thoughts and perspectives, that this provided a rich tapestry of qualitative data for this study.

Obviously, while making assertions regarding the experiences of HBA victims in regard to policy and practice, it would be ideal but not necessary to have a voice of the victim/survivor. Nevertheless, some of the research participants in the present study (Jasvinder Sanghera, Sadia Hameed, Matthew Mahmood-Ogston, and Diana Nammi) have had first-hand experience of HBA as victims; their contributions provided a further unique authentic voice to this research. Whilst not a limitation per se, it may have been advantageous to include more victims and survivors in the study to enable additional data triangulation. However, due to the study's scope, restricted time frame, and challenges in gaining access to victims and survivors, this was not achieved.

Despite the limitations of this research, it is maintained that the selection of methodologies and techniques deployed has produced significant data. By obtaining insight into the viewpoints, perspectives, and experiences of key stakeholders in the field of HBA, knowledge and understanding has significantly advanced.

Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis adds to current academic knowledge on HBA by introducing the opinions of 15 key HBA research participants, each of whom contributed their perspective to the discussion. Through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with key research participants in the area of HBA, this study was able to provide an exclusive perspective on the position of HBA in 2022.

This study was original in the following ways.

First, the calibre of the research participants covered the full breadth of key players that have impacted, engaged, and tackled HBA ranging from grass root activists, academics to national policy makers, enabling a rich tapestry of qualitative data.

Second, although previous research has been carried out within the field of HBA notably anonymised, to my knowledge this research was original as it was able to acquire non-anonymised input and participation from a range of key stakeholders, not just from a singular organisational viewpoint, such as the police (Aplin, 2017).

Third, the advantage of non-anonymised survivor voices enabled the use of a dual viewpoint, which offered a potent platform for sharing experience and skills in order to lead societal change.

Fourth, while the survivor voice was essential to this study, it was equally important that the focus was not narrowed and that the study included a 360-degree perspective of the HBA phenomenon. Therefore, by enabling the voices of key research participants such as policymakers, CPS lead, and activists, a detailed understanding of the challenges facing the sector was gained.

Fifth, the fact that the research participants were geographically dispersed around the UK and held national positions meant that the research was not restricted to a single geographical location, resulting in a national (English) picture of the HBA phenomenon. This research recognised that HBA is a complicated phenomenon that is determined by a multitude of factors operating within the South Asian diaspora community, determined not just by the dynamics of the immediate family but also by the wider community as a whole. By exposing the diversity and practices of HBA it is evident that the notion is ultimately rooted in the patriarchal power struggle of female subjugation.

Finally, the most powerful contribution of this study was being able to share concrete solutions that were applicable at ground level in tackling HBA. The diverse number of participants within this research offered a multiplicity of views that challenged the tacit assumptions of what causes HBA and what the solutions are. HBA is a complex phenomenon that requires a complex educational response. This research has redrawn the boundaries through the voices of the participants by widening the lens through which we seek to tackle this phenomenon, by looking beyond PHSE and RSE Curriculum, by challenging the assumptions of statutory education and recognising the role of community-based initiatives and education.

Thus, highlighting the need for training of teachers and shifting disposition around educational responses both within schools and the community in England.

Impact on Policy, and Practice

The research findings from this study indicate that policy and practice may be enhanced by considering a variety of societal contexts in which HBA might be experienced, confronted and addressed.

One clear finding that emerged from the analysis was the fact that HBA was seemingly being addressed within the schooling system via the portal of PSHE and RSE. However, the emerging perspectives from this study show that this policy is insufficient owing to a number of factors. In practice, teachers are not trained adequately, it is open to interpretation, it is carer and parental consent led through the facility of opt out, and it relies on senior leadership taking ownership to elevate and communicate messages around HBA to school populations.

The research participants in this study identified the need to embrace HBA through the medium of other curriculum subjects such as history, religious education and dance and drama, resulting in greater awareness of the signs and symptoms of HBA and empowering victims and potential victims to come forward and seek help within a safe environment. Therefore, it could be in the policy makers' interests to design the content of the curriculum subject areas that will enable the opportunity for developing creative messages around HBA. This should result in addressing some of the above shortcomings.

Whilst it is evident that the participants consider that such government-led initiatives should give teeth to the education sector, it was also apparent that HBA should be given better prominence within State departments, organisations, and corridors of power. For example, to transform how the police tackle HBA, it was proposed that regional and national units be introduced, so that victims would be better supported by knowledgeable, confident, and fully trained staff and officers. Having a prominent and a unified policy across the public sector would enable the exchange of knowledge and expertise, thus fulfilling a wider purpose by building better

partnerships between HBA professionals and police forces. In practice such approaches are resource heavy. However, it would be beneficial for outcomes in tackling HBA if policy makers understood the importance of assigning adequate resources to address this phenomenon.

It is important to include diverse voices when one is considering how we as an egalitarian society value human rights for all our citizens which include vulnerable women predominately of South Asian heritage having been subjected to egregious practices of patriarchy. The majority of the research participants of this study state that community education acts as an enabler for empowering women exposed to HBA and elicits community engagement. It is recommended that policy makers establish stronger links with communities to change perceptions and embedded cultures. The State must accept it has a part to play in breaking down historical barriers where diaspora communities feel alienated from mainstream society. Messages around HBA need to be owned by the community and conversely 'uncomfortable conversations' need to be had with certain sections of the society that practise HBA. Whilst there is an argument that the State is reluctant to interfere within the private family sphere, the protection of human rights should supersede any hesitancy.

Next Steps

During the present research, it became evident that there is a dearth of analysis within the field of HBA that focuses explicitly on the role of education in preventing HBA and the harmful practices of female oppression. Therefore, it would be sensible to recommend that further studies of this nature should be undertaken in the future. Even though the focus of this research was the role of education in preventing HBA, it would be beneficial to know how successful these messages are in practice. Clearly, one aspect of the present research has highlighted the need for effective HBA-related messages within school settings. Further research could examine the extent to which PSHE and RSE instruction offered to children is effective in raising awareness and combatting HBA.

There is also a need for further examination of HBA in various community groups. Due to data driven analysis, the focus of this study centred on South Asian, diaspora communities. The research participants within this research were also aware that HBA practices occurred in other communities, particularly Eastern European and Roma Traveller populations that also observe honour codes. Little is known about HBA amongst these cultures, although the information that does exist implies similarities with other HBA situations. For instance, many Roma Traveller groups are described as being close-knit and adhering to traditional gender norms (Travellers Times, 2022), with a strong sense of honour associated with female sexuality (Gill, 2017). These are not empirically based findings; thus, further study is necessary to determine the degree of resemblance between honour in these circumstances and other expressions of harmful practices of HBA. Detailed research would foster the exchange of ideas and, perhaps, shift the focus of HBA arguments away from the ethnicity of individuals affected and onto the aspects and characteristics of HBA.

If education is a tool to combat HBA one could argue that the glaringly obvious recipients of re-education would be the perpetrators of HBA. The current offender rehabilitation programmes such as Building Better Relationships (BBR, 2013) obviously attempt to re-train and re-educate violent men to help them build and sustain non-abusive violent relationships with women. However, it is unsure if this tool can successfully address violence against women that is primarily rooted in honour-based practices. Further studies within this area could elicit the effectiveness of re-educational programmes for perpetrators of HBA. Having productive and robust programmes in place for perpetrators is in the interest of the State, as it allows mechanisms to protect vulnerable members of society from such deviant crime against the values of humanity.

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Appendix 1

Overview of Research Participants

Name of research participants	Gender	Title/s	Role and Responsibilities
1. Diana Nammi	Female	Activist	Diana is the founder and CEO of the Iranian and Kurdish Women’s Rights Organisation (IKWRO). Diana is a Kurdish and British activist and is an outspoken advocate against Honour Killings, Forced Marriage, Female Genital Mutilation. IKWRO established the first refuge for women from Middle Eastern, North African and Afghan communities and campaign for improvements in law and policy.
2. Jasvinder Sanghera	Female	Activist	Jasvinder is the founder of Karma Nirvana (KN) and the former CEO. KN played a significant part alongside other NGOs to the creation of a specific UK Forced Marriage criminal offence. KN supports victims of Honour Based Abuse and runs a government funded helpline for both victims and professionals.
3. Matthew Mahmood – Ogston	Male	Activist	Matthew is the founder of the Naz and Matt Foundation. The charity tackles homophobia, triggered by religion or culture, to help parents accept their LGBTQI+ children. The charity is multi award winning for their work in building bridges between religious and LGBTQI+ communities.
4. Sadia Hameed	Female	Activist	Sadia is the spokesperson for the Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain and is a women’s and human rights activist. The

Name of research participants	Gender	Title/s	Role and Responsibilities
			Council of Ex Muslims of Britain supports people that have renounced Islam.
5. Mike O'Brien	Male	Politician Ex member of Parliament	Mike O'Brien was the Government Minister who established the Home Office working group on Forced Marriage (1999) which led to the Forced Marriage unit in conjunction with the Foreign Office and the Home Office.
6. Estelle Morris	Female	Politician Ex-Member of Parliament	Estelle Morris was the former Secretary of State for Education Secretary - 2001/2002
7. Sarah Newton	Female	Politician Ex-Member of Parliament	Sarah Newton was a Government Minister with responsibility for Crime, Counter Extremism Safeguarding and Vulnerability - Honour Based Abuse sitting within the facets. 2016/2017.
8. Christian Papaleontiou	Male	Senior Civil Servant	Christian Papaleontiou was the Head of the Interpersonal Violence team at the Home Office – Portfolio consisted of Female Genital Mutilation, Forced Marriage, Honour Based Abuse, and Domestic Violence 2013/2020.
9. Dr. Rachael Aplin	Female	Academic Senior Lecturer	Rachael Aplin is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Huddersfield. She has completed her PhD in Policing Honour Based Abuse. Prior to her academic career she was a Detective Sergeant in the Greater Manchester Police public protection division.

Name of research participants	Gender	Title/s	Role and Responsibilities
10. Dr. Mohammed Mazher (Maz) Idriss	Male	Academic Senior Lecturer	Mohammed Mazher Idriss is a Senior lecturer at Manchester University. He has recently completed his Ph.D. in Honour Based Violence in ethnic communities and has a number of significant publications.
11. Dr. Lis Bates	Female	Academic Senior Researcher	Lis Bates is a Research Fellow in the Centre for Gender and Violence Research, School for Policy Studies, at Bristol University. Her PhD looked Honour Based Abuse in England and Wales. She has worked on major research projects on Justice, Inequality and Gender-Based Violence.
12. Jonny Mitchell	Male	Academic Secondary School Principal	Jonny Mitchell is a Principal at Co-op Academy Leeds. He has worked intensively on the agenda of Honour Based Abuse and raising awareness in his secondary school and beyond. Prior to this he was the Head Teacher of Thornhill Community Academy in Educating Yorkshire. He is also a Patron for Karma Nirvana.
13. Jasbinder Sidhu	Female	CPS	Jasbinder Sidhu was the Senior Policy Advisor for the Crown Prosecution Service National Policy Division. She was the key provider for responses to the Attorney General's Office.
14. Jaswant Narwal	Female	CPS	Jaswant Narwal is the Chief Crown Prosecutor for the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). She is the National CPS Lead on Female Genital Mutilation, Forced Marriage, and Honour-Based Abuse.

Name of research participants	Gender	Title/s	Role and Responsibilities
15. Palbinder Singh	Male	Police	Palbinder Singh is a Detective Sergeant at New Scotland Yard (Metropolitan Police) he is second in command to Commander Ivan Balhatchet who is the National Police Chiefs' Council lead on Honour-Based Abuse, Forced Marriage, and Female Genital Mutilation.

Appendix 2

Participant Information and Consent Form

My name is Kulsoom Yusuf, and I am a Ph.D. student at the University of Derby. As part of my research, I am looking into Honour-Based Abuse (HBA) and the role of education. The aim of the research is to investigate the cross-cultural and contested nature of HBA through a study of the academic, campaigning and policy literature; and to interview a sample of experts to examine the role that Education can play in understanding HBA.

Your contribution to this research is very valuable. I would very much welcome the opportunity to interview you face to face on your views on HBA and the role of education. I envisage the interview will not take more than 60 minutes. With your consent, I would like to use your name in my research and directly quote your responses.

The study will be carried out in line with the University of Derby's 'Research Ethics: Code of Practice'; the British Educational Research Association's (BERA) (2011) and the British Sociological Association's (BSA) (2002) ethical guidelines. The interview will be tape recorded and transcribed to check for accuracy. The data will be saved on a password protected computer and it will not be shared with anyone apart from my supervisors.

By signing this consent form you are indicating that you are fully understanding the above information and agree to participate in this research study.

.....

As an informed participant of this research study, I understand that (please tick all that apply):

- I understand that the researcher is a student conducting the research as part of the requirements for a doctorate study program at the University of Derby.
- My participation is voluntary, and I may cease to take part in this research study at any time and without giving a reason, without my occupational or legal rights being affected.
- During this interview, notes will be taken, and the interview digitally recorded for later transcription.
- I consent to the researcher using direct quotations in the report.
- All information appearing in the final report will not be anonymised. This means that people will be able to identify what has been said by you.
- All my questions about the study have been satisfactorily answered and I am aware of what my participation involves.

I have read and understood the above, and agree to take part:

Name: _____

Date: _____

For questions and/ or further information, please feel free to contact my supervisor (Professor Dennis Hayes) and/or me:

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Thank you for your time and interest in my research

Appendix 3

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

(Describe the research's aims, focus, researcher and interviewee's role, and researcher's ethical obligations – confidentiality, request to name interviewees (no anonymity), right to withdrawal, etc. Ask the interview to sign the consent sheet allowing the research to interview and/ or record).

- The aim of the study is to identify the perspectives of different partners (such as police enforcers, politicians, activists, head school teachers, and academics) on the policy and practice of preventing, identifying and addressing Honour-Based Abuse (HBA).
-
- It will also explore the impact of some programmes, policies, and initiatives in preventing and addressing HBA.

About You

1. Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. Can you please start off by telling me something about yourself (background, experience, etc.) and why you have become interested in campaigning or working against HBA?
2. Have you had any training yourself on identification and reporting of HBA? By whom? When? What type of training? With whom? What have you learnt? Any room for improvement?
3. Have you been involved in delivering training or conducting research on HBA? Describe. When, what, and with whom? What have you learnt? Any room for improvement?
4. Have you been involved in campaigning against HBA? Please describe: Where and with whom were these undertaken? Have you referred any of your service users?

How many, who were these, to whom were they referred to? What impact do you think these had on the service users? How receptive have you found the service users (educators, senior management team, families, victims, community members such as religious leaders, the legal profession, police, social workers, etc.? What impact do you think these have had on the service users)? Are there any things you would have like to change or keep to enhance these activities programmes?

Defining Honour-Based Abuse (HBA), and Identifying Abusers and Victims

5. The literature is full of definitions on the meaning of HBA (e.g., form of gender-based violence). To you personally, what does HBA mean to you?
6. Media reports suggest there is 'overwhelming evidence' that HBA is a problem in the UK. What are your views on this statement? Does this apply to the area you work in?
7. Some literature claims the majority of victims and the abusers are Asian women. What are your views on this? Any evidence to support this (e.g., own experience, statistical data...)

Factors Contributing and Impacting on HBA

8. What factors do you think contribute to HBA?
9. What impact do you think HBA has on (a) victims, (b) abusers (c) victims' family members (such as, siblings, aunts, grandparents, etc.) (d) community (police, teachers, legal profession, religious leaders, etc.)

Investigating, Reporting, and prosecuting HBA cases

10. From your experience, who are the first to alert the authorities to a suspected case of an HBA? Why do you suppose so? What happens after that? Is this the typical process? What is an ideal outcome? Why do you think so? Are there usually any complications/ challenges along the way? Such as? If you were in charge of the UK

budget, what improvement would you introduce to ensure HBA is dealt with promptly and efficiently?

11. What sort of evidence do you gather to present to the court/ police a suspected HBA case (if victim is at risk, if victim and or a member of the victim's family will give evidence/ testify, if the local authority or social services have any material or information which might be relevant to the prosecution case; if there has there been an unexplained absences from school, explore family history, tradition, sibling's education, etc.)?
12. Are there any challenges that arise when investigating a suspected HBA case (e.g., victim confidence, witness corroboration and the familial setting of most such allegations, as well as jurisdiction as some cases may have an international dimension)?
13. From experience, have all the suspected HBA cases that have been to court have won prosecution against the aggressors? What consequence did this have on the aggressors, victims, and other members of the victim's family?
14. Do you think the Government has invested enough in community education and training of government agencies and non- government organisations (NGOs) and developing targeted support services?

Programmes Addressing HBA

15. Are you aware of any "school-based education" (or other) programmes or activities that are in place to address HBA in the UK? If so, please describe. How well do you think these are? Any room for improvement?

The Role of Education in Preventing HBA

16. Do you think our pupils recognise HBA? Why do you think so? What role, if any does (a) education, (b) community, (c) family, (d) friends, (e) media, (f) religious leaders, etc. have on enhancing our pupils' understanding of HBA?

17. In 2015, Lord Nash addressed the House of Parliament and said that the Personal, Social, Health and Economic (PSHE) education, and Sex and Relationships Education (SRE) are curriculum subjects that are used to raise pupils' awareness of HBA. Do you think PSHE is meeting this objective? How? Are there other subjects where HBA is raised or discussed in the curriculum?
18. Keeping Children Safe in Education (KCSIE) statutory guidance, issued by the Department for Education, outlined to schools and colleges their roles and responsibilities with regard to safeguarding their pupils. The department made it clear that schools and colleges play a significant role in early identification of abuse and preventing concerns from escalating. In your opinion, are teachers supported in their role in reporting HBA? By whom? How? Any hindrances you are aware of?
19. A small survey conducted (April 2017) by the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) on 360 members found that many teachers are reluctant to report concerns about honour or faith-based abuse such as female genital mutilation, breast ironing or child marriage. What do you think effects teachers' actions to intervene or not?
20. What training do you think would be appropriate for teachers to enhance their understanding and identification of HBA?

The Role of the Government and Legal System in Addressing HBA

21. In your opinion, do you think the Government has:
- (a) prioritised protection of HBA victims?
 - (b) prioritised prevention of HBA victims?
 - (c) provided effective civil remedies options to people who want to avoid or escape HBA?
22. What are the (a) advantages and (b) limitations of relying on the legal system to respond to HBA?

Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions. Is there anything else you would like to add to what we have covered and not covered today? Do you have any questions to ask me?

Would it be acceptable if I need to clarify or ask any additional question that I contact you at a later time perhaps