AN EXPLORATION INTO DOMESTIC ABUSE AND SO-CALLED 'HONOUR'-BASED VIOLENCE AND ABUSE EXPERIENCED BY SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN

By

POONAM GARG

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The Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology

School of Psychology

College of Life and Environmental Science

University of Birmingham

B15 2TT

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to contribute to the gap in literature exploring how harm against South Asian women, through the perpetration of domestic abuse and so-called 'honour'-based violence and abuse, can be prevented. Chapter One provides an overview of domestic abuse and so-called 'honour'-based violence and abuse within South Asian communities and the vulnerabilities of women belonging to this population.

Chapter Two, a systematic review of 15 papers on so-called 'honour' killings in South Asia and the Middle East, finds differences in characteristics of victims and perpetrators of so-called 'honour' killings in India and Pakistan. A link between religion and so-called 'honour' killings is not found; however, some socio-demographic factors may contribute to supportive attitudes towards these murders. The prevailing factor maintaining so-called 'honour' killings appears to be patriarchy. Chapter Three critically evaluates the Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment used to assess domestic abuse recidivism risk. It finds support for the risk assessment's predictive ability; however further research is required to assess its reliability and use among different ethnicities. Chapter Four, an empirical study examines factors that may encourage female South Asian survivors ($n = 80$) of domestic abuse and honour-based violence and abuse to seek support sooner from a charity based in the UK. The trends from the study indicates that acculturation, frequency of abuse and support in keeping children safe, may be associated with quicker formal support-seeking, but further research is required.

Chapter Five discusses the thesis highlighting theoretical and practical implications and future direction for research on how harm experienced by South Asian women can be reduced.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my Grandmother, Bimla Wati Bhardwaj.

Thank you for loving me wholeheartedly and teaching me the importance of equality, respect and independence.

Mumma, I miss you dearly.

xxxx

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Finally, I am taking my finger off the pause button which I have firmly held down for the last four years. I cannot wait to go on all those holidays I have missed, post Covid-19 of course. I cannot wait to spend much needed time with my husband and family.

Doctorate life has been an incredible journey, but I am so ready to have my life back! So here's to me signing out – whoop whoop!

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Glossary of Terms and Acronyms

DA	Domestic abuse
HBV/A	So-called 'honour'-based violence and abuse
HK	So-called 'honour' killing
SAW	South Asian women
VAW	Violence against women

Chapter One

Introduction to Domestic Abuse, So-Called 'Honour'-Based Violence and Abuse and South Asian Communities

<center>**Introduction**</center>

This thesis aims to add to the literature exploring violence against women (hereafter referred to as VAW), in particular the perpetration of domestic abuse (hereafter referred to as DA) and so-called 'honour'-based violence and abuse (hereafter after referred to as HBV/A), within South Asian communities. South Asian countries include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (UN, 2001). People originally from these countries have also formed communities all over the world. For example, in the UK 6.8% of the total population consists on South Asians (Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, and other; Minority Rights, 2018). This chapter provides an introduction to and theoretical understanding of DA, HBV/A, and South Asian communities and support-seeking. Particular attention is given to examining the position of South Asian women (hereafter referred to as SAW) and the difficulties they experience in challenging their abusive experiences and accessing support.

Definitions and prevalence

Domestic abuse

The United Kingdom's Home Office defines DA as: "any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or above who are, or have been intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass but is not limited to: psychological, physical, sexual, financial, and emotional" (Home Office, 2013, p. 2). There are many complexities in accurately quantifying the prevalence of DA as it usually perpetrated in the home setting, therefore many incidents go unreported (ONS, 2018). It was estimated that 4.3 million women aged 16 years to 59 years experienced

DA from the age of 16 years (ONS, 2018). Data collected from April 2014 to March 2017 found that on average two women were killed every week in England and Wales by their partner or ex-partner (ONS, 2018). With regards to the wider context of DA, the World Health Organisation (WHO) and other studies found that one in four women and one in five men have experienced some form of DA across their lifetime (Desmarais et al., 2012; Nicholls et al., 2013; WHO, 2016). When considering South Asian communities, in the year ending 2018, the Crime Survey for England and Wales found that 6.9% of all women aged 16 to 74 had experienced DA once or more in the last year. Of that, 3.4% of women aged 16 to 74 were born in South Asian countries (ONS, 2018). The true prevalence of DA among South Asian communities is likely to be more than 3.4% as this figure was not inclusive of British born South Asians. Adam and Schewe (2007) found that of the 78 immigrant SAW in their study living in the US, 77% had experienced DA in their lifetime. Similarly, Yoshihama et al. (2014) also found DA was prevalent among the SAW living in the US, with 18-52% of SAW reporting they had experienced it. Among SAW in the US, physical, sexual, psychological and emotional abuse was as high as 50% (Mahapatra 2012; Raj & Silverman, 2002).

Though DA is a universal phenomenon, SAW may face an increased risk of remaining in abusive relationships due to the internal and external barriers to seeking support (further explored in Chapter Four). Additionally, honour and shame paradigms may pressurise SAW to remain in abusive relationship, which is further explored in this chapter as well as Chapter Two and Chapter Four (Ayyub, 2000; Gupta, 2003; Natarajan, 2002). The characteristics of South Asian communities, such as patriarchy, and the position of SAW will be discussed later on in this chapter.

So-called 'honour'-based violence and abuse

The Crown Prosecution Service has defined HBV/A as "a crime or incident, which has been committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or community." (CPS, 2013, p.68). Wider literature reports that HBV/A is typically perpetrated by males against their female relatives, to control and punish behaviour (usually related to female chastity) that brings shame on the family (Gill & Brah, 2014; Idriss & Abbas, 2010). However, it is important to note that HBV/A can consist of male victims and female perpetrators, which sometimes is overlooked as these cases are much lower in comparison to victimisation of females by male perpetrators (Idriss, 2020; in press; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Walker & Gill, 2019). The most fatal form of HBV/A is so-called 'honour' killing (HK; Ellis, 2016; Gill, 2017; Walker & Gill, 2019).

The use of the term 'honour' in HBV/A has been met with some resistance as it denotes a sense of justification for perpetrating such crimes (Gill et al., 2012). Some researchers have encouraged the use of 'femicide' to describe all crimes perpetrated against women (Shalhoub-Kevorkain, 2002). However, not all crimes against women are perpetrated for the same reason, therefore it is important to understand them separately so that effective strategies can be implemented to support survivors who seek support (Idriss, 2017a). As such it is important to understand what honour signifies and why it can lead to the use of violence.

Honour is a social construct and differs across countries and communities (Gill, 2017; Gill & Brah, 2014). Communities in which HBV/A is prevalent are typically patriarchal and follow the honour system, whereby importance is placed on following roles specific to one's gender (Walker, 2018). In such communities, men are responsible for controlling female relatives to ensure their behaviour adheres to

cultural norms which in turn maintains honour (Gill, 2017). Honour is not only associated with one's own self-worth, but also by how that is evaluated by others in their community (Idriss, 2017b). As such, honour can be viewed as a social currency, the value of which is determined by how well female relatives follow social expectations (Bond, 2012). Honour is treated like property, which is highly valuable. As such, the use of violence, typically by males towards females, is justified as a means to protect their property (Bond, 2014). A loss of honour could lead to a family being segregated by the community. As such, the concept of honour is closely related to respect, power and control, and always requires protection at any cost (Walker & Gill, 2019).

When understanding honour, it is also important to consider the concept of shame (Wikan, 2008). Whilst it is important to maintain honour, it is equally as important to avoid shame (Gill, 2017). When behaviour transgresses from accepted norms, shame is brought upon the family name, therefore tarnishing the family's honour (Zia, 2019). It is important to note that shame is typically brought on the family through the actions of a female (Gill et al., 2014; Naseem et al., 2019). Males are responsible for restoring honour through the use of violence, however, if they choose not to punish the accused, they risk bringing further shame on the family for not fulfilling their role as a man. Whilst the honour system maintains the subordination of women in patriarchal societies, thus making them vulnerable to experiencing abuse such as HBV/A and DA, it is important to note that men also experience victimisation for damaging family honour. When exploring antigay 'honour' abuse in collectivist honour cultures in India, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan and England, Lowe et al. (2019) found that if a male was thought to be homosexual, he was perceived as having damaged family honour, therefore the use of aggression towards him was deemed to

be justified. Whilst British Asians in England endorsed honour-based beliefs, these beliefs were stronger among participants in Pakistan and India (Lowe et al., 2019). This indicates that expectations are also placed on males and if these are not met, they too are perceived to bring shame on the family and are punished for doing so.

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) found that globally as many as 5,000 HKs are perpetrated against females by their family members, annually (UNPFA, 2000). Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation, found that 2,823 incidence of HBV/A occurred in the UK in 2011 (IKWRO, 2011). In Pakistan alone, 1,000 women and girls are victims of HKs every year (The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 2012). While these figures seem high, they are likely to be an underestimation of victims, as many cases go unreported. Typically, families conceal the murder through burying the victim's body in unidentifiable graves, reporting to the police that the victim is missing, or destroying records of the victim's existence (Araji & Carlson, 2001; Baker et al., 1999; Idriss & Abbas, 2010; Maris & Saharso, 2001). As such, many perpetrators go unpunished and, in fact, are often celebrated by family and community members for restoring their honour (Renzetti, 2005). It is important to note there is no sequential pattern in the perpetration of violence to maintain and restore honour (Gill & Brah, 2014; Keyhani, 2013). Whilst some families may only perpetrate emotional abuse to control females who transgress from social norms (Gill, 2013; Renzetti, 2005), others may perpetrate HKs in the first incidence to restore lost honour (Niaz, 2003). Whilst any form of violence is inexcusable, the prevalence of HKs, HBV/A and DA is alarmingly high, and as such, it is important to understand why VAW prevails in South Asian communities.

Distinction between DA and HBV/A

It is often debated as to whether HBV/A is distinct from DA (Idriss, 2017a). In order to avoid any cultural connotations attached to HBV/A, Aujla and Gill (2014) suggested HBV/A is better placed under the framework of DA. However, Siddiqui (2005) noted it is important to separate HBV/A and DA so we can better understand and attend to specific differences between HBV/A and DA offences. When comparing DA and HBV/A Idriss (2017a) found distinct differences between the two. HBV/A is perpetrated to restore and maintain honour, and as mentioned above, the honour system is both individualistic (centred around oneself) and collectivist (centred on the needs of the group one belongs to). As such, there is a community aspect to the perpetration of HBV/A which is absent from DA cases (Idriss, 2017a; Payton, 2014a). It is important to understand HBV/A separately from DA so that effective and responsive strategies can be put in place for survivors seeking support (Idriss, 2017a; Payton, 2010; Xavier et al., 2017). For example, due to the collective nature of HBV/A, the survivor could be at risk of victimisation from multiple family members and the wider community. As such, HBV/A survivors may need support with relocating whereas DA survivors may not (Xavier et al., 2017). Further to this, the collective nature of restoring honour may make survivors of HBV/A vulnerable to continued victimisation by family and within their community. As such, survivors may require continued support over a longer period of time compared to DA survivors (Xavier et al., 2017). The risk of ineffective support strategies could deter survivors from seeking support, thus allowing for the cycle of abuse to continue. Therefore, due to the differences between factors that commission and maintain DA and HBV/A, it is important to consider both types of violence, but also consider them separately where possible.

Theoretical approaches to explaining violence against women

When considering theoretical explanations of HK the Particularistic/Individualistic interpretation provides a psychological explanation for HKs (Kressel et al., 1981; Kurkiala, 2003). Within this interpretation, perpetrators of HKs experience a moment of insanity and/or impulsivity upon seeing or hearing about a dishonourable act being committed by a female relative (Chaudhary, 2014). However, this perspective neglects to consider social pressures placed on male family members to maintain honour and punish those who tarnish it (Gill, 2013). Second, the Cultural interpretation (Begikhani, 2005) explains that HK is purely a cultural phenomenon governed and protected by community members. This interpretation explains why HKs may only occur in certain communities within a country (Elakkary et al., 2014). For example, HKs perpetrated against adulterers, referred to as Karo-Kari, are more prevalent in Sindh and Balochistan Province of Pakistan, compared to other parts of Pakistan (Zia, 2019). However, it is important to remain mindful of the reliability of Karo-Kari statistics. For example, Amnesty International (1999) identified that Karo-Kari killings were perpetrated for reasons other than to restore 'honour' and refer to them as 'fake honour killings'. Other reasons included revenge, personal disputes and monetary gain (Hussain, 2006; Kulwicki, 2002). Declaring a wife as a 'Kari' (adulterer) enabled the husband to gain 'compensation' from her family in the form on money or land (Kulwicki, 2002). Therefore, Karo-Kari killings may over represent murders perpetrated to restore honour.

A more general theory to explain VAW can be provided by Feminist Theory. Within Feminist Theory, attention is given to the patriarchal organisation of society and the role of men and women within it (Dobash & Dobash, 1983; 1998). The ideals

of masculinity and femininity creates an environment in which VAW is accepted and maintained (Gill et al., 2014). Aggressive forms of control take place when men experience a threat to their power (Gill, 2013). The maintenance of honour suggests that a man is powerful as his female relatives have avoided shame. Shame is closely related to a loss of power for men in patriarchal societies, therefore in an attempt to restore power, violence is used against women (Gill & Brah, 2014; Gill, 2013; Rakovec-Felser, 2014). Women are often left powerless to challenge their abusive experiences and as a result learn to accept the inferior position given to them in society (Gill & Brah, 2014).

According to The Social Learning Theory, behaviour is acquired through observations, imitation and reinforcement (Bandura, 1978). Within patriarchal societies, the ideal man uses violence to control and punish female relatives. As children, men observe their male elders perpetrating VAW. This behaviour is further reinforced when it is rewarded by community and family members (Gill & Brah, 2014; Solberg, 2009). Opposition against the use of violence by men could be seen as a threat to patriarchy. The rewards for using VAW in patriarchal societies, outweigh the consequences, therefore reinforcing this behaviour (Nassem et al., 2019; Walker & Gill, 2019). Similarly, women also learn about acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Transgression from acceptable behaviour may equate to death (Gill, 2017). Solberg (2009) reported that in some parts of Pakistan, 90% of women had experienced some form of DA and little was done by them to challenge this. Reasons for this may vary and may not be linked to the Social Learning Theory alone. Instead it might be an interplay of factors explained by The Feminist and Social Learning Theory, along with other factors.

South Asian communities

Those belonging to these countries may practice one of the following (or none) religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism (Trivedi et al., 2007). Though South Asians may belong to different countries and religions, there are some socio-cultural similarities among this population. Firstly, a common feature for individuals belonging to South Asian communities is group cohesion. Importance is placed on belonging to a group and ensuring that one holds and maintains a respectable position within it (Patel et al., 1996). The values of collectivism place importance on maintaining the family's well-being as opposed to the individual's, therefore when faced with problems, solutions to these may be determined by what is culturally acceptable (Gaines, 1997; Oyeserman & Harrison, 1998). Culturally acceptable solutions will ensure that the family's respect is maintained within their group and as such, the well-being of the individual experiencing the problem is neglected (Yoshioka et al., 2003).

Secondly, South Asian communities typically uphold patriarchal beliefs and as such some South Asians may place importance on having a son as oppose to a daughter, suggesting that males may hold a more important position within families than females. Puri et al. (2011) interviewed 65 immigrant SAW and found 89% of them aborted female foetuses upon learning they were females. This is also consistent with an early study by Bhopal (1998) who found that SAW faced pressure from their in-laws to provide a son. The practice of female foeticide and the importance on providing a son, demonstrates the inferior position of females among South Asian communities which is carried forward to social and religious structures where there is a lack of female representation (Idriss, 2017b).

Vulnerabilities of South Asian women

SAW living in Western countries have an increased vulnerability to mental health problems due to cultural conflict (Hussain, 2006). In the field of cultural psychology, acculturation is best represented as a bidimensional model, where the receiving culture acquisition and retaining heritage culture are defined as separate dimensions (Ryder et al., 2000), explaining how some South Asians can endorse Western cultural beliefs whilst retaining practices from their heritage culture (biculturalism; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Berry's (2005) Fourfold model of Acculturation comprises of four stages to explain the interaction between the receiving culture and heritage culture and how this may impact an individual's cultural identification. The four stages are: assimilation (adopts receiving culture and abandons the heritage culture), separation (rejects the receiving culture and upholds the heritage culture), integration (adopts the receiving culture and retains heritage culture), and marginalisation (rejects both the receiving culture and heritage culture). With reference to this model, cultural conflict can occur during assimilation, separation or marginalisation stage when there is conflict between language, religion and family traditions associated with South Asian cultures and that of Western cultures (Dugsin, 2001). Van Bergen et al. (2006) found that cultural conflict increased the risk of SAW committing suicide compared to individuals of Western heritage. Incidents of self-harm and suicide were higher among SAW compared to any other ethnicity (Kumari, 2004). Prevention from developing self-identity, self-worth, and autonomy, increased the risk of suicide among Indian women compared to Dutch women (Van Bergen et al., 2006). Second generation British Asian women were more vulnerable to using self-harm to cope with psychological pressures of living between two contradictory cultures (Western and traditional; Cooper et al.,

2006; Hussain, 2006). Additionally, second generation British Pakistani and Indian women were most vulnerable to experiencing HBV/A. South Asian families were protective about maintaining honour by upholding traditions native to their culture when moving to the UK (Dickson, 2014; Thiara & Gill, 2010). In an attempt to maintain the honour system, SAW in the UK frequently used self-harm to cope with DA as they felt they could not ask for support as this would bring shame on the family (Chew-Graham et al., 2002; Greenwood et al., 2000). It is crucial for support providers to have an understanding of the vulnerabilities of SAW when developing interventions for survivors. Cultural conflict could make it difficult for survivors to seek support, therefore they might be at a greater risk of using emotional coping strategies, such as self-harm and in some cases, suicide.

Reducing Risk of Harm to South Asian Women

Support-seeking behaviour of survivors

SAW tend to opt for kin support as oppose to seeking support from professionals (Yoshioka et al., 2013). Discussing problems outside the family environment may be discouraged as it can draw shame on the family (Ayyub, 2000; Dasgupta, 2000; Gill, 2004). Often South Asian families advise female relatives to remain in the abusive relationship to reduce the risk of shame on the family through divorce (Gill, 2004; Idriss, 2017b; Yoshioka et al., 2003). As such, the cycle of abuse continues as does the victimisation of SAW who remain in those relationships, having a detrimental impact on their physical and psychological well-being, which in turn can further prevent them from seeking support (Gill, 2004). Research converges to suggest that immigrant SAW are more likely to experience DA and remain in abusive relationships compared to other ethnic minorities due to language barriers,

immigration status, lack of awareness of support agencies and lack of awareness of what constitutes as abuse (Dasgupta & Warrier, 1996; Gill, 2004; Goel, 2005; Jordan & Bhandari, 2016; Mahapatra, 2012; Rai & Choi, 2018; Yoshioka et al., 2003). Additionally, the impact of honour and shame paradigms may also act as a deterrent to support-seeking which is further explored in Chapter Two and later in this chapter when discussing The Cultural Determinants of Help-Seeking model. Due to the complexities in support-seeking, it is important for support providers to be responsiveness to the barriers presented by immigrant survivors so that appropriate support can be offered to them (Idriss, 2018).

When exploring experiences of support-seeking within the UK, Khan et al. (2018) found that, of the 216 British South Asian participants (71 males; 145 females), 31 participants (13 males; 18 females) had experienced HBV/A and six reported the abuse to the police. Of those who reported the abuse to the police, four participants described it as a negative experience as the police lacked cultural awareness. Eleven of the 31 participants concealed the injuries they received from their spouse, family or community to protect their family honour. Furthermore, fear, shame and being punished for reporting the abuse acted as barriers to support-seeking. Khan et al. (2018) highlighted the psychological impact of HBV/A with participants experiencing anxiety, depression, fear and isolation. Of the 31 participants who experienced HBV/A, ten self-harmed and four attempted suicide. The participants identified how awareness of available support needs to be improved. They also identified that increasing education around HBV/A, ensuring confidentiality, and encouraging religious leaders to condemn such abuse, may encourage support-seeking among the South Asian population (Khan et al., 2018). This indicates how, despite living in a

Western culture, South Asians still experience difficulties in seeking support due to the honour and shame paradigms.

An individual's cultural context can play a significant role in determining how they understand and attend to their abusive experiences (Sullivan et al., 2005; Tonsing, 2014). The Cultural Determinants of Help-Seeking model, developed by Arnault (2009), provides an explanation of how our cultural environment can impact the way in which we interpret and attend to our experiences (Arnault, 2009). Whilst the Cultural Determinants of Help-Seeking model was developed to understand support-seeking behaviour in the context of healthcare, it does highlight how the decision to seek support may be impacted by one's cultural environment. Our cultural environment can play a significant part in shaping our perceptions, explanations and meanings and behavioural responses to a problem. A cultural model guides an individual on what to ignore and how something should be attended to. Arnault (2009) proposed there are three stages which influence an individual's response to the problem. The stages include: perception and labelling, interpretations of meaning and social context dynamics. In the first stage, the perception and labelling of the distress will be determined by what is considered 'normal' or 'abnormal' within an individual's cultural model. Distress may be viewed negatively as the individual is seen as weak, therefore failing to uphold their social role within the group they belong to. If distress is evaluated negatively it can lead to shame, humiliation and fear of social repercussions (Tonsing & Tonsing, 2019), therefore making it less likely for formal and/or informal support to be sought.

The Cultural Determinants of Help-seeking model can provide some guidance on why South Asian communities are reluctant to seek support. Within the South Asian cultural model, honour is perceived as a sign of strength and wellness, whereas

shame indicates weakness. Discourse surrounding the impact of shame is inherited from childhood, therefore when an individual reaches adulthood they are well versed with the importance of maintaining honour. Within the cultural model of South Asian communities, the importance of 'secret keeping' is challenged by support-seeking. The consequences of divorce can lead to humiliation and ostracisation. The fear of such repercussions can deter SAW from seeking support, thus allowing for the cycle of abuse to continue. The South Asian cultural model may enable the perpetration of HKs, HBV/A and DA against women. It is critical to further understand factors that encourage support-seeking in these communities to protect those most vulnerable from harm (further discussed in Chapter Four).

Assessing the risk of recidivism

When DA and HBV/A incidences are reported to the police, for example, an accurate assessment of recidivism/victimisation risk can play a key role in preventing future harm. Research indicates that those who perpetrate DA are likely to perpetrate future DA offences (Lin et al., 2009). Assessments to measure risk of recidivism have been developed to minimise future victimisation (Messing & Thaller, 2013). Many tools have stringent administration requirements, thus limiting their use to those who meet the professional requirements to administer them (Olver, 2016). Often risk assessments are administered on those who have been charged or convicted of DA (Dutton & Kropp, 2000). However, it is also important to assess the risk of those who have been reported to the police but not charged or convicted (Olver & Jung, 2017).

Three different approaches are used to assess the risk of recidivism: clinical judgement, structured professional judgement and actuarial risk assessments. Of these approaches, the least structured form of assessment is clinical judgement, whereby the rater relies on their experience and knowledge to determine the risk of recidivism

(Svalin & Levander, 2019). The most structured assessment of risk is the actuarial approach, whereby risk of recidivism is assessed against empirically driven risk factors (Olver & Jung, 2017). The final risk assessment approach, a combination of clinical judgement and actuarial method, is structured professional judgement. Within this approach, the identification of risk factors is based on empirically and theoretically driven checklists, however the final appraisal of risk is based on professional judgement (Skeem & Monahan, 2011). Structured professional judgement approaches are also used for risk management, therefore results from the assessment are used to guide inventions aimed to reduce the risk of recidivism (Helmus & Bourgon, 2011).

The most effective approach to identify risk recidivism is much debated. A meta-analysis conducted by Grove et al. (2000) and later updated by Egisdottir et al. (2006) indicated that actuarial approaches provided a more accurate, consistent and objective prediction of recidivism, compared to clinical judgement assessments. Similarly, Hilton and Harris (2009) found actuarial approaches were more effective at predicting recidivism than structured professional judgement assessments.

As discussed previously, SAW are more likely to seek kin support than obtain support from professionals (Yoshioka et al., 2013). As such, HBV/A and DA cases may go unreported to the police. However, research has found that professional support is sought as a last resort by SAW from culturally specific organisations (Jordon & Bhandari, 2016; Kallivajlil, 2010). In such cases, opportunities should be taken to assess the risk of further victimisation. Research suggests that familial abuse often continues over time, therefore early detection of recidivism can play a pivotal role in reducing future harm to survivors (Kroop, 2004). Understanding the risk of victimisation could guide support providers to be responsive to the needs of survivors. However, it is important to note that SAW often underreport their abusive experiences

(Gracia, 2004). This may be due to a lack of awareness of what behaviour constitutes as abuse (Solberg, 2009). Further to this, immigration status, fear of shame, language barriers and lack of awareness of available support may also lead to survivors minimising their risk of victimisation. As such, it is important to have a critical understanding of the construction process for a risk assessment (further discussed in Chapter Three) so that it is responsive to the vulnerabilities presented by SAW.

Summary of key points and justification for thesis

Patriarchy and the concept of collectivism, prevalent within South Asian communities, play a role in enabling the perpetration of HKs, HBV/A and DA against women from this population (Gill & Brah, 2014). The consequences of support-seeking outside the family environment, prevent SAW from accessing professional support (Gill, 2004). As such, the cycle of abuse may continue, thus impacting the psychological and physical well-being of survivors. The aim of the thesis is to understand how to prevent harm and encourage support-seeking among SAW who have experienced HBV/A and/or DA. Chapter Two provides a systematic literature review on HKs in South Asia and the Middle East. The exploration of HKs provides a deeper understanding of factors that condone such murders. As such, this can help organisations develop interventions that can specifically challenge systems and beliefs that condone HKs. Chapter Three critically reviews an actuarial risk assessment tool specifically designed to assess risk of DA recidivism. The development of an assessment to measure risk of victimisation, can enable organisations to provide appropriate support in line with the risk assessment score. Chapter Four, comprising of an empirical research project, explores factors that are associated with faster formal support-seeking for DA and HBV/A in a sample of South Asian females within the

UK. Chapter Five summaries the main findings from the thesis and discusses theoretical and practical implications of these, in addition to considering limitations of the thesis and directions for future research.

Chapter Two

Systematic Literature Review

An Exploration of So-Called 'Honour' Killings in South

Asia and the Middle East

Abstract

Research converges to suggest that VAW prevails in patriarchal communities. Although difficult to precisely estimate (see Chapter One, page six), the prevalence of HKs, the most fatal type of HBV/A, is alarmingly high, globally (UNPFA, 2000). Therefore, it is crucial to understand why such murders are perpetrated so that effective strategies and inventions can be implemented to prevent further victimisation. This review explored literature on HKs in the Middle East and South Asia to understand factors that maintain the perpetration of HKs in these populations. A systematic search of five databases generated 520 papers, from which 15 papers were selected for the review as they met the inclusion criteria. The papers in the review provided an exploration of characteristics of perpetrators and victims; factors that influenced HKs; social systems that upheld HKs; attitudes towards HKs; differences between HKs across different countries; and the religious context of HKs. The review highlighted that victims were mostly females and perpetrators were their male relatives. Honour appeared to be closely related to female chastity and if tarnished, it was restored through HK. Patriarchy contributed to the maintenance of HKs and the subordinate position of women. The absence of women from social systems made it difficult for them to challenge their abusive experiences, thus allowing for the abuse to continue. Men were more supportive of HKs, however some women expressed support too. The results from the review highlighted that the honour system is deep rooted, therefore there is a need to challenge its existence through community interventions targeting both males and females.

Introduction

Chapter One identified that SAW are at a greater risk of experiencing abuse. Therefore, it is important to challenge the position given to women which may result in a reduction of their abusive experiences (Solberg, 2009). The importance placed on following gender roles, often leads to the perpetration of VAW in South Asian communities (Mehrotra, 1999). Cultures endorsing equality between men and women witnessed lower levels of VAW (Gupta, 2003), as such it is crucial for the well-being of women to educate communities on the importance of equality. Considering VAW more generally, it is important to enable women to challenge their abusive experiences by making support accessible and responsive to their needs. Failure to do this will allow for the continuation of VAW. To prevent VAW, we first need to understand it. In terms of HBV/A the most fatal type of VAW is HK. This chapter contains a systematic literature review, which considers characteristics of perpetrators and victims of HKs, factors that influence the perpetration of HKs, exploration of attitudes towards HKs, differences in HKs among countries in South Asia and the Middle East and the religious context of HKs. Women from South Asia and the Middle East are vulnerable to becoming victims of HKs compared to other populations (Feldman, 2010; Solberg, 2009), therefore this review will focus on these populations. Cetin (2015) found an increase in HK cases reported in the news globally, demonstrating a possible shift in attitudes towards HKs. A possible reason for this could be an increase in digital freedom between 2006 - 2016 (World Development Indicators, n.d.). Whilst digital freedom can offer access to information, education and communication, it also has its disadvantages for women belonging to communities which uphold the honour system. The use of laptops and phones by females could be perceived as a transgression from traditional norms, and therefore a threat to honour (for example,

see the case of Qandeel Baloch; BBC, 2019). It is important to consider the impact of the social changes that have occurred in the last decade on HKs, therefore, this review will synthesise literature from 2007 – 2020, on HKs in the South Asia and the Middle East.

The concept of honour

Historically, the word honour maintains a gender-neutral position referring to concepts of respect, esteem and prestige (Baroja, 1966) and is not associated with the use of violence (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). However, in reality, honour is a social construct, the meaning of which differs across cultures, societies, countries and individuals (Sen, 2005). The construct of honour is not only individualist but collectivist too as it binds communities together (Gill & Brah, 2014). Chapter One identified that loss of honour can occur when a female behaves in a way considered shameful by her community. As such the maintenance of honour, through the use of violence, has existed for centuries in patriarchal and collectivist cultures who uphold the honour system (Kizilhan, 2011; Welchman & Hossain, 2005; Zia, 2019). Men and women are both responsible for maintaining honour, however their roles differ depending on their gender. Women maintain honour by not bringing shame upon their family by adhering to their gender defined role (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). As such, male relatives often control and surveillance the conduct of female relatives to ensure their family honour remains intact. The concept of honour is rooted in gender-specific norms being obeyed (Standish, 2013). Deviation from these can bring shame on the family name.

The honour system reinforces oppression of females and closely related to honour is female chastity (Idriss & Abbas, 2010). Whilst some authors suggest that

promiscuous behaviour of men is not considered shameful and therefore not punished (Gill et al., 2014), findings from Idriss (2020; in press) and Lowe et al. (2019) present an argument to the contrary. Both Idriss (2020; in press) and Lowe et al. (2019) found that sexual conduct of men was considered shameful and punishment was used in such cases. However, there is a disproportionate number of female victims and it is important to understand the reasons for this. Sexual purity of a female symbolises wealth and prosperity for her family, so, if damaged, not only does it impact the female but her family too (Zia, 2014). Violations to female chastity may occur through rape or sexual assault. Even in such cases where the female is a victim, she would be blamed for violating honour (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). As such, murder would be considered appropriate to punish the female and restore honour (Bourdieu, 1977; Ewing, 2008; Husseini, 2011).

The consequences of dishonour can be profound for the family (Baroja, 1966; Hussain, 2006; Zia, 2019). A family could be ostracised from the community because of loss of honour (Rose & Ellison, 2016). Additionally, other female relatives in the family may also be considered dishonourable and experience difficulties in finding a spouse (Smith, 2016). Male relatives may feel emasculated for not being able to preserve their family's honour (Shier & Shor, 2016). As such, in some cases the use of violence deters females from behaving outside traditional norms and punishes those who do (Caffaro et al., 2014). Whilst any type of VAW is intolerable, it is important to consider why murder, the most fatal form, takes place against those who behave outside traditional norms. It is important to explore factors that contribute to the perpetration of HKs to develop responsive interventions to prevent future HKs. There are different theories for HKs, each with its own merits, and it is important to explore how well each of them provides an explanation for HKs. The current systematic

literature review will allow for literature to be synthesised to explore characteristics of perpetrators and victims and factors that influence the perpetration of HKs; as well as the religious context of HKs. In turn, this could establish which theoretical explanation, if any, accurately explains the perpetration of HKs.

Theoretical explanations for so-called 'honour' killings

As discussed in Chapter One, there are two specific interpretations that explain the perpetration of HKs, Particularistic/Individual and Cultural (Begikhani, 2005; Kressel et al., 1981; Kurkiala, 2003). The degree to which either one of these interpretations explain HKs is much debated as they appear to fall short in fully understanding the complexity of HKs (Pimentel et al., 2005).

Particularistic/Individual interpretation

The Particularistic/Individual interpretation alleviates any cultural/social connotation attached to HKs. Under this interpretation, the perpetrators have difficulties managing their emotions upon learning about the 'guilty' act or view the killing as an act of revenge (Kurkiala, 2003). However, not all HKs are impulsive, in fact they tend to be planned by the family so that they can be successfully executed (Gill et al., 2014). As noted earlier in this chapter, the concept of honour appears to be collectivist. Therefore, the Particularistic/Individual interpretation neglects the impact of the honour system and social pressure to restore honour through the perpetration of HK. Further exploration of factors and motives that influence HKs will provide a better understanding of how well the Particularistic/Individual interpretation explains the perpetration of HKs.

Cultural interpretation

Under the Cultural interpretation, consideration is given to the role of culture in shaping responses to threats against honour. Chapter One highlighted that the preservation of honour is an important part of the cultural model for collectivist communities (Patel et al., 1996). As such, the consequences of community members learning about the shameful act may force individuals to use violence in an attempt preserve honour (Ellis, 2016). The cultural model may dictate what the suitable response is to punish behaviour that brings shame on the family. Some males may find it difficult to oppose the use of violence as it may inflict further shame. Cultural models differ across cultures and communities; however, the perpetration of HKs suggest that murder is considered to be an appropriate response to punish, typically females, whose behaviour is considered shameful in some communities. The restoration of honour is often publicly displayed where perpetrators of HKs, usually males, proudly showcase their arrest among their community (Bourdieu, 1977). The community commends his actions as just and necessary and in line with his responsibilities as a male and therefore honourable (Gill, 2017). Not only has the male restored his family's honour, but also that of the community he belongs to. Again, this demonstrates how honour is both individualistic and collectivist. If the community recognises a man has honour then he has respect, prestige and power (Walker, 2018).

Whilst the Cultural interpretation highlights the role of cultural/social influences on sanctioning HKs, it does not take into account factors that maintain the perpetration of HKs. Research suggests that females are the likely victims of HKs, however, the Cultural interpretation neglects to explain why they became, and continue to be, at an increased risk of this. Additionally, this interpretation does not take into account why females may experience difficulties in challenging the status

quo and the perpetration of HKs, therefore making it difficult to fully understand why such murders continue to take place. Additionally, employing a cultural interpretation to understand the perpetration of HKs may lead to the *demonisition* of minority cultures by majority cultures, even though such murders also occur in 'western' (majority) societies such as, Sweden, Brazil and the UK, for example (Idriss & Abbas, 2010; Smith, 2016; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). As such, it is important to synthesize literature on HKs to gain an understanding of factors that motivate their perpetration and to consider why females are likely victims of such murders. A theory that does consider the position of females and social structures that may maintain the perpetration of HKs is discussed below.

Feminist Theory

A detailed explanation of Feminist Theory was provided in Chapter One; therefore, this chapter will consider its application to the perpetration of HKs. Feminist Theory argues that VAW is upheld by patriarchal structures, in which women occupy a subordinate position compared to men. Adherence to gender roles, whereby women are submissive and obedient, allow men to exert control over women through aggression (Shankar et al., 2013). Solberg (2009) reported that women in South Asian countries had limited understanding of their Human Rights and were unlikely to know if and when their rights were violated. As such, some SAW may not challenge the perpetration of violence against them as they may view it as a 'normal' part of their life as a woman. Whilst efforts have been made to educate SAW about equality and freedom, such initiatives place women in further turmoil (Zia, 2019). Though it is important to empower women to strive for equality, it difficult to achieve this in a patriarchal society. Any challenge posed by females against their subordinate position

could be viewed as a threat to honour, and as a result violence may be perpetrated against them to control transgressions. This reinforces Feminist Theory argument as any fight for equality by women is suppressed by the men to maintain patriarchy (Gill, 2013). However, it is important to note that HKs are not prevalent across all patriarchal cultures/countries and that patriarchy is not related to a country or culture (Elakkary et al., 2014). For example, in India, HKs commonly occur in states of Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and parts of Uttar Pradesh (Vishwanatha & Palakonda, 2011). As there is a concentration of HKs in particular states this suggests that there are some cultural/social factors, that differ from one state to another in a country where HKs are perpetrated. The current review will provide a clearer understanding of the role of patriarchy in the maintenance of HKs and the possible difficulties women experience because of this. It is important to note Feminist Theory may not account for all HK incidents as discussed below.

According to Feminist Theory, it is difficult to explain HKs with female defendants and male victims. When examining female perpetrated HKs, it has been argued that patriarchal constraints on women encourage them to take opportunities in which they feel empowered and equal to men. The sanctioning of HKs may provide them with that opportunity (Gill et al., 2014; Walker & Gill, 2019). Furthermore, patriarchal communities place responsibility on mothers to teach daughters the importance of maintaining honour. As such, mothers may use violence against daughters as a way to protect themselves as well as their daughters from future violence from male relatives (Kandiyoti, 1988; Wilson, 2006). It is important to note that a very small proportion of HKs are executed by females (Walker & Gill, 2019). The current review will examine the characteristics of perpetrators and victims and attitudes of women towards HKs, to gain a better understanding of their role in HKs.

This will improve our understanding of how well Feminist Theory explains all HKs.

The victimisation of males in HKs may not be accounted for by Feminist Theory, however patriarchy places importance on adhering to certain characteristics. Male victims may represent the existence of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity refers to a hierarchy of masculinity defined by certain characteristics which set out to define the ideal man. Men who cannot provide for their family, may be seen as subordinates to the ideal man (Anderson, 2017). Equally, males who bring shame on their family may become victims of HKs as they may be seen as inferior to the 'ideal man'. For example, Idriss (2020; in press) found that males too are victims of patriarchal social norms and pressures, therefore it would be important to further understand the role of patriarchy in the victimisation of males in HKs. The current review will play an important part in synthesising literature relating to HKs in South Asia and the Middle East to understand motives behind HKs where both males and females are victims.

Religion and HKs

Finally, considerable attention has been given to understanding the religious context of HKs (Idriss & Abbas, 2010). Although researchers argue that Islam does not condone the use of violence according to the Quran (Hadid et al., 2001; Idriss, 2017b; Idriss & Abbas, 2010), aspects of the Islamic law, such as Shariah Law, could be seen to support VAW. Emphasis is placed on maintaining a patriarchal society where males control females to ensure they obey the strict moral code set within the law (Douki et al., 2003). Whilst harsh discipline is common practice in Shariah Law, it does not state that individuals have the authority to punish others (Douki et al., 2003). Additionally, HKs are not just restricted to countries that implement Shariah

Law, as they occur in non-Muslim and Western countries such as, Sweden, Italy, Brazil and the UK (Idriss & Abbas, 2010; Smith, 2016; Vandello & Cohen, 2003), therefore, questioning whether religion influences the perpetration of HKs (Idriss & Abbas, 2010). By focusing on the religious context of HKs, the current review will aim to examine religious influences on the perpetration of HKs in South Asia and the Middle East.

To summarise, a full explanation for HKs may not be provided by one single theory, or interpretation. This is concerning because contradicting theoretical explanations may result in ineffective strategies being put in place (based on an erroneous theory), therefore potentially allowing for the perpetration of HKs to continue. A sound theoretical framework provides information on key variables that may influence the cause of a particular phenomenon, in this case, HKs (Lederman & Lederman, 2015). It appears that a full explanation for HKs may need to encompass a combination of different factors, which suggests there may be a need for a new coherent theory to explain the perpetration of HKs. Given the complexity of reasons for the perpetration of HKs, it is necessary to synthesise literature on HKs to understand the current trends. The results from the current review will further our theoretical understanding of HKs, which is crucial when developing and applying responsive interventions and strategies to protect those most vulnerable from HKs.

Justification for the current review

Given the mixed literature and theoretical understanding, it is important to further our understanding about HKs. Understanding the context in which they occur will help establish appropriate interventions to address these murders. At present, there is a gap in literature reviewing and synthesising research examining HKs. Moreover,

as highlighted in Chapter One, there does not appear to be a sequential pattern for the perpetration of violence to restore honour (Gill & Brah, 2014). Not all HBV/A leads to HKs, therefore it is important to specifically understand the perpetration of HKs separately to identify systems that maintain them. As noted previously, females belonging to a patriarchal society are at a higher risk of experiencing violence, and therefore at an increased risk of being victims of HKs (Ayyub, 2000; Natarajan, 2002). Such social systems can be found in South Asian and Middle Eastern countries; therefore, the review will exclusively focus on these populations, rather than focus on minority communities in the UK which live under a less patriarchal society. Although patriarchy is present in Western society, there is a reported reduction of overt patriarchy due to an increase in education, autonomy and financial independence of South Asian women (Ahmad et al., 2004; Mintz, 1998). The review will focus on literature from 2007 – 2020, taking into account the impact of the social changes on HKs, in South Asia and the Middle East.

Method

Scoping exercise

In order to identify any pre-existing or planned systematic reviews relating to HKs, a scoping exercise was conducted whereby databases specific for reviews were searched. The scoping search was conducted on 01 April 2019 and the databases examined included, Google Scholar, Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews and The Centre for Reviews and Dissemination. The date range for the scoping search was from 2010 to 2020. Two reviews relating to HBV/A were found. One of the reviews focused on HBV/A (Bhanbhro et al., 2016), whereas the other review specifically explored HKs in the Middle East and North Africa (Kulczycki & Windle 2011).

First, Bhanbhro et al. (2016) examined HBV/A generally and included papers exploring genital mutilation, forced marriages and other types of VAW. By grouping different offences related to VAW, there is a risk of overlooking key factors that are linked to a specific offence. This can make it difficult to implement effective interventions to reduce VAW as key factors linked to a specific offence may not be targeted. Additionally, the review used one database (Scopus), therefore potentially excluding relevant papers that may have been found on other databases.

Second, Kulczycki and Windle (2011) conducted a systematic review exploring papers related to HKs in the Middle East and North Africa. Unlike, Bhanbhro et al. (2016), Kulczycki and Windle (2011), examined multiple databases (i.e., PubMed, Google Scholar, Contemporary Women's Issues, Applied Social Science Index and Abstracts) to identify relevant literature for the review. The authors did not apply restrictions to publication date and language for the included studies, however they had to be peer reviewed and were quality assessed by the authors. Overall, the systematic review by Kulczyski and Windle (2011) appeared to be of high quality, synthesising literature related to HKs in the Middle East and North Africa to broaden our understanding about murders in the name of honour.

Upon assessing the two reviews (Bhanbhro et al., 2016; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011), it justified the need to complete the current systematic review. Whilst Kulczycki and Windle's (2011) review specifically focused on HKs, it was completed nine years ago, and the South Asian population was not explored. Given that the meaning of honour may be a culturally/socially bound concept that differs from one family/community to another (Hague et al., 2013), the findings might be different for South Asian and Middle Eastern populations. Therefore, it is important to conduct this systematic literature review to update our understanding of HKs by including recent

literature not included in the 2011 review (Kulczyski & Windle) and taking into account South Asian populations.

To this end, an initial search on PsycINFO ensured there was sufficient literature to justify the completion of the current review (including 12 new studies that had been published since the Kulczyski & Windle (2011) review). The initial search also guided the development of the research question, search terms and the identification of relevant databases for conducting the main search for papers.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Research questions are often formulated in terms of the population, intervention, comparison and outcome. The PICO framework comprises of these elements and is often the most popular choice when generating a research question for systematic reviews (Methley et al., 2014). Researchers have suggested that it is more suited for developing questions centred on interventions, therapies and evidence-based practice (Higgins & Green, 2008). As such, the PICO framework was not used for the current review. Instead, the SPIDER (Sample, Phenomenon of Interest, Design, Evaluation, Research type) framework (Cooke et al., 2012) was considered more appropriate as it allowed the researcher to develop an explorative research question, An Exploration of So-Called 'Honour' Killings in the Middle East and South Asia, as well as the inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Table 1 for an overview).

In 2015, Cetin identified that HKs had become more visible in media in the previous 10 years (i.e., from 2005 onwards) and as a result pressure has been placed on government to make new regulations to protect women. Initially, the literature search start date was going to begin from 2005, however upon reviewing studies specifically relating to HKs in the Middle East and South Asia only, one was published

in 2005, but the data was collected prior to 2005 (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005). An additional study (Kardam, 2007) also collected data prior to 2005 and therefore would not have captured the changes identified by Cetin (2015). Therefore, the above two studies were not included in the current review. As such, data collection for studies post 2005 was considered for the current review which consisted of literature published in the last 13 years (2007-2020). This ensured the review was relevant and sensitive to the current developments regarding the topic of HKs. In order to broaden the search for literature and due to its limited availability, it was decided that the Middle East population would incorporate Turkey. Kulczycki and Windle (2011) found cultural similarities between Turkey and Middle Eastern countries, therefore combined the two in their review. In addition to this, during the preliminary search, many similarities were identified between South Asian and Middle Eastern populations. For example, both populations hold collectivist views and uphold a patriarchal structure and the honour system (Dogan, 2014) and in these populations, support-seeking among females is relatively low. Due to these similarities, it could be inferred the cultural model in these population is similar, therefore justifying the inclusion of literature from South Asian and Middle Eastern populations in this systematic review. A full list of Middle Eastern and South Asian countries can be found in Appendix A.

Literature from both male and female victims was included in the review to ensure a thorough exploration of literature on HKs. The review only included peer-reviewed studies and excluded material from dissertations, government reports, conference materials and non-peer reviewed articles. Finally, due to practical reasons, inclusion of studies was restricted to those published in English.

Table 1

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

	Inclusion	Exclusion
Sample	Middle East (including Turkey) South Asia Male and female victims of HKs Research published in English	Populations outside of the Middle East and South Asia Research data collected prior to 2005
Phenomenon of interest	Characteristics of perpetrators and victims of HKs Factors that influence the perpetration of HKs Religious context of HKs	HBV/A in general Other forms of violence, indirectly related to HKs
Design	Experimental research Observational research Quasi-experimental research Primary and secondary data Published studies Peer reviewed studies	Material from books Unpublished studies Systematic reviews Dissertations Non-peer reviewed studies
Evaluation	Attitudes towards HKs and cultural and other influences instigating the perpetration of HKs	Anything not related to HKs
Research type	Quantitative Qualitative	N/A

Search strategies and search terms

Upon completing the preliminary search and reading through the two reviews mentioned above, the following databases were identified as being appropriate for conducting the main search to identify relevant literature:

- Ovid EMBASE (1947 to June 05, 2020)

- Ovid Medline (1946 to June week 1, 2020)

- Ovid PsycINFO (1967 to June week 1, 2020)

- Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA) (2007 – 2020)

- Scopus (2007 – 2020)

The database searches were first run in March 2019 and then again in June 2020. The search terms were developed in two stages. First, particular focus was given to the search terms employed in previous reviews and papers relating to HKs. Second, the search terms were further developed with assistance from a University of Birmingham librarian. The terms were expanded by exploring different words associated with the same meaning to ensure all papers useful for the current review were detected during the search. Middle East and South Asia, were included as part of the initial search terms. However, these were later removed as papers with these terms were unrelated to the inclusion criteria. Similarly, patriarchal violence, gender violence and genital mutilation were included in the initial search terms, however were later removed as a large number of papers unrelated to HKs was produced during the search. The search syntax can be found in Appendix B. The final search terms consisted of the following words:

honour OR honor OR izzat AND violen* OR killing* OR murder OR crime* AND culture* OR tradition* AND karo kari* OR Kala kali*

Upon completing the search with the terms identified above on each database, the references were exported to RefWorks and duplicate references were removed. The title of each paper was reviewed to remove any that were irrelevant. The main

reasons for the removal of such papers was due to them being in a language other than English, non-peer reviewed research, published prior to 2007 and exploration of HBV/A in general (see Figure 1).

Quality assessment of included studies

When assessing the quality of a study, particular attention is given to whether the methodology produced any biases in the research. Biases can impact the interpretation of findings and how they are reported (Katrak et al., 2004). As the studies in the review used different research methods (qualitative and quantitative) the Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool (MMAT; Hong et al., 2018; Pluye et al., 2009) was used to appraise the included studies. The MMAT was specifically designed for systematic reviews which included qualitative and quantitative studies. The MMAT consists of the following 2 screening questions:

- Are there clear research questions?

- Does the collected data allow you to address the research questions?

If either of these questions receives either '*no*' or *'can't tell'*, then further appraisal is not advised. Following the screening questions, there are separate categories of questions for qualitative and quantitative studies. Each question can be responded with either *'yes', 'no',* or *'can't tell'.* The authors discourage the exclusion of studies based on their low methodological quality and instead encourage researchers to discuss the limitations in their systematic reviews (Hong et al., 2018).

As recommended by Hong et al. (2018), the quality of the studies was appraised by the researcher and two independent Forensic Psychologists who had experience of using the MMAT. After individually appraising the studies, the results were discussed to address any differences in the appraisal. All the studies were

included in the review as they were identified to be of good quality. Appraised studies using the MMAT can be found in Appendix C.

Data extraction

Munro et al.'s (2007) data extraction form was used for the current review. This ensured that the data extraction was performed in a standardised manner. The data extraction form can be found in Appendix D. A table summarising the data extraction from the included studies can be found in the results section of the review (Table 2).

<div align="center">

Results

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Figure 1 summarises the database search process. The total number of studies found through searching the databases was 520. Four additional studies were identified through searching reference lists of papers related to HKs. Three hundred and twelve duplicate articles were removed and the remaining 212 papers were hand searched to check for their relevancy to research question for the review. A further 189 papers were removed as they were not relevant for the review. Finally, a further nine papers that did not meet the inclusion criteria were removed. The remaining 14 studies that met the inclusion criteria were quality assessed and included in the review. A further study was identified when the review was updated in June 2020, therefore the review included 15 studies. Table 2 provides a summary of the data extracted from each study included in the review. In the results section that follows, there will initially be a broad overview of studies and subsequently a discussion of the study findings in relation to the broader literature.

Figure A

Database search and study selection

Ovid

Medline and PsycINFO = 210 papers

EMBASE = 42 papers

Proquest

ASSIA = 32 papers

Scopus = 236 papers

4 additional papers identified through reference list search

Total number of papers found = 524

↓

Remaining articles after duplicates removed = 212

↓

Articles removed

Irrelevant = 189 papers

Inclusion criteria not met = 9 papers

↓

Final number of papers remaining = 14

Additional paper found in February 2020

Papers included in the review after quality assessment = 15

Table 2

Summary of studies included in the review

Paper	Aim	Sample and methodology	Findings	Limitations
D'Lima, Solotaroff and Pande, 2020	To examine HKs across India and Pakistan to establish similarities and differences in the motives, types and characteristics.	Content analysis of 201 cases of HKs (100 cases from Pakistan and 101 cases from India). The authors only reviewed news articles which included information on the location, date and motivation for the HK; religion; age of the victim; the relationship between victim and perpetration; and the method used for the HK.	In Pakistan, the majority of HKs occurred in the Punjab province, whereas the HKs in India occurred in a number of states, but mostly in Haryana, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. Majority of victims in Pakistan and India were female, however India had more male victims compared to Pakistan. Perpetrators HKs in both Pakistan and India were male relatives, however some female relatives also supported the killings. Methods of HKs varied across the two countries. Motives for the HKs, in both countries, were centred around control over women's sexuality; to punish those who married without consent, or outside family tribe, class or caste; and if women were transgressing from social norms by behaving in a 'modern' way.	The use of secondary data should be taken with caution due to possible inaccuracies reported in the news articles.
Rahim, 2017	To assess whether high criminal thinking had a relationship with positive attitude towards HKs.	The study was completed in Pakistan with Pakistani participants. The study comprised of 2 samples. Sample 1 was a general population sample comprising of 302 college/university students, of which 176 were females and 126 were males. The second sample was 72 incarcerated males of which 26 were honour killers and 46 were convicted of manslaughter unrelated to HKs. The average age of	One way ANOVA was conducted to assess the differences in TCU-CTS scores between honour killers, murderers and men and women in the general population. Honour killers scored higher on the TCU-CTS compared to murderers. There was no significant difference between the mean scores of men and women from the general population sample. The results also revealed that those who had a high score on the TCU-CTS, scored positively on the ATHK assessment, therefore had a positive attitude towards HKs.	The general population consists of college/university students, therefore is not representative of Pakistan's general population, particularly rural populations where HKs are practised and accepted. The validity and reliability of ATHK is unknown.

| | | sample 1 was 22 years and of sample 2 was 32 years.

The Texas Christian University Criminal Thinking Scale (TCU-CTS) and newly developed Attitude towards Honour Killings (ATHK) were administered to the participants. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Al Ghariaibeh, 2016 | To better understand the role of custom, religion and law in honour-related crimes and to explore their implications for social work. | 160 documents from 24 criminal court trials HKs that occurred in Jordan between 2010 – 2014 were analysed using content analysis. | Perpetrators of HKs were usually male relatives of female victims. The paper provided insight into the characteristics of the victims, method used for the murders, relationship between the victims and offender, length of sentence HKs and Islam and motives for the HKs. The motive behind the HKs included: the victim' desire to marry someone they loved, long absence from home, illegitimate pregnancy and relationship, prostitution, victims caught talking to someone on the phone, and rape. | Data for this research had been collated from court files; therefore, not from the perspective of the perpetrators or the families of the perpetrators or victims. |
| Dogan, 2016 | To examine and identify patterns, dynamics and perpetrator experiences in HKs to provide insight into the factors leading to the murders. | 65 prisons across 37 different cities were visited in Turkey. 34 male prisoners who had committed HKs were interviewed and transcripts were analysed using Thematic Analysis. | Thematic analysis identified the following major themes: rumour and suspicion as instigating event, techniques used to neutralise the killing, pressure to kill, attempts to escape from publicity of dishonourable conduct, alternatives to restore honour without seeking violence, feelings of regret, and probability of reoffending. | Data collected for this study is only from a Turkish sample, therefore it questionable whether the findings are representative of other populations/cultures in HKs occur. |
| Shaikh, Kamal and Naqvi, 2015 | To explore the perspectives of university students on HKs. | 989 undergraduate and postgraduate students were recruited from 2 private and 4 public universities situated in Islamabad and Rawalpindi in Pakistan of which 523 were males and 466 females. The | With regards to the recent incident, 83.0% of men believed the female did not deserve to die, compared to 94.6% of the female participants. With regards to responses on gender roles, obedience and killing in the name of honour, overall, more male participants believed women should be obedient to their fathers and | There was a lack of information provided about the differences in attitudes of students based on the city they were studying in and if they attended a private or public university. Such information may have provided an insight into whether |

		students were firstly asked their opinions about a recent HK, whereby a female was stoned to death by her family for marrying someone of her own choice. Secondly, the students were asked about their opinions on gender roles, obedience, and killing in the name of honour.	husbands. Additionally, males held more supportive attitudes towards HKs in general compared to female participants.	differences in attitudes exist depending on the university you attend (economic factors) and the area you study in.
Deol, 2014	To understand the motives and characteristics of HKs in Haryana state, India.	Content analysis of 100 cases of HKs reported in an English newspaper in Haryana, India.	The findings highlighted that perpetrators of HKs are male relatives (fathers, brothers and uncles), however there was a small percentage of cases where the victim's mother perpetrated the HK. Most HKs occurred in areas where there was a concentration of the same religion and caste. While the victims of HKs were mostly female, there were incidents where both male and females were murdered. The main reasons for the HKs were related to relationships outside religion and caste.	The study only analysed HK cases reported in one newspaper, therefore may not have completely captured HKs in Haryana.
Dogan, 2014	To gain a better understanding of the different cultural perspectives of honour and shame that support the perpetration of HKs.	65 prisons across 37 different cities were visited in Turkey to identify suitable participants for the research. The sample consisted 39 prisoners, 34 of which were male perpetrators and 5 female perpetrators. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the interviews.	The participants' responses were categorised into separate groups. In one group, the prisoners' responses related to ideal standards that should be obeyed by men and women to ensure they lead an honourable life. Responses also referred to the main characteristics of honour and how these characteristics inspire HKs.	Data collected for this study is only from a Turkish sample, therefore it questionable whether the findings are representative of other populations/cultures in HKs occur.
Bhanbhro, Wassan, Shah, Talpur and Wassan, 2013	To examine and understand the context and relationship between people, cultural, social, economic and	The study consisted of 2 sample groups. The first sample was 6 female and 10 male participants, who were residents of a small village in Pakistan. The second sample	Social, cultural, behavioural and financial motives were identified as motives for HKs by both samples.	The generalisability of the findings needs to be tested due to the small sample.

	political arrangements and institutions in which incidents of HKs occur.	was 4 females and 2 male participants from a university in Pakistan. The participants were engaged in semi-structured interviews which were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.		
Dogan, 2013	To examine whether HKs are purely revenge murders.	65 prisons across 37 different cities were visited in Turkey to identify suitable participants for the research. The sample consisted 39 prisoners, 34 of which were male perpetrators and 5 female perpetrators. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the interviews.	The results from the study did not support the notion that HKs are revenge murders. The thematic analysis revealed how the perpetrators felt pressure from community and family members through insults, to perpetrate the HKs. 44% of male and 60% of female perpetrators showed remorse and regret for the HKs.	Data collected for this study is only from a Turkish sample, therefore it questionable whether the findings are representative of other populations/cultures in which HKs occur.
Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013	The study examined attitudes towards so-called 'honour'-based crimes, specifically HKs.	The study used 856 9th grade students from Amman, Jordan. In total, 14 schools were approached for the sample. 429 students were from private schools and 427 from state schools. A quantitative approach was used whereby the authors devised an Honour Killings Attitude scale. The scale consisted of 4 items asking the participants to what extent they agree or disagree that it is okay for a man to kill his sister, his daughter, or his wife in the name of honour, and whether they generally believe that killing for honour is ok. These items were	• 40% of boys supported HKs compared to 22% of girls • Adolescents who had experienced 'harsh' discipline from their fathers were likely to have attitudes supporting HKs • Attitudes supporting HKs were not exclusive to a particular religious belief, therefore suggesting that the concept of honour is a cultural phenomenon • Adolescents from lower educational, socio-economical and traditional backgrounds were more likely to support HKs	In Amman about 31% of secondary school students attend private schools (Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Ministry of Education, 2012). As nearly half of the sample comprises of students from private schools, the sample is therefore likely to over-represent adolescents from middle class backgrounds.

		administered as part of a set of 13 items where it may be justifiable to kill.		
Chesler and Bloom, 2012	To examine Hindu and Muslim HKs.	The authors identified HKs through media reports. The study consisted of 75 Hindu HKs in India, 50 Muslim HKs in Pakistan and 39 Pakistani Muslim HKs in the West. Hindu HKs in the West are rare, therefore were not included in the present study as there were not sufficient numbers for a comparison.	The authors identified a difference in form and commission of HKs among the 3 sample groups. There was a greater number (40%) of male victims among Indian Hindu HKs, compared to Pakistani Muslim in Pakistan and the West. There was a greater number of HKs among Western Pakistan Muslims due to the victim's 'immoral character' (65%) compared to Pakistani Muslims in Pakistan (14%).	The data was collected from media reports; therefore, the secondary data may include some inaccuracies.
Muhammad, Ahmed, Abdullah, Omer and Shah, 2012	To examine the Islamic perspective of HKs in Pakistan.	The authors used Islamic doctrines, such as the Quran and Hadiths, to clarify the guidance of Islam in cases of HKs.	The authors found that Islamic doctrines do not condone murder. In fact, the Quran and Hadiths encourage a fair trial to prove guilt.	The results examine the Islamic perspective, therefore may not be generalisable to HKs committed in other religions.
Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal and Masood, 2010	To examine attitudes held by men and women in relation to killings in the name of honour.	Cross-sectional survey consisted of a convenience sample from Islamabad, Pakistan. In total, 601 participants took part in the study of which 307 were males and 294 were females. The participants were presented with a vignette, where a wife was cheating on her husband, to gain their opinion on whether the husband should kill his wife to preserve honour.	The authors found that more males compared to females thought the husband did the right thing by killing his wife to save honour. More males compared to females thought the husband should have killed the man he found his wife with. More females compared to males thought the husband should have divorced his wife. Lastly, more females compared to males thought the husband should have forgiven his wife and asked her not to cheat on him again.	A convenience sample was used, therefore not representative of the general public in Pakistan. Only one incident was explored to gain perspective on HKs, therefore it is difficult to conclude whether the participants condone HKs in all situations that may impact honour.
Nasrullah, Haqqi and	To explore the epidemiological	The study was completed in Pakistan, where the Human Rights Commission of	The findings provided information on the characteristics of perpetrators, victims and the methods used to murder the victims. The study	The data was collected from media reports; therefore, the secondary data may include some inaccuracies.

Cummings, 2009	patterns of HKs in Pakistan.	Pakistan (HRCP) systematically collected data of 1,954 HKs using newspaper reports from January 2004 until December 2007. Data from the newspaper reports were exacted using a form the authors devised.	also highlighted that the rate of HKs is higher in the Sindh province than other provinces.	
Patel and Gadit, 2008	An exploration of the practice of Karo-Kari in Pakistan.	The author's conducted a descriptive review of media reports and non-governmental organisation reports of Karo-Kari killings. Of the 30 reports, 16 focused on international perspectives and 14 were focused on Pakistani perspective of Karo-Kari killings in Pakistan.	The author's found that socio-cultural and gender role expectations have given legitimacy to the practice of Karo-Kari in Pakistan.	The data was collected from media reports; therefore, the secondary data may include some inaccuracies.

Overview of studies included in the review

Settings and populations of study

The studies included in the review were mostly conducted in their native language (i.e., Urdu, Turkish and Arabic), and then translated and published in English. Two of the studies included in this review were conducted in Jordan (Al Gharaibeh, 2016; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013), three in Turkey (Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016) and six in Pakistan (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008; Rahim, 2017; Shaikh et al. 2010; Shaikh et al. 2015). Chesler and Bloom (2012) and D'Lima et al. (2020) collected data from media reports about HKs in India and Pakistan. Deol (2014) collected data from newspaper reports in Haryana, India. Muhammad et al. (2012) examined the Quran and Hadiths to examine the Islamic perspective on HKs.

Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of each study have been summarised in Table 2. For each included study the specific aims and objectives varied as did the participants, the setting and methodology. For example, four of the studies (Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016; Rahim, 2017) collected data from perpetrators of HKs, therefore providing an insight into factors that led to the killings from the perspective of perpetrators. Bhanbhro et al. (2012), Eisner and Ghuneim, (2013), Shaikh et al. (2010), and Shaikh et al. (2015) aimed to explore attitudes towards HKs. However, the methodology, participants, and setting of the studies differed. Studies conducted by Al Gharaibeh (2016), Chesler and Bloom (2012), Deol (2014); D'Lima et al. (2020), Nasrullah et al. (2009) and Patel and Gadit (2008), provided insight into the characteristics of perpetrators and victims, the motives behind the HKs and the religious context of HKs. The consolidation of

findings from each study will further develop our understanding of HKs in the Middle East and South Asia.

Methodologies and outcome measures

Of the 15 studies included in the review, 11 were qualitative (Al Gharaibeh, 2016; Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016; Muhammad et al., 2012; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008) and the remaining four studies employed quantitative approaches when analysing the data (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Rahim, 2017; Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015). Patel and Gadit (2008) used media and non-governmental reports in the Sindh province of Pakistan to understand the perpetration of HKs in that region. Similarly, Chesler and Bloom (2012), Deol (2014), D'lima (2020), and Nasrullah et al. (2009) used media/newspaper reports to explore the characteristics and motives of HKs. Muhammad et al. (2012) explored the Islamic perspective on HKs by reviewing the Quran and Hadiths, which are religious Islamic text. Dogan (2013; 2014; 2016) thematically analysed semi-structured interviews with individuals imprisoned for committing HKs in Turkey. Al Gharaibeh (2016) analysed the content of court documents from 24 criminal trials of HKs that occurred between 2010 and 2014 to identify motives and patterns for why the murders took place.

Studies using a quantitative methodology to explore attitudes towards HKs each adopted a different approach for their research (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Rahim, 2017; Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015). Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) developed their own measure called Honour Killing Attitudes due to a lack of pre-existing tools to measure attitudes towards HKs. The new measure consisted of 13 items, four of which were specifically related to HKs, for example: "It is ok for a man to kill his

daughter, sister or wife if she has dishonoured her family" and "it is ok to kill for honour". To limit socially desirable responses, the HK items were embedded amongst questions exploring situations in which one may justify killing another, such as "it is ok to kill in self-defence". For each item, participants answered on a 4-point Likert scale that ranged from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. In addition to this, the authors also included variables that measured participants' socio-demographic background, such as sex, parental education, family size, parental occupation and religion. Furthermore, variables closely associated with HKs were measured. These included religiosity (the intensity of religious beliefs), traditionalism (the importance of Arab traditions), female chastity expectations (cultural expectations regarding the decency and chastity of females), moral neutralisation (justification of using aggressive behaviour) and parental harsh discipline (assessment of parental discipline). The study enabled the authors to explore factors that may contribute to supportive attitudes towards HKs amongst adolescents. The study consisted of 856 ninth grade students who were identified from 14 different schools in Amman, Jordan. To ensure there was representation of different socio-economical background, the selection of schools chosen for the sample recruitment was purposeful. Of the total sample, 429 students were from private schools and 427 from state schools.

Shaikh et al. (2010) presented adult males and females with a vignette whereby a woman was murdered by her husband to save honour after she was found in bed with another man. Participants for this study were approached in public places, such as bus stops and markets, in Islamabad, Pakistan. To explore attitudes towards HKs, participants were asked questions such as 'the husband did the right thing by killing his wife', 'the husband should have killed the man his wife was found with', 'the husband did not do the right thing by killing his wife' and 'the husband should have

divorced his wife instead of killing her'. Only one incident/vignette was used to explore attitudes towards HKs, therefore it is difficult to conclude whether the participants, in general, condoned HKs to restore honour. As such, results from this study should be interpreted with caution when forming conclusions about attitudes towards HKs.

Shaikh et al. (2015) presented university students with a vignette of an incident whereby a pregnant female was stoned to death by her family for marrying a man of her own choice. To gain the participants perspective on the incident, they were asked whether 'the woman deserved to be killed', 'the family did the right thing by killing the woman' and 'the woman's family should have killed her husband as well'. Further questions were also asked in relation to gender roles, female obedience to father/husband, and killing in the name of honour. The participants were asked to respond to these questions by choosing either 'yes', 'no' 'maybe' and 'don't know'. The authors did not provide information about the reliability and validity of questionnaire used in the study; therefore, it is difficult to conclude whether attitudes towards HKs were measured effectively. Similar to Shaikh et al. (2010), Shaikh et al. (2015) also used one incident/vignette to explore attitudes towards HKs, therefore the results may not reflect general attitudes towards HKs, and caution should be applied when interpreting the results from this study.

Finally, Rahim (2017) administered The Texas Christian University Criminal Thinking Scale (TCU-CTS) and Attitude towards Honour Killings (ATHK; which the author developed) to a general public sample comprising of males and females and 26 Honour Killers and 46 murders. The results from the assessments were compared to establish whether high criminal thinking had a relationship with positive attitude towards HKs.

In the following section, the emerging themes and findings from the studies included in the review are discussed, while drawing on the broader literature.

Findings of studies included in the review and discussion within the context of broader literature

Victim characteristics, the relationship between victim and perpetrators, and the methods used for HKs

Of the included studies, five specifically examined the characteristics of victims, the relationship between perpetrator and victims, and the methods used for the HKs (Al Ghariaibeh, 2016; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'lima et al., 2020; Nasrullah et al., 2009). From analysing court documents of HK trials in Jordan, Al Gharaibeh (2016) found that 42% of the victims were never married, 37% were married and 21% were divorced. The findings suggest that the behaviour of victims, who were single, was at greater risk of being perceived as dishonourable by their family. Victims of HKs were females over the age of 18 years, suggesting that adults were more likely than children and adolescents to act in a manner perceived as dishonourable. Similarly, Chesler and Bloom (2012) found that of the 710 HKs in the Sindh province of Pakistan, the majority of victims were adult females (*n=605*). This is consistent with findings by Bhanbhro et al. (2013), Deol (2014), D'Lima et al. (2020), Dogan (2014; 2016) and Nasrullah et al. (2009) who found that victims of HKs tended to be adult females. However, interestingly, there was a greater percentage of male victims among Hindu HKs in India (40%) compared to Pakistan (14%) and Pakistani HKs in the West (15%; Chesler & Bloom, 2012). Consistent with findings by D'Lima et al. (2020), there was a higher number of male victims in India (21%) compared to Pakistan (10.1%). Deol (2014), who focused on the Indian population,

found that of the 100 HKs in Haryana, India, both males and females had been killed in 38 cases. This indicates, that although females are the more likely victims of HKs, there is a higher percentage of male victims among Indian HKs, suggesting cultural factors specific to India may increase the risk of male victimisation.

Within this review, eight papers examined the relationship between perpetrators and victims of HKs. All eight papers found that perpetrators tended to be male relatives of the victims (Al Gharaibeh, 2016; Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Deol, 2014; D'lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2014; 2016; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit 2008). Al Gharaibeh (2016) found that 45% of the perpetrators were brothers, 29% were the victim's fathers, 8% were the victim's uncles. In the remaining 18% of cases, the victims were killed by individuals not related to them, however the killing was ordered by their family. The results from this study indicate that all the perpetrators were male relatives of the victims or had been ordered by a male relative to carry out the killing. From interviewing residents belonging to a village in Pakistan, Bhanbhro et al. (2013) found that male relatives were responsible for punishing females who behaved shamefully. If the male relative did not uphold this responsibility, then he was considered a 'no man' as he was unable to control his female relative. This suggests that males are responsible for restoring honour and therefore are likely to perpetrate HKs to maintain an honourable position in society. This reinforces how patriarchy defines the norms of masculinity, in that men are responsible for restoring honour through violence, thus maintaining gender (male) domination.

Similarly, Dogan (2014; 2016) interviewed 34 male prisoners who had committed HKs against female relatives. Dogan (2014) highlighted that females were also imprisoned for HKs, but there were fewer female prisoners compared to male prisoners. This is consistent with Deol (2014) who found that in 3% of the HK cases

reviewed, the perpetrators were mothers of the victim. When comparing the characteristics of perpetrators in India and Pakistan, D'Lima et al. (2020) found more mothers and female relatives were involved in HKs in India (38%) compared to Pakistan (7%). More fathers had perpetrated the HKs in India (44%) compared to Pakistan (21%), however, in Pakistan, husbands (30%) were often involved in the murder, whereas in India this was less common (3%). Nasrullah et al. (2009) also found that the majority of HKs (1,957 in total) in Pakistan between 2004 to 2007, 38% were committed by husbands, 22% by brothers, 10% by close male relatives, 6% by fathers, 3% by sons. 10% of HKs were committed by a mix of male and female relatives, local residents, employers and others and in the remaining 11% of cases, the perpetrators were unknown. Similar conclusions were made by Patel and Gadit (2008), who explored Karo-Kari killings in Pakistan and found that the majority of perpetrators were husbands of the victims, followed by the victims' brothers. Together, the findings from these studies highlight that males are likely to perpetrate HKs against female relatives. This supports the existence of a patriarchal system which governs the protection of honour. Men are viewed as the protectors of honour and fulfil this role by killing women who bring shame on the family. However, the differences in characteristics of perpetrators in India and Pakistan may suggest differences in motives for HKs. Additionally, fathers in India may have the responsibility of restoring lost honour unlike fathers in Pakistan. The greater number of HKs perpetrated by mothers and other female relatives in India compared to Pakistan (D'Lima et al., 2020) may highlight the differences in roles and responsibilities of women in the two countries. The role of women in HKs is discussed later in this review.

Of the included studies, four considered the methods used to carry out HKs (Al

Gharaibeh, 2016; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; D'Lima et al., 2020; Nusrullah et al., 2009). The most common method used in Jordan was stabbing (Al Gharaibeh, 2016), whereas in Pakistan firearms were frequently used (D'Lima et al., 2020; Nusrullah et al., 2009). D'Lima et al. (2020) found that although different methods were used for the HKs in India and Pakistan, both countries used the killings as cautionary tale to warn others of the consequences of transgressing from social norms. In cases of male victims or couple HKs, the murders were publicly displayed and were more gruesome (public beheading or burning). Chesler and Bloom (2012) found that in 39% of Hindu HKs in India, the victims were tortured, compared to 12% of Muslim HKs in Pakistan. However, 59% of Pakistani Muslims living in the West used torturous methods to maximise the victim's pain during the HK, though the authors have not defined what those methods were. The increased use of torture in the West could be a result of Muslim Pakistani's feeling threatened about greater opportunities available to females to behave in a way considered shameful. More extreme methods to control females might be used when the threat of behaving dishonourably is greater, such as in the West. There appears to be a distinct difference in the methods used for male victims compared to female victims. It is important to understand why male HKs are more torturous and publicly displayed. The victimisation of males in Hindu HKs were related to caste issues. Often, the male victim belonged to a lower caste compared to the female with whom he was in a relationship (Deol, 2014). The male HKs were often perpetrated by the female's family; therefore, they could be seen as a 'revenge' killing, requiring a more public display. Further research is required to understand the motives behind male HKs and this information could play an important part in protecting future male victims from HKs.

Overall, the findings reinforce that women are the bearers of honour and can

be punished to death by male relatives if their behaviour challenges the honour system. The unexpected nature of HKs may give rise to uncertainty and fear amongst women, which may cause them adhere to stereotypical models set by society (Bhanbro et al., 2013). As a result, the patriarchal system continues to be maintained, while women feel powerless in state governed by men.

Systems upholding HKs

All of the papers in this review, highlighted how some social structures uphold the practice of HKs in Middle Eastern and South Asian countries. Whilst HKs occur across Pakistan and India, there are certain states/provinces where the prevalence is higher, such as the Sindh province of Pakistan and Punjab (D'Lima et al., 2020; Nasrullah et al., 2009). Northern states in India, such as Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and the Southern state of Tamil Nandu, have higher rates of HKs compared to other states (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020). Media reports suggest that Government Officials in Pakistan are either unable or unwilling to cope with HKs (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Chesler & Bloom, 2012). Patel and Gadit (2008) reported that the deteriorating judicial system makes it difficult to uphold laws against HKs, resulting in lenient sentencing. The leniency in sentences could play a part in justifying and maintaining the practice of HKs.

In eight of the papers the role of patriarchal systems in sanctioning the practice of HKs was identified (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Chesler & Bloom 2012; D'Lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2014; 2016; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008; Rahim, 2017). With HKs predominantly perpetrated by males, it suggests that men have taken a governmental position in society whereby they police the manner in which females conduct themselves. Males also play an extra-judicial role by punishing females who

have behaved dishonourably. The patriarchal system has led to the development and maintenance of male dominance making it difficult for females to challenge the subordinate position given to them. As a result, gender specific roles and responsibilities are maintained despite women wanting to challenge their position (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). Bhanbhro et al.'s (2013) study, found that women did not support HKs, but felt they could not prevent them from occurring due to the patriarchal system surrounding them.

When examining factors that preserve patriarchy, Bhanbhro et al. (2013) found the preservation of manhood was critical. Manhood refers to specific characteristics, such as, respectability, powerfulness, strong, authoritative, honourable, protective and sexually powerful (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). The concept of manhood was strongly associated with a male's ability to preserve honour by controlling the conduct of female relatives and punishing those who tarnish the family's honour (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). Similarly, Dogan (2014) found that maintaining honour was paramount to the way in which men lived and was an essential element of masculinity. The loss of honour equated to the loss of life and thus promoted the idea that man lives to protect his honour at any cost. The study also highlighted pressures posed by society to act in a 'manly' way to protect honour through the perpetration of HKs. Bhanbhro et al. (2013) and Patel and Gadit (2008) found that the concept of manhood was often invoked to exert power and violence over women. A male who cannot control female relatives was viewed as a eunuch and ostracised from society (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). This is further supported by Dogan (2013; 2016) who revealed that daily insults from community members pressured perpetrators to commit the HKs in order to restore honour. Both male (44%) and female (60%) perpetrators expressed remorse and regret for committing the HK, but felt there was no other way to restore honour (Dogan,

2013). This reinforces the collective element of honour and the loss of it. Not only does it impact the family, but also the family's standing in the community. D'Lima et al. (2020) found that some families were fearful of how the loss of honour would impact other, unmarried, females in their family if honour was not restored. Once honour was restored by perpetrating the HK, the family regained respect in the community. Despite some perpetrators not wanting to commit the HK, it appears that, in some communities, HKs have been normalised. Refusal to perpetrate the murder could be viewed as a transgression from the norm suggesting that HKs are likely to continue due to the support received from communities.

The inferior position of females has resulted in males holding positions in local councils, Jirga (Pakistan) and Panchayat (India), and play a role in sanctioning HKs (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; D'Lima et al., 2020; Patel & Gadit, 2008). The lack of female representation in local councils, has made it difficult to challenge VAW, and instead some councils promote the use of VAW. The lack of female police officers made it difficult for women to take action against male relatives as male police officers supported the perpetration of VAW (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). Male dominated social structures maintain the patriarchal system and reinforce the belief the females are objects and commodities and must be controlled by males. The practice of HKs maintains the concept of manhood and is a reminder to women that they must obey gender specific roles. Transgression from these norms is not tolerated and can result in death. Bhanbhro et al. (2013) identified that some women recognised that the patriarchal system was unjust; but were fearful to challenge it. Representation of females in social structures and official positions may offer some change to the patriarchal system and the oppression that women face.

Religious context of HKs and female chastity

Of the 15 studies in the review, one study explored the religious context of HKs (Muhammad et al., 2012). A further three studies examined the motives of HKs in India and Pakistan (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020). A further study (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013) explored the impact of intensity of religious beliefs on attitudes towards HKs and did not find a link between the two suggesting that religion did not influence support for HKs.

Different factors appeared to contribute to Hindu HKs in India and Muslim HKs in Pakistan (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020), although the motives were generally related to female chastity. Among the Hindu HKs, 40% were perpetrated because the victim married outside family tribe/caste/class or without family consent. Premarital romantic relationship (real or alleged) accounted for 54% of the HKs India (D'Lima et al., 2020). Similarly, Chesler and Bloom (2012) found that main motive for Hindu HKs was related to caste specific issues.

When examining the areas in which HKs occurred in Haryana, Deol (2014) found that a large proportion of HKs occurred in areas where there was a concentration of one religion or caste. 74% of the HKs occurred in areas dominated by Jats who identify themselves as the superior caste. Areas in which 3% of the HKs occurred had higher literacy rates, were more urbanised and had good transport links into cities. Additionally, within these areas there was a mix of religions and castes, resulting in more social interaction between people from different backgrounds. The results from Deol's (2014) study indicated that there may be a link between HKs and caste hierarchy. The honour system may be stronger in Jat dominated areas as social standing (i.e., honour) needs to be maintained and protected among peers in the community. Tolerance to inter-relation and inter-caste marriage may be greater in

areas where people are more educated and are exposed to different religious backgrounds and castes.

When examining Muslim HKs in Pakistan, Chesler and Bloom (2012) found female chastity to be the main motive. The importance of female chastity was also found to be the prevailing motive behind the HKs in Jordan (Al Gharaibeh, 2016). Similarly, Dogan (2016) found that rumours of female relatives behaving in a promiscuous manner, placed pressure on male relatives to commit the HK. The fear of being ostracised from the community if action was not taken by the family, pressured males into committing the HK.

When comparing HKs in India and Pakistan, D'Lima et al. (2020) found 24% of the HKs in Pakistan were perpetrated if the victim had behaved in a 'modern' way. The victim marrying outside family tribe/caste/class or without family consent accounted for 23% of the HKs and 20% of the HKs was related to premarital romantic relationship. Extramarital relationships (real or alleged) motivated the perpetration of 16% of the HKs in Pakistan (D'Lima et al., 2020). The remaining 16% of HKs were perpetrated for assisting a woman to break martial rules and in 8% of cases, the motives were unknown (D'Lima et al., 2020). It is important to note that modernity, extramarital relationships and assisting a woman to break marital rules, did not motivate the perpetration of HKs in India. The differences in motives, such as extramarital relationships, may explain why more HKs were perpetrated by husbands in Pakistan compared to India. The differences in motives among countries suggests different interventions may be needed to challenge the honour system to protect possible victims from harm. It is also important to note, that regardless of the country in which the HK took place, there did not appear to be a religious context to the murders, instead the motives were related to female chastity and caste related issues.

Muhammad et al. (2012) further supported that HKs did not have a religious motive. Muhammad et al. (2012) examined Islamic religious text, such as the Quran and Hadiths, to identify whether Islam condoned HKs. A fundamental objective of Shariah Law is to protect life, regardless of gender. The concept of chastity in Islam refers to the process of maintaining spiritual purification in society, therefore preserving life. Chastity is not gender specific nor does it relate to the concept of honour. In an attempt to maintain chastity and thus uphold spiritual purification, Islam prohibits uncontrolled and free gathering of men and women (Muhammad et al., 2012). This challenges the notion of gender specific roles and expectations where many believe the maintenance of female chastity is more important than that of males.

The Quran encourages males and females to behave in manner that is morally correct, therein adultery is considered a sin. In Pakistan, females are murdered in the name of honour if they are suspected or found guilty of committing adultery (Karo-Kari; Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; D'Lima et al., 2020). The Quran provides clear guidelines on how adultery accusations should be managed. The accusing male must present four, respectable, witnesses to support his accusation. If guilt is not proven then the male is regarded as dishonest (Muhammad et al., 2012). This highlights the importance of behaving in a morally correct manner in Islam in all respects. An accusation of adultery against a female is not punishable by death nor does it relate to honour, instead emphasis is placed on proving guilt as opposed to innocence. There is a remarkable difference between Islamic teachings and what is practiced. The Council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan prohibits individuals from punishing relatives if they are caught or suspected of behaving immorally (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Muhammed et al., 2012). Despite HKs challenging the teachings of Islam, many still practice them to protect honour which signifies that honour is not a

religious concept. The difference in motives of Indian and Pakistani HKs, further reinforces that religion is not a motive for HKs and is distinct from honour.

Attitudes towards HKs

Of the included studies, five explored attitudes towards HKs (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Rahim, 2017; Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015). Shaikh et al. (2010) provided a vignette in which a husband killed his wife upon finding her in bed with another man. A questionnaire was administered to participants to explore their attitudes: 57.1% of the participants supported the HK, whilst 36.3% did not, and 6.3% of the participants were undecided about what the husband should have done in that situation. A similar study design was employed by Shaikh et al. (2015) and found different results: 33% of the student participants in Pakistan supported the perpetration of an HK where a woman was stoned to death for marrying someone of her own choice. Whilst the results from the studies completed by Shaikh et al. (2010) and Shaikh et al. (2015) indicated support for the HKs, it is important to note that the vignettes were only two scenarios in which support for HKs was shown. Vignettes with different situations may have allowed for a thorough exploration of whether participants supported HKs as a response to a range of situations. Additionally, the differences between supportive attitudes in the two studies (Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015) may be explained by differences in demographics which is discussed later in this chapter.

Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) found that 33% of ninth grade students either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with two of the four items measuring attitudes supportive of HKs, which is lower than the rate reported in by Shaikh et al. (2010) but the same as Shaikh et al.'s (2015) finding. It is important to note the difference in age of

participants in these three studies. Adults may have a more entrenched belief system compared to adolescents, therefore explaining why students in Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) study held less supportive attitudes towards HKs compared to adults in Shaikh et al.'s (2010) study. Further to this, the rate of HKs is greater in Pakistan compared to Amman in Jordan, suggesting that greater emphasis is placed on preserving honour in Pakistan. It is likely then Pakistanis would have different attitudes towards honour compared to a city, such as Amman, that is considered more liberal. Together the studies conducted in Pakistan and Amman may indicate that a greater exposure to a culture endorsing a strict and patriarchal system, like Pakistan, may impact people's attitude towards HKs. Eisner and Ghuneim's (2013) study highlights that, for some individuals, the concept of honour and the importance of preserving it is communicated from an early age, even in a more liberal city, such as Amman.

Gender and Attitudes towards HKs

In three of the studies (Eisner & Ghuneim, 20134; Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015) the authors explored the effect of gender on attitudes towards HKs. Shaikh et al. (2010) performed a Pearson Chi Square analysis and found men were significantly more likely than women to agree with HK (*p=.004)* and were significantly less likely than women to agree that the husband should have forgiven his wife (*p=.022).* Overall, the findings indicated that males were more likely to hold supportive attitudes towards HKs.

Similar findings were reported by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) and Shaikh et al. (2015). In Eisner and Ghuneim's (2013) study male participants were also more likely than female participants to hold attitudes supporting HKs; 46.1% of males compared to 22.1% of females either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with two of four

items exploring HKs. Shaikh et al. (2015) also found differences between responses given by male and female participants, where 6.5% of male participants believed the female in the scenario deserved to die, compared with 3.1% of female participants. Of the male participants, 5.3% compared to 1.6% of female participants believed that the family did the right thing by killing her, and 10.8% of male participants compared to 5.7 % of female participants believed that the woman's family should have killed her husband as well. Interestingly, when exploring opinions on gender roles, obedience to fathers and husbands and HKs in general, more male participants (24.7%) compared to female participants (19.5%) believed women had the right to choose who they wanted to marry. It is difficult to understand why more male participants believed the woman in the scenario deserved to die for marrying a man of her own choice, considering that more male participants believed women have the right to choose who they marry. A greater proportion of male participants (29.8%) compared to female participants (24.0%) believed that men had the right to marry who they choose. More male participants believed women should obey fathers and husbands (71.3% and 71.3%, respectively) compared to female participants (54.1% and 46.8%, respectively). These responses indicate how university students, including females, believe it is important for women to uphold traditional roles, whereby they obey fathers, and when married, obey their husbands. In turn, such beliefs, will reinforce and maintain the patriarchal system where the autonomy of women to make their own decisions is restricted by men.

When exploring beliefs towards HKs in general, more male participants believed that killing women/girls in the name of honour was justified; killing in the name of honour was always justified; and killing in the name of honour was justified in some circumstances only (9.9%, 9.0% and 24.3%, respectively) compared to female

participants (1.5%, 3.2% and 17.0%, respectively). Interestingly, more male and female participants believed HKs were justified in some circumstances. It may have been useful for the authors to explore this further to understand what circumstances would justify HKs. Nonetheless, more male participants supported the perpetration of HKs, although it is important to note that this did not represent the majority of participants who did not support HKs. It is also important to note that despite often being victims of HKs, some females in each of these studies held supportive attitudes towards HKs. The reasons why some females may support HKs will be explored in the discussion section of this review.

Socio-demographic variables and Attitudes towards HKs

The relationship between socio-demographic variables and attitudes towards HKs was considered by two studies (Deol, 2014; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Deol (2014) found in Haryana, HKs were less prevalent in areas where the literacy rate was higher and there was interaction between individuals from different backgrounds. Additionally, HKs were prevalent in rural areas where education attainment was lower compared to urban areas of Haryana. Similarly, Eisner and Ghuneim (2013), found that educational background of the family was associated with attitudes supportive of HKs. Namely, 61% of adolescents from families of the lowest level of educational attainment supported HKs, whereas only 21.1% of adolescents who had at least one family member with a degree held supportive attitudes. Moreover, a significant difference $(p<.001)$ in attitudes was observed between adolescents coming from a traditional family background compared to those from middle-class backgrounds. 36.5% of adolescents from families where the mother stayed at home and the father was considered as the 'breadwinner', endorsed attitudes supporting HKs, but in

comparison, 21.7% of adolescents from families where the mother was employed supported such killings. Finally, a significant difference ($p<.001$) was seen in attitudes between those who belonged to larger families compared to those coming from smaller families. 41.5% of adolescents coming from larger families either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with two of the four items exploring attitudes towards HKs, in comparison to 26.7% of adolescents from smaller families. As mentioned earlier, a younger sample consisting of university students (Shaikh et al., 2015) held less supportive attitudes towards HKs, compared to a convenience sample (Shaikh et al., 2010). Whilst the exact demographics of the two samples are unknown, it could be inferred that higher education attainment may lead to less supportive attitudes towards HKs. It is crucial to understand socio-demographics factors that contribute to supportive attitudes towards HKs so that community interventions can target those areas.

Criminal Thinking and Attitudes towards HKs

Rahim (2017) found that honour killers scored higher on the Texas Christian University – Criminal Thinking Scale (TCU-CTS; Knight et al., 2006)) (M=245.5, SD=19.11) compared to murderers (M=226.05, SD=24.30), males (M=190.93, SD=25.6) and females (M=188.3, SD=27.6) from the general public in Pakistan. Interestingly, the scores on the TCU-CTS in Rahim's (2017) study were significantly higher compared to the sample of 3,266 offenders that was used to construct the scale. The average score for the assessment was 143.93 in the construction sample (Knight et al. 2006). Furthermore, Rahim's (2017) study produced higher scores on each of the scales compared to the construction sample. For example, in the construction sample, the Entitlement scale scores (M=19.74, SD=5.91) were lower than that of males (M=30.17, SD=5.91), females (M=27.65, SD=6.23), honour killers (M=35.33,

SD=4.15) and other offenders (*M*=32.68, *SD*=4.32) in Rahim's (2017) study. A possible explanation for the differences in scores could be due to errors during the translation process of the TCU-CTS from English to Urdu. However, cultural differences could also provide an explanation for the differences in scores. It is difficult to establish why the general public scores in Rahim's (2017) study were higher than the construction sample of offenders, therefore it is important to be mindful of this when interpreting the results of this study.

The results from Rahim's (2017) study indicated that honour killers endorsed stronger, more general, beliefs supporting criminal behaviour. The TCU-CTS results also indicated that honour killers had a greater sense of ownership; they were more likely to justify their behaviour and therefore were unwilling to accept responsibility for their actions. Honour killers, compared to murderers and the general public, were more likely to exert control and dominance over others. Those who had high scores on the TCU-CTS also tended to have high scores on the Attitudes Towards Honour Killing scale (ATHK). On the ATHK, higher scores indicated supportive attitudes towards HKs. The results from the study provided an insight of possible risk factors associated with HKs, such as beliefs relating to entitlement and power orientation. Interestingly, there was no significant difference between male and female scores on the TCU-CTS in the general population. Rahim (2017) did not provide scores on the ATHK per category of participants (males, females, murderers and honour killers), therefore it is difficult to establish with certainty whether males scored higher on ATHK compared to females. However, Rahim's (2017) study and the finding from studies discussed above furthers our insight into factors associated with attitudes supporting HKs which can be useful to guide educational/community inventions to challenge such attitudes.

<center>**Discussion**</center>

Main findings of the review

The current review synthesised literature on HKs in the Middle East and South Asia to increase our understanding on why such murders are perpetrated. The studies included in this review explored the characteristics of perpetrators and victims; motives for HKs; systems upholding the perpetration of HKs; attitudes towards HKs and the religious context of HKs. In total, 10 studies focused on South Asian populations and were conducted in Pakistan and India (Bhanbhro et al., 2016; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020; Muhammad et al., 2012; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008; Rahim, 2017; Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015). The remaining five studies used Middle Eastern populations from Jordan and Turkey (Al Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). Whilst the studies were only completed in four countries, the review played an important part in furthering our understanding on HKs in these populations.

The current review highlighted that perpetrators of HKs were typically male relatives, namely the brother, father or husband, and the victims were usually female relatives (Al Gharaibeh 2016; Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008). However, although it was less common, female relatives also perpetrated HKs and victims were also males (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016). Motives for HKs were related to female chastity (Al Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2014; 2016) and having relationships outside of family tribe/caste/caste or without family consent (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020). Appropriate and inappropriate female conduct was defined by social norms and transgression from these, were perceived as a threat to chastity, and

therefore honour (Al Gharaibeh, 2016; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). The findings from this review are consistent with those made by Gill (2017) and Zia (2019) who reported that the honour system placed importance on females to avoid shame by behaving in accordance to social norms. However, it is important to note that the current review found evidence of male victimisation too. There appears to be a social expectation on males to behave in a manner that does not damage their family's honour which is consistent with the findings of Idriss (2020; in press) and Lowe et al. (2019).

The review findings are consistent with those made in wider literature, and as noted in Chapter One. HKs appear to be a symbolic action to restore honour within the community (Ellis, 2016), and in some cases may be enacted for a 'double' audience to warn others of the consequences of transgressing from social norms (Idriss, 2017b; Payton, 2010). The perpetration of HKs may continue due to community support which highlights the collectivist nature of honour. Importance is placed on belonging to a group and ensuring the well-being of the family is always maintained (Khan, 2018; Patel et al., 1996). Any threats posed to the well-being of the family, such as loss of honour, is likely to be dealt with socially acceptable solutions, such as HKs (Gaines, 1997; Oyeserman & Harrison, 1998). The review highlighted the impact of social pressure on the perpetration of HKs (D'Lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016). Some perpetrators expressed difficulties living with daily insults and stigma of not perpetrating the HK. Additionally, the 'shameful' actions of one female relative could tarnish the honour of other female relatives in the family (D'Lima et al., 2020), again, highlighting the collective nature of honour and the loss of it (Khan, 2018). The findings, therefore, appear to support the Cultural interpretation of HKs which is discussed below.

Theoretical explanations for HKs

Particularistic/Individual interpretation

Particularistic/Individual interpretation suggests that perpetrators experience a loss of control upon learning about the dishonourable behaviour of a female relative. The results from the review did not support this interpretation. The findings from the review indicated that HKs were premediated and executed to caution other females transgressing from social norms (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2013; 2014). Some perpetrators expressed remorse and regret for the HKs but felt there was no alternative option to restore honour (Dogan, 2013). The Particularistic/Individual interpretation fails to account for the complexities surrounding HKs, therefore providing an incomplete theoretical explanation. Support for the Cultural interpretation was found from synthesising literature in this review which is discussed below.

Cultural interpretation

The review synthesised literature on Indian and Pakistani HKs and found differences between the two countries. There was a higher number of male victims of HKs perpetrated in India compared to Pakistan (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020). Further to this, more female relatives were involved in the perpetration of HKs in India compared to Pakistan or even Turkey and Jordan (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020). In Pakistan, more husbands were involved in the perpetration of HKs compared to India. In India, the main motive for the HKs was related to inter-caste relationships/marriages, whereas this motive was less common in Pakistani HKs (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020). The differences in characteristics of perpetrators and victims and motives may

suggest that expectations relating to honour and shame differ across countries and even communities. For example, communities with a concentration of a particular caste, were likely to have higher rates of HKs (Deol, 2014). The preservation of honour may be more important when living among peers who share similar backgrounds. This supports earlier findings by Mandelbaum (1988) who found individuals were particularly protective of honour among their caste group. Vandello and Cohen (2003) found that HKs are mostly perpetrated in rural areas, where a lack of socialisation and education reinforced cultural norms. These cultural norms focused on the maintenance of gender roles, whereby women were submissive and men were powerful. Ali (2008) also found that the HKs in rural areas were reinforced through the maintenance of cultural beliefs supporting patriarchy. Whilst this may suggest the presence of socio-cultural factors in instigating HKs, as females are more likely to be victims, it is important to understand why there is difficulty in challenging the position given to women.

Feminist Theory

The inferior position of women was well documented throughout this review. The presence of patriarchy whereby men govern the conduct of females and use violence to punish transgressions from social norms, highlights the power imbalance between men and women (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). The honour system maintains the oppression of women as importance is placed on following stereotypical roles (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Dogan, 2014; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008). Any attempt by women to gain autonomy is viewed as a threat to honour and as a result violence is used to punish such behaviours (Nasrullah et al., 2009). HKs appear to serve a cautionary purpose to warn females of the consequences of challenging the

honour system (D'Lima et al., 2020). Further to this, regardless of belonging to a Middle Eastern or South Asian population, males were more likely than females to endorse HK supportive attitudes. However, perhaps due to social learning and fear of disobeying social norms, some females also supported of HKs.

Broader literature on HKs has found that the preservation of honour can motivate females as well as males to perpetrate HKs (Walker & Gill, 2019). However, the number of female perpetrators is significantly lower than males (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). When examining motives behind why females support HKs and other forms of HBV/A, research has suggested that it provides them with a sense of empowerment (Gill, 2013). Whilst it could be seen that females have the power to bring shame on the family, which symbolically equates to death, their position is very much subordinate to males (Rew et al., 2013). An opportunity to increase their power and influence by supporting HKs could appeal to females who are commonly considered weak and inferior to men (Gill et al., 2014). Similarly, Sen (2005) suggested that by controlling a younger female's behaviour, older females gain a sense of control. Whilst some females support HKs, it is important to note that their motives may differ to those of males (Khan, 2018). As suggested by Walker and Gill (2019), research examining female perpetrated HKs is very much limited and could benefit from further exploration to understand why females support HKs.

Whilst Feminist Theory is supported by the findings of this review with regards to the victimisation of females, the explanation provided for male victimisation was limited within the included studies. Lowe et al. (2019) found how male homosexuality brought shame on family honour and punishment was as an acceptable response against this transgression from social norms, supporting the findings of Idriss (2020; in press). Additionally, Idriss (2020; in press) too found support for the link between

patriarchy and male victimisation. Although existing research sets a strong foundation, future research should explore this link to further understand the patriarchal factors that influence the victimisation of males.

Religious explanation for HKs

The role of religion in sanctioning HKs has been heavily debated but the findings from this review did not identify religion as a contributing factor for the perpetration of HKs. From examining the Quran and Hadiths, Muhammed et al. (2012) found that Islam did not condone the perpetration of HKs, or any type of violence. Similarly, Chesler and Bloom (2012), Deol (2014) and D'Lima et al. (2020) also refuted the link between religion and HKs. The findings from the review are in support of those by Idriss and Abbas (2010) who highlighted that HBV/A occurs across a range of countries, including Western countries, and religions, suggesting that religion does not contribute to the maintenance of HKs. However, Idriss (2017b) found there was reluctance within Mosques in the UK to address issues such as VAW. Additionally, the lack of female presentation within the structure of Mosques may reinforce patriarchal beliefs concerning women adopting inferior roles within society (Idriss, 2017b). However, it is important to note that the findings from Idriss (2017b) does not suggest that religion itself condones VAW. Findings from Can and Edrine (2011) suggested that HKs are a product of patriarchy, not religion which supports earlier findings from the Home Affairs Committee (2008). Attitudes supporting HBV/A are prevalent in collective communities where importance is placed on the honour system which is maintained by patriarchy (Khan, 2018). This supports the argument placed by Feminist Theory that VAW, such as HKs, is maintained through patriarchy and those that try to challenge it, are punished.

Whilst the review found some support for the Cultural interpretation and Feminist Theory, some features of HKs could not be accounted for by either theory. Broader literature has highlighted the link between female perpetrated HKs and constraints posed on women by patriarchy (Gill, 2014; Rew et al., 2013; Sen, 2005; Walker & Gill, 2019). Future research could focus on interviewing female perpetrators of HKs to validate wider literature. Secondly, male victimisation needs further attention. Idriss (2020; in press) found a link between patriarchy, sexuality and male victimisation, suggesting that honour may also be linked to the 'body' of males. Male behaviour which transgresses from social norms, such as homosexuality and promiscuity, may tarnish honour. As such male figureheads, such as fathers, may use force to control younger males in an attempt to restore honour (Idriss, in press). Feminist Theory explains how patriarchy maintains and reinforces VAW, however, the findings from Idriss (2020; in press) may suggest a link between male victimisation and Feminist Theory. Future research could build upon this important work to ensure all victims of HKs are understood and protected.

Strengths and weaknesses of the current review and future directions

The current review focused on studies published in the last 13 years, aiming to provide an up to date synthesis of literature concerning HKs in the Middle East and South Asia. The present review included data from a range of people: adolescent and adult male and female participants. Data for the studies were collected from India, Pakistan, Jordan and Turkey. Eight of the included studies collected data directly from 2,881 participants (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Rahim, 2017; Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015). Secondary data were analysed by six of the included studies where 2,473 cases of HKs were

examined (Al Gharaibeh, 2016; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020; Nasrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008). Muhammad et al. (2012) examined Islamic religious text to explore the religious context of HKs. Whilst the examination of secondary data can help identify patterns in HKs across populations, it is important to consider its drawbacks. Authors using secondary data can never be sure that the information is completely accurate. When using newspaper reports (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020) the authors did not verify that the newspapers reported accurate information. It is therefore important to apply a degree of caution when interpreting findings from secondary data. However, when taken together, the synthesis of primary and secondary data provided a detailed overview of the current trends in literature.

The studies included in this review employed either quantitative or qualitative methodologies. Quantitative studies such as Eisner and Ghuneim (2013), Rahim (2017), Shaikh et al. (2010) and Shaikh et al. (2015) examined attitudes towards HKs which provided an insight into how many participants supported the perpetration of HKs. It is crucial to have an understanding of public attitudes as this can help determine the need for interventions to address problems. The results from the attitudinal studies provided an insight into possible socio-demographic factors that may contribute to supportive attitudes towards HKs. Education appeared to be an important factor that challenged supportive attitudes towards HKs. Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) found children were less supportive of HKs if at least one parent held a degree or if their mother was employed. Similarly, Deol (2014) found more HKs were perpetrated in rural areas with lower literacy level compared to urban areas where the rate of HKs was much lower. Lastly, Shaikh et al. (2015) found university students in Pakistan were less supportive of HKs compared to the general the public sample

used by Shaikh et al. (2010). The findings from this review are consistent with wider literature which highlights the importance of education in challenging traditional roles given to women and men (Ali, 2008; Araji & Carlson, 2001). Gupta (2003) found that equality between men and women can decrease violence experienced by SAW which is consistent with Mehrotra's (1999) earlier study who found that departure from traditional gender roles saw a decrease in VAW.

The Social Learning Theory, as explained in Chapter One, could provide an explanation for why support for HKs was found in areas where there were lower education levels and a maintenance of traditional gender roles. Education appears to challenge the maintenance of traditional roles, however in areas where education attainment is lower, traditional roles continue to be reinforced, whereby women continue to adopt submissive positions. The females in Bhanbhro et al.'s (2013) study expressed they felt powerless to challenge their subordinate position and as a result learnt to live within the confines of their gender role. This suggests that HKs may continue to receive support in areas where traditional roles are unchallenged, thus it may be important to focus interventions challenging HKs in those areas.

Whilst results from this review exploring attitudes were important for the reasons discuss above, it is important to note that attitudes cannot predict future behaviour (Glassman & Albarracin, 2006; Kraus, 1995). Those who support HKs, may not necessarily perpetrate them in the future. Additionally, each study used different techniques to measure attitudes for which the authors did not provide information on the reliability and validity so caution should be applied when interpreting their results.

The remaining studies used qualitative methods to enable the authors to explore the motives, methods, religious context of HKs and structures, such as patriarchy, which help maintain the practice of HKs (Al Ghariabeh, 2016; Bhanbhro

et al., 2013; Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020; Dogan, 2013; 2014; 2016; Muhammad et al., 2012; Nusrullah et al., 2009; Patel & Gadit, 2008). As such, the review incorporated a variety of data to provide a broad overview of the state of current knowledge regarding HKs in South Asia and the Middle East which is important when developing interventions to reduce the perpetration of HKs.

This review significantly extends the findings of previous reviews. A review by Bhanbhro et al., (2016) includes studies relating to different types of VAW, which may not be directly related to HKs. However, the present review synthesised studies that were directly related to HKs, thus ensuring that inferences relating to HKs could confidently be made from the included studies. Moreover, Kulczyski and Windle's (2011) review provided a thorough overview of papers relating to HKs in the Middle East and North Africa. Whilst the current review also included the Middle Eastern population, the studies are more recent than those Kulczyski and Windle's (2011) review. It is important to understand HKs in recent times to examine any changes in patterns and attitudes, also so that any gaps that require further research can be identified. The review of recent literature can play an important part in developing effective interventions which are responsive to the current needs of those most vulnerable to becoming victims of HKs.

Whilst the current review is the first to explore the South Asian population, it is important to note that due to the lack of research; only three studies looked at a population outside of Pakistan (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al., 2020). As most of the remaining South Asian studies were completed in Pakistan this brings into question whether the findings made in this review are reflective of the South Asian population more generally. Pakistan is a country predominately occupied by the Muslim faith and so is not representative of religions practised in other South

Asian countries. Chesler and Bloom (2012) and D'Lima et al. (2020) identified differences in characteristics and motives for HKs in India and Pakistan, highlighting that not all HKs are perpetrated for the same reasons. Whilst the link between religion and HKs is unsubstantiated, it is fair to say the review could have benefitted from a more representative sample to fully understand the complexity of HKs among different religions and populations.

Recommendations for practice

The synthesis of recent literature can provide direction for the development of responsive interventions to minimise future perpetration of HKs. Some charities have started to implement initiatives whereby HKs can be discussed openly, without prejudice (Bhanbhro et al., 2016; Eshareturi et al., 2014). Idriss (2017b) found there was a reluctance to address VAW in Mosques in England, which is likely to be the case for South Asian and Middle Eastern countries as well. Raising awareness about VAW in religious settings can play an integral part in challenging the patriarchal system and the belief that religion condones violence of any sort (Idriss, 2017b). This is likely to take some time, but consistent effort may encourage individuals to challenge systems that uphold HKs.

There is some evidence, albeit limited, of support provided to women who are at risk of HKs in Pakistan. Refuge centres have been set up for women who have fled their homes to protect their life against the perpetration of an HK (Naseem et al., 2019; Zia, 2019). Although refuge centres play an important part in protecting some victims, it does not alleviate the problem fully as the honour system still is present. It does, however, demonstrate that some women are willing to challenge their subordinate position and seek support from these refuge centres. The review has highlighted a need

for community-based interventions to challenge attitudes supporting HKs. Areas with low education attainment are at a greater risk of upholding traditional gender roles where it is likely for men to use violence to control and punish women. It is important to focus inventions in such areas, as individual living there are at a greater risk of becoming victims of HKs. Please refer to Chapter Five where recommendations for practice are explored in further detail.

Conclusion

This systematic literature review has highlighted that research is being conducted to better understand HKs in the Middle East and South Asia. Exploratory research has highlighted the characteristics of victims and perpetrators, attitudes towards HKs and factors that may contribute to supportive beliefs towards HKs. As most of the countries included were predominantly Muslim, exploration of the Quran and Hadiths shows that Islam does not condone HKs. Islam promotes the importance of maintaining both male and female chastity and it is not linked to honour. Qualitative research exploring the experiences of perpetrators has provided an insight to the reasons for the perpetration of HKs and the importance of preserving honour. Social structures appear to uphold the practice of HKs, making it difficult for women to challenge the perpetration of such murders. However, the review has highlighted that whilst some individuals support the practice of HKs, others do not, including males. This indicates a shift in beliefs and attitudes which maintain a patriarchal structure and condone HKs often found in Middle Eastern and South Asian countries. The importance of creating opportunities to shift attitudes condoning HK has been highlighted in literature (Naseem et al., 2019; Zia, 2019). Helping communities to understand that there are alternative pathways to manage their circumstances, can help

challenge the notion that males need to preserve honour through killing females who bring shame to the family name. Female empowerment is also critical to the prevention of HKs. Ensuring females are a part of social structures, such as village councils, will help challenge gender stereotypes and inequality and provide females with a platform to voice their concerns. While this may be difficult to achieve, consistent effort over a long period of time is needed for any change to occur. However, change has occurred in some areas in India (Deol, 2014), which should not be ignored. The presence of females in social structures may also encourage support-seeking behaviour among those who are most vulnerable. Continuous effort is required to challenge the perpetration of HKs both locally and internationally within Middle Eastern and South Asian countries to preserve the life of those most vulnerable.

Chapter 3

Critique of the Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment

Introduction

Chapter One provided a definition of DA as well as an overview of prevalence rates within the South Asian community. Research suggests that those who perpetrate DA offences are likely to commit new DA offences in the future (Lin et al., 2009). As such, early detection of risk of re-offending can play a pivotal role in reducing future harm to survivors (Kroop, 2004). Often risk assessments are administered on individuals who have been charged or convicted of DA (Dutton & Kropp, 2000). However, it is also important to assess the risk of those who have been reported to the police, but not necessarily charged or convicted (Olver & Jung, 2017). Given the frequent occurrence of DA, government agencies and the Criminal Justice System are faced with an important challenge to accurately identify those who pose a risk of future recidivism (Nicholls et al., 2013; Rettenberger & Eher, 2013). This chapter will focus on risk assessments specifically designed for DA recidivism and will focus on evaluating an actuarial risk assessment, the Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment (ODARA; Hilton et al., 2004). Note that although the current chapter focuses on DA risk assessment, relevant risk assessment tools do also exist to assess the risk of HBV/A recidivism, known as the PATRIARCH (Belfrage et al., 2012) and the DASH (Richards et al., 2008). An overview of the three approaches to assessing risk (clinical judgement, structured professional judgement and actuarial) was discussed in Chapter One.

Risk assessments for DA

Skeem and Monahan (2011) found that there four components for assessing the risk of recidivism, these include: identifying and measuring risk factors, combining risk, and finally producing the risk of recidivism. When examining assessments developed to specifically assess DA recidivism, some well-established structured professional judgement tools include: Spousal Assault Risk Assessment (SARA; Kropp et al., 1995), Domestic Violence Screening Instrument (DVSI; Hanson et al., 2007), and the Danger Assessment scale (DA; Campbell, 1995).

SARA was the first structured professional judgement tool for DA recidivism. The tool consists of 20 items and each item is given a rating of 0, 1 or 2. After rating each item, risk of recidivism is ranked as either low, medium or high by the rater. The SARA includes the examination of static and dynamic risk factors. Whilst static risk remains unchanged, dynamic risk factors can be managed. Therefore, the management of dynamic risk factors through intervention could reduce overall risk of recidivism over time (Svalin & Levander, 2019). A systematic review by Helmus and Bourgon (2011) reviewed studies examining the accuracy of the SARA in predicting future occurrences of DA (i.e., predictive validity) and found the assessment tool to have an average Area Under Curve (AUC) of .63. An AUC of .70 to .80 is deemed to be acceptable and an AUC of .80 to .90 is considered excellent (Rice & Harris, 2005). Therefore, this suggests that the SARA's predictive validity is above chance (chance AUC=.5), but not at a level that is typically considered to be 'acceptable'.

The DVSI consists of 12 items examining historical DA incidents as well as the offender's social history. The tool has demonstrated an ability to predict risk of recidivism with an AUC of .60 (Williams & Houghton, 2004). Finally, the DA comprises of 15 items also accompanied by an interview with the survivor to assess

risk of recidivism. Items included in the tool examine historical violence and sexual incidents, substance misuse, access to weapons, jealousy and survivor's concern of being killed. Research has shown the DA to have an AUC of .68, suggesting that the DA has predictive validity above predictive ability expected by chance (Messing & Thaller, 2017), and almost at a level that is considered 'acceptable'.

Whilst structured professional assessments (i.e., the SARA, DVSI, and DA) are routinely used to determine risk of recidivism, their predictive accuracy can vary depending on a variety of factors. First, the rater's lack of experience can impact the overall risk category assigned to the offender, leading to potential underreporting or overreporting of recidivism risk. In addition, the completion of structured professional judgement tools can be time consuming. As such, time pressures could impact their accuracy. Further, the assessment tools discussed above tend to assess the risk of those who have been charged or convicted of a DA offence, and so miss a large proportion of individuals who have been reported to the police but not charged or convicted.

With regards to an actuarial assessment of recidivism, the Domestic Violence Risk Appraisal Guide (DVRAG) developed by Hilton et al. (2008), combined items from the ODARA (Hilton et al., 2004) and total score on the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R). The completion of the DVRAG assessment requires access to detailed clinical documents. The DVRAG was found to have good predictive validity with an AUC of .71 (Hilton et al., 2008). The DVRAG and the structured professional judgement assessments tools (SARA, DVSI, DA), discussed above, have demonstrated an ability to predict recidivism. However, the completion of these assessments require access to detailed clinical notes, usually only available to those working in correctional settings. It is fundamental to safeguard survivors against future DA from the point at which they report the case to the police. Through early detection

of risk by those working frontline, such as police officers, survivors could be protected from future harm.

The ODARA (Hilton et al., 2004) aims to address the shortcomings of existing tools by allowing frontline staff to identify the likelihood of future DA incidents. The current review examines the development and selection of items included in the ODARA. The merits of this risk assessment tool will be discussed through examining its reliability and validity. The ODARA's predictive validity in comparison to other risk assessment tools in the context of DA recidivism will be compared. A review of the ODARA is important because the tool is in widespread use and has been extended for use in countries outside of Canada where it was developed (e.g., Australia; Lauria et al., 2012). Moreover, preventing recidivism is paramount to the safety of survivors, therefore it is important to critically evaluate the effectiveness of risk assessments, in general. Reviews can highlight strengths but also identify areas where caution needs to be applied when using risk assessment tools, like the ODARA.

The development of the Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment tool

The ODARA is an actuarial risk assessment tool developed in Ontario, Canada (Hilton et al., 2004). The data used to develop the tool were retrieved from the Ontario Municipal Provincial Police Automated Cooperative (OMPPAC) and the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC). The OMPPAC is a system whereby frontline police officers record incidents reported to them. The Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), the second largest police service in Canada, use OMPPAC to record reported incidents, as do 50 other urban police services. The OPP serves many rural areas and Municipalities in Canada, however many large rural areas have their own record keeping databases (i.e., in addition to/instead of OMPPAC; Hilton et al., 2004). Hilton

et al. (2004) examined the OMPPAC database to identify cases where forceful physical contact had been perpetrated by a male towards a cohabitating female ex or current partner. The inclusion of cases was not limited to only those who had been charged or convicted of DA. From examining the OMPPAC database, 589 cases fitted the inclusion criteria. After identifying suitable cases, the authors searched the CPIC database to obtain further information about the perpetrators' historical criminal charges, convictions, arrests, convictions and depositions. Only information retrieved from the OMPPAC and CPIC was used to develop the ODARA as these databases were accessible to frontline officers.

Procedure of creating the 13 items included in the ODARA

Each case was coded by reading the reports obtained from the OMPPAC and CPIC. Information relating to the perpetrator, survivor, relationship between perpetrator and survivor, and the index offence, was coded, as was the perpetrator's sociodemographic information and criminal history. Coded information relating to the sample characteristics and correlation with current or ex-partner assault recidivism is displayed in Table 3. While most of the coded information is self-explanatory, the scoring for certain characteristics is discussed below.

Table 3

Characteristics of the perpetrator sample in Hilton et al. (2004), and correlation (r) of each characteristic with partner assault recidivism

Characteristic	M (*SD*) or %	*R*
Sociodemographic		
Unemployed (%)	20	.15*

Appeared suicidal (%)	6	.06
Age (years)	38.2 (12.0)	-.14*
Substance abuse score (0-8)[a]	1.31 (1.47)	.29
Domestic violence history		
Ever violated prior no-contact order (%)	5	.11*
Ever assaulted victim when pregnant (%)	3	.13*
Prior domestic incidents (OMPPAC)	0.39 (0.90)	.29*
Total prior injury to partner(s) (1-7)[a]	1.19 (0.82)	.21**
DA (0-15)	0.48 (0.99)	.20**
SARA (0-40)	3.11 (4.14)	.27**
DVSR (0-22)	1.40 (1.50)	.26**
General criminal history		
Prior correctional history (%)	24	.28**
Offender violent towards others (%)	4	.20**
Any prior violation of conditional release (%)	15	.25**
No. of prior criminal charges	3.30 (5.82)	.24**
Prior criminal history score	5.40 (11.4)	.17**
Prior non-domestic incidents (OMPPAC)	0.09 (0.40)	.17**
Total prior injury to non-domestic victims [a]	1.09 (0.77)	.11*
Relationship characteristics		
Sexual jealousy reported (%)	7	.12*
Separation prior to index (%)	28	.01
Not legally married (%)	57	.11*
Duration of relationship (months)	93.4 (107)	-.16**
Total no. of children	1.85 (1.52)	.26**
Victims characteristics		
Victim unemployed (%)	21	.20**
Victim age (years)	34.6 (11.1)	-.14*

No. of children from prior relationships	0.45 (0.84)	.23**
Barriers to support score (0-5)	0.81 (0.72)	.21**
Reports offender is violent outside the home (%)	4	.20**
Offence details		
Alcohol involved (%)	43	.11*
Offender threatened harm-death (%)	15	.12*
Weapon involved (%)	9	.03
Victim feared future violence (%)	10	.14*
Offender confined victim (%)	7	.12*
Perpetrator charged (%)	53	.15*
CTS severe violence (%)[a]	38	.06
Index location was shared home (%)	75	.04
Mutual assault (%)	32	-.07
Victims injury score (1-7)a	2.03 (0.96)	.06

*$p<.01$ **$p<.001$ [a]=characteristics discussed in text

Note. From *"*A Brief Actuarial Assessment for the Prediction of Wife Assault Recidivism: The Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment*"* by N. Hilton, G. Harris, M. E. Rice, C. Lang, C. Cormier and K. Lines, 2004, *Psychological Assessment 16*(3), p. 270. (https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.16.3.267). Copyright 2004 by the American Psychological Association.

Substance misuse scores ranged from 0 to 8, with one point being assigned for the presence of each factor that had previously been demonstrated to predict DA in other empirical research (Harris et al., 1993). The eight factors within the substance misuse characteristic included: offender consumed alcohol just before or during the index offence, the offender had used drugs just before or during the index offence, the offender abused alcohol or drugs in the few days or weeks before the index offence,

the offender used alcohol or drugs more than usual in the few days or weeks before the index offence, the offender is noted to be more angry or violent when he uses alcohol or drugs, the offender has previously been charged for a criminal offence whilst under the effects of alcohol, the offender had an alcohol problem since he was 18 years old, and the offender had a drug problem since he was 18 years old.

Physical injuries to domestic and non-domestic partners prior to and during the index offence, was scored from 1 to 7. A score of one was given if the victim did not incur any injuries and seven was given for death with mutilation.

The Cormier-Lang Scale (CLS), established by Quinsey et al. (1998), was used to determine criminal history score. The CLS examines frequency and severity of past criminal offences and was used in the development of Violence Risk Appraisal Guide (VRAG; Quinsey et al., 1998). Each offence is given a score between 1 to 28, with 1 point given to minor property offences and 28 points given to homicide. To establish the severity of the index offence, the Physical Assault Scale was used from the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Straus et al., 1996). The CTS examines whether the victim was pushed, choked, slammed against a wall, beat up, burnt, scalded, or kicked, and explores the use of weapons. In total, the CTS comprises of five scales. The authors (Straus et al., 1996) have not reported whether the scales can be used independently from one another. Further, the CTS was not developed to predict DA recidivism (Straus et al., 1996), therefore its use in the development of a risk assessment may not be appropriate. The ODARA focuses on male perpetrated DA offences, but the CTS was developed for both male and female perpetrators. Again, this consideration is not accounted for by Hilton et al. (2004) when constructing the ODARA. The effect of incorporating the above mentioned aspects of the CTS in the ODARA is unclear and therefore requires further investigation.

When coding the survivors' barriers to support item, 1 point was given to each factor that made it difficult for survivors to seek support. Language barriers were recorded; however, did not contribute to the predictive success of the survivors' barriers to support item in the current sample. However, research has found that language barriers significantly impacted a survivor's ability to seek support, especially for those who are immigrants (Rai & Choi, 2018; Raj & Silverman, 2007). Idriss (2018) recommends greater numbers of translators for the police could allow survivors to discuss abusive experiences. Excluding language barriers from the survivors' barriers to support item, could place survivors with language difficulties at risk of victimisation. Eaglin (2017) found that the construction of risk assessments is not inclusive of different ethnicities nor are they responsive to their needs. Whilst language barriers may not have contributed to the predictive success of survivors' barriers to support item in the ODARA's construction sample, a sample representative of different ethnicities may have produced different results. This highlights the subjective nature of selecting statistically significant items only from within a construction sample, which may not be representative of other populations.

Domestic abuse recidivism

After the index offence, Hilton et al. (2004) followed up offenders through police reports until the end of 2001 with the average follow-up period being 4.79 years or 4.30 years, excluding offenders given custodial sentences (not necessarily imprisoned). During the follow-up period, DA recidivism was recorded as any subsequent physical assaults against a current or ex-partner. By only including physical assaults, it excludes different DA offences (i.e., emotional abuse) from the measurement of recidivism. Furthermore, Eagin (2017) argued that there is a risk of

information being recorded incorrectly and this is often overlooked when risk assessments measure recidivism through police reports. It is difficult to determine whether subsequent DA incidents were all reported to the police, which is another limitation of only relying on police reports (Skeem & Monahan, 2011). Further information would be required to confirm whether reported incidents had been investigated and confirmed to be true cases of physical assault against a current or ex-partner. This questions whether relying on police reports alone, and only including physical assaults is an appropriate measure of recidivism.

During the follow-up period, 175 (out of 589) offenders re-offended within approximately 15.1 months after the index offence. Eaglin (2017) states that risk assessments vary in their follow-up period when measuring recidivism, therefore it is difficult to comment on the appropriate length of time. Hilton et al. (2004) reported that in 95% of the cases, the survivors were the same as those from the index offence. The authors applied multivariate methods to examine the association between the items and recidivism. Items with the strongest relationship with recidivism were selected and included in the ODARA. The 13 items included in the ODARA were dichotomised to improve their ease of scoring. A score of 0 meant the absence of an item, whereas a score of 1 indicated presence of an item. Dichotomous variables used in the ODARA and their association with recidivism measured by phi coefficients, are presented in Table 4, with evidence indicating the presence of an item. A higher Phi coefficient indicates a stronger relationship between the items and recidivism.

Table 4

Items included in the ODARA, the association between the item and recidivism (phi coefficient), and examples of evidence to indicate an item is present

Item	Phi coefficient	Things to look out for
1. Confinement of the victim at the index offence	.12	Count a charge of kidnapping, criminal constraint, or false imprisonment at the index assault. Do not include any threats to harm the victims if she leaves, pinning the victim down in the course of the assault.
2. Threats to kill or harm anyone at the index offence	.12	Count bodily gestures commonly recognised as threats of harm, e.g., mimic shooting Do not include any threats occurring before or after the assault.
3. Survivor's concern about future assaults	.14	This statement must be made by the survivor in the first report at or after the index assault. Do not include statements made by the survivor on a separate occasion before the index assault.
4. Survivor and/or defendant have more the one child together	.24	Count the biological or adopted children of the defendant. There must be a total of at least two children to score 1 for this item.
5. Survivor has a biological child with someone other than the defendant	.22	Count the children of the survivor, but count only the survivor's biological children whose other parent is not the defendant. Do not count adopted children for this.
6. Assault on survivor while she was pregnant (at index assault or prior assault)	.13	Include only assaults against survivor. It is not required that the defendant knew that the survivor was pregnant
7. Two or more incidents of substance abuse	.27	The defendant used drugs and/or consumed alcohol just before the assault. Do not include any medications taken as prescribed.
8. Survivor faces at least one barrier to support.	.11	Survivor has one or more children age 18 or under who live with the survivor and for whom the survivor provides care. Do not include any medications as prescribed.
9. Prior domestic offence against a non-domestic partner	.15	The incident must be physical contact. The violent incident must have occurred on a separate occasion, before the index assault. The incident does not need to be known to the police.

10. Prior domestic incident of assault in a police report or criminal record (against a current or former partner or partner's child)	.26	The incident must include physical contact, the use or attempted use of a weapon to contact the victim's body. Incident involving only pets or property do not count for this item.
11. Prior non-domestic incident of assault in a police report or criminal report	.20	The incident must have been reported to the police. Incidents involving only pets or property do not count.
12. Prior custodial sentence of 30 days or more	.28	Count the sentence, not the time spent in custody. Do not include a sentence given for the index offence.
13. Failure on current or prior conditional release (including bail, parole, probation, or pretrial release order) or conditions of a restraining order	.25	Any charges incurred while on conditional release count for this item. Do not count any violations occurring after the index assault.

Note. From *"A Brief Actuarial Assessment for the Prediction of Wife Assault Recidivism: The Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment"* by N. Hilton, G. Harris, M. E. Rice, C. Lang, C. Cormier and K. Lines, 2004, *Psychological Assessment 16*(3), p. 271. (https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.16.3.267). Copyright 2004 by the American Psychological Association.

Hilton et al. (2004) did not provide information about the ethnic background of the construction sample, therefore it is difficult to know if the sample was representative of all ethnicities. Ethnic minorities appear to be disproportionately represented in the Criminal Justice System and are at an increased risk of being arrested and convicted (Spinney et al., 2018). Those belonging to an ethnic minority

background are likely to have a prior criminal history and as such may score highly on risk assessments that include those items (Eagin, 2017). Items 9 to 13 on the ODARA relate to prior criminal history, therefore ethnic minorities may be at a risk of scoring highly on the risk assessment due to the disproportionate arrests and convictions. It would be important to establish the ethnic background of the construction sample to ascertain if it was representative of different ethnicities.

The purpose of creating the tool

The ODARA was designed to be used by frontline police officers who are in contact with individuals involved in DA incidents. Unlike previous risk assessment tools, the ODARA is an actuarial tool which can be completed by using information readily available to frontline officers. Therefore, a significant benefit of the ODARA is that its administration is not limited to those with professional qualifications or expertise in completing risk assessments. The development of the risk assessment included incidents where the male perpetrator had not been charged or convicted. Therefore, the ODARA can also be applied to a broader range of incidents and is not limited to a specific setting (i.e., prisons) or population of perpetrators (i.e., charged or convicted; Hilton et al., 2004).

Another appropriate use of the ODARA is to advise female partners or ex-partners of the risk posed by their male partner or ex-partner of committing a similar offence, after coming into contact with the police (Hilton et al., 2004). Existing risk assessments (e.g., SARA and DVSI) do not present survivors with this information, therefore making survivors aware of risk could potentially decrease their likelihood of experiencing DA in the future (Campbell, 2004).

Scoring the ODARA

The ODARA consists of 13 items (Table 4), and each can either be scored 0, if the item does not apply to the male perpetrator, or 1, if it does. The maximum score an individual can receive is 13. If there is insufficient information available to score an item, then the item can be classified as 'missing'. A maximum of 5 items can be scored as 'missing', any more than this means the results from the ODARA cannot be interpreted (Hilton et al., 2004). Where items have been classified as 'missing', the Prorating Table is used to calculate the total sum of scores. Where there are no 'missing' items, the score for each item is summed which provides the total score for the risk assessment. The scores and risk of recidivism associated with them have been summarised in Table 5. The scale authors provided brief training to two police officers to ensure they could score the assessment. The police officers each scored 10 cases and the results indicated, that with brief training, frontline police officers were able to score the ODARA with ease (Hilton et al., 2004). However, it is important to question whether results from two police officer is enough to suggest the ODARA can be scored with ease. It might be useful for future research to examine the ease of using the ODARA with a larger sample of frontline police officers.

With regards to providing training to assessors, a four to six hour online training course was established to provide guidance on how to score the ODARA (Hilton & Ham, 2015). The training provides case studies whereby guidance is provided on how to evaluate the information and score the ODARA. It is difficult to comment on the effectiveness of this training course as research has not yet examined this. However, it is important to note that the selection of case studies used for the training is purposeful, therefore they may not reflect more complex cases which frontline officers may be exposed to. Additionally, it is unclear if cultural sensitivity

issues, particularly around the victim's barriers to support item, are taken into account during the training. For example, language barriers may act as a barrier to seeking support for non-English speaking survivors, however it is not identified as a barrier within the ODARA. Additionally, four of the ODARA items rely on survivor's self-report and the problems related to self-report are explored in the next paragraph. It is unclear whether the training provides assessors with guidance on how to manage these issues but moving forward it is important to address them in future training development so the ODARA captures an accurate estimate of risk.

Table 5

Total ODARA score and risk of recidivism

Total score	Risk of future recidivism
0	5% of domestic assaulters commit another assault against their partner (or future partner) that comes to the attention of the police, within an average of about 5 years
1	10% of domestic assaulters commit another assault against their partner (or future partner) that comes to the attention of the police, within an average of about 5 years
2	20% of domestic assaulters commit another assault against their partner (or future partner) that comes to the attention of the police, within an average of about 5 years
3	30% of domestic assaulters commit another assault against their partner (or future partner) that comes to the attention of the police, within an average of about 5 years
4	40% of domestic assaulters commit another assault against their partner (or future partner) that comes to the attention of the police, within an average of about 5 years
5-6	60% of domestic assaulters commit another assault against their partner (or future partner) that comes to the attention of the police, within an average of about 5 years

| 7-13 | 70% of domestic assaulters commit another assault against their partner (or future partner) that comes to the attention of the police, within an average of about 5 years |

Note. From "Risk Assessment for Domestically Violent men: Tools for Criminal Justice, Offender Intervention, and Victim Services" (p.56), by N. Z. Hilton, G. T. Harris and M. E. Rice, 2010, American Psychological Association. Copy 2010 by the American Psychological Association.

Characteristics of the risk assessment

Self-report

Items one, two, three and eight (confinement of survivor, threat to harm or kill anyone at the index offence, survivor concern about future assaults, and survivor faces at least one barrier to support) included in the ODARA rely on self-report answers from the survivor. Self-report allows for the inclusion of information that is not readily available to others (Weigold, 2018). However, assessments relying on self-report items have their limitations and should not be used if there is a doubt the individual is not being truthful. Clinicians tend to understand and identify an individual's response style after working with them over a period of time (Weigold, 2018). Observations from a wider team of professionals involved in assessing risk can help form an opinion on the reliability of an individual's self-report (Anderson et al., 2017). However, frontline police officers are often bound by time constraints, therefore may not be able to assess the survivor's self-report style (Eke et al., 2011). This could increase the risk of survivors over-reporting or under-reporting the severity of abuse. Indeed, research on DA shows that survivors commonly underreport their abusive experiences, especially those who are immigrants and belong to South Asian communities (Gracia, 2004). Inaccurate self-report may jeopardise the accuracy of the overall score given

on the ODARA assessment. It is unclear if the authors have accounted for issues relating to inaccurate self-report during the ODARA's development and the impact this could have on the overall score of risk.

Actuarial risk assessment tool

It is important to remember that the ODARA was developed to measure risk of recidivism after the index offence. Three quarters of the items included in the ODARA are static. As such, this limits its application to inform interventions or assess changes in risk over time as it does not include dynamic risk factors (Lauria et al., 2017). However, Olver and Jung (2017) suggested that the ODARA could be used in conjunction with the SARA. Unlike the static nature of the ODARA, the SARA also includes dynamic factors associated with DA recidivism. It was found the combination of the two aforementioned risk assessment tools provided a better prediction of risk of recidivism than the SARA and the ODARA alone in a group of 289 men and women reported to the police for a DA offence (Olver & Jung, 2017). However, further evidence is required to assess the effectiveness of combining the ODARA and SARA. It is currently unclear if combining the two risk assessments is always effective, for example, in different populations and settings.

Reliability

Interrater reliability

Interrater reliability refers to the degree to which different raters make consistent judgments (Saito et al., 2006). When developing the ODARA, the authors applied a stringent test to ensure there was consistency in the results obtained on the ODARA by different raters. Specifically, the ODARA is interested in predicting the

risk of recidivism after the index offence. The authors (Hilton et al., 2004) recognised there was a risk of information being contaminated during ODARA's development as the OMPPAC and CPIC reports included information on offences that occurred after the index offence. Knowing that the perpetrator had committed subsequent offences could have biased the way in which raters scored the items in the assessment. To manage the risk of this happening during scale construction, information for incidents prior to and including the index assault was separated from information relating to incidents after the index offence. After separating the incidents, the pre-index and index assault information was scored and a different researcher scored the post-index information. The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) is used to examine agreement between raters (Hallgren, 2012). The authors (Hilton et al., 2004) found that independent coding was highly correlated for both pre-index and index assault information (ICC=.90) and post-index (ICC=.91). ICC values greater than .90 are indictive of excellent reliability. The ODARA interrater reliability produced a standard error of measurement of .48. This suggests that 95% of the scores obtained from the ODARA would differ less than 1 from the actual score. The authors found a strong correlation between the predicted values (pre-index and index assault score) and observed values of the dependant variable (post-index score) regardless of whether the raters were unaware (r=.69) or aware (r=.68) of post-index offences. As such, according the scale authors, the ODARA had good interrater reliability during scale construction.

Although the results suggest strong interrater reliability for the ODARA, it is important to note that only 24 cases were used to test interrater reliability with two raters, during the ODARA's construction (Hilton et al., 2004). Fleiss (1999) recommends the use of several raters to assess interrater reliability. Also, it is

suggested that interrater reliability should be tested on the intended population, in the case of the ODARA it is police officers, and that the raters are selected randomly (Saito et al., 2006). This brings into question whether the interrater reliability results are an accurate reflection of a broader range of cases that raters might experience in practice (e.g., cases that may be more complex and more difficult to code or involving raters that have personal connections to the survivors).

A recent study using 32 cases of male on female perpetrated violent offences, found that interrater reliability for individual items on DA risk assessments (SARA/SARA-V3, Brief Spousal Assault Risk Evaluation (B-SAFER; Gerbrandij et al., 2018) and ODARA) varied greatly (Hilton et al., 2020). Agreement between the raters ranged from 31% - 94% for the SARA and between 38% - 100% for SARA-V3. For B-SAFER, agreement ranged from 47% - 100%. Agreement among the raters ranged from 69% - 97% for the ODARA. For the ODARA, the item examining victim concern about future assaults had the lowest agreement among the raters at 69%. Therefore, despite having clear guidelines on how to score this item, the findings from Hilton et al. (2020) demonstrates that there is still some ambiguity concerning the appraisal of this item which should be considered when developing future training packages for the ODARA. Additionally, there were some limitations regarding the accuracy of the information/case notes used for the study as information relating to victim safety (the item which had the lowest agreement between the raters for the ODARA). This may have impacted how each rater scored the items, therefore impacting the overall agreement among raters. Future research could benefit examining the ODARA's interrater reliability by addressing the points raised above.

When constructing a new assessment, a further two tests of reliability are performed to measure how free the assessment is from random errors (Pallant, 2016).

Test-retest reliability and internal consistency are routinely performed during the construction process of an assessment (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2011) and are discussed below.

Test-retest reliability

Test-retest reliability refers to the consistency of results produced when the assessment is scored by the same person on two separate occasions (Field, 2018). It could be assumed that the ODARA would score highly on test-retest reliability due to the unambiguous questions and scoring guidance. However, it is important to note that test-retest reliability was not formally tested by the authors during the construction process (Hilton et al., 2004), nor has it been examined in other studies.

Internal consistency

Internal consistency refers to how well all the items on an assessment measure the same concept, in the case of the ODARA, it is DA recidivism (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2011). To assess internal consistency, Cronbach's coefficient alpha statistic is used with values ranging from 0 to 1. The closer the value is to 1, the stronger internal consistency an assessment has (Pallant, 2016). Hilton et al. (2020) examined the internal consistency of four DA risk assessments and found the ODARA had the lowest internal consistency (.40) compared to the other risk assessments (SARA/SARA-V3, B-SAFER) with internal consistency scores of .66, .87 and .73, respectively. It is important to note that this was the first study to explore ODARA's internal consistency, therefore further research is needed.

Limited information on test-retest reliability and internal consistency, along with limitations of the interrater reliability test discussed above, is problematic when

assessing how free the ODARA is from random errors. Using a variety of tests, as recommended by Raykov and Marcoulides (2011), would help determine how reliable the ODARA is with the occurrence of random errors.

Validity

Content validity

Content validity refers to how representative items included in the assessment are of the construct the assessment is measuring, in the case of the ODARA, the construct is DA recidivism (Pallant, 2016; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2011). When items are missing or are irrelevant to the construct of the assessment, content validity is compromised (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2011). As described previously, the 13 items included in the ODARA were empirically selected which correlated to recidivism (Hilton et al., 2004). Yet, there some considerations that could question the ODARA's content validity and these are discussed below.

There are some limiting factors which may have an impact on the ODARA's content validity, and thus, efficacy. The ODARA's construction sample only included male-on-female physical assaults and therefore was not reflective of all types or incidents of DA. In the broader literature, DA does not only consist of physical assaults, instead DA is a term that encompasses a wide range of abuse perpetrated to control a person in an intimate relationship (WHO, 2016). As such, it is questionable whether the ODARA can be used to predict emotional, sexual and financial abuse and other types of coercive behaviour that are all commonly considered to be forms of DA (WHO, 2016). Furthermore, the ODARA only takes into account cohabiting intimate male-female relationships. This neglects incidents where the individuals do not live together, or female and same sex perpetrated abuse, again highlighting that the

ODARA does not measure all facets of the construct of DA, threatening content validity. Lauria et al. (2017) found that the ODARA could only be applied to 47% of the recorded incidents of DA as the other cases did not fit the stringent inclusion criteria posed by the ODARA, therefore threatening its content validity. Risk assessments should be sensitive to the different types of incidents (ONS, 2018). However, having different risk assessments for different perpetrators may increase pressures on frontline police officers to familiarise themselves with different assessments. In turn, this could increase the risk of assessments not being used on a regular basis.

When constructing a new measure, it is recommended to examine content validity by inviting experts in the construct field (i.e., here, DA recidivism) to review the items (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2011). Examination of the ODARA's content validity appears to be missing during the construction process (Hilton et al., 2004) and it seems subsequent studies have not explored this either. Again, this questions the ODARA's content validity and whether the risk assessment is fully measuring DA recidivism.

Face validity

Face validity considers how suitable the content of an assessment is on surface level (Nevo, 1985). An assessment is considered to have face validity if its users identify the items are related to the construct being measured (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Face validity is considered the weakest measure of validity as it is informal and subjective so the results can vary (Hardesty & Bearden, 2004; Klein & Tobin, 2008). With regards to measuring DA recidivism, differences among individuals' experience and understanding of factors that increase or reduce risk of re-offending, may impact

assessment of face validity. Therefore, face validity must not be relied upon alone when considering the validity of an assessment.

The items on the ODARA are unambiguous, with a clear scoring guide. This minimises the risk of incorrectly scoring the assessment by including irrelevant information. The authors have concluded that the ODARA cannot be used if more than 5 items cannot be scored due to insufficient information (Hilton et al., 2004). Considering the items included in the ODARA, and the strict scoring criteria, it appears that the ODARA has face validity because it appears to meet its assessment aims. However, it should be considered whether the construction sample (physical DA) limits the ODARA's face validity to physical DA recidivism only.

Criterion validity

Concurrent validity

Concurrent validity refers to the extent to which the results from the ODARA correspond with results from other DA risk assessment tools (Messing & Thaller, 2013). Concurrent validity is usually measured by considering the correlation between the two assessments. When developing the ODARA, the authors correlated the total score from the risk assessment to the DA ($r=.43$), SARA ($r=.60$) and the DVSR ($r=.53$; all $ps<.01$), indicating moderate to good concurrent validity between the ODARA and the other DA assessments (Hilton et al., 2004). Correlation coefficients can range from -1 to +1. Generally, an r value of -1 or +1 indicates perfect correlation, however correlations of at least, if not beyond, -0.5 or +0.5 would illustrate good concurrent validity (Pallant, 2016). In an early study, Kropp and Hart (2000) evaluated the concurrent validity of the SARA to the Psychopathy Checklist-Screening Version (PCL:SV; Hare, 2003), the General Statistical Information on Recidivism Scale

(GSIR; Nuffield, 1989) and the VRAG (Quinsey et al., 1998). Moderate correlations were found between the SARA and the PCL-SV (r=.43), GSIR (r=.40) and VRAG (r=.50). Whilst ODARA's concurrent validity is in the moderate range (as determined by Pallant, 2016), it appears to be aligned with moderate concurrent validity correlations found for the SARA. Therefore, it can be concluded that the ODARA has concurrent validity.

Predictive validity

Predictive validity refers to the accurate prediction of future behaviour. It can be argued that this is the most important function of a risk assessment tool (Messing & Thaller, 2013). To examine whether the ODARA's score could predict violence severity, the authors correlated the ODARA score with the sum of victim injury score and the sum of CLS score of DA offences after the index offence, as well as the number of DA offences with severe violence (Quinsey et al., 1998). The results indicated that all sums were positively correlated with ODARA scores (pearson rs=.37, .36 and .34, respectively, all ps <.001). Suggesting that as the victim injury score, CLS score, and number of subsequent offences with severe violence increased, so did the ODARA score. This provides preliminary evidence that the ODARA has some predictive ability.

When assessing the predictive validity of a measure, the receiver operating characteristic (ROC) analysis is typically used (Neal et al., 2015). With reference to this, the area under the curve (AUC) is used to assess prediction. AUC scores range from 0 to 1.0, with .50 suggesting the prediction is no better than chance. A score of 1.0 indicates that the assessment perfectly predicts recidivism (Neal et al., 2015). Well established DA risk assessments, such as the SARA and DVSI, produced AUCs of .63

and .60, respectively, during their construction. The ODARA yielded an AUC of .77 when predicting DA recidivism in the construction sample of 589 offenders. However, the predictive validity within the cross-validation sample of 100 offenders, fell to .72. The authors explained the difference in AUC values was due to lower recidivism rates in the cross-validation sample. Despite the differences in AUC values, between the construction and cross-validation sample, the ODARA's predictive validity surpassed assessments that are frequently used, such as the SARA and DA, to assess the risk of recidivism.

Additional research has concluded support for the predictive validity of the ODARA. First, a systematic review completed by Messing and Thaller (2017) reviewed 25 studies that examined that predictive validity of five risk assessment to predict DA recidivism (ODARA, SARA, DA, Domestic Violence Screening Inventory (DVSI) and Kingston Screening Instrument for Domestic Abuse (K-SID)). The ODARA was identified to have the strongest predictive validity with an average AUC of .67, followed by the SARA with an average AUC of .63, the DA with an average AUC of .62, DVSI had an average AUC of .58 and the K-SID had the lowest average AUC of .54. Additionally, in a recent study by Jung and Buro (2017) the authors compared the predictive validity of three DA risk assessments, the ODARA, SARA and Family Violence Investigative Report (FVIR). A sample of 246 Canadian male perpetrators, with an average age of 34.2 years, charged for offences against their intimate partner were followed for an average of 3.3 years. Of this sample, 56.9% were Caucasian, 28% were Aboriginal and less than 5% were either Black, South Asian, Asian, Hispanic or Middle Eastern. Recidivism outcomes included any new general, violent and DA charges that were recorded in police documentation. The results indicated that the ODARA was more effective at predicting future DA charges and

convictions with AUCs of .70 and .66, respectively, compared to the SARA which yielded AUCs of .66 and .68, and the FVIR which yielded AUCs of .54 and .57. Therefore, the predictive validity of the ODARA appears to be stronger than other risk assessments when it is tested in a similar sample of perpetrators used in its development (i.e., Canadian male perpetrators).

The ODARA has also demonstrated predictive validity when used outside of a Canadian population. Lauria et al. (2017) found evidence for the predictive validity of the ODARA in an Australian frontline police setting. A total of 854 family violent cases were examined. Cases were excluded if they did not involve a current or ex-intimate partner, if the perpetrator was under the age of 18 years, if the perpetrator was female, if the perpetrator and victim had not currently or previously cohabited or if there was no physical assault at the time of the incident. The exclusion criteria applied in this study was consistent with that applied when developing the ODARA (Hilton et al., 2004). In total, 200 cases met the criteria and were used for the study, following the perpetrators from these cases for 5 months. The ODARA demonstrated better predictive validity for non-physical DA incidents (AUC of .72) compared to physical DA incidents (AUC of .68). Whilst the ODARA was developed to predict physical domestic assaults, Lauria et al.'s (2017) study demonstrated it also has predictive validity for non-physical DA recidivism.

A previous study also assessed the ODARA's predictive validity which sampled a different offender group to the one used in the development of the ODARA. Rettenberger and Ether (2013) completed a cross-validation study on 66 offenders released from a custodial sentence served in an Austrian prison. The offenders had been incarcerated for a sexually motivated offence against their intimate partner and were followed for an average of 55 months, after release. The ODARA's predictive

validity of DA recidivism produced an AUC of .71, indicating further support for its use outside its construction sample. Similar support was found by Seewald et al. (2017) who applied the ODARA to 30 male Swiss offenders charged or convicted of DA. During a mean follow-up period of 8 years, 20% of offenders were charged or convicted of a violent offence. The authors found evidence of the ODARA's predictive validity within this sample with an AUC of .78 However, the predictive validity of the ODARA was less impressive in another study using a Swiss sample. Gerth et al. (2017) followed offenders for 5 years who had been charged or convicted of DA. With an AUC of .63, the predictive validity of the ODARA was lower compared to the sample in Seewald et al. (2017), highlighting some discrepancy between the studies examining the predictive validity of the ODARA outside its original construction sample.

A number of factors can impact the predictive validity of a tool. In a recent systematic review, consisting of 11 studies, Svalin and Levander (2019) explored the predictive validity of DA risk assessments used in different settings. The authors found that differences between settings, samples, follow-up periods and experience of raters in using the risk assessment, contributed to the discrepancies in AUC scores. Despite this, it is important to note that, excluding the Gerth et al. (2017) study, studies examining the predictive validity of the ODARA have produced similar results and relatively high AUC values. Overall, this suggests that the ODARA could be applied to populations outside of the construction sample, and used by a variety of raters over different follow-up periods.

Construct validity

Construct validity refers to how well an assessment measures the construct it was developed to assess (Pallant, 2016). The 13 items included in the ODARA were empirically selected based on their predictive success. Only those that were correlated to recidivism were included in the ODARA. The AUC values of .77 during the construction process and .72 with the cross-validation sample (Hilton et al., 2004) are particularly impressive when it is considered that the highest AUC produced by other risk assessments such as the SARA, DA and DVSI was .67 (Messing & Thaller, 2017). Together, this suggests that ODARA can adequately distinguish between recidivists and non-recidivists.

To further support this, as discussed previously, Olver and Jung (2017) found a moderate to strong convergent validity between the ODARA, SARA and FVIR with correlations ranging from the .60s to .70s. The convergent validity between the risk assessments indicated that they measured a common construct of DA recidivism. This demonstrates that the ODARA has construct validity; and is therefore measuring the construct of DA recidivism.

Normative sample

To understand and interpret results, it is important for assessments to have a normative sample which can be used as a reference guide. The normative sample provides an indication of what scores to expect from a given population (Raykov & Marcouilides, 2011). The ODARA's normative sample consisted of adult males who had perpetrated a physical domestic offence against a cohabiting female partner or ex-partner (a full list of sample characteristics can be found in Table 3). The normative sample may limit the application of the ODARA to populations outside of this. Therefore, DA cases in which emotional abuse has been perpetrated, or in cases where

the offender is a female or if abuse has been perpetrated in a same sex relationship, may not be suitable for the ODARA. Additionally, the ethnic background of the construction sample was not detailed by the authors, therefore it is difficult to comment on the ODARA's use on South Asians, for example. Moreover, the construction sample did not include homicide cases. Further research could help examine the predictive validity of the ODARA to predict subsequent homicide incidents. Whilst research supports the predictive success of the ODARA (Messing & Thaller, 2017), the normative sample limits the application of the risk assessment to the subset of offenders who perpetrate DA offences. However, as discussed previously, cross-validation studies have indicated predictive success for the ODARA outside of Canada. Further research could establish ODARA's predictive success when applied to female offenders, non-physical incidents of DA, same sex relationships and ethnic minorities. Chapter One highlighted that DA is prevalent among South Asian communities, therefore it is important for risk assessments to be applicable to all ethnicities who are at risk of victimisation.

Conclusion

The ODARA was developed to be used by frontline police officers to identify the risk of recidivism posed by males who have perpetrated DA against current or ex female partners. The authors found that existing risk assessments, specifically for DA recidivism, were time consuming and required trained professionals to complete them. Alternatively, early detection of risk by frontline police officers, could protect survivors from future harm.

The ODARA is an actuarial tool used to assess risk of DA recidivism. The authors followed 589 offenders for an average of 4.79 years and during that period,

175 offenders were recidivists. Items that correlated to recidivism were selected and included in the ODARA, and therefore the test construction was empirically driven. The ODARA has received a considerable amount of attention in literature supporting its predictive success and its ability to outperform other DA risk assessment tools. Cross-validation studies have also supported ODARA's predictive validity for its application outside its construction sample. However, there may be a need for future research to focus on measuring the ODARA's predictive validity in real time whereas previous studies have relied on retrospective scoring. Along with the many advantages, the ODARA's disadvantages should also be considered. The stringent inclusion criteria does not incorporate the diversity of DA, and different populations (e.g., South Asian communities) therefore limiting its use within the parameters of the inclusion criteria. Further to this, the ODARA was developed to assess recidivism. Whilst predicting recidivism is important, it is also useful to consider how risk can be managed and reduced, but this is not something the ODARA can assist with.

Overall, the ODARA has played a key role in the actuarial assessment of risk and has been a useful tool for frontline police officers. Early detection of risk can potentially reduce future harm experienced by survivors; therefore, efforts should focus on making risk assessments accessible to those in frontline positions.

Chapter Four

An Exploration into Factors that are Associated with Quicker Formal Support-Seeking for Domestic Abuse and So-Called 'Honour'-Based Violence and Abuse Experienced by South Asian Females within the United Kingdom

Abstract

Chapters One and Two highlighted how patriarchy, often found in South Asian communities, places women from these populations at a heightened risk of experiencing abuse. Despite this, SAW are reluctant to seek formal support, and work to reduce harm has seldom focused on South Asian populations (e.g., Chapter Three). The exploration of factors that can facilitate support-seeking among SAW who have experienced abuse is still in its infancy. This study used data from 80 Pakistani women from the UK who had sought support from a charity for DA or HBV/A to explore whether certain factors encouraged survivors to seek formal support more quickly. Factors investigated included whether the survivor had experienced historical abuse, if support was required to keep children safe, number of children, whether the survivor lived with the perpetrator, and citizenship. A binary logistic regression analysis did not reveal any statistically significant findings. However, interpretation of the trends indicated that female Pakistani survivors were more likely to seek support sooner (before 24 months) if they had previously experienced abuse, required support in keeping children safe, and were British citizens. Further research, with an increased sample size, a more heterogenous South Asian population and survivors with clearly identified HBV/A or DA backgrounds could help explore these factors in detail, thus developing our insight into the support-seeking behaviour of SAW in the UK.

Introduction

As noted in Chapter One and Two, women belonging to patriarchal social systems, such as those found in South Asian communities, are vulnerable to experiencing abuse (Ayyub, 2000; Natarajan, 2002). With high prevalence rates of DA and HBV/A among the South Asian population, it is paramount for the safety of females from this population to understand how harm can be reduced. Chapter Three highlighted how the early detection of risk can protect survivors from future harm. An additional way of reducing harm would be to encourage SAW to engage in support-seeking. The experience of abuse can have an emotional and physical impact on the well-being of SAW (Gill, 2004), but there is also a detrimental impact on children (Bair-Merritt et al., 2012). Children who witness DA are more likely to experience mental health problems, such as depression and trauma (Holt et al., 2008; MacMillen & Wathen, 2014). Ragavan et al. (2018) found that South Asian children who were exposed to DA were at a higher risk of experiencing trauma. As such, it is important to understand factors that encourage support-seeking among SAW, not only for themselves but also for their children, as well as the barriers they face in doing so.

Barriers to support seeking experienced by SAW

When an individual has experienced DA or HBV/A, support can be sought from informal sources and/or formal sources. Typically, informal sources of support are family and friends who can provide emotional support through advice, affirmation, and encouragement, or can provide the support seeker with material assistance, such as help with accommodation, money, and child care (Liang et al., 2005). Sources of formal support include the police, the Criminal Justice System, clergy representatives, medical professionals, mental health professionals, charities, and crisis hotlines

(Goodman, et al., 2003). Some individuals may only seek informal support, whereas others may seek formal support. The decision to seek informal or formal support may be governed by social and cultural factors and the availability of informal or formal sources (Mahapatra & Rai, 2019).

Certain trends are evident in the rate of disclosure and the type of support sought by SAW, in particular, indicating a low level of formal support seeking behaviour. There is large variation in the rate of disclosure as part of support-seeking behaviour from one South Asian country to another (21-66%; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). Abused women in developing South Asian countries mostly seek support from informal sources, and, similarly, immigrant SAW often rely on support from family, friends, and religion (Bui, 2003; Raj & Silverman, 2007; Yoshioka et al., 2003). Becoming more spiritual has also been used as emotional coping strategy by SAW, providing them with a positive direction when they are experiencing abuse (Yoshioka & Dang, 2000). Compared to other ethnic minority groups, such as African Americans and Hispanics, SAW are less likely to seek formal support (Yoshioka et al., 2003). It is important to understand why SAW are reluctant to seek formal support to challenge their abusive experiences, despite there being a threat to their (and their children's) emotional and physical well-being.

As noted in Chapter One and Two, the cultural context to which one belongs can play a significant role in determining how people make sense of their abusive experiences and how they attend to these (Idriss, 2017b; Sullivan et al., 2005; Tonsing, 2014). Arnault's (2009) Cultural Determinants of Help Seeking model, as discussed in Chapter One, suggests there is a cultural script determining the 'appropriate way' in which abuse against SAW is attended to. Research converges to suggest that SAW are discouraged from seeking formal support for DA and HBV/A and are instead

advised by their families to remain in their abusive relationships for the sake of family honour (Ayyub, 2000; Dasgupta, 2000; Gill, 2004; Idriss, 2017b; Yoshioka et al., 2003). Chapter Two, further presents that the option to seek support formally in South Asian communities is limited due to the presence of men in positions of authority who are likely to agree with the abuse perpetrated against women (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). The presence of the honour system, as explained in Chapter One and supported by findings in Chapter Two, places expectations on women, which if not met can bring shame on the family (Gill, 2017; Walker & Gill, 2019). Due, in part, to culture and honour, SAW are therefore expected to maintain family reputation which could be threatened by seeking formal support, thus females are discouraged to engage in this process.

The reluctance of SAW to engage in support-seeking is well documented in literature. In one study, for example, only 35 of 57 SAW living in the US, who had experienced DA, reported seeking support, with 60% seeking informal support (Mahapatra & DiNitto, 2013). Yoshioka and Dang (2000) found that immigrant SAW were hesitant to seek support from their family due to the belief that once married they became the responsibility of their husband and in-laws. In such cases, support was sought from friends (Rao et al., 1990). The values of collectivism may direct SAW away from seeking formal support as the social significance of doing so may tarnish the family's reputation.

Within the patriarchal structure of South Asian communities, the social significance of women seeking support outside of the family environment can lead to stigmatisation and shame for the individual and for their family (Thiara & Gill, 2010). Hussain and Cochrane (2002), found that help for mental illness was sought through religion and prayer due to the social significance of formal support-seeking. Raj and

Silverman (2007) found that SAW in abusive relationships were reluctant to seek formal support due to the fear of being ostracized from their community and family. Idriss (2017b) found that some survivors and key agents experienced difficulties in establishing VAW interventions or workshops within Mosques and experienced reluctance from Imam's to address this in their sermons. This is consistent with Begikhani et al. (2010) who found reluctance among religious leaders to introduce VAW interventions. The lack of challenge against VAW within religious institutions further reinforces beliefs condoning abuse. As such, the cultural model (the influences from an individual's environment) will remain unchanged, therefore making it difficult for SAW to challenge their abusive experiences and seek support.

The cultural model for South Asian communities may not be the only factor governing how SAW respond to their abusive situation. South Asian immigrant women are more vulnerable to experiencing abuse from partners and in-laws compared to other ethnic minority groups (Dasgupta & Warrier, 1996; Gill, 2004; Goel, 2005; Jordan & Bhandari, 2016; Mahapatra, 2012; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Rai & Choi, 2018; Raj et al., 2006). The patrilocal nature of marriages, whereby wives settle in their husband's home/country/community, separates them from their social support networks. Research converges to suggest that SAW are more likely to seek support from family and friends than non-kin support when experiencing abuse. (Raj & Silverman, 2002; 2007; Yoshioka et al., 2003). Therefore, isolated females are at a greater risk of remaining in an abusive relationship (Levendosky et al., 2004; Raj & Silverman, 2002; 2007; Stets, 1991). Additionally, isolation can lead to low self-esteem which can further deter women from engaging in the support-seeking process (Gill, 2004).

Along with isolation, limited acculturation to living in a Western culture, economic dependency, language barriers and immigration related issues may further increase the risk of female South Asian immigrants to remain in abusive relationships (Ahmad et al., 2017; Bhanot & Senn, 2007; Bhuyan, 2007; Rai & Choi, 2018). Thiara and Gill (2010) found that immigration status was used by husbands to control South Asian spouses. Furthermore, Mahapatra and Rai (2019) found that immigrant SAW did not find agencies supportive which deterred them seeking formal support (Raj & Silverman, 2007). Additionally, key agents and survivors found that state agencies, such as police officers, were not meeting the needs of survivors and a lack of interpreters made it difficult for SAW to disclose their experiences (Idriss, 2018). Support workers also expressed concerns about South Asian GPs breaching confidentiality by disclosing to families when patients were seeking support for HBV/A (Idriss, 2018). Raj and Silverman (2003) found that DA was more prevalent among SAW who had limited awareness of support agencies. This is also supported by Solberg (2009) who found Pakistani women, for whom DA is particularly prevalent, had limited awareness of the impact violence against them had on their Human Rights.

In sum, research is congruent in suggesting that SAW are discouraged to seek support from formal sources due to the influence of their cultural model and the barriers discussed above. The South Asian cultural model appears to present a negative view of seeking support outside the family environment, therefore those who do, are at a risk of being stigmatised and further victimised by family members and the community they belong to (Idriss, 2017b). It follows that there is an increased risk of the cycle of abuse against women continuing in South Asian communities. It is paramount to the safety of SAW to understand how support-seeking can be promoted

and encouraged among this population who are at risk of being abused by their partner and family. Although research is limited in this area, studies have found that some factors can encourage SAW to engage in the support- seeking process and these will be discussed below.

Factors that encourage SAW to engage in the support-seeking process

Increase in severity and frequency of abuse and threats to children

When exploring factors that increase support-seeking behaviour among SAW, an increase in severity and frequency of abuse and threats to children were found to be 'turning points' which encouraged SAW to bring about change to their abusive situations (Bhandari & Sabri, 2020). Similarly, Tonsing and Tonsing (2019) found that living with young children encouraged SAW in Hong Kong to seek support. The study also indicated that an increase in frequency of abuse motivated SAW to seek support. Mahapatra and Rai (2019) found that SAW were more likely to seek formal support when the severity of abuse increased. Raj and Silverman (2007) found that women no longer in abusive relationships had incurred greater injuries within the abusive relationship compared to SAW who remained in their relationship implying that the severity of abuse may have been a motivating factor to leave the relationship. Most women in Bhandari's (2018) study sought formal support when the severity and frequency of abuse and threats to the safety of their children increased. The need to protect children and better their future was a turning point for SAW to take pro-active steps to leave the relationship. A sense of responsibility towards their children's well-being and safety could influence SAW to change their response to their abusive experiences. Previous research has also supported the positive link between concern for children and support-seeking (Dufort et al., 2013; Randell et al., 2012). Although

there may be difficulties for women with children to seek support (Bui, 2003; Meyer, 2011), research suggests that threat to the safety of children and an increase in frequency and severity of abuse appear to be factors that motivate SAW to challenge their abusive experiences by seeking support.

Living with perpetrators

When exploring the characteristics of women who sought support from DA services in America, Yoshioka et al. (2003) found that South Asians were either separated or divorced from their partners. Similarly, Raj and Silverman (2007) found that SAW, not in a relationship with the perpetrator, were more likely to access formal support compared to those who remained in the abusive relationship. The decision to remove oneself from the perpetrator can have a positive impact on the decision to seek formal support.

A theory that explores the cognitive process of how individuals bring about change to their abusive experiences is Landenburger's model of Abuse Stages (1989). This model comprises of four stages to describe the process of change in how an individual interprets their experiences and their response to the abuse. The first stage of the model is *Binding* and describes the process of how an individual interprets their experiences when the abuse first starts. The negative experiences of abuse may be overlooked by their recollection of past positive experiences she shared with her partner within the relationship. It is likely that the abused woman places blame on herself and focuses on resolving her shortcomings within the relationship. It is important to note that some SAW may remain in this stage of the model, due to their cultural beliefs condoning VAW within a relationship/family setting. The second stage of the model is *Enduring*. The woman purposefully starts to neglect the abuse and

starts to focus on how she can resolve the situation. As she still continues to blame herself for the abuse and the breakdown of the relationship, it is likely she experiences a sense of hopelessness and worthlessness. Due to her interpretation of the abuse, she is prone to remain in the abusive relationship. During the third stage, *Disengaging*, the woman starts to focus on the problem itself and recognises that she is being abused. Though she starts to seek support from informal and formal sources, she has conflicting feelings about leaving the abuser, therefore may return to the relationship after leaving. During the fourth stage, *Recovery*, the woman starts to manage her feelings towards the relationship and becomes focused on accessing her primary needs, such as accommodation. She may be drawn back to the relationship by her partner's plea for forgiveness, however if she is able to manage her feelings of guilt for the relationship not working, is able to leave the relationship and focus on building her life it is likely she will access formal support. This stage may not be applicable to immigrant SAW due to their financial vulnerabilities and fear of jeopardising their immigration status. Therefore, immigrant SAW may be at an increased risk of staying at stage four, despite seeking support from others.

Landenburger's (1989) model takes into consideration the complexities of interpersonal influences on appraising abuse as a problem. Usually, abusers can display contrasting behaviours such as aggression and love, making it difficult to appraise the abuse as a problem. Bhandari and Sabri (2020) applied Landenburger's model to investigate support-seeking SAW, and found most of the women were in the *Disengaging* stage or *Recovery* stage. Factors such as an increase in the severity and frequency of abuse, self-realisation and threats to children acted as 'turning points' which motivated them to change their abusive situation. SAW who are no longer living in abusive situations were likely to enter the fourth stage of Landenburger's

model. As such, they had appraised their abusive experience as problematic and therefore were focusing on meeting their own needs. In such situations, survivors are more likely to engage in formal support-seeking behaviour as identified by Raj and Silverman (2007) and Yoshioka et al. (2003).

Acculturation

As explored in Chapter One, some SAW are more likely to seek formal support. Acculturation can play an important part in understanding support-seeking behaviour of SAW. Through adopting Western beliefs, SAW are more likely to modify their attitudes towards support-seeking and build their social support network outside of their family environment. Indeed, Preisser (1999) found that greater acculturation in SAW compared to newly arrived immigrant women meant an increased likelihood of seeking support outside of their family environment. The process of acculturation encourages SAW to challenge their heritage culture beliefs which may condone the perpetration of VAW, therefore challenging their cultural model that governs their views on acceptable behaviour (Ganguly, 1998; Yoshioka et al., 2003). Less acculturated SAW are inclined to maintain traditional roles which may encourage the perpetration abuse (Bhanot & Senn, 2007; Gupta, 2003; Kim & Sung, 2000; Shiu–Thornton et al., 2005). Raj and Silverman (2003) found that less acculturated SAW were less aware of the availability of support agencies and experienced higher rates of DA. Research supports that acculturation can facilitate support-seeking among the South Asian population. Berry's Fourfold model of acculturation (as outlined in Chapter One) explains that the process of acculturation is individualistic, and therefore provides insight into why there are differences in the way some SAW manage and respond to their experience of abuse.

Summary of main points

VAW prevails in South Asian communities (Adam & Schewe, 2007; Yoshika et al., 2013). The literature reviewed above and in Chapters One and Two has highlighted there are many factors which make SAW vulnerable to experiencing abuse. There are additional factors which can cause this abuse to perpetuate, as argued by Feminist Theory, which claims that the patriarchal structure normalises the perpetration of VAW, thus allowing it to continue (Gill, 2013). South Asian communities' function at a group level, therefore honour reflects power, prestige and respect within the group/community one belongs to (Gill & Brah, 2014; Gill et al., 2014). As such, the cultural model of South Asian communities may discourage women to seek formal support (Arnault, 2009). Whilst SAW are more likely to opt for informal support offered by friends, family and religion (Raj & Silverman, 2007; Yoshika et al., 2003), they are often encouraged to remain in their abusive relationships to maintain honour (Idriss, 2017b). The fear of stigmatisation and being ostracized from their family and community further deters SAW from seeking formal support and as such are at an increased risk of remaining in abusive relationships (Idriss, 2017b; Raj & Silverman, 2007). Other barriers for SAW in seeking formal support include language, lack of social support, isolation, immigration and lack of awareness of formal support available (Rhodes & Mckenzie, 1998).

The process of acculturation appears to have received support in literature with regards to factors facilitating support-seeking among SAW. The modification of traditional beliefs can encourage SAW to challenge their views which normalise the perpetration of abuse against them. In addition, acculturation can help develop awareness of support agencies and encourage SAW to utilise them. Other factors encouraging SAW to engage in support-seeking include an increase in frequency and

severity of abuse, threats to children safety, and living away from perpetrators. Further exploration of formal support-seeking behaviour, focussed on SAW, will improve our understanding of factors encouraging support-seeking among this population, in an attempt to reduce their exposure to harm.

Present study

Previous studies, have often used qualitative approaches to enhance the understanding of barriers and facilitators to informal and formal support-seeking among SAW (e.g., Raj & Silverman, 2007; Yoshioka et al., 2003). Such research has played a crucial part in increasing understanding of the support-seeking process and the factors that might influence this. Research has not yet quantitatively examined the contribution or weighting of such factors on the time taken to seek formal support. As previous studies have found that a threat to the safety of children encouraged SAW to seek support, the present study will explore whether the number of children, a previously unstudied factor, might also influence formal support-seeking.

Previous studies on support-seeking behaviour among SAW have typically used a mixed sample consisting of Bangladeshi, Indian, Nepalese and Pakistani women. Apart from Tonsing (2014) and Tonsing and Tonsing (2019) who recruited mostly Pakistani women; the majority of studies have a high proportion of Indian women in their sample. Although there are cultural similarities among South Asian communities, Chapter Two highlighted differences among Indian and Pakistani HKs (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'Lima et al. 2020). As such, exploring each ethnicity separately is important to identify any possible underlining differences due to an individual's ethnic background. Understanding support-seeking within a specific ethnicity will not only further our psychological understanding about support-seeking

within a specific ethnic group, but also help agencies appropriately tailor their support strategies to different ethnic groups from the South Asian population.

The present study will use data from a population with Pakistani ethnicity living in the UK to explore whether factors such as increase in frequency of abuse (measured by historical abuse), threat to children (measured by support in keeping children safe), number of children, whether the survivor lives with the perpetrator, and acculturation (measured by citizenship) are associated with how quickly formal support is sought from a DA and HBV/A charity based in the UK. It was predicted that an increase in frequency of abuse, threat to children, number of children, and British citizenship would be associated with faster support seeking, whereas living with the perpetrator would be associated with slower support seeking.

Method

Ethical approval for this research was gained from the University of Birmingham Ethical Review Committee on February 6th 2019.

Sample

Local charities and organisations providing support to survivors who had experienced abuse, such as DA and HBV/A, were identified by the researcher from online searches. Local charities were contacted to discuss the research and their interest in taking part. Charities that expressed an interest shared an email address to which the researcher sent a letter outlining the project. This letter was also emailed to charities when initial contact via telephone could not be made. From this process, contact was initiated with a charity based in the UK. The charity provided support and assistance to survivors who had or were experiencing DA or HBV/A, helping them

understand their experiences, including the impact the abuse had on them and their children. Referrals to relevant services, such as Criminal Justice System, mental health services, and temporary/supported accommodation were also made through the charity, depending on the needs and wishes of the survivors. The charity worked closely with survivors to build their resilience, confidence and self-esteem enabling them to break the cycle of abuse.

Within the charity's preliminary interview checklist, staff asked survivors if they consented, so that their information could be used for research purposes. As well as providing verbal consent, survivors are also asked to tick the box on the checklist consenting to their information being used for research purposes. For this research, the charity agreed to provide data from survivors who had provided consent for their data to be used for research purposes.

The charity provided a summary of demographic information of SAW and men who contacted them for support between 2017 and 2019; this information is presented in Table 6. This illustrates that mostly female survivors, from a range of religions and ethnicities, contacted the charity for support.

Table 6

Summary of the demographic information of South Asian survivors seeking support from a UK charity between 2017 and 2019

Ethnicity	Number of survivors	Religion	Percentage of clients who were female
Bangladeshi	4	2 Muslim 1 Sikh 1 Missing data	100
Indian	87	12 Christian 26 Hindu 10 Muslim	96

		32 Sikh	
		7 missing data	
Pakistani	101	1 Christian	94
		1 Hindu	
		1 Jewish	
		96 Muslim	
		2 Sikh	

To examine factors that may encourage Pakistani survivors to seek formal support sooner, the researcher requested data for the Pakistani survivors from the charity. The Pakistani survivors mainly resided in the county where the charity was based. The data received had been anonymised by staff at the charity and as such the survivors could not be identified.

The original Pakistani dataset provided by the charity for the research contained data from 217 survivors. The charity had only recently started to record their survivor information on a single electronic database. Previously, information was sorted on separate documents for each survivor. The data for the research had been collated by staff from different databases, and so the dataset included some duplicate survivor information which the charity had highlighted. The researcher compared each highlighted survivor profile to every other profile and removed duplicate cases (n=116), resulting in 101 survivors (as presented in Table 6). For some survivors (n=21) there were missing data about the predictor variables (i.e., the factors that may encourage Pakistani survivors to seek formal support sooner) as such, these cases were removed from the dataset.

Furthermore, due to confidentiality, the charity could not provide detail on whether a survivor was seeking support for DA or HBV/A, as such the data for the current study grouped all DA and HBV/A survivors together. The limitations of doing so are explored in the discussion section of this chapter.

The final sample contained data for 80 Pakistani survivors. The precise sample demographic and religious orientation was unknown as the charity did not provide this information per survivor to ensure anonymity of survivors. However, of the initial 101 cases, prior to removing cases with missing data, 96 survivors belonged to the Muslim faith, therefore it can be inferred that the majority of the 80 survivor profiles used for the research would have identified as Muslim.

Measures

Based on previous research and theory, the researcher requested specific information from the charity about support-seeking behaviours and the characteristics of those who had sought support. Specifically, a measure of the time taken to seek formal support from the charity in months (the outcome variable[*1]), along with five other factors (predictor variables) which previous research and theory suggested may predict the likelihood of support-seeking behaviour: historical abuse, support in keeping children safe, number of children, living with perpetrator, and British citizenship (used as a proxy to measure acculturation). Considering the five predictor variables, number of children was a continuous variable, but the remaining four variables were categorical. The dataset for the categorical variables contained 'yes' or 'no' responses to whether the survivor had experienced any historic abuse; needed support in keeping children safe (for example, referral to child services, help to establish supervised contact between children and perpetrator); was living with the perpetrator; and was a British citizen. To investigate whether the five predictor

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[1] The term 'predictor' and 'outcome' variables are used here, because this is standard language for reporting regression analyses. However, it should be noted that the data are observational, and therefore cause and effect cannot be determined. This point will be considered in the discussion.

variables (historical abuse, support in keeping children safe, number of children, living with perpetrator, and citizenship) were associated with how quickly formal support was sought, a binary logistic regression was performed.

Results

In this research, data from a UK charity were analysed to explore factors associated with how quickly formal support was sought by Pakistani women living in the UK who had experienced DA or HBV/A. To answer this question, the data were first examined to ensure it met the assumptions for binary logistic regression. Binary logistic regression was then used to investigate whether the five factors (historical abuse, support in keeping children safe, number of children, living with perpetrator, and citizenship) were associated with how quickly formal help was sought from the charity by SAW from the Pakistani ethnic group. IBM SPSS statistics version 26 was used to analyse the data and the results are presented below.

Preliminary Analyses

All survivors experienced abuse prior to seeking support from the charity: The current period of abuse before survivors sought support ranged from 1 month to 228 months with a mean length of 52.5 months (SD=66.84) and median length of 24 months. Of 80 survivors, 57 survivors (71%) had experienced historic abuse but 23 survivors (29%) had not. Although 22 survivors (28%) did not require support in keeping their children safe, 58 survivors did (72%). 63 out of 80 survivors (79% of the sample) had children and the mean number of children was 2.11 (SD=1.79; range=0 - 7). The total number of survivors who did not live with the perpetrator during the support-seeking process was 53 (66%), but 27 survivors (34%) did. The

majority of the survivors (70 survivors; 87% of the sample) were British citizens, but 10 (13%) were non-British citizens.

The length of time (months) of current abuse before seeking support from the charity was supplied as a continuous variable and so a multiple linear regression was planned. As per the requirements of a multiple linear regression the outcome variable was continuous and the aim was to explore its relationship with predictor variables (Pallant, 2016). However, preliminary checks indicated that the data violated several assumptions of multiple linear regression. First, the sample size was considered to be too small (Pallant, 2016; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2001), there should be 90 cases in total for a dataset with 5 predictor variables, therefore the current dataset fell short by 10 cases. The preliminary checks also indicated violations of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity (Field, 2018; Pallant, 2016). Results of the preliminary checks and tests of the assumptions of multiple linear regression are reported in full in Appendix E. As the data violated the assumptions of multiple linear regression, the continuous outcome variable (time in months) was treated as a dichotomous variable, so that binary logistic regression could instead be used to analyse the data. To this end, the median time was used to create 2 categories of less than 24 months and 24 months or more. When dichotomising a continuous variable, Field (2018) recommends using a median split to ensure the two groups are equivalent in size. When the data were dichotomised using a mean split of 52.5 months, there was a substantial difference of cases in each group (56 survivors fell in the below 52.5 months and the remaining 24 cases were in the above 52.5 months group). Using the median split, 42 cases fell in the less than 24 months category and the remaining 38 cases were in the 24 months or more category.

Binary Logistic Regression

Binary logistic regression analysis was used to determine whether the five predictor variables (historical abuse, support in keeping children safe, number of children, living with perpetrator, and citizenship) were associated with the length of abuse (less than 24 months versus 24 months or more) before support was sought from the charity. The data were first tested and confirmed that the assumptions to use binary logistic regression were satisfied. First, this was confirmed through the presence of a dichotomous outcome variable and second by observations that were independent of each other, as each survivor contributed to their own information. Binary logistic regression also requires there to be little or no multicollinearity, for which thirdly there was no evidence of in this data, between the predictor variables. Tolerance values less than 0.100 (Menard, 1995) and variance inflation factor (VIF) values greater than 10 (Myers & Myers, 1990) are indictive of problematic collinearity. In the current data, the tolerance values were greater than 0.100, ranging from .793 (support in keeping children safe) to .958 (historical abuse). The VIF values were less than 10, ranging from 1.044 (historical abuse) to 1.261 (support in keeping children safe). Therefore, with reference to Menard (1995) and Myers and Myers (1990) it can be assumed that the multicollinearity assumption was not violated as the predictor variables were not related to one another. The final assumption of binary logistic regression regarding the sample size was also satisfied. It is typically accepted that binary logistic regression requires a minimum of 10 cases per variable (Field, 2018). In total there were five predictor variables, requiring a minimum dataset of 50 cases. The current sample of 80 cases therefore met the requirements to run a binary logistic regression analysis.

Binary logistic regression analysis was conducted where the five predictor variables were forced into the model simultaneously. First, consideration was given to

how well the model was able to predict how quickly support was sought from the charity (less than 24 months versus 24 months or more), compared to a model without any predictors. With reference to the Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients table, the goodness of fit of the model was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(5)=2.24$, $p=.82$. This suggests that when the five predictor variables were entered into the model, they were not better at predicting whether survivors sought support sooner or later from the charity than when none of the predictors were entered into the model. However, the Hosmer-Lemeshow Goodness of Fit test, considered to be the most reliable test of model fit in SPSS (Pallant, 2016), suggests good fit is indicated by a significance (p) value greater than .05. For this data the Hosmer-Lemeshow test indicated a good fit, $\chi^2(8)=12.23$, $p=.14$, meaning an increase in the complexity of the model was not required and the results are likely to be reflective of the data, not due to a poor fit.

The Cox and Snell R Square value and Nagelkerke R Square value indicated that only between 2.8% and 3.7% of the variation in the length of time taken to seek support (less than 24 months/24 months and more) is accounted for by the five predictor variables in the model. The values from the Classification table can be used to consider how well the model is able to predict the correct category of the length of time taken to seek support for each case. The values from the Classification table indicated that the model predicted 57.5% cases correctly, an improvement from 51.2% without inclusion of the predictor variables. The model was able to correctly predict 39% of the cases where support was sought 24 months or later and 76.9% cases where support was sought before 24 months. The positive predictive value indicated that the model accurately picked 64% of the survivors predicted to have sought support 24 months and later. The negative predictive value suggested that of the survivors who

did not seek support before 24 months, the model accurately identified 54.55% of those cases.

The Wald test was used to consider the predictive ability of each of the five variables included in the model. From Table 7 we can see that of the five variables, none contributed significantly to the predictive ability of model as the significance values were all greater than .05 (historical abuse $p=.60$, support in keeping children safe $p=.65$, number of children $p=.90$, living with perpetrator $p=.95$ and citizenship $p=.29$). Though not statistically significant, citizenship had the strongest contribution to the predictive ability of the model as the p value was lower compared to the other variables and closest to .05.

Finally, Odds Ratios (OR) can tell us the likelihood of somebody seeking support 24 months or later depending on their exposure to the predictor variables. All ORs (as shown in Table 7) are below one, suggesting that as the variables increase, the likelihood of a survivor seeking support later decreases. The ORs suggest that survivors who have reported experience of historic abuse (OR=.77, 95% CI [.28, 2.10]), requested support in keeping their children safe (OR=.77, 95% CI [.25, 2.37]), had more children (OR=.98, 95% CI [.75, 1.30]), lived with the perpetrator (OR=.97, 95% CI [.37, 2.56]), or who are British citizens (OR=.44, 95% CI [.10, 2.01]), were less likely to seek support 24 months or later, and so would have sought support sooner. However, note that all the 95% CIs for the ORs include 1, suggesting that the decreases are not statistically significant. From the five predictor variables, British citizenship, experience of historical abuse, and support in keeping children safe were the closest to the p value of .05 (a p value equal to or below this would indicate a statistically significant predictor), and had ORs that were furthest below 1 (where an OR of 1 indicates no change in the outcome variable as the predictor variable changes).

That is, they had the largest and most reliable effect on the outcome variable of the five variables tested. Conversely, whether the survivor had more children, or lived with the perpetrator had the largest p values and ORs that were very close to 1. This suggests, that of the five variables, they had the smallest and least reliable effect on the outcome variable and as such should be interpreted as having no significant effect on the outcome variable.

In sum, the predictive ability of the model did not show a significant improvement when the five predictor variables were added to model, according to the Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients ($p=.82$). The Cox and Snell R Square value and Nagelkerke R Square values further confirmed that the variation in the length of time taken to seek support was only weakly accounted for by the predictor variables. Taken together, the data suggests the overall predictive power of this model was relatively low and not significantly different compared to a model without predictor variables added. Like the Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients, the Hosmer-Lemeshow test is also a goodness of fit test that Pallant (2016) states is the most reliable test of model fit in SPSS. Contrary to the Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients, the Hosmer-Lemeshow Goodness of Fit test suggested that the model fits the data based on a significance level greater than .05 ($p=.14$). This suggests that an increase in the complexity of the model was not required, meaning that the results are likely to be reflective of the data and not due to a poor fit.

The five predictor variables were not found to be statistically significant in predicting how quickly formal support was sought based on Variables in the Equation table which showed that no variables contributed significantly to the model's predictive ability. However, examining the predictor variables for trends towards statistical significance and their OR, did provide an insight into factors that *may* be

associated with Pakistani survivors seeking formal support more sooner than the average time taken to seek support. Those factors that might require further consideration were whether the survivor had British citizenship, had experience of historical abuse, or had requested support in keeping their children safe.

Table 7

Predictive ability of the five variables in the binary logistic regression equation

Predictor variable	S.E	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
						Lower	Upper
Historical abuse	.52	.26	1	.61	.77	.28	2.12
Support in keeping children safe	.58	.21	1	.65	.77	.25	2.37
Number of children	.14	.02	1	.90	.98	.75	1.30
Survivor lives with perpetrator	.50	.01	1	.65	.97	.37	2.56
Citizenship	.77	1.13	1	.29	.44	.10	2.01

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore factors that encouraged survivors to engage in formal support-seeing process sooner. The data were provided from a UK charity who provided support to survivors of DA and HBV/A. A binary logistic regression analysis was performed to determine whether historical abuse, support

required to keep children safe, number of children, whether the survivor lived with the perpetrator, and survivor's citizenship were associated with the length abuse (less than 24 months or 24 month or more) before survivors sought support. The ability of the model to predict the correct category in the dependent variable (whether support was sought early or later) only improved by 6.3% with the inclusion of the predictor variables, which was not statistically significant. The analysis did not yield any statistically significant findings but looking at the trends in the data and considering the relative strength of the association between each predictor variable and the outcome (e.g., the effect size such as the ORs) can be informative (Pallant, 2016). When examining the ORs, the trends indicated that survivors who held British citizenship (OR=.44), reported experience of historical abuse (OR=.77) or required support in keeping children safe (OR=.77) may lead to quicker formal support-seeking, thus experiencing abuse for a shorter period before seeking formal support.

The OR for citizenship (OR=.44), suggested survivors who held British citizenship may engage in formal support seeking sooner. The Walds test examined variables that contributed the to the predictive ability of the model. Although not statistically significant, citizenship had the lowest *p* value (*p*=.29) and the OR was the furthest of the predictor variables from the value of 1 (where 1 indicates no change in odds). This suggests that, in this sample, British citizenship yielded the largest effect in the model. Citizenship may therefore have been a factor determining whether survivors sought formal support from the charity. Of the 80 survivors, 70 (87%) were British citizens. Of the 10 non-British citizens, seven survivors sought support later, providing some support for the trends identified in this study.

Citizenship was used as a proxy for acculturation, with British citizens assumed to be more acculturated. The observed trend was consistent with Preisser

(1999) who found that SAW who were more acculturated than newly arrived immigrant women were more likely to seek support outside their family environment. As established in previous studies, acculturation can be influenced by the number of years a person has lived in the host country, as shown in comparisons between immigrant and non-immigrant individuals (Raj & Silverman, 2007). Though citizenship may not precisely measure acculturation, it can be argued that the more time an individual spends in the host country, the more exposure they have to Western beliefs (Bhanot & Senn, 2007; Preisser, 1999). More acculturated individuals tend to acquire a stronger social support network, are more likely to know about different support agencies available, have a greater understanding of their legal rights, and have less barriers, such as language, all of which are fundamental factors in initiating formal support-seeking. Those who have spent less time in the host country have fewer opportunities to modify their traditional beliefs, and therefore are more likely to experience abuse of a longer period of time (Bui, 2003; Kim & Sung, 2000; Shiu-Thornton et al., 2005). A larger sample size, or more precise measure of acculturation, may have shown a stronger association between citizenship and quicker support-seeking in Pakistani women.

Arnault's Cultural Determinants of Help Seeking model (2009) has been used to guide research exploring support seeking behaviour of SAW. An increase in severity and frequency of abuse was found to be a motivating factor for SAW to seek formal support (Bhandari & Sabri, 2020). The current study examined whether experience of historical abuse motivated survivors to seek support sooner. Whilst historical abuse may not map directly to severity of current abuse, it measures the reoccurrence of abuse and therefore, its frequency. In the current data, there was a trend indicating that if a Pakistani survivor had previously experienced abuse, then the

probability of them seeking formal support sooner than 24 months was higher (OR=.77). Whilst the observed trend was not significant, it was consistent with previous research which found that an increase in frequency of abuse encouraged SAW to seek support (Bhandari, 2018; Bhandari & Sabri, 2020; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019; Raj & Silverman, 2007). With reference to Landenburger's model (1989), an increase in frequency of abuse appeared to act as a 'turning point' to aid survivors to exist the *Disengaging* stage and enter the *Recovery* stage of the model. The trend for frequency of abuse and support-seeking could be strengthened by incorporating a more precise measure of frequency in future research.

This study also considered the potential association between survivors' children (number and support in keeping children safe) and support-seeking. From examining the trends, support in keeping children safe may increase the probability of survivors seeking support sooner (OR=.77), although this was not statistically significant. With reference to Landenburger's model, an increase in threat to children was a motivating factor for SAW to move into the *Recovery* stage and seek formal support (Bhandari & Sabri, 2020). Similarly, the need to protect children when the frequency of abuse increased, motivated some SAW to seek formal support (Bhandari, 2018). A lack of support and fear of losing custody of children prevented some SAW from seeking formal support (Mahapatra & DiNitto, 2013) therefore, providing assistance in keeping children safe, could help to reduce this fear.

The impact of the number of children a survivor has mothered on formal support-seeking has not been considered in previous research. When examining the OR (OR=.98) for this variable, the value is close enough to 1 for it to suggest a null effect. This suggests that the time in which survivor sought support was not affected by the number of children they had. However, previous research by Mahapatra and

DiNitto (2013) found survivors with children were less likely to seek support due to the fear of losing custody and bringing shame on the family and therefore possibly being ostracised (Gill, 2004; Kallivaylil, 2010). Informal sources, such as family, can offer child care support, therefore, being ostracised from the family may jeopardise this, therefore presenting support-seeking as a less appealing option (Liang et al., 2005). Reconciling the lack of effect in the current study, and existing research, it is possible that having children, or not, is a determinant of support-seeking behaviour, but the *number* of children (as tested here) is less important.

The last variable in this study examined the impact of living with the perpetrator and support-seeking. When examining the trend for this variable, the OR, (OR=.97) was close to the value of 1, suggesting a null effect. This means that the time it took for survivors to seek support was not affected by whether they lived with perpetrators. However, previous research suggests that survivors who live with perpetrators take longer to seek formal support. Mahapatra and DiNitto (2013), for example, identified that survivors isolated from their partners were more likely to seek formal support. As identified by Yoshioka et al. (2003) SAW are typically encouraged to remain in their abusive relationships. However, the decision to leave the abusive environment may demonstrate a challenge to patriarchy which endorses gender inequalities, suggesting that they have managed internal and external barriers preventing them from seeking support. Survivors not living with the perpetrators indicate a challenge towards their cultural script about how they respond to their experiences relating to abuse. With reference to the Cultural Determinants Model (Arnault, 2009), challenging a predefined cultural script could increase the probability of seeking support. Additionally, Gill (2004) found isolation was often used by perpetrators to control SAW. Survivors living with perpetrators may be affected by

isolation, therefore taking longer to seek support. Survivors not living with perpetrators may be less isolated and have stronger social support networks which may encourage them to seek support sooner. A factor not considered in previous research on this topic is that some survivors who live with partners may be subjected to more severe abuse, and therefore they may require or seek support sooner. Thus, living with the perpetrator may not be a sufficient factor in determining how soon a survivor seeks support and more information may be required as to the severity or type of abuse suffered by those who live with the perpetrator.

It is important to remain cautious when interpreting the results as they were not statistically significant (CIs of the ORs included the value of 1, where a value of 1 indicates no change in odds). The sample size may have impacted the predictive contribution of each variable on the model. Whilst the minimum sample requirements to perform a binary logistic regression analysis were satisfied (more than 10 cases per variable; Pallant, 2016), a larger sample size may have increased power to detect statistically significant effects. The sample size was a reflection of how many Pakistani survivors sought support from the charity, within a given period of time, therefore it could not be increased. Moreover, there were some cases ($n=21$) with large amounts of missing data that could not be included in the analysis. Due to restrictions around confidentiality, the researcher could not contact survivors or look through files to retrieve any missing information to increase the sample size.

The variables included in this study were identified from previous research examining factors which encourage and discourage support-seeking among SAW. Previous research consisted of different settings, method of analysis, time periods and participants. The participants in previous research included multiple South Asian ethnicities (Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani). The results from Chapter Two

highlighted differences in motives, victims and perpetrators of HKs in India and Pakistan (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Deol, 2014; D'lima et al., 2020) and explain that these are unique between different ethnicities. As such, variables identified in previous research which encourage SAW to seek support, may not directly map to Pakistani survivors.

Previous research has often used immigrant SAW in their sample. Of the current sample 87% were British Pakistani survivors. It is difficult to conclude from the data whether these survivors were immigrants who received British citizenship or if they were born in the UK. Factors found to encourage immigrant SAW to seek support, may not be relevant for Pakistani survivors born in the UK. Other, unknown, factors may be more important in determining support-seeking in female Pakistani survivors who were born in the UK. Additionally, unique differences among individual survivors may also determine the relevance of each variable on support-seeking. Although the present study did not reveal any statistically significant results, the findings did highlight the complexity of support-seeking and the need for more research within this field.

The measurement of some of the variables included in the study may not have been accurate and, therefore, may have impacted the predictive ability of the model. Whilst acculturation has previously been measured through the comparison of immigrant and non-immigrant SAW, the accuracy in which this measures the differences in thoughts and beliefs between immigrant and non-immigrant women is debatable. For example, the current sample may have included Pakistani survivors who recently received British citizenship, as such, they may not have been as acculturated as those born in the UK and may have impacted the predictive ability of this variable. Similarly, the use of historical abuse may not directly measure increase

in frequency of abuse. Future research should focus on accurately measuring factors associated with earlier support-seeking to better understand their predictive ability.

In the current study, support-seeking for DA and HBV/A survivors was grouped and not explored separately. Chapter One, highlighted that it is often deemed important to treat DA and HBV/A as distinct offences (Idriss, 2017a) as factors which lead to DA and HBV/A may be different (cf. Aujla & Gill, 2014). Due to confidentiality, the charity could not provide detail on whether a survivor was seeking support for DA or HBV/A, as such the data for the current study grouped all DA and HBV/A survivors together. Factors found to encourage support-seeking among SAW, and included as predictor variables in the current study, were derived from research exploring support-seeking for DA. The use of DA factors was due to limited information in the literature around the variables that may contribute to support-seeking in HBV/A. For this reason, the present study may be associating factors that do not truly apply to the population, specifically the HBV/A survivors within the group, and thereby showing a lack of statistical significance in the association of the variables with time taken to seek support. In effect, the inclusion of HBV/A survivors in the dataset may have diminished the strong association between the predictor variables and the time taken for DA survivors to seek support which has already been established in the literature. As a result, the current research may confirm the findings of Idriss (2017a) which show that HBV/A is distinct from DA and therefore may have different factors which affect support-seeking behaviours which may benefit from further exploration in future research.

Limitations of the study

It is important to highlight that the data used for the study were observational and such it is difficult to determine cause and effect (Hess & Abd-Elsayed, 2019). With observational studies, it is often difficult to control for other exposures that may actually be causing the result, therefore questioning the validity of the findings from the results (Hees & Abd-Elsayed, 2019). This should be kept in mind when interpreting the results from the current study.

This study explored whether certain factors encouraged survivors to seek formal support quicker. However, the charity may not have been the first contact survivors made with a formal support agency but whether the survivors had sought prior formal support from a different agency was not recorded. Furthermore, it is unclear how accessible or known the charity was in its area, therefore Pakistani survivors may have sought support from other, more prominent and accessible charities first. If survivors had contacted other formal agencies prior to seeking support from the charity, then it is questionable whether this study was an accurate exploration of factors which encouraged survivors to seek formal support quicker. Therefore, it might be useful for future research to consider factors which encourage survivors to first seek formal support.

A lack of cultural sensitivity has been identified as a deterrent for SAW to seek formal support (Idriss, 2018; Mahapatra & Rai, 2019). The charity from which the data were received may have deterred some survivors from seeking support as it labelled survivors' experiences as DA. As mentioned in previous chapters, SAW are often encouraged to remain in abusive relationships and so survivors in the current sample may have been reluctant to seek support from the charity as it may have evoked a sense of shame and guilt. Additionally, survivors who were experiencing HBV/A

may have been reluctant to contact the charity (and may have contacted others first) as it is unclear whether it supported survivors of HBV/A.

Another issue relating to the explicit association of the charity with DA, is that some Pakistani survivors may have been unsure of whether their experiences were abusive. This point may be relevant to less acculturated survivors but, as noted before, citizenship may not be an accurate measure of acculturation. With reference to Landenburger's Model of Abuse Stages (1989), Bhandari and Sabri (2020) identified that SAW who sought formal support, were in the *Disengaging* stage or *Recovery* stage. Those who are in the *Disengaging* stage may feel conflicted about leaving their partner and may feel a sense of guilt or shame in approaching a charity which labels their experience as abusive.

It is crucial to consider issues related to cultural sensitivity as these could play a pivotal part in determining whether SAW seek formal support as highlighted in the Cultural Determinates of Help Seeking model (Arnault, 2009). The data from this charity may not be useful for exploring factors that encourage quicker formal support-seeking, as cultural sensitivity issues may have deterred some survivors from seeking support sooner. Nevertheless, it is clear from Table 7 that survivors from multiple South Asian ethnic backgrounds sought support from the charity. However, future research should endeavour to collate data from other charities in the UK to examine if the trends observed in this study are replicated.

Recommendations to facilitate formal support seeking among the South Asian female population

Despite this study demonstrating that some Pakistani survivors do seek formal support, it is important to note that it may often be their last resort and it not clear how

many Pakistani survivors in the area had experienced abuse for which they did not seek support. As noted in Chapter One and Two, the cultural model of South Asians is guided by the patriarchal construct which places importance on honour by following gender specific roles (Gill & Brah, 2014). Within the South Asian community, support is generally sought from family members (Raj & Silverman, 2007) and the importance of group cohesion and maintaining honour, usually discourages females to seek support outside of the family (Gill, 2017). It should be noted that very few women sought support from abuse specific shelters, charities or organisations, instead formal support was sought from medical and/or healthcare professionals (Raj & Silverman, 2007). This may demonstrate an existence of stigma associated with seeking support for incidents where abuse is being perpetrated against SAW. Indeed, in the current sample it took women on average 52.5 months to seek support formal support, and the median time to seek support was 24 months. The hesitancy to contact abuse related support agencies, suggests there may be a reluctance to label experiences as abusive. There may be many reasons for this, such as the fear of consequences on family honour and the survivor feeling guilty for bringing shame on the family. This supports the findings from Chapter One and Two which highlighted that mostly female behaviour was considered responsible for bringing shame and as such left SAW feeling powerless to challenge their abusive situations. Importance is placed on maintaining gender roles; therefore, some survivors learn to tolerate the perpetration of abuse against them, thus allowing for the cycle of abuse to continue.

Considering the time that was taken on average for Pakistani survivors took to seek formal support, some recommendations can be made to encourage support seeking in this population. First, the lack of cultural sensitivity has often deterred SAW to seek formal support, therefore it is important for VAW organisations to develop

their cultural awareness of why these difficulties to seek support (Khan et al., 2018). As mentioned in Chapter One and Two, the narrative around honour and shame is part of South Asian upbringing and therefore the cultural model (Gill et al., 2014) for most SAW experiencing abuse. The fear of consequences around seeking support must not be undermined. It may be useful for formal support providers (e.g., specialist and non-specialist services) to develop empathic language focused on South Asian fears and provide reassurance to survivors that they will not be forced to disclose information until they are ready. It is important for survivors to feel safe, therefore providing an environment where they feel understood is critical to promote the use of formal support-seeking among the South Asian population. Idriss (2018) recommended a system of training individuals working in state agencies to develop their awareness of the concept of honour. Understanding the stigma associated with support-seeking among the South Asian population could help support providers to be more sensitive and supportive towards those who take the brave step to seek support (Idriss, 2018). Whilst more specialist agencies incorporating recommendations made by Idriss (2018) could be beneficial, they are likely to come at a cost and require funding which may delay their set up, and therefore delay support for survivors.

The data received from the charity, indicated that two survivors took 19 years, five survivors took 17 years and eight survivors took 10 years before they sought support from the charity. Implementing Idriss' (2018) recommendations could encourage early support-seeking and may be critical in reducing the amount of harm survivors may experience from remaining in abusive relationships for such long periods of time.

Opportunities should be created to challenge gender inequalities among South Asian communities (Zia, 2019). With reference to the findings made in Chapter Two,

patriarchy encourages gender inequality which is why VAW often prevails among South Asians. Gupta (2003) found that cultures which endorsed equality among men and women had low levels of violence. An earlier study by Mehrotra (1999) found that South Asian communities who adhered to traditional gender roles, were more likely to support VAW. This supports the findings made in Chapter Two which found that individuals belonging to less traditional families, were less supportive of HKs. As such, it is important to educate all genders on equality by challenging traditional gender roles.

Begikhani et al. (2010), Gill (2004), and Idriss (2017b), have found an absence of discussions about VAW in Mosques and by other religious leaders. Educational opportunities in an environment familiar to the South Asian communities, could encourage dialogue among families about gender equality and DA and HBV/A, thus challenging the cultural model. Challenges against patriarchal beliefs can start within religious settings by Imams addressing VAW in sermons and by allowing females to hold positions within the religious structure (Idriss, 2017b). Religious leaders could reduce the stigma associated with support-seeking by identifying it as a necessary step against abuse.

Community based educational approaches could also reduce stigma and taboo around seeking-support among South Asian communities (Idriss, 2018; Jordon & Bhandari, 2017). A national campaign to raise awareness at GP practices, libraries, community centres, educational institutes, religious institutes and charities could help challenge the cultural model that condones VAW and help promote support-seeking behaviour (Idriss, 2018). Such initiatives could develop awareness of support available, and, in turn, may encourage SAW to seek support early. Fox et al. (2001) found that education played a critical role in challenging barriers around support-

seeking and problem appraisal. The more an individual develops their understanding around problematic/abusive behaviour, the more they will learn about what is acceptable, thus challenge their cultural script.

The findings from the current study identified a trend that British Pakistani survivors may be more likely to seek formal support sooner than non-British Pakistani survivors. Language barriers and a lack of understanding of support available are considered to be factors deterring immigrant SAW from seeking formal support (Raj & Silver, 2007). The United States Violence Against Women Act, 1994 was instrumental in supporting immigrant women as it allowed them to seek temporary visas so they could leave their abusive relationships and remain in the US (Mahapatra & DiNitto, 2013). The US have created South Asian specific DA agencies where staff deliver awareness programmes to South Asian communities (Kapur et al., 2017). In addition to this, The Asian Pacific Institute on Gender Based Violence in the US have complied a list of culturally specific DA agencies that can be accessed by survivors. Jordan and Bhandari (2016) and Kallivajalil (2010) found that SAW were more likely to utilise culturally specific charities than general ones. It is important to note that the charity from who the data were received from was not culturally specific. Whilst the UK also has culturally specific charities, such as Karma Nirvana, Idriss (2018) suggests that further work is needed to make charities responsive to the needs presented by SAW to encourage support-seeking. At present, the No Recourse to Public Funds is not accessible to non-British citizens. Thiara and Gill (2010) found that immigration status was used by husbands to control immigrant SAW, therefore changes to the policy, whereby funds are accessible to those on a spousal visa, could further encourage survivors who do not hold British citizenship to seek support (Idriss, 2018).

Chapter Three highlighted the benefits of risk assessments that can be used by those working in frontline positions. Solberg (2009) highlighted how SAW lack awareness of their Human Rights and the risk posed to them through the perpetration of violence against them. The development of an assessment used by frontline workers to measure the risk of victimisation could be useful to increase survivors' awareness of the risk posed on them if they remain in their abusive relationships. Furthermore, risk of future victimisation could also allow support providers to be responsive to the needs of the survivor by providing support which is in line with their risk, and even their specific ethnic group. An increase in survivors' awareness of their risk of victimisation could encourage them to engage in the support-seeking process, bringing a change to their abusive experiences (Campbell, 2004).

Recommendations for future research

The findings from this study have demonstrated that some SAW who are British citizens do seek formal support. Whilst the predictive ability of the factors entered into the model were not statistically significant, the analysis did provide some insight of trends that could encourage quicker support-seeking by Pakistani survivors from a county in the UK. Obtaining a larger sample size could help determine the predictive ability of the variables more conclusively. The study findings also pose the question as to whether the findings from the Pakistani population included in this study are generalisable to other South Asian populations. The South Asian population is ethnically heterogenous, as highlighted in Chapter Two, therefore future research could focus on obtaining, comparing and combining data from different ethnicities within the South Asian population and different organisations to increase the general relevance of results.

Whilst there are merits to utilising a quantitative approach to research, factors that facilitate support-seeking behaviour among SAW who have experienced abuse is still a relatively new area for research, and qualitative data would add significant value. It is possible that non-significant findings from this study were due to other factors being important, and not captured in this study, for Pakistani survivors and quicker support-seeking. Future qualitative research could be conducted specifically with Pakistani HBV/A or DA survivors to identify such factors which encourage them to seek support sooner. This could guide quantitative research, similar to the current study, that can examine the reported factors in larger populations. In addition, working with support providers could further help develop awareness into the support-seeking behaviour of SAW. Accessing survivors to conduct qualitative research can be practically difficult and ethically challenging, however collecting on support providers' experiences of factors that encouraged SAW to seek formal support could be informative. This, too, could help identify unknown factors that encourage support-seeking but equally learnings could other help formal support agencies to be more responsive to the needs of the South Asian population. Exploring the obstacles/barriers/fears in seeking support for SAW who have experienced abuse can further help develop community-based initiatives/inventions that are responsive to these obstacles/barriers/fears.

Conclusion

South Asian communities appear to be governed by patriarchy which places importance on obeying gender defined roles (Gill et al., 2014). Group cohesion is an important aspect of South Asian communities; therefore, problems tend to be discussed and dealt within the family environment (Walker & Gill, 2019). Discourse

around living an honourable life is present from an early age, therefore individuals are aware of the importance of avoiding shame (Gill, 2017) as shame and dishonour can tarnish a family's reputation within their community. Such practices and gender inequality mean that SAW may be vulnerable to experiencing abuse and continuing to live within abusive relationships (Yoshioka et al., 2003). Theories relating to support-seeking behaviour have often struggled to explain the reluctance of SAW to seek formal support as seeking support from formal sources is often the last resort. Theories have often placed importance on problem identification and appraisal; however, it might be difficult for this to happen within a cultural model that condones gender inequality. Moreover, the Cultural Determinants model has highlighted the impact of sociocultural factors on support-seeking.

The current study explored whether certain factors were associated with how quickly formal support was sought from a charity by British Pakistani survivors of DA and HBV/A. Whilst the analysis did not yield statistically significant results the trends in the data highlighted that certain factors, such as historical abuse, support required to keep children safe and citizenship, *may* be associated with how quickly support was sought, as predicted by the broader literature and theory. Research using a larger sample size, comparing different ethnicities from the South Asian population could help further explore the ability of the variables included in the study to predict support seeking behaviour of SAW. Furthermore, future research should aim to separate survivors of DA and HBV/A when examining factors that contribute to quicker support seeking. It is important to understand how support-seeking by SAW can be encouraged which in could ultimately reduce the period of abuse experienced by survivors.

Chapter Five

General Discussion

General discussion

To date, the literature has highlighted that SAW are at a greater risk of experiencing abuse (Ayyub, 2000; Natarajan, 2002). This is supported by high prevalence rates of DA and HBV/A among South Asian communities (Adam & Schewe, 2007; ONS, 2018). SAW compared to other ethnic minorities, such as Hispanics and African Americans, are at a greater risk of remaining in abusive relationships (Yoshioka et al., 2003). As such, the cycle of abuse continues having a detrimental impact on their emotional, psychological and physical well-being (Gill, 2004).

This thesis sought to address how harm towards SAW could be reduced. This was first achieved through a systematic review of literature to understand why HKs are perpetrated and who is at risk of victimisation and perpetration. Second, a risk assessment to measure DA recidivism was critically evaluated and thirdly an empirical research study examining factors associated with quicker support-seeking. The findings from this thesis have increased our understanding of factors that increase the risk of VAW in South Asian communities and how it could be reduced.

Summary of Findings

Chapter One

Chapter One highlighted the prevalence of DA, HBV/A and HKs cases within South Asian communities. Literature has noted that the prevalence rates are not an accurate reflection of the true DA and HBV/A cases experienced by SAW (Mahapatra, 2012; Natarajan, 2002). From examining theoretical explanations for VAW, certain characteristics present within South Asian communities appeared to maintain and condone VAW. South Asian communities are patriarchal and function as collectivist

communities. The concept of honour and shame plays an important part within South Asian communities and discourse surrounding it, is communicated from a young age. As such, the South Asian cultural model functions at a group level. Responses to difficulties are in line with maintaining honour and avoiding shame. As such, SAW are encouraged by families to remain in abusive relationships to maintain honour (Thiara & Gill, 2010). Chapter One highlighted the importance of reducing harm experienced by SAW. However, firstly, it was important to understand factors that maintain and condone VAW, in particular HKs, in South Asian communities. This was achieved through systematically reviewing literature.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two presented a systematic literature review exploring HKs in South Asia and the Middle East. HKs are the most fatal form of HBV/A (Walker & Gill, 2019), therefore Chapter Two synthesised literature on HKs to increase our understanding on why such murders are perpetrated. The studies included in the review explored the characteristics of perpetrators and victims; motives for HKs; systems upholding the perpetration of HKs; attitudes towards HKs and the religious context of HKs.

The 15 studies included in the review used a mix of qualitative and quantitative methodologies to analyse primary and secondary data. The results from studies exploring attitudes towards HKs found that men were more supportive of HKs compared to women, however some women also supported the perpetration of HKs. Interestingly, there were more female perpetrators and male victims in HKs perpetrated in India compared to Pakistan, however, the studies did not examine why these differences existed.

There was agreement across the literature about how honour is related to female chastity and the pivotal role of patriarchy in maintaining and sanctioning HKs. Many females believed that they had to live within the confines of their role as a woman (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). Those who behaved outside this, brought shame on the family (Dogan, 2014). Perpetrators of HKs spoke about how they felt pressurised by the community to take action against their female relative in order to restore honour (Bhanbhro et al., 2013; Dogan 2014; 2016). As such, continuous effort is needed through community interventions to challenge beliefs that condone HKs to protect future victims against harm.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three examined the ODARA, an actuarial risk assessment tool developed in Ontario, Canada, to be used by frontline officers to measure DA recidivism (Hilton et al., 2004). It has been noted that those who perpetrate DA offences are likely to reoffend in the future (Lin et al., 2009). Therefore, early detection of risk of recidivism can protect survivors against future harm. Whilst Chapter Three found support for the ODARA's predictive validity, further research is required to examine its reliability. Additionally, the ODARA's stringent inclusion criteria during the construction process, may limit its use within those parameters. However, Chapter Three highlighted the importance of developing an assessment that can be applied by those working in frontline positions. Focusing the assessment of risk only on those who have been convicted or charged neglects the safety of survivors whose perpetrators do not fit that criteria. As highlighted in Chapter One and Two, SAW experience difficulties in challenging their abusive experiences. However, developing a risk of victimisation assessment tool that can be used by doctors and

support organisations, for example, may help SAW understand their situation better and encourage them to challenge their abusive experience.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four outlined an empirical study which aimed to explore factors that encouraged Pakistani survivors ($n=80$) to seek formal support more quickly from a UK charity supporting DA and HBV/A survivors. A binary logistic regression analysis was performed on the data received from the charity to determine whether historical abuse, support in keeping children safe, number of children, whether the survivor lived with the perpetrator and survivor's citizenship were associated with the length abuse (less than 24 months or 24 months or more) before support was sought from the charity. The results from the analysis did not yield any statistically significant findings, therefore the trends in the data were interpreted to examine their relative strength of the association between each predictor variable and the outcome (e.g., the effect size such as the ORs).

The trends showed that survivors who held British citizenship, reported experience of historical abuse or requested for support in keeping children safe may have led to quicker formal support-seeking, thus experiencing abuse for a shorter period before seeking formal support. There were some limitations which may have led to non-statistically significant findings and require addressing in future research. However, the findings from the study furthered our understanding of formal support-seeking undertaken by SAW living the UK, and highlighted that important further research is needed in Pakistani samples.

Theoretical Implications

Currently, there is limited research where theoretical perspectives on support-seeking have been applied to SAW who have experienced DA or HBV/A. Findings from this thesis support and extend the Cultural Determinants of Help-Seeking model, which suggests that an individual's response to difficulties is influenced by their cultural model. An individual's cultural model is dependent on what he or she has learnt from their environment, thus shaping their understanding of what is acceptable and unacceptable (Arnault, 2009). In South Asian communities, formal support-seeking could potentially bring shame on the family (e.g., as evidenced in the literature review in Chapter Two, and the long time it took for women to seek support in Chapter Four), which could prevent SAW from seeking support outside their family environment. However, as highlighted in Chapter Two, certain factors, such as education and deviation from following traditional gender roles, can challenge beliefs condoning DA and HBV/A. Furthermore, Chapter Four also showed factors, such as acculturation, had a positive impact on support-seeking behaviour.

First, considering acculturation, this thesis lends support to the idea that acculturation facilitates formal support-seeking among SAW living in the UK. According to Berry's (2005) Fourfold Model of Acculturation, exposure to an environment whereby individual can develop their understanding of available support and legal rights, may encourage support-seeking behaviour. As noted in Chapter Two, females living in South Asia believe that little can be done to challenge their subordinate role. However, results from the study in Chapter Four indicated a trend that SAW holding British citizenship were more likely to seek formal support more promptly than those who did not hold British Citizenship. Although the findings from Chapter Four are tentative and require replication in larger samples, it is possible that

acculturation in Britain challenges barriers associated with support-seeking. This is consistent with other literature in which immigrant SAW were less likely to seek support than women who were more accultured to Western culture (Gupta, 2003; Preisser, 1999; Raj & Silverman, 2007).

It is important to note however, that the conclusion that acculturation can increase support-seeking is likely to '*demonise*' South Asian cultures, for example, and glorify Western cultures as being superior (Kumari, 2004). HBV/A exists in White British communities too, suggesting that acculturation to Western ideologies/beliefs may not always protect against abuse (Idriss, in press). It is also important to note, and as highlighted in Chapter One, the impact of acculturation, namely cultural conflict, on mental health which can further deter support-seeking (Hussain, 2004; Van Bergan et al., 2006). As such, it is important to remain mindful of the above points when considering the link between acculturation and support-seeking.

Looking at the trends in the data in Chapter Four, an increase in frequency of abuse (measured by historical abuse) may have encouraged survivors to seek support sooner from the charity. This supports Landenburger's model of Abuse Stages (1989) which suggests that the presence of certain factors increased the likelihood of survivors challenging their abusive experiences. Bhandari and Sabri (2020) applied Landenburger's model to support-seeking and found that an increase in frequency of abuse acted as a 'turning point' for SAW to leave their abusive relationships. This indicates, that the occurrence of certain factors, such as increase in frequency of abuse can encourage some survivors to challenge their abusive experiences. However, it is important to note that in Chapter Two, SAW living in their native country were unlikely to challenge their abusive experiences. Therefore, the concept of 'turning points' may only be relevant to SAW in Western communities. Again, this highlights

the complexity of support-seeking within South Asian communities. Certain factors may encourage support-seeking, but these may not be relevant to the whole South Asian population. This may provide an explanation for why statistically significant results were not found in Chapter Four, has the predictor variables may not have been relevant for Pakistani survivors.

Practical Implications

This thesis highlighted the need for support services to be sensitive and responsive to the needs of SAW. This is of importance given the prevalence rates of DA and HBV/A within South Asian communities (Chapter One and Chapter Two for HKs) and survivors reluctance to seek support to challenge their abusive experiences (e.g., Chapter Four). Enduring any kind of abuse can have a detrimental impact on an individual's psychological, emotional and physical well-being, therefore it is paramount to help those, most vulnerable of remaining in abusive relationships, to seek support. An increase in cultural sensitivity and awareness may encourage the use of formal support seeking. Findings by Idriss (2018) found that police responses to HBV/A were not responsive to the needs of survivors. Furthermore, a lack interpreters and fears of confidentiality breaches within GP surgeries, further deterred survivors from seeking support for HBV/A (Idriss, 2018). A lack of cultural sensitivity may deter SAW to use formal support therefore, is important to help formal support services increase their awareness of why some SAW may have difficulties in seeking support.

Moreover, as highlighted in Chapter One and Two, conscious effort is needed to challenge patriarchy which condones VAW. Idriss (2017b) highlighted that there appeared to be some reluctance in religious institutes to address topics such as VAW

in their sermons, for example. Furthermore, a lack of female representation within religious institutes maintained and reinforced the patriarchal structure found within South Asian communities. In practice, the presence of women in social structures may help challenge beliefs that women are inferior to men. Additionally, it may encourage females to seek support from other females. It is important to encourage dialogue around VAW to challenge its use within South Asian communities. An increase in public campaigns in local communities and raising awareness in schools, colleges and universities could also encourage dialogue on DA and HBV/A (Idriss, 2018). In turn, this may help to change the cultural model in which abuse against women is acceptable and support-seeking is discouraged.

Research converges to suggest that immigrant women are at a greater risk of remaining in abusive relationships. Raj and Silverman (2007) noted that newly arrived immigrant women had limited awareness of how to access formal support. As such, they experienced abuse for a prolonged period. As previously noted, survivors who did seek support from the charity in Chapter Four took a long time to do so (52.5 months, on average). It is important to create opportunities to develop the awareness of immigrant women about support available and how it can be accessed. A method of reaching out to immigrant women could be through ethnicity specific satellite channels. Programmes on these channels are usually in languages native to South Asian countries, therefore may be able to reach individuals who do not speak English. Working alongside these channels may help tackle obstacles, such as language and transport barriers, often faced by immigrant women, who are vulnerable of remaining in abusive relationships. What this thesis has highlighted is a need for culturally sensitive initiatives to change notions around honour, shame, VAW and support-seeking among South Asian communities.

Methodological Limitations of the Thesis

This piece of research is subject to limitations which have already been addressed in the individual chapters and should be kept in mind when drawing conclusions from this work. As highlighted in Chapter One, the true prevalence of DA and HBV/A, including HKs, remains unknown. Therefore, we do not truly know how big the problem is, however it can be inferred that the prevalence of these offences is relatively high among SAW. The secret-keeping nature of South Asians deters survivors sharing their perspectives, making it difficult to identify factors that led them to challenge their abusive experiences (Ayyub, 2000; Dasgupta, 2000).

The constraints of the amount of literature available for review became apparent during the scoping exercise for the systematic review included in Chapter Two. Some of the studies relied on secondary data. Whilst secondary data can provide insight of trends within literature, findings from such studies can be repetitive and lack depth. From studies exploring attitudes in Chapter Two, men were found to be more supportive of HKs compared to women. However, the attitudinal studies (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Rahim, 2017; Shaikh et al., 2010; Shaikh et al., 2015) employed different measures with little information provided about their validity and reliability. Therefore, caution should be applied when drawing conclusions from these studies as it is difficult to establish whether attitudes were accurately measured. It is important to note the effect of social desirability and the impact this may have had on individuals to provide socially desirable responses, possibly, in line with cultural expectations. As such, it is important to remain mindful of these limitations.

The research study is limited by the relatively small sample size (n=80) and restricted population (data obtained from one charity in the UK focusing on Pakistani survivors only) and as such it may be difficult to generalise the findings. The analysis

was completed on secondary data obtained from the charity; therefore, it is difficult to conclude if the data were free from errors which may have impacted the findings produced by the study. The study examined whether certain factors were associated with how quickly survivors sought formal support. It is important to consider the charity may not have been the first contact survivors made with a formal support agency. This questions whether the study was an accurate exploration of factors predicting how quickly formal support was sought and this limitation should be kept in mind when making conclusions from the study.

Another limitation, more broadly across the thesis, is that VAW is a complex subject area, however the complexity is further exacerbated when exploring it in the context of South Asian population. Furthermore, a consequence of combining Middle East and South Asian populations in Chapter Two, may make it difficult to identify factors specific to the individual populations. This thesis has made reference to the impact of the South Asian cultural model on the perpetration of DA and HBV/A and support-seeking. South Asian communities appear to be inherently patriarchal and as such women have a subordinate position compared to men. As highlighted in Chapter Two and Four, women experience difficulties in challenging their position and experiences due to patriarchal practices. Additionally, South Asians' are typically collectivist communities and place importance on maintaining respect and prestige within their community (Gill & Brah, 2014; Gill et al., 2014; Khan, 2018). As such, South Asian's are encouraged to continue the practice of secret-keeping by seeking support informally (Gill, 2004). Aside from this, there may be other barriers preventing SAW from seeking support.

Chapter Four provided an overview of barriers SAW experience preventing them from seeking support. However, these were not necessarily referred to

throughout the rest of the thesis. The Intersectionality Theory focuses on race, gender and class issues and the impact these have on support-seeking for women from ethnic minority backgrounds (Crenshaw, 1991). Ethnic minority women are likely to experience issues related to poverty, such as housing, employment and wealth (Crenshaw, 1991). When considering SAW, the patriarchal structure is likely to cause socio-economic disempowerment. Immigrant women are likely to be reliant on their spouse for financial and housing support, making it difficult for them to leave their abusive relationships. Further to this, immigration status may also be a critical reason for why SAW remain in abusive relationships (Kapur et al., 2017). The consequences of seeking support may result in their deportation. A lack of awareness of available support and language barriers, further disadvantages SAW from seeking support (Solberg, 2009). Whilst this thesis highlighted the impact of patriarchy on women, it did not consider the wider socio-economic impact it has on SAW. The Intersectionality Theory highlights the importance of remaining mindful of race, gender and class issues when developing strategies to support women against violence. VAW should be understood across cultures to understand all facets of the difficulties women experience. Therefore, the impact of socio-economic factors must not be neglected as these can prevent women from seeking support.

The aim of the thesis was to explore ways in which harm towards SAW experiencing abuse could be prevented with particular attention given to support-seeking. Chapter One, highlighted that it is often deemed important to treat DA and HBV/A as distinct offences (Idriss, 2017a) due to the differences in motives behind their perpetration (c.f, Aujla & Gill, 2014). This questions whether support-seeking should also be treated separately for DA and HBV/A. Different factors may prevent and facilitate support-seeking depending on whether the survivor has experienced DA

or HBV/A. Treating the two offences as one, when considering support-seeking, may not allow for a thorough exploration of these possible nuances. This is something worth considering for future research, as Chapter Four used data where DA and HBV/A cases were not separated.

This thesis focused on the experiences of SAW, specifically. It is important to note that male South Asians are also victims of DA and HBV/A (Idriss, 2020; in press) as noted in studies by Chesler and Bloom (2012), Deol (2014), and D'Lima et al. (2020) in Chapter Two. Though a small percentage, male survivors also approached the charity in Chapter Four for support. Therefore, future research could focus on examining internal and external barriers to support-seeking experienced by male survivors.

Implications for further research

The thesis highlighted a need for further research exploring factors that encourage SAW to seek formal support sooner. The study in Chapter Four highlighted some trends regarding support-seeking behaviour within the sample, however the sample size was limited by the available data. Future research should aim to collect a larger sample size to increase the power to detect statistically significant effects during the binary logistic regression analysis. Research collecting data from other South Asian populations is also necessary to assess if the findings from Chapter Four are generalisable to broader South Asian communities. Moreover, the study explored a particular set of factors that may encourage formal support-seeking, and those factors were chosen based on the current literature available. However, there is limited literature examining support-seeking in South Asian communities, in particular Pakistani women, and therefore, it could be possible that the analysis in Chapter Four

may have neglected other factors which encourage formal support-seeking. Future research, should aim to improve insight of other factors that play an important role in formal support-seeking.

Future research could consider how socio-economic factors could be addressed to facilitate support-seeking behaviour among SAW. As noted previously, issues raised within The Intersectionality Theory play a significant part in how survivors attend to their experiences. The thesis highlighted the socio-economical vulnerabilities of immigrant SAW which require further research. A consequence of not doing so may enable the continuation of VAW.

Chapter Three highlighted the benefits of an actuarial tool for assessing risk. Whilst some charities may have their own risk of victimisation assessment, it may be useful to develop an assessment applicable to SAW. There are many components to developing an assessment to ensure it is reliable and valid so the results from the assessment can be used with confidence. It would be useful for future research to focus on establishing items that could be included on the assessment to assess the risk of victimisation. The results from the assessment could develop the survivor's awareness of their risk of further victimisation as well help support providers to tailor their support in accordance to the risk presented.

Conclusion

In sum, the aim of this thesis was to examine how harm against SAW, through the perpetration of DA and HBV/A, could be reduced. To achieve this aim, it was important to understand the context in which these offences are perpetrated. First, Chapter One examined the concept of honour and shame and how it supports the perpetration of VAW. Second, Chapter Two examined the characteristics of

perpetrators and victims as well factors that uphold the practice of HKs. As noted in Chapter One, HKs are the most fatal type of HBV/A and the prevalence of them is alarmingly high, therefore it is important to examine them separately from other HBV/A. Chapter Three critically evaluated an actuarial assessment tool used to predict the risk of DA recidivism. This chapter highlighted important components of a risk assessment tool and the benefits of measuring risk by frontline workers. A risk assessment measuring the risk of victimisation, specifically for SAW, could be beneficial in increasing survivors' awareness of the risk posed to them. In turn, this could reduce the risk of recidivism. Chapter Four comprised of an empirical study exploring factors that may encourage South Asian survivors of DA and HBV/A to seek support sooner. This thesis has made a valuable contribution to the field of DA and HBV/A. It is the first to systematically review South Asian and Middle Eastern literature relating to HKs. The findings have furthered our understanding of HKs in these populations by illustrating that there are differences between perpetrators and victims based on their social construct (i.e., the country in which they were perpetrated). Furthermore, the review did not identify religion as a motivating factor for these types of murders. Overall, factors such as education and employment served to challenge beliefs supporting HKs. In addition, this thesis is the first to quantitatively identify potential factors, including acculturation, previous experience of abuse and support in keeping children safe, that may encourage quicker support-seeking among SAW in the UK who have experienced DA and/or HBV/A. Overall, the thesis highlighted that continuous efforts are required to protect SAW from DA and HBV/A. It is crucial for support providers develop their awareness around honour and shame and the difficulties experienced by SAW in seeking support. Community interventions

can play a critical role in challenging gender inequalities that condone VAW in South

Asian communities.

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Appendices

Appendix A

League of Arab States and South Asian counties

League of Arab States

Algeria
Bharain
Comoros
Djibouti
Egypt
Iraq
Jordon
Kuwait
Lebanon
Libya
Mauritania
Morocco
Oman
Palestine
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Somalia
Sudan
Syria
Tunisia
United Arab Emirates
Yeman

South Asian countries

Afghanistan
Bangladesh
Bhutan
India
Maldives
Nepal
Pakistan
Sri Lanka

Appendix B

Syntax from database search

Ovid Medline (1947 to May week 1, 2019) and Ovid PsycINFO (1967 to June week 2, 2020)	Number of hits
(honour or honor or izzat or patriarchal or female or wom?n).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	**7043**
(violen* or killing* or murder or crime*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	**237836**
(culture* or tradition*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	**2124220**
1 and 2 and 3	**210**

Ovid EMBASE (1947 to June 12, 2020)	Number of hits
(honour or honor or izzat).mp. [mp=title, abstract, heading word, drug trade name, original title, device manufacturer, drug manufacturer, device trade name, keyword, floating subheading word]	**3929**
(violen* or killing* or murder or crime*).mp. [mp=title, abstract, heading word, drug trade name, original title, device manufacturer, drug manufacturer, device trade name, keyword, floating subheading word]	**173269**
(culture* or tradition*).mp. [mp=title, abstract, heading word, drug trade name, original title, device manufacturer, drug manufacturer, device trade name, keyword, floating subheading word]	**1890701**
1 and 2 and 3	**42**

ASSIA (2007 – 2020)

(all(honour) or (all(honor) or (all(izzat) and (all(violen*) or (all(killing*) or
(all(murder) or (all(crime*) and (all(culture*) or (all(tradition*) – **32 papers found**

SCOPUS (2007 – 2019)

TITLE (honour or honor or izzat) and TITLE (violen* or killing* or murder or
crime*) and TITLE (culture* or tradion*) - **236**

Appendix C

MMAT quality assessment

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Debating the role of custom, religion and law in honour crimes Al Gharaibeh, 2016	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Karo-Kari: the murder of honour in Sindh Pakistan: an ethnographic study Bhanbhro, Wassan, Shah, Talpur and Wassan (2013)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Hindu vs. Muslims Honour Killings Chesler and Bloom (2012)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Honour Killings in Haryana State, India: A Content Analysis. Deol, 2014	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	For the Sake of Family and Tradition: Honour Killings in India and Pakistan D'Lima et al. 2020	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or				

Qualitative	'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Did the Coroners and Justice Act 2009 get it right? Are all honour killings revenge killings? Dogan (2013)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Understanding victims of honour based violence Dogan (2014)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the	X			

	research question?				
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria The dynamics of honour killings and the perpetrators' experiences Dogan (2016)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Honor Killings amongst adolescents in Amman, Jordan Eisner and Ghuneim (2013)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Quantitative descriptive	Is the sampling strategy relevant to address the research question?	X			
	Is the sample representative of the target population?		X		Over representation of adolescents belonging to middle class backgrounds.
	Are the measurements appropriate?	X			
	Is the risk of nonresponse bias low?	X			
	Is the statistical analysis appropriate to answer the research	X			

	question?				

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Honour Killings in Pakistan: An Islamic Perspective Muhammad, Muhammad, Ahmed, Abdullah, Omer and Shah (2012)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria The epidemiological patterns of honour killing of women in Pakistan Nasrullah, Haqqi and Cummings (2009)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Quantitative descriptive	Is the sampling strategy relevant to address the research question?	X			
	Is the sample representative of the target population?	X			
	Are the measurements appropriate?	X			
	Is the risk of nonresponse bias low?	X			Data not collected directly from participants
	Is the statistical analysis appropriate to answer the research question?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria Karo-Kari: A Form of Honour Killing in Pakistan Patel and Gadit (2008)	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening	Are there clear research questions?	X			

questions	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Qualitative	Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	X			
	Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	X			
	Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	X			
	Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	X			
	Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria	Responses			
	Attitude towards honour killing among honour killers, murders and a general population sample Rahim (2017)	Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Quantitative descriptive	Is the sampling strategy relevant to address the research question?	X			
	Is the sample representative of the target population?		X		General public sample consisted of university students, therefore not representative of the general public in Pakistan
	Are the measurements appropriate?			X	Information about the scales not provided
	Is the risk of nonresponse bias low?	X			
	Is the statistical analysis appropriate to answer the research question?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria	Responses			
	Attitudes about honour killings among men and women – perspective from Islamabad Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal and Masood (2010)	Yes	No	Can't tell	comments

Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Quantitative descriptive	Is the sampling strategy relevant to address the research question?	X			
	Is the sample representative of the target population?			X	Convenience sample, therefore not representative of socio-economic backgrounds of those who live in Islamabad, Pakistan
	Are the measurements appropriate?	X			
	Is the risk of nonresponse bias low?	X			Yes, there are a range of response options
	Is the statistical analysis appropriate to answer the research question?	X			

Category of study design	Methodological quality criteria	Responses			
	Opinions of university students on honour killings: Perspective from Islamabad and Rawalpindi Shaikh, Kamal and Naqvi (2015)	Yes	No	Can't tell	comments
Screening questions	Are there clear research questions?	X			
	Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	X			
	Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.				
Quantitative descriptive	Is the sampling strategy relevant to address the research question?	X			
	Is the sample representative of the target population?	X			
	Are the measurements appropriate?	X			
	Is the risk of nonresponse bias low?	X			
	Is the statistical analysis appropriate to answer the research question?	X			

Data extraction form

Country	
Aims of the study	
Ethics – how ethical issues were addressed	
Study setting	
Theoretical background of study	
Sampling approach	
Participant characteristics	
Data collection methods	
Data analysis approach	
Key themes identified in the study	
Author explanations of the key themes	
Recommendations made by the author/s	
Assessment of study quality	

Preliminary analysis for multiple linear regression

A preliminary analysis was performed on the data to test whether assumptions for multiple regression were satisfied. Pallant (2016) reports that multiple regression analysis can only be performed if all of the five assumptions are satisfied. The current dataset, appeared to violate all of the assumptions. First, the sample size (*n=*80) was considered too small for multiple regression (Pallant, 2016; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2001), there should be 90 cases for dataset with 5 predictor variables, therefore the current dataset fell short by 10 cases. Furthermore, Pallant (2016) suggests increasing the sample size if there are violations of the assumptions. However, this could not be done as sample was dependent on the number of survivors who had contacted the charity for support.

Second, when examining the correlations table, the values indicated that the relationship between the outcome variable and predictor variables was weak. It is suggested that values above .3 indicate a relationship between the outcome variable and predictor variables. The correlation between current abuse (outcome variable) and historic abuse was -.134, between support in keeping children safe was -.174, between number of children was .107, between survivor lives with perpetrator was .104 and between citizenship it was -.054. Tolerance values and variance inflation factor (VIF) values can also be used to further examine the assumption of multicollinearity. Tolerance values less than 0.100 (Menard, 1995) and variance inflation factor (VIF) values greater than 10 (Myers & Myers, 1990) are indictive of problematic collinearity. In the current data, the tolerance values were greater than 0.100, ranging from .793 (support in keeping children safe) to .958 (historical abuse). The VIF values were less than 10, ranging from 1.044 (historical abuse) to 1.261 (support in keeping

children safe). Due to a lack of relationship between the outcome variable and predictor variables, it was difficult to conclude whether the multicollinearity assumption has been violated or not.

Third, the normal probability plot and residuals scatterplot were examined to establish whether the dataset violated the remaining assumptions; normality, linearity and homoscedasticity (Field, 2018; Pallant, 2016). When inspecting the normal probability plot, it was evident that there were major deviations in linearity as the points on the graph did not line up in a straight diagonal line. The scatterplot of residuals demonstrated that scores were not distributed centrally along the zero point on the scatterplot, therefore suggesting a violation of linearity, normality and homoscedasticity (Field, 2018; Pallant, 2016). From examining the scatterplot of residuals, there appeared to be one outlier. The information entered for this case was checked to ensure no errors were made when entering the values. The values entered were correct and it was decided that the case should remain as it was a reflection of a survivor's experience in seeking support. Due to the dataset violating multiple regression assumptions, binary logistic was used instead.