FOR WHOSE HONOUR?

AN INVESTIGATION INTO HONOUR BASED VIOLENCE

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Abstract

Honour based violence (HBV) is a form of gender-based violence perpetrated against a victim, most often a female relative, with a view to restore honour. Though HBV is receiving more media and academic attention, there is little consensus on the definition or characteristics of HBV, or how it fits into the wider spectrum of violence against women and girls (VAWG). The current thesis aims to explore the topic of HBV. Chapter One provides an introduction to the topic of VAWG. The need for an intersectional perspective and ecological framework in understanding the various factors that contribute to different forms of VAWG is discussed, as well as interpretations of honour and how it relates to VAWG. In Chapter Two, a systematic literature review examines research related to attitudes towards HBV in Middle Eastern and South Asian populations. The findings highlighted several factors (e.g. gender, education, socioeconomic status) that influence attitudes towards HBV. Chapter Three presents a critique of the PATRIARCH risk assessment, emphasising some of the problems in assessing risk of HBV without a consistent definition or understanding of its characteristics in relation to other forms of VAWG. Chapter Four presents a qualitative research study using thematic analysis (TA) to explore the portrayal of femicide in the UK media by comparing news reports on two forms of femicide, honour killing (HK) and intimate femicide (IF). The results outlined similar and differential themes in reporting, highlighting a focus on culture in reporting of HK and a focus on individual traits and circumstances in reporting on IF. Finally, Chapter Five presents a discussion of the main findings and conclusions drawn across the thesis, along with recommendations for future research and practice that could help to further our understanding of VAWG across societies.

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GLOSSARY

Honour Based Violence (HBV)	A form of gender-based violence, most often perpetrated by males against a female relative or community member, with a view to restore honour
Honour Killing (HK)	An extreme form of HBV where female victims are killed by male family or community members in order to restore honour
Intimate Femicide (IF)	Killings of women by male intimate partners or family members
PATRIARCH Checklist	A psychometric assessment designed for the risk assessment of violence with honour as motive
Patriarchy	A system of society or government where men hold power and women are excluded, controlled, or discriminated against
Thematic Analysis (TA)	A method of qualitative analysis used to identify and report themes and patterns within data
Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG)	Any act of gender-based violence that results in physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats, coercion, or deprivation of liberty, in public or private life

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Violence Against Women and Girls

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) is a public health problem across the globe in all classes and societies, and is a basis for oppression and discrimination against women (Husseini, 2009; United Nations, 2002, 2006, 2012). VAWG is defined by the United Nations declaration on the elimination of violence against women (DEVAW) as:

> *"Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life." (p.3, 1993).*

This definition encompasses, but is not limited to, physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring in any setting, including within a family (e.g. physical or sexual abuse of female children, domestic violence (DV), female genital mutilation (FGM) and other traditional practices harmful to women) and in the general community (e.g. stranger rape, sexual harassment and abuse, trafficking and forced prostitution; UN, 1993; 2006). In addition to being a global public health issue, VAWG is also a human rights issue that leads to women and girls around the world being deprived of their right to be free from torture and inhumane treatment, to have privacy, physical and mental integrity, and even the right to live. Amnesty International (2020) estimates that 35% of women in the world in 2013 experienced physical or sexual violence, almost one third of women in relationships have experienced physical or sexual violence perpetrated by a male intimate partner, and male intimate partners commit 38% of murders of women worldwide. Being killed by a male has been reported as being the leading cause of premature death amongst women and girls around the world (Coraddi & Stockl, 2016; Kouta, Boira, Nudelman, & Gill, 2018; Vives-Cases et al., 2016). Within the UK, it is reported that approximately two women a week are

murdered by male intimate partners, and that 40% of all killings of women in the UK are results of gender-based violence (Amnesty International, 2018).

The Need for an Intersectional Perspective

One of the main challenges associated with the study and prevention of VAWG is the existence of intersecting and overlapping forms of oppression. The concept of intersectionality was first introduced in relation to the overlapping discriminations faced by Black women in The United States. Crenshaw (1991) argued that feminist and anti-racism efforts excluded Black women, as they did not include an appreciation of the interaction of racism and sexism experienced by ethnic minority women, and how this interaction of oppressions compounded their experiences of violence. The importance of the concept of intersectionality has been recognised increasingly over the past decades in relation to feminism and women's rights (Bell, Merilainen, Taylor, & Tienari 2019). In 2015, the term "intersectionality" was added to the Oxford English Dictionary, and defined as:

> *"The interconnected nature of social categorisations such as race, class, and gender, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination and disadvantage" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2015)*

Intersectionality acknowledges that each social group has unique properties and characteristics, that individuals are positioned within social structures that affect the power and relationships of those individuals, and that the interactions of social identities such as class, gender, ethnicity, religion or sexuality have cumulative negative discriminatory effects (Rogers & Kelly, 2011). Feminist intersectionality is based in the pursuit of social equality and justice, seeking to acknowledge and explain the processes through which various social identities interact resulting in further discrimination and inadequate resources and services

for vulnerable women in marginalised groups (Chavis & Hill, 2009; Collins, 2000; Mullings & Schulz, 2006).

As an example, in a study of shelters for abused women in the United States, Crenshaw (1991) observed intersections of ethnicity, class, and gender that led to increased difficulties for ethnic minority women in accessing support and creating alternatives to returning to abusive relationships. Ethnic minority women were often of a lower socio-economic status characterised by poverty, family and child-care responsibilities, and a lack of professional skills and qualifications, making it more difficult for them to access services. These gender and class oppressions were further compounded by racial oppressions in relation to limited housing and employment opportunities for ethnic minority women. In such cases, where different factors intersect to create unique situations of VAWG, policies aimed at generic groups using universal approaches are not adequate. For example, blanket policies requiring immigrant women to remain married for a period of time in order to secure immigration status did not acknowledge the intersections of ethnicity, class, and gender, and indeed it was found that in such circumstances women would not leave abusive partners or seek support for fear of being deported (Crenshaw, 1991; Rogers & Kelly, 2011).

An appreciation of intersectionality helps to acknowledge and attempt to understand the overlapping and mutually constructed systems of discrimination that lead to the perpetuation of discriminatory policies and practices, and may put certain individuals and groups at a disadvantage (UN Women, 2019). In relation to VAWG this means an acknowledgement of the intersections between the structural (e.g. social, economic, and political systems), institutional (e.g. formal and informal social and professional networks), interpersonal (e.g. personal, family, and community relationships) and individual (e.g. personality, psychological state, personal attitudes towards violence) factors which interact

and overlap to create unique situations and increase or decrease a risk of violence (UN, 2012). Although a universal framing and approach, which argues that all forms of VAWG are unacceptable and must be addressed via public policy and action (Montoya & Agustin, 2013) has facilitated global awareness of VAWG and lead to calls for action, it has also been found to be inadequate in addressing the needs of women from ethnic minority backgrounds (Burman, Smailes, & Chantler, 2004; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005).

More feminists and scholars have begun to acknowledge the importance of understanding the unique experiences of differently situated women, as well as of analysing and incorporating these differences into the struggle against VAWG in an inclusive and non-stigmatising way (Montoya & Agustin, 2013; UN, 2012). The global movement against VAWG has focused on radical feminism, which argues that patriarchy (i.e., a male-dominated society characterised by gender inequality) is the sole factor in perpetuating VAWG and that all women are potential victims irrespective of class, ethnicity, or age (Martin, 1976; Russell, 1975; Wiper, 2012). However, it did not initially recognise the importance of balancing universality with intersectionality in a way that is effective and inclusive. Intersectionality and difference need to be acknowledged and addressed using a transnational feminist approach which emphasises the role of differing social and situational contexts in order to develop tailored and inclusive prevention and management strategies (Rogers & Kelly, 2011).

It has been reported in some regions, such as the EU, that although policy makers acknowledge the prevalence of VAWG, there is an emphasis on forms of VAWG that are perceived as cultural traditions imported into the EU via immigration. Policies tend to focus on how to address violence in ‘other’ groups whose values are contrasting to presumed European values of equality and non-violence (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Montoya &

Agustin, 2013). This highlights a perceived dichotomy between European and immigrant cultures, portraying VAWG as a cultural phenomenon and obscuring the intersectionality of structural, institutional, individual, and interpersonal factors (UN, 2012). Such a perception not only leads to policies that are focused on immigration and integration rather than women's rights and violence reduction, but also serves to exacerbate racial and cultural divides between native and immigrant populations. It is imperative to examine different forms and experiences of VAWG across societies with an appreciation of intersectionality to understand the common and specific contributing contexts and factors, such that services may be designed to address and respond to these unique intersecting oppressions without marginalising or stigmatising particular cultures or communities.

An Introduction to Honour Based Violence

The current thesis aims to explore attitudes towards and perceptions of Honour Based Violence (HBV), a category of VAWG that is understood as violence committed in the name of preserving or restoring 'honour'. HBV is usually committed by male family members against their female relatives, in order to control their choices or behaviour, limit their freedom and independence, or punish them for perceived shameful acts (UN, 2012). Although the topic of VAWG has been the subject of major public, media, and academic interest in the last few decades (Gangoli, Razack, & McCarry, 2007; Khan, Saleem, & Lowe, 2018; Thiara & Gill, 2010), the topic of HBV is still underrepresented in research. There is no clear consensus about how HBV should be defined, what differentiates it from other types of VAWG, the concept of honour, or how honour links with violent behaviour (Welchman & Hossain, 2005a, 2005b). There is no definition of HBV that describes its distinct characteristics and is cross-culturally applicable, however several broad definitions of HBV have been proposed by experts and organisations in the field, including:

Any form of violence perpetrated against females within the framework of patriarchal family structures, communities, and/or societies, where the main justification for the perpetration of violence is the protection of a social construction of 'honour' as a value system, norm, or tradition. (Gill, 2009)

A crime or incident, which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or the community. (ACPO, 2008)

Acts of violence against a victim, most often a female family or community member in order to restore honour to oneself or one's family and community. (Abu-Lughod, 2011)

HBV is often associated with issues relating to female chastity and sexuality, however research shows that HBV is reportedly perpetrated in response to a range of different behaviours, including premarital or extra-marital sexual relations, being the subject of rumours and gossip, being a victim of rape, attempting to achieve autonomy and independence (e.g., seeking education or employment, attempting to get a divorce), being 'too Western', or alleged behaviours such as flirting (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Faqir, 2001; Hasan, 2002; Pope, 2012; Welchman & Hossain, 2005b). 'Honour Killing' (HK) is understood as an extreme form of HBV whereby victims are murdered in the name of 'honour'. HK is defined as the murder of a woman by members of her family who do not approve of her sexual behaviour (Abu-Odeh, 1996), or in order to prevent or repair perceived violations of male or familial honour (Reddy, 2014). The definitions of HBV and HK highlight the relevance of the concept of 'honour' as an incentive to commit VAWG, however it remains unclear how this honour manifests or is defined. The concept of honour and its implications in different cultures will be discussed later in this chapter.

There are no clear figures about the prevalence of HBV, which includes violence that does not end with an HK, in any country, as it is not clearly defined or recorded as a separate offence category. Therefore, the true rates of HBV across the globe are unknown. There is some data on the prevalence of HKs in particular, with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) estimating that at least 5000 women and girls are victims of HK each year (UNFPA, 2000; UN, 2012). Individuals working in the field believe the real incidence to be four times higher, as most instances of HK go unreported (Fisk, 2010), are reported as accidents or suicides, or the victim simply disappears and is not reported missing (Hassan, 1999; Van Eck, 2003). UK police have estimated that there are at least 12 cases of HK a year in the UK, with real rates likely to be much higher (Bhanbro, Cronin de Chavez, & Lusambili 2016; Dyer, 2015). Theoretical interpretations relating in particular to the killings of women will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

HBV is most often associated with acutely patriarchal cultures, where societies adhere to strict norms regarding masculinity and femininity. HBV is reported as historically occurring in parts of Mediterranean Europe and The Balkans, and most frequently occurring in areas of the Middle East and South Asia (Chesler, 2010). The high prevalence of HBV in Arabian and Eastern regions elicits cultural and religious explanations. As noted previously, differences have been observed in some regions, such as the EU, in how different forms of VAWG are perceived. Violence in the west or committed by Western men is often seen as 'crimes of passion', stemming from individual personality characteristics or circumstances, and violence in the East or committed by Eastern or immigrant men is viewed as 'crimes of honour' arising from cultural norms and traditions that oppress women (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Shier & Shor, 2016; UN, 2012). Approaches attributing HBV to a specific culture or religion serve to exclude wider social, political, and economic constructs, as well

as to stereotype certain communities, labelling them as morally inferior or inherently violent (Gill, 2006).

Cultural explanations of HBV that lack an appreciation of intersectionality serve to frame VAWG as a problem faced by women in 'other' societies as a result of their culture, ethnicity, or religion. Such explanations fail to acknowledge the intersections of social identities and their interactions that combine to produce diverse situations of violence and oppression. In order to effectively identify, assess, and respond to HBV, it is important to consider the unique contexts within which it occurs and apply a transnational feminist approach to understanding and responding to the specific experiences of women from different backgrounds (Rogers & Kelly, 2011). As such, it is important to take into account the intersecting inequalities that define women's specific experiences of violence globally, and reconsider HBV in the context of VAWG across cultures. Rather than being conceptualised as a cultural phenomenon arising purely from patriarchal traditions, HBV must be conceptualised as a type of VAWG that occurs in the context of the intersections of various social identities and other structural, institutional, interpersonal, and individual factors (Gill, 2014). This includes a consideration of patriarchal systems and beliefs about honour, which are found in varying degrees in all societies (Gill, 2019), as well as an understanding of the nature of the concept of honour and how it manifests in different cultures, the maintenance and preservation of honour ideologies, and how honour relates to violence.

Interpretations of Honour: Individualistic versus Collectivistic Cultures

Research suggests that there are some key dimensions of culture that are associated with systematic differences in social norms between populations (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). The most salient of these dimensions when considering the

perception and role of honour in different societies is the individualism-collectivism dimension (Hofstede, 1980; Uskul, Oyserman, & Schwarz, 2010). Individualistic cultures focus on individuals as unique and separate from one another, and norms reflect self-enhancement, self-esteem, and a positive perception and presentation of oneself to society (Heine, Kitayama, & Hamamura 2007; Suzuki & Yamagishi, 2004). Research shows that populations from Western societies are largely individualistic. They evaluate themselves and their own family members more positively than those from collectivistic cultures, and are less likely to develop in-groups and out-groups within society by which relationships are defined (e.g. us versus them) (Baumeister, Tice, & Hutton, 1989; Endo, Heine, & Lehman, 2000; Oyserman et al., 2002). On the other hand, many Eastern societies exhibit mainly collectivistic cultures, which focus on the importance of social groups and hierarchies, and fitting into and maintaining a favourable position within these social groups (Uskul et al., 2010). Collectivism has often been studied via East Asian (e.g. Japanese; Chinese) and Middle Eastern and South Asian (e.g. Arab; Indian) populations, however other cultures across the globe have also been identified as being collectivistic in nature, such as in Latin and Hispanic American and Mexican populations. It has been noted than even within cultures there are differences in the level and type of collectivism, with East Asian collectivism focusing more on modesty and not offending others as methods of fitting in to groups and maintaining positive social standing (Suzuki & Yamagishi, 2004), and African, Latin, South Asian, and Middle Eastern collectivism focusing more on the preservation and maintenance of honour as a measure of social standing (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Mosquera, Mcanstead, & Fischer, 2000).

The concept of honour is elusive and can have different connotations within different cultural and linguistic groups, which are reflected in the language used to describe

honour and the different interpretations of the term honour in individualistic and collectivistic societies. These different connotations and culturally specific interpretations of honour are often distorted or lost in translation (Terman, 2010). For example, the Urdu word "*izzat*", which is translated into English simply as 'honour' or 'respect', can be used both individually and collectively, and refers to a wide spectrum of social relationships between families and communities (Gill & Brah, 2014). In some languages there are different words to denote individual and collective honour, which may be viewed as gender specific. For example, the Turkish concept of honour may be denoted by the words "*namus*" or "*sharaf*". "*Sharaf*" refers to social worth and reputation. It is possessed and controlled by men, and is often determined by a man's bravery, reliability, and in many cases his willingness to use violence to defend and protect his property and the women he is responsible for. "*Namus*" refers to collective family or community honour, and is dependent on the behaviour of females. Women are expected to maintain the family "*namus*" via sexual purity and chastity, as well as through assuming traditional gender roles (Corbin, 2014). As men cannot directly claim "*namus*", they are affected by and become responsible for any loss of female virtue, leading to a preoccupation with women's sexuality, and patriarchal societal constructs designed to control and police the sexual behaviour of women (Corbin, 2014).

Research among Sikh, Hindu, and Muslim populations showed that they believed the concept of honour or "*izzat*" is integral to maintaining the reputation of oneself and one's family, as is the use of violence when one's *izzat* is threatened or violated (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Mucina, 2015). This highlights the concept of 'shame' as parallel to honour, and that perpetrators of HBV are motivated not only by the desire to maintain honour but also the desire to avoid shame (Gill 2014; Wikan, 2008). As such, HBV is not exclusively concerned

with individual men controlling individual women, but with larger societal and community norms relating to honour, masculinity and femininity, and punishment, whereby violence against shameful or dishonoured family members is seen as the only way of restoring lost honour and redressing shame (Corbin, 2014; Robbins, Wester, & McKean 2016).

Historically in many collectivistic cultures across the globe, such as in Africa, Asia, and Europe, masculinity has traditionally been associated with power, providing protection, dominance, and control, whereas femininity is associated with chastity, motherhood, subservience, and dependence (Hussein, 2005; Lowe, Khan, Thanzami, Barzy, & Karmaliani, 2018; Spierenburg 1998). In these collectivistic cultures, men assume the role of guarding and controlling women in order to protect the family honour, and women are viewed as the property of their male relatives. Men become responsible for upholding collective honour by controlling female relatives, so they do not engage in any behaviour that may bring shame to the family (Clark, 1983, 1989; Harris, 1983; Kardam, Alpar, Yuksel, & Ergun, 2005; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Wikan, 2008). In collectivistic societies, families that consider themselves or are considered by their society or community as having been shamed or dishonoured by alleged or perceived immoral acts of a female family member often experience a fall in social standing and are considered inferior in their communities. They may be excluded from community activities, have difficulties in finding partners for marriage for other members of the family, and be the subject of rumours and suspicion. Men who do not attempt to repair or restore the family honour are seen as weak and emasculated (Abu-Odeh, 1986; Gilmore, 1987). Alleged shame caused by dishonourable actions of the deviant female can be erased via punishment or eradication of the source of the shame, that is, the dishonoured woman (Araji, 2000; Wiper 2012). A great deal of importance is placed on social reputation, to the extent that one's reputation is worth more

than ones' happiness and well-being, and even one's life (Paulusson, 2013; Pitt-Rivers, 1966).

Scholars have argued that honour, shame, and control as motivations for VAWG are not unique to Eastern societies, and that the manifestation of honour is different in individualistic societies (Baker, Gregware, & Cassidy, 1999; Hayes, Freilich, & Chermak, 2016). In Western individualistic societies honour is seen as an individual trait, shifting the focus from the wider family and community to an individual partner. The responsibility of controlling the woman's behaviour shifts from her biological male relatives to her male intimate partner. Women in western societies experience VAWG in response to challenging male control over their lives, and studies have found male anger and VAWG in the West to be associated with high ratings of humiliation and anxiety which can be linked to feelings of shame and loss of control (Dutton, 1995; Lanskey, 1992; Retzinger, 1991). The main difference between the manifestations of honour between individualistic and collectivistic societies have been observed as being the shift of power from male birth relatives to male intimate partners, and the limited involvement of the community in perpetrating or condoning violence in individualistic societies resulting from the perception of honour as a private attribute rather than a collective one (Baker et al., 1999; Hayes, et al., 2016; Shier & Shor, 2016).

A major implication of how honour manifests and is perceived in different societies is the effect on how violence that is linked with the concept of honour is addressed in policy and legislation. In most cases of violent crime (e.g., general assault), the perpetrator is seen as the offender and the target is seen as the victim. However, in many collectivistic societies historically committing violence in the name of individual or collective honour has been viewed as heroic (Bordieu, 1977). In regions where HBV is prevalent, perpetrators of

HBV may be viewed as victims by the public as well as by law enforcement agencies, having been compelled to commit violence against the dishonoured individual, who is seen as an offender for violating norms and values, and bringing shame upon their family, society or community (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Gill & Brah, 2014). Research supports the notion that collectivistic interpretations of honour are reflected in legislation and the views of the general population. For example, studies of collectivistic cultures in the United States found that in Southern America, where there is a stronger culture of honour, there was more public support for HBV than in other parts of the US, and that to some extent violence committed with a view to restore or protect honour was protected in legislation in these communities (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997). It was further found that male participants from Southern America were more likely to respond to insults as threats to their honour and masculinity, and engage in domineering and aggressive behaviours, than those from other parts of the country (Cohen, Vandello, & Rantilla, 1998).

In collectivistic societies perpetrators of HBV may act with the support of their community and family, and in several countries historically (e.g., Pakistan, Jordan, Iraq) have even been given legal concessions for violence committed in the name of honour (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Ouis, 2009). In contrast, in individualistic societies concepts of honour and shame are often overlooked by society and professionals, and VAWG is perceived as being isolated and private events, divorced from wider society and culture, leading to responses that do not address broader structural and societal factors that perpetuate VAWG across cultures (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009).

Theoretical Interpretations of Honour Based Violence

A review of the existing literature on theories of HBV suggests that most interpretations of HBV use a single-factor explanation, focusing on one main variable as

being the cause of HBV (Roberts, 2014). For example, within *Particularistic* or *Individualistic interpretations* (Kurkiala, 2003), HBV is understood in terms of the psychological state of the perpetrator (e.g. the murderer was insane; heat of passion). *Universal Interpretations* (Begikhani, 2005; Pimentel, Pandjiarjian, & Belloque, 2005; Siddiqui, 2005) include theories that emphasise the role of patriarchy in HBV and posit that there is a "hidden machinery of oppression" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003, p. 582) within which women are seen as subordinate and inferior to men. HBV is seen as the expression of a patriarchal impulse to control and dominate women (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Finally, *cultural interpretations* focus mainly on cultural factors such as traditions and societal values (Kressel et al., 1981; Safilios-Rothschild, 1969). This interpretation argues that HBV can be attributed to specific groups from various regions, with primitive cultures, traditions, and religions, which cause them to be violent and preoccupied with honour (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007; Atari, 2007; Roberts, 2014).

Single-factor explanations appear to be flawed, as none are able to include and explain all cases of HBV, and do not include a consideration of wider contributing factors and intersecting oppressions. Though cases of HBV are overrepresented in certain regions such as South Asia and have a higher prevalence in Middle Eastern and Islamic cultures, there is evidence that it continues to occur in other regions such as Brazil, Italy, and the U.S., and is committed by perpetrators from various religious and cultural backgrounds (Chesler, 2010). This suggests that a purely cultural perspective cannot explain all aspects of HBV. Research regarding the prevalence of violence in immigrant and Eastern populations in western countries is limited, and a tendency has been observed to emphasise the role of cultural differences in VAWG, which can contribute to perpetuating and strengthening stigmas and stereotypes against immigrant communities (Romkens & Lahlah 2011).

Similar to a cultural interpretation of HBV, both the Individualistic and Universal interpretations of HBV focus on a single factor, that is, the role of the patriarchy, or individual patriarchs, in attempting to control and punish behaviours in women that they consider immoral, presenting HBV as the result of a woman's resistance to patriarchal rules. This cannot explain cases of HBV where violence cannot be understood as simply stemming from patriarchal attempts to control women's behaviour, especially in cases where the perpetrator is female, or the victim is male or homosexual (Begikhani, 2005; Husseini, 2009; Siddiqui, 2005; Van Eck, 2003). HBV is often motivated by a broader set of values and intersecting factors that dictate the different understandings of the honour of a man and a woman, as well as the use of violence. HBV may occur where norms of masculinity are challenged; therefore, it is likely that HBV as an expression of violence towards women and homosexual men can be partly explained with reference to patriarchy. However, the role of the community in HBV may be better understood through consideration of the societal values and contexts within which it occurs, including a consideration of the perception of the concept of honour in different societies. Furthermore, both the Individualistic and Universal Interpretations are based on an understanding of honour as a private and personal attribute associated with each individual. This removes the concept of honour from the wider social context that serves to explain the intersecting roles of gender, tradition, community, and culture in HBV (Baker et al., 1999; Pimentel et al., 2005). Finally, it is noted that any single-factor theory that emphasises one feature such as culture or patriarchy implies that being a member of a particular group or being influenced by the defining factor will lead to HBV. This fails to address the finding that there are relatively few perpetrators of HBV even within areas where it is prevalent (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Sheeley, 2007). Single-factor theories fail to address individual differences and explain why

some individuals internalise norms of honour more strongly than others, or why some individuals respond with violence and others do not.

Given the apparent complexities in assessing and understanding HBV and how it fits into the broader spectrum of VAWG, the need for an intersectional approach that can acknowledge factors on multiple levels is clear (Hiese, 1998). The World Health Organisation (WHO) uses an ecological framework to describe violence as a global public health issue (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002; Vives-Cases et al. 2016; WHO, 2012, 2013). Ecological frameworks (See Figure 1) are multicausal and involve an investigation of known variables such as VAWG in the context of structural factors, such as gender-roles and social institutions, as well as physical, social, and interpersonal environments and individual characteristics (Thurston & Vissandjee, 2005; Montesanti & Thurston, 2015). As such, it is a useful framework within which to achieve a broader perspective on the issue of VAWG, as well as involving considerations for actions and initiatives to prevent and respond to violence (Kouta et al., 2018). Models within an ecological framework can help us to better understand the role of honour in different societies and how it is linked with violence by highlighting the intersecting oppressions and interacting factors that produce unique situations of VAWG in different contexts, acknowledging and validating the experiences of differently situated women.

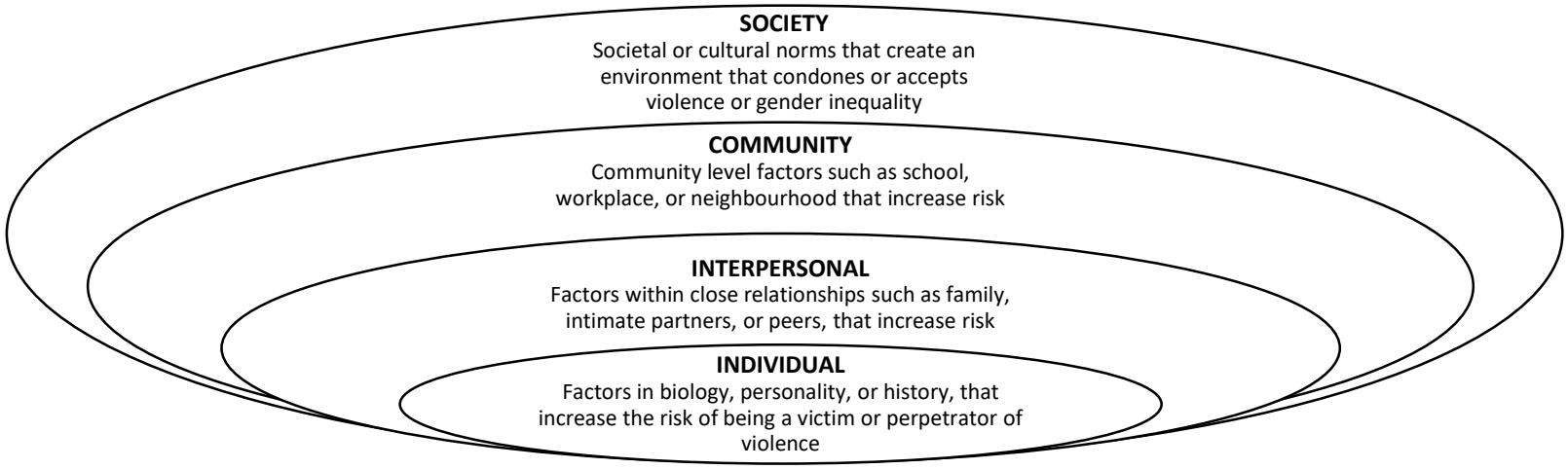
Several researchers have proposed models for understanding HBV within an ecological framework. One such model is a psychologically oriented model based on the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (Ajzen, 1991; 2001; 2011; Roberts, 2014), which focuses on normative attitudes and beliefs as causal factors for behaviours, while also emphasising the importance of an individual's environment and current circumstances in influencing and evoking any behaviour. The TPB will be discussed further in Chapter Two in the context of

investigating attitudes towards HBV. Another multicausal model, proposed by Corradi, Marcuello-Servos, Boira, and Weil (2016), is based on three levels of investigation including individual characteristics, institutional factors, and dynamic structural factors. This model will be discussed further in Chapter Four in the context of using an ecological framework to investigate media representations of femicide. Ecological approaches have been found to be most suitable in the understanding of HBV, allowing for a wider perspective including considerations of the role of honour and shame in violence, and other various factors that intersect and interact to influence and support VAWG in different contexts (WHO, 2012; 2013).

As noted previously, honour as a motive for violence is not unique to Eastern cultures and can be observed in most cultures worldwide (Baker et al., 1999). HBV often occurs in response to men feeling as though they have been shamed or dishonoured, or have lost control. HBV continues to occur across several regions globally, and an inclusive and transnational feminist approach is essential in order to effectively address it, and consequently address VAWG in all its forms across cultures. Using such an approach will allows us to move towards an ecological perspective of HBV that includes individual, cultural and societal factors, integrating the universal, individual, and cultural explanations to provide a more holistic view of the factors that interact contribute to HBV, and how it fits into the wider context and continuum of VAWG.

Figure 1:

Ecological model of gender-based violence adapted from Heise (1998), Jewkes, Sen, and Garcia-Moreno (2002), and Krug et al. (2002)



Societal factors: – Cultural or traditional norms and rigid gender roles granting men control over female behaviour and linking masculinity with aggression – Social/cultural norms supporting violence as a solution to conflicts – National poverty and other economic and social inequalities – Weak governing state and criminal justice system – Conflict or post-conflict society (e.g. colonialism, war, occupation) **Community factors:** – Low socio-economic status leading to low levels of education and high unemployment – Social isolation of females; male-dominated public spaces – Lack of awareness with regards to VAWG – Peers who support or encourage VAWG – Poor safety in public spaces and lack of support from police	**Interpersonal factors:** – Strong patriarchal family values (e.g. male control of wealth and decision making) – Intergenerational violence and other family dysfunction (e.g. emotionally unsupportive or physically abusive environment) – Parental conflict involving violence – Marital conflict or separation **Individual factors** – Gender and Age – Level of education – Being exposed to family violence, abuse, or neglect – Unemployment or insufficient personal income – Mental health problems or physical disabilities – Alcohol or other substance abuse

The Current Thesis

The current thesis aims to explore factors and themes prevalent in perceptions, assessment, and representations of HBV, guided by an ecological framework to investigate HBV within the wider spectrum of VAWG. The following chapters will investigate HBV by examining how it is viewed by collectivistic societies in the Middle East and South Asia (Chapter Two), by academics and professionals in risk assessment settings (Chapter Three), and by western news media in the UK (Chapter Four). Additionally, conclusions are drawn across the thesis, taking into consideration the overall findings in relation to HBV attitudes and representations, and recommendations and implications for future research and practice are also discussed (Chapter Five).

CHAPTER TWO

HONOUR BASED VIOLENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

ABSTRACT

As outlined in Chapter One, Honour Based Violence (HBV) is violence committed most often against female family members with a view to restore honour. This chapter presents a systematic literature review aiming to explore research relating to attitudes towards HBV in Middle Eastern and South Asian populations. Systematic searches were used to determine the potential contribution of the review and identify relevant research. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied, and studies were quality assessed, and eight studies were included in the final analysis. Results highlighted differences in how HBV is perceived and varying levels of HBV supportive attitudes in different regions in the Middle East and South Asia. Several intersecting factors were found to contribute to these attitudes, including gender, education, and socioeconomic status. The review showed that there is limited evidence about attitudes towards HBV in these regions, and the literature is lacking in examining the factors that contribute to the development and maintenance of these attitudes. Further research is required to explore the factors and social underpinnings associated with HBV and how it is perceived in different cultures and regions, and how these factors fit into the wider spectrum of VAWG.

Keywords: Honour Based Violence, Honour Killing, Honour Murder, Family Violence, Culture, Tradition

Introduction

As outlined in Chapter One, experts have defined Honour Based Violence (HBV) as violence perpetrated against females in order to protect, defend, or restore honour to oneself or one's family or community (Abu-Lughod, 2011; ACPO, 2008; Gill, 2009). HBV is typically associated with and most frequently occurs in regions in the Middle East and South Asia, and has historically occurred in acutely patriarchal cultures, including parts of Mediterranean Europe and the Balkans (Gilmore, 1987; Peristiany, 1966). Though considerable research has been conducted to investigate different forms of VAWG, HBV is still underrepresented in the literature. As discussed in Chapter One, the on-going persistence of the phenomenon in the Middle East and South Asia elicits cultural explanations that attribute HBV to primitive traditions and societies, and emphasise cultural values as the main determining factor in HBV (Ali & Gavino, 2008; Shier & Shor, 2016). However, this reductionist approach lacks intersectionality (See Chapter One) and tends to stereotype certain communities and exclude significant risk factors that may increase the risk of violence in different settings (e.g. economic and political landscape, individual and interpersonal factors). Though there is much theoretical literature in relation to HBV, there is little empirical evidence about the attitudes and perceptions that may contribute to increasing or decreasing the risk of HBV.

Attitudes Towards Honour Based Violence

Research has found that rates of violence and tolerance of violent behaviour are not consistent across cultures or regions around the world (Krug et al., 2002; Nayak, Byrne, Martin, & Abraham, 2003), and it has been argued that this is due to varying degrees of patriarchal values that support male-dominated societies and gender-inequality prevalent across cultures (Bui & Morash, 1999). The link between patriarchal values, traditional

beliefs about gender roles, and violence has been observed consistently in many different cultures (Bui & Marsh, 1999; Finn, 1986; Kim & Sung, 2000; Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002). Further, studies investigating male intimate partner violence towards women have found links between tolerant attitudes in men towards violent acts and the willingness to commit violence against an intimate partner (Herzog, 2007; Johnson & Sigler, 1997; Stith & Farley, 1993; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004) and many studies have found links between traditional gender role attitudes and tolerance of VAWG (Haj-Yahia, 1997, 1998; Sakalli-Ugurlu & Glick, 2003, Willis, Hallinan, & Melby, 1996). However, little is known about how these attitudes vary across and within different sociocultural settings and how they interact with other factors to create unique situations of violence or attitudes supportive of certain forms of VAWG, such as HBV.

As discussed in Chapter One, an ecological framework is needed to better understand all the factors that contribute to different forms of VAWG, such as HBV, which in turn could help in better identifying relevant specific risk factors and intersecting oppressions, and developing effective management and prevention strategies. An ecological framework includes the consideration of attitudes and perceptions towards HBV, how they develop and are maintained, and how they intersect with other relevant factors. An ecological perspective goes beyond simple examinations of culture, ethnicity, or nationality to include interactions between factors that provide an understanding of the social contexts and various structural and sociocultural influences on attitudes that support HBV (Nayak et al., 2003).

As noted in Chapter One, Roberts (2014) proposes a psychologically oriented interpretation of HBV using the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB; Ajzen, 1991; 2001; 2011). This model is multicausal and fits into an ecological theoretical framework, as it is

able to consider different levels (e.g., individual, interpersonal, societal) of factors that influence behaviour. The TPB focuses on normative attitudes and beliefs as causal factors for behaviours, while also emphasising the importance of an individual's environment and current circumstances in influencing and evoking any behaviour. The TPB has been widely applied in psychological settings to understand behaviours such as self-harm, seeking treatment, and addiction (Johnston & White, 2003; Pelling & White, 2009). The TPB states that the strength of an individual's behavioural, normative, and control beliefs determines their attitudes towards behaviours. *Behavioural beliefs* are beliefs about the outcomes of a particular behaviour, and are strongest when the individual believes the outcome will be positive (e.g. the belief that the use of violence will restore honour or will be rewarded). *Normative beliefs* are beliefs about the expectations of others, creating social pressure for individuals to act in certain ways (e.g. the belief that others would use and also expect the use of violence to restore honour). *Control beliefs* are beliefs about one's own ability, and are strongest when the individual feels they are physically and practically able to carry out a behaviour (e.g. the belief that one can easily gain access to or overpower a potential victim). The strength of these beliefs determines attitudes towards a particular behaviour, for example HBV. Therefore, the intention to carry out any behaviour is determined by the strength of attitudes in favour of it, and these attitudes are strongest where individuals feel the outcome will be in their favour, they are under social pressure to commit it, and they believe that they have the ability to carry out the behaviour (Ajzen, 2011). Once an intention to carry out any behaviour has developed, whether or not it is committed is largely dependent on the individual's behavioural control and whether it is condemned or encouraged by their environment.

In collectivistic cultures where honour is seen as a familial and communal value, individuals are likely to have behavioural beliefs that emphasise the protection of reputation and avoidance of shame, and to be more inclined to believe violence is needed to respond to shame or dishonour (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2008). Additionally, they are likely to hold normative beliefs in favour of HBV due to a general acceptance in society of the importance of honour and the use of violence to defend it (Roberts, 2014). In certain regions, cultural conditions and societal structures may serve to strengthen control beliefs in relation to HBV (Nayak et al., 2003), for example where males are seen as the head of the family and may control resources such as food and accommodation (Bowman, 2007). In such situations, the male patriarch has authority over women as well as the younger males in the family, whom he can compel to assist him in HBV (Cohen, 1998). Control beliefs are strongest when the perpetrator has access to and control over a victim, for example within the context of a close familial relationship. This is highlighted in the findings that most perpetrators of HBV in Eastern regions are fathers of the victims, followed by other male relatives such as brothers or uncles, with stranger perpetrators of HBV being rare (Chesler, 2010). On the other hand, HBV in western countries is often perpetrated by a victim's intimate partner or spouse, highlighting the shift in responsibility of honour and control over women in individualistic cultures, which is transferred from her male birth relatives to her husband or partner, who then has greater access to and control over her (Baker et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 2016). Further, as noted in Chapter One, some regions have historically had legislation to protect perpetrators of HBV (e.g., shorter sentence, pardon from victim's family), and research has shown that HBV is prevalent in countries where there are poor law enforcement responses to it and little legislation against it (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). Poor legislation against HBV may

strengthen beliefs about one's ability to carry out HBV with little consequence, as well as beliefs that it is expected and encouraged by society.

An ecological approach and multicausal model are needed in order to consider the role of attitudes and how they intersect with and are influenced by other factors in order to gain a deeper understanding of how VAWG occurs in different sociocultural settings. The TPB model is able to explain why some individuals internalise honour related attitudes and others do not, as a result of different socialisation and upbringing, having parents or a sub-culture that emphasises non-violence, or even rejection of norms due to education or exposure to other information (Burke, 2003). Further, the TPB is able to explain why there are some cases where HBV is committed by female perpetrators or against male victims, as gender is not seen as the single influencing factor. Rather, the emphasis is on the interaction of many different factors such as beliefs about gender roles and honour, social contexts and familial attitudes, the relationship and level of access between victims and perpetrators, and legal sanctions and law enforcement responses to HBV (Belfrage et al., 2012; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). A TPB based ecological interpretation of HBV highlights intersecting influences and the importance of transnational feminism by emphasising the role of different factors and how they interact to create unique cases of VAWG for differently situated women. The TPB model does not attribute HBV to any specific culture or simply to patriarchy, but suggests that HBV can occur within any context where individuals hold beliefs relating to honour, the acceptance of the use of violence to defend, protect, or restore honour, and where there are few environmental or societal barriers to committing violence (Roberts, 2014).

The current review will attempt to interpret findings in relation to attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia through an ecological lens, with a view to explore

some of the factors that are associated with attitudes towards HBV in collectivistic cultures in the Middle East and South Asia. Literature on attitudes towards HBV in South Asian and Middle Eastern populations will be synthesised to identify relevant factors. As noted earlier, a higher incidence of HBV has been reported in collectivistic cultures, particularly in the Middle East and South Asia. These populations were chosen for investigation in this review due to a reported prevalence of HBV in regions in the Middle East and South Asia, which elicits cultural explanations of HBV. The current review aims to use an ecological approach as a guide to move away from a purely cultural explanation of HBV and explore the various structural, institutional, interpersonal, and individual factors associated with attitudes towards HBV in regions where it is prevalent.

This review will contribute to the overall aim of the thesis (i.e., to explore themes and factors prevalent in HBV) by examining research findings in relation to factors associated with attitudes towards HBV the Middle East and South Asia. Though there is literature and research concerning male victims of HBV, these have been excluded from the current review, as victims of HBV are most often female and the current thesis is focused on VAWG. It is noted that an understanding of honour and the different contexts of VAWG is a starting point to understanding the circumstances under which such violence can affect male victims as well. The main aims of the current review were:

- To explore and synthesise the evidence base on attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia
- To identify prevalent themes and ecological factors that may be associated with attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia

Method

Scoping Exercise

Prior to the commencement of this review several databases were searched to identify similar existing or planned systematic reviews. These searches were carried out in April 2018 using the Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews, The Campbell Corporation, The Centre for Reviews and Dissemination (DARE), and Google Scholar. Three existing reviews were identified relating to the topic of HBV in the Middle East and South Asia.

The three existing reviews were critically appraised to evaluate the potential contribution of the current review. One of the reviews (Bhanbhro et al., 2016) was not restricted to studies within a specific population and was not limited to studies reporting primary data. This review focussed mainly on conceptualisations of different types of HBV, and included articles relating to specific types of violence, such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and forced marriage. It did not investigate attitudes or perceptions in particular. The current review will aim to synthesise data on attitudes towards HBV and beliefs about honour, rather than exploring conceptualisations of any one specific type of violence such as FGM. Additionally, the review by Bhanbhro et al. (2016) was conducted using only the Scopus database, which could contribute to a bias in the findings and the potential exclusion of relevant papers that are not available on Scopus.

The second review identified, conducted by Paulusson (2013) focussed exclusively on qualitative research, and investigated the social and political institutions and dynamics that influence HBV, rather than attitudes towards HBV, which was the aim of the current review. This review only included articles from specific countries “where the honour culture is a social and cultural norm” (Paulusson, 2013, p.4), and results were generalised to all ‘honour cultures’. The process by which the specific countries were chosen to be included in the

review was not clearly stated. As noted previously, perceptions and implications of honour may vary greatly even within the same collectivistic culture, and a more nuanced approach is needed to understand how this honour manifests and is perceived in different populations. One of the main methodological failings in investigating cultural dimensions of violence has been observed as the "lumping together of different ethnic or cultural categories" (Romkens & Lahlah, 2011, p.89), leading to other potentially confounding variables (e.g., socio-economic status, political landscape, individual personality) being ignored and any within-group differences being overlooked (Raj & Silverman, 2002).

The third review by Kulczycki and Windle (2011) focussed on populations in the Middle East and North Africa. As this review was conducted over five years ago, there may be more current research that would warrant an updated review of the literature. Additionally, the majority of the studies included in this review were reporting secondary analyses, with a focus on incidence, characteristics of perpetrators and victims, and legal and social aspects of HBV. It did not involve specific investigation of attitudes towards HBV.

In sum, the current review was justified on the basis of gaps in knowledge not covered by previous reviews in relation to how HBV is perceived by populations in the Middle East and South Asia, and what factors may be associated with it in different populations within these regions. There appeared to be no previous review of the literature exploring attitudes towards HBV in Middle Eastern and South Asian collectivistic populations. Additionally, previous reviews did not employ an ecological and multicausal theoretical framework to guide their investigation of the various factors that may be associated with attitudes towards HBV. The current review aims to contribute to the literature on HBV by examining attitudes specifically in the Middle East and South Asia, where high rates of HBV are reported (Chesler, 2010; Paulusson, 2013), with a view to

identify different factors and social constructs that may influence attitudes towards HBV in different regions with largely collectivistic cultures. It is noted that one of the studies included in the current review (Ouis, 2009) was also included in the Paulusson (2013) review, but none of the other papers included in the current review were included in the three previous reviews. This illustrates the unique contribution and focus of the current review in furthering understanding of HBV.

Following free text searches during the scoping exercise, a preliminary search was conducted using PsycINFO, MedLine, and Embase through the OvidSP database in order to determine the quantity and quality of literature that was available for this review, as well as to assess the practicality of conducting a review on the topic of HBV. This search was also used to generate and identify appropriate search terms. The literature was found to be limited, with most studies reporting qualitative data in small samples. Given the nature of the topic it was apparent that it is difficult to collect first-hand primary data from either victims or perpetrators. However, the literature was found to be sufficient to allow for a comprehensive search and exploration of potential factors associated with attitudes towards HBV for this review.

Search Strategy & Search Terms

The literature search was conducted in three stages. In the first stage, a search was conducted in April 2018, and updated in March 2020, using six major electronic databases:

1. Ovid MedLine®
2. Ovid PsycINFO
3. Ovid EMBASE
4. Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC ProQuest)
5. Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA ProQuest)

6. Scopus

These databases were chosen because research shows that the most efficient combination of databases for literature reviews in the fields of behavioural sciences and mental health include Ovid Embase and Medline, which have a high number of unique references and produce the best results relative to search terms and operators used (Bramer, Rethlefsen, Kleijnen, & Franco, 2017). It is further recommended that specialised databases such as Ovid PsycINFO, and ProQuest should be used additionally in order to capture unique results relevant to the fields of psychology and applied social sciences (Bramer et al., 2017; McGowan & Sampson, 2005). The Scopus database offers a vast amount of references, and has been reported at times to provide 100% of the references provided by combinations of other databases not used in the current review such as Web of Science and Google Scholar (Bramer et al., 2017). As the initial research was conducted in April 2018, searches were limited to the years 2007-2017 in order to capture data published within the previous decade as well as to maintain a manageable number of studies for a single researcher to analyse. To ensure that the most recent relevant data was being included, the searches were updated in March 2020 to include the period from January 2018 to March 2020, and the resultant searches were incorporated into the current review.

A list of potential search terms was initially developed through consultation with academic and practice supervisors. These were generated through discussion around the topic and the aims of the review, and by reviewing keywords identified in other relevant studies or reviews, including keywords that were most commonly used by authors in the field. HBV is largely conceptualised in the research using consistent terms that do not vary greatly, though these similar terms may be defined differently across studies. Most authors preferred the terms “honour crimes”, “honour killing” or “honour murder” and as such

these were added to the search list. Certain terms, such as “aggression”, “attitudes” and “influences” were initially in the list of search terms, but were excluded during the scoping exercise as they were found to be limiting the results and did not appear to be relevant to refine or focus the search. The final search terms were used in conjunction with Boolean operators ‘AND’ (to combine concepts) and ‘OR’ (to combine synonyms) where necessary. Wildcards such as ‘*’ were used to accommodate variations of the same term, and Boolean operators were modified to accommodate different search conventions across databases. The following terms were used to conduct the initial and updated searches on all databases:

Honour OR Honor AND Violen OR Murder* OR Killing* OR Crime* AND Famil* OR Cultur* OR Custom* OR Norm* OR Tradition* OR Communit**

The search syntax and results of the initial and updated searches for each database used can be found at Appendix A. Search results were exported and saved to a reference management software (Mendeley).

In the second stage, reference lists of articles that met the inclusion criteria (See inclusion criteria section below) were studied in order to generate further potential resources, and major publications regarding VAWG in different forms from pertinent organisations (UNFPA, 2007; WHO, 2012, 2013) were also searched to identify any other research on attitudes towards HBV in Middle Eastern or South Asian populations. These searches led to four additional papers being identified for screening and potential inclusion.

In the third stage, three leading authors in the field of HBV who had conducted work on attitudes and perceptions towards HBV were identified through searching and were contacted and queried in relation to relevant studies relating to attitudes towards HBV (published or unpublished) that could be included. It has been found that a fundamental challenge in conducting systematic reviews is identifying relevant studies, and that

electronic databases may not detect all relevant studies especially in highly specialist or under-researched topics (Chalmers, Dickersin & Chalmers, 1992). Contacting experts is therefore recommended and experts have been found to be an essential resource for identifying literature (McManus et al., 1998). Correspondence was received from one of the authors, however no additional papers were identified.

Methodological Observations About the Literature

Following the completion of the literature search, some methodological observations were made about the literature. It was observed, as in previous reviews (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Paulusson, 2013) that the majority of articles published on HBV were descriptive rather than analytical and presented secondary data, such as theoretical commentaries on honour or traditional cultural values. These provide original ideas but do not add any empirical data to the knowledge base of HBV. Most articles focussed on the general construct of honour and in some cases on the potential causes of the development of an honour ideology within societies, but there was little primary data testing these theories. In addition to a shortage of primary data on HBV it was also noted that, given difficulties associated with collecting data on this topic (e.g., lack of resources dedicated to investigation, lack of consistent definitions for comparison, reluctance of perpetrators or victims to engage in research), many of the studies used measures that were not standardised or validated, and much of the data were not comparable across studies. Data were often collected through interviews, surveys, or case file reviews and were largely qualitative. The validity of such data may be compromised by the potential unwillingness of victims, perpetrators, police officials, or other involved parties to be honest and forthcoming with researchers, as well as by the fact that a lack of consistent definitions or measures of assessment for HBV make it difficult to generalise and compare findings from

different regions (Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). However, as noted previously, in spite of the dearth of empirical studies on the topic there were sufficient good quality studies available for inclusion in the current review.

Inclusion Criteria

The inclusion criteria for this review were developed with the help of the scoping exercise, discussion with supervisors, and the use of the SPIDER framework (Sample; Phenomenon of Interest; Design; Evaluation; Research type; Cooke, Smith, & Booth, 2012) which was designed to focus systematic review questions and establish inclusion and exclusion criteria. The SPIDER framework was developed in order to address the limitations of the more widely used PICOS (Population; Intervention; Comparators; Outcome; Study Design) framework. The PICOS framework enables researches to clearly define and focus their search strategy (Booth, O' Rourke, & Ford, 2000; Schardt, Adams, Owens, Keitz, & Fontelo, 2007). However, in cases where reviews may be exploratory or not specific to the evaluation of a particular intervention, as in the current review, some components of the PICOS (e.g., Comparators; Intervention) may not be relevant. Additionally, though PICOS is arguably the best method, as endorsed by the Cochrane Collaboration, for conducting reviews of quantitative research (O'Connor, Green, & Higgins, 2008), it may not be the most effective strategy for the evaluation and review of qualitative evidence. The SPIDER tool was developed as an extension to the PICOS, using some of the elements of the PICOS but taking into account the difficulties of using the PICOS tool when attempting to include qualitative and mixed-methods research in a systematic literature review.

A screening and selection tool (See Appendix B) obtained from the Cochrane Library online resources was adapted to reflect the final inclusion and exclusion criteria (See Table 1). In addition to these criteria, the review was also limited to studies that were published

between April 2007-March 2020. As noted previously, this limit was set with a view to include recent relevant literature reflecting attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia. With the advent of social progress, awareness, modern feminism, and more gender equality, there have been significant changes over the last few decades in how different populations perceive VAWG (Bettio, 2019; Gill, 2013; Nayak et al., 2003). Research suggests that interest in and recognition of the role of honour in violence has been increasing, with more cases of HBV and HK being prosecuted and high-profile convictions for violence in the name of honour being achieved in both the western and eastern world (Idriss, 2017; Thiara & Gill, 2010). Additionally, societal attitudes towards traditional gender roles have been changing significantly since the advent of feminist theory in the 1970's (discussed further in Chapter Four), with populations favouring gender equality and women's rights (Herzog, 2007). The current review included research to investigate contemporary attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia.

Only studies that were available in English were included due to the difficulty of translating studies reliably. Included studies were all peer reviewed and published in a scientific journal, based on guidelines set out for conducting systematic literature searches (Bryman, 2008). This review focussed on HBV towards women and girls, and as victims of HBV are most often female and the focus of the current thesis is VAWG, only studies relating to female victims of male violence were included. The Middle East was defined as all 22 members of the League of Arab States (See Appendix C) as well as Iran, Israel, and Turkey. South Asia was defined as the region comprising Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Tibet.

Table 1

Study Inclusion and Exclusion criteria

	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Sample	• Middle Eastern or South Asian ethnicity • Female victims of HBV	• Not of Middle Eastern or South Asian ethnicity • Male victims of HBV
Phenomenon of Interest	• Perceptions of and influences on Honour Based Violence	• Other forms of violence • Studies examining the concept of honour in general
Design	• Experimental Studies • Quasi-Experimental studies • Observational studies	• Book Chapters • Editorials • Studies reporting Secondary data • Reviews
Evaluation	• Attitudes, perceptions, cultural influences, norms	• Definitions and conceptualisations of honour in general
Research Type	• Qualitative • Quantitative • Mixed-Methods	• None

Duplicate results were removed from the searches and the remaining studies were assessed using the screening and selection tool. Studies that did not meet the criteria were removed, and following the application of the screening and selection tool, 24 studies remained and were quality assessed.

Quality Assessment

Given the varying designs of the studies included in this review, quality assessment tools aimed at specific study designs did not provide the required flexibility. Additionally, there were impracticalities in using separate quality appraisal tools for each study, as even though these are convenient, the Cochrane Handbook (Higgins & Green, 2011) advises against the use of multiple quality assessment scales, as each scale is used to provide a summary score that relies on allocating 'weights' to different items, and it can often be difficult to justify or compare different weightings across different scales. The correlations

between weightings from different quality assessment scales across different study designs tend to be inconsistent, unpredictable, and consequently unreliable.

Taking into account the limitations in the use of quality assessment scales, two appropriate quality assessment measures were chosen for use in this review. Quantitative studies were assessed using the Cochrane Collaboration tool for assessing Risk of Bias in quantitative studies (See Appendix D; Higgins & Green, 2011), which is a domain-based evaluation and is neither a scale nor a checklist. This tool is recommended for use in making critical assessments separately for different domains within a study, including potential for selection bias, attrition bias, performance bias, and reporting bias. Each domain is rated at either "High", "Low", or "Unclear" risk, and each study is given an overall rating of High, Low, or Unclear risk of bias. Studies that were assessed as having a High risk of bias were excluded from the review (*n=2*). Supplementary guidance on using the risk of bias, along with criteria for ratings and examples of supporting judgments, as well as an example risk of bias table, can be found at Appendices E, F, G, and H.

The qualitative studies included in the review were assessed using the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (Qualitative) Checklist (See Appendix I; CASP, 2018). The CASP qualitative checklist includes ten questions that are designed to help researchers systematically assess the reliability and validity of qualitative studies. The questions include assessment of the aims and study design, as well as the validity and applicability of the results. Each question can be answered with "Yes", "No", or "Can't Tell", and studies are given a final rating of "Good" or "Poor". Studies that were rated as not having clearly stated aims, appropriate designs, and clear statements of findings, that is, where there were more ratings of "No" or "Can't Tell" than "Yes" based on the checklist, were rated as "poor" and excluded from the current review (*n*=3). In spite of the evident difficulty in data collection

and the dearth of methodologically robust studies relevant to the topic of HBV, it was considered that the studies selected were free from most forms of bias and reported their aims, measures, and outcomes clearly.

Data Extraction

Following quality assessment, eight studies remained to be included in the review. To ensure consistency, relevant information was extracted from each included study using a data extraction form (See Appendix J). The key variables that the form focused on were:

- Study characteristics (Sample; Methods, Design)
- Findings and main conclusions of the study
- Limitations of the study

Where the specific aims and objectives of the included studies were not all consistent with the aims of the current review, only data relevant to the current review were extracted. For example, Ouis (2009) presented analyses of focus group discussions in relation to three types of violence against women (Early Marriages; Sexual Abuse; Honour Based Violence). For the purposes of this review only data relevant to HBV were extracted.

Results

The total number of hits from electronic databases was 930, and a further 2 studies were identified through hand searching of existing systematic reviews. There were 358 articles that were duplicate references and were removed. Of the remaining 574 articles, a further 550 were removed, as they were not relevant to the current review or failed to meet the inclusion criteria at first screening. Most commonly this was due to article titles that appeared to be relevant to the topic of HBV but upon assessment of the abstract explored the concept of honour in general, reported secondary data, or investigated incidence and

prevalence rather than attitudes. The remaining 24 studies were quality assessed, and 17 further studies were removed for poor quality assessment or for not being relevant to the current review though they appeared to be at the screening and selection stage. A list of studies excluded at the final stage with reasons for exclusion can be found at Appendix K. Eight studies were included in the final analysis of the current review. Figure 2 summarises the study selection process, with detail regarding the number of studies excluded at each stage. Completed quality assessment forms for included studies can be found at Appendix L. Table 2 provides a summary of the main information extracted from each of the included studies.

Figure 2

Study Selection Process

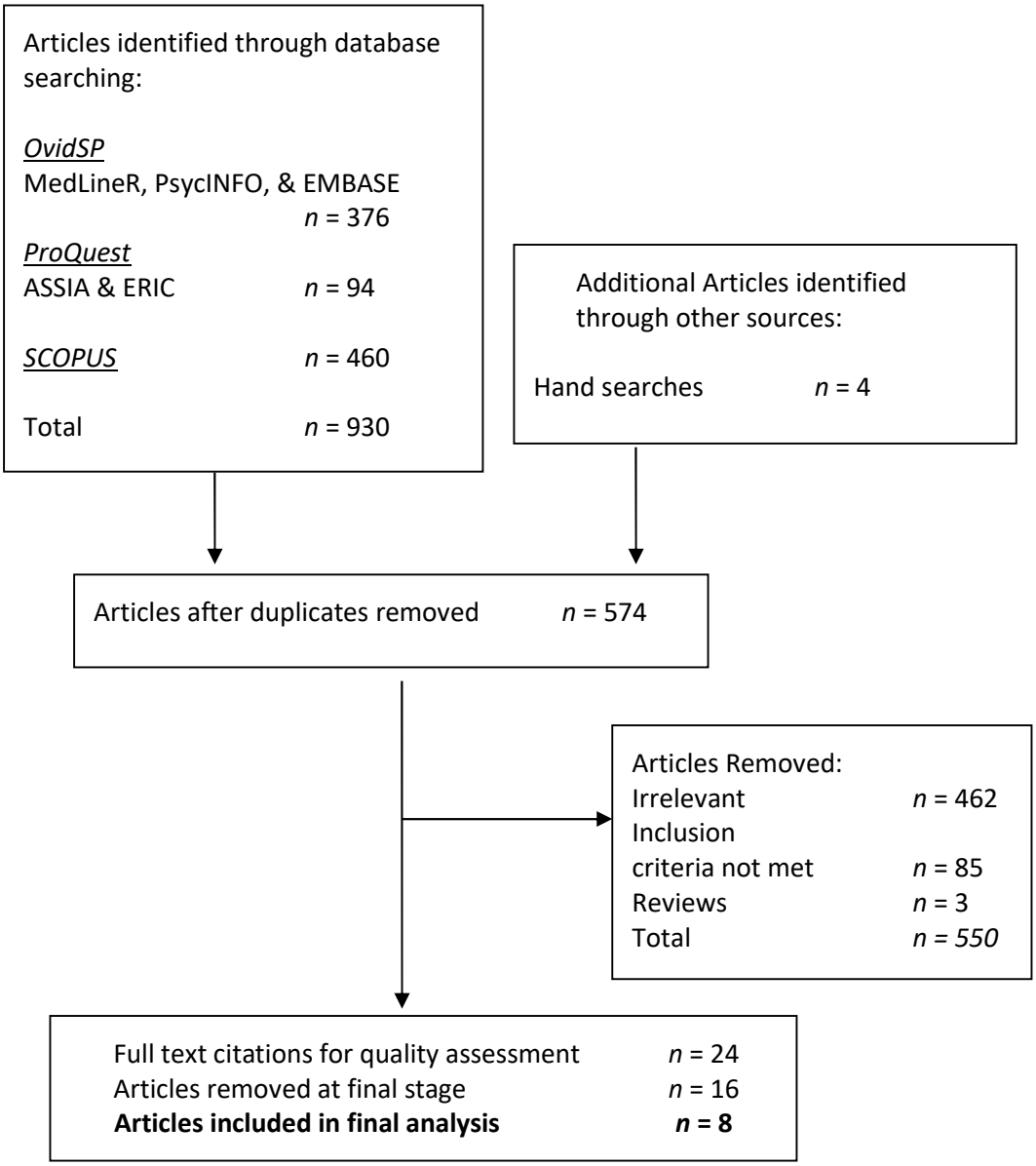


Table 2

Characteristics, Key Information, and Quality Assessment of Included Studies

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
Al-Gharaibeh (2016) "Debating the Role of Custom, Religion, and Law in "Honour" crimes: Implications for Social Work."	Jordan	**Aim:** To better understand the role of custom, religion, and law in honour crimes and attitudes towards them, and to examine the implications for Social Work of HBV. **Design:** Qualitative content analysis of criminal court records of HKs.	Case files of HKs occurring between 2010 – 2014 in Jordan (*n*=24).	**Characteristics of Victims:** -21% Divorced (*n*=5). -42% Never Married (*n*=10). -37% Married (*n*=9). **Motives for Murder:** -8% Victim rejecting a marriage proposal from a man (*n*=2). -25% Victim's long absence from home (*n*=6). -21% Victim's illegitimate pregnancy (*n*=5). -12% Victim had extra or pre-marital sexual relations (*n*=3). -4% Victim engaged in prostitution (*n*=1). -17% Victim caught meeting/receiving phone call from a male friend or colleague (*n*=4). **Causes of Death:** -54.1% Knife (*n*=13) -25% Gun (*n*=6) -8.3% Strangling with a cloth (*n*=2) -4.2% Running over (*n*=1) -4.2% Stoning (*n*=1) -4.2% Burning (*n*=1) **Perpetrator's Relationship with Victim:** -45.8% Brother (*n*=11) -29.2% Father (*n*=7) -8.3% Uncle (*n*=2) -16.7% Accomplice (*n*=4) **Benefit of Mitigating Circumstances under Article 98:** -8.3% Benefit of shorter sentence (*n*=2) -91.7% No Benefit of shorter sentence (*n*=22)	Good (CASP Qualitative Checklist).

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
				Conclusions: Tribal traditions are prevalent in Jordan and dominate educated and religious communities, and children are socialised with beliefs about gender specific honour. HK supportive attitudes are highest in areas with the lowest levels of education. There is legislation that allows perpetrators of HK to claim mitigating circumstances, though courts are increasingly dismissive of these claims. Knowledge of cultural and social factors and how they interact is needed to understand and address honour crimes, and legal and social reform and awareness campaigns are needed to change legislation and perceptions. Religion should be used to show people that crimes of honour are prohibited acts of violence not sanctioned by any religion.	
Caffaro, Ferraris & Schmidt (2014) "Gender Differences in the Perception of Honour Killing in Individualist Versus Collectivistic Cultures: Comparison between Italy and Turkey"	Turkey; Italy	**Aim:** To investigate the effects of gender and the individualist versus collectivist culture on perceptions of HK scenarios. **Design:** Cross-Sectional (Survey using vignettes with scenarios of infidelity).	Adult Undergraduate students studying at Turin University and the University of Istanbul (*n*=164). *Turkish (n=96).* 40.6% Males (*n*=39) Age (*M*=21.6, *SD*=2.6) 59.4% Females (*n*=57) Age (*M*=21, *SD*=2.4)	**Significant main effect of scenario** (1. Alleged adultery; 2. Adultery; 3. Adultery in flagrante) ($F(6, 55)=56.11$, $p<.001$, $\eta p^2=0.685$) on ratings off assailant responsibility (ratings decreased from scenario one to three), victim responsibility (ratings increased from scenario one to three), and punishment for assailant (severity of punishment decreased from scenario one to three). **Significant main effect of culture** ($F(3, 158)=18.4$, $p<.001$, $\eta p^2=0.259$). Turkish participants showed higher ratings for victim responsibility and lower ratings for assailant responsibility and proposed punishment than Italian participants across scenarios. **Significant interaction between gender and culture** on ratings of assailant responsibility and proposed punishment ($F(3, 158)=6.50$, $p<.001$, $\eta p^2=.110$). Turkish women showed higher ratings for assailant responsibility and proposed more severe punishments for perpetrators than Turkish men **Significant three-way interaction between gender, culture, and**	Low (Risk of Bias)

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
			Italian (n=68). 33.8% Males (*n*=23) Age (*M*=24.4, *SD*=1.2) 66.2% Females (*n*=45) Age (*M*=24.7, *SD*=2)	**scenario** for ratings of victim responsibility ($F(6, 155)=3.13$, $p<.01$, $\eta p^2=.108$). Turkish women showed lower ratings for victim responsibility than Turkish men in Scenario 2. **Significant interaction between scenario and culture** ($F(6, 155)=2.17$, $p<.05$, $\eta p^2=.08$). Turkish participants showed a significantly greater decrease in ratings of assailant responsibility and proposed punishment, and a significantly greater increase in ratings of victim responsibility between scenario 1 and scenario 3 as compared with Italian participants.	
Calik (2018) "Attitudes of Turkish Academics regarding Violence against Women in the Name of Honour"	Turkey	**Aim:** To investigate the attitudes of Turkish academics towards honour-based violence against women **Design:** Cross-Sectional online questionnaire	Academics from Karadeniz Technical University (*n*=909, 32 excluded, final analysis *n*=877) 54% Male (*n*=474) 46% Female (*n*=403) Age (*M*=34.52, *SD*=10) 23.6% Professors, Associate Professors, Assistant Professors (*n*=207) 76.4% Lecturers, Research Assistants (*n*=670)	Ratings for HBV supportive attitudes were generally low, indicating a negative disposition towards violence and low inclination towards violence in overall sample. -97% disagreed that a woman whose honour is tainted should be killed -93% disagreed that violence can be used as a social means for discipline -95% disagreed that killing a woman can restore honour -79% strongly agreed to condemn anyone who harms women in the name of honour -80% against inflicting violence on women in the name of honour **Significant differences in ratings for HBV supportive attitudes:** -Male academics show higher ratings than female academics ($t=2.679$; $p<.05$) -Professors show lower ratings than lecturers and research assistants ($t=-3.414$; $p<.001$) -Participants from rural backgrounds show higher ratings than those from urban backgrounds ($F=16.971$; $p<.001$) -Married participants show higher ratings than single participants ($t=3.532$; $p<.001$) -Participants who had arranged marriages show higher ratings than those who were married through meeting or mutual	Low (Risk of Bias)

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
				agreement (t=-4.963; p<.005) -Participants who had resorted to violence in the past show higher ratings than those who had not (t=6.653; p<.001) -Participants who saw violence as a solution show higher ratings than those who did not (F= 6.974; p<.001)	
Dogan (2016) "The Dynamics of Honour Killings and the Perpetrators' Experiences."	Turkey	**Aim:** To identify concepts, patterns, and social dynamics that emerge from the accounts of imprisoned perpetrators of HKs. **Design:** Qualitative thematic analysis of semi- structured interviews.	Adult perpetrators of HKs serving prison sentences in Turkey (n=34). Age (18 – 70 yrs)	**Major Themes Identified in Perpetrator Accounts:** -Rumour and suspicion as instigating events. -Techniques used to neutralise or normalise the killings (e.g. using moral values or religion as a justification for violence.) -Pressure to kill. -Attempts to escape from the publicity of dishonourable conduct. -Alternatives to restore honour without seeking violence. -Feelings of regret. -Probability of reoffending. **Conclusions:** It is important to consider cultural dimensions when attempting to understand HK.	Good (CASP Qualitative Checklist).
Eisner & Ghuneim (2013) "Honour Killing Attitudes amongst Adolescents in Amman, Jordan."	Jordan	**Aim:** To investigate attitudes towards HKs amongst a sample of ninth graders. **Design:** Cross-Sectional (Questionnaire).	Adolescent ninth graders from 14 schools in Amman, Jordan (n=856). Age (14-16 yrs, M=14.6, SD=.56) 47% Boys (n=401). 53% Girls (n=455).	**Strongest predictors of HK supportive attitudes:** ***Gender:*** -Males showed significantly more HK supportive attitudes than females (X^2(1, 856)=54.9, p<.001), which accounted for 14.3% of the variance. -Effect of gender on attitudes mediated by moral neutralisation of violence (i.e., the tendency to use moral values to justify violent behaviour) and political traditionalism (i.e., traditional world views emphasising obedience, compliance with familial and societal expectations, patriarchal norms, the importance of cultural tradition, and a rejection of individualism). ***Education level of parents*** -Participants with parents with lower levels of education showed	Low (Risk of Bias).

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
				significantly more HK supportive attitudes than those with at least one parent with a university education (X^2(3, 856)=60.0, p<.001), which accounting for 5.7% of the variance. -The effect of parental education was partially mediated by beliefs about female chastity ***Family Structure:*** -Participants from traditional 'breadwinner' families showed more HK supportive attitudes than those with a mother who was employed (X^2(1, 856)=14.1, p<.001) ***Family Size:*** -Participants from large families showed more HK supportive attitudes than those from small families (X^2(1, 856)=20.8, p<.001) ***Other influencing factors:*** Intensity of traditional political beliefs, beliefs about female chastity, and moral neutralisation of violence are important predictors. Harsh discipline by father is a predictor but harsh discipline by mother is not, and the effect of exposure to harsh discipline by father is a significantly stronger predictor for boys than girls.	
Lowe, Khan, Thanzami, Barzy, & Karmaliani (2018) "Attitudes towards intimate partner "honor" based violence	India; Iran; Malaysia; Pakistan	**Aim:** To investigate attitudes towards IPHBV in four Asian nations **Design:** Cross-Sectional survey using vignette and set of questions addressing four main points: 1. Damage to honour of	University students from India, Iran, Malaysia, and Pakistan (n=579) Male (n=289) Female (n=290) Age (17-50 yrs; M=23.45, SD=4.74) 36% Muslim	**Significant differences in ratings on all items across countries:** **-**Damage to honour of husband (F(3, 567)=31.41; p<.001) **-**Approval of the use of HBV (F(3, 567)=122.26; p<.001) **-**Perceptions of victim-wife (F(3, 567)=14.64; p<.001) **-**Perceptions of perpetrator-husband F(3, 567)=55.08; p<.001) **Significant differences in ratings across genders:** -Male participants across countries showed significantly higher approval for the use of HBV (F(1, 567)=13.01; p<.001) and lower ratings of the victim (wife) likeability (F(1, 565)=6.40; p=0.01) than female participants. - No effect of gender on ratings of Damage to husband's honour and Perceptions of perpetrator (husband). Both male and female	Low (Risk of Bias)

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
(IPHBV) in India, Iran, Malaysia, and Pakistan.		perpetrator (husband) 2. Approval of use of violence 3. Perceptions of perpetrator (husband) 4. Perceptions of victim (wife)	(*n*=207) 31% Christian (*n*=179) 11% Buddhist (*n*=61) 6% Hindu (*n*=33) 16% other (*n*=99) 5% Educated to school level (up to age 16) (*n*=30) 48% Educated to university level (*n*=277) 47% Further education (*n*=272)	participants responded that the husband's honour had been damaged by the wife's infidelity. **Post-hoc tests of effect of country on all ratings:** -Indian participant ratings of Approval of violence higher than Iranian and Malaysian participants. -Malaysian participants most disapproving of use of violence. -Pakistani participants had highest ratings for perpetrator husband likeability, and Malaysian participants had the lowest. -Pakistani participants had highest ratings for victim wife likeability, and Malaysian participants had the lowest. -Pakistani participants had the highest ratings for Damage to husband's honour, Approval of use of violence, and Perceptions of perpetrator husband, and Malaysian participants had the lowest.	
Ouis (2009) "Honourable Traditions? Honour Violence, Early Marriage and Sexual Abuse of Teenage Girls in Lebanon, the Occupied Palestinian Territories,	Lebanon; the Occupied Palestinian Territories; Yemen	Aims: To explore and analyse three forms of sexual violence (honour-based violence; sexual abuse; early marriage) against girls in Lebanon, Occupied Palestinian Territories, and Yemen. Design: Qualitative analysis of Focus Group Discussions and life stories.	Adolescent girls (Age 12-18 yrs) in Lebanon, Occupied Palestinian Territories, and Yemen (*n*=384). Lebanon (*n*=119). Occupied Palestinian Territories (*n*=127). Yemen (*n*=138).	-Honour is perceived as being related to the control of girls' morality and the repression of any act that can be interpreted as an interest in the opposite sex. Girls' reputation is viewed as social capital where economic capital is lacking, or where the political landscape is unstable as in OPT. -Education and Rural-Urban dichotomy were the main variables that determined how participants viewed HBV. HBV supportive attitudes were higher in poorer areas with lower levels of education and development. -Lebanon most modernised and most likely to be questioning of the honour ideology – majority of girls in Lebanon expressed dissatisfaction with the honour culture and majority of the boys rejected HBV. -In Yemen all honour crimes took place in private settings –	Good (CASP qualitative checklist).

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
and Yemen."				greater stigmatisation and all cases hidden from the public eye. Honour for boys in Yemen was connected with good behaviour and following religious rules, and not just the sexual morality of females.	
Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood (2010) "Attitudes about Honour Killing among Men and Women – Perspective from Islamabad."	Pakistan	**Aims:** To examine attitudes of men and women in relation to scenarios relating to HK. **Design:** Cross-Sectional (Survey using vignettes with scenarios of infidelity).	Adult men and women in public places in Islamabad, Pakistan (*n*=601). 51.1% Males (*n*=307). 48.9% Females (*n*=294). Age (*M*=35.4, 18-71 yrs.)	**Overall Responses to Vignette:** -57.1% The man did the right thing by killing his wife (*n*=342). -39.6% The man did not do the right thing (*n*=238). -3.3% Don't know (*n*=21). **Differences in response by gender:** *-The man did the right thing by killing his wife:* Males – Yes 64.8% (*n*=190). No 35.2% (*n*=103). Females – Yes 53.1% (*n*=153). No 46.9% (*n*=135). Don't know (*n*=20; M=14, F=6). Gender Difference significant at p<.005. *-The man should also have killed the man he found his wife with:* Males – Yes 65.2% (*n*=182). No 34.8% (*n*=97). Females – Yes 55.8% (*n*=159). No 44.2% (*n*=126). Don't know (*n*=37; M=28, F=9). Gender Difference significant at p<.05. *-Instead of killing his wife the man should have divorced her and asked her to leave his house immediately:* Males – Yes 35.3% (*n*=103). No 64.7% (*n*=189). Females – Yes 42.6% (*n*=117). No 57.4% (*n*=158). Don't know (*n*=34; M=15, F=19). Gender Difference not significant at p=.08.	Low (Risk of Bias).

Author, Year, & Title	Country of Study	Aims and Study Design	Sample	Findings and Conclusions	Quality Assessment
				-The man should have forgiven his wife and asked her not to cheat on him again: Males – Yes 15.2% (*n*=44). No 84.8% (*n*=246). Females – Yes 28.1% (*n*=77). No 71.9% (*n*=197). Don't know (*n*=37; M=17, F=20). Gender Difference significant at p<.0005 **Conclusions:** -Majority of men and women believed HK to be justified in the context of an extra-marital relationship. -A higher number of participants in both groups did not believe in divorce or forgiveness as an alternative to killing in the context of saving one's honour.	

Aims and Objectives of Included Studies

The aims and objectives of the included studies (See Table 2) broadly addressed the topic of HBV, however the specific aims, objectives, methodology, sample, and inclusion criteria of each study varied. Heterogeneity in study aims and designs is a common issue encountered when conducting systematic reviews of observational or qualitative studies (Maguire, Hemming, Hutton, & Marson, 2008). Reasons for heterogeneity in the current review mainly arose from variations in the samples and study designs. Given this heterogeneity, there were challenges with quantitative synthesis of findings. Additionally, systematic analyses of observational, qualitative, and mixed-method data can produce spuriously accurate summary statistics, which may be misleading (Egger, Schneider, & Smith, 1998). As such, conclusions in this review were drawn using a more narrative and qualitative approach to exploring the data within a broader ecological framework (Centre for Reviews and Dissemination, 2009).

The following sections will describe the design and methodologies of the studies included, and interpret the results of the included studies guided by an ecological framework using the TPB model to explore the findings on attitudes towards HBV. The results of the included studies are synthesised to explore public attitudes towards HBV, how they develop and are maintained, and to explore relevant factors that may be associated with attitudes towards HBV. The discussion section will consider the overall findings of the review in the context of broader literature in relation to HBV and how different factors intersect to create unique instances and experiences of violence for differently situated women.

Study Settings and Populations

The earliest date of publication of an included study was 2009 (Ouis, 2009), and the most recent study included was published in 2018 (Calik, 2018). The studies included in this review were all conducted in different regions of the Middle East and South Asia. Two studies took place in Jordan (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013), one in Pakistan (Shaikh, Shaikh, Kamal, & Masood, 2010), three in Turkey (Caffaro, Ferraris, & Schmidt, 2014; Calik, 2018; Dogan, 2016) with Caffaro et al. (2014) also recruiting a comparison group in Italy. The study by Ouis (2009) was conducted in three countries in the Middle East, namely Lebanon, Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), and Yemen, and the final study was conducted using samples from four Asian nations, namely India, Iran, Malaysia, and Pakistan (Lowe, et al., 2018).

Two of the studies included adolescent samples (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Ouis, 2009), and the remaining six studies included adult samples. Overall, the total sample size across all the studies included was 3519, with each study including between 24 and 877 participants (*Mean N* = 440). Of these participants, 1,190 were adult (i.e., over the age of 18) males, 1,089 were adult females, 401 were adolescent (i.e., aged 12-18) males, and 839 were adolescent females. Three of the studies did not explicitly report sample demographics (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016; Ouis, 2009). Ouis (2009) described the sample as girls aged 12 to 18 years, and reported that this sample was chosen with the aim to capture a representative sample of young girls in Lebanon, the OPT, and Yemen. Al-Gharaibeh (2016) and Dogan (2016) simply reported their sample as ‘adult males’. The mean age of the sample from the remaining five studies was 26.4 years in the adult sample and 14.6 years in the adolescent sample.

Five of the studies included a sample of both male and female participants from the general population of the country of study in order to examine attitudes towards HBV (Caffaro et al., 2014; Calik, 2018; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Lowe et al., 2018; Shaikh et al., 2010). Caffaro et al. (2014) and Lowe et al., (2018) both used samples of university students. Calik (2018) used a sample of academics working at a university in Turkey. Eisner and Ghuniem (2013) used a sample of adolescent boys and girls from schools in Amman, Jordan. Finally, Shaikh et al. (2010) used a sample of adult men and women from the general population recruited in public places in Islamabad, Pakistan. Of the remaining three studies, one study looked at case files from criminal trials of HKs in Jordan (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016), another used a sample of male perpetrators of HBV on remand in prison in Turkey (Dogan, 2016) and the final study used a sample of adolescent girls in Lebanon, OPT, and Yemen (Ouis, 2009).

Study Designs and Outcome Measures

Five of the included studies were quantitative (Caffaro et al., 2014; Calik, 2018; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Lowe et al., 2018; Shaikh et al., 2010), and the remaining three studies were qualitative (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016; Ouis, 2009). The five quantitative studies used a cross-sectional design, whereby surveys or questionnaires were administered to participants to elicit attitudes in relation to HBV or HK. As there is no validated and standardised psychometric instrument to measure attitudes towards HBV or HK, the quantitative studies used different measures chosen or designed for the research, for example booklets with vignettes and questions. The measures used were rarely validated, and psychometric properties were not reported.

Specifically, Calik (2018) used the Scale for Attitudes towards Violence against Women in the Name of Honor (SAVWNH; Isik & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2009). This scale consists of 14 items that aim to assess attitudes towards HK, the use of violence to defend honour in general, the punishment of women to preserve moral or social order, and non-fatal violence against women in the name of honour. High scores obtained on this scale reflect a low disposition and negative attitude towards HBV (Isik & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2009). Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) developed an instrument called the Honour Killing Attitudes (HKA) Scale, which consisted of four items and was administered as part of a 13-item scale that reflected different situations in which it may or may not be justified to kill another person. The HKA scale consisted of items specific to the killing of a female relative, either by birth or marriage (e.g., wife, daughter, sister, mother) in the name of honour. In addition to this measure, the study also included measures of religiosity (intensity of religious beliefs), traditionalism (focussing on tribal traditions relevant to Arab cultures), female chastity expectations (expectations regarding the decency and sexual purity of a female), moral neutralisation of violence (justification of violent behaviour through moral distortions), and harsh parental discipline (measured separately for the mother and father).

The remaining three quantitative studies (Caffaro et al., 2014; Lowe et al., 2018; Shaikh et al., 2010) all included vignettes related to scenarios of HBV along with a questionnaire to measure attitudes. Caffaro et al., (2014) used a questionnaire with vignettes that was based on a measure used by Golge, Yavuz, Muderrisoglu, and Yavuz (2003) in a study looking at attitudes towards rape in Turkish college students. The questionnaire included three scenarios of HK; (1) HK of a wife for alleged adultery (rumours and gossip), (2) HK of a wife for adultery (secret extra

marital affair in the context of an unhappy arranged marriage), and (3) HK of a wife for adultery *in flagrante delicto* (extra marital relations in the family home though the marriage was ostensibly a happy one). As this study was conducted in Turkish and Italian samples to offer a comparison of attitudes between individualistic and collectivistic cultures, the names of the female victims were changed to reflect common names in Turkey or Italy. The responses to the scenarios included ratings of victim responsibility, assailant responsibility, and proposed punishment for the assailant.

Lowe et al. (2018) designed a vignette booklet based on previous research exploring perceptions of damage to honour in Latin populations (Dietrich & Schuett, 2013). The vignette described a scenario where a woman was having an affair that her husband was not aware of, but upon becoming suspicious seeing a picture of his wife socialising with another man, the husband physically assaulted his wife and threatened to kill her, though the husband himself was also having an affair. As this study was conducted in four different countries, the names of the husband and wife in the vignette were changed to reflect common names in each country. A set of four questions followed the vignette, which aimed to assess participants' perceptions of: damage to the husband's honour, approval of the use of violence under these circumstances, likeability of the victim (wife), likeability of the perpetrator (husband). Shaikh et al. (2010) developed a questionnaire that was administered out loud by the researcher and included both open and closed questions about a vignette describing a scenario where a man returned home from work one day to find his wife in bed with a stranger, and to save his honour, killed his wife. Responses to the questions following the vignette included opinions on whether the man did the right thing by killing his wife, if he should have also killed the man

whom he found his wife with, if he should have divorced his wife instead of killing her, or if he should have forgiven his wife for cheating on him.

Three studies employed a qualitative approach. The study by Al-Gharaibeh (2016) used content analysis to explore data from criminal case files of HK in Jordan to examine motives and perceptions towards HK in Jordan the context of custom, religion, and law. The study by Dogan (2016) employed a qualitative thematic analysis, and explored attitudes and perceptions of HK in imprisoned perpetrators of HK in Turkey via semi-structured interviews. Finally, the study conducted by Ouis (2009) involved qualitative analyses of focus group discussions with young girls in Lebanon, Occupied Palestinian Territories, and Yemen to explore their attitudes towards HBV and honour values. All relevant statistical results from studies included have been reported in Table 2.

Characteristics of Victims and Perpetrators

As the general aim of the studies included was to examine attitudes towards HBV and HK in the general population through the use of questionnaires or surveys, characteristics of victims and perpetrators were rarely reported. Only one of the studies (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016) specifically explored the characteristics of victims and perpetrators in an analysis of case files related to incidents of HK in Jordan. The findings showed that of 24 victims, ten were never married, nine were married, and five were divorced, indicating that the culture of honour in Jordan is such that the marital status or age of a woman may not be protective in the context of the potential to expose the family to shame or dishonour. Almost half of the victims were killed by their brother(s), seven victims were killed by their father, two by an uncle and the remaining perpetrators were reported as accomplices. These results support previous research that has

found the most HKs in the Middle East are committed by male biological relatives (e.g., brother, father, uncle; Chesler, 2010; UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2014). Exploration of the perpetrators' motives revealed that the killings were motivated by several different behaviours. One quarter of the victims were killed simply for being away from home, as it was assumed by family members that they had engaged in dishonourable activities (e.g., extra or pre-marital sexual relations, meeting members of the opposite sex). Other reasons included illegitimate pregnancy, being caught speaking to a non-family male, having extra or pre-marital sexual relations, or rejecting a proposal from a man. This highlights that HBV is a complex phenomenon that may be triggered by a range of different 'offences' considered shameful or dishonourable, that males may view as a loss of control over female relatives. Further exploration of the characteristics of victims and perpetrators from different regions is needed to understand the different societal structures and various intersecting oppressions that lead to different types of cases of HBV. The most commonly reported methods of killing were stabbing and shooting. Other methods included strangulation, running over with a vehicle, stoning, and burning to death.

Overall Prevalence of Attitudes Supportive of HBV and HK

HBV or HK supportive attitudes were observed in all samples in varying degrees. Studies that were conducted in samples from academic institutions showed lower levels of support for HBV than studies conducted amongst the general public. Shaikh et al. (2010) explored the attitudes of adult Pakistani men and women from the general public in Islamabad in relation to a scenario of HK in response to adultery. The results showed that just over half of the participants believed the husband had done the right thing by killing his wife, and that he

should also have killed the man that his wife was having an affair with in order to fully restore his honour. Just over a third of the sample believed that he should have divorced his wife instead of killing her, and only 20% believed that he should have forgiven his wife instead of killing her. Similarly, Ouis (2009) explored attitudes of adolescent girls in the general public towards HBV in Lebanon, OPT, and Yemen, and found that there high levels of HBV supportive attitudes amongst the sample, although it was noted that the prevalence and strength of these attitudes varied significantly between regions, with a high prevalence of HBV supportive attitudes in Yemen and OPT but considerably lower endorsement of HBV in Lebanon.

In contrast, studies conducted in academic institutions found relatively low levels of support for HBV. In a study of the attitudes of Turkish academics (Calik, 2018) found that over 90% of the sample strongly disagreed with the concepts that a woman whose honour is tainted should be killed, that violence can be used as a social means for discipline, and that the killing of a woman can restore honour. Additionally, over 70% Strongly Agreed that they would condemn anyone who harms women in the name of honour, and 80% were against inflicting violence on women in the name of honour. The results indicated that attitudes supportive of HBV and HK within the sample were generally very low, and that the academics had a negative overall disposition towards HBV and were not inclined towards violence. Similarly, Eisner & Ghuneim (2013) used the HKA measure to assess attitudes supportive of HK in adolescent boys and girls in a school in Jordan, and found low levels of endorsement of HK. It was observed that just over one-third of the sample endorsed at least two of the four items on the HKA Scale.

In another study conducted amongst university students (Caffaro et al., 2014) it was found that attitudes vary between students in different countries. Caffaro et al. (2014)

explored attitudes towards HK in individualistic and collectivistic cultures by examining the attitudes of Turkish (collectivistic) and Italian (individualistic) undergraduate students towards HK in relation to three scenarios: (1) alleged adultery (2) adultery and (3) adultery *in flagrante*. The results showed that both the Turkish and Italian groups showed a significant increase in ratings of victim responsibility and a significant decrease in ratings of assailant responsibility from scenario one (alleged adultery) to three (adultery *in flagrante*), though this effect was more pronounced in the Turkish sample, especially among males. It was further found that the scenario also had an effect on the severity of proposed punishment, which was significantly lower for scenario three than scenario one or two in both samples. Similarly, Lowe et al., (2018) assessed attitudes towards HBV in university students across four Asian collectivistic cultures (India, Iran, Malaysia, and Pakistan) and found that prevalence and type of HBV supportive attitudes varied significantly between students from different regions. Lowe et al. (2018) used a vignette describing a scenario of a man committing physical violence against his wife for suspecting her of having an affair, though he is having an affair himself. The vignette was followed by four questions assessing participants' perception of the damage to honour, approval of the use of violence, and perceptions of the victim-wife and perpetrator-husband. The results showed significant differences between groups in attitudes towards HBV and varying levels of HBV supportive attitudes across the four nations.

Several factors were observed to be associated with or possibly mediate attitudes towards HBV and HK, including gender, education, and rural-urban dichotomy. The following sections will explore the findings related to these and other proximal factors influencing attitudes towards HBV and HK.

Variables Associated with Attitudes Supportive of Honour Based Violence

Gender

One of the most common findings across the papers in the review was that attitudes towards HBV and HK different significantly across genders. Calik (2018) found that male academics in Turkey showed significantly more HBV supportive attitudes than female academics, and Lowe et al. (2018) found that male participants in all four nations studied (India, Iran, Malaysia, & Pakistan) were significantly more approving of the use of HBV than female participants. Caffaro et al. (2014) found no gender differences in the overall sample, but the results showed that Turkish women attributed more responsibility to the assailant and proposed more severe punishments for HK than Turkish men. Further, Turkish women attributed less responsibility to the victim in scenario two (adultery) than Turkish men. Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) found that boys were twice as likely as girls to endorse HBV supportive attitudes. Finally, Shaikh et al. (2010) found that male participants in Pakistan were significantly more likely to believe that a husband did the right thing by killing his wife for adultery, that he should also have killed the man she had an affair with, and that he should not have forgiven her instead of killing her.

Overall, the findings regarding gender and attitudes towards HBV showed that male participants in all the samples across nations and ages were more likely to endorse HBV supportive attitudes than female participants, with the exception of the Italian sample (Caffaro et al., 2014) where no gender differences were found. As discussed previously, in traditional collectivistic cultures the responsibility lies with men to control and monitor the behaviour of women and ensure that they do not damage the honour of the family and community. It is

therefore seen as the responsibility of men to protect, defend, or restore honour (Khan, 2018; Nisbett & Cohen, 1994; 1996, Wikan, 2008). The extent to which a man can control his female relatives is seen as an indicator of his masculinity and ability to maintain honour in other aspects of life (Ewing, 2008). In contrast, women are expected to maintain honour by being chaste, modest, and submissive. Such social and cultural gender norms maintain and reinforce values about the authority and power of men over women (Erturk, 2012), and create an environment where male violence against women is a tool in maintaining patriarchal systems on an individual, interpersonal, communal, and societal level. Individualistic cultures in Europe, such as in Italy, have experienced drastic changes in how women and gender roles are perceived in society due to progress and feminism with women gaining more equality and representation in legislation, which may explain why VAWG is viewed similarly by both genders.

One interesting result noted was that even though men showed higher endorsement for HBV supportive attitudes than women, there was still a high prevalence of HBV supportive attitudes within the female samples. Shaikh et al. (2010) observed though men were more approving of HK than women, over half of the women in the sample also endorsed HK, and over 70% of women did not believe that the man should have forgiven his wife instead. Lowe et al. (2018) found, contrary to their predictions, that there were no gender differences in the perception of the damage to the husband's honour or the perpetrator-husband himself, and that men and women both believed that the husband's honour had been damaged by his wife's infidelity. It was further found that the ensuing violence did not change the participants' perceptions of the perpetrator-husband, regardless of participant gender. Similarly, Ouis (2009) found that girls in the OPT, Yemen, and poorer areas of Lebanon had internalised

honour ideology, and were satisfied with the idea that a woman must be punished for behaving dishonourably, and that she must have done something to deserve the violence committed against her.

Previous research has indicated that in some cases women play an important role in the perpetration of HBV (Sen, 2005), though only a small number of women are involved in violence against other women overall (Sev'er, 2012). An ecological framework within the TPB model can explain how beliefs in both genders are affected by different levels of factors (e.g., individual, interpersonal, societal, community) and play a part in the perpetuation of HBV across cultures. Within patriarchal societal and familial structures women can elevate the family honour by respecting and deferring to men or by marrying a man of a high social status, or can damage the family honour by engaging in shameful or dishonourable acts (Rew, Gangoli, & Gill, 2013). Therefore, older females play a crucial role in the management of younger females and ensuring that they conform to social gender norms and comply with the wishes of male heads of the family (Schneider, 1971; Sen, 2005). They may encourage male family members to act to protect or defend family honour, and enhance control beliefs for them by creating situations where they may easily access or overpower the victim (Faqir, 2001; Sev'er, 2012). These results indicate that within collectivistic cultures ascribing to traditional gender roles, though men have stronger favourable attitudes towards HBV, there may be strong normative beliefs about social expectations, honour, and the use of violence amongst both genders. Additionally, women may internalise behavioural beliefs that attempting to gain independence or behaving in a certain way will lead to them being targeted with violence, believing that they deserve to be punished for behaviours perceived within society as shameful

or dishonourable (Ouis, 2009), as well as control beliefs regarding their ability to assist in violence against other females to help to maintain or restore family honour.

Society, Culture, and Traditionalism

It can be difficult to separate the effects of culture, traditionalism, and religion, and the results of the studies in this regard offer some but not complete insight into the importance of these factors and how they may be associated with attitudes towards HBV. An ecological approach allows for a consideration of how individual, interpersonal, community, and societal factors intersect and how they relate to attitudes towards HBV.

Significant differences were found between participants from different cultures in how they perceived HBV and HK. Lowe et al. (2018) used a comparative study design that aimed specifically to examine differences in HBV attitudes between four Asian nations, which allowed for a unique insight into the difference between Asian countries that are all characterised by collectivist cultures. This study highlighted that though these four nations are largely within the same region of the world and have some similarities in culture and tradition, there were significant differences in how HBV was perceived across all four nations. It was found that Pakistani participants were most likely to agree that the husband's honour had been damaged and were most approving of HBV, Indian participants were second most likely to agree that the husband's honour had been damaged and second most approving of the use of HBV, Iranian participants were least likely to believe the husband's honour had been damaged, and Malaysian participants were most disapproving of HBV. Malaysians were most disapproving of both the victim-wife and perpetrator-husband in the scenario, and Pakistani participants had the most positive ratings for both the victim-wife and perpetrator-husband. There were similar

rates of approval and similar perceptions of the perpetrator in the Indian and Pakistani samples, though these two regions differ greatly in religion, indicating that religion may be one of the factors that influences attitudes towards HBV, but is not the defining factor in how violence is viewed. It is noted Iran, Malaysia, and Pakistan are all Muslim majority countries, and Pakistan and India share a cultural and traditional history.

As noted previously, the continued prevalence of HBV and HK in the Middle East and South Asia elicits cultural explanations painting Eastern and Arab cultures as primitive and violent (Shier & Shor, 2016). An exploration of attitudes in these regions highlights significant differences between and within cultures in how HBV and HK are perceived, as well as some of the intersecting factors that influence these attitudes. Similar to the results of Lowe et al., (2018), Shaikh et al. (2010) found that in a sample of Pakistani adults just over half of the participants endorsed HK in response to adultery. Previous research has shown that though it is prevalent in several regions in the Middle East and South Asia, Pakistan is estimated to have the highest global rate of HK and other HBV (Nasrullah, Haqqi, & Cummings, 2009; HMIC, 2015). The differences in how HBV is perceived, and an understanding of why honour values are stronger in some regions compared to others requires a consideration of wider ecological factors. For example, social norms in Pakistan dictate that a husband controls his wife's sexuality, and that he must punish or humiliate her if she refuses sex or commits adultery. A man who is unable to control his wife is seen as weak or emasculated (Fikree, Razzak, & Durocher, 2005; Lowe et al., 2018). This creates social pressure by creating normative beliefs about what is expected by others, as well as behavioural beliefs in men that violence will be rewarded with support and submission, and in women that any transgressions on their part will

result in violence towards them. Additionally, in the context of the TPB, the low environmental and societal barriers to committing violence make it more likely that those who hold HBV supportive attitudes will actually commit violence. This may explain why in some regions though HBV supportive attitudes may be prevalent, the prevalence of actual HBV is lower than in Pakistan (e.g., Turkey) as there are more environmental barriers to committing violence (e.g., law enforcement, rejection of gender norms by young people).

Studies conducted in the Middle East (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Calik, 2018; Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013; Ouis, 2009) found that Arab tribalism, which refers to traditions passed down from nomadic Arab tribes which were once the dominant social organisations in Arab countries (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016), plays a large part in the perception of VAWG. Strong tribal influences remain in the structure of many societies in the Middle East (Metz, 1989), and are characterised by conservative beliefs about masculinity and femininity and gender roles (Ouis, 2009; Sirman, 2004), as well as the collectivism of communities, patriarchal control of female sexuality, and a governing state that shares the responsibility of upholding societal honour with men in the general population, who may therefore use violence to maintain social and moral order (Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). It was found that such normative beliefs about gender roles, and being from a traditional family were important predictors of attitudes towards HBV, and that these beliefs intersected with other factors such as gender or environment to strengthen and maintain attitudes supportive of HBV.

In a multi-nation study in the Middle East, Ouis (2009) explored attitudes of adolescent girls, majority of whom were Muslim, towards HBV in Lebanon, OPT, and Yemen, and found that there were significant differences between these countries in HBV supportive attitudes. A

majority of the sample in Lebanon rejected HBV and were dissatisfied with honour values, however support for HBV was high in Yemen and OPT, where girls believed that victims were to blame for HBV for behaving dishonourably. It is important to note that studies that examine the relationship between religion (specifically Islam) and attitudes towards HBV or HK are often confounded by cultural and traditional factors, and that not all honour cultures are Muslim (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Ouis, 2009). Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) reported that over 90% of their sample identified as Muslim but that measures of religion or strength of religious beliefs were not significant predictors of HK supportive attitudes, and that these factors were confounded significantly by measures of traditionalism (e.g., traditional beliefs about gender roles; being from a traditional male 'breadwinner' family; traditional beliefs about female purity and chastity). Al-Gharaibeh (2016) and Dogan (2016) found that perpetrators of HBV and HK argued that cultural norms and traditions are stronger than religion in determining their behaviour, and that they were unable to go against the social pressure to commit HBV. This suggests that the strength of normative beliefs with regards to expected behaviour and conforming to societal traditions create immense pressure for individuals to commit HBV, and that individuals in such environments may feel the need to act in accordance with social norms even if they contradict significantly with their own personal beliefs (Yu, Zhang, Ren, & Luo, 2013).

The comparison between a Turkish (collectivistic) and Italian (individualistic) sample highlighted that although attitudes supportive of HK were higher in the Turkish sample, even within individualistic cultures there are some prevalent attitudes that support violence in response to adultery, which can be linked with individual feelings of dishonour, shame, and loss of control (Caffaro et al. 2014). In an individualistic society, honour is less likely to manifest as

strict patriarchal values and expectations of gender roles, and there are general normative beliefs that violence is unacceptable and will not be condoned by the community. However, research suggests that Italy has a historical tradition of patriarchal structures and a male dominated society (Cantarella, 2016), with families being characterised by strict traditional gender roles (Tartaglia & Rollero, 2018). As the shift to a more individualistic culture via feminism and social progress has led to more flexible gender roles and family structures (Bimbi & Trifletti, 2006; Zoja, 2003), the concept of honour has transformed from a collective attribute to a more private individual attribute. As noted previously, this shift reflects a shift in the responsibility of defending and maintaining honour from the male heads of a large family or community (as in collectivistic cultures) to the individual male and his smaller nuclear family (Baker et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 2016; Volpi, 2007). This highlights, as noted in the TPB model, that strong control beliefs about having close access to potential victims as well as strong behavioural beliefs about the negative impact on self-image of the loss of personal honour, and the use of violence to restore personal honour, can lead to attitudes that support HBV.

Another important social factor observed to be associated with attitudes towards HBV was legal and political sanctions against violence present in the region. At the time the studies were conducted there were provisions in law protecting perpetrators on HBV and HK in several regions including Turkey, Pakistan, and Jordan, which allowed for perpetrators to receive shorter sentences (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Caffaro et al., 2014; Dogan, 2016; Ouis, 2009) or be forgiven for their crime altogether by the family of the victim, which is often also the family of the perpetrator (Shaikh et al., 2010). Such legislation significantly weakens the perception of HBV and HK as criminal offences, and portrays them as justifiable and legitimate or even

necessary acts that help to maintain moral and social order (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016), further weakening environmental barriers to committing violence. Indeed, Caffaro et al. (2014) found that a small percentage of the Turkish sample in their study asserted that no crime had been committed in any scenario of HK in response to adultery, reflecting strong normative beliefs about the legitimacy of the use of violence to restore honour. All Italian participants asserted that a crime had been committed in all scenarios of HK. Legislation protecting perpetrators of HBV and HK not only strengthens normative beliefs in relation to the expectation that violence should be used to restore honour and that male control of and violence against women is justified, but also strengthens behavioural and control beliefs by creating environments where there are more rewards (praise form the community, sense of honour restored, avoidance of shame) than consequences (legal sanctions, condemnation from community) of committing HBV.

In addition to traditional values in relation to gender roles and social expectations, another important factor that was associated with attitudes towards HBV and HK was how rumours and gossip were viewed in a society. For example, Lowe et al. (2018) found that the greatest differences were between Pakistani and Malaysian participants, with Malaysian participants being the most disapproving of the victim-wife as well as the perpetrator-husband, but were also the least approving of the use of HBV. Research suggests that social norms in Malaysia, like in Pakistan, reflect embedded patriarchal values such as political and social power being held by men, and women being seen as property of their male relatives (Haron, Shaffie, Ghazi, & Isa, 2018). However, in contrast to Pakistan, Malaysia is a largely urbanised, multi-ethnic country, with different communities being private and protective of their own territories

and cultural identities (Shuib et al., 2013; Haron et al., 2018). Researchers have experienced high rates of refusal to participate or share personal information in Malaysia, particularly in local Chinese communities (Shuib et al., 2013). This reflects a collectivistic culture where honour is a private attribute within families and closed communities, and the focus is on avoidance of shame and public dishonour. Similarly, Ouis (2009) found that in Yemen, shame played a crucial role in HBV, and the stigmatisation of shame was so severe that all honour violence took place in a private setting hidden from the public eye. In contrast, in countries such as Lebanon, OPT, Pakistan, Jordan, and Turkey, the publicity of HBV was seen as part of the restoration of honour in the eyes of the community (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016; Ouis, 2009). The implications of how rumours and suspicion are viewed in a society are so severe that often HBV is justified simply on the basis of rumours alone (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016).

The societal factor of the perception of rumours further intersects with other levels of factors, such as the individual's ability to morally justify and neutralise their use of violence. Techniques used to morally neutralise violence included endorsing beliefs such as "only a coward would walk away from a fight" or "some kids get bullied because they deserve it", to reject those against violence as cowardly, unmanly, or immoral themselves, and to argue that traditional obligations and social expectations to restore honour are more important than one's personal beliefs, well-being, or even life (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016; Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013, Ouis, 2009). Interestingly, Caffaro et al. (2014) found that Turkish women attributed significantly less responsibility to the victim, and significantly more responsibility to and harsher punishments for the perpetrator when presented with a scenario where HBV had been

committed in response to alleged adultery based on rumours and suspicion. This differed from previous findings that women from cultures with honour ideologies have a tendency to justify HBV and blame the victim (Haj-Yahia, 2002; Lowe et al., 2018; Ouis, 2009; Shaikh et al., 2010). It is noted that the Turkish participants of the study by Caffaro et al., (2014) were university students from a modern urban area, which has found to be associated with lower levels of HBV supportive attitudes. Similarly, Ouis (2009) found that girls from more modern and urban areas of Lebanon were questioning the honour culture, dissatisfied with the notion of gossip and rumours being enough to justify violence and the idea that women were to blame for the violence they experienced. These results indicate that social progress and modernisation can lead to changes in normative beliefs, and that women in these countries are less accepting of lethal consequences of rumours and gossip.

Socio-economic Status and Level of Education

The association of socio-economic status and level of education with attitudes towards HBV was highlighted in several of the studies in the review. Calik (2018) used a sample of Turkish academics to determine the prevalence of HBV supportive attitudes among highly educated individuals. The results showed that the academics had a low predisposition towards violence and have generally negative attitudes towards HBV. It was highlighted that academics shared a disapproval of the use of HBV as a form of social discipline or punishment, and did not associate honour with women's sexuality or approve of the use of violence against women as a means to preserve or restore honour. Participants living in a rural rather than an urban area for a longer period of time, those ascribing to more traditional ideals such as arranged marriage, those with lower levels of education and academic progress, and those who believe that

violence can be used as a solution for problems showed higher levels of HBV supportive attitudes. Eisner and Ghuniem (2013) found that the level of parental education was associated with HBV supportive attitudes in children, with adolescents whose parents had the lowest levels of education being most likely to endorse HBV supportive attitudes. It was noted that the effects of parental education were partly mediated by beliefs about female chastity, in that adolescents from backgrounds with low levels of education appeared more likely to endorse conventional conservative views about female morality and chastity, which in turn translated to higher endorsement of HBV supportive attitudes. Ouis (2009) demonstrated that levels of education and rural-urban dichotomy were key variables that indicated distinct differences in the attitudes of participants. In Lebanon, where rates of education in adolescent females are higher than the other two countries, more participants expressed disapproval of HBV. In contrast, approval of HBV was high in regions characterised by poverty, largely rural areas, and political instability, such as Yemen and OPT, as well as in poorer and more rural areas of Lebanon. In these areas, girls were observed as having internalised ideas such as “a woman must have done something to encourage a man to sexually harass her” or “honour is restored if a girl is raped but the rapist offers to marry her”.

The findings showed that there was higher endorsement for HBV supportive attitudes in participants from rural and poorer areas and with a lower socio-economic status (Calik, 2018; Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013, Ouis, 2009). This is supported by previous research that shows that individuals from lower social classes have fewer material possessions, or ‘economic capital’, and are therefore more likely to attach high significance to honour as ‘social capital’, which can be used to improve one’s standing in society by implying higher social status (Cohen & Nisbett,

1994, 1997; Ouis, 2009; Sev'er & Yudakul, 2001). As discussed previously, the loss of honour in collectivistic cultures can lead to exclusion from social activities, loss of marriage proposals, and being ostracised from one's own family and community, leading to far greater economic and social losses for those from lower socio-economic backgrounds and with fewer education and employment opportunities. Families in such circumstances have a greater dependence on the structure of the society and community they are part of, therefore being more likely to endorse the norms of the society, as well as to preserve them and transmit them over generations. It is further noted that within these rural and poorer regions, which have roots in tribal cultures, honour can be seen as having material aspects such as the maintenance of wealth or ownership of land, which can be compromised by the behaviour of women, for example if they choose to marry someone outside of the community or if they behave dishonourably causing them to lose marriage proposals that would otherwise strengthen the family's social standing and position (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; UN Development Fund for Women, 2004).

These results further highlight specific social constructs that contribute to the development and maintenance of HBV supportive attitudes in different samples in the Middle East and South Asia. The findings that academics showed a lower prevalence of HBV supportive attitudes (Calik, 2018) than samples in any of the other studies, and that measures of education and traditionalism were more predictive of HBV supportive attitudes than measures of religion (Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013) point to the fact that a multicausal approach is needed to understand the different levels of factors related to the development of HBV supportive attitudes. Lower levels of education and rigid adherence to traditional values lead to communities with more conventional conservative beliefs regarding gender roles and female morality and chastity.

These beliefs may in turn lead to higher endorsement of HBV supportive attitudes, as HBV is seen as an effective and acceptable form of violence which is functional in maintaining and preserving moral values and social order (Vandello, 2016). These results are in line with previous research, which has found strong links between poor education and higher likelihood to commit violence against women (Roberts, 2006; WHO & London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010), and that individuals from low education backgrounds were more likely to believe that violence against intimate partners was justified (Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008; Khawaja & Barazi, 2005).

Discussion

Main Findings of the Current Review

The current review aimed to explore attitudes towards HBV and HK in Middle Eastern and South Asian populations, and identify prevalent factors that interact and may contribute to the development and maintenance of HBV supportive attitudes. The findings of the review highlight that there is a growing body of literature in relation to HBV attitudes, though there are few studies reporting fieldwork and original primary data, with some studies drawing on the same dataset for analysis. The sensitive nature of the topic of HBV and the lack of consistent definitions or measures of assessment make it difficult to collect methodologically rigorous data. Few studies have explored the characteristics of victims or perpetrators. It is apparent from the findings of the current review that HBV supportive attitudes exist in varying degrees across the populations studied, although there are several different factors that appear to intersect to contribute to the prevalence and strength of these attitudes. Some of the most

relevant factors identified to date include gender, social values and traditionalism, level of education, and socio-economic status.

Gender was observed to be one of the main factors to be associated with attitudes towards HBV, with males being more likely than women to have HBV supportive attitudes, although there were still high rates of HBV supportive attitudes among female participants (Caffaro et al., 2014; Lowe et al., 2018; Ouis, 2009; Shaikh et al., 2010). This is interesting, as although previous research has shown that women in individualistic cultures tend to blame men for perpetrating violence against women (Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016), this may not always be the case when considering collectivistic cultures, where women have been found to have a tendency to blame women for the violence they experience and endorse male control over female behaviour (Haj-Yahia, 2002; Ouis, 2009). A study of Pakistani women found that only 8% and 0.4% of participants viewed verbal and sexual abuse as forms of VAWG respectively, and none of the women in the study thought to seek professional help after being abused by their husbands (Madhani et al., 2017).

The results of the current review highlight the need for consideration of wider ecological factors that intersect to influence beliefs about HBV, rather than focusing on a single factor such as gender or culture. In cases where the influence of the community or societal factors (e.g., rumours, social pressure, poverty) is greater, gender may not be as important in determining attitudes as traditional cultural values, family and community environment, and the societal structures that condemn or condone HBV. In such cases, there may be HBV supportive attitudes in the general population as well as an acceptance amongst men and women alike for the use of HBV to punish women who go against societal moral values and

traditions (Brandon & Hafez, 2010). Traditional views about gender roles promote male dominance and control over women, and serve to shape the attitudes of both genders (Flood, Pease, Taylor, & Webster 2009). Attitudes are strongly associated with normative beliefs and behavioural beliefs shaped by community and societal structures and values, such as beliefs about gender roles, the expectations of others, socio-economic status and level of education, traditional values passed down over generations, and a lack of new information and social progress.

The current review emphasised that it is impossible to evaluate the phenomenon of HBV without adequate consideration of the interplay between societal, cultural and religious dimensions, as well as the proximal factors that influence attitudes towards HBV. Significant differences were noted in HBV attitudes between participants from different nations, in spite of overlaps in religion and culture in some regions (Caffaro et al., 2014; Lowe et al., 2018; Ouis, 2009). Results showed that perpetrators were under social pressure, from families and communities as well as from societal norms, to commit HBV (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016). Perpetrators of HBV argued that traditional values and cultural norms were stronger forces than religion or personal values, and at times they felt HBV was justified in spite of being against their personal beliefs, because it is sanctioned and mandated within their culture or by the state via legal mitigations such as lesser sentences (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016). These results indicate that religion or culture alone is not enough to predict HBV supportive attitudes, and multicausal approach is essential. Tradition and cultural beliefs intersect with weak law enforcement and poor protections for women, a lack of economic capital, low levels of education, and specific social norms prevalent in different regions in order to create unique

situations of violence for differently situated women. Consideration must be given to the various intersecting factors that contribute to the maintenance of VAWG in different forms across the globe (Hayes et al., 2016).

The findings suggested that education and socio-economic status are important predictors of attitudes towards HBV and HK. Low levels of education are linked with poverty, lower socio-economic status, and higher rates of violence against women across the globe (Araji & Carlson, 2001; Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, & Morrison, 2005). In the current review low levels of education were associated with higher likelihood of HBV supportive attitudes, as well as being related to traditional beliefs about gender roles and female chastity (Calik, 2018; Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013; Ouis, 2009). This was especially underlined in the study by Calik (2018) that showed that academics in general were against HBV, but also that academics from rural backgrounds and with lower educational achievements were more likely to endorse HBV supportive attitudes than those who were from urban backgrounds and had higher levels of personal and parental education. This suggests that those from traditional tribal backgrounds may be resistant to revising their beliefs about honour even after moving to an urban area or receiving more education. However, it was noted that education can be influential in gaining a wider perspective in relation to honour and violence as well as to dilute some of these beliefs over time (Calik, 2018). Individuals from tribal rural backgrounds are more likely to attempt to maintain their connection to their traditions and family values, even after migrating to another region with different dominant social structures, via beliefs about their honour and how it links them with their family or community (Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013; Flood & Pease, 2009).

The intersections of education, rural-urban dichotomy, and socioeconomic status were further highlighted in the finding that adolescents with parents who were educated and who were from areas with more access to education and information were least likely to endorse HBV supportive attitudes. Additionally, those who had been exposed to parental conflict, family violence, or strong patriarchal family structures were most likely to endorse HBV supportive attitudes (Eisner & Ghuniem, 2013; Ouis, 2009). These findings may be attributed to the theory than individuals internalise the norms that they are exposed to early in life and imitate and model the behaviours of their parents and other caregivers (e.g., Bandura, 1977). In rural areas with less employment and education opportunities, patriarchal values, traditional gender roles, and HBV supportive attitudes are observed by young people throughout the socialisation process. Those values and attitudes are passed down over generations (Intergenerational transmission theory; Egeland, 1993), and are therefore strengthened and carried into the future and perpetuated until they become legitimate widespread social norms to be naturally followed (Alexander, Moore, & Alexander, 1991; Klann, Wong, & Rydell, 2018). Further, studies show that intergenerational transmission processes differ between genders, in that men exposed to family/community violence, enforcement of traditional gender roles, and violent or oppressive attitudes are more likely to become perpetrators of VAWG, whereas women exposed to the same are more likely to become victims (Busby, Holman, & Walker, 2008; Kessler, Molnar, Feurer, & Appelbaum, 2001; Stith, Rosen, Middleton, Busch, Lundeberg, & Carlton, 2000). These findings further emphasise the different levels of factors affecting attitudes towards HBV, highlighting different behavioural, normative, and control beliefs in men

and women that intersect with other factors to strengthen and maintain HBV supportive attitudes.

Given the apparent importance of education as a mediating factor in VAWG, universities and other educational institutions may be seen as important catalysts in the process of social change as they are responsible for enlightening individuals and society on various topics, as well as to promote equality and diversity and deliver solutions to social problems (Ercetin, 2001; Erdem, 2013; Konakay, Akdemir, & Ergun, 2015). The difference in attitudes towards HBV based on education level highlights that a change from a rural traditional environment to a more flexible academic culture which fosters self-reflection, individual growth, and tolerance could lead to a gradual change in general attitudes towards HBV, in spite of other factors (e.g., rural background, gender) which contribute to preserving traditions, societal structures, and environments that condone different forms of VAWG.

Considering the results of the current review within an ecological framework, it was observed that several factors on different levels appear to intersect and potentially influence the strength of attitudes supportive of HBV and HK, and that no single factor alone could explain how or why such violence occurs. As discussed earlier, HBV and HK are often seen as cultural phenomena, arising from primitive traditions and a rigid adherence to those traditions. Such perceptions can lead to the stigmatisation of entire communities and cultures without a deeper understanding of how to identify, address, or prevent different forms of VAWG (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Romkens & Lahlah, 2011; Shier & Shor, 2016). It is noted that although cultural conditioning on its own does not render an individual incapable of making sound moral judgements, it does predispose individuals to acting in certain ways (Dogan, 2016) via creating

and perpetuating normative beliefs about how individuals are expected to act as well as creating social pressure for individuals to conform. As argued by Sutherland, Cressey, and Luckenbill (1992) and further highlighted in the ecological TPB framework, whether or not an individual actually commits HBV is often dependant on the frequency, duration, and intensity of his exposure to and association with beliefs that killing or violence is required to restore honour or fulfil social expectations, and the extent to which HBV is encouraged and facilitated by the environment (e.g., via poor legislation, support from family or community). Specific social norms in different regions contribute in various ways to public attitudes towards HBV and HK, including social norms with regards to rumours and suspicion, moral justification of violence, and traditional expectations of men and women.

Several individual (e.g., gender, level of education), interpersonal (e.g., family or parental violence, strict patriarchal family structure), community based (e.g., peers who approve of or condone HBV, social expectations to commit HBV), and societal (e.g., traditional views of gender roles, lack of support from law enforcement, weak governing state, legal protections for perpetrators of HBV) factors were observed to intersect and influence attitudes towards HBV and HK, highlighting the need for an multicausal ecological framework to allow for a comprehensive consideration of different factors and how they come together to produce unique situations of VAWG. Such a framework allows for the consideration of cultural, religious, and traditional factors without stigmatising or “lumping together” (Romkens & Lahlah 2011, p.89) diverse ethnic and cultural groups, and takes into account personal as well as wider societal factors affecting attitudes towards violence in the name of honour.

Strengths and Limitations of the Current Review

A main strength of the current systematic review is that there appear to be no other systematic reviews that have specifically explored attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia. As such, this review was unique in its objectives and criteria, and aimed to contribute to our understanding of attitudes towards HBV in regions where it is reported as being prevalent. It was apparent in the completion of this review that though literature on the topic of HBV is available, there is very little primary data and the evidence base is limited. As such, it is helpful to have a synthesis of the existing data using a systematic approach to both clarify the existing evidence, and to identify gaps in knowledge. Another strength of the current review was that, despite the dearth of primary data on the topic of HBV, the current review included studies with reasonable sample sizes and good quality assessment.

One of the main limitations of the current review is that, although the aims were to evaluate data on attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia, only two included studies (Lowe et al., 2018; Shaikh et al., 2010) used samples from South Asia (India; Pakistan; Malaysia), with the remaining studies all being conducted in countries in the Middle East. As such, the results of the study may be somewhat biased towards attitudes in the Middle East. This limitation is reflective of the lack of valid and reliable primary studies relating to attitudes towards HBV in South Asia. This further reflects a lack of reporting and recording of HBV in South Asia, and a lack of high-quality research conducted in this region on this topic. It is noted that another limitation of the current review was that only studies that were published in English were included. It is possible that there is more research on this topic in South Asia and

the Middle East that has been published in native languages, and future reviews should aim to try to include multilingual studies to capture a wider evidence base.

A further limitation of the current review is that most of the included studies used cross-sectional designs with questionnaires or vignettes. With cross-sectional study designs it is impossible to draw causal or temporal relationships, and, as such, further research is required to clarify the relationship between attitudes and factors. For example, within a cross-sectional study design in the research conducted by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) it is impossible to know whether moral neutralisation of violence precedes HBV supportive attitudes, or if in fact HBV supportive attitudes result in higher levels of moral neutralisation of violence. Three of the studies included in the review used a vignette approach, which could be problematic, as the responses may have varied if there had been different scenarios presented rather than one single vignette. For example, in the study by Lowe et al. (2018), the vignette described one scenario of a wife being unfaithful to her husband by having a public affair. Publicity of the dishonourable act and of the ensuing HBV were observed as being intersecting factors that may affect how individuals perceive HBV (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Caffaro et al. 2018; Dogan, 2016; Ouis, 2009), and so the results may have varied if another scenario had been presented where the affair had not been public (Dietrich & Schuett, 2013). As such, the results may not be generalizable to all occurrences of HBV.

Another limitation of the current review was that the majority of the studies included used opportunistic sampling and recruited samples from specific places such as a university, school, or prison. As shown in the results, the highest prevalence of HBV supportive attitudes is among individuals with low levels of education and lower socio-economic status, who would

likely not be represented in a sample of university students or academics. As such, it is likely that the results of these studies are not fully representative of the sections of the population that endorse HBV (Lown & Vega, 2001). Further, university students and academics may experience more demand characteristics and attempt to answer favourably, as a result of their perceived academic or social status and beliefs about how they are expected to behave. Additionally, individuals who choose to participate in research and are willing to engage with the topic of HBV may be characteristically different from individuals who would not participate or be willing to discuss the topic of HBV. Indeed, research has showed that HBV is often unreported and unrecorded, and it may be that individuals that voluntarily participate in research regarding HBV are not representative of those who support HBV or are most affected by it (Calik, 2018; Lowe et al., 2018).

Lastly, it is also important to consider that, while the studies in this review focussed on evaluating attitudes of individuals towards HBV, attitudes are not synonymous with behaviour intentions. As noted in the TPB framework, once an individual has developed beliefs and attitudes in support of HBV, whether or not HBV is committed largely depends on how much it is supported and encouraged by the environment and how much control the individual has over their own behaviour (Roberts, 2014). The current review was not able to assess the links between attitudes and actual behaviour, which is something that future research should aim to assess. The TPB suggests that attitudes could translate to behaviour intentions in the right circumstances and in the presence of other relevant factors, but future longitudinal research is needed to establish the true relation between HBV supportive attitudes and the actual perpetration of HBV.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research

Several factors were identified as being associated with attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia. It is necessary to further explore these factors and how they interact with each other differently in unique situations to provoke HBV, to begin to understand how HBV supportive attitudes can be reduced and how HBV can be more effectively addressed. Using an ecological multicausal framework allows for the consideration of different levels of factors and intersecting oppressions that produce unique experiences of violence for differently situated women. HBV continues to be life threatening for women and girls around the world, and a more thorough understanding of it as part of the wider spectrum of VAWG is imperative to developing effective reduction and prevention strategies.

The following chapters will attempt to improve our understanding of HBV and the factors associated with it by building on the results of the current review and further examining perceptions of HBV in different settings. This will include an exploration of how HBV is perceived by academics and practitioners and the factors that are considered relevant in the context of risk assessment of HBV (Chapter Three), as well as an examination of news media representations of HK and other femicide in the UK (Chapter Four).

Chapter Three

Critique of the PATRIARCH Checklist for the Assessment of Risk for Patriarchal Violence with Honour as Motive

Introduction

The assessment, prediction, and management of the risk of harm and violence have become an increasingly important component of psychological, forensic, and criminal practice (Bates, Archer, & Graham-Kevan, 2017; National Institute of Health and Care Excellence (NICE), 2015; Webster & Bailes, 2001). Risk assessment may be defined as the systematic collection of information to determine the degree to which harm (to self or others) is likely to occur (O'Rourke & Bailes, 2006). Risk assessment should be short-term, flexible, and take into account a balance of risk and protective factors, which are characteristics of individuals or their environment that increase or decrease the likelihood that they will act violently (Douglas & Skeem, 2005; NICE, 2015). Risk prediction involves the use of risk and protective factors to assess if a specific individual will engage in harmful or violent behaviour, towards themselves or others (Bernardini et al., 2017; Dolan & Doyle, 2000). Finally, risk management involves the implementation of strategies, support systems, and procedures that enable dynamic and flexible sensitivity to an individual's needs, vulnerabilities, and behaviours, in order to reduce risk, prevent harm, and provide safe and effective services (Briner & Manser, 2013; O'Rourke, Hammond & Bucknall, 2001).

Effective screening and risk assessment in clinical and forensic settings has been found to guide intervention and management strategies which improve social and health outcomes in both inpatient and community settings, and reduce the expenditure and burden on healthcare services in the long-term (Bachrach, Pfister, Wallis, & Lipson, 2014; Berkowitz et al. 2016; Gottlieb et al., 2016). However, the scientific literature highlights several issues with the practical application of risk assessment, including that (1) the construct of risk is not well

defined and is often interpreted simply as dangerousness; (2) there is insufficient understanding of how risk factors interact; and (3) the outcomes by which assessments may be tested are often unclear and complex (O' Rourke & Bailes, 2006; O'Rourke, Wrigley, & Hammond, 2018). It is imperative, therefore, to develop high quality risk assessment measures that can capture relevant factors and enable accurate appraisal of changes in risk, intervention outcomes, and management strategies, while taking into account the aforementioned difficulties associated with measuring the risk of violence (Gottlieb, Sandel, & Adler, 2013; Woolf & Braveman, 2011).

There are three main approaches used in risk assessment: Unstructured clinical judgement, actuarial risk measurement, and structured professional judgement (SPJ) (Maden, 2005). The unstructured clinical judgement approach involves the assessment of risk based solely on the opinion of the assessor. Clinical judgement may be defined as the process of "reasoning under uncertainty" (Redelmeier, Ferris, Tu, Hux, & Schull, 2001, p.1), which involves selecting and evaluating factors and drawing conclusions derived from the clinician's own expert knowledge and professional experience rather than using formal assessment measures or statistical methods (Harris, 2006; Redelmeier et al., 2001). This approach has the least empirical support as an effective risk assessment method, as it lacks consistency between assessments, can vary greatly across assessors and even across individuals assessed by the same assessor (Grove, Zald, Lebow, Snitz, & Nelson, 2000; Lidz, Mulvey & Gardner, 1993; Skeem & Monahan, 2011).

The second main approach is actuarial risk measurement, which is based on known statistical correlations between specific risk factors and outcome variables, and uses an

equation to predict risk by assigning scores to static risk factors. Static risk factors are those factors that do not change over time (e.g., gender, previous criminality; Roychowdhury & Adshead, 2014). Actuarial tools return more consistent results than clinical judgements as they operate using fixed rules and the results do not vary based on experience or opinion. Commonly used actuarial tools for violence risk assessment include the Risk Matrix 2000 (RM2000; Thornton et al., 2003), the Static-99 (Hanson & Thornton, 2000) and the Violence Risk Appraisal Guide – Revised (VRAG-R; Quinsey, Harris, Rice, & Cormier, 2006). Though these tools are accessible and easy to use, they do not include an assessment of case specific and dynamic risk factors (i.e., factors that may change over time such as mental health or substance abuse), therefore are not sensitive to individual needs, vulnerabilities, and behaviours, and lack generalizability to different settings and samples (Monahan et al., 2001; Motiuk, 2000). Additionally, actuarial models lack sensitivity to change via treatment or intervention which would be reflected in changes in dynamic risk factors over time, and therefore have little utility in safety planning and risk management (Douglas & Kropp, 2002).

Finally, Structured professional judgement (SPJ) is an approach that aims to bridge the gap between unstructured clinical judgement and actuarial assessment. SPJ uses guidelines for gathering and considering information that reflect current theoretical and practical knowledge, using both empirical factors and professional experience and opinion (Douglas & Kropp, 2002; Guy, Douglas, & Hart, 2015; Hart & Boer, 2010). SPJ has also been called the “guided clinical approach” (Hanson, 1998), and is the most widely used approach in assessing risk in criminal and forensic settings as it serves to improve the consistency, usefulness, and transparency of decision making (Archer, Buffington-Vollum, Stredny & Handel, 2006; Kropp, Hart, & Lyon,

2008). Information is collected on individual static and dynamic risk factors to determine if they are absent, present, or partially present in a case. This information is used to construct a risk formulation and potential risk scenarios, describing how factors may combine and interact to produce various outcomes. The formulation and scenarios are used to guide risk management, intervention, and safety planning. The most commonly used SPJ violence risk assessment tools include the Historical Clinical Risk 20 (HCR-20 V3; Douglas, Hart, Webster, Belfrage, Guy, & Wilson, 2014), the Spousal Assault Risk Assessment (SARA; Kropp & Gibas, 2010), and the Risk for Sexual Violence Protocol (RSVP; Hart et al., 2003).

The SPJ approach is particularly effective in violence risk assessment as it includes empirical static and dynamic risk factors, provides structure while retaining the role of clinical judgement, offers flexibility and the ability to consider unique contextual and individual factors, and practically links the assessment of risk with management strategies and interventions (Guy, Packer, & Warnken, 2012; Webster, Nicholls, Martin, Desmarais, & Brink, 2006). It is important to note, however, that the ability to make accurate clinical judgments is developed through practice, experience, knowledge, and continuous critical analysis of one's judgments (Kienle & Kiene, 2011). SPJ requires assessors to not only have comprehensive knowledge and experience, but also an understanding of violence and risk literature and appropriate training in completing the specific SPJ tool being used (Logan, 2017). Simply providing SPJ guidelines cannot overcome limitations in the skill, experience, or knowledge of the assessors. Often, risk assessment tools are completed by practitioners in the field who do not have adequate experience, knowledge, or training, leading to them potentially underrate the presentation of certain risk factors or miss cues that may indicate risk due to personal assumptions or biases in

relation to risk factors (Hart, Douglas, & Guy, 2016). As such, ratings may vary a great deal between trained practitioners or researchers and general untrained practitioners working in the field (Sutherland et al., 2012). Further, research shows that even with ample training and experience, risk assessment can be influenced by personal characteristics and attitudes of the assessor (e.g., strong moral judgements of the individual or behaviour being assessed; Dror & Murrie, 2018). Therefore, it is important for SPJ tools to be accompanied by comprehensive explanations of the factors (i.e., how they are defined, how they may interact) and rating system (i.e., explicit descriptions of what qualifies as a Low, Medium, or High risk), as well as practical training in how to complete them, to ensure that SPJ measures are used reliably and consistently.

Risk Assessment in Honour Based Violence

As discussed in previous chapters, Honour Based Violence (HBV) is defined as violence perpetrated against a family member (most often female), in response to acts perceived as shameful or dishonourable, as a method of protecting or restoring honour (Abu-Lughod, 2011; Dyer, 2015). Though there is substantial literature on the subject of violence in the context of gender roles and patriarchy (Anderson, 2008; Haj-Yahia, 2005), there is still little understanding of HBV, how it fits into the wider spectrum of VAWG, the various contexts and processes within which it occurs, and how risk of HBV may be assessed, predicted, and managed.

Given the limited literature and evidence base on HBV, there are few risk assessment tools that are available for use by practitioners. Within the UK, there are two main tools that are used for the assessment of risk of HBV: The Domestic Abuse, Stalking, and Honour Based Violence risk assessment (DASH; Richards, 2009), and the PATRIARCH checklist for the

assessment of risk of patriarchal violence with honour as motive (PATRIARCH; Belfrage, 2005; Kropp, Belfrage, & Hart, 2013). Patriarchal violence is defined within the measure as "Actual, attempted, or threatened physical harm, including forced marriages" (Belfrage, 2005). The title of the assessment "PATRIARCH" does not appear to be an acronym for a longer phrase, and has not been defined, so it is assumed that the author regarded HBV as directly related to male dominance and patriarchy. As the DASH assesses risk over a range of harmful behaviours (e.g., domestic violence (DV), stalking, harassment), the PATRIARCH appears to be the only available validated and standardised measure of risk assessment specifically for cases of HBV.

Given that HBV is a global issue and affects large numbers of victims every year (Dyer, 2015; Fisk, 2010, See Chapter 1), it is important to try to better identify factors that are associated with it and develop prevention and management strategies. This critique aims to examine the psychometric properties of the PATRIARCH, its applicability in research and practice, and its ability to effectively assist practitioners in assessing, predicting, and managing risk of HBV. This critique will contribute to the overall aim of the thesis (i.e., to explore themes and factors prevalent in HBV) by exploring the factors associated with HBV in the context of risk assessment, and how assessment of HBV relates to risk assessment of other forms of VAWG.

Purpose of Creating the PATRIARCH

The author of the PATRIARCH, Henrik Belfrage, has been involved in the development and implementation of a range of risk assessment systems in various contexts (Belfrage & Strand, 2008, 2009; Douglas, Strand, & Belfrage, 2011). The PATRIARCH was developed to provide specific guidelines for risk assessment of HBV. In 2004, Henrik Belfrage was requested to develop a tool to assist law enforcement and social care services in cases with a suspected

risk of HBV in Sweden. The first version of the PATRIARCH was published in 2005 by Henrik Belfrage (Belfrage, 2005), and has since been revised and updated. The PATRIARCH has been widely used for risk assessment of HBV in the UK. It is currently in its fourth version and is accompanied by a technical manual (Kropp, Belfrage, & Hart, 2013) providing an introduction, information about the development and theoretical framework, and instructions for scoring and administration. The technical manual was not available for the purposes of this critique.

Overview of the PATRIARCH

The PATRIARCH risk assessment uses a Structured Professional Judgment (SPJ) approach. The PATRIARCH is a checklist comprising 15 factors (10 risk factors and 5 victim vulnerability factors; See Appendix M). Victim vulnerability factors are factors that place victims at continued risk of harm by increasing opportunities for violence or making them less likely to engage in self-protection (Kropp et al., 2010). Victim vulnerability factors have been found to be of significance in several contexts of targeted violence against women, and most contemporary SPJ tools incorporate these in the assessment of behaviours such as DV (e.g., B-SAFER; Kropp, Hart, & Belfrage, 2005; Kropp & Hart, 2010) and stalking (e.g. SAM; Kropp et al., 2008). Table 3 summarises the factors included in the PATRIARCH, and the item and summary rating procedures.

Table 3

Factors included in The PATRIARCH - Checklist for the Assessment of Risk for Patriarchal Violence with Honour as Motive

Item Rating Procedure
Y – Risk/Victim vulnerability factor is present
P – Risk/Victim vulnerability factor is possibly or partially present
N – Risk/Victim vulnerability factor is not present
- – Omit, insufficient information
Risk Factors
1. Serious violent threats or thoughts
2. Violent acts
3. Honour related violent acts
4. Arranged marriages or engagements
5. Escalation
6. Attitudes that support honour violence
7. High degree of insult
8. Origin from an area with known sub-cultural values supporting honour violence, forced marriages, or genital mutilation
9. Lack of cultural integration
10. Psychosocial Problems
Victim Vulnerability Factors
11. Inconsistent behaviour and/or attitude toward family/perpetrator
12. Extreme fear of family/perpetrator
13. Inadequate access to resources
14. Unsafe living situation
15. Personal problems that might influence management strategies
Other Considerations
Summary Rating Procedure
Risk of honour violence if no intervention is taken (rate imminence and severity)
Low; Moderate; or High
Risk of honour violence if intervention is taken (rate imminence and severity)
Low; Moderate; or High

Note: PATRIARCH rating and factor information adapted from Belfrage, Strand, Ekman, and Hasselborg (2012)

The PATRIARCH should be completed using multiple sources of information, which can include interviews with the victims/complainants or perpetrators/suspects, observation, and collateral information. The PATRIARCH can be completed without interviews with victims and potential perpetrators, however effective SPJ requires as much information as possible in order

to assess the risk factors effectively. In cases where interviews with parties directly involved are not possible, it is recommended that more information should be collected from external sources such as records of previous encounters with police or social services, and interviews with social workers, teachers, or counsellors who may have knowledge about the case (Belfrage & Ekman, 2013). The PATRIARCH allows the assessor to use this information to describe and evaluate the case, note significant case-specific considerations, and complete risk scenarios and safety and management plans. The inclusion of the consideration of both common risk factors thought to be associated with HBV as well as unique case specific factors and the use of clinical judgement to inform risk ratings and safety planning differentiates the PATRIARCH checklist from purely actuarial risk assessment measures that use norms, scores, and statistical equations to rate risk (Belfrage & Ekman, 2013).

Development of the PATRIARCH

Walsh and Betz (1995) proposed eight gold standard steps for measure development that are still used to evaluate the quality of risk assessment tools today (Henrikson et al., 2019; Lewis et al., 2018). These eight steps are to (1) define the construct being assessed, (2) generate initial items and questions through consultation with experts, (3) conduct pilot testing of initial items with a representative sample, (4) conduct validity and reliability tests based on pilot testing, (5) refine the measure based on pilot test results, (6) administer refined measure to the target sample, (7) conduct validity and reliability tests, and (8) report the psychometric properties of the measure. The reliability and validity of the PATRIARCH and the extent to which the eight gold standard steps were used in its development will be evaluated based on

data collected from the use of the PATRIARCH in 56 cases of HBV in Sweden as reported by Belfrage et al., (2012).

The initial development of the PATRIARCH took place in four main stages (Belfrage et al., 2012). The first stage involved a consideration of the literature on risk assessment, particularly in the context of targeted violence. An SPJ approach was then chosen for the basis of the checklist that would aim to include both static and dynamic factors that are relevant to HBV, as well as taking into account clinical judgement of assessors working with cases of HBV. It was thought important that the assessment should have space for "other considerations" and a context and case summary, along with the summary risk rating of Low, Moderate, or High, so the assessment may be differentiated from a standard actuarial measure and incorporate clinical judgement as well as the unique features of each case of HBV.

In the second stage of development, a literature search was conducted to identify risk factors associated with different types of VAWG (e.g., HBV, DV, stalking, targeted violence), and various risk factors were drawn from the measure of Stalking Assessment and Management (SAM; Kropp et al., 2008), as well as from the literature around HBV. The final ten risk factors included on the PATRIARCH are a combination of risk factors that the author considered to be associated with HBV (e.g., previous HBV, arranged marriages, origin from areas with known honour sub-cultures), and factors that are empirically associated with targeted violence (e.g., previous violence, psychosocial problems). The five victim vulnerability factors were included due to a reflection in the literature of the particular vulnerability of victims of HBV who are often young girls targeted by their families and communities with no means of seeking help (Belfrage et al., 2012). The five victim vulnerability factors included were drawn from the Brief

Spousal Assault Form for the Evaluation of Risk (B-SAFER; Kropp et al., 2005; Kropp & Hart, 2010). This process highlights that the first of the eight gold standard steps (defining the construct of HBV) was not completed. Rather, factors were derived from other types of violence that appear to have similar characteristics. As discussed previously, there is little consensus on the definition and construct of HBV. This is likely why the factors used in the PATRIARCH were largely chosen based on measures assessing risk of gender-based targeted violence more generally.

The third stage of development involved completion of the second gold standard step (consulting with experts in the field of HBV). This stage remains on going as several experts in the field have provided input and feedback in relation to the PATRIARCH since 2005. In addition to consultation with experts, the author conducted interviews with victims and perpetrators of HBV in Sweden in order to gain more insight into the area, and incorporated these findings into the assessment.

In the final stage of development, the tool was launched and tested in practice, and has been revised over the years based on the experience and feedback of professionals who use it. A large number of practitioners have been trained in the use of this tool, and one of the main findings from testing in practice was that it was difficult to capture the change in risk between cases where there was an intervention and cases where there was no intervention. It was noted by practitioners that the risk changed very quickly, that is, there may be no risk of HBV before a 'dishonourable act' occurs or is discovered, but the risk may increase significantly and rapidly after. This finding led to the inclusion of a double summary risk rating system, which involves rating risk in scenarios both with and without intervention.

After four years of initial testing and refining of the measure in practice, data was collected from 56 cases labelled as HBV by police officers in Sweden in 2009. This information was analysed to examine demographics of victims and perpetrators and how they affected risk ratings, and how police officers' ratings of factors correlated with overall risk. The final stage of development of the PATRIARCH reflects the completion of three of the eight gold standard steps of measure development, namely pilot testing (step three), refining the tool based on pilot testing (step five), and administering the tool to the target sample, that is, those at risk of being victims or perpetrators of HBV (step six). There has been no reported validity and reliability testing on the PATRIARCH (step four; step seven), neither have detailed psychometric properties of the measure been reported (step eight). The following sections will use the available evidence to examine the psychometric properties of the PATRIARCH, including a consideration of its design, reliability, and validity.

Psychometric Characteristics of the PATRIARCH

Level of Measurement

The level of measurement used for the PATRIARCH risk rating section is ordinal level data (i.e., ratings using named and ordered variables such a 'Low', 'Moderate', and 'High'). Assessors rate each factor as Present, Partially Present, or Not Present, and rate overall risk of HBV as Low, Moderate, or High, both if intervention is implemented and if it is not. The advantage of ordinal level data is that it is easy to collate and categorise, and can be collected quickly (Sermeus & Delesie, 1996). However, ordinal level data on its own is limited, as ordinal scales do not provide detailed information about the difference between one category and the next o actual, practical differences between low and high risk cases (Merbitz, Morris, & Grip,

1989). Further, purely ordinal level data does not provide case specific risk information (e.g., individual motivations for behaviour) and is therefore more often used to gather data in relation to large populations rather than individual cases. As such, an SPJ approach using a combination of assessment methods is needed in addition to the ordinal scale in order to conduct a comprehensive risk assessment (Agresti, 2010). Indeed, in addition to the ordinal scale to rate the presence of risk factors, the PATRIARCH also includes sections to allow the assessor to describe the case, note unique individual considerations, and develop potential risk scenarios to guide risk management and safety planning. The following section will explore the use of an SPJ framework to assess risk of HBV

Structured Professional Judgement

As discussed previously, the SPJ approach is a widely used method of risk assessment in forensic and criminal settings, and several contemporary violence risk assessment tools utilise this approach (e.g., HCR-20; RSVP). The PATRIARCH is the only risk assessment tool for HBV designed within an SPJ framework, and includes opportunities for the assessor to take into account the unique features of each case and make guided and informed decisions in relation to risk. Chapter two demonstrated that the context and nature of HBV vastly differ between different countries, societies, and communities in terms of how it is evoked, perpetrated and perceived (Caffaro et al., 2014; Calik, 2018; Dogan, 2016; Lowe et al., 2018; Ouis, 2009). Given the cultural, societal, and individual differences apparent in cases of HBV, an SPJ approach is more suitable than rigid actuarial approaches, as it is able to capture case specific factors and circumstances and does not rely on homogeneity of the sample and strict statistical norms to assess risk. In structured SPJ risk formulations, the focus is on preparing a plan of action for

continuous monitoring of risk and for risk management rather than on the risk rating itself (Logan, 2016). Further, because the PATRIARCH is completed using several sources of information and relies on the clinician's assessment of the importance of the risk factors, it can compensate for some of the difficulties associated with obtaining or accessing direct information in relation to cases of HBV due to unwillingness of victims or witnesses to openly engage in assessments and inconsistent recording in HBV cases (Goldstein, 2002; Payton, 2014). This SPJ approach allows the PATRIARCH to provide assist in gathering comprehensive information about the nature and level of risk than a simple ordinal scale, and focus on risk prevention, formulation, and management rather than only prediction, with clinical judgement taking into account unique case specific environmental and individual factors and how they may interact to effect overall risk (Whittington et al., 2013).

The main difficulty with using an SPJ approach to assess risk of HBV, as noted previously, is the reliance on good clinical judgment and sufficient resources. An SPJ approach requires assessors be competent in using the tool, have comprehensive clinical skills, knowledge, and experience in relation to HBV, and an understanding of violence and risk literature (Logan, 2017). Without this, the assessment may be biased by cultural assumptions and preconceptions, moral judgements, personal beliefs and attitudes of assessors, or a lack of knowledge about VAWG in general. This could be especially problematic with HBV, as there is still little understanding and consensus about how HBV should be defined and what distinct empirical risk factors are most relevant to it (Bates, 2017; Gill, 2006; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). Risk assessment tools are often completed by practitioners in the field (e.g., social workers, law enforcement agents, community support workers). As illustrated in Chapter Two, there is

considerable public support for HBV in regions where it is highly prevalent (e.g. Turkey, Pakistan), and other research has shown that this support extends to public service and law enforcement agencies, and in some cases HBV is viewed as a necessary and legitimate practice used to maintain social order and moral values (See Chapter Two; UNFPA, 2007; Zia, 2019). Research in the UK suggests that police, healthcare services, and other public agencies demonstrate a lack of knowledge about HBV and how to respond to or protect victims (Begikhani, Gill, & Hague, 2015; HMIC, 2015). Personal biases or incompetence in completing the PATRIARCH can lead to assessors underrating risk or ignoring or missing relevant cues and risk factors. Additionally, SPJ tools are time and resource consuming, and can be costly. Assessors completing the PATRIARCH in different settings may not be appropriately trained or have the time and resources to complete a comprehensive assessment. This may lead them to focus more on their own judgements and personal experiences of working with cases of HBV in specific contexts rather than by empirical evidence and conclusions in relation to risk factors. The following sections will examine the reliability and validity of the PATRIARCH.

Reliability of the PATRIARCH

Reliability is a measure of how consistent an assessment is in its application, which is determined based on information gathered in different populations. The overall reliability of a measure is evaluated via three main types of reliability evidence (internal, test-retest, interrater). Internal reliability refers to the extent to which individual items on an assessment measure the same construct (e.g., risk of HBV). Test-retest and interrater reliability refer to the extent to which the results are consistent over time and across practitioners, respectively (Cook & Beckman, 2006).

There have been no studies examining the internal, test-retest, or inter-rater reliability of the PATRIARCH, although Belfrage et al. (2012) described steps taken to improve the internal reliability of the PATRIARCH during its development. The 10 risk factors included in the PATRIARCH drawn from the SAM (Kropp et al., 2008), and the five victim vulnerability factors drawn from the B-SAFER (Kropp et al., 2005; Kropp & Hart, 2010) were chosen due to their strong evidence base in the areas of stalking, targeted violence, and DV, and have been tested and found to be associated with spousal assault (Kropp, Hart, Lyon, & Storey, 2011; Lewin, Belfrage & Strand, 2007; Storey & Strand, 2012). Both the SAM and the B-SAFER have been shown to have good internal and interrater reliability (Kropp & Cook, 2014). The factors included in the PATRIARCH have since been modified through testing in practice and consulting with practitioners, leading to the removal of some factors found not to be relevant to cases of HBV (e.g., substance abuse).

Considering this approach, a concern in relation to the reliability of the PATRIARCH is that it is comprised primarily of factors drawn from literature focussed on DV and targeted violence, rather than factors empirically associated with HBV. Therefore, it may not be a reliable tool for the specific assessment of risk of HBV. It is likely that the author chose existing validated factors of other types of VAWG for this assessment due to the lacking evidence base in relation to HBV. However as noted in previous chapters, within an ecological multicausal framework, there may be distinct individual, interpersonal, community, and societal factors that increase or decrease the risk of HBV, which may not be considered in assessments aimed specifically at other types of VAWG that may occur in different sociocultural contexts (e.g.,

stalking, spousal assault). It is difficult to comment on the reliability of the PATRIARCH without studies being conducted to evaluate its consistency in application.

It is important to note that reliability is very important but not all-important (Kline, 2015) and it is must be balanced with validity. Validity is the extent to which an assessment measures what it claims to measure, which is the main aim of test construction (Kline, 2015). High reliability can be achieved by using fewer and more specific items, for example, by only using individual risk factors for violence. Limiting item content would improve consistency in the application and scoring of the measure, but could lead to a test of 'bloated specifics' (Cattell, 1973) whereby repeated coverage of the same item leads to apparently high reliability. However, this can come at the expense of high validity, as the assessment would not measure the overall risk of HBV, but rather more the specific contribution of individual factors. Including wider factors relating to other types of violence may compromise reliability of the PATRIARCH, but may serve to balance reliability and validity effectively. The following section will examine the validity of the PATRIARCH, which is determined via the evaluation of four broad types of validity (face, content, construct, criterion).

Validity of the PATRIARCH

Face Validity

A measure is said to have good face validity if it appears to measure what it claims to measure, especially to individuals being assessed (Kline, 2015). This involves consideration of the wording used within the measure (i.e., clear or complex) and if it could effect responses or seem irrelevant. The PATRIARCH includes items empirically associated with DV, stalking, and targeted violence, as well as items theoretically related to HBV (e.g., attitudes in support of

HBV, origin from areas with subcultural values supporting HBV). As such, the items appear to operationalise the theoretical construct of HBV and can be considered to provide face validity.

Face validity is a superficial measure of validity, and is important only in the context of improving cooperation from individuals being assessed, as research shows they are more likely to engage with tests with high face validity (Kline, 2015). Therefore, it is important to consider context when assessing the importance of face validity and how it affects responses. For example, where questions are too obvious in addressing issues, participants are more likely to be biased in their responses. As HBV is associated with hiding shame and restoring honour within a family or community, individuals are usually unwilling to be open and honest to questions that are obviously addressing the issues, especially in a face-to-face interview (Gill, Begikhani, & Hague, 2012; Goldstein, 2002). Therefore, high face validity is not especially important or beneficial in aiding cooperation from individuals in the assessment of risk of HBV. Additionally, as the PATRIARCH is an SPJ tool and involves gathering information from various sources (e.g., interview, observation, collateral data), face validity is not highly relevant to the final ratings, formulations, or risk management plans, as scores are not based solely on the responses of interviewees or participants (Douglas, Blanchard, & Hendry, 2012). Indeed, as noted previously, the PATRIARCH can be completed without interviews with victims or perpetrators, and additional information can be gathered from other sources to inform the assessment. As such, face validity is not as important for the PATRIARCH as other forms of validity that evaluate its theoretical and predictive qualities.

Content Validity

Content validity is a measure of how well an assessment covers and evaluates all aspects of the construct under investigation (Polit & Beck, 2006). This may be determined by assessing if test items were generated based on an accepted theoretical model for that construct and whether the items reflect current empirical research on that construct. Consequently, a construct must be clearly defined and understood in order to achieve high content validity, as a construct that is not well understood cannot be measured with confidence. In relation to the PATRIARCH, no explicit theoretical framework to understand HBV was used in its development, and it was developed mainly based on literature surrounding different types of VAWG. Further, as noted in previous chapters, there is no standard definition or understanding of HBV and indeed there are many aspects of it that are still unknown and under researched. There has been much debate and little agreement on the role of honour in violence in different settings, and how HBV should be conceptualised (Idriss, 2017; Gill, 2009, 2014, 2019; Welchman & Hossain, 2005a, 2005b). The difficulty in understanding and measuring this construct lies in the lack of agreed definition of the construct of honour, which as noted in Chapter One has different meanings in different cultural, linguistic, and social groups, as well as the lack of a thorough understanding of the various ecological factors that contribute to different forms of VAWG across societies. Proposed definitions of HBV (See Chapter One) provide broad descriptions of this type of violence, but are not specific and do not provide an adequate and comprehensive understanding of the different levels of factors and the interactions between them that may be important to consider in cases of HBV.

The PATRIARCH aims to generalise factors associated with DV and targeted violence to cases of HBV, which may or may not be appropriate. It is difficult to comment on content validity where a construct is not clearly defined but it is likely that the content validity of the PATRIARCH is poor in relation to measuring risk of HBV, as the factors are more closely related with constructs of other types of VAWG. It is noted, however, that in cases where a construct is not clearly defined or understood, content validity relies on expert judgments in relation to the relevance of factors (Berk, 1990; Zamanzadeh et al., 2015). As discussed previously, experts and practitioners in the field were consulted during the development of the PATRIARCH, which helped to refine the measure and led to the removal of factors judged by experts to be largely irrelevant (e.g., substance abuse). It is likely that this step made some contribution to improving the content validity of the PATRIARCH, however it is still compromised by the inconsistent understanding of the construct of HBV by experts in different settings.

Construct Validity

Construct validity overlaps with content validity as both are concerned with the construct being measured. Construct validity refers to the quality of the measurement rather than the theoretical understanding of the construct. That is, it is a demonstration of how well items on an assessment can test and measure all aspects of the overarching construct (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). This may be examined by investigating if the test correlates well with other assessments measuring the same construct (convergent validity), or by testing the extent to which results differ between tests measuring different constructs (divergent validity) (Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Kline, 2015).

In the case of the PATRIARCH, as noted above, there have been no studies comparing it to other measures of HBV, or any studies comparing results of the PATRIARCH in different groups (e.g., perpetrators of HBV vs. perpetrators of other VAWG). As such, it is difficult to determine if the measure has good convergent validity in relation to assessing risk of HBV. The PATRIARCH is strongly related with the B-SAFER and the SAM, which measure different constructs from HBV. These measures use many of the same factors, suggesting low divergent validity as they as the PATRIARCH cannot easily distinguish between the constructs being measured. It is likely that the PATRIARCH has high construct validity in relation to DV and stalking rather than HBV. However, there is no empirical evidence suggesting that the PATRIARCH is a valid measure for the assessment of risk of HBV specifically.

Belfrage et al. (2012) reported that two risk factors (escalation of violence, high degree of insult) and one victim vulnerability factor (personal problems affecting management strategies) were more strongly related to final summary risk ratings than other factors (e.g., lack of cultural integration, psychosocial problems). This may indicate that some factors on the PATRIARCH are more salient and relevant to assessors within the construct of HBV than others. Additionally, it was found that the type of victim (e.g., wife, daughter) had an effect on summary risk ratings, in that cases where the potential victims were daughters were rated as higher risk. These findings suggest that there may be some tentative construct validity in the PATRIARCH whereby it measures and records aspects which have been evidenced or observed by experts as being related to the construct HBV, though it is evident that this construct validity is poor and untested and it is unclear if factors are more strongly related to summary risk ratings because of empirical associations or assessor biases and opinions.

Criterion Validity

Criterion validity is concerned with the sensitivity and utility of assessments and refers to the extent to which scores are correlated with external criteria and real-life outcomes (Cohen & Swerdlik, 2005). This may be evaluated by comparing the results of an assessment with an existing validated measure of the same outcome administered at the same time (concurrent validity), or by comparing test scores to a measure of the same outcome in the future (predictive validity). Concurrent and predictive validity are overlapping as both are concerned with correlations between a test and an outcome (e.g. correlations between risk ratings and actual HBV), and only differ in the time at which the outcomes are measured (McIntire & Miller, 2005).

Concurrent validity. The literature on HBV suggests that the only other measure with a section designed to assess the risk of HBV is the DASH assessment, which includes an optional set of questions to assess risk of HBV. There have been no comparative studies investigating the correlation between the optional HBV section of the DASH and the PATRIARCH. The study by Belfrage et al. (2012) can provide some insight into the concurrent validity of the PATRIARCH via comparison with other measures of VAWG. Belfrage et al., (2012) reported that for 56 cases of HBV analysed, the mean value for the individual risk factors when coded 0-2 (Low=0, Moderate=1, High=2) ranged from 1.04-1.87, and the total mean value was 1.52. The mean values for the individual victim vulnerability factors ranged from .07-1.31, and the total mean value was .84. The mean values of the risk factors were somewhat elevated when compared with studies looking at the SARA (Kropp et al., 1994), the B-SAFER (Kropp et al., 2005; Kropp & Hart, 2010), and the SAM (Kropp et al., 2008), where the mean values of risk factors were

usually around 1 (Belfrage & Strand, 2008, 2009). Belfrage et al., (2012) reported that the mean values of the victim vulnerability factors in these studies were more closely correlated than the risk factors, though the exact values are not reported. This suggests that the victim vulnerability factors are more closely correlated between measures of VAWG than risk factors and are measuring the same overall outcome (i.e., vulnerability to victimisation). Given that the risk and victim vulnerability were drawn directly from other measures (SAM; B-SAFER), some degree of concurrent validity can be expected. However, once again it is unclear if the construct being measured by the PATRIARCH is HBV in particular, as it appears to have high concurrent validity in relation to measures assessing DV, targeted violence, or stalking, and is still untested against other measures assessing risk of HBV.

Predictive validity. Predictive validity is a measure of the extent to which results on a measure can help to predict future behaviour (Singh & Petrila, 2013). In terms of risk assessment, predictive validity is the extent to which scores or risk categorisations from a tool can correctly assess the likelihood of future violence (Singh, 2013). Predictive validity is especially relevant in violence risk assessment, as it is assumed that accurate violence risk prediction can lead to better identification of individuals most in need of risk management and intervention, and those who pose a low risk can be screened out for effective allocation of resources (Bonta & Andrews, 2010; Singh, Grann, Lichtenstein, Langstrom, & Fazel, 2012). It is noted that the study of violence risk prediction is difficult, as violence itself is a complex construct. Further, cases rated as high risk may often be subject to risk management interventions or prevention strategies, making it difficult to assess the ability of measures to predict future violence (Svalin, Mellgren, & Levander, 2017). As noted previously, the main

purpose of an SPJ violence risk assessment is formulation, management, and prevention rather than simple prediction. As such, it is more useful to evaluate the predictive validity of risk assessment measures in relation to how risk ratings influence the overall formulation of risk and the planning and implementation of interventions, viewing preventative actions as mediators of the relationship between risk ratings and future violence (Carroll, 2007).

There have been no studies investigating the predictive validity of the PATRIARCH, however we may consider the predictive validity of other measures that the PATRIARCH was based on. Studies examining the predictive value of the B-SAFER have found that a majority of the victim vulnerability factors are significantly related to summary risk ratings, but that the relationships are weak and the predictive validity of the B-SAFER is poor (Belfrage & Strand, 2012; Storey, Kropp, Hart, Belfrage, & Strand, 2014; Svalin et al., 2017). Studies examining the predictive validity of the SAM have found that it has moderate predictive validity, in that the individual risk factor ratings are strongly correlated with police ratings of overall risk (Belfrage & Strand, 2008, 2009). As the PATRIARCH is comprised of factors from these two measures it can be assumed that it has similar predictive validity for the constructs being measured (i.e., stalking, spousal assault), but it is difficult to determine if the PATRIARCH has good predictive validity in estimating the risk of HBV, as it is not a clearly understood construct.

In their analysis of the use of the PATRIARCH in 56 cases of HBV, Belfrage et al. (2012) did not report predictive validity statistics. However, they reported that only three HBV risk factors were significantly correlated with police officers' overall risk ratings (escalation; high degree of insult; personal problems affecting risk management plans), indicating that these three factors may be associated with risk in cases of HBV. It was further observed that the

number of factors rated as present was significantly positively correlated with the level of overall risk assessed by the police, suggesting that the use of the PATRIARCH, alongside the judgement of relevant professionals, influenced the categorisation and management of cases. Belfrage et al. (2012) further reported that investigations into HBV cases were more thorough where the PATRIARCH was used, and more management and prevention strategies were put in place for cases rated as high-risk on the PATRIARCH than in cases where the PATRIARCH was not used. Though this does not indicate high predictive validity, it provides an opportunity to examine the influence of the use of the PATRIARCH on risk formulation and planning, and view intervention as mediating the relationship between overall risk and future violent behaviour (Carroll, 2007). Additionally, it was found that 25% of cases where the PATRIARCH was used were dealt with within the criminal justice system, as opposed to only 8% of cases where the PATRIARCH was not used. These findings suggest that though the significance of the relationship between the factors and the summary risk ratings may be weak, there is some value in using the PATRIARCH as a guide for the management and prevention of risk and the allocation of treatment resources. Nevertheless, the findings may simply be a result of better organisation and recording of information due to the use of an SPJ tool in the assessment process, which led to better management planning and legal action, rather than due to the validity of the PATRIARCH in particular. Therefore, it remains in question which factors on the PATRIACRH are significantly associated with a risk of HBV, and if indeed these factors can differentiate a risk of spousal assault, targeted violence, or DV from a risk of HBV, and can capture the specific ecological factors that influence different forms of VAWG.

Discussion

Since its development in 2005, the PATRIARCH has been used widely in criminal and forensic, and other social and healthcare settings in Sweden and the UK. Belfrage et al. (2012) reported that the overall effect of this tool has been positive in practice in relation to its purpose, which was to assist criminal and forensic practitioners in the assessment and management of cases of HBV. It has supported officials to make more comprehensive assessments of cases where there is a suspected risk of HBV than unstructured clinical judgement or purely actuarial measures would, by providing structured guidance for the assessment of risk of HBV using both professional judgement and explicit risk and vulnerability factors. The assessment has also allowed professionals to make thorough assessments of cases, prompting them to consider general as well as case-specific factors and to organise the information in an effective way to consider risk scenarios and management plans, and its use has contributed to a higher number of cases of HBV being identified for intervention compared to before it was developed (Belfrage et al., 2012).

This critique has highlighted concerns in relation to the reliability, validity, and overall quality of the PATRIARCH as a risk assessment for HBV. Considering the development of the PATRIARCH, only four of the eight gold standard steps of measure development have been reported on by the scale's author. There is no clear definition of the construct (HBV) being assessed, and no reported reliability or validity statistics to determine the PATRIARCH's psychometric properties. In spite of this, the measure is described as being widely used to assess the risk of HBV (Belfrage et al., 2012). This is consistent with previous findings in relation to clinical assessment and measurement, which suggest that psychometric measures are not

tested and evaluated using a multi-step process before being released for use, and practitioners in many settings often do not wait for a measure to be sufficiently validated before use (Lewis et al., 2015; Morrison, Bishop, Morrison & Parker-Taneo, 2016; Sutton et al., 2016).

Research suggests that measures and their administration are often modified to suit the needs of the setting where they are being used (Henrikson et al., 2019). Modifying a psychometric measure negates its comparative value and makes re-testing and evaluation of change more difficult, especially if different assessors complete the measure over time. This could be especially problematic in the case of the PATRIARCH, as it is extensive, and requires multiple interviews or sources of information as well as a comprehensive knowledge of HBV and risk assessment in order to complete properly. Practitioners who lack the time, resources, training, and knowledge may be tempted to modify or shorten the measure, or complete it without proper training or the technical manual to save costs, undermining its usefulness as a comprehensive risk assessment. This could potentially be overcome by assessors being required to explicitly record and report within the assessment any modifications made and the reasons for them, and conduct psychometric testing to assess the reliability and validity of modified versions. However, the comparative value would still be limited in the absence of studies examining the internal reliability, validity, and utility of the PATRIARCH itself.

The true overall reliability and validity of the PATRIARCH are unknown. The factors of which it is comprised have been drawn primarily from other measures focussed on assessing risk of other forms of VAWG such as targeted violence and DV, the distinctive features of which are unclear in relation to HBV. There have been no studies to evaluate these factors in relation to HBV, and therefore it may be that this measure is more likely to assess risk of targeted

violence or DV rather than being a reliable measure of risk of HBV. As noted in previous chapters, an understanding of HBV requires a multicausal ecological approach taking into account the unique intersecting factors (e.g., gender, ethnicity, culture, education) that produce different types of VAWG. Some scholars have argued that some features may be more salient in cases of HBV than cases of DV or targeted violence (e.g., community involvement, multiple perpetrators) (Hayes et al., 2016; Chesler, 2009, 2010; Terman, 2010) which are not addressed in the PATRIARCH. Further, there have been no studies testing the interrater or test-retest reliability of the PATRIARCH therefore it is difficult to comment on its consistency or effectiveness in terms of assessing, predicting, or managing risk in different settings and populations.

As discussed previously in this chapter, the main purpose of violence risk assessment measures is to identify contexts of violence and understand threats and potential risk scenarios (Bates, 2017) with a view to facilitate risk formulation, management, and ultimately the prevention of violent behaviour. As such, content, construct and predictive validity are especially relevant (Bonta, 2002; Davidson, 2014; Lin & Yao, 2014). Research shows that measures designed to assess violence risk in specific populations have higher predictive validity than those designed for more general populations, and measures designed to assess risk of violent offending have higher predictive validity than those designed to assess risk of general offending (Singh, Grann, & Fazel 2011). This supports the notion that when a construct is clearly defined with specific features, at risk individuals are more easily identified, risk factors are more salient, and better management strategies and outcomes can be achieved. Given the lack of a clear and consistent understanding of HBV, The PATRIARCH was designed drawing on

literature on other types of VAWG. This could lead to the assessment missing out relevant factors or including factors that are less relevant in cases of HBV, and emphasising factors more closely related to other types of VAWG. The difficulty in defining the concept of honour as it relates to violence, and the assumption of the assessment that the factors associated with HBV are the same as other types of targeted violence, suggests that the assessment is not based on a clear construct of HBV, the distinct features of which have yet to be properly identified and established.

Future research into designing risk assessment measures should aim to overcome the issues noted in the PATRIARCH by attempting to identify and statistically test specific risk factors associated with HBV, and designing measures within an appreciation of intersectionality so they may be tested and compared effectively in different populations and for differently situated victims, to enhance the reliability and predictive value of risk assessment (Singh et al., 2011). The introduction of an ecological framework and theoretical model (e.g., TPB, See Chapter two) would be beneficial for revisions of the PATRIARCH, as it would allow for the consideration of different levels of factors (individual, interpersonal, community, societal), how they intersect to increase or decrease the risk of HBV, and the specific sociocultural contexts in which they occur. Chapter Two highlighted some factors that have been established as being associated with stronger attitudes supporting HBV (e.g., level of education, socio-economic status, rural background, beliefs about female chastity), and it was found that perpetrators of HBV were influenced by several different factors (e.g., traditionalism, social expectations, rumours and suspicion; Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016), none of which appear to be included on the PATRIARCH.

As an example of a theoretical framework for risk assessment of HBV, Bates (2017) proposes a typology which divides cases of HBV into three types (Type 1: sole perpetrator was a current or ex-intimate partner, Type 2: perpetrators were one or more of the victim's biological family members, and Type 3: perpetrators were a current or ex intimate partner in addition to one or more of the victim's biological family members). A study using this typology in risk assessment with the DASH (Bates, 2017) showed that risk ratings of professionals varied greatly between the three types. As the DASH was originally developed as a risk assessment for intimate partner violence, the risks were rated as higher in cases where one of the perpetrators was an intimate partner. The DASH is likely more able to capture the risk posed by an intimate partner than family members, as the risks posed by family members in cases of violence are still under-researched. This highlights the importance of various intersecting factors in different cases of violence and how they affect overall risk. It is clear that HBV has overlapping characteristics with other types of VAWG, but also occurs within specific sociocultural contexts, a deeper understanding of which would help to identify cases and predict and manage risk more effectively. Similar studies within a theoretical framework examining different typologies of HBV and outcomes in relation to the PATRIACH would be helpful in testing the usefulness and accuracy of the measure, as well as highlighting the factors that are most relevant in different cases and different settings of HBV.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research

As the only risk assessment tool designed to assess risk of HBV, the PATRIARCH has some value in that it has been shown to assist police officers and practitioners with risk assessment, and, in some cases, has been integral to the identification and the implementation

of interventions (Belfrage et al., 2012). As an SPJ tool, it has the advantage of allowing for professional and clinical judgment, and therefore allows for practitioners to not solely rely on the factors but apply them contextually. It continues to be modified and updated as it is used more widely, however further research is needed to better define and understand the construct of HBV and how it fits into the wider spectrum of violence against women and girls (VAWG) before any tool can be deemed reliable and valid for standardised use. As noted in the discussion, future research should aim to identify factors and patterns prevalent in different cases of HBV, to identify the relevant common and unique factors associated with it as compared with other types of VAWG. Studies also need to be conducted to examine the reliability and validity of the PATRIARCH, comparing it with other measures and comparing its results in different populations, to assess its usefulness and consistency. Violence risk assessment tools are being increasingly used to make decisions in clinical, forensic, and other social and healthcare settings (Singh et al., 2011), and it is important for risk assessment measures to be robust and reliable in assisting clinicians to predict and prevent violent behaviour, and much work is needed to improve the PATRIARCH and develop a valid and reliable measure to assess risk of HBV.

The exploration of risk assessment of HBV has highlighted the perception of HBV as overlapping with other types of VAWG, including DV, targeted violence, and spousal assault, which are more widely studied and viewed as unacceptable forms of violence in most societies. However, as discussed in previous chapters, cultural explanations of HBV often lead to it being categorised as a distinct foreign practice associated with Eastern and Arab communities, and the contribution of the concepts of honour and shame in VAWG are often ignored in the west

(Baker et al., 1999, Hayes et al., 2016; Shier & Shor, 2016). As noted in the evaluation of the PATRIARCH, different types of VAWG are conflated and the distinctions are blurred. This supports the notion that violence is a socially constructed and fluid concept (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). That is, the conceptualisations of violence in different settings and populations are "products of particular historical and cultural understandings rather than being universal and immutable categories of human experience" (Bohan, 1996, p.16). The following chapter (Chapter Four) will aim to further explore perceptions and conceptualisations of HBV, using a multicausal ecological framework to explore themes and factors prevalent in news media representations of cases labelled HK as compared with other cases of femicide in the UK.

Chapter 4

A Qualitative Study Exploring Honour Killing and Intimate Femicide in the UK Media

Abstract

Previous chapters have highlighted that Honour Based Violence (HBV), though it has been receiving more media and academic attention over the last decade, is still underrepresented in research on violence against women and girls (VAWG). Chapter two identified several ecological factors that may intersect and contribute to attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia, and Chapter Three highlighted a conflation in risk assessment between HBV and other forms of VAWG. The current chapter aims to further add to the research base by exploring media representations of two types of VAWG, honour killings (HK) versus other intimate femicide (IF), in the UK. Thematic Analysis (TA) was used to analyse 106 articles published over a period of ten years from UK newspapers to identify similar and differential themes in reporting on HK and IF. The results showed that cases of femicide were often labelled HK based on the ethnicity or cultural identity of perpetrators and victims. Reports on HK focused on culture, religion, and immigration as explanations, with little mention of individual or interpersonal factors. In contrast, reporting on cases of IF focused on individual characteristics and situational factors, with little consideration of wider societal factors. The findings suggest that journalists rarely use a multicausal ecological framework to discuss VAWG, often linking violence with single factors such as either cultural or individual traits. The use of TA and a comparative design within an ecological framework allowed for a thorough investigation of the similar and differential themes arising in media reporting on HK and IF in the UK. The results suggest that these two forms of femicide are labelled and treated differently in the media based on the cultural identity of perpetrators and victims, with emphasis on a clash between immigrant and western cultures.

Previous chapters have investigated how HBV is perceived by populations in South Asia and the Middle East, and how it is assessed by practitioners and researchers. Findings from previous chapters highlight the existence of various factors and intersecting oppressions that influence HBV in different settings and regions, as well as the notion that HBV may be conflated with other forms of VAWG in the context of risk assessment. Following on from this, the current chapter will investigate media representations of two forms of fatal VAWG, namely honour killing (HK) and intimate femicide (IF). The current chapter aim to identify and compare themes in reporting on HK and IF using a qualitative thematic analysis (TA) within an ecological framework to examine news media representations of these two different forms of femicide in the UK.

An Introduction to Femicide

The concept of femicide was introduced by the feminist movement in the US in the 1970s in order to challenge and politicize male violence against women, and was originally defined as the killing of females by males because they are female (Russell, 2011). Conversely, the term 'homicide' is gender-neutral, defined as 'the killing of a human being by another person' (Collins English Dictionary, 1993) therefore applying to both male and female victims. The introduction of the term 'femicide' served to bring to light the particular gender-based evidence of the killing of women, framing it as a distinct social and political problem to be addressed through meaningful structural changes to society and legislation (Corradi et al., 2016). In the first published works related to femicide, Radford and Russell (1992) defined femicide as misogynistic murders of women by men, motivated by contempt, pleasure, or a sense of ownership and control over women, noting that even though male victims of murder

are more frequent than female victims, men are rarely murdered simply because they are men. Radford (1992) suggested that femicide occurs in the context of patriarchy, and the social construction of men as strong and dominant, and women as weak and submissive. Femicide could take various forms including racist femicide (black women killed by white men), homophobic femicide (women killed for their sexual orientation), or female infanticide (female babies killed because they are not males; Radford, 1992). Around the same time, Stout (1992) conducted a study investigating the correlation between intimate partner femicide, which she defined as killings of women by male intimate partners, with factors such as victim age, access to support, and marital and socioeconomic status. Stout (1992) noted that an ecological framework (See Chapter One) would be best suited to incorporate feminist ideology with traditional models of violence as well as acknowledge the intersecting oppressions and influences that come together to create unique instances of femicide. The study concluded that femicide by male intimate partners is a significant social problem that must be addressed, and therefore provided a basis and foundation for future empirical research into femicide.

Since the early work on the conceptualisation of femicide (Radford & Russell 1992; Stout, 1992), several contemporary definitions have been proposed. The definition of femicide has been broadened, which is likely the result of a growing interest in the subject and a need for specificity to gather and analyse data that can be compared across regions and populations (Alvazzi Del Frate, 2011). The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE, 2017) proposes the following definition of femicide:

> *"The term femicide means the killing of women and girls on account of their gender, perpetrated or tolerated by both private and public actors. It covers, inter alia,*

the murder of a woman as a result of intimate partner violence, the torture and misogynistic slaying of women, the killing of women and girls in the name of so-called honour and other harmful-practice-related killings, the targeted killing of women and girls in the context of armed conflict, and cases of femicide connected with gangs, organised crime, drug dealers and trafficking of women and girls." (EIGE, 2017: Gender Equality Glossary definition of femicide)

Other definitions of femicide are similar and include various forms of femicide, such as intimate partner femicide and honour killings (e.g. Laurent, Platzer & Idomir, 2013; UNODC, 2014). Although there is no one standardised definition of femicide and definitions may stem from different sociological, criminological, or legal approaches (UNODC, 2017), all definitions emphasise that femicide is a form of gender-based violence, and that it is a complex social phenomenon that can take many forms across societies and cultures.

As discussed in Chapter One, researchers have used several different approaches to attempt to understand different forms of VAWG, such as HBV. Similarly, several different approaches have been used to specifically investigate gender-based killings of women in different forms (i.e., femicide). One example is a feminist approach, similar to universal interpretations of HBV (See Chapter One), which focuses on the role of patriarchy in creating a society that is dangerous for women. This approach states that violence is an outcome of unequal power distribution between men and women, whereby men use violence to control women and oppressive views are embedded within the culture and social institutions (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003; Taylor & Jasinski, 2011). The feminist approach is based on high global rates of VAWG and evidence of gender inequality evident across societies. However, it

has been noted that this approach is not sensitive to change, as gender roles and status have changed significantly since the advent of feminism in the 1970s. As the feminist approach emphasises patriarchy as the main cause of femicide, it is difficult to use this approach to evaluate the effect of evolving gender roles on femicide (Taylor & Jasinski, 2011). Further, though the feminist approach assumes that women are killed for being women as a result of patriarchal systems, it is problematic to operationalise this for analysis, as it is often difficult to ascertain a perpetrator's motivations from criminal records (Bloom, 2008).

Another approach used to analyse and understand femicide is a sociological approach, which views femicide as a social phenomenon and argues that women and men are killed in different situations and circumstances, for different reasons, and by different perpetrators. Research shows that women are more likely to be killed by intimate partners or in family settings, and men are more likely to be killed by strangers or non-family members (Catalano, Smith, Snyder, & Rand, 2009; UNODC, 2017). A sociological approach aims to analyse the specific distinctive features between the killings of men and women (Campbell & Runyan, 1998), however does not have the flexibility to assess overlapping and intersecting factors that may contribute to different forms of gender-based violence against both men and women.

Finally, another approach used in the analysis of femicide is the decolonial approach, which investigates femicide in the context of colonisation, particularly killings committed in the name of honour (HK). Researchers using this approach argue that femicide is a crime empowered by colonisation (broadly defined as the subjugation of one people by another; Shalhoub-Kevorkian & Daher-Nashif, 2013). It is proposed that in some colonized regions, such as in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia, domination by Western colonizers has

turned practices such as HK and other oppressive acts towards women into symbols of resistance against occupiers imposing their cultural and social norms (Ahmed, 1992). Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2003) proposes the use of the term femicide to counter the use of terms such as HK or crimes of honour, to reject the notion that such violence may be in some way 'honourable', as well as to counter the attribution of such crimes to certain cultures being inherently violent or misogynistic. The decolonial approach acknowledges the existence of patriarchal systems within society that are exacerbated in the context of colonisation and a struggle for political power, and lead to the oppression of women both by occupiers who seek to gain control and by men who seek to resist colonial ideas and preserve their own culture (Shalhoub-Kevorkian & Daher-Nashif, 2013). The decolonial approach is useful in emphasising femicide as not only a social but also a political problem, affected by political landscapes and changes in power structures. Nevertheless, there are some difficulties in using this approach. Similar to the feminist approach, the decolonial approach also emphasises the role of patriarchal systems embedded within society and traditions. However, these systems cannot solely be attributed to colonialism. Additionally, it is difficult to use this approach to explain femicide occurring in migrant populations in western countries, where there are no colonizers to resist, and further research is required to understand the effects of marginalisation on rates of femicide in migrant populations, and the different factors that contribute to femicide in different settings.

In sum, a review of the different approaches used in the investigation of femicide (See Corradi et al., 2016) highlights that femicide is a complex phenomenon that needs to be analysed and addressed using an intersectional and multicausal approach that incorporates the various factors that interact to produce violence. As discussed in Chapter One in the context of

theoretical interpretations of HBV, single factor theories (theories that emphasise the role of one sole factor as a cause) attempting to explain violence often fall short of explaining all instances and forms VAWG. Similarly, in theories and approaches to understanding femicide, most theories focus on specific aspects of femicide but lack an appreciation of others. For example, a feminist approach addresses the issues of patriarchal systems perpetuating the oppression of women, but struggles to explain why feminist progress and shifts in gender roles and power structures in many countries has not significantly decreased rates of femicide. An appreciation of intersecting oppressions and factors, such as outbursts of anger in men, marital disputes leading to violence, the political landscape of the region, and other sociocultural factors is needed to fully analyse and explain femicide and the various unique contexts in which it occurs (Stark et al., 2010; Winstock, 2011).

Corradi et al. (2016) propose a multicausal model of femicide based on an ecological theoretical framework (Stout, 1992; See Chapter One). This multicausal model puts forward three levels of explanation identifying empirical factors associated with femicide. First, the Micro level includes analyses of individual characteristics, social and emotional habits, and interactions with others. Second, the Meso level examines relationships and networks through which other individuals such as extended family members or professionals might be involved. Third, the Macro level incorporates an analysis of wider systems and processes within society (e.g., evolution of gender equality and policy) into the analysis of specific events, victims, or perpetrators, putting into practical terms the effects of macro-level processes on everyday instances of violence, moving towards a systemic approach and a dynamic model of femicide (Corradi et al. 2016). Using an ecological multicausal framework has allowed researchers to

address femicide as a complex social phenomenon (e.g. Muftic & Baumann, 2012, Stamatel, 2014). Such an approach allows for the consideration of factors that are a result of culture and socialisation, of relationships characterised by aggression or abuse, of trajectories of risk in response to various social subsystems and of how these factors interact to create unique instances of femicide.

Using the term femicide to describe killings of women because of their gender, and using an ecological multicausal approach, taking into account individual, interpersonal, and wider cultural and sociological factors, to understand femicide brings attention to the role of patriarchal constructs, such as male honour linked with the behaviour of females, across the spectrum of VAWG. Acknowledging the factors that contribute to femicide in different contexts helps to broaden perspectives, overcome difficulties with unclear definitions, and identify and understand the many influences that can interact to lead to femicide (Shalhoub-kevorkian, 2003; Shalhoub-Kevorkian & Daher-Nashif, 2013). Further, such an approach allows us to analyse femicide with a view to address and prevent it by implicating intersecting oppressions such as individual and interpersonal conflicts within relationships, discriminatory practices against women, cultural norms that encourage VAWG, and institutionalised gender inequality within societies (Kouta et al., 2018). As noted in previous chapters, certain individual beliefs or cultural factors increase or decrease the risk of VAWG in different settings, and using an ecological multicausal approach as suggested by Corradi et al. (2016) allows for an analysis of the complex interactions between individuals, relationships, and social and cultural factors which may affect the risk of femicide in different contexts (Boira, Tomas-Aragones, & Rivera, 2017; Heise, 1998). As noted in Chapter One, there are differences in how VAWG is perceived

in western regions such as the EU, based on whether it is committed by western or eastern men. Violence committed by western men is often attributed to individual traits and circumstances, whereas violence committed by eastern or immigrant men is perceived as a cultural trait and labelled HBV. The current study aims to further explore perceptions of VAWG in different contexts by comparing two categories of femicide: Honour Killing (HK) and Intimate Femicide (IF).

Honour Killing versus Intimate Femicide

As stated in previous chapters, HK is an extreme form of HBV whereby victims (most often female) are murdered by family members to prevent or repair perceived violations of family honour (Gill, 2009; Reddy, 2014). As noted in Chapter Two, HKs in collectivistic societies are often committed by male birth relatives (e.g., father, brother), however there is no clear consensus on the type of perpetrator in definitions of HK. Murders committed in the name of honour can be a response to a range of behaviours perceived as dishonourable or shameful, including adultery, homosexuality, divorce, being raped, refusal to marry, interacting with non-family males, acting autonomously by attempting gain an education or choosing how to dresses, and other actual or perceived sexual and behavioural transgressions (Baker et al., 1999; Cooney, 2014; Kouta et al., 2018; Hayes et al., 2016; Hayes, Mills, Freilich, & Chermak, 2018). It has been reported that HK is a historically occurring phenomena that has roots in tribal patriarchal societies, such as Ancient Rome and Babylon where men were instructed to kill their wives for infidelity but not the other way around, fathers had a right to decide if their daughters lived, and it was believed that a woman's virginity belonged to her family (Goldstein, 2002).

HK is often associated with Islamic beliefs and cultures in the media and literature (e.g., Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Feldner, 2000; Hasan, 2002), although it has no direct link to Islam. Scholars have noted that though the concept of HK predates and is not sanctioned by any religion, these killings are commonly linked to religion due to their link with enforcement of morality, chastity, and gender norms (Hasan, 2002). Reports on HK reflect that they are still prevalent in Muslim majority regions in the Middle East and South Asia, where patriarchal structures and tribal traditions are prevalent in society. HKs have also been reported in several other communities including Christians, Hindus, and Sikhs (Chesler & Bloom, 2012; Shafak, 2012). As discussed in previous chapters, honour, shame, and the policing of women's sexual behaviour are common motives for VAWG globally, and are not limited to Muslim, Middle Eastern, or South Asian communities and societies (Baker et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 2016, 2018; Kouta et al., 2018) and an ecological approach to is needed in order to understand the role of honour and how it fits into the complex interaction of individual, social, and other factors that contribute to different forms of femicide.

Intimate Femicide (IF) has been defined in different ways by experts, further highlighted the inconsistencies in definitions and distinctions between different forms of VAWG. IF may be defined as the killing of a female victim committed by a current or former intimate partner, such as a husband or boyfriend (Stout, 1992; WHO, 2012), or may be more general and include killings of women committed by any male they have an intimate relationship with, including close male relatives by birth or marriage (Shier & Shor, 2016; Swemmer, 2019). For the purposes of the current research, the definition of IF will include killings of women committed

by any male that they have a close relationship with, including current or previous intimate partners (e.g., husband, boyfriends) and any other male family members by birth or marriage.

Although men are more likely to be victims of murder, and femicide accounts for only 20% of murders worldwide, there is a large disparity between genders in terms of murders committed by specifically by intimate partners. Intimate partner femicide is the most common type of intimate femicide, and research suggests that 82% of all femicides across the globe are committed by intimate partners, as opposed to 18% of murders of men, although it is noted that these figures are likely underestimated due to the lack of data on femicide in several regions (UNODC, 2017). This supports the notion that although men are killed more often, women bear a far greater burden of the risk of lethal violence and victimisation as a result of gender inequality and patriarchal constructs embedded within societies. Studies show that motivations for women killing male intimate partners are often related to self-defence in response to on-going abuse and intimidation and often occur in the context of an argument while in a relationship. In contrast, motivations for men killing female intimate partners are more likely to be separation, jealousy, loss of control over a partner's behaviour, or breakdown of the relationship (Campbell et al., 2003; WHO, 2012).

The risk of IF from intimate partners and other male family members has been shown to have significant detrimental long-term effects on the surroundings and quality of life of women. Additionally, there are long lasting effects on children of any relationship ending in intimate partner femicide, such as the trauma of losing one parent to murder and another to jail, potentially being made to cover up or hide the offence, having to adjust to a new care system, or being labelled the 'child of a murderer' (Lewandowski, McFarlane, Campbell, Gary, &

Barenski, 2004; WHO, 2012). Further, research in the UK and the US suggests that femicide committed by male intimate partners can often have multiple victims along with the primary intended victim, including children, friends of the victim, innocent bystanders, or the victim's new intimate partner (Dobash & Dobash, 2012; WHO 2012).

As noted by Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2003), femicide in any form (e.g., HK or IF) and the threat thereof is used by men to control women, destroy their rights and ability to live safely, leading to constant feelings of fear, isolation, exclusion, and a lack of ability to control their personal lives. In the literature, there is little consensus regarding the similarities and differences between HK and IF, and there are no clear boundaries between them. Research has showed that these two concepts are often conflated as synonyms in cases of femicide where the perpetrators and victims are Middle Eastern or Asian, or of Muslim descent (Romkens & Lahlah, 2011; Shier & Shor, 2016). Some researchers have suggested criteria that differentiates HK from IF, including suggestions that HKs are committed exclusively by birth relatives rather than intimate partners or marital relatives, perpetrators of HK act with the support of the wider family and community, and HKs are planned and premeditated crimes rather than "crimes of passion" (Chesler, 2009; Terman, 2010; Wikan, 2008). However, as noted in previous chapters, there are significant differences between individual cases of HK, as well as how they are perceived in different regions and settings, and these criteria do not apply to all cases of HK. Additionally, definitions of HK are broad and vague, and it has been argued that they could include a variety of murders committed by birth or marital relatives or even community members (e.g., IF, female infanticide; Shier & Shor, 2016; Swemmer, 2019).

Definitions of HK and IF are unclear, contextual, and lacking distinct defining features (Shier & Shor, 2016). First, birth relatives do not exclusively commit HKs, and as noted in previous chapters there are regional variations in the perpetrator's relationship to the victim as a result of different interpretations of the concept of honour in individualistic and collectivistic societies. In one key study, Hayes et al. (2016) compared HKs and domestic violence homicides in the US and found that HKs were most likely to be perpetrated by the victim's father, followed by a current or previous spouse. Conversely, other research has shown that HKs outside of the US are most likely to be committed by brothers and extended family members such as uncles or cousins (Kulwicki 2002). Second, the motivations behind HK and IF appear to be similar. Hayes et al. (2016) found that there were no significant differences between perpetrators of HK and IF in terms of prior offending, history of violence, or motivating factors (separation was the main motivating factor in both groups). As noted in previous chapters, honour as a motive for VAWG can be observed in both collectivistic and individualistic cultures, with the locus of control for abusive men in individualistic cultures focussing most often on an individual intimate partner rather than on all his female family members. Some researchers have argued that in spite of this shift in focus between individualistic and collectivistic cultures there are clear parallels between cases of HK and IF (Baker et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 2016; Shier & Shor, 2016). Feelings of shame, dishonour, and loss of control are common motivators in both HK and IF, and some key differences between femicides in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (e.g., relationship between perpetrator and victim, wider community involvement) may be attributed to the different interpretations of the concepts of honour and shame, and the broader political and legal structures that support VAWG in some regions.

The perception of HK and IF as distinctly different categories of femicide, one being culturally motivated and one being the result of individual traits and circumstances, leads to a biased representation in research, policy, and the media of the roles of honour and shame across the spectrum of gender-based violence (See Chapter One). Further, it reflects "a lack of understanding of how deeply ingrained the masculine honour of men is in western patriarchal culture" (Romkens & Lahlah, p.88). One assumption is that due to historical progress, colonialism, and feminism, women in the west are less vulnerable to violence and subordination than women in the east. This implies that femicide is rooted in eastern cultures, which are thought to be inherently misogynistic (Razack, 2008; Shalhoub-Kevorkian & Daher-Nashif, 2012; Volpp, 2001). When labelling femicide as 'crimes of honour' in the east and 'crimes of passion' in the west, there is a risk of ignoring important factors on both sides that may be crucial to understanding and preventing femicide. On one hand, the selective culturalisation of individual motives of violent Asian or Eastern men are attributed to primitive and patriarchal cultures, which distracts from deeper analyses of the specifics of the case. On the other hand, selective individualisation of the motives of violent Western men leads to feelings of shame, dishonour, and threatened masculinity being perceived as individual traits rather than manifestations of traditional gender norms in Western societies. This not only serves to marginalise and alienate minority groups and immigrant cultures, but also affects Western women adversely by implying that violence against women in the west is independent from culture and society, and as such is an isolated act by an individual rather than a mainstream issue to be addressed on a larger scale (Abu-Lughod, 2006; Kouta et al., 2018).

As discussed previously, an multicausal ecological framework is needed to adequately represent intersecting oppressions, taking into account the various individual, interpersonal, community, and societal factors that contribute to different cases of femicide. However, as noted in Chapter Three, violence is a socially constructed concept, and as such not all these factors are taken into account in defining violence. Those in power often define violence to exclude their own behaviour (Baumeister, 1996), which may explain why VAWG in Western societies is seen either as a cultural trait associated with immigrant or foreign communities (where perpetrators or victims are ethnic minorities), or as a unique isolated incident of violence unrelated to culture or society (where perpetrators and victims are of western ethnicity). The media often perpetuates such perceptions, and researchers have argued that how the media portrays social problems has a significant impact on public awareness, discourse, and action (Berns, 2004). Mass media, such as television and newspaper reports are a primary source for the public on information about violence and crime, and therefore play a major role in shaping public understanding and opinion on these topics. The following sections will explore perceptions of HK and IF in the UK media.

Depictions of Honour Killing and Intimate Femicide in Western Media

The media often plays a crucial role in the development and maintenance of public perception (Hassan, 2002) and is a major source of spreading awareness and information about important social issues and violent crimes, such as femicide (Coleman & Thorson, 2002; Kouta et al., 2018; McEvoy, 1996). Studies investigating how media representations can contribute to, or provoke, fear of crime have found that media reporting on crime is often selective and can produce a distorted image of crime (Reiner, 2007; Sellers, Desmaris, & Tirotti, 2014). Media

framing, which is concerned with how issues are presented in the media and the selection of and emphasis on certain aspects of an issue can be used to promote particular perspectives and shape public attitudes (Entman, 1993; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Journalists may do this intentionally or unintentionally via the placement and extent of coverage, selective inclusion and exclusion of information and repetition of themes, and choices of terms used (Bullock, 2007; Bullock & Cubert, 2002).

Findings in different countries show overemphasis on reporting on violent, sexual, and revenge killings in comparison to other types of homicide (Ditton & Duffy, 1983; Sellers et al., 2014), killings of white rather than ethnic minority victims, killings that took place in middle-class rather than poorer neighbourhoods, killings where the perpetrator was a stranger to the victim, and killings where the victim was a woman, child, or an elderly person (Johnstone, Hawkins, & Michener, 1994; Sellers et al., 2014; Sorenson, Manz, & Berk, 1998). These types of killings were overemphasised in reporting in spite of being less common than killings occurring in the context of arguments, poor family and intimate relationships, or child abuse. Johnstone et al. (1998) argued that distorted reporting made it seem as though "the lives of some groups…are more important than others" (p.870). These findings highlight that the media has the power to distort reality by enhancing the visibility of certain groups and certain types of crime, while underrepresenting others.

The more often the media frames an issue in a particular way, the more likely it is to shape and affect public opinion (Carlyle, Slater, & Chakroff, 2008). Journalists' choices and selection in reporting can be seen as a reflection of individual perceptions rather than social pathology, raising concerns about the wider consequences of distorted reporting on public

perception, opinion, and policy making (Johnstone et al., 1998; Sellers et al., 2014). Ericson (1998) argued that journalists' choices in what is newsworthy are a reflection of what is currently socially and morally acceptable, and the reporting of crime therefore is in part the process of defining 'otherness' or highlighting what is not acceptable. As noted previously, those in power define and construct violence excluding their own behaviour, emphasising the 'otherness' of violence. Examining western media representations of femicide can help to identify the type of framing used by the media in different cases of femicide, and broaden our understanding of how femicide is portrayed to and consequently perceived by the public. Using a qualitative and ecological approach allows for a rich and comprehensive exploration of the similar and differential themes prevalent in reporting on cases labelled HK and IF, providing context and meaningful narratives of factors that the media chooses to emphasise in different cases of femicide. Additionally, a comparative approach comparing themes in reporting on HK and IF allows for an exploration of how these cases are distinguished and labelled by journalists, and how these labels affect the information they choose to report.

Findings in relation to portrayals of HK in western countries (e.g., Sweden, the US, the UK) show that some media, social, and criminal justice organisations have characterised HK as 'cultural traditions' rather than a form of VAWG influenced by several factors (Hayes et al., 2016; Reddy, 2008; Schlytter & Linell, 2010). For example, a study examining reporting on a case of HK found that media publications in Sweden focussed on using cultural references to portray a perpetrator of HK as a backwards and hostile patriarchal figure, who was completely in contrast to Swedish values (Reimers, 2007). Other research showed that media publications in the UK focussed on a case of HK as a result of a 'clash of cultures', describing HK as a growing

epidemic resulting from immigration and multiculturalism (Gill, 2006). Further, it has been found that victims of HK are often described in western media as being killed for being 'unconventional' or 'too western' (Gill, 2013; Shier & Shor, 2016) and as being responsible for engaging with a culture that is inherently violent and uncivilised (Coelho, 2017; Reimers, 2007).

In a qualitative study examining media publications in the Netherlands and Germany, Korteweg and Yurdakul (2009) found that cases labelled HK were often portrayed as being rooted in Islamic cultures and societies, and that reporting often served to reinforce boundaries between majority and minority populations. In 2010 this study was expanded to include Canada and the UK, and three main types of media discourse were identified in relation to HK. The most common was discourse that served to stigmatise minority and immigrant populations by emphasising the role of culture in cases of HK. Second was discourse that attempted to view HK as DV without any distinction, lacking an appreciation of intersectionality and the differing contexts of femicide. Third was discourse that acknowledged the contexts within which HK occurs without stigmatising specific cultures, religions, or communities. This type of discourse is consistent with an ecological approach and can explore various relevant factors that influence femicide without labelling entire communities as violent, however it was found that such discourse was rare. In a similar study, Coelho (2017) analysed reporting on cases labelled HK in three European newspapers and found that media reports portrayed HK as an external problem imported to the 'civilised' west through immigration and freedom of movement. It was further noted that though some articles touched on the similarities between HK and other forms of femicide, all murders by Asian or Middle-Eastern men were labelled HK, emphasising the

dichotomy between the civilised European and the primitive 'other', as well as the aforementioned conflation between HK and other forms of femicide.

Another way to examine media representations of femicide is to use a qualitative comparative approach, comparing themes in reporting. For example, in a study comparing reporting on HK with cases labelled as 'family murders' in the Canadian media, Shier and Shor (2016) found that reporting on cases of HK was focussed on the religion, culture, or ethnicity of victims and perpetrators, and often presented a stark contrast between western and eastern (South Asian/Muslim) values by focussing on culture as a cause of violence, and highlighting primitive tribal traditions and beliefs about honour in immigrant communities. In contrast, cases were labelled family murders where perpetrators and victims were of western origin and ethnicity. Family murder cases were often reported on with a focus on psychological and personality characteristics of the perpetrator and individual circumstances, distracting from wider social or economic factors and concepts such as masculinity, patriarchy, jealousy, honour, or shame. The results showed that many of the factors that were prevalent in cases of HK were also factors in family murder cases, however the label of HK was only associated with eastern or Muslim perpetrators. These findings further illustrate western media framing of HK as a cultural phenomenon associated with immigration and minority communities. Such portrayals serve to create boundaries between native and immigrant communities as well as leading to inadequate prevention strategies that focus on integration rather than violence reduction (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, 2010; WHO, 2012). Other studies have highlighted that cases labelled IF are often portrayed as being completely separate from culture, episodic in nature, and involving individuals who are different from the general public (Farrell & Buckley, 1999;

Bullock & Cubert, 2002; Taylor & Sorenson, 2002), further illustrating the 'othering' of violence by the media. Similar to single factor portrayals of HK, such portrayals of IF attribute femicide to single factors such as individual circumstances and traits (e.g., relationship breakdown, mental illness), drawing attention away from ingrained patriarchal systems and values in western societies.

It is noted that the main aim of the media at times can be sensationalism rather than simply informing the public and spreading awareness, and thus exploring news reports cannot give a full picture of how a society perceives a social problem. However, newspapers are powerful contributors to public awareness and discourse about social issues. Differential treatment of femicide in the media can serve to alienate minority and immigrant cultures and legitimise mainstream racist attitudes (Gill, 2006). Further, it can hinder our ability to understand and prevent violence against women in all contexts by attributing it to entire cultures or communities, implying that violence is a problem faced only by some women, and the only way to prevent femicide is for immigrant women to abdicate their cultures and adopt 'western' values (Okin, 1999).

What is not currently known is how HK and IF are treated in the UK media. As noted previously, the media has the power to promote and maintain discourse and shape public opinion, and as such is a good starting point to investigate how social issues are perceived by the public (Bullock & Cubert, 2002; Hasan, 2002; Sellers et al., 2014). There have been few studies in this area in the UK, but extensive reporting on cases of HK over the past two decades has helped to make this type of femicide more visible to the public (Bhanbhro et al., 2016; Gill, 2009). Previous research has focused only on analysing media coverage on HK in western

societies, and using a comparative qualitative approach will help to highlight some of the similar and differential themes occurring in reporting of HK and IF, and the cues used by journalists in the UK to differentiate between cases of femicide. Further, there have been no studies in the UK using a qualitative design and ecological framework to examine media representations of HK and IF.

Following from this, the current study aims to use thematic analysis (TA) to explore similar and differential themes occurring within media reporting on cases of HK and IF in the UK. This study will contribute to the overall aim of the thesis (i.e., to explore themes and factors prevalent in HBV) by exploring themes prevalent in media representations of an extreme form of HBV (HK) and comparing them with another form of fatal VAWG (IF) to add to evidence base on different factors that intersect and influence different forms of VAWG. An ecological framework will help to guide the analysis by describing the different levels of factors that may contribute to different cases femicide, and highlighting which of these factors are adequately acknowledged in media reports of HK and IF. It is hoped that this research will add to our understanding of HK and IF and how they fit into the wider spectrum of VAWG, as well as highlighting how they are perceived and portrayed by the media, which in turn could affect public opinion and discourse around femicide and VAWG in general. The following sections will describe the analysis and the results of the study.

Method

Ethical Approval & Considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Birmingham Ethics Committee in May 2018 (Ethical Review Number: ERN_17-1588). Although the data used (i.e., newspaper

articles) are freely available on public domains, the Ethics Committee expressed some concerns about individual cases being identifiable. As such, it was agreed that all names and other identifiable information of individuals involved in the cases would be removed. As agreed with the Ethics Committee, all cases and quotes have been anonymised. Cases have been assigned individual codes (e.g., HK1, IF2), and quotes are referenced by which case they refer to, so that they may not be linked directly with articles. Articles that were not related to a specific case have been assigned unique codes.

Search Strategy & Data Collection

Newspaper articles relating to cases of HK and IF were obtained from four nationally distributed newspapers in the UK. The four newspapers were chosen based on readership rankings and political leanings, to obtain as diverse a sample as possible. The newspapers chosen included two broadsheets and their Sunday counterparts: The Daily Telegraph and The Sunday Telegraph and The Guardian and The Observer, as well as two tabloids and their Sunday counterparts; The Daily Mail and The Mail on Sunday and The Daily Mirror and The Sunday Mirror. Readership rankings and political leanings as of April 2019 (Kienast, 2019) for the chosen newspapers are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Readership Rankings and Political Leanings of UK News Sources in 2019

Newspaper	Readership Ranking	Political Leaning	Publication Format
The Daily Mail	2	Right-wing, Conservative	Tabloid
The Mail on Sunday	4		
The Daily Mirror	6	Centre-left, Labour	Tabloid
The Sunday Mirror	8		
The Daily Telegraph	9	Centre-right, Conservative	Broadsheet
The Sunday Telegraph	13		
The Guardian	19	Centre-left	Broadsheet
The Observer	17		

Note: Data for political leanings and readership in UK from Kienast (2019) accessed via Statista

Articles on HK and IF were accessed using the online newspaper database NexisUK. Preliminary searches were performed to gauge the number of articles available on HK and IF in the selected newspapers, and these searches were used to inform the development of search terms to compile the dataset. The HK sample included any articles relating to cases of femicide committed by family members (biological or marital) or intimate partners labelled by the media as HK, and the IF sample included articles relating to cases of femicide committed by family members (biological or marital) or intimate partners that were not labelled as HK. The current thesis is focussed only on an exploration of VAWG, and so articles relating to male victims of HK were discarded other than in cases where a male was a secondary victim.

All news articles, editorials, and topical features were included in the search, but correspondence from readers such as emails, tweets, or letters were excluded. The search included articles published from January 2007 to December 2017, which allowed for a comprehensive overview of media reporting and debates on these topics over the period of a decade. This time frame was deemed appropriate and in discussions with research supervisors

after preliminary searches to determine the quantity of articles available, as it resulted in a manageable amount of data to analyse using TA, and also captured extensive media coverage relating to a prominent case of HK in the UK in 2007. The search was restricted to articles where key words occurred together, or within five words of each other, within the same article. This was necessary, because in preliminary searches the terms “honour” and “killing” alone generated a large number of articles that were not relevant to the current study. Further, the terms “wife” and “girlfriend” were used in the preliminary searches for the IF sample, and were found to be generating a large number of irrelevant articles, such as articles related to male victims of domestic violence, or cases of non-fatal domestic violence. As such, these terms were removed from the final search syntax. The search syntax used to collect data for the honour killing (HK) sample was:

((((honour OR honor) W/5 (kill OR murder* OR violen*))) and DATE(>=2007-01-01 and <=2017-12-31))*

The search syntax used to collect data for the intimate femicide (IF) sample was:

(((HLEAD(domestic OR spous OR Partner OR Boyfriend OR husband) W/5 HLEAD(kill* or murder* or violen*))) and DATE(>=2007-01-01 and <=2017-12-31))*

After the initial search was completed, the search results were checked to remove any duplicate or repetitive articles, articles where the full text was not available, and any articles that were not relevant to the topic based on their titles or brief abstracts provided on NexisUK where available. Some further articles were discarded at the researcher’s discretion, where cases of HK or IF were mentioned in passing in relation to other issues. Following this, all of the articles were read in full (TA phase one: familiarisation with data; See Appendix N). Some

articles were found to be repeated, incomplete, or irrelevant, and were removed from the final data set. Figure 3 illustrates the article selection process and the final samples used for the analysis, which included 106 articles relating to 65 cases of femicide in total. The full list of articles included in the analysis can be found at Appendix M.

The final HK sample included 49 articles. Of these 49 articles, seven were editorials on the topic and were not related to a specific case of HK, but included debates or points of view relating to cultural or immigration issues relating to examples of HK. The remaining 42 articles related to 14 individual cases of HK of which 6 occurred within the UK. Of the remaining cases, three occurred in Pakistan and one case each in India, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine, and Turkey.

The final IF sample included 57 articles relating to 49 individual cases of IF. 44 of these cases occurred in the UK, and of the remaining cases two occurred in Ireland, two in Australia, and one in Turkey.

Figure 3

Article selection process

The Process of Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method of qualitative analysis used to identify and report themes and patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2012). TA was chosen over other qualitative approaches because of its flexible nature, allowing for the derivation of themes without being overly reliant on previous knowledge of the topic or on existing theories around the topic. TA is best suited to exploring the nature of a given group's conceptualisations of any phenomenon (Joffe, 2012), and has been used to explore mass media conceptualisation of significant social and public health problems (e.g., Washer & Joffe, 2006).

In the context of the current research, TA was deemed an appropriate method as it allowed the researcher to analyse media conceptualisations of femicide by deriving themes prevalent in reporting on HK versus IF, addressing the primary research aim (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Additionally, TA allows for a large amount of data to be analysed and synthesised into a meaningful account (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013; Joffe, 2012), and the use of TA guided by an ecological multicausal framework allows for a comprehensive illustration of how macro, meso, and micro level systems interact and influence each other within the data set (Henderson & Baffour, 2015). As noted previously, the public gets much of its information about violent crime from the media, therefore it is important to know what is currently being reported and the factors that are perceived as being associated with femicide in the media. The media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and discourse, and a flexible method like TA allows for a largely unbiased and data driven exploration of media representations that shape public conceptions and misconceptions (Wozniak & McCloskey, 2010).

There is no clear consensus on how TA should be conducted and there are several different ways to approach it (Boyatzis, 1998; Javadi & Zarea, 2016). TA can be conducted using either a deductive 'top-down' method (Boyatzis, 1998) in which themes are driven by the research questions and the researcher's particular areas of interest, or using an data driven Inductive 'bottom-up' method (e.g., Frith & Gleeson, 2004) in which themes are strongly related to the data set and are not derived based on the researcher's previous knowledge or theoretical perspectives. A bottom-up approach was used for the current study, and data were coded without a pre-existing coding framework or an intention to focus on specific factors or answer a specific question based on preconceived notions around the topic. As there is still limited research on media representations of femicide, and no studies conducted within the UK, an inductive TA was thought to be the most suitable method to provide a rich and detailed account of the data due to its theoretical freedom and flexibility.

It is noted that due to the flexible and adaptable nature of TA, it is often viewed as interpretive and subjective, leaving it open to criticism (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2003). This was controlled for as much as possible by using Braun and Clarke's (2006) method involving six phases of TA (See Appendix N) which offers a clear and accessible framework for completing a methodologically sound TA, without limiting the scope of the analysis or taking away from the flexibility of the method. Ideally, using a bottom-up approach in TA allows for the themes to be derived as they occur in the data, and therefore should be largely unaffected by the previous knowledge or the specific interests of the researcher. Yet, it is acknowledged that researchers cannot completely distance themselves from their own beliefs and theoretical perspectives, and as noted by Braun & Clarke, (2006, p.12), "Data are not coded in an

epistemological vacuum". A bottom-up approach goes some way to controlling for the effect of personal biases, however the impact of the researcher on the process of data collection and analysis must be considered when interpreting the results of any qualitative research. A reflection by the researcher on the experience of completing this analysis is included at Appendix P.

Once the data corpus had been collected, the process of TA was started. First, all the articles were read and tagged with notes and potential themes (TA Phase One: Familiarise yourself with the data). Following this, initial codes were generated (e.g., perpetrator ethnicity, previous abuse, prior reports to the police) to begin to organise the data and derive themes from patterns in the data (TA Phase Two: Generating initial codes). Data extracts relevant to each code were collated. A sample coded article can be found at Appendix N. In Phase Three (Searching for themes), the initial codes were organised into potential subthemes and themes (e.g., perpetrator demographic characteristics, professional responses) and data extracts were further collated to correspond to relevant themes. Following this, themes were reviewed in relation to the coded articles and data extracts (TA Phase Four: Reviewing themes). This helped to ensure that themes were consistent with the patterns within the entire data set, and a research supervisor also reviewed a sample of coded articles in order to further validate and refine the derived themes. Using this information, thematic maps were generated reflecting the subthemes and codes encompassed within each theme, which were used to refine and rename the themes to describe the data within each theme (TA Phase Five: Defining and naming themes). Finally, the data were synthesised which allowed for the compilation of the most relevant extracts to highlight the patterns that were observed, and to relate them to the

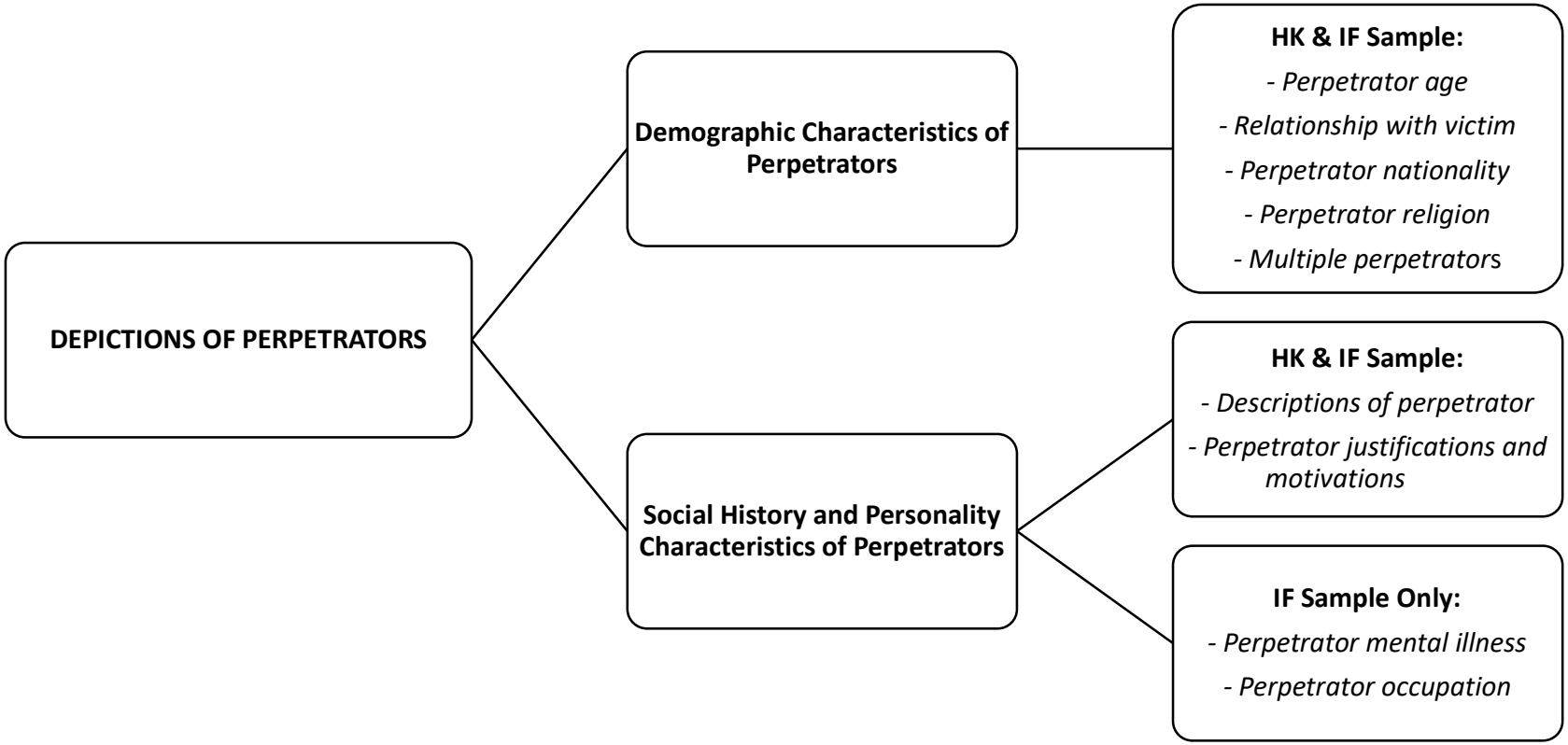
research aim, that is, to explore similar and differential themes and patterns in media reporting of HK and IF in the UK (TA Phase Six: Producing the report).

Results

Five main themes were identified through the process of TA: *'Depictions of Perpetrators', 'Depictions of Victims', 'Depictions of Professional Practice', 'Depictions of the Offence'*, and *'The Clash between Immigrant and Western Cultures"*. In this section, each of these themes will be discussed in detail with reference to the sample they most frequently occurred within. The subthemes and codes that fell into each theme will also be discussed. Thematic maps have been constructed to visually represent the structure and content of the themes described, showing the themes, subthemes, and the initial codes, as well as which samples the initial codes occurred within.

Figure 4

Thematic Map of 'Depictions of Perpetrators'



Depictions of Perpetrators

This theme deals with media representations of individual characteristics of perpetrators of HK and IF, including portrayals of micro, meso, and macro level factors such as demographic details, personality traits, interpersonal relationships, cultural or family values, and motivations to commit HK or IF.

Demographic Characteristics of Perpetrators

The age of the perpetrator was reported in 31% of the articles in the HK sample and 68% of the articles in the IF sample. Based on this data, the mean age of perpetrators in the HK sample was 40.3 years (*SD* = 11.8 years) and the mean age of perpetrators in the IF sample was 39.5 years (*SD* = 13.2 years). The relationships between the perpetrator and the victim were reported in 71% of the articles in the HK sample and 86% of the articles in the IF sample. In some cases in the HK sample, the perpetrators were unidentified, or simply reported as being 'relatives', 'family members', or 'hired hitmen'. Half (50%) of cases in the HK sample were reported as being perpetrated by the victim's male birth or marital relatives (e.g., father, brother, uncle, cousin). In 25% of these cases the perpetrator (or one of the perpetrators) was the victim's husband, ex-husband, boyfriend, or ex-boyfriend. In at least two cases where there were multiple perpetrators, one or more of the perpetrators were female relatives of the victim (e.g., mother, mother-in-law). Within the IF sample the main perpetrator was reported as being the victim's husband, ex-husband, partner, ex-partner, boyfriend, or ex-boyfriend in 98% of the cases, with the perpetrators in the remaining two cases being the victim's stepbrother and the victim's daughter's boyfriend. These findings highlight that there were no significant differences between ages of perpetrators of HK and IF, and although researchers argue that HK

is committed exclusively by male birth relatives of the victim rather than marital relatives (Chesler, 2009, 2010; Terman, 2010; Wikan, 2008), this criterion is not always used in the media when distinguishing cases of HK and IF.

The nationality and ethnicity of the perpetrator (in cases where they were not from the UK) was reported in only 7% of articles in the IF sample, and in 24% of the articles in the HK sample, with 6% of articles in the HK sample and 2% of articles in the IF sample also reporting the perpetrator's religion. Where perpetrators were not of British ethnicity, articles in both HK and IF samples reported the nationality of the perpetrator in relation to the offence as a potential contributing factor. For example, in the case of a teenage girl who was murdered by her parents in the UK, it was reported:

> *"Her parents, an ultra-conservative Pakistani couple…wanted her to marry a cousin in his late 20s, a decade older than their daughter, and become a devoted wife, possibly never to return to the UK." (HK13)*

In the IF sample, in the case of a woman murdered by her boyfriend, it was reported:

> *"The family of a university graduate murdered by her Polish boyfriend have called for tougher immigration controls after it emerged that he had a conviction for violence against his wife before moving to Britain" (IF24)*

This is an interesting finding in light of previous research that shows femicide in Western media is often portrayed as being mainly a problem for Eastern and immigrant women, highlighting the 'otherness' of violence (Coelho, 2017). In the IF example above, the emphasis on the perpetrator's Polish nationality and on the calls for immigration control highlights that this 'othering' of violence can extend to other minority cultures as well. This frames the issue

of VAWG to focus on the importing of violence into a violence-free British society, while ignoring the wider political, social, and economic influences on everyday VAWG in all societies. In cases where the perpetrator was of British ethnicity, there was rarely any mention of their nationality or religion as being relevant to the offence, other than in some cases where religious values were framed as personal belief systems. For example, whereas in a previous quote, perpetrators of HK were described as "ultra-conservative" (HK13), a perpetrator of IF was described as a "devout Christian" (IF18) and the focus was on his individual motivations rather than his conservative beliefs:

> *"…He wanted to avoid any scandal of a divorce. He was supposed to be an upstanding pillar of the church and community" (IF18)*

Just over half (57%) of the cases in the HK sample involved multiple perpetrators, with the maximum number of perpetrators reported in any one case being five. In all of these cases, at least one of the perpetrators was a male birth or marital relative of the victim. Multiple perpetrators were reported on as actively taking part in planning or committing the murder, emphasising the consensus of the family or community:

> *"Howling relatives battered three-months pregnant (HK8) with batons and bricks as she and (her husband) arrived at the court in Lahore" (HK8)*

> *"…the perceived shame led the family to decide that (HK12) had to die" (HK12)*

Within the IF sample 10% of the cases involved multiple perpetrators, with the maximum number of perpetrators reported in any one case being four. In all but one case (where the main perpetrator was the victim's stepbrother) at least one of the perpetrators was a current or previous intimate partner of the victim. Multiple perpetrators in IF cases were

often reported on as being hired to commit the murder for money, or in helping to cover up the murder after it had been committed:

> *"(Hitman) was paid 630,000 to travel 3000 miles to the UK and strangle (IF3) on the orders of her debt-ridden ex-husband" (IF3)*
>
> *"(Boyfriend)…smothered (IF24) before (two accomplices) took her body from the house, drove it…to a countryside beauty spot, and set fire to it 20 minutes after (boyfriend) clocked in at work" (IF24)*

Although there were cases of IF involving multiple perpetrators, it was observed that meso level factors such as the involvement of multiple perpetrators and the relationship between the victim and perpetrator were used often as cues for the label HK. Scholars have argued one of the main differences between HK and IF is the involvement of multiple perpetrators in planning and committing HK (Chesler, 2009; Terman, 2010; Wikan, 2008). However, there were several cases in which the perpetrator of HK acted alone and was not a birth relative of the victim, and there were cases within the IF sample where perpetrators were supported by friends, family, or other accomplices. The main cues observed in ascribing the label of HK were the ethnicity or religion of the perpetrators or victims, but there was little discussion of how these macro level factors intersect with individual, interpersonal, and community factors to produce HK. Conversely in cases of IF, multiple perpetrators were framed as micro level factors, reflecting the individual relationships of perpetrators rather than being framed as a network of perpetrators or as a community that decided to commit the offence together.

No clear indications were given in the articles as to why cases were given the label HK. For example, in the case of HK2 who was sexually assaulted and murdered by her uncle, articles noted that it may have been an HK but provided no reason for this other than stating that the victim was from an "Indian Muslim" (HK2) family. In the case of HK3 who was murdered by her father, the media consistently emphasised the family's Turkish Muslim heritage and labelled the murder an HK. Though the perpetrator had a long history of violent behaviour, and had acted alone without any support from his family or community, these facts were mentioned in passing and there was no discussion of how these individual and interpersonal factors influenced his violence, and articles were framed with a focus on religion and culture:

> *"(HK3), whose Turkish…family are…Muslims, was drugged, tortured, and killed by her father after she fell in love with a Sunni Muslim twice her age" (HK3)*

An example of the ethnicity of the perpetrator being used as a cue to label HK is the case of HK9, a British teenager who was stabbed by her boyfriend. Media reports emphasised that the case was an HK, based largely on the fact that the perpetrator was Asian:

> *"(HK9) who has been described as Britain's first known white honour killing victim, was killed by (Asian boyfriend) after she told his relatives about their affair" (HK9)*

Personal Descriptions and Portrayal of Perpetrators

Detailed descriptions of perpetrators were provided in 20% of the articles within the HK sample. There was little detail in relation to micro level factors such as social history, background, or psychological state of HK perpetrators prior to or after their offending, and they were mostly portrayed as generally angry and hostile individuals:

> *"Prone to anger and contemptuous of females" (HK1)*

In several articles in the HK sample the perpetrators were emphasised as having or showing no emotion when their verdicts were delivered in court, and reports consistently focused on this as being a sign of their beliefs about honour and their lack of remorse:

> *"When arrested for murder, he was unrepentant. She had stained the family honour. In killing her, he had removed the stain. He had acted honourably." (HK6)*

The murders within the HK sample were often portrayed as being motivated by cultural or religious values, with particular attention given to the perpetrator's own personal justifications in 16% of the HK sample articles. Articles focused on justifications based on cultural norms or requirements not being met by the victim, or the actions of the victim being incompatible with societal values or traditions, which required the perpetrator to commit the offence. This frames HK as a problem faced by women from 'other' cultures where such violence is portrayed as being embedded within society and believed to be legitimate in response to certain behaviours. Additionally, it causes VAWG to be portrayed as a macro level problem in specific cultures or societies which cannot be addressed at an individual level, or generalised to other societies, as perpetrators are portrayed as blind actors within a larger belief system. Articles focussed on the perpetrators' own statements and beliefs that they did the right thing by committing murder, and on them being associated with a culture that supported them in their actions:

> *"Her brother proudly admitted strangling her because he felt she was harming his family's reputation – their honour…it was his right and duty to murder her – and that this murder was somehow justified, expected, or deemed part of his culture." (HK6)*

"'Death was the least she deserved', said (HK14)'s father. "I don't regret it. I had the support of all my friends who are fathers, like me, and know what she did was unacceptable to any Muslim…that girl humiliated me"" (HK14)

In line with previous findings, perpetrators of HK were often framed as being violent, intolerant, callous, and unfeeling individuals, and emphasis was given to their belief that they had done the right thing (Reimers, 2007; Shier & Shor, 2016). Perpetrators of HK were portrayed largely in the context of meso and macro level factors such as social networks and family and cultural values, with little discussion of micro level factors such as individual or psychological traits and circumstances.

In contrast to the HK sample (20%), 74% of the articles in the IF sample provided detailed descriptions of the perpetrators. Articles in the IF sample focussed on the individual personality traits of the perpetrators and their current and historical psychological states. Rather than being described as inherently angry or misogynistic, perpetrators were often described as reacting to destabilising circumstances that caused an isolated outburst of anger. The most commonly used word to describe perpetrators' motives in the IF sample was 'jealousy':

"A jealous man…stabbed his ex-girlfriend and her new partner to death" (IF34)

Perpetrators in the IF sample were also framed as being particularly devious and "evil" individuals, setting them apart from the general public. Particular emphasis was given to IF perpetrators' individual personality traits, portraying them as especially cruel and sadistic individuals:

"The actions…were calculated, callous, manipulative, evil" (IF18)

"This was an evil man with pure evil intent" (IF47)

Further, in the 26% of the articles in the IF sample which reported on the justification used by perpetrators, articles emphasised the perpetrators' violence as being an isolated situation specific incident. Femicide in the IF sample was mostly reported as being motivated by jealousy, anger or extreme provocation, and committed in a moment of loss of self-control. There was no discussion of how these concepts relate to concepts of honour or patriarchal beliefs in Western men about the use of violence to control or punish women. Micro level factors (e.g., individual traits and circumstances) were emphasised with little discussion of macro level systems that influence VAWG in the UK. This type of framing serves to distract from wider societal factors and belief systems that support VAWG in all societies by portraying femicide in the UK committed by Western men as unavoidable incidents caused solely by micro level individual factors:

"The defendant claims he stabbed his wife through a loss of self-control" (IF17)

"(Husband)…flipped when childhood sweetheart and mum-of-two (IF49) said she was leaving for another man yet again" (IF49)

It was further found that 18% of articles within the IF sample reported on perpetrators' mental illness, psychological problems, or substance abuse as being related to their violence. No articles in the HK sample mentioned these factors. Psychological traits and substance abuse problems of the perpetrator were often used to frame the perpetrator as a uniquely violent individual in a specific situation that triggered their violence, once again focussing on micro level factors at the expense of a discussion of wider intersecting influences that support VAWG:

""possessive, controlling, and jealous" …a "Jekyll and Hyde" character who drank heavily" (IF23)

"…suffering from depression and had taken a cocktail of drugs and alcohol on the night of her death, which had caused aggression and subsequent memory loss" (IF35)

This supports previous findings that many journalists invoke micro level factors such as the psychological condition of the perpetrator to explain IF, whereas the focus in cases of HK is on meso and macro level systems such as religious or cultural values and the involvement of the community (Shier & Shor, 2016; Hayes et al., 2018). Research suggests that focusing on an IF perpetrator's mental illness or substance abuse can serve to shift the blame onto the victim (Taylor, 2009). Focusing on the breakdown of the perpetrator's social life or relationships attributes the femicide to the perpetrators' individual experiences and draws attention away from broader social forces in play (Gillespie, Richards, Givens, & Smith, 2013), further framing the perpetrator of IF as a unique individual whose violence was the inevitable result of his individual characteristics and situation as opposed to any wider background or culture.

Perpetrators' social history and background were described in 30% of articles in the IF sample, mentioning their occupations and interpersonal relationships with friends and family. Alternative to focussing on mental illness, substance abuse, or "evil" nature of the perpetrator some articles emphasised the apparent psychological and social stability of the perpetrator, portraying the violence as being completely unexpected and therefore unavoidable, highlighting their individual professional accomplishments and personal relationships:

"A computer science and maths graduate who had worked for the computer firm…for nine years" (IF35)

"She did not think her stepfather (the perpetrator) was capable of killing anyone because he hated violence, bad language, or any kind of confrontation" (IF39)

These articles framed IF perpetrators as average members of society who 'snapped', emphasising the surprise of others at their violence. This highlights that whereas in cases of HK the focus was on perpetrators' religion and culture and little attention was given to their personality characteristics, relationships, or circumstances, in IF cases perpetrators were portrayed either as being apparently average individuals who had a sudden unforeseeable outburst, or exceptionally evil or disturbed individuals whose violence was inevitable and unavoidable due to their unique situation. Both these approaches frame IF as an individual problem to be addressed at an individual level. The focus in the IF sample was consistently on micro level factors such as individual traits and circumstances and emphasis was given to the perpetrators' mental illness or sudden mental breakdown, ignoring wider societal, political, and economic issues that intersect to perpetuate instances of femicide.

Several reasons were reported to explain what motivated perpetrators in both samples. The current results showed that the most frequently reported reason within the HK sample, occurring in 50% of the cases, was that a victim's father or uncle did not approve of the victim's romantic relationship. The second most commonly reported reason was the victim seeking separation from a spouse or romantic partner. The most commonly reported reasons in the IF sample were seeking separation from a spouse or romantic partner, or that the victim had an affair or began a new relationship. All the reasons reported in both samples and the number of cases in which they were reported are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Perpetrator motivations reported in Honour Killing and Intimate Femicide Samples

Perpetrator Motivations	HK Sample (*n* = 14 cases)	IF Sample (*n* = 49 cases)
Perpetrator(s) Disapproved of Victim's Romantic Partner or Relationship	7 (50%)	0 (0%)
Marital Disputes and Process of Separation/Divorce	4 (28%)	19 (38%)
Perpetrator(s) Disapproved of Victim's Behaviour (e.g. Clothes, Career, Sexual Expression, Relationships with friends and colleagues, Nagging, Not Performing Household Chores)	2 (14%)	3 (6%)
Perpetrator's Family Discovered his Sexual Relationship or Pregnancy with Victim	1 (7%)	1 (2%)
Perpetrator Wanted to End Relationship	0 (0%)	4 (8%)
Perpetrator Wanted Victim's Money (e.g. Will, Life Insurance)	0 (0%)	3 (6%)
Victim Reported Perpetrator's Abuse to Authorities	0 (0%)	2 (4%)
Victim Disapproved of Perpetrator's Romantic Relationship	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
Perpetrator Blamed Victim for Loss of Contact with his Children	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
No Specific Reason Reported	0 (0%)	15 (31%)

The process of separation—which involved relationship breakdown, the victims ending or attempting to end their marriage or relationship with the perpetrator, and in some cases beginning a new relationship—was the second most commonly reported reason for committing murders in the HK sample (28%) and the most commonly reported reason in the IF sample (32%). However, it was noted in the current results that these motivations were treated

differently in the HK and IF samples and based on the ethnicity of the perpetrator. In HK cases where women were murdered by their current or previous partners, separation or seeking independence or a new relationship were used to qualify the label of HK and emphasis was given to the perceived transgression of the victim rather than the mental state of the perpetrator:

> *"…poisoned and then strangled (by her ex-husband) in an honour killing for remarrying" (HK4)*

In contrast to the portrayal of separation or relationship breakdown as being a general justification for femicide with no mention of case-specific details, in a similar case in the IF sample it was framed as being an individual circumstance and destabilising event for the perpetrator. The emphasis was on micro level factors such as the individual reactions, feelings, and mental state of the perpetrator, and how specific details of the situation affected him:

> *"...(Perpetrator) accessed (ex-wife's) Facebook account and found she was close to another man…could not accept his marriage was over" (IF42)*

Previous research has found that separation is a common motivator in both HKs and other domestic violence homicides (Hayes et al., 2016) and that the period of separation is the most dangerous time for vulnerable or abused women (Brownridge et al., 2008). Within an ecological framework, micro level factors such as individual feelings of loss of control over female behaviour and shame can be linked with wider social contexts of masculinity and the use of violence to defend it across societies (Baker et al., 1999). However, it was observed that the narrative in the HK sample was that of victims being oppressed by abusive men blindly following patriarchal traditions, with no discussion of the individual traits or feelings of the

perpetrator. The focus, rather than being on the intersections of race, gender, culture, and society which make male violence against women possible, was on the idea that violence against Eastern women is a direct result of macro level systems such as the traditional beliefs and imposition of specific gender roles in some cultures. Whereas IF was framed as in issue that can only be addressed at an individual level, HK was framed as an issue to be addressed at a cultural or societal level.

Several cases in the IF sample also highlighted that the femicide was extensively planned and premeditated, with perpetrators travelling to distant locations or hiring hitmen in order to commit the murders:

> *"A jilted boyfriend flew from Trinidad to London to kill his former lover when he saw on Facebook she had a new man" (IF46)*
>
> *"A jealous man stabbed his ex-girlfriend and her new partner…after researching how long murderers spend in prison and the easiest ways of killing" (IF34)*

As noted previously, journalists have argued that a main difference between HK and IF is that HK is premeditated whereas IF is hastily executed (Chesler, 2011; Shier & Shor, 2016), contrasting 'crimes of honour' with 'crimes of passion'. The current results highlighted that even in cases where the offence was premeditated and planned in response to feelings of shame or jealousy from separation or relationship breakdowns, the label of HK was not used where perpetrators were of British ethnicity. Rather than linking perpetrators' reactions to separation and relationship breakdown as violations of their honour or threats to their traditions or values, articles in the IF sample linked them with the psychological state of the perpetrator and their individual inability to tolerate a relationship breakdown. IF perpetrators

were consistently described as “jealous”, and negative descriptions of the victims were used to highlight the perpetrator’s disturbed mental state and explain his violent reaction:

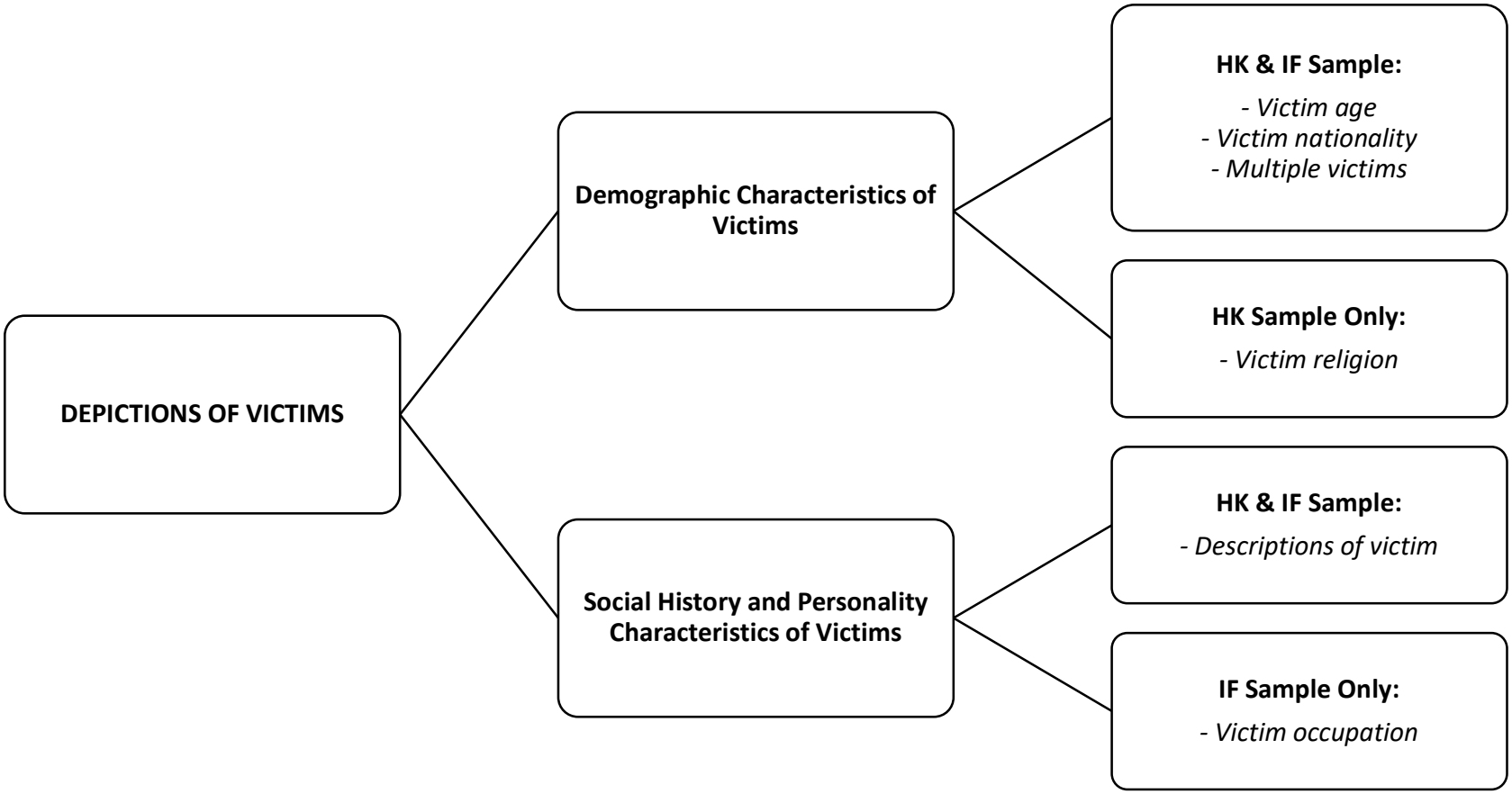
“Jealous husband who strangled his serial-cheat wife” (IF7)

“Hen-pecked husband stabbed wife after 30 years of non-stop nagging” (IF39)

This emphasises the portrayal of femicide in the UK by Western men as being domestic incidents perpetrated by disturbed individuals, whereas violence perpetrated by Eastern or immigrant men is portrayed as stemming from wider value systems and traditions. It was noted that even in IF cases where perpetrators’ motives were explicitly related to controlling female behaviour or fulfilling a larger moral purpose, for example where a perpetrator was reported as claiming he “had done what needed to be done” (IF44) or that he “wanted to control his wife…to be more domesticated” (IF35), the cases were not linked with honour, gender roles, or traditional values. The motives in IF cases were framed in terms of micro level systems such as the individual expectations and beliefs of the perpetrator, with no mention of the wider factors that perpetuate and maintain those beliefs. This type of framing can lead to cases of IF being perceived by the public as exceptional, unavoidable, and uncommon. Conversely, the label of HK was reserved for cases where perpetrators were from immigrant, Asian, or Muslim backgrounds. This type of media framing distinguishing HK from IF based on ethnicity and culture distracts from the multicausal nature of femicide as well as blurring the concepts of honour, shame, jealousy, and control, which have been argued to play a role in all male violence against women across communities (Baker et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 2016, 2018).

Figure 5

Thematic Map of 'Depictions of Victims'



Depictions of Victims

This theme deals with media representations of individual characteristics of victims of HK and IF, including portrayals of micro, meso, and macro level factors such as demographic details, personality traits, interpersonal relationships, and cultural identity or family values of victims.

Demographic Characteristics of Victims

The age of the victim was reported in 69% of the articles in the HK sample and 86% of the articles in the IF sample. Based on this data, the mean age of the victims in the HK sample was 21.6 years (*SD* = 4.3 years) and the mean age of the victims in the IF sample was 37.04 years (*SD* = 13.3 years). This may indicate that women from Asian or immigrant backgrounds face higher risks of femicide at a younger age, whereas Western women are at a higher risk as they get older and engage in independent intimate relationships. This supports the notion that the locus of control over female behaviour shifts from male birth relatives in the east to intimate partners in the west, which may explain the age difference between victims. Consideration of the intersections of age with other interpersonal, community, and societal factors from an ecological perspective is required to understand how women in different situations are victimised.

The nationality and ethnicity of victims (where they were not British) was reported in 27% of the articles in the HK sample and 9% of articles in the IF sample, with 8% of the articles in the HK sample also reporting on the victims' religion. In HK cases where the nationality of the victim was reported it was often portrayed as a contributing factor to the violence they faced, implying that women in eastern countries or from Muslim/Asian backgrounds are more

vulnerable to male violence than Western women. As with depictions of perpetrators, the emphasis in HK articles was on macro level systems such as wider culture and society within which the violence took place, framing HK as a cultural problem based in social norms without mentioning relevant micro or meso level factors such as individual characteristics or circumstances of the victim:

> *"The case again highlights the hundreds of women killed every year in Pakistan, often by family members, for violating conservative norms relating to love and marriage" (HK6)*

Where victims in the HK sample were ethnic minority or immigrant British citizens, they were often described as being 'trapped between two worlds'; the oppressive and male dominated world they were born into, and the open and freethinking society in the UK. Several articles described the victims as seeking independence, wearing western clothing, or 'rebelling' against an oppressive culture. Victims of HK were portrayed as symbols of the clash between immigrant and western cultures, emphasising parallels between being 'more western' and being safer and more independent:

> *"…rebellious…girl had a desire to wear western clothes…have boyfriends…and be free to hang around with whom she wanted. Tragically…two cultures were on a collision course" (HK13)*

Media representations of the gap between immigrant and British culture will be discussed further in the final theme. There was little attention given to demographic details of victims in the IF sample. Ten cases (20%) in the IF sample (as opposed to only one case in the HK sample) were reported as having multiple victims in the same offence, and one IF case

reported on the perpetrator committing two different femicides at different times. Multiple victims of IF included children, stepchildren, friends or relatives of the victim, and new or previous romantic partners of the victim. The focus on the IF sample was often on the violence and actions of the perpetrator, with little attention given to details about the victims:

> *"He moved out following the row but returned to the house…and attacked (wife) with a hammer on Sunday before stabbing his children, 11 and 6, to death" (IF7)*

Personal Descriptions and Portrayal of Victims

Personal descriptions of victims were provided in 22% of the articles in the HK sample. Victims of HK were consistently referred to in relation to the future that was taken from them and were portrayed as being punished for wanting to live their lives in a way that was contrary to their cultural traditions or family values:

> *"…had defied her family by eloping with her teenage love. An imam's daughter and a top student who dreamed of becoming a doctor" (HK17)*

> *"Young woman with personality and determination who "made the mistake" of falling in love with a man disapproved of by her family and community" (HK13)*

Just under half (47%) of the articles in the IF sample provided descriptions of the victim, however it was noted that these descriptions were largely brief and non-specific, with over half of the articles describing the victims simply as mothers (e.g., "young mother" (IF21); "mum of four" (IF23)). In contrast to the HK sample, articles in the IF sample gave little attention to the lost potential or opportunities of the victims, and emphasised characteristics of perpetrators and the specific circumstances of the offence. A quarter (25%) of the articles in the IF sample mentioned the victim's professional occupation, which was not mentioned in any articles in the

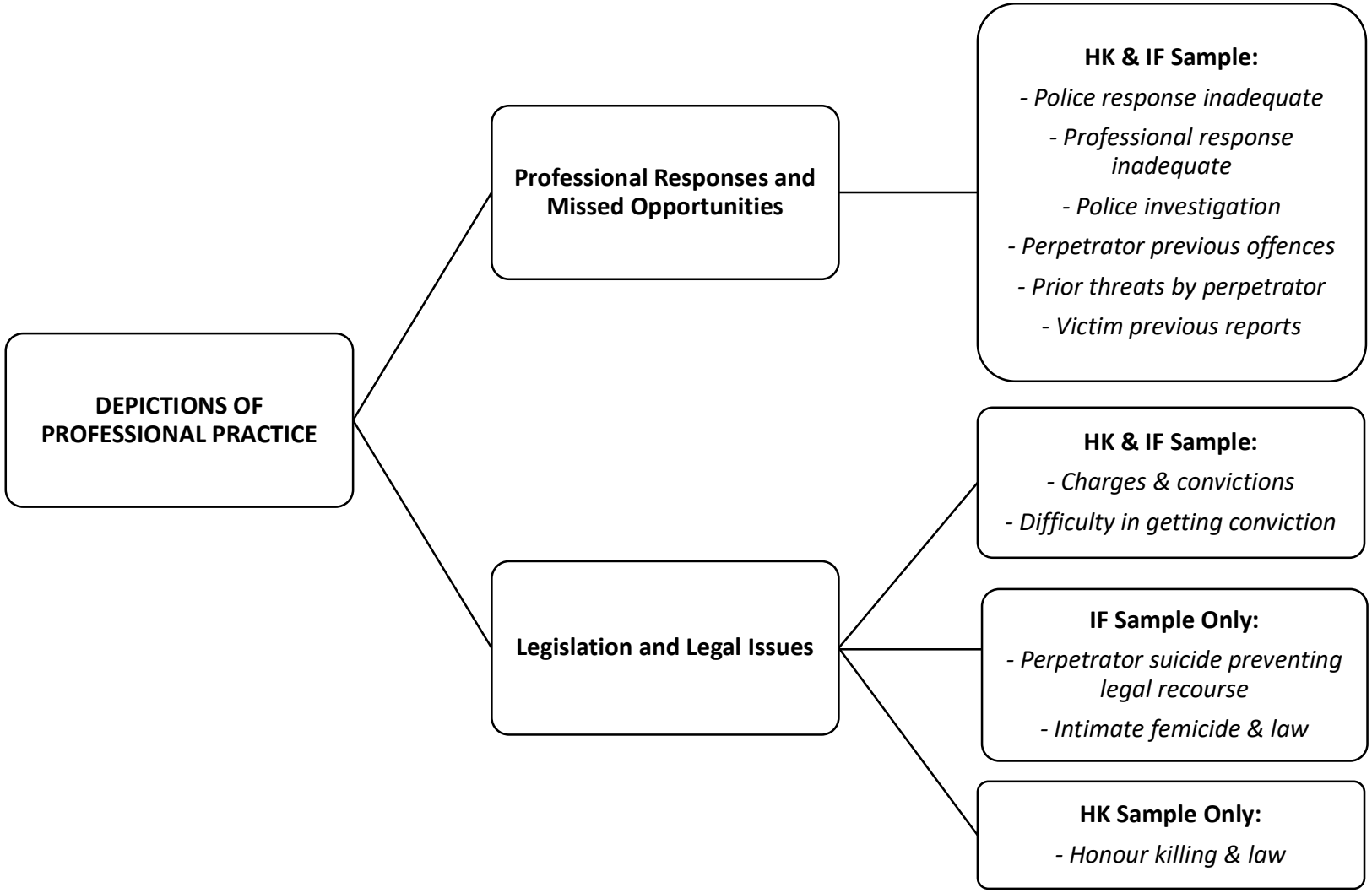
HK sample. In contrast to HK victims who were described in terms of their unrealised potential and in the context of their struggle against family or cultural values, IF victims were largely described in relation to their children, and in rare cases their past achievements. Notably, professional achievements of IF victims were only reported in broadsheet newspapers:

> *"She was a brave woman and was devoted to her only son who is now under foster carers" (IF13)*
>
> *"…a hairdresser who performed unpaid police duties in her spare time, had been a special constable for more than three years" (IF31)*

Articles in the HK sample consistently focused on the actions of the victims which provoked violence from their family or community, in particular emphasising victims' desires to choose their own romantic partners and have independent intimate relationships. This frames victims of HK as innocent and helpless in the face of an oppressive culture, and being punished for attempting to make choices that contradict with wider community values. In contrast, independently choosing a romantic partner or engaging in a new relationship in the IF sample were framed in terms of how they affected the individual perpetrator and motivated his violence, with victims being portrayed simply as brave or maternal, with little attention given to the victim's desire for agency, independence, or freedom of choice as contributing to their victimisation.

Figure 6

Thematic Map of 'Depictions of Professional Practice'



Depictions of Professional Practice

This theme deals with media representations of professional practice and responses in cases of HK and IF, including meso and macro level factors such as missed opportunities in terms of previous criminal convictions of perpetrators, professional responses to reports of violence leading up to the femicide, descriptions of law enforcement strategies and convictions achieved, or not achieved due to difficulty investigating or perpetrator suicides preventing legal recourse, and portrayals of legislation in relation to HK and IF.

Professional Responses and Missed Opportunities

The majority of articles in both samples described professional responses as inadequate and insufficient to protect victims. In reporting on HK cases that took place in the UK, professionals and police were portrayed as having failed to react appropriately to information provided to them before the offence was committed. Several victims in the HK sample were reported as having tried to seek help and reporting on-going abuse and fears for their life to professionals and authorities. The media emphasised the failings of police and other services in taking actions to protect victims of HK, focussing on factors such as lack of training, resources, and understanding relating to honour crimes, and the cultural insensitivity or ignorance of professional services in dealing with what was framed as a cultural phenomenon:

> *"A lack of formal training of officers had also resulted in a "police station lottery", where women like (HK7) were in danger of being ignored or not given adequate protection" (HK7)*
>
> *"…officers had little understanding at the time of the concept of honour crimes and she was left at the mercy of her father" (HK3)*

In the coverage of HK cases occurring outside of the UK, police and professional responses were also characterised as being inadequate, but meso level differences were noted between portrayals of different regions, emphasising the differing role of law enforcement in the perpetuation of VAWG. Rather than the emphasis being on a lack of understanding or training, the focus of articles on cases of HK outside the UK was on the intersection between macro (culture) and meso (involvement of authorities) level factors, highlighting widespread cultural beliefs about gender roles and honour that may extend to professionals and legal authorities, and how this may affect meso level support systems (e.g., police supporting perpetrators or not conducting thorough investigations):

> *"…he said police congratulated him on what he had done. "They are men and know what honour is" (HK14)*

Similar to the HK sample, professional responses in the IF sample were also portrayed as being inadequate, however rather than the emphasis being on a lack of understanding or on femicide as a cultural trait that authorities need specific culture sensitive training to address, the emphasis was on victims making repeated complaints and services making careless mistakes, being incompetent, and not following proper procedures. The focus was on the intersection between micro (individual characteristics of victims and perpetrators) and meso level systems (reactions and involvement of authorities), highlighting isolated failed interactions between victims and professionals in specific cases rather than on systemic or cultural issues within law enforcement. Particularly in IF cases where victims had attempted to seek professional help prior to being murdered, articles framed the femicide as having been

avoidable if individual officers or professionals had been competent in dealing with reports of abuse and threats of violence against women:

> *"…desperate plea for help was answered by a trainee who failed to log the call properly, leading to no police action being taken" (IF1)*

Further, IF articles also emphasised individual apathy amongst professional services in responding to complaints, highlighting cases where professionals did not take the complaint seriously, and did not adequately consider the risk posed by the perpetrator or liaise with other services for support or more information:

> *"A police officer could have arrested a man who days later killed a young mother, but turned down the chance as they had "child care arrangements" to deal with" (IF21)*

It was noted that where macro level systems (e.g., role of the legal system) were discussed within the IF sample, several articles emphasised legal protections that were given to the perpetrator rather than the victim. The judicial system was often portrayed as showing leniency to perpetrators of IF and giving them opportunities to escalate their violence and reoffend, and victims were portrayed as being victimised further as a result of seeking help from an ineffective system. This type of framing could be significantly detrimental to victims who may internalise the perception that services are not equipped to deal with VAWG and that reporting abuse could increase the risk of violence. Additionally, in some cases professionals were portrayed as placing blame onto the victim for not making complaints in time or for withdrawing complaints, implying that the only way for services to support victims is if they are willing to make formal complaints against their abusers and in doing so risking their own safety:

"…(IF5) reluctantly gave a statement to police after being told it would result in (perpetrator) being locked up. But he was bailed the next day and confronted her…tracked her down and beat her up" (IF5)

"…Detective Chief Inspector…said, "With the information that we found now, and if (IF19) had given us a statement in relation to the abuse, we could have done something about it" (IF19)

This further frames IF in the UK as a problem for individual victims, implying that the solution lies with individual victims, and those victimised are seen as responsible for getting into abusive relationships and ultimately responsible for getting out of them (Berns, 2004). Articles in the IF sample did not focus on the need for wider reaching training addressing gender-based violence and how to support victims of VAWG in different situations.

It is well evidenced in extensive literature on the topic that VAWG is underreported to authorities globally (UNODC, 2018; Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). Some of the main documented reasons for why women do not report violence and abuse include fears that the reports will not be taken seriously or believed, fear of reprisals from their abusers, the belief that some incidents are not serious enough to report, and a lack of faith in criminal justice systems that they perceive as assigning blame to victims rather than perpetrators (Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2002; Felson & Pare, 2005; Palermo, Bleck, & Peterman, 2014). Media framing of professional services as being incompetent and ill-equipped to deal with VAWG in different situations and settings, and being portrayed as unconcerned or apathetic towards potential risks to the victim, could serve to validate and perpetuate these beliefs, further discouraging victims and potential victims from seeking support or reporting abuse.

Prosecution of Perpetrators and Legal Issues

At the time that the articles in this analysis were published, convictions had been achieved in 64% of the HK cases, with all of the cases occurring in the UK achieving a conviction. In the IF sample, all of the cases achieved convictions with the exception of five cases where the perpetrator committed suicide following the murder, preventing any legal recourse. Difficulties faced by authorities and victims' families in securing convictions were emphasised in 35% of the articles in the HK sample, as opposed to only 9% in the IF sample. Difficulties achieving convictions in HK cases that occurred within the UK were largely attributed to the inability of authorities to collect sufficient evidence:

> *"With no body, police were unable to bring charges against (perpetrator)…but (his wife) continued to voice her fears to police and social services…it would be ten years before she finally got her chance to give evidence against him in court" (HK3)*

When convictions in HK cases were achieved, articles commonly attributed them to members of the victims' families pushing for further investigations or coming forward and giving evidence. Articles in the HK sample emphasised on the need for individuals to break away from an oppressive culture and rebel against their community in order to achieve justice for victims of HK, focussing on macro level systems such as collective norms and traditional values as being a main factor in perpetuating VAWG within certain communities. As noted previously, UK police were portrayed as lacking the training and sensitivity to address reports or threats of violence in eastern or immigrant communities before the offence occurred. Portrayals of the UK police after the HK occurred showed them as working hard and being

determined to achieve justice for the victim, and as struggling against hostile communities and cultures attempting to hinder investigations and protect perpetrators:

> *"…it was only when one sister was persuaded to break with her family and give evidence against them that a prosecution finally became possible" (HK13)*
>
> *"…seemed to have escaped justice after they fled…But a police team…was determined to bring them to account" (HK7)*

In the three cases in the IF sample where there were reports of difficulties in achieving convictions, these were largely attributed to police mistakes or failings in investigations. Whereas in the HK sample police were portrayed as struggling against hostile communities and striving for convictions, the opposite was observed in the IF sample. The focus in the IF sample was noted to be on victims' families having to struggle against the police in order to achieve a conviction, highlighting professional apathy, and a lack of willingness or resources to conduct thorough investigations:

> *"…after police investigations failed…family spent much of their life savings on experts, who found fresh evidence and forced…police into reopening the two cases…for years the police ignored their pleas to reinvestigate" (IF23)*
>
> *"…was arrested and interviewed at the time of her death but the case against him was dropped…(Perpetrator) was found guilty…after their daughter came forward to say she witnessed the crime when she was just six" (IF36)*

Only one of the articles in the IF sample made any mention of legislation in relation to femicide, commenting on a UK government scheme which would allow families of victims to make an impact statement in court (IF9). None of the coverage on cases of HK within the UK

mentioned legislation in relation to VAWG, however 18% of the articles in the HK sample reported on legislation in relation to HK outside of the UK. This was framed in one of two ways. The first was to emphasise macro level systems such as embedded societal and legislative protections for perpetrators of HK:

> *"…admitted to strangling his first wife in order to (remarry). He had avoided jail after his family used Islamic Law to forgive him." (HK8)*

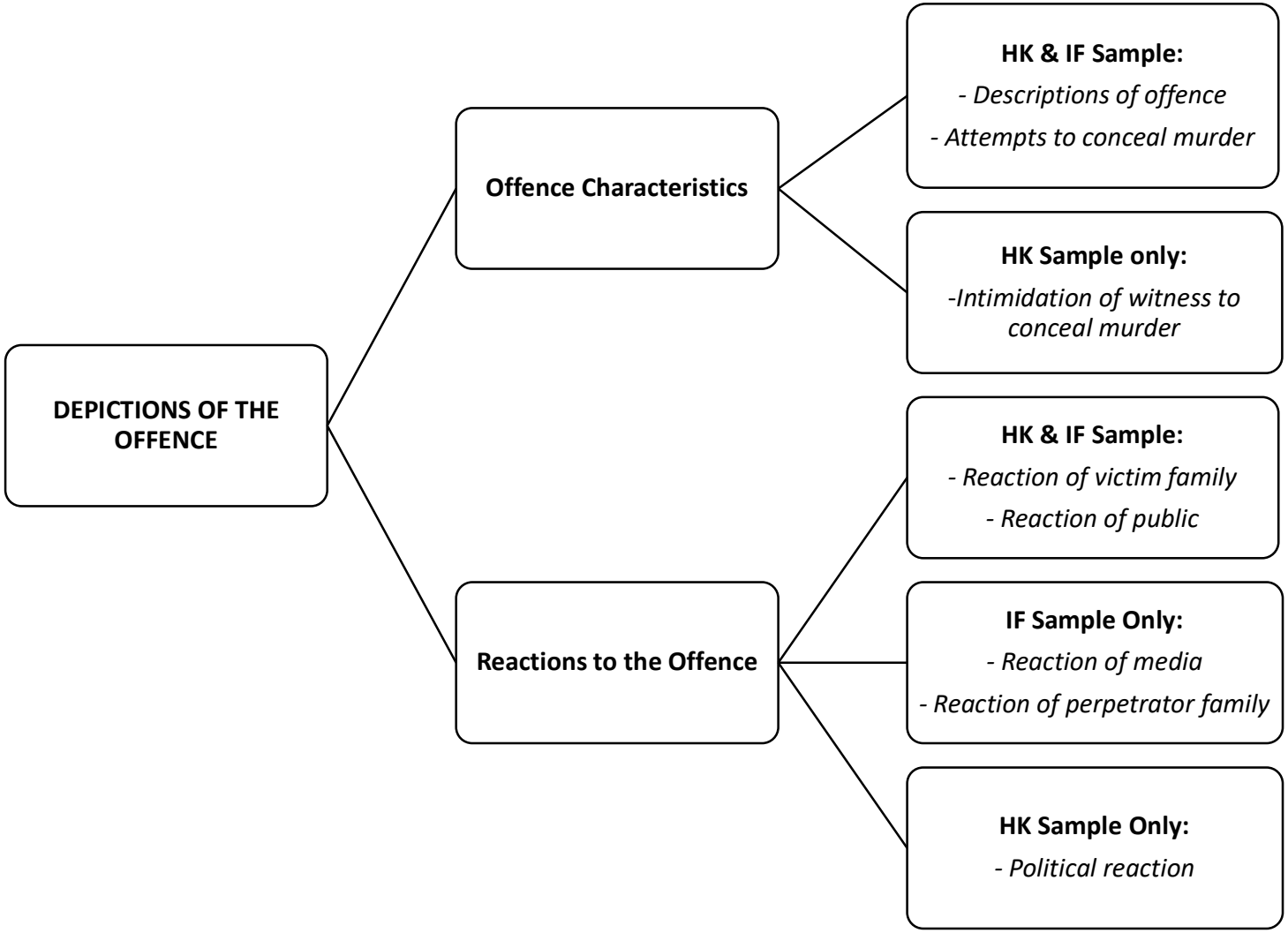
> *"Under a 1960 Jordanian penal code…perpetrators of such crimes are treated with leniency as they are deemed to have mitigating circumstances" (HK10)*

The second way in which legislation around HK was discussed, though notably only in broadsheet newspapers, was to highlight the social and political changes coming about in societies as a result of progress and increased public awareness, drawing attention to the links between cultural traditions and legislation and how they are beginning to be questioned by the public:

> *"…Public and judicial tolerance of these crimes is wearing thin as the silent majority begin to raise their objections to these barbaric acts" (HK12)*

Figure 7

Thematic Map of 'Depictions of Offence'



Depictions of the Offence

This theme deals with media representations of the HK or IF itself, including portrayals of micro and meso level factors such as how the femicide was committed, family or community involvement in committing or concealing the offence, and of family, public, and political reactions to the offence.

Offence Characteristics

Methods of murder used by perpetrators in cases where they were reported are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Methods of Murder in Honour Killing and Intimate Femicide Samples

Method of Murder	HK Sample (*n* = 14 cases)	IF Sample (*n* = 49 cases)
Strangled/Suffocated	7 (50%)	18 (37%)
Stabbed	2 (14%)	24 (49%)
Beaten	1 (7%)	2 (4%)
Shot	1 (7%)	1 (2%)
Drowned	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
Unknown or Unreported	3 (21%)	3 (6%)

These findings support previous findings that the most common methods used to commit femicide in the UK are stabbing, strangulation, and beating (Long, Harper, Harvey, & Ingala-Smith, 2018) and this is consistent for both the HK and IF samples. Perpetrators in both samples subjected the victims to sexual violence during the offence, and there was evidence of

violation of the victim's body after the killing in both samples, most often in relation to attempts to conceal or dispose of the body. HK articles highlighted excessive violence and cruelty in cases of HK, framing excessive violence as a part of the nature of honour crimes, portraying cases of HK as examples of a violent tradition without a deeper consideration of the specific contexts of each case and the different levels of ecological factors that contribute to different cases of femicide:

> *"It's not just the fact that someone can muster up the ability to murder a loved one that disturbs, it is also the cruel manner and abandon some people bring to the task. One father hired two thugs to rape his daughter…before killing her" (HK12)*
>
> *"…having stamped on, suffocated, and then stabbed his student daughter to death…her shrouded corpse was then tossed into a makeshift grave without ceremony as her uncles spat on it in disgust" (HK14)*

Within the HK sample excessive violence was consistently linked with the nature of honour crimes and a wider society or community that accepts the excessive use violence in these crimes. In contrast, excessive violence in IF cases was linked with micro level factors such as the specific circumstances of the offence, relationship problems between the victims and perpetrators, and the mental state and history of the perpetrator. Even in cases where the murder was premeditated and committed with the help and support of other perpetrators, articles emphasised the individual pathology of the main perpetrator. IF articles did not address macro level systems such as societal or community beliefs about masculinity and the use of violence to control female behaviour, or the escalating and repetitive nature of VAWG. For example, in an IF case involving multiple perpetrators, where a teenage girl was tortured,

stabbed multiple times, and dismembered, the main perpetrator was reported as having extensively planned the offence and being equipped with stun guns, handcuffs, and cleaning supplies. However, rather than framing his premeditation, the support of his accomplices (who were members of his family), and extreme violence as being a planned ritual condoned by community members or as reflective of the escalating nature of VAWG in all contexts, articles focussed exclusively on micro level factors such as the perpetrator's alleged personality disorder and "sexual interest in petite teenage girls" (IF27) as explanations for his excessive violence. In another example of a perpetrator of IF who murdered his current and ex-partner, stabbing one of them 132 times in front of their children, reports cited his history of violent behaviour and described him as a "crazed knifeman" (IF44). Excessive violence was linked situation specific factors such as his distress at having lost contact with his children, as opposed to portraying him as someone who chose to use extreme violence against a woman in the context of wider societal beliefs about honour, masculinity, entitlement, and a perceived loss of control over the victim's behaviour.

Previous research has found that journalists often frame cases labelled as HK in terms of the inherent barbarism of minority cultures in contrast to an allegedly superior modern western society (Shier & Shor, 2016). For example, Chesler (2011) writes: "It is rare for a domestically violent father to routinely batter, stalk, patrol, and murder his own daughter, and to be assisted in this gruesome task by his entire family…Honour killings also are distinguished by their barbaric ferocity" (Chesler, 2011). Other journalists have asserted that HKs are perpetrated with extreme ferocity and community acceptance, while other femicides are hastily executed by isolated individuals (Kay, 2009; Shier & Shor, 2016). The current results supported the

findings that excessive violence is treated differently between cases labelled HK and IF. In reporting on HK cases, the emphasis was on the inherently violent nature of crimes of honour in general, with little consideration of individual or case-specific factors. In contrast, excessive violence in the IF sample was consistently framed as a "loss of self-control" (e.g., IF9; IF17; IF19; IF37; IF42) or "frenzied attack" (e.g., IF11; IF16; IF29; IF54) caused by extreme individual characteristics (e.g., "evil") or the specific destabilising circumstances of the perpetrator.

Articles in the HK sample also focussed on meso level factors such as the involvement or alleged involvement of family or community members in helping to conceal the murder. Articles in the HK sample tended to emphasise the cultural identity of other groups and individuals involved in the offence, but rarely addressed their individual traits or circumstances. Such framing strengthens the idea that entire communities and cultures sanction these killings indiscriminately. One way in which this was done was by framing an entire community as being supportive of a killing, without providing any specific details of the individuals being referred to and how they related to victims or perpetrators. It was noted that in most cases in the HK sample, the victims and perpetrators came from the same biological or extended marital family:

> *"…(Authorities) faced an investigation within an Iraqi Kurdish community, many of whom believed (HK7) deserved her fate for bringing shame on her father" (HK7)*

Another way in which wider communities were linked with individual offences was to focus on the intersections between interpersonal relationships and cultural values, reporting on how family and community members were intimidated or threatened in order to conceal the offence. This was further emphasised with a focus on the exceptional bravery of those who

chose to give evidence, which was framed as them rebelling against an oppressive and 'primitive' culture and wider community:

> *"It took the courage of a mother, stepping out of the shadows to give evidence against her own family's "primitive" customs, to secure justice at last for (HK3)" (HK3)*
>
> *"The truth was revealed when…her sister agreed to give evidence against her relatives…she had also been subjected to a murder plot…(for) Smoking and wearing hairspray like a 'Westerner'" (HK7)*

IF perpetrators were largely reported as making attempts to conceal the murder alone, often by attempting to make it look like an accident or a suicide, with the emphasis being on the pathology of the perpetrator. Perpetrators' accomplices were not framed as being a community supporting the perpetrator but rather as other individuals involved in the offence. Similar to previous themes, the focus in the IF sample was consistently on the individual deviance or dishonesty of the perpetrator, with little consideration of the role of wider community, society, and cultural influences on the offence:

> *"...(perpetrator) alerted police three days later, claiming he had found (SB) body …went to great lengths to establish an alibi, making sure he was captured on CCTV...at the time of the murder." (IF3)*

Reactions to the Offence

Reactions to the offence were described in 47% of the HK articles. As noted previously, family and close community members of HK perpetrators were mainly portrayed either as condoning or supporting the offence, or as being threatened and being exceptionally brave in giving evidence and rebelling against an oppressive culture. However, some articles in the HK

sample also noted public and political reactions to HK. It was observed that most HK articles emphasised public and political support for HK outside of the UK, perpetuating the narrative that HKs are religiously or culturally embedded within eastern societies, without a discussion of the intersections of micro, meso, and macro level factors that support VAWG more in some societies than in others:

> *"Thirty religious groups, many of them mainstream political parties, rose in protest…Giving women protective legal rights, they argued, was tantamount to the promotion of obscenity in society" (HK6)*

However, there were a few articles in the HK sample, notable only in broadsheet newspapers, that attempted to highlight how more awareness of HK and increased access to information has been a catalyst for change in macro level systems such as societal values and traditions affecting wider perceptions of VAWG:

> *"Eight years ago, a senator…publicly defended the burying alive of three teenage girls in his province, saying it was "our tribal custom" and should not be discussed. Today, politicians would not dare to openly support such killings " (HK6)*

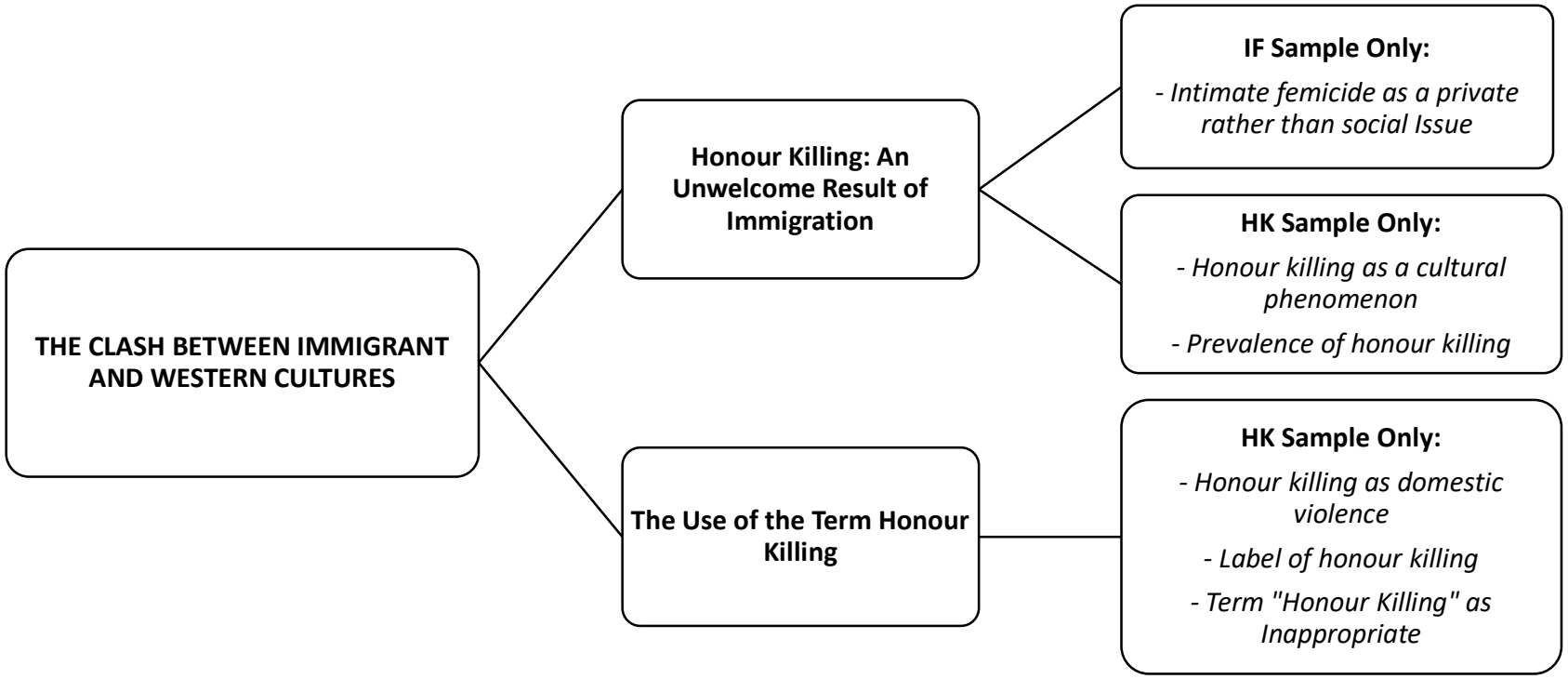
None of the IF articles made any mention of political responses. Reactions to the offence were reported in 37 (65%) of the IF articles. This included reactions of the families of the victims or perpetrators, and in some cases the reactions of activists or organisations working against VAWG. In contrast to the HK sample where the emphasis was on the family as being either complicit or oppressed and exceptionally brave, families in the IF sample were largely described as being 'devastated' and 'heart-broken', and their reactions were framed in the context of the failings of professionals and what more could have been done to prevent the

murder or to support the victims and their families. IF cases were consistently framed an individual incidents that occurred because of individual case specific failures, rather than in the context of VAWG as a significant social issue embedded within certain societal structures:

> *"A grieving mother wept yesterday as she told how her daughter's violent ex-boyfriend was freed to murder her despite desperate pleas for protection" (IF5)*

Figure 8

Thematic Map of 'The clash between immigrant and western cultures'



The Clash between Immigrant and Western Cultures

The current theme deals with media representations of macro level systems such as cultural identities and traditions associated with femicide by the media, and how HK and IF relate to the broader concept of VAWG in different societies, including portrayals of HK either as a foreign practice infiltrating the UK or as a part of the wider problem of VAWG in the UK. Additionally, this theme includes media discourse relating to the use of the term HK, and the portrayal of IF as an individual issue rather than a widespread social problem.

Honour Killing: An Unwelcome Result of Immigration

Within the HK sample, 43% of the articles reported on HK in relation to cultural and religious factors. Over half (61%) of these articles framed HK as a cultural phenomenon imported into the UK as a result of immigration and multiculturalism. The focus was on macro level differences between eastern and western cultures, with eastern cultures being presented as an "other": inherently primitive, uncivilised, and violent, specifically in relation to societal beliefs about gender roles and the rights of women. Conversely, journalists portrayed British society as safe and violence free, and as being infiltrated by violent foreign practices via immigration:

> *"Honour killings are on the increase here in Europe, the inevitable result of migrant movement and a…clash of…cultures. In societies dominated by patriarchal and religious values, a woman's honour can be regarded as a family commodity…Muslim Kurdish women…have no human rights at all, not even the right to live" (HK7)*

"It seems incredible that some of this abuse happens on British soil to British citizens, many of whom are controlled by unbending men imposing their own laws inside their own ethnic niches" (HK7)

This was particularly highlighted in media reports in relation to 'Asian' communities, which were lumped together as one group and portrayed as having primitive values and being a threat to British society. For example, in an article which described a survey of "Asians" within the UK, no description was provided in relation to what part of Asia the participants were from or if they were originally from the UK or had migrated there, nor was there any further descriptive data relating to the validity of the survey. Asians were portrayed as one homogenous group ascribing to a single culture, and the article claimed that "honour crimes are supported by Asians", reporting:

"One in five young Asians believes that women deserve "physical punishment" if they dishonour their families…while three per cent even think…so-called "honour killings", can be justified in some circumstances" (HK9)

Another similar article singled out the "Asian community" (HK10) as supporting and encouraging HK within the UK, portraying entire communities as dangerous, deceptive and untrustworthy. This type of framing leads to promoting racial and cultural divides within the public as well as in law enforcement and authorities. Further, it can lead to decreasing public confidence in law enforcement by suggesting that some officials may be supporting VAWG due to their culture or religion, with little importance given to micro (individual personality), meso (peers, colleagues) or macro (wider societal influences) level factors that may intersect with individual cultural identity:

"Terrified victims who seek official help are even being tracked down by a network of Asian men working in Government departments and Social Services…Asian police officers actually return women to their abusive families or refuse to act against men enforcing traditional roles…non-Asian officials and police officers are scared of acting…for fear of being branded racist" (HK15)

Reporting on HK that occurred outside of the UK was also found to perpetuate the notion of dichotomy between eastern and western cultures and systemic macro level differences between eastern and western societies (e.g., emphasising different beliefs about gender roles and women's rights in society). Eastern regions were portrayed as being inherently patriarchal, oppressive, and dangerous for women. For example, in reporting on an HK that took place in Iraq, little attention was given to the individual or local community influences on the offence, and gender inequality and beliefs about honour were framed as generally applying across the region:

"Men…can do what they like…drinking, taking drugs, or having extra-marital sex…this will have no repercussion on family honour…if a woman decides to do the same, then the rules are very different. This is designed to keep women in their place, hidden, silenced, and fearful" (HK6)

This type of framing in the media posits HK as a problem for immigrant women as a result of embedded patriarchal values and gender inequality in their culture or religion, casting them as victims of a specific culturally sanctioned type of violence that is portrayed as separate from other forms of VAWG experienced by Western women (Reimers, 2007). Immigrant and Eastern women were portrayed as being denied agency and independence by their birth

culture, and were presented as politically immature and incapable of enacting change on their own behalf, and therefore needing to be 'saved' and schooled in western feminism (Amos & Parmar, 1984; Gill, 2006; Volpp, 2001). Post-colonial feminists describe this type of perception as a 'colonial horror' at the barbarism of those perceived as the 'other', or as 'saving the brown woman from the brown man syndrome' (Gill, 2006; Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991; Spivak, 1991). In analysing media coverage of an HK that took place in the UK in 2003, Gill (2006) noted that although South Asians are a successful minority in the UK, they are still targeted as immigrants who must prove their assimilation and integration into British society. Integration and assimilation are portrayed as solutions to HK, perpetuating the idea that the more minority communities ascribe to British values and abdicate their own culture and beliefs, the safer immigrant women will be from male violence. Media framing that highlights a clash of cultures as an explanation for violence and femicide serves to validate mainstream racist attitudes towards ethnic minorities, promoting a sense of moral superiority in the majority and legitimising discriminatory practices (Gill, 2006; Remiers, 2007) as well as marginalising vulnerable immigrant women by casting them as helpless victims who need to be saved from their own culture, rather than as valuable members of society who require sensitive, targeted and effective services aimed at the identification and prevention of the violence that they face.

It was noted that just over one third (39%) of the articles in the HK sample attempted to challenge the notion that HK is a cultural or religious phenomenon. These articles aimed to reframe the issue of HK within the broader context of VAWG, and to counter the stigmatisation or vilification of any specific community or culture in relation to violence. The majority of these articles aimed to increase awareness of the origins of HK and to present it in the context of

perpetual and global violence against women, promoting a transnational feminist view appreciating the importance of intersectionality of various ecological factors (social, economic, personal, cultural) in the understanding of VAWG:

> *"Honour Killings are often assumed to be sanctioned by Islam since they occur most commonly in the Middle East and…perpetrators cite religious justification…practice is said to pre-date Islam and Christianity and was born out of tribal culture" (HK14)*

> *"Although honour killings are pretty isolated occurrences, many in the outside world have the warped idea that most Arab and Muslim men are bloodthirsty women-bashers" (HK12)*

Some articles also challenged the targeting of Asian communities in particular in relation to HK, highlighting VAWG as a widespread social problem that requires a more thorough understanding than simply as stemming from culture or tradition. In challenging the perception of HK as a foreign violent practice resulting from immigration and multiculturalism, some articles also described the detrimental effects these assumptions can have on outcomes and investigations into cases labelled HK. For example, in the reporting of some cases discussed previously, victims of HK were viewed as a separate and distinct group from other victims of domestic abuse or violence, based on their culture or religion. The current articles aimed to highlight the differential treatment of victims of HK, and the notion that a lack of understanding of cultural diversity and the interpretation of violence as a cultural phenomenon, hinders officials from providing adequate care and protection to vulnerable immigrant women:

> *"…terming their victimisation "honour crime" skews the focus, turning what is a heinous crime into a cultural judgment against a homogenous group" (HK18)*

"…authorities mistrusted what they were hearing, too many hints of misunderstanding, of an unintended deafness to cultural difference" (HK13)

Prevalence of HK was reported within 29% of the articles in the HK sample. This finding highlighted that the media frames HK as a specific widespread social problem in the context of macro level systems influencing violence. The focus in the HK sample was on reportedly high rates of HK both within and outside of the UK:

"And they do not only occur in other countries. Here in the UK, more than 11,000 cases of honour crime were recorded by police between 2010 and 2014" (HK6)

"…between 500 and 1000 such cases are reported every year. Activists say the number is closer to 12,000. Rooted in tribal traditions, most are triggered by 'love marriages'" (HK17)

In contrast to the HK sample, none of the articles in the IF sample reported prevalence or rates of IF or attempted to frame IF as a widespread social problem. Only one article touched on the issue of IF as a larger issue rather than simply the result of specific characteristics of the perpetrator or the situation. This was done by addressing the observation that reports on cases of IF focus on the history, mental state, and personality of the perpetrator, at the expense of a discussion about their escalating violence, wider intersecting factors that contribute to their violence, and the experience and awareness of victims. In relation to reporting about a husband who murdered his wife, the article noted how the emphasis was on the perpetrator's violence being out of character, describing him as "full of the joys of spring" (IF26), going so far as to equate the perpetrator with his victims and suggesting that his actions were the inevitable result of destabilising circumstances. Such

reporting distracts from the wider context of VAWG, and erases the larger social problem of femicide in the UK and other western societies by portraying IF as a private problem or a tragic unforeseeable circumstance:

> *"The reporting of this case is deeply irresponsible because it minimises the culpability of (perpetrator), portraying him as an equal victim in a tragic case, rather than a man who chose to kill his wife and daughter…unless the lives of (victims) are considered more important than…so-called reasons (perpetrators) killed them, we will never move to a culture that values women's lives enough to make them safer" (IF26)*

The Use of the Term 'Honour Killing'

A third of the articles (33%) in the HK sample attempted to address the controversy around labelling femicide as HK, presenting the idea that HK should not be perceived as distinct from other VAWG or instances of femicide. The majority of these articles objected to the term "honour killing", arguing either that the term implies moral justification for murder or that it serves to stigmatise certain communities and portrays VAWG as a cultural or traditional problem. Further, they attempted to view the issue through an ecological lens, and draw attention to the differential treatment of VAWG in various forms, acknowledging that intersecting oppressions may support violence in some communities more than others:

> *"Can we just ban the phrase 'honour killing' and talk about cold-blooded murder instead?" (HK7)*

> *"There is a very real issue of violence towards women in British Asian society, but let's not dress it up as something cultural" (HK18)*

Some of these articles also attempted to highlight the common themes of jealousy and control and how the role of honour in VAWG may be blurred by labels, further drawing attention to the different levels of factors and intersections of gender, culture, and society that contribute to VAWG:

> *"The senseless motives behind it are surely the same as in any…domestic abuse and violence against women, involving over-bearing men, hurt prides, wounded egos, and uncontrollable, savage tempers" (HK18)*

> *"Violence against women cuts across all ethnicities, cultures, and nationalities of course…in England and Wales every week on average two women are murdered by a male…close to them. Gender discrimination seldom materialises in police reports" (HK11)*

It was noted that all of the articles addressing the controversial use of the label of HK were printed in broadsheet newspapers. This type of framing can be helpful in spreading awareness about identifying and responding to VAWG across communities and highlighting intersecting oppressions and the importance of understanding individual, interpersonal, and broader societal factors when studying VAWG in different forms. The current results showed that such a frame is not used often in media reporting on VAWG, however the results also indicate that awareness of HK is increasing and more journalists are calling for a broader discourse on VAWG. Nevertheless, the results support the notion that the label of HK is still largely ascribed to cases on the basis of ethnicity or culture without a discussion of individual or interpersonal factors, whereas cases of IF in the UK are framed largely in terms of individual and interpersonal traits without an acknowledgement of the effects of culture, tradition, and broader societal processes.

Discussion

The aim of the current study was to explore similar and differential themes in the reporting on cases of HK and IF in UK news media. Thematic analysis was used as a method to derive themes from news articles. Patterns were observed and derived as they emerged from the data. Patterns identified in the data were categorised into five primary themes: *'Depictions of Perpetrators', 'Depictions of Victims', 'Depictions of Professional Practice', 'Depictions of Offence',* and *'The Clash between Immigrant and Western Cultures'*. Each of these themes contains subthemes, which in turn contain initial codes generated through the process of TA. Using an ecological approach allowed for an analysis of the factors that were emphasised and overlooked in cases of HK and IF, and how this served the overall narrative relating to these two forms of femicide. Further, using an ecological framework and qualitative TA allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the themes derived from the news articles, helping to highlight the main themes occurring in media conceptualisations of HK and IF in the UK.

There were clear thematic differences between the HK and IF samples in media framing and portrayals of femicide. Similar to what has been found in previous research on reporting in western countries (e.g., Korteweg & Yurdukal, 2009, 2010; Reimers, 2007; Shier & Shor, 2016), reporting in cases of HK focussed on the culture or religion of the perpetrators. Perpetrators of HK were portrayed as enforcing traditional cultural values and beliefs on victims, and using violence to control women in accordance with their culture. In contrast, there was little mention of culture or religion in cases of IF, where the focus was on the individual traits and circumstances of the perpetrator. Previous research into perpetrators of femicide has found that there are no significant differences in terms of offending or personality traits between

perpetrators of HK and IF (Dogan, 2016; Hayes et al., 2018). However, media coverage paints perpetrators of HK and IF as two very different types of offenders, with perpetrators of HK being represented as inherently callous and violent as a result of their cultural values, and perpetrators of IF being represented as destabilised men reacting to their individual traits or isolated circumstances.

Articles in the HK and IF samples focused on different micro level factors in relation to perpetrators and victims. Perpetrators in the HK sample were referred to in relation to their ethnicity and cultural values that they attempted to impose on their victims, whereas more detailed descriptions were provided of IF perpetrators in relation to individual and interpersonal factors such as their personal and professional lives, family and intimate relationships, and the circumstances which led to them behaving violently. Victims of HK were described mainly in terms of their innocence, immaturity, lost potential and what they might have been able to achieve if they had successfully distanced themselves from their culture, whereas victims of IF were portrayed as strong brave maternal figures who were the victims of unforeseeable tragic circumstances. Reports focussed on victims of HK being denied agency or being punished for trying to be independent due to their culture, and on victims of IF as being punished for the same reasons but by individual men rather than by their culture. HK cases were related to cultural identity without mention of individual and interpersonal factors that increase or decrease the risk of femicide. Conversely, IF cases were related to individual circumstances without mention of underlying concepts of shame, honour, control, or gender roles and patriarchal values. There was little appreciation of intersectionality in reporting in either sample, or of the overlap between macro, meso, and micro level factors that produce

unique cases of femicide. As noted previously, the concepts of honour, shame, and control over women as motives for femicide are not unique to western or eastern cultures, and this finding further supports the notion that the media tends to relate these motives to culture in cases of HK, but to individual traits and incidences in cases of IF (Baker et al., 1999; Bullock & Cubert, 2002; Shier & Shor, 2016;).

It was noted that 39% of the articles in the HK sample did attempt to discuss HK using a multicausal and intersectional approach, and challenge the perception of HK as a purely cultural or religious phenomenon. This may be seen as an indicator of progress and increased social awareness, as previous research highlighted that HK in the media was largely portrayed only as a cultural issue (Coelho, 2017; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, 2010; Shier & Shor, 2016). Increased awareness in the UK may be attributed to efforts made over the last two decades by women's support groups and other domestic violence organisations striving to develop a national discourse and conceptualisation of honour killings and other HBV as only a part of the broader global health issue of VAWG (Gill, Begikhani, & Hague, 2012; Thiara & Gill, 2010). Additionally, increased visibility of cases of HK in the media over the last two decades has brought this form of VAWG to the attention of the public and encouraged more discourse around the topic. Articles in the IF sample did not attempt to view cases of IF in the context of macro level factors such as society or culture, or as part of the broader spectrum of VAWG.

In terms of meso level factors (i.e., involvement of wider community, professionals, and law enforcement) professional responses in both samples were reported on as being inadequate, highlighting missed opportunities to protect victims. However, the failings of professionals were framed differently in the two samples. In the HK sample, the ineffective

response was attributed to a 'lack of cultural understanding', with articles suggesting that professionals did not have adequate training and cultural sensitivity to support potential victims of HK. Consistent with the findings of Korteweg and Yurdakul (2010), British multiculturalism and a 'fear of appearing racist' were at the centre of reports relating to professional failures to protect victims of HK. In contrast, inadequate responses or professional failures in the IF sample were attributed largely to the incompetence of specific individuals within professional agencies. The wider culture within professional agencies with regard to understanding of femicide or VAWG in different communities was not mentioned in the IF sample, nor were there any discussions about the need for more training and understanding in the different factors that contribute to femicide. Some articles in the HK sample attempted to highlight political and social change and progress in other countries in relation to legislation and policy on HK, but there was no mention of legislation in relation to IF or VAWG in the UK. As observed in previous studies (e.g., Critelli & Willet, 2012; Kulwicki, 2002) media framing in the current results highlighted public and political support for HK and laws in other countries which have allowed perpetrators of HK to receive reduced sentences, as well as highlighting protections offered to offenders in the UK specifically in terms of offenders being released early to commit further offences, largely due to a reported 'lack of evidence'.

Coverage in relation to the offences themselves showed that there were several similarities in the methods of murder as well as in the brutal use of physical and sexual violence by perpetrators in both samples. Within the HK sample, this use of violence was portrayed as being traditional or ritualistic, with a focus in articles on the premeditation and on the alleged transgressive behaviour of the victim. Cases of HK were often framed as being sanctioned by a

wider community as a legitimate response to the victim's behaviour. This was the narrative even in cases where the HK was not supported by the individual family or community of the perpetrator. Some journalists implied that HK is more brutal and excessively violent than other murders due to the inherently violent nature of crimes of honour. In contrast, excessive brutality in the IF sample was portrayed as being motivated by a specific set of extreme circumstances and traits, with focus given to the specific situation that led to the perpetrators' "loss of self-control". Separation, marital breakdown, and beginning a new relationship were the most commonly overlapping perpetrator motivations in the HK and IF samples. In the HK sample these reasons were framed in the context of innocent women simply attempting to live their lives freely and being punished for rebelling against an oppressive culture, rigid social norms, or for wishing to be 'more western'. This highlights the 'othering' of violence (Montoya & Augustin, 2013), as western society is portrayed as safe and idyllic and contrasted with 'primitive' cultures that immigrant and eastern women need to escape or be saved from. In the IF sample the same motivations (i.e., separation, relationship breakdown) were portrayed as private circumstances and framed in the context of the effect on the perpetrator rather than of the struggle or desires of the victim. IF articles focused on how the victim's behaviour triggered the perpetrators violence by using words like "serial-cheat" or "non-stop nagging" to described victims of IF. Perpetrator's reactions were framed as 'crimes of passion', that is, isolated and inevitable outbursts of anger or jealousy directly related to the victim's behaviour and the individual traits of the perpetrator. This was the narrative even in cases where the IF was premeditated and involved multiple perpetrators.

One of the most salient patterns observed in the reporting of femicide in the UK was the presentation of the clash between immigrant and British cultures, and the differences between samples in how macro level systems such as culture and societal values were associated with cases of femicide. In relation to the three forms of discourse identified by Korteweg and Yurdakul (2010) discussed earlier in this chapter, the current study found that the main form of media discourse in relation to femicide in the UK was discourse that serves to stigmatise minority and immigrant populations. The media has the ability to promote particular perspectives and shape public opinion on topics, and has been found to overemphasise certain forms of violent crime, such as sexual killings, more than others that are more common, such as femicide in the context of poor family or marital relationships. Further, the more the media frames an issue in a certain way, the more likely it is to shape public discourse and opinion. The current results showed that the media consistently highlighted the role of culture in cases of HK, emphasising the 'otherness' of this type of femicide, while overlooking the role of culture or society in cases of IF. The majority of articles in the HK sample presented HK as a cultural phenomenon imported to the UK via immigration and multiculturalism, and several articles suggested that HK is an 'epidemic' infiltrating the UK. Consistent with previous findings (Gill, 2006; Shier & Shor, 2016) articles in the HK sample consistently emphasised the "gap" between eastern and western cultures. Such framing serves to perpetuate the notion that those migrating to the UK must abdicate their cultures and completely adopt the values of UK society in order to prevent VAWG, and that the more immigrant populations assimilate, the safer immigrant women will be (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007; Reimers, 2007). Previous research has shown that such perceptions can serve to increase anti-immigration feelings in the public by

legitimising mainstream racist attitudes, and lead to the development of policies that hinder settlement, integration, and diversity (Gill, 2006; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, 2010; Thobani, 2007). Within the HK sample, Asians/Muslims were portrayed as "infiltrating" British society and bringing with them violent and primitive customs. This is not only detrimental to immigrant communities and vulnerable immigrant women, but also perpetuates the perception that western women are inherently safe as a result of being western, and that VAWG in the UK is a private rather than social issue.

Articles within the IF sample did not discuss macro level systems such as social or cultural contexts of violence, with only one article touching on the problematic media portrayal of perpetrators of IF as equal victims of tragic circumstances. Previous research shows, as was also observed in the current results, that in coverage of cases of domestic violence the media often includes interviews with distant relatives or neighbours of perpetrators, rather than close friends or family members who may be more knowledgeable about the history and context of the violence (Gillespie et al., 2013). This inaccurately portrays the incident as an isolated event, framing the issue as a one-time occurrence rather than a larger social problem effected by many factors (Taylor, 2009). As argued by other researchers (e.g., Baker et al., 1999; Shier & Shor, 2016) feelings of shame, honour, and the entitlement to control women's bodies and sexual behaviour are not factors that are unique to cases labelled HK, and a consideration of these factors is required as well as a nuanced approach to tease apart the various factors that increase the risk of violence for differently situated women. An ecological framework that acknowledges the differential role of honour in individualistic and collectivistic societies as well as individual and interpersonal factors is imperative in understanding how femicide manifests in

different settings, and the risk and protective factors associated with it. The media taking an essentialist view labelling all femicide occurring in immigrant or eastern populations as HK and attributing it to cultural traditions can lead to public perceptions of immigrant populations as primitive and inherently violent, legitimising public feelings of superiority and the treatment of immigrants and minorities as inferior (Coelho, 2017; Gill, 2006; Kouta et al., 2018). In order to fully understand and represent the ecological factors that come together to produce instances of femicide, it is important to focus on both local majority and minority cultures and the interactions between them, using an multicausal theoretical framework to identify the various intersecting influences that support VAWG in different communities.

As highlighted previously in this chapter, the assumption that Western women are less vulnerable to VAWG than Eastern or immigrant women implies that femicide is rooted in eastern cultures, which are thought to be primitive and misogynistic (Razack, 2008; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005, Volpp, 2001). The results indicated that victims of HK are consistently portrayed as helpless and immature, as victims of their own culture who need to be saved and taught western feminism. An ecological framework allows for the consideration of the effects of colonialism on portrayals of the self and the other in the west and an acknowledgment of what has been called “saving brown women from brown men syndrome” (Gill, 2006; Mohanty et al., 1991; Spivak, 1994). As noted in the current results as well as previous research, perpetrators of HK are represented in western media as patriarchal controlling men who enforce and impose their culture on allegedly politically immature and weak women. In contrast, victims and perpetrators of IF are portrayed as being anomalies, exceptions in what is portrayed as a violence free British society. This type of framing has been used in the past by

colonisers to legitimise and vindicate imperialism and discriminatory and racist practices by presenting themselves as 'rescuers' (Spivak, 1994). On the one hand, the gradual assertion of western power and values in past colonialism was justified by the representation of femicide and other forms of VAWG in eastern regions as primitive cultural practices and traditions that can be eradicated by the adoption of purportedly superior western values (Spivak, 1994; Thompson, 2011). On the other hand, societies being colonised attempted to resist, and preserve their traditional values, ultimately viewing human rights, gender equality, and individual self-determination as foreign western values being forcefully imposed on them (Barzilai, 2004; Gill, Begikhani, Hague, 2012).

This type of framing is still evident in current western media, arbitrarily distinguishing between HK and IF based on cultural explanations and ethnicity of perpetrators, and implying that the solution to femicide lies in the adoption of western social norms and values. This perception not only serves to marginalise and alienate minority groups and immigrant cultures, but also affects western women adversely by implying that violence against women in the west is independent from society, culture, and community. This leads to a perception of femicide committed by Western men as a unique act by an individual rather than a mainstream issue to be addressed on a larger scale (Abu-Lughod, 2006). Abu-Lughod (2002) argues that cultural interpretations of femicide are simplistic and ignore historical and political factors to artificially divide the world into 'East vs. West' or 'Us vs. Them'. It is essential to note, as discussed in previous chapters, that femicide and other VAWG is a widespread global health issue and the notion of "dividing cultures into violent and violence free…is in and of itself a patriarchal myth" (Mojab & Hassanpour, 2002, p.84; Shalhoub-Kevorkian & Daher-Nashif, 2013). No society can

truly claim to be free from such violence as it has been shown to exist across cultures, social and economic classes, communities, and ethnicities.

Berns (2004), among other researchers on the topic, has argued that the way the media frames social problems significantly affects how it is viewed by the public as well as how it is addressed, and that the frame used to portray the problem implicitly suggests what action should be taken. As noted previously in the results, if cases of femicide are framed as being the problem of individual victims and perpetrators, then the solution for femicide also lies with the individual victims and perpetrators (Berns, 2004). Conversely, if cases of femicide are framed as being a cultural phenomenon and a problem mainly for immigrant and minority women, then the solution lies in integration and assimilation of immigrants and minorities into British culture. This highlights that by focusing on the culture and religion of individuals involved in the case, the media can create a problematic view of HK in which "addressing the purported existence of parallel societies and divergent values becomes the solution to the problem of honour-related violence" (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, p.16). Such limited portrayals and single-factor interpretations of femicide lead to inadequate legal and social protections for women at risk by not acknowledging wider social, environmental, and cultural factors that increase the risk of femicide for both western and immigrant women (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, 2010; Hayes et al., 2016, 2018). Previous research has shown that, in western countries, due to the media focus on HK being a result of culture and immigration, policy makers may focus on policies of integration rather than on policies aimed at violence reduction and prevention (Corradi et al., 2018; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009) leading to ineffective and culturally insensitive services for vulnerable immigrant and minority women.

Contrary to previous findings, over a third of the articles in the HK sample addressed the issue of the term “honour killing” being inappropriate and a cause of stigma and the culturalisation of violence. These articles argued that all victims suffer as a result of the arbitrary boundaries drawn between different types of VAWG. An ecological framework to understand VAWG requires the acknowledgement that VAWG can take many forms, is influenced by many intersecting factors, and cannot be attributed to one single cause or trait. The label of HK was observed to be a catalyst for discourse linking violence directly with culture without acknowledging the existence of different intersecting oppressions. Consistent with previous research, the current results showed that the label of HK was reserved for cases where perpetrators were of Asian/Muslim backgrounds (Coelho, 2017; Shier & Shor, 2016). Despite journalists and researchers ascribing certain characteristics to distinguish HK from IF (e.g., multiple perpetrators and community involvement in HK, committed by birth or marital relatives), it was found that these were not used when ascribing the label of HK. Rather, the ethnicity and cultural background of the perpetrators was the main cue used in distinguishing cases of HK from IF. It should be noted, therefore, that when journalists or researchers promote the idea that HK is a purely Muslim or Asian phenomenon, they should acknowledge that this label is rarely ascribed to cases of femicide in non-Muslim or western communities (Shier & Shor, 2016). Where the label of HK was applied, the suffering of victims was perceived as a cultural hazard. Once again, such framing leads to the assumption that immigrant women would be safer if they abandoned their own culture and assimilated to western social norms, obscuring the prevalence of VAWG in western cultures (Narayan, 1997; Remiers, 2007). The perception that vulnerable women are helpless victims of their own culture further compounds

the intersecting oppressions faced by immigrant women (e.g., difficulty seeking support due to language barriers, cultural interpretations of their situation) and distracts from the interactions between different cultural realities (Kouta et al., 2018; Nudelman, Boira, Tsomaia, Balica, & Tabagua, 2017). Meanwhile, victims in cases of IF are also marginalised, as the violence faced by them is consistently seen as private and unavoidable, and the cultural and societal factors contributing to VAWG in the west are ignored. Concepts of honour, shame, guilt, and control are perceived as being linked with specific cultures, and violence occurring in western societies is thought to have occurred in spite of the absence of any contributing cultural factors.

In sum, the results highlighted differential treatment in the UK media of HK and IF. Depictions of perpetrators and victims showed an emphasis in HK cases on the cultural identity of perpetrators and the attempts of victims to rebel against their oppressive culture. Depictions of the offences showed that, although there were no significant differences between the offences themselves, HK cases were framed as being excessively brutal and culturally sanctioned, whereas IF cases were portrayed as being isolated incidents resulting from extreme destabilising circumstances of the perpetrator. Depictions of professional practice highlighted a lack of training and resources for addressing femicide, with particular attention given to a 'need for cultural training' in the HK sample, and the apathy and incompetence of professional agencies in the IF sample. Finally, majority of the HK articles represented cases of HK as a result of the clash between western and immigrant cultures, with only a third of articles presenting HK as a part of the larger problem of VAWG. An ecological or multicausal framework was rarely used in reporting. Little consideration was given to all levels of factors (micro, meso, macro) and intersecting oppressions in either the HK or the IF sample, with HK

being largely attributed to culture and tradition, and IF being attributed to individual traits and circumstances. There were no discussions of the multicausal nature of VAWG, or the interplay between individual, interpersonal, community and societal factors that create unique instances of violence.

Misrepresentations of different forms of femicide and the selective individualisation or culturalisation of perpetrators' motives are filtered through the media into the perceptions, and consequently the attitudes and behaviours of the public (Taylor, 2009; Taylor & Sorenson, 2002; Berns, 2004). Responsible media initiatives could help to improve reporting in all cases of femicide. This could aim to spread awareness on how to identify abuse in all its forms and seek support, as well as to draw attention to relevant social and cultural factors that contribute to femicide in different settings without singling out any one community or culture. This could include collaboration from different services and agencies (e.g., police, victim advocates, women's organisations) to affect media and news coverage (Ryan, Anastario, & DaCunha, 2006), which can assist journalists and writers who are inexperienced or untrained in relation to VAWG to make more accurate and less judgemental presentations of different forms of gender-based violence. Recommendations for future practice and research are discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

Limitations of the Current Study

There are two main limitations of the current research chapter that should be considered. First, the nature of qualitative TA means that it is highly interpretive and may be influenced by possible researcher bias in identifying themes (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Although, as noted previously, efforts were made to control for this with the use of Braun and Clarke's six

phases of TA (See Appendix N) as well as reflection on the process of TA by the researcher (See Appendix P), it is important to keep this in mind when interpreting the results.

A second limitation of the current research is that there was little scope to examine the effect of political leanings or format of publication (i.e., tabloid vs. broadsheet) of the news sources. Previous research has shown that media sources often seek out extreme and sensational stories in order to attract audiences (Franklin, 2002; Robinson, Else, Sherlock, & Zass-Ogilvie, 2009). There were some indications in the current data that tabloid newspapers were more likely to report on cases of HK and present them as a serious epidemic and cultural norm, even though such extreme cases are much less common in the context of daily occurring VAWG. It would be helpful for future research to be able to explore the effects of media interests and political leanings on the style of reporting and the cases they choose to focus on.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research

The current results supported findings in previous research relating to media coverage of honour killings (HK) versus intimate femicide (IF) in western media, which showed that HK was viewed as an external problem (Coelho, 2017), perpetrators and victims were portrayed differently based on their ethnicity, culture, and religion, and western societies were often portrayed as superior to eastern societies, which were portrayed as being primitive and violent (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, 2010; Shier & Shor, 2016; Volpp, 2001). The current study found that the label of HK was often applied to cases based on the culture of those involved, and though there were distinctions in some of the cases suggesting specific factors that are more relevant to cases of violence in immigrant communities (e.g., parents as perpetrators, family consensus), it would appear that there are more overlapping factors between cases labelled HK

and IF (e.g., patriarchal control over female behaviour, motivated by shame, jealousy, anger) indicating that there are few distinct boundaries between these two forms of femicide as perceived by the media, and consequently the public.

The results suggest that the practice known as honour killing is not clearly defined or distinguished from other cases of femicide. When the media purports a cultural perspective of HK (Ali & Gavino, 2008) to the public, it has the power to affect public discourse and policy makers' decisions on how to address social problems (Berns 2004; Bullock & Cubert, 2002; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, 2010). As such, the media's focus on culture and religion as reasons for HK encourages policies focussed on social cohesion and pressuring immigrant communities to assimilate to British values, rather than focusing on factors that are relevant to unique instances of violence and how they may be more effectively identified and addressed. Further, where the label of HK is used only when femicide occurs in certain communities and not in others, it can serve to absolve western societies of the problem of VAWG, portraying it as a foreign practice and a problem for 'other' women. Suggestions around the use of the term honour killing to describe femicide are discussed in the final chapter.

Finally, it is hoped that the current research will help to improve our understanding of media conceptualisations and portrayals of different forms of femicide and other VAWG. VAWG is a global problem faced by women across cultures, religions, and nationalities (UN, 2006). It is essential to use an ecological multicausal framework (See Chapter One) to understanding the various factors and intersecting oppressions that contribute to VAWG, without singling out or targeting specific communities and cultures. This could lead to a better understanding of risk and protective factors, leading to more effective and sensitive

intervention and prevention strategies, comprehensive policies aimed at violence reduction rather than focusing on cultural integration, and ultimately a society where the lives of women are valued more than honour, pride, shame, or any of the other reasons why they are murdered by men close to them. The final chapter will summarise the findings of the current thesis, and discuss recommendations for future practice and research based on these findings.

Chapter Five

General Discussion

The aim of this thesis was to add to the evidence base on violence against women and girls (VAWG) by exploring the factors and themes prevalent in a specific form of gender-based violence, namely honour based violence (HBV). This was done via an investigation into how HBV is viewed by Middle Eastern and South Asian populations, by academics in risk assessment settings, and by western news media. Three distinct pieces of work were completed, including a systematic literature review of research relating to attitudes towards HBV in the Middle East and South Asia (Chapter Two), a critique of the PATRIARCH risk assessment measure for HBV (Chapter Three), and a qualitative research study investigating media representations of honour killing (HK) and other intimate femicide (IF) in the UK media (Chapter Four). The main findings across the thesis are synthesised in this chapter, and recommendations for future practice and research are discussed.

Main Findings of the Current Thesis

Chapter One provided an introduction to the topic of VAWG, with definitions of different forms of VAWG including HBV and HK. The need for an intersectional approach to understanding VAWG was discussed, with a view to emphasise the importance of acknowledging the multifaceted nature of VAWG. The role of honour and how it manifests in individualistic and collectivistic societies was discussed, followed by an exploration of different theoretical interpretations of violence in the name of honour. An ecological framework was introduced to be used throughout the thesis, including individual, interpersonal, community, and wider social factors that intersect to produce different forms of VAWG.

Chapter Two presented a systematic literature review of research in relation to attitudes towards HBV in Middle Eastern and South Asian populations, guided by an ecological framework and the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). It was noted that though there were several papers describing the concept of HBV and analysing various theoretical aspects of HBV, very few studies presented primary data and analyses of attitudes towards HBV in these regions. The systematic review found that there are varying levels of HBV supportive attitudes and normative beliefs about traditional gender roles and honour in different regions in the Middle East and South Asia, with more HBV supportive attitudes being observed in populations from rural areas with links to tribal cultures, with low levels of education, and with low socio-economic status. The review also highlighted several other factors that appeared to mediate and moderate HBV supportive attitudes, and influenced the strengths of behavioural, normative, and control beliefs about HBV, including gender, traditionalism, significance of rumours and gossip in society, and the moral justification of violence. The factors observed to be associated with attitudes towards HBV will be briefly outlined in the following section.

Men and boys were significantly more likely to condone and support HBV than women and girls (Caffaro et al., 2014; Calik, 2018; Eisner & Ghuniem 2013; Shaikh et al., 2010), and women proposed more severe punishments for perpetrators of HBV than men (Caffaro et al., 2014). This is consistent with previous findings presenting HBV as a form of male dominance and control over female behaviour (Kardam et al., 2005; Wikan, 2008). Men showed more behavioural and normative beliefs supporting HBV, such as the belief that they were capable of and expected to carry out violence to defend honour, whereas women held beliefs about the potential violent consequences of their own behaviour (Ouis, 2009). Adherence to traditions in

relation to gender roles, family structure, and female chastity were found to be significant predictors of HBV attitudes, and were found to be stronger than measures of religion (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). This highlighted the significance of social pressure and beliefs about the expectations of others in determining HBV attitudes. Further, this finding supports previous research indicating that links made between HBV and religion are tenuous and often confounded by social, economic, and cultural factors (Faqir, 2001; Nanes, 2003).

Rural-urban dichotomy and levels of education were found to be strongly associated with attitudes towards HBV (Calik, 2018; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Ouis, 2009), and individuals in modern urban areas and families with higher levels of education were dissatisfied with the culture of HBV. Participants from poorer areas and with less family education were more likely to internalise patriarchal values and condone HBV. It was noted that lower socio-economic status was associated with lower levels of education and higher transmission of traditional familial values (e.g., beliefs about traditional gender roles), highlighting the intersections between individual, interpersonal, and societal factors that influence VAWG in different settings. Intersections of culture and economic and political stability were also observed, with individuals from more economically developed and politically stable regions showing less HBV supportive attitudes than those from politically unstable and less developed regions (Calik, 2018; Ouis, 2009). Regions where law enforcement and government were weak showed higher levels of HBV supportive attitudes, highlighting how the environment strengthens individual beliefs about certain behaviours, such as beliefs that HBV will be rewarded by the community

rather than punished, and beliefs that men have a responsibility to maintain social order and protect and control women in the absence of a strong governing state.

Other factors observed to be associated with attitudes towards HBV included the significance of rumours and the moral justification of violence (Al-Gharaibeh, 2016; Dogan, 2016; Ouis, 2009). This further emphasised the intersecting nature of different factors, as it was argued that beliefs about the expectations of society and the shame associated with rumours were stronger than religious or personal beliefs, and perpetrators felt they had no choice but to commit HBV in spite of it contradicting with their personal beliefs. Social pressure was a significant predictor of how individuals perceived HBV, and social expectations of masculinity and femininity were evident in determining HBV supportive attitudes. Rumours were often seen as enough to inspire violence, indicating that an act does not have to be committed for a loss of honour to occur, calling attention to the parallel nature of the concepts of honour and shame (See Chapter One; Gill et al., 2012). The review highlighted the need for further research into factors that are associated with HBV and attitudes towards HBV in different populations with an appreciation of the role of honour in all VAWG across individualistic and collectivistic societies. Additionally, the findings showed the importance of the use of an ecological and intersectional approach acknowledging the interplay between different factors in the perceptions of HBV and how it fits into the wider spectrum of VAWG.

Chapter Three presented a critique of the PATRIARCH Checklist for the Assessment of Risk of Patriarchal Violence with Honour as Motive (PATRIARCH; Belfrage, 2005). Following on recommendations from Chapter Two, this critique aimed to explore some of the factors associated with HBV by academics and professionals in the context of risk assessment, as well

as to evaluate the quality and applicability of the PATRIARCH. The PATRIARCH appears to be the only measure designed specifically for the risk assessment of HBV. The PATRIARCH is comprised of factors drawn from the measure of Stalking Assessment and Management (SAM; Kropp et al., 2009) and the Brief Spousal Assault Form for the Evaluation of Risk (B-SAFER; Kropp et al., 2005; 2010), as well as some additional factors, thought to be relevant by the author and other experts, derived from the literature and evidence base around HBV.

The critique highlighted concerns in relation to the validity and reliability of the PATRIARCH, given that the main factors are drawn from other assessments and have not been validated by research in relation to HBV. This furthers the notion that there are few clear boundaries and distinctions between HBV and other types of VAWG (Welchman & Hossain, 2005a, 2005b). The lack of a theoretical framework in the development of the PATRIARCH means that it is unclear how the different factors relate to each other and if in fact they are all related to the same overarching construct of HBV. The limited evidence base in relation to HBV and the focus on factors prevalent in other specific types of VAWG may lead to the omission of distinct ecological factors that may be particularly relevant to HBV. It was noted that several of the factors that were highlighted by the systematic literature review (Chapter Two) as being associated with HBV supportive attitudes (e.g., educational background, traditionalism, family structure, socio-economic status) are not included in the PATRIARCH. Furthermore, the HBV specific factors included in the PATRIARCH that were not drawn from other measures appear to be focussed largely on cultural beliefs and cultural integration. This is consistent with previous findings that suggest that arbitrary distinctions drawn between HBV and other forms of VAWG are often based on unhelpful cultural stereotypes, and can lead to the exclusion of important

social, psychological, political, and economic factors affecting differently situated women (Gill, 2006, 2013; Kouta et al., 2018).

There is little research testing the reliability and validity of the PATRIARCH, though it has been widely circulated and reported to have assisted several authorities and professionals in the assessment and management of HBV cases (Belfrage et al., 2012). In the absence of any other measure assessing risk factors associated with HBV, the PATRIARCH appears to have been useful and sufficient, however the critique shows that research is needed to validate the factors used as well as to investigate other factors highlighted by the literature as being relevant to HBV. The introduction of a theoretical framework, such as an ecological framework and a typology of HBV to highlight the relevance of different factors in different instances of VAWG (See Chapter Three; Bates, 2017) may help to provide clearer guidance on the factors relevant to a risk of HBV in different settings, and be sensitive to the multifaceted nature of HBV and how it fits into the wider spectrum of VAWG.

Building on the findings of Chapters Two and Three which highlighted a lack of primary research into HBV as well as a poor understanding of the factors related to it and how it is defined or distinguished from other types of VAWG, Chapter Four presents an qualitative research study taking a comparative approach to explore perceptions of two forms of femicide, Honour killing (HK) and intimate femicide (IF), in the UK media. The aim of the study was to investigate similar and differential themes occurring in media reporting of cases of HK and IF in the UK using a qualitative and ecological multicausal approach. News articles sampled from widely circulated UK news sources were analysed using Thematic Analysis (TA; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Five main themes were derived from the data: *'Depictions of Perpetrators', 'Depictions*

of Victims', 'Depictions of Professional Practice', 'Depictions of Offence', and *'The Clash between Immigrant and Western Cultures'*.

Similar to the conflation between HBV and other forms of VAWG highlighted in Chapter Three, Chapter Four showed that HK and IF were often conflated in the media and the boundaries between these two forms of femicide were blurred. The media often labelled cases as HK based on the ethnicity and cultural identity of victims and perpetrators, with a focus on macro level factors such as cultural traditions, societal norms, and widespread beliefs about gender roles, without a discussion of how these factors interacted with micro level factors such as individual traits or interpersonal relationships. Cases were labelled as HK if perpetrators were from South Asian and Muslim backgrounds, whereas similar murders where victims and perpetrators were British were not labelled HK. It was further noted that where cases were labelled HK, the reporting focused on cultural and religious values of perpetrators and victims as explanations for violence. In contrast, reporting on murders in the IF sample focused on micro and meso level factors such as psychological issues, individual circumstances, and relationship problems. It was noted that reporting on HK often used a *cultural interpretation* (See Chapter One; Kressel, 1981; Safilios-Rothschild, 1969) when attempting to explain cases labelled as HK, and a more *individualistic interpretation* (See Chapter One; Kurkiala, 2003) when reporting on cases of IF. These findings were consistent with previous research findings showing that western media portrays HK as a cultural problem distinct from other forms of VAWG, alienating and stigmatising immigrant communities. In contrast violence against western women is portrayed as private and isolated incidents unrelated to wider social

contexts (Coelho, 2007; Gill, 2006; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Reimers, 2007; Shier & Shor, 2016).

A key finding of the study was that there were very few clear distinctions between cases labelled by the media as HK versus cases of IF. Some distinctions noted were that in half of the cases of HK the perpetrator was the victim's father, whereas no IF victims were killed by their father. It was observed that although cases in both samples had multiple perpetrators, this was more often the case in the HK sample where some perpetrators had more support from their family or community. However, as noted in previous chapters, the burden of protecting or restoring honour and controlling female behaviour in individualistic societies often shifts from her biological male relatives to her male intimate partner, who becomes responsible for her behaviour (Baker et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 2016, 2018). The individualisation of the concept of honour removes the involvement of the wider community, but the underlying motives of shame, honour, and control remain the same in cases of HK and IF. Media reports reflected that there was overlap in both samples in how the murders were committed, as well as in perpetrator motivations. For example, one of the main perpetrator motivations reported in both samples was separation or the end of a romantic relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. In the HK sample this was portrayed as victims being punished for attempting to make independent choices and rebelling against an oppressive culture that denies them agency. Conversely, in the IF sample separation was framed largely as an individual destabilising circumstance for the perpetrator. Victims were portrayed as having triggered the perpetrators' violence by being unfaithful or by beginning a new relationship, and these choices were not framed as attempts to seek freedom or independence as they were in the HK sample.

Perpetrators of IF were described as acting out of 'jealousy' or 'rage', rather than being motivated by 'honour', with no discussion of the overlapping nature of these concepts and their relation to VAWG across societies. This was consistent with previous research that showed that separation is a frequent motivating factor for femicide, but when framed as an HK it allows the media to focus on cultural and ethnic backgrounds and ignore the underlying social issue of VAWG in western societies (Hayes et al., 2016, 2018; Shier & Shor, 2016).

Professional responses in both the HK and IF samples were portrayed in the media as inadequate. In the HK sample, professional failures and missed opportunities were portrayed as being a result of poor cultural understanding, and the inability of professionals to intervene in what they perceived as a 'cultural issue'. In the IF sample, professional failures were often portrayed as being a result of poor communication between agencies, lack of training, and careless mistakes. Media reports on cases labelled HK focussed on the cultural nature of HK that prevents professionals from responding effectively, rather than on training for professionals on how to assess risk and protect all victims of VAWG. Poor professional responses were attributed to language barriers, closed immigrant communities, and the unwillingness of witnesses to come forward. Previous research has showed that such a focus draws attention to policies of immigration and integration and away from policies related to violence prevention (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009). The current study supported previous research that showed that professional agencies in the UK lack important knowledge about HBV and how to respond to it (Begikhani et al., 2015; HMIC, 2015).

Other key findings from the study included that the discourse around HBV in the UK media often emphasised macro level differences between the east and the west by focussing

on the perceived clash between eastern and western cultures. Eastern cultures were portrayed as primitive and violent, whereas western society was portrayed as safe and violence free. Such reporting can perpetuate the idea that western women are inherently safe from VAWG, and that immigrant women would be safer if they abandoned their own culture in exchange for western values (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). This type of framing links femicide and other VAWG directly with macro level processes without acknowledging how they interact with every day individuals and society. HK was often presented as a problem resulting from immigration and multiculturalism, whereas IF was portrayed as private and isolated instances of violence. In both cases, wider issues relating to VAWG, such patriarchal values and traditional gender roles embedded within both eastern and western societies, and how they intersect with micro and meso level factors, largely ignored. The results support the notion that HK and IF are conceptually conflated in cases of femicide occurring in eastern populations, and that the term HK as used by the media is unclear and inconsistent. Further, it was observed that the use of the term HK in the media often serves to stigmatise certain communities by applying a cultural context to violence rather than conceptualising it as a part of the spectrum of VAWG (Gill, 2013; Siddiqui, 2005).

Consistent with the findings of previous chapters highlighting the importance of conceptualising HBV within the broader spectrum of VAWG, Chapter Four showed the need for a more holistic interpretation of femicide, which can take into account the multicausal nature of different forms of VAWG and acknowledge the intersecting oppressions faced by differently situated women. Further research using an ecological framework to explore representations of femicide and other VAWG would allow for more consideration of the various social, cultural,

and psychological factors associated with VAWG in different settings, and how they compound and interact with each other, without relying on labels that target and stigmatise specific cultures or communities. Taking together the findings of the pieces of work completed for this thesis, recommendations for future research and practice are made in the following section.

Recommendations for Practice and Future Research

Recommendations for Future Research and Assessment

Given the lack of good quality primary research on the topic of HBV, as highlighted in Chapters Two and Three, it is recommended that future research should focus on attempting to gather primary data from survivors and perpetrators of HBV (e.g., Dogan, 2014, 2016; Idriss, 2018). This will help to gain more insight into factors associated with cases of HBV, and how they fit into the wider spectrum of VAWG. Researchers should aim to use a transnational and intersectional approach within an ecological framework to appreciate the intersections of individual, interpersonal, community, and societal factors that lead to the perpetuation and maintenance of different forms of VAWG across the globe. This would further help to address the conflation between HBV and other forms of VAWG, where VAWG in eastern regions is labelled HBV without a consideration of the different factors that influence the victimisation of differently situated women.

Further research is required to identify and validate the specific factors associated with HBV in the context of risk prediction and management, via analysis of cases and primary research investigating characteristics of victims and perpetrators of HBV. Researchers and practitioners must provide clear definitions of the concepts they are describing, as general definitions of HBV are broad and inconsistent and without clear definition it is difficult to

operationalise the concept of HBV and compare data across regions. As shown in Chapter Three, there is a lack of reliable instruments to assess risk of HBV, and the PATRIARCH risk assessment is largely comprised of factors that are specific to other types of VAWG. Additionally, several factors that were identified as being associated with HBV via the results of this thesis (e.g., educational background, adherence to traditional values, socio-economic status) are not included in the assessment. This suggests that there are factors that may be specific to instances of HBV that are not considered in professional assessments, which could contribute to inadequate and inappropriate professional responses.

These issues described above in relation to a lack of reliable risk assessment measures may be overcome by the introduction of a clear theoretical framework within which to investigate and assess cases of HBV. As noted in Chapter Three, a typology of HBV (Bates, 2017) may be helpful in identifying differential risks in cases by isolating factors associated with HBV in different contexts. Additionally, using an ecological framework to develop risk assessments for VAWG would allow for comprehensive consideration of the various levels of factors that may increase or decrease risk of violence in different settings, as well as acknowledge the role of honour in VAWG across societies, rather than viewing HBV as a specific cultural form of violence that is distinct from other VAWG.

Recommendations for Media Portrayals of Violence against Women and Girls

Media professionals and journalists should aim to frame VAWG in terms of the different levels of ecological factors that contribute to different forms of VAWG in order to raise awareness and change social perceptions of HBV as a form of cultural violence. The results of the thesis supported previous findings that the media has a tendency to portray cases labelled

as HK as an issue related to foreign cultures and immigration, using the label of honour to culturalise violence. This framing influences public perception and discourse, and can lead to VAWG being seen as a foreign problem faced by 'other' women, as well as an assumption that VAWG in the west is not a widespread social problem but rather an individual problem to be addressed at an individual level. As discussed previously, framing VAWG as a cultural issue leads to the development of public opinion as well as policy, leading to more discriminatory and anti-immigration sentiments and government initiatives aimed at integration and assimilation rather than violence reduction and prevention (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009, 2010). Additionally, it also distracts from the role of honour and shame in VAWG across societies. Responsible media, community, and school education programmes to spread awareness in the public would help people in identification and reporting of HBV/HK. This could include programmes that are aimed at working with men and boys to challenge and change their attitudes towards VAWG (e.g., Sharaf Heroes project in Sweden; See Rexvid & Schlytter, 2012).

Journalists should undergo sensitivity training and attempt to balance the need for sensationalism in news stories with a need for awareness campaigns and accurate representations of VAWG. This could be done via collaboration with professional agencies and local communities who can broaden their perspective and redirect the media to spread awareness and accurate representations of gender-based violence in all its forms. This can assist to empower women to identify and report their abuse, as well as influence public discourse and understanding of different forms of VAWG, which may in turn lead to better services and policies that are able to support women from different backgrounds experiencing unique instances of violence.

Recommendations for the Use of the Term 'Honour'

The media, as well as academics, should be cautious in using the term 'honour' when referring to murder or violence, and aim to conceptualise HBV and HK as parts of the broader spectrum of VAWG (Gill, 2013; Hayes et al., 2016, 2018; Shier & Shor, 2016; Siddiqui, 2015), framing it in terms of relevant and intersecting ecological factors that contribute to VAWG in different settings. Chapter Four highlighted the tendency in the UK media for journalists to associate the label of HK with eastern and Asian communities, whereas VAWG committed by British men is viewed in the context of micro level individual factors without implicating wider societal values and patriarchal beliefs. This affects public perceptions of HBV and HK, and of immigrant communities, legitimising mainstream racist attitudes about the superiority of western cultures (Gill, 2006). Scholars have argued, as is supported by the current findings, for the use of the term femicide instead of HK (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003) and the use of the term VAWG instead of HBV (Gill, 2009; 2013). The importance of the role of honour across the spectrum of VAWG makes it impossible to study HBV as a single distinct form of violence without a consideration of the wider contexts within which it occurs.

The labels of HBV or HK may be necessary in some cases to facilitate data collection and comparison across regions, and in the development of targeted assessments, however there is little consistency in how these labels are used or defined. An ecological multicausal approach is needed when investigating HBV in order to allow for the consideration of the role of honour in VAWG without essentialising certain communities. This may in turn improve services for victims of different forms of VAWG by making them more inclusive and encouraging them to consider various intersecting factors that contribute to different forms of VAWG without being

biased by labels. As noted by Gill (2009), “the movement towards greater understanding has been impeded by semantic wrangling over the term ‘honour crime’ itself” (p.2). It is more important to focus on practical applications of the understanding how honour manifests in different cases of VAWG, and of various ecological factors, including gender, culture, tradition, and individual and interpersonal characteristics that intersect and interact to create unique instances of VAWG.

Recommendations for Future Practice

Professional agencies should aim to provide training on different forms of VAWG to those working with differently situated victims. An inclusive transnational and intersectional approach within an ecological framework to understanding different forms of VAWG will help professional and public agencies to correctly identify the relevant cultural, social, individual, and interpersonal factors that contribute to different forms of VAWG (e.g., HBV) in different communities in the UK, and incorporate them into policies and prevention programmes addressing VAWG. It was noted in previous chapters that interest in the topic of HBV has been increasing in the UK over the last two decades, and extensive reporting on HKs in the UK has led to this form of VAWG being more visible to the public (Gill, 2009; Idriss, 2018; Thiara & Gill, 2010). Articles analysed in Chapter Four, as well as previous research (e.g., Begikhani et al., 2015; Hayes et al. 2016, 2018) highlights the need for a better understanding in professional agencies of how to respond to different cases of femicide. Training on how to identify different levels of ecological factors and how they influence different forms of violence would allow police and professionals to act without being distracted by perceived cultural issues.

Cultural sensitivity and awareness within professional agencies should be improved via understanding of specific sociocultural factors that contribute to VAWG and femicide in different communities, which may facilitate support seeking amongst differently situated victims. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to use a multiagency approach to understanding and addressing VAWG, involving healthcare and education professionals, legal professionals and policy makers, police and law enforcement agencies, other institutions dealing with VAWG, and communities and victims themselves (Gill et al., 2016). Further, as shown in Chapters Three and Four, professional agencies should aim to be more inclusive and accessible for victims. For example, translators should be available for victims that need to make disclosures or report abuse, and a multiagency approach should be used to address reports of VAWG. The findings suggest important risk factors in different cases of VAWG may be overlooked by healthcare and education professionals due to a lack of training or awareness, and poor communication between agencies. All relevant professionals must aim to make information about VAWG and femicide accessible to women from all backgrounds, ensuring balanced services for all victims that are effective in detecting and preventing different forms of VAWG.

Concluding Comments

The current thesis achieved its aims by using an ecological approach to expand the knowledge base of themes and factors associated with HBV. Several factors at individual, interpersonal, community, and societal levels, including gender, education, and social environment were observed as influencing attitudes towards HBV in different populations. A need for better and more theoretically sound risk assessment measures for HBV was observed. Additionally, using a novel comparative methodology to qualitatively analyse a large sample of

UK news articles allowed for a unique contribution to the literature in relation to how different forms of femicide are portrayed by the UK media. A comparison of reporting on honour killing (HK) and other cases of intimate femicide (IF) emphasised differences in perceptions and representations of these two types of femicide, providing insight into the similar and differential themes that occur in their portrayal. The results highlighted a conceptual conflation between HK and IF, and further highlighted the need for an intersectional and ecological approach to understanding HBV as a part of the broader spectrum of VAWG.

The thesis has helped to identify some of the main factors that are associated with VAWG committed in the name of honour and provides a starting point for further research to validate and describe these factors, as well as assess how they fit into the wider spectrum of VAWG. It is clear from the results that VAWG cuts across all societies and communities, and that it is essential to acknowledge and understand the role of honour and shame in all instanced of VAWG.

It is hoped that the findings and recommendations of this thesis will contribute to a better understanding of how HBV fits into the overarching concept of VAWG, as well as towards further research aiding the development of better prevention and management strategies and a safer society for women and girls worldwide.

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Appendix A

Search Syntax from Electronic Databases

Initial Searches (January 2007 – December 2017)

Ovid PsycINFO 1967 to April Week 1 2018

Ovid MEDLINE(R) 1946 to April Week 1 2018

1	(honour or honor).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	7282
2	(violence or killing* or murder* or crime*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	235884
3	(famil* or cultur* or custom* or norm* or tradition* or communit*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	5726763
4	1 and 2 and 3	436
5	Limit 4 to English Language	421
6	Limit 5 to yr="2007 – 2017"	286
7	Remove duplicates from 6	260

Ovid EMBASE (1974 to April Week 1 2018)

1	(honour or honor).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	4195
2	(violence or killing* or murder* or crime*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	178759
3	(famil* or cultur* or custom* or norm* or tradition* or communit*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, ot, nm, hw, kf, px, rx, ui, an, sy, tc, id, tm]	6592929
4	1 and 2 and 3	108
5	Limit 4 to English language	104
6	Limit 5 to yr="2007 – 2017"	75
7	Remove duplicates from 6	70

ERIC ProQuest (All years to present)

ASSIA ProQuest (All years to present)

noft(Honour OR honor) AND noft(violence OR killing* OR murder* OR crime*) AND noft(famil* OR cultur* OR custom* OR norm* OR tradition* OR communit*)

SCOPUS (All years to present)

(TITLE-ABS-KEY (honour OR honor) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (violence OR killing* OR murder* OR crime*) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (famil* OR cultur* OR custom* OR norm* OR tradition* OR communit*)) ANDPUBYEAR > 2006 AND PUBYEAR < 2018 AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "English")) AND (EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "ch") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "bk") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "ed") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "le") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "cr") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "no"))

Updated Searches (January 2018 – March 2020)

Ovid PsycINFO 1967 to March Week 1 2020

Ovid MEDLINE(R) 1946 to March Week 1 2020

Ovid EMBASE 1974 to March Week 1 2020

1	(HONOUR or HONOR).mp. [mp=ti, ab, hw, tn, ot, dm, mf, dv, kw, fx, dq, nm, kf, ox, px, rx, an, ui, sy, tc, id, tm, mh]	12562
2	(VIOLENCE or KILLING* or MURDER* or CRIME*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, hw, tn, ot, dm, mf, dv, kw, fx, dq, nm, kf, ox, px, rx, an, ui, sy, tc, id, tm, mh]	466000
3	(FAMIL* or CULTUR* or CUSTOM* or NORM* or TRADITION* or COMMUNIT*).mp. [mp=ti, ab, hw, tn, ot, dm, mf, dv, kw, fx, dq, nm, kf, ox, px, rx, an, ui, sy, tc, id, tm, mh]	13351238
4	1 and 2 and 3	624
5	limit 4 to yr="2018 – MARCH WEEK 1 2020"	71
6	limit 5 to english	61
7	remove duplicates from 6	46

ERIC ProQuest (All years to present)

ASSIA ProQuest (All years to present)

noft(Honour OR honor) AND noft(violence OR killing* OR murder* OR crime*) AND noft(famil* OR cultur* OR custom* OR norm* OR tradition* OR communit*)

SCOPUS (All years to present)

(TITLE-ABS-KEY (honour) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (honor) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (violence) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (killing*) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (murder*) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (crime*) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (famil*) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (cultur*) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (custom*) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (norm*) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (tradition*) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (communit*)) AND PUBYEAR > 2017 AND PUBYEAR < MARCH 2020 AND (EXCLUDE (PUBSTAGE , "aip")) AND (EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "re") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "ch") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "bk") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "no") OR EXCLUDE (DOCTYPE , "Undefined"))

Appendix B

Study Screening and Selection Tool

Study reference:

Study Characteristics	Eligibility criteria	Eligibility criteria met? Yes	No	Unclear	Location in text or source *(pg & ¶/fig/table)*
Sample	Participants must be of South Asian or Middle Eastern ethnicity	☐	☐	☐	
Phenomenon of Interest	Attitudes towards and perceptions of Honour-Based Violence	☐	☐	☐	
Type of study	Experimental study including randomized controlled trials (RCTs) or cluster-randomized trials (CRTs).	☐	☐	☐	
	Quasi-experimental studies including quasi-randomized trials, controlled before-after studies (CBAs) and interrupted time series studies (ITSs).	☐	☐	☐	
	Observational studies including cohort, case-control and cross-sectional studies.	☐	☐	☐	
Types of intervention	Not necessary	☐	☐	☐	
Types of comparison	Not Necessary	☐	☐	☐	
Types of outcome measures	Measure of Attitudes and perceptions towards Honour-Based Violence	☐	☐	☐	
Results	Quantitative	☐	☐	☐	
	Qualitative	☐	☐	☐	

	Mixed-Methods	☐ ☐ ☐	
INCLUDE ☐		EXCLUDE ☐	
Reason for exclusion			
Notes:			

DO NOT PROCEED TO QUALITY ASSESSMENT IF STUDY EXCLUDED FROM REVIEW

Appendix C

The League of Arab States

1. Algeria
2. Bahrain
3. Comoros
4. Djibouti
5. Egypt
6. Iraq
7. Jordan
8. Kuwait
9. Lebanon
10. Libya
11. Mauritania
12. Morocco
13. Oman
14. Palestine
15. Qatar
16. Saudi Arabia
17. Somalia
18. Sudan
19. Syria
20. Tunisia
21. United Arab Emirates
22. Yemen

Appendix D

Risk of Bias Tool

Risk of Bias Tool (Quality Assessment)

Entry	Judgment	Support for Judgment
Random sequence generation (selection bias)		
Allocation concealment (selection bias)		
Blinding of participants and personnel (performance bias)		
Blinding of outcome assessment (detection bias)		
Incomplete outcome data addressed (attrition bias)		
Selective reporting (reporting bias)		
Other bias		

Appendix E

Supplementary Guidance for Risk of Bias Tool

The Cochrane Collaboration's Tool for Assessing Risk of Bias

Domain	Support for judgement	Review authors' judgement
Selection bias.		
Random sequence generation.	Describe the method used to generate the allocation sequence in sufficient detail to allow an assessment of whether it should produce comparable groups.	Selection bias (biased allocation to interventions) due to inadequate generation of a randomised sequence.
Allocation concealment.	Describe the method used to conceal the allocation sequence in sufficient detail to determine whether intervention allocations could have been foreseen in advance of, or during, enrolment.	Selection bias (biased allocation to interventions) due to inadequate concealment of allocations prior to assignment.
Performance bias.		
Blinding of participants and personnel *Assessments should be made for each main outcome (or class of outcomes).*	Describe all measures used, if any, to blind study participants and personnel from knowledge of which intervention a participant received. Provide any information relating to whether the intended blinding was effective.	Performance bias due to knowledge of the allocated interventions by participants and personnel during the study.
Detection bias.		
Blinding of outcome assessment *Assessments should be made for each main outcome (or class of outcomes).*	Describe all measures used, if any, to blind outcome assessors from knowledge of which intervention a participant received. Provide any information relating to whether the intended blinding was effective.	Detection bias due to knowledge of the allocated interventions by outcome assessors.
Attrition bias.		
Incomplete outcome data *Assessments should be made for each main outcome (or class of outcomes).*	Describe the completeness of outcome data for each main outcome, including attrition and exclusions from the analysis. State whether attrition and exclusions were reported, the numbers in each intervention group (compared with total randomized	Attrition bias due to amount, nature or handling of incomplete outcome data.

	participants), reasons for attrition/exclusions where reported, and any re-inclusions in analyses performed by the review authors.	
Reporting bias.		
Selective reporting.	State how the possibility of selective outcome reporting was examined by the review authors, and what was found.	Reporting bias due to selective outcome reporting.
Other bias.		
Other sources of bias.	State any important concerns about bias not addressed in the other domains in the tool. If particular questions/entries were pre-specified in the review's protocol, responses should be provided for each question/entry.	Bias due to problems not covered elsewhere in the table.

Appendix F

Criteria for Judging Risk of Bias

Criteria for judging risk of bias in the 'Risk of bias' assessment tool

RANDOM SEQUENCE GENERATION **Selection bias (biased allocation to interventions) due to inadequate generation of a randomised sequence.**	
Criteria for a judgement of 'Low risk' of bias.	The investigators describe a random component in the sequence generation process such as: Referring to a random number table; Using a computer random number generator; Coin tossing; Shuffling cards or envelopes; Throwing dice; Drawing of lots; Minimization*. *Minimization may be implemented without a random element, and this is considered to be equivalent to being random.
Criteria for the judgement of 'High risk' of bias.	The investigators describe a non-random component in the sequence generation process. Usually, the description would involve some systematic, non-random approach, for example: Sequence generated by odd or even date of birth; Sequence generated by some rule based on date (or day) of admission; Sequence generated by some rule based on hospital or clinic record number. Other non-random approaches happen much less frequently than the systematic approaches mentioned above and tend to be obvious. They usually involve judgement or some method of non-random categorization of participants, for example: Allocation by judgement of the clinician; Allocation by preference of the participant; Allocation based on the results of a laboratory test or a series of tests; Allocation by availability of the intervention.
Criteria for the judgement of 'Unclear risk' of bias.	Insufficient information about the sequence generation process to permit judgement of 'Low risk' or 'High risk'.

ALLOCATION CONCEALMENT **Selection bias (biased allocation to interventions) due to inadequate concealment of allocations prior to assignment.**	
Criteria for a judgement of 'Low risk' of bias.	Participants and investigators enrolling participants could not foresee assignment because one of the following, or an equivalent method, was used to conceal allocation: Central allocation (including telephone, web-based and pharmacy-controlled randomization); Sequentially numbered drug containers of identical appearance; Sequentially numbered, opaque, sealed envelopes.
Criteria for the judgement of 'High risk' of bias.	Participants or investigators enrolling participants could possibly foresee assignments and thus introduce selection bias, such as allocation based on: Using an open random allocation schedule (e.g. a list of random numbers); Assignment envelopes were used without appropriate safeguards (e.g. if envelopes were unsealed or nonopaque or not sequentially numbered); Alternation or rotation; Date of birth; Case record number; Any other explicitly unconcealed procedure.
Criteria for the judgement of 'Unclear risk' of bias.	Insufficient information to permit judgement of 'Low risk' or 'High risk'. This is usually the case if the method of concealment is not described or not described in sufficient detail to allow a definite judgement – for example if the use of assignment envelopes is described, but it remains unclear whether envelopes were sequentially numbered, opaque and sealed.
BLINDING OF PARTICIPANTS AND PERSONNEL **Performance bias due to knowledge of the allocated interventions by participants and personnel during the study.**	
Criteria for a judgement of 'Low risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: No blinding or incomplete blinding, but the review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding; Blinding of participants and key study personnel ensured, and unlikely that the blinding could have been broken.
Criteria for the judgement of 'High risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: No blinding or incomplete blinding, and the outcome is likely to be influenced by lack of blinding; Blinding of key study participants and personnel attempted, but likely that the blinding could have been broken, and the outcome is likely to be influenced by lack of blinding.
Criteria for the	Any one of the following:

judgement of 'Unclear risk' of bias.	Insufficient information to permit judgement of 'Low risk' or 'High risk'; The study did not address this outcome.
BLINDING OF OUTCOME ASSESSMENT **Detection bias due to knowledge of the allocated interventions by outcome assessors.**	
Criteria for a judgement of 'Low risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: No blinding of outcome assessment, but the review authors judge that the outcome measurement is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding; Blinding of outcome assessment ensured, and unlikely that the blinding could have been broken.
Criteria for the judgement of 'High risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: No blinding of outcome assessment, and the outcome measurement is likely to be influenced by lack of blinding; Blinding of outcome assessment, but likely that the blinding could have been broken, and the outcome measurement is likely to be influenced by lack of blinding.
Criteria for the judgement of 'Unclear risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: Insufficient information to permit judgement of 'Low risk' or 'High risk'; The study did not address this outcome.
INCOMPLETE OUTCOME DATA **Attrition bias due to amount, nature or handling of incomplete outcome data.**	
Criteria for a judgement of 'Low risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: No missing outcome data; Reasons for missing outcome data unlikely to be related to true outcome (for survival data, censoring unlikely to be introducing bias); Missing outcome data balanced in numbers across intervention groups, with similar reasons for missing data across groups; For dichotomous outcome data, the proportion of missing outcomes compared with observed event risk not enough to have a clinically relevant impact on the intervention effect estimate; For continuous outcome data, plausible effect size (difference in means or standardized difference in means) among missing outcomes not enough to have a clinically relevant impact on observed effect size; Missing data have been imputed using appropriate methods.
Criteria for the judgement of 'High risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: Reason for missing outcome data likely to be related to true outcome, with either imbalance in numbers or reasons for missing data across intervention groups; For dichotomous outcome data, the proportion of missing outcomes

	compared with observed event risk enough to induce clinically relevant bias in intervention effect estimate; For continuous outcome data, plausible effect size (difference in means or standardized difference in means) among missing outcomes enough to induce clinically relevant bias in observed effect size; 'As-treated' analysis done with substantial departure of the intervention received from that assigned at randomization; Potentially inappropriate application of simple imputation.
Criteria for the judgement of 'Unclear risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: Insufficient reporting of attrition/exclusions to permit judgement of 'Low risk' or 'High risk' (e.g. number randomized not stated, no reasons for missing data provided); The study did not address this outcome.
SELECTIVE REPORTING **Reporting bias due to selective outcome reporting.**	
Criteria for a judgement of 'Low risk' of bias.	Any of the following: The study protocol is available and all of the study's pre-specified (primary and secondary) outcomes that are of interest in the review have been reported in the pre-specified way; The study protocol is not available but it is clear that the published reports include all expected outcomes, including those that were pre-specified (convincing text of this nature may be uncommon).
Criteria for the judgement of 'High risk' of bias.	Any one of the following: Not all of the study's pre-specified primary outcomes have been reported; One or more primary outcomes is reported using measurements, analysis methods or subsets of the data (e.g. subscales) that were not pre-specified; One or more reported primary outcomes were not pre-specified (unless clear justification for their reporting is provided, such as an unexpected adverse effect); One or more outcomes of interest in the review are reported incompletely so that they cannot be entered in a meta-analysis; The study report fails to include results for a key outcome that would be expected to have been reported for such a study.
Criteria for the judgement of 'Unclear risk' of bias.	Insufficient information to permit judgement of 'Low risk' or 'High risk'. It is likely that the majority of studies will fall into this category.
OTHER BIAS **Bias due to problems not covered elsewhere in the table.**	
Criteria for a	The study appears to be free of other sources of bias.

judgement of 'Low risk' of bias.	
Criteria for the judgement of 'High risk' of bias.	There is at least one important risk of bias. For example, the study: Had a potential source of bias related to the specific study design used; or Has been claimed to have been fraudulent; or Had some other problem.
Criteria for the judgement of 'Unclear risk' of bias.	There may be a risk of bias, but there is either: Insufficient information to assess whether an important risk of bias exists; or Insufficient rationale or evidence that an identified problem will introduce bias.

Appendix G

Examples of Support Judgements On Risk Of Bias Tool

Examples of supports for judgement for sequence generation entry

Sequence generation.	Comment: No information provided.
Sequence generation.	Quote: “patients were randomly allocated”.
Sequence generation.	Quote: “patients were randomly allocated”. Comment: Probably done, since earlier reports from the same investigators clearly describe use of random sequences (Cartwright 1980).
Sequence generation.	Quote: “patients were randomly allocated”. Comment: Probably not done, as a similar trial by these investigators included the same phrase yet used alternate allocation (Winrow 1983).
Sequence generation.	Quote (from report): “patients were randomly allocated”. Quote (from correspondence): “randomization was performed according to day of treatment”. Comment: Not randomized.

Appendix H

Example Risk of Bias Table

Example of a 'Risk of bias' table for a single study (fictional)

Entry	Judgement	Support for judgement
Random sequence generation (selection bias)	Low risk.	Quote: "patients were randomly allocated." Comment: Probably done, since earlier reports from the same investigators clearly describe use of random sequences (Cartwright 1980).
Allocation concealment (selection bias)	High risk.	Quote: "...using a table of random numbers." Comment: Probably not done.
Blinding of participants and personnel (performance bias)	Low risk.	Quote: "double blind, double dummy"; "High and low dose tablets or capsules were indistinguishable in all aspects of their outward appearance. For each drug an identically matched placebo was available (the success of blinding was evaluated by examining the drugs before distribution)." Comment: Probably done.
Blinding of outcome assessment (detection bias) (patient-reported outcomes)	Low risk.	Quote: "double blind". Comment: Probably done.
Blinding of outcome assessment (detection bias) (Mortality)	Low risk.	Obtained from medical records; review authors do not believe this will introduce bias.
Incomplete outcome data addressed (attrition bias) (Short-term outcomes (2-6 weeks))	High risk.	4 weeks: 17/110 missing from intervention group (9 due to 'lack of efficacy'); 7/113 missing from control group (2 due to 'lack of efficacy').
Incomplete outcome data addressed	High risk.	12 weeks: 31/110 missing from intervention group; 18/113 missing from control group.

(attrition bias) (Longer-term outcomes (>6 weeks))		Reasons differ across groups.
Selective reporting (reporting bias)	High risk.	Three rating scales for cognition listed in Methods, but only one (with statistically significant results) is reported.

Appendix I

Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) Quality Assessment Tool for Qualitative Studies

Screening Questions	**Eligibility criteria met?**			**Notes**
	Yes	**No**	**Unclear**	
Was there are clear statement of the aims of the research? *What was the goal of the research* *Why was it thought important* *Its relevance*	☐	☐	☐	
Is a qualitative methodology appropriate? *If the research seeks to interpret or illuminate the actions and/or subjective experiences o research participants* *Is qualitative research the right methodology for addressing the research goals?*	☐	☐	☐	
Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research? *If the researcher has justified the research design (e.g. have they discussed how they decided which method to use?)*	☐	☐	☐	
Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research? *If the researcher explained how the participants were selected?* *If they explained why the participants they selected were the most appropriate to provide access to the type of knowledge sought by this study* *If there are any discussions around recruitment (e.g. why some people chose not to take part)*	☐	☐	☐	
Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue? *If the setting for data collection was justified* *If it is clear how data were collected (e.g.*	☐	☐	☐	

focus groups, semi-structured interviews) *If the researcher has justified the methods chosen* *If the researcher has made the methods explicit (e.g. for interview method, is there an indication of how interviews were conducted, or did they use a topic guide)?* *If methods were modified during the study. If so, has the researcher explained how and why?* *If the form of data is clear (e.g. tape recordings, video materials, notes)* *If the researcher has discussed saturation of the data*		
Has the relationship between researcher and participant been adequately considered? *If the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias and influence during: (a) Formulation of the research questions and (b) Data collection, including sample recruitment and choice of location* *How the researcher responded to events during the study and whether they considered the implications of any changes in the research design*	☐ ☐ ☐	
Have ethical issues been taken into consideration? *If there are sufficient details of how the research was explained to participants for the reader to assess whether ethical standards were maintained* *If the researcher has discussed issues raised b the study (e.g. issues around informed consent or confidentiality or how they have handled the effects of the study on the participants and after the study)* *If approval has been sought from the ethics*	☐ ☐ ☐	

committee or other relevant body		
Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous? *If there is an in-depth discussion of the analysis process* *If thematic analysis is used. If so, is it clear how the categories/themes were derived from the data?* *Whether the researcher explains how the data presented were selected from the original sample to demonstrate the analysis process* *If sufficient data are presented to support the findings* *To what extent contradictory data are taken into account* *Whether the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias, and influence during analysis and selections of data for presentation*	☐ ☐ ☐	
Is there a clear statement of findings? *If the findings are explicit* *If there is adequate discussion of the evidence both for and against the researchers arguments* *If the researcher has discussed the credibility of their findings (e.g. triangulation, respondent validation, more than one analyst)* *If the findings are discussed in relation to the original research question*	☐ ☐ ☐	
How valuable is the research? *If the researcher discusses the contribution the study makes to the existing knowledge or understanding (e.g. do they consider the*	☐ ☐ ☐	

findings in relation to the current practice or policy?) *If they identify new areas where research is necessary* *If the researchers have discussed whether or how the findings can be transferred to other populations or considered other ways the research may be used*		

Appendix J

Data Extraction Form

Data Extraction Form

Notes:

- Be consistent in the order and style you use to describe the information for each report.
- Record any missing information as unclear or not described, to make it clear that the information was not found in the study report(s), not that you forgot to extract it.

Review title	
Study ID *(surname of first author and year first full report of study was published e.g. Smith 2001)*	
Notes	

General Information

Date form completed *(dd/mm/yyyy)*	
Name/ID of person extracting data	
Reference citation (e.g. Medline)	
Study author contact details	
Publication type *(e.g. full report, abstract, letter)*	
Notes:	

Characteristics of included studies

Methods

	Descriptions as stated in report/paper		**Location in text or source** *(pg & ¶/fig/table)*
Aim of study			
Design			
Start date			
End date			
Duration of participation *(from recruitment to last follow-up)*			
Ethical approval needed/ obtained for study	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unclear		
Notes:			

Participants

	Description	Location in text or source *(pg & ¶/fig/table)*
Population description *(from which study participants are drawn)*		

Setting and context *(including but not limited to healthcare system characteristics and health financing - e.g. user fees or financial coverage of PNC services - as well as social context, location).*		
Inclusion criteria		
Exclusion criteria		
Method of recruitment of participants *(e.g. phone, mail, clinic patients)*		
Informed consent obtained	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unclear	
Total no. of subjects		
Withdrawals and exclusions		
Missing data		
Outcome(s)		
Definition, measure & classification		
Confounding factors/ effect modifiers accounted for		

Results		
Authors' reported limitations of study's methods/results		
Notes:		

Other information

Study funding sources *(including role of funders)*		
Possible conflicts of interest *(for study authors)*		
	Description as stated in report/paper	**Location in text or source**
Key conclusions of study authors		
References to other relevant studies		
Correspondence required for further study information *(from whom, what and when)*		
Notes:		

Appendix K

List of Excluded Studies with Reasons

Middle Eastern or South Asian Populations outside of the Middle East and South Asia

Gill, A. K., Begikhani, N., & Hague, G. (2012). "Honour"-based violence in Kurdish communities. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *35*(2), 75–85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2012.02.001

Idriss, M. M. (2017). Not domestic violence or cultural tradition: is honour-based violence distinct from domestic violence? *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, *39*(1), 3-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/09649069.2016.1272755

Sedem, M., & Ferrer-Wreder, L. (2015). Fear of the Loss of Honor: Implications of Honor-Based Violence for the Development of Youth and Their Families. *Child and Youth Care Forum*, *44*(2), 225–237. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-014-9279-5

Focus on incidence of Honour Based Violence rather than attitudes towards HBV

Nasrullah, M., Haqqi, S., & Cummings, K. J. (2009). The epidemiological patterns of honour killing of women in Pakistan. *European Journal of Public Health*, *19*(2), 193–197. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckp021

Hasisi, B., & Bernstein, D. (2019). Echoes of domestic silence: mechanisms of concealment in cases of 'Family Honour Killings' in Mandate Palestine. Middle Eastern Studies, 55(1), 60-73. https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2018.1485659

Not reporting primary data – focus on discussions of cultural interpretations of honour

Dogan, R. (2011). Is honor killing a "Muslim Phenomenon"? Textual interpretations and cultural representations. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, *31*(3), 423–440. https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2011.599547

Dogan, R. (2014). Different Cultural Understandings of Honor That Inspire Killing: An Inquiry Into the Defendant's Perspective. *Homicide Studies: An Interdisciplinary & International Journal*, *18*(4), 363–388. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767914526717

Pathak, M. K., & Rai, S. (2019). Honour Killing: Gruesome Murder for The Sake of False Honour. *Journal of Punjab Academy of Forensic Medicine & Toxicology*, *19*(2), 181-185. https://doi.org/10.5958/0974-083X.2020.00040.0

Terman, R. L. (2010). To specify or single out: Should we use the term "honor killing"? *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights*, *7*(1), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.2202/1554-4419.1162

Zia, A. S. (2019). Can Rescue Narratives Save Lives? Honor Killing in Pakistan. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *44*(2), 355-378. Retrieved from https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/699342

Focus on evaluation of risk

Belfrage, H., Strand, S., Ekman, L., & Hasselborg, A.-K. (2012). Assessing risk of patriarchal violence with honour as a motive: six years experience using the PATRIARCH checklist. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *14*(1), 20. https://dx.doi.org/10.1350/ijps.2012.14.1.250

High Risk of Bias

Gibbs, A., Said, N., Corboz, J., & Jewkes, R. (2019). Factors associated with 'honour killing' in Afghanistan and the occupied Palestinian Territories: Two cross-sectional studies. *PLoS one*, *14*(8), e0219125. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0219125

Rezaie, P., Faraji, N., Asadollahi, A., & Tabrizi, A. M. (2012). Honour-murderers in Southwest of Iran: A critical and evidential vision. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, *31*(2), 190–201. Retrieved from https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84864489019&partnerID=40&md5=142ffe0f60783c27d5d56647e514b8d8

Poor CASP Qualitative Assessment

Hussain, N. (2019). Role of English Press in Dissemination of Liberal Values for Women Empowerment in Pakistan: A Case Study of Honor Killing of Social Media Star Qandeel Baloch. *Multidisciplinary Journal of Gender Studies*, *8*(1), 77-105. http://dx.doi.org/10.17583/generos.2019.3345

Khatib, S., Edge, D., & Speed, S. (2020). On the Road to Social Death: A Grounded Theory Study of the Emotional and Social Effects of Honor Killing on Families—A Palestinian Perspective. Violence Against Women, 26(9), 1008–1032. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219847289

Patel, S., & Gadit, A. M. (2008). Karo-Kari: A Form of Honour Killing in Pakistan. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *45*(4), 683–694. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461508100790

Appendix L

Quality Assessment of Included Studies

Al-Gharaibeh, F. (2016). Debating the role of custom, religion and law in honour crimes: implications for social work. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, *10*(2), 122-139. https://doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2016.1155632

Quality Assessment (CASP Checklist for Qualitative Research)

Screening Questions	Eligibility criteria met?			Notes
	Yes	No	Unclear	
Was there are clear statement of the aims of the research? *What was the goal of the research* *Why was it thought important* *Its relevance*	☒	☐	☐	
Is a qualitative methodology appropriate? *If the research seeks to interpret or illuminate the actions and/or subjective experiences o research participants* *Is qualitative research the right methodology for addressing the research goals?*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research? *If the researcher has justified the research design (e.g. have they discussed how they decided which method to use?)*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research? *If the researcher explained how the participants were selected?* *If they explained why the participants they selected were the most appropriate to provide access to the type of knowledge sought by this study*	☒	☐	☐	

If there are any discussions around recruitment (e.g. why some people chose not to take part)				
Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue? *If the setting for data collection was justified* *If it is clear how data were collected (e.g. focus groups, semi-structured interviews)* *If the researcher has justified the methods chosen* *If the researcher has made the methods explicit (e.g. for interview method, is there an indication of how interviews were conducted, or did they use a topic guide)?* *If methods were modified during the study. If so, has the researcher explained how and why?* *If the form of data is clear (e.g. tape recordings, video materials, notes)* *If the researcher has discussed saturation of the data*	☒	☐	☐	
Has the relationship between researcher and participant been adequately considered? *If the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias and influence during: (a) Formulation of the research questions and (b) Data collection, including sample recruitment and choice of location* *How the researcher responded to events during the study and whether they considered the implications of any changes in the research design*	☐	☐	☒	There was no indication of an examination of the researcher's own potential personal bias, however there is mention that the researcher is established in research and

				academics in the fields of social work and social policy.
Have ethical issues been taken into consideration? *If there are sufficient details of how the research was explained to participants for the reader to assess whether ethical standards were maintained* *If the researcher has discussed issues raised b the study (e.g. issues around informed consent or confidentiality or how they have handled the effects of the study on the participants and after the study)* *If approval has been sought from the ethics committee or other relevant body*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous? *If there is an in-depth discussion of the analysis process* *If thematic analysis is used. If so, is it clear how the categories/themes were derived from the data?* *Whether the researcher explains how the data presented were selected from the original sample to demonstrate the analysis process* *If sufficient data are presented to support the findings* *To what extent contradictory data are taken into account* *Whether the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias, and influence during analysis and selections of data for presentation*	☒	☐	☐	

Is there a clear statement of findings? *If the findings are explicit* *If there is adequate discussion of the evidence both for and against the researchers arguments* *If the researcher has discussed the credibility of their findings (e.g. triangulation, respondent validation, more than one analyst)* *If the findings are discussed in relation to the original research question*	☒	☐	☐	
How valuable is the research? *If the researcher discusses the contribution the study makes to the existing knowledge or understanding (e.g. do they consider the findings in relation to the current practice or policy?)* *If they identify new areas where research is necessary* *If the researchers have discussed whether or how the findings can be transferred to other populations or considered other ways the research may be used*	☒	☐	☐	
Overall rating	9	0	1	GOOD (Include study in review)

Dogan, R. (2016). The Dynamics of Honor Killings and the Perpetrators' Experiences. *Homicide Studies*, *20*(1), 53–79. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767914563389
Quality Assessment (CASP Checklist for Qualitative Research)

Screening Questions	Eligibility criteria met?			Notes
	Yes	No	Unclear	
Was there are clear statement of the aims	☒	☐	☐	

of the research? *What was the goal of the research* *Why was it thought important* *Its relevance*				
Is a qualitative methodology appropriate? *If the research seeks to interpret or illuminate the actions and/or subjective experiences o research participants* *Is qualitative research the right methodology for addressing the research goals?*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research? *If the researcher has justified the research design (e.g. have they discussed how they decided which method to use?)*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research? *If the researcher explained how the participants were selected?* *If they explained why the participants they selected were the most appropriate to provide access to the type of knowledge sought by this study* *If there are any discussions around recruitment (e.g. why some people chose not to take part)*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue? *If the setting for data collection was justified* *If it is clear how data were collected (e.g. focus groups, semi-structured interviews)* *If the researcher has justified the methods chosen* *If the researcher has made the methods explicit (e.g. for interview method, is there an indication of how interviews were conducted, or did they use a topic guide)?* *If methods were modified during the study. If so, has the researcher explained how and why?* *If the form of data is clear (e.g. tape recordings, video materials, notes)*	☒	☐	☐	

If the researcher has discussed saturation of the data				
Has the relationship between researcher and participant been adequately considered? *If the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias and influence during: (a) Formulation of the research questions and (b) Data collection, including sample recruitment and choice of location* *How the researcher responded to events during the study and whether they considered the implications of any changes in the research design*	☐	☐	☒	
Have ethical issues been taken into consideration? *If there are sufficient details of how the research was explained to participants for the reader to assess whether ethical standards were maintained* *If the researcher has discussed issues raised b the study (e.g. issues around informed consent or confidentiality or how they have handled the effects of the study on the participants and after the study)* *If approval has been sought from the ethics committee or other relevant body*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous? *If there is an in-depth discussion of the analysis process* *If thematic analysis is used. If so, is it clear how the categories/themes were derived from the data?* *Whether the researcher explains how the data presented were selected from the original sample to demonstrate the analysis process* *If sufficient data are presented to support the findings* *To what extent contradictory data are*	☒	☐	☐	

taken into account *Whether the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias, and influence during analysis and selections of data for presentation*				
Is there a clear statement of findings? *If the findings are explicit* *If there is adequate discussion of the evidence both for and against the researchers arguments* *If the researcher has discussed the credibility of their findings (e.g. triangulation, respondent validation, more than one analyst)* *If the findings are discussed in relation to the original research question*	☒	☐	☐	
How valuable is the research? *If the researcher discusses the contribution the study makes to the existing knowledge or understanding (e.g. do they consider the findings in relation to the current practice or policy?)* *If they identify new areas where research is necessary* *If the researchers have discussed whether or how the findings can be transferred to other populations or considered other ways the research may be used*	☒	☐	☐	
Overall rating	9	0	1	GOOD (Include study in review)

Ouis, P. (2009). Honourable Traditions? Honour Violence, Early Marriage and Sexual Abuse of Teenage Girls in Lebanon, the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Yemen. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, *17*(3), 445–474. https://doi.org/10.1163/157181808x389911
Quality Assessment (CASP Checklist for Qualitative Research)

Screening Questions	Eligibility criteria met?			Notes
	Yes	No	Unclear	
Was there are clear statement of the aims of the research? *What was the goal of the research* *Why was it thought important* *Its relevance*	☒	☐	☐	
Is a qualitative methodology appropriate? *If the research seeks to interpret or illuminate the actions and/or subjective experiences o research participants* *Is qualitative research the right methodology for addressing the research goals?*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research? *If the researcher has justified the research design (e.g. have they discussed how they decided which method to use?)*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research? *If the researcher explained how the participants were selected?* *If they explained why the participants they selected were the most appropriate to provide access to the type of knowledge sought by this study* *If there are any discussions around recruitment (e.g. why some people chose not to take part)*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue? *If the setting for data collection was justified* *If it is clear how data were collected (e.g. focus groups, semi-structured interviews)* *If the researcher has justified the methods chosen* *If the researcher has made the methods explicit (e.g. for interview method, is there an indication of how interviews were conducted, or did they use a topic guide)?*	☐	☐	☒	Limited information as to how and where the Focus Group Discussions took place, procedure not explicitly described

If methods were modified during the study. If so, has the researcher explained how and why? *If the form of data is clear (e.g. tape recordings, video materials, notes)* *If the researcher has discussed saturation of the data*				
Has the relationship between researcher and participant been adequately considered? *If the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias and influence during: (a) Formulation of the research questions and (b) Data collection, including sample recruitment and choice of location* *How the researcher responded to events during the study and whether they considered the implications of any changes in the research design*	☒	☐	☐	
Have ethical issues been taken into consideration? *If there are sufficient details of how the research was explained to participants for the reader to assess whether ethical standards were maintained* *If the researcher has discussed issues raised b the study (e.g. issues around informed consent or confidentiality or how they have handled the effects of the study on the participants and after the study)* *If approval has been sought from the ethics committee or other relevant body*	☒	☐	☐	
Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous? *If there is an in-depth discussion of the analysis process* *If thematic analysis is used. If so, is it clear how the categories/themes were derived from the data?* *Whether the researcher explains how the data presented were selected from the original sample to demonstrate the analysis process*	☒	☐	☐	

If sufficient data are presented to support the findings *To what extent contradictory data are taken into account* *Whether the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias, and influence during analysis and selections of data for presentation*				
Is there a clear statement of findings? *If the findings are explicit* *If there is adequate discussion of the evidence both for and against the researchers arguments* *If the researcher has discussed the credibility of their findings (e.g. triangulation, respondent validation, more than one analyst)* *If the findings are discussed in relation to the original research question*	☒	☐	☐	
How valuable is the research? *If the researcher discusses the contribution the study makes to the existing knowledge or understanding (e.g. do they consider the findings in relation to the current practice or policy?)* *If they identify new areas where research is necessary* *If the researchers have discussed whether or how the findings can be transferred to other populations or considered other ways the research may be used*	☒	☐	☐	
Overall rating	9	0	1	GOOD (include study in review)

Calik, K. Y. (2018). Attitudes of Turkish Academics Regarding Violence Against Women in the Name of Honor. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *33*(20), 3232–3254. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517739288

Risk of Bias		
Bias	**Author's judgment**	**Support for judgment**
Random sequence generation	Low Risk.	Study design did not allow for random sequence generation. Opportunistic sampling used with electronic survey, appropriate to make group comparisons.
Allocation concealment	Low Risk.	Lack of concealed randomised allocation increases the risk of selection bias. However, due to the study design, participants were not allocated to any specific interventions that were necessary to conceal.
Blinding of participants and personnel	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Blinding of outcome assessment	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Incomplete outcome data addressed	Low Risk.	Small number (n=32) of participants excluded, but large sample size (n=909) means significance of results likely not affected
Selective reporting	Low Risk.	All outcomes reported as pre-specified.
Other bias	High Risk.	Potential bias in performance from academics due to demand characteristics and expectations from society for academics to be non-violent, however this was noted and in-group comparisons are still valid

Overall Risk of Bias	Low Risk	Include study in review

Caffaro, F., Ferraris, F., & Schmidt, S. (2014). Gender Differences in the Perception of Honour Killing in Individualist Versus Collectivistic Cultures: Comparison Between Italy and Turkey. *Sex Roles*, *71*(9–10), 296–318. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0413-5		
Risk of Bias		
Bias	**Author's judgment**	**Support for judgment**
Random sequence generation	Low Risk.	Study design did not allow for random sequence generation. *Decision made to override 'High risk' rating.*
Allocation concealment	Low Risk.	Lack of concealed randomised allocation increases the risk of selection bias. However, due to the study design, this is not possible to conceal. *Decision made to override 'High risk' rating.*
Blinding of participants and personnel	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Blinding of outcome assessment	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Incomplete outcome data addressed	Low Risk.	No missing outcome data
Selective reporting	Low Risk.	All outcomes reported as pre-specified
Other bias	Low Risk.	Cannot differentiate between effects of culture and effects of religion – caveat on interpretation of results
Overall Risk of Bias	Low Risk	Include study in review

Eisner, M., & Ghuneim, L. (2013). Honor Killing Attitudes Amongst Adolescents in Amman, Jordan. *Aggressive Behavior*, *39*(5), 405–417. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21485		
Risk of Bias		
Bias	**Author's judgment**	**Support for judgment**
Random sequence generation	High Risk.	Schools chosen based on pre-determined criteria to be representative in terms of background, gender, and religion. However, the sample is biased towards middle-class adolescents and over-represents them as only 31% of adolescents in Amman attend private schools.
Allocation concealment	Low Risk.	Lack of concealed randomised allocation increases the risk of selection bias. However, due to the study design, this is not possible to conceal. *Decision made to override 'High risk' rating.*
Blinding of participants and personnel	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Blinding of outcome assessment	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Incomplete outcome data addressed	Low Risk.	No missing outcome data
Selective reporting	Low Risk.	All outcomes reported as pre-specified
Other bias	Low Risk.	Appears to be free from other sources of bias
Overall Risk of Bias	Low Risk.	Include study in review

Lowe, M., Khan, R., Thanzami, V., Barzy, M., & Karmaliani, R. (2018). Attitudes toward intimate partner "honor"-based violence in India, Iran, Malaysia and Pakistan. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research, 10*(4), 283-292. Retrieved from http://clok.uclan.ac.uk/21656/		
Risk of Bias		
Bias	**Author's judgment**	**Support for judgment**
Random sequence generation	Low Risk.	Study design did not allow for random sequence generation, opportunistic sampling of university students, appropriate to make comparisons between groups in different countries.
Allocation concealment	Low Risk.	Lack of concealed randomised allocation increases the risk of selection bias. However, due to the study design, allocation concealment was not necessary
Blinding of participants and personnel	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding as all participants completed the same survey
Blinding of outcome assessment	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Incomplete outcome data addressed	High Risk.	Incomplete outcome data not addressed; it is apparent from results that some participants were excluded from final analysis but this is not discussed.
Selective reporting	Low Risk.	All outcomes reported as pre-specified.

Other bias	Low Risk.	Potential bias in survey content as no standardised measure exists, situation described in measure was very specific
Overall Risk of Bias	Low Risk	Include study in review

Shaikh, M., Shaikh, A., Kamal, A., & Masood, S. (2010). Attitudes about Honour Killing among Men and Women -Perspective from Islamabad. *Journal of Ayub Medical College Abbottabad*, *22*(3). Retrieved from http://www.ayubmed.edu.pk/JAMC/PAST/22-3/Masood.pdf		
Risk of Bias		
Bias	**Author's judgment**	**Support for judgment**
Random sequence generation	Low Risk.	Study design did not allow for random sequence generation. *Decision made to override 'High risk' rating.*
Allocation concealment	Low Risk.	Lack of concealed randomised allocation increases the risk of selection bias. However, due to the study design, this is not possible to conceal. *Decision made to override 'High risk' rating.*
Blinding of participants and personnel	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Blinding of outcome assessment	Low Risk.	No blinding but review authors judge that the outcome is not likely to be influenced by lack of blinding
Incomplete outcome data addressed	Low Risk.	Small number of “don’t know” responses but large sample size so significance of results not affected

Selective reporting	Low Risk.	All outcomes reported as pre-specified.
Other bias	High Risk.	Potential bias in survey content as no standardised measure exists Vignette used not reported in publication
Overall Risk of Bias	Low Risk.	Include study in review

Appendix M

The Patriarch Checklist for the Assessment of Risk for Patriarchal Violence with Honour as Motive

PATRIARCH

Checklist for the assessment of risk for patriarchal violence[1] with honor as motive

Name:	ID-number:	Case number:
Completed by:		Date:

Sources of information:

- ☐ Interview with perpetrator/suspect
- ☐ Interview with victim/complainant
- ☐ Other_____

Item rating procedure:

Y = Risk/victim vulnerability factor is present;
P = Risk/victim vulnerability factor is possibly or partially present;
N = Risk/victim vulnerability factor is not present
-- = Omit, insufficient information

Context and case description:

The case:
- Forced marriage?
- Infidelity?
- "Wrong" partner?
- "Wrong" sexual preference?
- Blood revenge?
- Genital mutilation?

The context:
- What is the family hierarchy like?
- How is the power structured within the family?
- Conceived norm/rule breaking?

Administrative considerations:
- Are other authorities involved?
- Is the case reported to the police?

PATRIARCH

© 2005 by Henrik Belfrage, Sundsvall Forensic Psychiatric Hospital, Box 880, 851 24 Sundsvall, Sweden.
Phone: +46 60 18 39 14, [www.lvn.se/rpk]. E-mail: henrik.belfrage@lvn.se. Do not copy or reproduce without permission.

NOTE:. Proper use of the PATRIARCH requires specialized education and training. Please contact the author for information regarding recommended education and training procedures.

Note: Actual, attempted or threatened physical harm, including forced marriages

Context and case description (Cont.):

Risk factors that are related to the person(s) that threaten(s)	**N, P, Y**
1. Serious violent threats or thoughts ➢ Family/perpetrator expresses homicidal or aggressive thoughts, urges, plans, or behavior ➢ "Serious" includes such things as threats of injury or death and threats with weapons, persistent and intrusive aggressive thoughts, and explicit plans, coded as "Y" ➢ Less serious threats, ideation, or intent coded as "P"	
2. Violent acts ➢ Someone within the family/perpetrator has committed actual or attempted physical assault, including sexual assault and use of weapons towards the victim(s) or others ➢ "Serious" includes such things as life threatening violence and violence resulting in injuries that require medical attention, coded as "Y" ➢ Less serious violence coded as "P"	
3. Honor related violent acts ➢ Someone within the family or perpetrator has previously committed honor related violence ➢ 'Honor related' refers to violence that is motivated and justified by perpetrator's honor beliefs and attitudes ➢ Includes forced marriages	
4. Arranged marriages or engagements ➢ Family/perpetrator has arranged a marriage or engagement for the victim(s) ➢ A victim who is not subject to any known arranged marriage or engagement but has the opinion that he/she is not permitted to freely chose his/her own partner is coded "P" ➢ If families/perpetrators previously have arranged marriages for others than the victim(s), which have resulted in forced marriage(s), this should be considered under Item 3 "Honor related violent acts"	
5. Escalation ➢ Physical/sexual violence or threats/ideation/intent (including control) have increased in frequency or severity over time ➢ Included is escalation of psychological pressure towards the victim(s)	
6. Attitudes that support honor violence ➢ Family/perpetrator expresses sub-cultural or personal beliefs and values that encourage, excuse, justify, or minimize abusive, controlling, and violent behavior (e.g. forced marriages) ➢ Includes norms of virginity	
7. High degree of insult ➢ Family/perpetrator experience a high degree of insult (e.g. occurrences in connection to female sexuality/puberty) ➢ Less serious experienced insults coded as "P"	
8. Origin from an area with known sub-cultural values supporting honor violence, forced marriages or genital mutilation ➢ Family/perpetrator has an origin from an area with known sub-cultures values supporting honor related violence, forced marriages or genital mutilation	
9. Lack of cultural integration ➢ Family/perpetrator has a low degree (and/or willingness) of cultural integration in country ➢ Segregated living	
10. Psychosocial problems ➢ Family/perpetrator experience employment and/or financial problems ➢ Mental health problems ➢ Substance use problems	
PATRIARCH *Version 4*	

Victim Vulnerability Factors[1]	
11. Inconsistent behavior and/or attitude toward family/perpetrator ➢ Contacts family/perpetrator directly or indirectly ➢ Sends "mixed messages" ➢ Minimizes or denies family/perpetrator's actions ➢ Places blame on self ➢ Feels family/perpetrator's actions are partially justified	
12. Extreme fear of family/perpetrator ➢ Victim's level of fear interferes with self-protective behavior ➢ Terrified, panicked, traumatized ➢ Victim lacks the ability to follow a safety plan if confronted with family/perpetrator ➢ Afraid to terminate relationship with family/perpetrator ➢ Extremely worried for dependents (e.g. children, parents, new partner, pets)	
13. Inadequate access to resources ➢ Victim lacks the knowledge, ability, or motivation to access protective resources ➢ Unaware of laws, legal rights, organizations ➢ Poor social skills ➢ Reluctant to use resources ➢ Little contact with friends and acquaintances ➢ High degree of control from family/perpetrator and/or a sub cultural/religious environment	
14. Unsafe living situation ➢ Inadequate physical security at work or home ➢ Insecure transportation ➢ Emergency service not readily available ➢ Mandatory contact with family/perpetrator (e.g. young age, shared custody of children)	
15. Personal problems that might influence management strategies ➢ Victim's personal problems interferes with self-protective behavior ➢ Employment or financial problems ➢ Legal problems ➢ Mental problems ➢ Substance use problems	

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Version 4

[1] Derived from Kropp, P. R., Hart, S. D., & Belfrage, H. (2010). *Brief Spousal Assault Form for the Evaluation of Risk (B-SAFER), Version 2: User manual*. Vancouver, Canada: Proactive Resolutions Inc

Other considerations	
➢	
➢	

Risk for honor violence <u>if no intervention is taken</u>: **Circle: Low (L), Moderate (M), High (H)**	
Imminent (acute) risk?	L M H
Risk for severe/fatal violence?	L M H

Risk for honor violence <u>if intervention is taken</u>: **Circle: Low (L), Moderate (M), High (H)**	
Imminent (acute) risk?	L M H
Risk for severe/fatal violence?	L M H

Specify risk (scenarios?):

Safety plan:

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NOTE: Proper use of the PATRIARCH requires specialized education and training. Please contact the author for information regarding recommended education and training procedures. *Revised March 22, 2010*

Appendix N

Six Phases of Thematic Analysis

PHASE	DESCRIPTION
1. Familiarise yourself with the data	• Transcribing data (if necessary) • Reading and re-reading the data • Noting down initial ideas
2. Generating initial codes	• Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set • Collating data relevant to each code
3. Searching for themes	• Collating codes into potential themes • Gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
4. Reviewing themes	• Checking the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set • Generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis
5. Defining and naming themes	• On-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells • Generating clear definitions
6. Producing the report	• The final opportunity for analysis • Selection of vivid and compelling extract examples • Final analysis of selected extracts • Relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature • Producing a scholarly report of the analysis

Note: The six phases of Thematic Analysis – Information adapted from Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Appendix O

Full List of Articles Included in Thematic Analysis

Article Headline	Date	Source
1. "It could have been me" says ex of computer geek who knifed wife 51 times	07/11/15	The Daily Mail
2. "She was mine. I wanted to die and take her with me"; The shocking confession of boyfriend who stabbed top surgeon's daughter to death	20/01/09	The Daily Mail
3. Abused wife rang police 9 times but still husband was free to murder her	08/04/16	The Daily Mail
4. Asian PC's blocking crackdown on honour killings	03/02/08	The Daily Mail
5. Brother in honour murder of social media star	17/07/16	The Daily Mail
6. Face of girl in fridge honour killing	26/07/17	The Daily Mail
7. Facing life; Husband who faked crash to hide murder	11/08/10	The Daily Mail
8. Facing life; The hitman hired by husband to kill frail ex-wife	11/08/10	The Daily Mail
9. Girl lived in fear of Samurai brute freed to kill her	06/10/09	The Daily Mail
10. Honour Kill Girl	18/12/09	The Daily Mail
11. Honour Killing, Two face trial	07/09/16	The Daily Mail
12. Husband held for murders of wife and mother in law	13/08/10	The Daily Mail
13. Husband killed his wife for being too westernised	05/06/14	The Daily Mail
14. Husband on trial for murder	04/04/17	The Daily Mail
15. Just call it murder, not honour	23/09/07	The Daily Mail
16. Mother knifed to death after 'violent' ex-lover wins	14/11/09	The Daily

	bail		Mail
17.	Mum's desperate last text before violent husband killed her and their two children	05/02/16	The Daily Mail
18.	Murdered girl as a "New Year's Eve" drunk; Instead, five cries for help	12/06/07	The Daily Mail
19.	Our agony over being silenced at Siobhan's court case	20/06/08	The Daily Mail
20.	Police failures led to mother's death at hands of husband	14/02/17	The Daily Mail
21.	Shirley Valentine fling 'led husband to murder wife'	13/06/07	The Daily Mail
22.	Teen girl stuffed in fridge in honour killing	22/07/17	The Daily Mail
23.	Thug kills partner after he's freed for relationship course	02/07/16	The Daily Mail
24.	Thug murdered his ex-lover after police bungled her 999 call	23/11/16	The Daily Mail
25.	Two held over honour killing of British bride	14/08/16	The Daily Mail
26.	Why was ex-boyfriend on rape charge freed to kill our daughter?	05/10/10	The Daily Mail
27.	Wife told police violent husband would kill her, they ignored her and he stabbed her to death	07/03/09	The Daily Mail
28.	14 years for Honour Kill	20/01/10	The Daily Mirror
29.	25 years for husband in stab murder	30/07/13	The Daily Mirror
30.	Banaz Mahmood	25/07/07	The Daily Mirror
31.	Bayonet kill husband is jailed for life; murder	14/07/10	The Daily Mirror
32.	Crazed knifeman kills partner and ex 7 minutes apart; Kids saw mum murdered, he stabbed one 132 times	29/07/16	The Daily Mirror
33.	Deranged' husband killed wife and her best mate; Detectives to quiz dad over stab claims	24/08/10	The Daily Mirror
34.	End this barbarity: Hague condemns family who killed	30/05/14	The Daily

	bride after putting £1000 prace tag on her head		Mirror
35.	Guilty of stabbing wife in jealous rage over affair; 'Sorry' husband convicted of knife murder in bed	03/12/11	The Daily Mirror
36.	Honour kill Briton must be exhumed	27/07/16	The Daily Mirror
37.	Honour kill pair charged	24/09/16	The Daily Mirror
38.	Honour kill victim cops rap	03/04/08	The Daily Mirror
39.	Honour murder man held	14/10/07	The Daily Mirror
40.	Husband's 30 years for wife murder; Judge slams 'callous' killing of Irish woman, 39	03/07/15	The Daily Mirror
41.	I didn't mean to kill my partner…I just rolled on top of her when we were asleep; 'controlling' lover on 2 death charges	21/07/17	The Daily Mirror
42.	I held her neck for 6 seconds at most; boyfriend tells murder trial of struggle on bed	10/05/12	The Daily Mirror
43.	Killer boasted: I got away with murder; Justice catches up with husband 15 years after crime	02/12/10	The Daily Mirror
44.	Knifed by husband for 30 years nagging; Murder trial told of provocation	05/10/10	The Daily Mirror
45.	Malik is a violent man, he will not hesitate to kill me; Battered wife stabbed to death by the brutal husband she twice warned police about	07/03/09	The Daily Mirror
46.	Man 'jetted to Atlantic' to murder ex	19/02/10	The Daily Mirror
47.	Murdered by her dad for loving the wrong man; Tulay 'Shamed him', Jury told	09/10/09	The Daily Mirror
48.	Murdered for Howell's greed; Killer did not want to pay wife in divorce	22/11/10	The Daily Mirror
49.	No honour in the killing of Qandeel	20/07/16	The Daily Mirror
50.	Police failings' left man free to kill 2nd partner, Families' 6-year fight for justice	06/07/17	The Daily Mirror
51.	Should I drown, strangle, or set fire to Emily?; Trial	25/04/12	The Daily

	told of boyfriend's murder chat with pal		Mirror
52.	Tagged, put on bail and under court orders…but freed to torture and kill; Errors aided sadist	06/09/08	The Daily Mirror
53.	Tell us where you've hidden Kate's body; Family plea as husband jailed for murder	06/02/10	The Daily Mirror
54.	There is no honour in killing an innocent child of 15; dad gets life for murdering daughter	18/12/09	The Daily Mirror
55.	Uncle arrest over "honour killing" cover up	04/09/16	The Daily Mirror
56.	Victim told pal partner would kill	24/09/09	The Daily Mirror
57.	Wife killer husband to serve 12 years	07/03/12	The Daily Mirror
58.	"Of course I strangled her", says Pakistani star's brother	18/07/16	The Daily Telegraph
59.	After 20 years, how dentist killed "suicide" wife and PC	20/11/10	The Daily Telegraph
60.	British woman's ex-husband admits to murder in honour killing case	16/08/16	The Daily Telegraph
61.	Courgae of wife who broke 'code'	18/12/09	The Daily Telegraph
62.	Four cries for help of hairdresser murdered by violent husband	21/01/13	The Daily Telegraph
63.	Honour abuse supported by young Asians	19/03/12	The Daily Telegraph
64.	Honour killing claims a victim every month	18/12/09	The Daily Telegraph
65.	Life for husband who killed wife	01/07/08	The Daily Telegraph
66.	Numerous Opportunities missed to Protect 'first' white honour killing victim	29/05/12	The Daily Telegraph
67.	Pakistani girls' phones let them fall in love - with tragic consequences; The country is moving towards closing a legal loophole for those who commit 'honour killings'	01/08/16	The Daily Telegraph
68.	Police failed to arrest 'rapist' days before he killed	23/01/14	The Daily

	young mother; Violent boyfriend ready to come in but officer had to sort out child care		Telegraph
69.	Police gave farmer the weapon to murder partner and daughter	30/10/14	The Daily Telegraph
70.	Police sorry for blunders that left chef free to murder; 'Jekyll and Hyde character' fatally attacked girlfriend but was never charged and went on to kill again	06/07/17	The Daily Telegraph
71.	Polish boyfriend who murdered graduate had a violent past	08/06/13	The Daily Telegraph
72.	Smiling husband found guilty of double murder	01/06/12	The Daily Telegraph
73.	Victim told police who would kill her; Honour killing pair to extradited from Iraq to face life terms for murder	11/11/10	The Daily Telegraph
74.	Where is the honour in having your daughter killed?	12/06/07	The Daily Telegraph
75.	A Cycle of Violence: When a woman's murder is called 'understandable'; Lance Hart killed his wife, but reports implied guilt on her part. Couching male violence against women in terms that absolves the perpetrator of responsibility reinforces a culture that doesn't value female lives	26/07/16	The Guardian
76.	Becky Watts murder trial: Nathan Matthews found guilty; Stepbrother suffocation 16-year-old in her bedroom, dismembered body with a saw and hid the remains in the garden shed	11/11/15	The Guardian
77.	Becky Watts murder: Woman accused 'heard partner use power saw in bathroom'; Shauna Hoare heard Nathan Matthews using power tool in couple's bathroom the day after Becky died but said she had no idea what he was doing, jury told	22/10/15	The Guardian
78.	Boyfriend gets life for murder of partner's mother: Turkey court also convicts man of second murder: Accused's father acquitted of crime during hearing	03/10/13	The Guardian
79.	CPS apologises over abusive husband left free to kill	06/03/09	The Guardian
80.	Father and Uncle given life for 'honour' murder: Relatives weep as three men are sentenced: Judge	21/07/07	The Guardian

	praises bravery of victim's sister and lover		
81.	Father guilty in 'Honour Killing' of Tulay Goren	17/12/09	The Guardian
82.	Helen Bailey trial: Fiance Ian Stewart found guilty of author's murder; Steward, 56, attempted to take 51-year-old Bailey's wealth by drugging her and hiding her body in cesspit	22/02/17	The Guardian
83.	Honour crimes are domestic abuse, plain and simple	21/03/12	The Guardian
84.	Honour Killing': Pressure grows on UK to extradite suspect from Iraq: Man wanted for murder held in Iraqi Kurdistan: CPS criticised for refusing to ask for his removal	22/11/07	The Guardian
85.	Honour killings start to bring shame	03/05/09	The Guardian
86.	Honour' killing girl warned of father's trap, lover says; Teenager made secret call from family house, boyfriend tells court of axe attack outside pub	14/10/09	The Guardian
87.	Husband is jailed for ordering machete murder	04/12/10	The Guardian
88.	Husband organised special constable's murder	20/02/08	The Guardian
89.	If warnings of domestic violence were taken seriously, Kelly Thompson's murder could have been prevented; Police and family violence system let Thompson down, although blame for her murder rests with her former partner, inquest finds	22/04/16	The Guardian
90.	Jayden Parkinson's ex-boyfriend given life sentence for her murder	25/07/14	The Guardian
91.	Man kills ex and her new partner after looking up jail terms for murder; Andrew Saunders also researched easiest ways to kill before stabbing to death Zoe Morgan and Lee Simmons in Cardiff	27/02/17	The Guardian
92.	Murder by any other name: 'Honour Killings' are spreading at an alarming rate, and not just in the Middle East. What makes a man kill a family member, asks Elif Shafak	07/05/12	The Guardian
93.	Murder victim told police four times she feared her	12/06/07	The

family: each time in vain; Murder victim went to police four times		Guardian
94. My family was destroyed': The brutal murder of a young Palestinian woman shocked the nation and helped change the law over so-called 'honour' killings	01/07/11	The Guardian
95. Natalia Strelchenko: From child prodigy to murdered wife; How the russian pianist who made her debut at 12 came to be killed by her jealous husband 26 years later in Manchester	18/03/16	The Guardian
96. Parents face 'honour killing' murder charge: Shafilea Ahmed's remains found beside river in 2004, inquest heard teenager feared arranged marriage	08/09/11	The Guardian
97. Pianist Natalia Strelchenko's husband jailed for life for her murder; John Martin will serve at least 17 years in prison for murdering his wife in Manchester last year	21/03/16	The Guardian
98. Shafilea Ahmed murder: UK urged to act against 'honour' crimes	03/10/12	The Guardian
99. Shafilea Ahmed: A girl betrayed	04/10/12	The Guardian
100. Shafilea Ahmed's tragic history of violence	03/10/12	The Guardian
101. Ten years on, father jailed for 'honour killing' of daughter	18/12/09	The Guardian
102. The dishonourable killing of Qandeel Baloch; Likened to Kim Kardashian for her unapologetic sexuality, Pakistan's first social media star was a high wire act. Her murder has divided the nation, and made her an unlikely political icon	18/07/16	The Guardian
103. "They're following me"; The chilling words on video of teenage honour killing victim; the murder of Banaz Mahmod by her family in 2006 shocked the country - A documentary now tells her story and its continuing effects	21/09/12	The Observer
104. Basra, where $100 buys an honour killing: Fathers and husbands who openly hire assassins on the streets of the city are going unpunished	30/11/08	The Observer
105. Murder in Basra: 'Honour' Killings	11/05/08	The Observer

106. Murder in Basra: 'My daughter deserved to die for falling in love'	11/05/08	The Observer

Appendix P

Researcher's Reflection on completing Thematic Analysis

When approaching the research chapter, I was drawn to media representations of violence against women and girls (VAWG), and specifically to the question of how different forms of VAWG are represented in the media. Having grown up in Pakistan, I was exposed to both positive and negative social norms associated with honour-based violence (HBV), as well as to extensive media coverage relating to HBV. I have always been interested in understanding the various factors that contribute to perceptions of VAWG in different settings, as well as how different forms of VAWG manifest and are perceived across different societies. The aim of the research chapter was to explore representations of honour killing and intimate femicide, to explore how media perceptions and representations differ between VAWG in two different forms in the UK, and the boundaries that are drawn between them.

Thematic Analysis (TA) was deemed an appropriate methodology for investigating media representations of HK and IF (as noted in Chapter Four: Process of Thematic Analysis). Though I had a keen interest in the topic of VAWG, when I first started the project, my knowledge of the empirical evidence base of HBV was limited. This supported the use of an inductive bottom up approach to qualitative TA which is open to descriptive information about a phenomenon without being influenced by questions informed by the evidence base. This approach helped me to avoid assumptions and biases in the literature being perpetuated, as well as limiting the influence of my own pre-existing beliefs (e.g., HK and IF are conceptualised differently by the media based on cultural interpretations of violence). However, as noted in Chapter Four, and by Braun and Clarke (2006), researchers can never entirely distance

themselves from their personal beliefs and theoretical perspectives, and the results of qualitative TA must be considered in light of this and corroborated with further research to validate derived themes.

While completing the TA, I derived themes as they emerged from the data, guided by Braun & Clarke's (2006) six phase process of TA. In order to minimise bias, the information was read and coded on a sentence by sentence basis to identify themes, rather than on the basis of the overall message of the articles. In spite of this, there were moments throughout the analysis when I felt that coding and thematic grouping may have been influenced by exposure to previously coded articles. However, experts have argued that this is inevitable in qualitative research, given the researcher's continuous involvement in data collection and analysis, and that though it is not possible to exclude the influence of previously analysed data, the researcher's involvement in these processes can be a strength (Pope, Ziebland, & Mays, 2000). For example, in the current analysis, it enabled me to identify outlying cases or examples that ran counter to emerging themes, which could be used to further refine themes and consider them in further depth.

It has been argued that themes derived from TA are often abstract constructs which cannot be separated from the influence of the researcher, but that this is an unavoidable part of qualitative TA (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). It is likely that that some aspects of the coding and thematic categories were influenced by my knowledge and personal beliefs. However, it is felt that the thematic categorisations remain true to the accounts presented by the articles, and it was noted that the categorisations fit well with previous research and theories considered post-analysis. Research suggests that thematic similarity to existing theories can serve to reinforce

study findings and may not be a significant methodological difficulty (Liddle, Carlson, & McKenna, 2004).

Finally, it is important to note that there were times when I felt emotionally involved and psychologically affected by extensive exposure to extreme media accounts of VAWG, compounded my own preconceptions, experience, and knowledge around the topic. I used research and peer supervision to overcome this, as well as considering literature around reflections on conducting comprehensive qualitative analyses from a transnational feminist perspective. As noted by experts conducting and reviewing research in the field of VAWG, it is important for researchers to recognise and reflect on the difficult emotions evoked in the process of understanding and analysing potentially distressing subjects (Campbell, 2002; Gill, 2013). It is imperative to recognise these emotions in relation to exposure to narratives of specific cases of vulnerable individuals who have suffered violence, and the various oppressions and barriers they encountered in seeking help. The holistic engagement of researchers with these narratives will help to aim feminist research explicitly at developing better responses for protecting victims of VAWG and ensuring that the experiences of all women are considered.

In spite of the limitations of completing the analysis in Chapter Four discussed above and the difficulties experienced by the researcher as a result of their previous knowledge and beliefs around the topics of VAWG and HBV, it is acknowledged that there is no right or wrong way to complete TA (See Chapter Four: Process of Thematic Analysis; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Despite some difficulties, I do believe I was able to control for most bias and overcome most limitations of TA through the use of a structured method as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), and by maintaining a systematic approach committed to the accurate representation of

media portrayals of femicide in the UK. As such, I believe I have represented media portrayals of HK and IF adequately and to the best of my ability. If I had the opportunity to conduct further thematic analysis studies, I would aim to conduct qualitative research using interviews with victims or perpetrators of different forms of VAWG to elicit first hand narratives and investigate prevalent themes and factors.

Appendix Q

Sample Coded Article

1 of 1 DOCUMENT

theguardian

Guardian.com

March 6, 2009

CPS apologises over abusive husband left free to kill

LENGTH: 467 words

HIGHLIGHT: Family accuses CPS of negligence after killer's repeated threats against wife went unpunished

The Crown Prosecution Service has apologised to the family of a woman who was murdered by her abusive husband after his bail conditions were dropped, despite repeated threats to kill her.

Malik Mannan, 36, was jailed for a minimum of 17 years at Manchester crown court today after fatally stabbing Sabina Akhtar.

The court heard that Akhtar, 26, reported her husband to police last year, telling them he had battered her 25 times and made threats on her life. On one occasion, in July, he told her to prepare for death by reading passages from the Qur'an, adding: "I am going to get a knife and when I return I am going to slaughter you."

He was arrested later that month and released on bail while police made further enquiries. His bail conditions included instructions not to contact his wife or visit her home, but he repeatedly breached the order and was re-arrested in September. He was released without charge and his bail conditions were dropped.

Later he texted his wife to say: "I am a free man since 1.30pm. Case file closed. Isn't it great." Mannan stabbed his wife through the heart at her home in Longsight, Manchester, a few days later.

The CPS said it would apologise to Akhtar's family about the way the case was handled. A spokeswoman said: "We accept that the wrong decision was made not to charge Mr Mannan at an earlier stage."

During the week-long trial, the court heard that the couple had an arranged marriage in Bangladesh in 2003. Akhtar joined her husband in England two years later, when she was pregnant with their son, who is now three.

She discovered he had a gambling problem and that he had a longstanding mistress with whom he had two young children. The jury heard that he would squeeze Akhtar's windpipe when they were arguing and made at least three threats to kill her. He assaulted his mistress in the same way.

Akhtar, fearing for her safety, had a security alarm fitted at her home. In her last known conversation, the day before she was killed, she told her aunt she was scared of her husband and what he might do to her.

Sentencing, Mr Justice Maddison said: "In her final days she was not only terrified of you but specifically terrified that she would die at your hands, as indeed she did."

Mannan made arrangements to flee to Bangladesh after the murder but was arrested by police the next day.

Outside court, Akhtar's uncle, Reaz Talukder, said the family was devastated. "Sabina was loved very dearly by all of her family members and friends. She was a brave woman and was devoted to her only son who is now under foster carers. We are now satisfied that justice has been done and the killer deserves the punishment for the crime he committed."

Amna 21/5/19 14:20
Comment [1]: Relationship with victim

Amna 21/5/19 14:20
Comment [2]: Professional practice

Amna 21/5/19 14:20
Comment [3]: Professional practice

Amna 21/5/19 14:21
Comment [4]: Perpetrator age

Amna 21/5/19 14:21
Comment [5]: Charges/convictions

Amna 21/5/19 14:21
Comment [6]: Description of offence

Amna 21/5/19 14:21
Comment [7]: Victim age

Amna 21/5/19 14:21
Comment [8]: Victim previous reports to police

Amna 21/5/19 14:22
Comment [9]: Descriptions of previous abuse

Amna 21/5/19 14:21
Comment [10]: Prior threats by perpetrator

Amna 21/5/19 14:23
Comment [11]: Perpetrator previous offences

Amna 21/5/19 14:23
Comment [12]: Prior threats by perpetrator

Amna 21/5/19 14:23
Comment [13]: Professional practice

Amna 21/5/19 14:24
Comment [14]: Descriptions of previous abuse

Amna 21/5/19 14:23
Comment [15]: Previous relationship problems

Amna 21/5/19 14:24
Comment [16]: Attempts to conceal murder

Amna 21/5/19 14:24
Comment [17]: Reaction of victim family