EXPLORING HONOUR AND SHAME
FOR
SOUTH ASIAN BRITISH MUSLIM MEN AND WOMEN

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2017

NASREEN MANSOOR

School of Environment, Education and Development
# LIST OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF FIGURES</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF GLOSSARY</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPYRIGHT STATEMENT</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.1</th>
<th>Chapter Overview</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Researcher’s Personal Experience of Honour and Shame</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Researcher’s Professional Experience of Working with Honour and Shame Issues</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Researcher’s Academic Interest in Honour and Shame</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Reasons for the South Asian Diaspora Selection</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Setting the Study into Context Nationally and Internationally</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Honour and Shame as a Worldwide Issue</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Honour Based Crimes and Killings</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>Honour and Shame as a UK Issue</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>Precis of Honour and Shame</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Research Process</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Research Questions, Aims and Objectives</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>Researcher Insider/Outsider Positionality and Reflexivity</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Reflexivity</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

<p>| 2.1 | Chapter Overview | 42  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Literature Review Aim</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Literature Review Process</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Honour</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1</td>
<td>The Definition of Honour</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2</td>
<td>Islam and Honour</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3</td>
<td>South Asian Culture and Honour</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.4</td>
<td>Gender and Honour</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.5</td>
<td>Individual Honour</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.6</td>
<td>Collective Honour</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.7</td>
<td>Internal Honour</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.8</td>
<td>External Honour</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Shame</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1</td>
<td>The Definition of Shame</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2</td>
<td>Islam and Shame</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.3</td>
<td>South Asian Culture and Shame</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4</td>
<td>Modesty</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.5</td>
<td>Gender and Shame</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.6</td>
<td>Individual Shame</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.7</td>
<td>Collective Shame</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.8</td>
<td>Internal Shame</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.9</td>
<td>External Shame</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>South Asian Culture</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>South Asian Communities Residing in England</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9.1</td>
<td>Qur’an, Sunnah and Hadith</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>Honour Based Violence, Killings and Suicide</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>South Asian and Muslim Patriarchy</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>Domestic Abuse</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>The Duluth Model</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>Bride Price</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>Summary of the Literature Review</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>Reflexivity</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Chapter Overview</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Researcher Position</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Insider Researcher</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Epistemological Approach</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Ontological Stance</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Research Methods</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Methods of Data Collection</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Quantitative Method Exclusion</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>Combined Qualitative and Quantitative Method Exclusion</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>Qualitative Method Inclusion</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>Types of Interviews</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>Individual Interviews</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>Telephone Interviews</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>Photo Elicitation</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>Focus Groups</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>Sample Types</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>Sample Number</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>Sample Criteria</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>Ethical Issues</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>Resources and Timescale</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>Participant Selection</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>Participant Identification</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>Pre-Interview Meetings</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>Pilot Studies</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>Opening and Closing of Interviews</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>Data Generation Experiences of Individual Interviews</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>Data Generation Experiences of Photo Elicitation Exercises</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>Data Generation Experiences of Focus Groups</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>Transcriptions</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>Thematic Analysis</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>Thematic Analysis Coding</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

4.1 Chapter Overview

4.2 Thematic Analysis Main Themes, Sub Themes and Codes

4.3 Findings Process

4.4 

4.5 Main Theme 1: Psychological

4.5.1 Sub Theme 1.1: Culture

4.5.2 Sub Theme 1.2: Collective

4.5.3 Sub Theme 1.3: Ingrained

4.5.4 Sub Theme 1.4: Respect, Dignity, Reputation and Status

4.6 Main Theme 2: Emotional

4.6.1 Sub Theme 2.1: Collective

4.6.2 Sub Theme 2.2: Rules and Obligations

4.6.3 Sub Theme 2.3: Females Ostracized

4.7 Main Theme 3: Physical

4.7.1 Sub Theme 3.1: Image

4.7.2 Sub Theme 3.2: Status

4.7.3 Sub Theme 3.3: Dishonour Consequences

4.8 Main Theme 4: Sexual

4.8.1 Sub Theme 4.1: Reputation and Status

4.8.2 Sub Theme 4.2: Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships

4.8.3 Sub Theme 4.3: Gender Based Communication Barriers

4.9 Main Theme 5: Financial

4.9.1 Sub Theme 5.1: Marital Wealth Considerations

4.9.2 Sub Theme 5.2: Status

4.10 Main Theme 6: Relationships

4.10.1 Sub Theme 6.1: Respect, Reputation and Status

4.10.2 Sub Theme 6.2: Gender Based Family Dynamics

4.10.3 Sub Theme 6.3: Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obligations</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.10.4  Sub Theme 6.4: Male Control and Abuse</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11    Main Theme 7: Islam</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.1  Sub Theme 7.1: Culture</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.2  Sub Theme 7.2: Gender Based Family Dynamics</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.3  Sub Theme 7.3: Modesty within Islam</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.4  Sub Theme 7.4: Perceptions of Visible Muslims</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.5  Sub Theme 7.5: Misinterpretations of the Islamic Faith</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.6  Sub Theme 7.6: Educational Teaching of Islamic Principles Recommendations</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.7  Sub Theme 7.7: Changing Behaviour and Mindsets</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12    SHAME SECTION:</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13    Main Theme 1: Psychological</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13.1  Sub Theme 1.1: Culture</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13.2  Sub Theme 1.2: Rules, Respect and Stigma</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13.3  Sub Theme 1.3: Control and Abuse</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14    Main Theme 2: Emotional</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14.1  Sub Theme 2.1: Secrecy</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14.2  Sub Theme 2.2: Individual and Collective Expectations and Damage</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14.3  Sub Theme 2.3: Loss and Pain</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15    Main Theme 3: Physical</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15.1  Sub Theme 3.1: Female Image</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15.2  Sub Theme 3.2: Abuse</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15.3  Sub Theme 3.3: Family Members Murdering Female Relatives</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16    Main Theme 4: Sexual</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16.1  Sub Theme 4.1: Dirty</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16.2  Sub Theme 4.2: Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships and Homosexuality</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16.3  Sub Theme 4.3: Secrecy</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16.4  Sub Theme 4.4: Consequences</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17    Main Theme 5: Financial</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17.1  Sub Theme 5.1: Status</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18    Main Theme 6: Relationships</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18.1  Sub Theme 6.1: Gender Based Family Dynamics</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18.2  Sub Theme 6.2: Reputation, Disgrace and Damage Consequences</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18.3</td>
<td>Sub Theme 6.3: Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and Obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18.4</td>
<td>Sub Theme 6.4: Image and Decorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18.5</td>
<td>Sub Theme 6.5: Control and Abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>Main Theme 7: Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19.1</td>
<td>Sub Theme 7.1: Misinterpretations of the Islamic Faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19.2</td>
<td>Sub Theme 7.2: Mercy for Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19.3</td>
<td>Sub Theme 7.3: Covert and Overt Perpetuation of un-Islamic Practices by Religious Leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19.4</td>
<td>Sub Theme 7.4: Mechanisms for Implementing Positive Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>Reflexivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>Summary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Chapter Overview</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Sociological Theories</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Patriarchy</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Definition and Concept of Honour</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1</td>
<td>Psychological Honour</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2</td>
<td>Emotional Honour</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.3</td>
<td>Physical Honour</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.4</td>
<td>Sexual Honour</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5</td>
<td>Financial honour</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.6</td>
<td>Relationships and Honour</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.7</td>
<td>Consequences of Honour</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Definition and Concept of Shame</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1</td>
<td>Psychological Shame</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2</td>
<td>Emotional Shame</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3</td>
<td>Physical Shame</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.4</td>
<td>Sexual Shame</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.5</td>
<td>Financial Shame</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.6</td>
<td>Relationships and Shame</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.7</td>
<td>Consequences of Shame</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Female Status</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.8 Modesty 249
5.9 Male Homosexuality 251
5.10 Emasculation 251
5.11 Not Alienating South Asian British Muslims 253
5.12 Original Contribution to Knowledge 256
5.12.1 Honour 256
5.12.2 Shame 257
5.12.3 Research Dynamics 258
5.13 Surprises 261
5.14 Imam’s Withdrawal 264
5.15 Research Methodology Critique 265
5.16 Learning 266
5.17 Reflexivity 267
5.18 Summary 268

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION
6.1 Chapter Overview 269
6.2 Honour 269
6.3 Shame 270
6.4 Patriarchy 271
6.5 Contribution to Practice 272
6.6 Contribution to Training 277
6.7 Future Challenges 280
6.8 Positive Ways Forward 281
6.9 The Duluth Model 283
6.10 Future Research Recommendations 284
6.11 Reflexivity 285
6.12 Summary 286

CHAPTER 7 REFERENCES 287

APPENDICES
1 Feminisms 324
2 Honour and Shame Spider Diagram 328
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td>Power and Control Wheel</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td>Equality Wheel</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td>Participant Information Sheet</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td>Participant Informed Consent Form</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td>Local Telephone Helpline Numbers</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td>National Telephone Helpline Numbers</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td>Evidence of Research Journal</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td>PhD Research Schedule</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td>Letter to Professionals regarding PhD Study</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td>Research Flyers</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td>Mind Map</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td>Images of Main Study Photo Elicitation Exercise</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td>Interview Schedule for Individual Interviews, Photo Elicitation and Focus Groups</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td>Nasreen Mansoor’s (2015a) Book Chapter ‘The Concept of Honour and Shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women’</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td>Photo Elicitation Pilot Study Narratives of the Images</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td>Nasreen Mansoor’s (2015b) Book Chapter ‘Honour and Shame: Through the Eyes of South Asian British Muslim Women and Men’</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td>Photo Elicitation Main Study Narratives of the Images</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td>Thematic Analysis Codes</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td>Thematic Analysis Main Themes, Sub Themes and Codes on Flip Chart Paper</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td>Samples of Thematic Analysis Process on Seven Transcripts</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td>Images of Pilot Photo Elicitation Exercise</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LIST OF FIGURES**

1. Honour and Shame: Two Sides of the Same Coin 139

**LIST OF TABLES**

1. Research Questions, Methods and Purpose of Triangulation 115
2. Pilot Study Photo Elicitation and Pilot Focus Group Research Participants’ Demographic Information 116
3. Individual Pilot Study Research Participants’ Demographic Information 117
4. Participants’ Demographic Information for the Main Study 118
5. Original Thematic Analysis Seven Main Themes 132
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>Honour Main and Sub Themes Identified from the Participants’ Language</th>
<th>140</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Thematic Analysis of Honour Main Themes, Sub Themes and Codes Identification</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shame Main and Sub Themes Identified from the Participants’ Language</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Thematic Analysis of Shame Main Themes, Sub Themes and Codes of Identification</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Word count: 91,733
GLOSSARY

Abaya: full length female cloak
Allah: the Muslim and Arab name of God
Bay-ghairat: a dishonourable person
Bezti: loss of honour
Bhabhis: brothers’ wives
Bismillah ir-Rahman ir-Rahim: in the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Bizati: dishonour in Urdu
Burkha: a long and loose face and body cloak worn by some Muslim women in public which covers them from head to feet
Chacha: younger paternal uncle
Chowk: crossing
Daaris: beards
Daraba: go away
Eve-teasing: unwanted sexual remarks, touching, catcalls in public by a man to a woman
Fitnah: unrest or rebellion
Fiqh: theory or philosophy of Islamic law
Ghairat: honour
Hadith: sacred text, stories and anecdotes of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and his earliest companions stating what he said and did
Hafiza: female who has completely memorised the Qur’an
Hajj: the pilgrimage to Mecca
Hakim: Muslim practitioner of psychological medicine
Haram: anything which is forbidden in Islam, a sin
Hayat: life
Hijab: concept of modesty, separation, barrier or curtain. Headscarf worn by Muslim women
Idribu: leave
Imam: a Muslim leader, a person who leads prayers in a mosque, a religious teacher
Insha’Allah: God willing
Islam: peace, submission to the will of God
Izzat: honour, respect
Jarimat el sharaf: crime of honour
Kameez: long tunic
Kari: blackened or dishonoured man
Karo: blackened woman
Khaandaan: clan
Khuda wastey: for God
Khula: Islamic divorce initiated by a wife
Kismet: destiny
Kufiya: headscarf worn by Muslim men
Lajja: shame in the Oriya language in India
Layja: shame in the Oriya language in India
Lojja: shame in North Indian languages
Madrassa: Islamic religious school
Mahr: marital dower
Mahram: an unmarriageable kin
Makruh: anything that is inappropriate, distasteful or offensive
Maulvis: expert or teacher of Islamic law
Memon: Muslim commercial community
Mosque: a Muslim place of worship
Mujra: an erotic female dance to an audience originated by courtesans during the Mughal era
Mullah: Muslim scholar, teacher or religious leader
Muslimah: a Muslim woman
Nikah: Islamic marriage
Niqab: a veil which covers the face
Non-mahram: a person to whom marriage is permissible
Noor: light
Nushuz: disobedient
Pir: Sufi master or spiritual guide
Prophet Muhammad: Holy Prophet and the last messenger of God
Qur'an: Islamic sacred book, Muslim scripture
Qur'anic: something which belongs or relates to the Qur’an
Ramadan/Ramadhan: Holy month of fasting for Muslims
Rupee: currency
Salah: five daily prayers towards Makkah
Salaam: a salutation by Muslims meaning peace
Sar paisa: historical bride wealth custom by Pashtoon ethnic groups in Pakistan
Sati: Hindu widow’s immolation on her husband’s funeral pyre
Sawm: fasting during the holy month of Ramadan/Ramadhan
Sayana: Muslim healer
Seyed: direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh)
Shahadah: profession of the Islamic faith
Sharam: shame, embarrassment in Urdu and North Indian languages
Shariah: the values, principles, ethics and Islamic law based upon the Qur’an and Hadiths
Shi’a: minor branch of Islam which only accepts the fourth caliph as the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh)
Shorom: shame in Bangla
Sunnah: teaching and saying of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh)
Sunni: major branch of Islam which accepts the first four caliphs as rightful successors to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh)
Surat An-Nisa: fourth chapter of the Qur’an ‘The Women’
Tafsir: exegesis
Talaq: Islamic divorce
Tauba: God have Mercy
Taya: older paternal uncle
Teil mehndi: henna party
Tu: impolite ‘you’ in Urdu
Ummah: Islamic community
Zakat: charitable contribution of 2.5% donated to the poor and needy

All non-English terms have been underlined hereafter to Chapter Six.
**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td>age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B:</td>
<td>Bangladesh/Bangladeshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BME:</td>
<td>black and minority ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB:</td>
<td>country of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAIP:</td>
<td>Domestic Abuse Intervention Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E:</td>
<td>ethnicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENG:</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FE:</td>
<td>further education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGM:</td>
<td>female genital mutilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM:</td>
<td>forced marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G:</td>
<td>gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBV:</td>
<td>honour based violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HK:</td>
<td>honour killings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India:</td>
<td>India/Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K:</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHS:</td>
<td>National Health Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P:</td>
<td>Pakistani/Pakistani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pbuh:</td>
<td>peace be upon him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S:</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swt:</td>
<td>Subhanahu Wa Ta’ala (Glory to Him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN:</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The University of Manchester
Nasreen Mansoor
Doctor of Philosophy
7 April 2017

Exploring Honour and Shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women

This study explored honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women. It aimed to offer plausible answers to the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame for this sociocultural and faith group of people.

This qualitative piece of research encompassed triangulation of individual interviews, focus groups and photo elicitation. Thirty participants who were of South Asian British Muslim identities were recruited via a purposive sampling strategy. This included men and women of diverse demographics and locations with an age range of nineteen – sixty-four. The majority of interviews were conducted in English, with some participant’s sporadic dialogue in Arabic, Bangla, Punjabi and Urdu.

The methodology was thematic analysis. Seven main themes were identified via thematic analysis of the data. A humanistic stance underpinned the conduct of the study alongside a hermeneutic researcher stance. A social constructivist and interpretive epistemological position in conjunction with a critical realism perspective infused the research process. A predominantly insider researcher position was established which was a major influence in eliciting the rich, deep and meaningful data which emerged regarding the honour and shame phenomena. Researcher reflexivity was a key factor in how the research was approached, conducted, interpreted and understood.

This study identified a threefold patriarchal construct; Western, South Asian and Muslim underpinned the honour and shame phenomena. The research illustrated honour appeared to be relational and the nexus which held the family relationships together. Shame seemed to be the substance which fractured this complicated structure. There were narratives of some South Asian British Muslim women being sectioned and admitted into psychiatric institutions due to them being at risk to themselves and/or other persons. The deterioration in their mental health appeared to be closely associated with their experiences of being subjected to abusive honour and shame stipulations. The study also found cultural and traditional mores were very influential components in deleterious honour and shame practices, which at times replaced Islamic principles. One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study was that some British Muslim Bangladeshi communities practised a bride price system.

These findings cannot be extrapolated to all South Asian British Muslims as they derived from a small sample size.
DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning.
COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trade marks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP policy (see http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=487), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see http://www.manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, and foremost, my deepest and most grateful thank you is to Allah (swt). I will be eternally grateful for the blessed life the Almighty has bestowed upon myself and steadfastly looked after me. His blessings have guided me through my personal, professional and academic life. I will be forever grateful for my Creator’s presence and Noor in my existence.

I wish to convey a sincere thank you to all of the research participants whom have contributed towards this study. I feel privileged to have interviewed such inspiring and courageous people. I will always appreciate and value their shared knowledge and experiences. I feel blessed to have worked with Professor William West and Mr Peter Jenkins as my research supervisors. Their input has helped me to learn, reflect, critically analyse, develop and facilitate my research process and thesis. Thank you for your help, patience, guidance and constructive feedback.

I express immense appreciation and a heartfelt thank you to my beloved parents and family for their prayers, consideration and love. I wish to enunciate deeply felt thanks to my dear friends who have offered unwavering support over the years in my journey to becoming a doctoral researcher. Patricia Grant; for her continued words of encouragement. Zil-E-Huma Meraj; identifying some religious leaders contact details, and the numerous days of graphics help. Dr Echo Yuanyuan Hu; assistance with photocopying and printing some of the academic material. Atif Kamal; proofreading some of the references. Yasmin Ahmed; help with the Urdu translations. Dr Cat Goodfellow; listening to my researcher process. Dr Ahmed Sharaf; assistance with the Arabic translations.

I also wish to thank the staff at The University of Manchester whom helped me during my studies. The support of my colleagues at The Manchester College, and the interest of my peers and supervisees regarding my research have been much appreciated.
1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Overview
This chapter offers some insight into my original childhood experience of honour and shame, which categorically impelled me as an adult to research this topic. Many years later, as a counselling professional, I again witnessed the angst of the honour and shame phenomena. However, I was no longer in a position of helplessness. To the contrary, I was in an empowered and responsible position to therapeutically help individuals who encountered traumatic honour and shame experiences. How these latter processes contributed towards my professional and academic quest to seek further understanding of why pain was inflicted upon others is illustrated. I suggest the multiple facets of these phenomena were synthesised by Shafak (2015) “Men had honour… women did not have honour. Instead, they had shame” (p. 16).

The intellectual reasoning for studying a specific sociocultural and religious group of people, on whom this research is based upon, is explicitly demonstrated. The prevalence, complexities and impact of honour and shame on national and international levels are concisely elucidated. A summation of the methodology is included, which is comprehensively represented later on in the thesis. The rationale and validity for my investigation, the main research question and sub questions are asserted. The significance of insider/outsider researcher positioning are considered and my location within this is explored. My reflexivity, which was instrumental in how I approached and engaged with this research, concludes this chapter.

1.2 Researcher’s Personal Experience of Honour and Shame
It was a very hot summer’s day in a remote village in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan. As a teenager, I was on my first trip abroad for a holiday, accompanied by my mother and a younger sister. We had arrived in Karachi a number of weeks earlier and spent time with my maternal, extended family. I met aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents whom I had previously only heard of. The heat, ambience, culture, lifestyle, food and noise were alien experiences. I enjoyed spending time with my relatives, visiting the beach, dining out until late, shopping in the bazaars, eating pistachio ice cream in parlours and weaving through very heavy traffic as a passenger on a motorcycle. I was an immigrant visiting part of my heritage for the very first time.
The transition from being born and raised in one of the most developed and venerated countries of the world, England, to urbanised living in Karachi, and then to rural village habitation in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa was an acute culture shock (de Ishtar, 2008; Fedorak, 2012; Kenny and Smillie, 2015) and an unforgettable experience.

We left the lively and exciting city to visit my paternal, extended family. It was an interesting journey which took two full days and one night by train from Karachi to a highly populous city, near the capital, Islamabad. From there, we embarked on a four hour journey by jeep to a particular town, whom for confidentiality reasons, will not be identified. Pseudonyms are adopted in this narrative. Upon arrival in the town, we trekked a four mile hike to reach my grandfather’s house. There were no roads built for vehicles. My grandfather’s house was situated within a valley and the only neighbours in close proximity were his two brothers. Their individual accommodations were next door and also a few metres below his. The nearest house from this triad was an hour’s hike further up the hill. Only endogamous kinships of the Seyed caste (direct descents of Prophet Muhammad, pbuh) lived within this village and also the neighbouring villages. The only exceptions were men employed as labourers who were of a different caste.

The scenery from my grandfather’s veranda was breathtakingly beautiful. As the house was set within a valley, it was surrounded by hills, lush forests, open land and streams. The atmosphere was crisp and fresh in the mornings, humid during the day, and cool and refreshing at night. Due to the natural surroundings, the milieu was serene, peaceful and secluded. The lifestyle was extremely basic; no hot water, food supply obtained from fresh produce cultivated in the fields, fruit orchards or reared poultry and livestock. Firewood was a source of heat and cooking fuel. Limited electricity had been connected in the mid to late 1970s. At night time, wild animals and wolves could be heard from indoors and posed a threat. Every household had Kalashnikovs for protection and were fired to mark celebrations such as weddings. Our arrival was announced to the rest of the village by a round of bullets being dispersed into the air.

One particular afternoon, all of the males were absent from the trio of households as they were attending a male only event celebrating the circumcision of a newborn male. All of the female adults were having a siesta. My sister and I were bored. We invited my grandfather’s two teenage nieces to join us in playing a board game on the roof of
my grandfather’s house. These young women, Saira and Nazia, were sisters-in-laws. Saira was a new bride from Karachi who had married her cousin, Shazad from the village. Saira was living with her husband and his family. Nazia was her husband’s younger sister.

We had been playing for some time when suddenly, and silently, Shazad appeared and stared briefly at his wife and sister before proceeding down to his house. No verbal communication occurred. Saira and Nazia immediately abandoned the game and said they had to return to their home. They offered no explanation. My sister and I were perplexed by their precipitous departure. However, we intuitively sensed they were in trouble and were concerned about their fate. We felt uneasy. After what appeared to be an enduring number of minutes, we decided to return to the lower ground to ascertain how they were. On the pretext of going indoors to my grandfather’s house, we would have to first pass by Shazad’s house. As we approached Shazad’s house, the front door was open. It was customary for all households in the village to leave their front doors open during daylight hours as it was considered absolutely safe to do so. There was no perceived risk of burglaries occurring within that locality. Doors were only securely locked at night due to the possibility of wild animals entering the homes. As we approached Shazad’s house we could hear an unrelenting sound emanating from indoors. It was the lashing of a whip in quick successions. Apart from the repeated “whoosh” there was complete silence. We were absolutely horrified listening to the distinct, audible, physical abuse taking place and felt completely helpless to stop it. The fear and guilt I felt at their suffering was immense.

Later on that evening after dinner, as was habitual, all of the women gathered together in one of the houses to have tea and talk. Shazad’s mother kept looking at my sister and I with glances that communicated she knew, we knew, something terrible had happened to Saira and Nazia that afternoon. After some time passed, she shared to the women that Shazad had indeed whipped his sister and bride. They had dishonoured him by being visible on the rooftop for all of the village men to see. Their behaviour had brought shame. He had seen them from a great distance, possibly with a pair of binoculars. He was further incensed and insulted that his wife blatantly indicated to people whom she was, despite some of them not having met her as yet. Her bright, red, outfit signified she was the new bride as this colour is traditionally worn by recently betrothed women. When Saira and Nazia appeared, they were very subdued and did not utter any objection
about the violation they had experienced. After delving into my first aid kit, I tended to their lacerations by applying antiseptic ointment onto their wounds and conveyed my heartfelt apologies for their affliction. I had been oblivious to the fact women were not permitted to entertain themselves on rooftops under any circumstances. This event occurred approximately two decades ago. This was my preliminary, authentic and memorised encounter of honour and shame. Subsequent chapters illustrate and critically analyse how honour as noted by Shah (2009) could be ‘destroyed’ in addition to individuals ‘burning’ with shame.

1.3 Researcher’s Professional Experience of Working with Honour and Shame Issues

As a humanistic, transcultural and person centred counsellor, I have worked therapeutically with clients since 2000. I have worked with diverse clients in various organisations. In my previous employment as a counselling service co-ordinator and therapist, I worked predominantly with South Asian British Muslim communities. It was during this professional role as a therapist, I listened to numerous Muslim clients share their experiences of feeling dishonoured and/or shamed in relation to their own, or their family members’ behaviours, and perceptions.

I noticed the frequency of young South Asian British Muslim men and women who presented with psychological and/or emotional distress due to the complexities of honour and shame. They appeared to be caught between the tensions of parental and kindred pressures to conform to sociocultural norms and expectations. I worked closely with them as they struggled with the dichotomy of being who they are, and who their families expected them to be. Coercion, pressures, emotional blackmail, abuse, cultural identity issues, religiosity, honour and shame were all powerful mechanisms of conformity placed upon some of the clients by their nuclear and extended families, and community members. Honour and shame were recurring themes within the context of relationships and family dynamics. At times, it seemed honour and shame were of primary importance, and parental, sibling and familial relationships were secondary.

When I worked with clients who had disowned their children due to their perception of having been dishonoured by their offspring’s behaviour, I was aware that on occasions there was a decline in my level of empathy for these parents. I seemed to naturally empathise at a deeper level with the young adults who had been ostracised by their
families and communities. The decisions they had made were in contradiction to familial and societal expectations. Albeit, I could see the struggle the parents and children experienced, I was limited in being able to fully understand why some parents chose to cease all contact with their children as their honour was of greater value than retaining these relationships. Hence, I chose to research this topic to assist in acquiring deeper knowledge about the convolutions of honour and shame, which would contribute towards developing an increased therapeutic connection with clients who were psychologically, emotionally, physically, sexually and financially wounded by actions which interrelated to these phenomena.

1.4 Researcher’s Academic Interest in Honour and Shame
As a British born Muslim woman, the barriers and discrimination I have experienced due to my gender, cultural, racial and ethnic identities have contributed towards my aim to research this topic. My M.A in Counselling explored “The Culture and Identity of South Asian British Muslim Women” (Mansoor, 2006) and this doctorate was a natural progression from my previous study. My research and university teaching interests include issues of culture, race, ethnicity, religion, spirituality, sociocultural diversity and counselling. Due to my academic, professional and personal interests, I have some awareness and understanding of overt and covert levels of discrimination, injustices, abuse, racism, inequalities, power and control issues, and additional barriers experienced by marginalised groups of society. I hope this social scientific study will help towards increasing recognition, knowledge and understanding about the power of honour and shame and the detrimental impact it may have on many lives. Furthermore, I hope the awareness, of this study goes beyond the research and academic community. In summation, the reasons and motivation for my research are threefold; personal, professional, and academic.

1.5 Reasons for the South Asian Diaspora Selection
This section offers a rationale of why I chose to research British Muslim persons whose heritage was specifically from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. According to the United Nations, countries comprising South Asia are; Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of) Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (www.unstats.un.org). A significant number of these countries, including Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, have a shared history of being part of the British Empire (Bose and Jalal, 2011).
According to Jaspal and Cinnirella (2013) British South Asians “constitutes the largest ethnic minority group in Britain” (p. 157) and the term ‘British South Asians’ “constitutes a super ordinate ethno-racial category, used typically to refer to individuals of Indian, Pakistani, or Bangladeshi descent” (p. 158). The 2011 census measuring ethnicity and national identity in England and Wales state 86.0% of the population reported their ethnic group as white. The next largest ethnic group was Indian at 2.5% and then Pakistani at 2.0%. Bangladeshi was recorded between 0.5% - 1.0% (www.ons.gov.uk).

Unfortunately, the 2011 census for Scotland did not offer a detailed breakdown of the ethnic population apart from stating the Asian population was the largest minority ethnic group at 3%. From this, the Pakistani ethnic group was the largest individual category measuring at 1% of the total population (www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk). From these limited statistics, it is not possible to ascertain the percentage of Bangladeshi or Indian population in Scotland. Nonetheless, from the figures available, it was evident the majority of ethnic minorities living in England, Wales and Scotland were of Indian or Pakistani origin.

In alignment with my interests in culture, race and ethnicity, as the Indian and Pakistani diaspora formed the largest subgroups of ethnic minorities from the South Asian subcontinent in the UK, I considered this a valid reason to also focus on them for this study. Furthermore, Bangladeshis were included because prior to the 1947 partition, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh was one nation (Lyon, 2004; Qadeer, 2006). This was then divided into Pakistan, and then subdivided into Bangladesh (Parker et al., 2003). Consequently, there is a shared history of cultural, racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic and political fusion. Muslim participants were a specific criterion as Islam is the major faith in Bangladesh and Pakistan, and indeed the second largest faith group in England (www.mcb.org.uk). In the 2011 census for Scotland, 37% of people said they had no religion, 32% identified with the Church of Scotland and 1.4% of people reported themselves as Muslims. Other faith groups were below these figures (www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk).

For the purpose of this study, the descriptor ‘South Asian’ is used to refer to people whose cultural, racial, ethnic or national heritage originates from the South Asia subcontinent. This formulation includes British born citizens, second and third
generation citizens, in addition to first generation immigrants. Payton (2014) writes “in the United Kingdom, HBV is predominantly associated with South Asian communities (p. 2866).

1.6 Setting the Study into Context Nationally and Internationally
Previous research studies related to honour and shame have been undertaken. Dyer (2015) notes that ten years ago, the issue of honour based violence in the UK was relatively unknown and not many conversation regarding this occurred. She notes that despite today’s raised awareness “the lives of thousands of individuals are continuing to slip through the net” (p. 41). Balzani (2010) notes the control of South Asian British Muslim women’s sexuality “is no longer merely a matter of safeguarding family honour; it is about the imagined future survival of community, nation and faith” (p. 92). Her Majesty’s Inspector of Constabulary for England and Wales (2015) concluded honour based violence:

By its very nature, is often hidden, occurring within extended family units or close social context and aimed predominantly at women and girls. It is a set of abusive practices which are manifested in multiple ways. (HMIC, 2015, p. 124).

Existing material focussed on honour and shame is briefly outlined in the following section to position my research within a framework of prior investigations. Detailed examination of current literature is located in the following chapter.

1.7 Honour and Shame as a Worldwide Issue
Honour and shame are complex and deeply rooted phenomena which affect people of diverse ethnic, racial, sociocultural and religious heritage (Gilbert and Andrews, 1998; Baxter, 2007; Latreille, 2008; Crook, 2009). It is imperative to note honour killings, which are a global issue, are at the extreme end of this spectrum. Authorities such as the police, human rights organisations, legal representatives and media reports provide credible evidence that honour based crimes are occurring within the United Kingdom (Liberty, 2003; Association of Chief Police Officer of England, Wales & Northern Ireland, 2008; Patel and Siddiqui, 2010; Idriss and Abbas, 2011; Dyer, 2015). The purpose of this study was not to investigate crimes and killings due to notions of honour. The aims were to explore how this concept was created, defined, understood and experienced by exploring the manifestation of beliefs, attitudes and influences which contributed to its formation. The definition, concept, impact and gender
differences of honour and shame were the focus to ascertain the significance of this ideological view within the lives of South Asian British Muslim men and women.

According to Vandello and Cohen (2003) there is a difference in how much importance is attached to the construct of honour in cultures around the globe. Despite this differentiation “almost all cultures place value on honor defined as virtuous behavior, good moral character, integrity, and altruism, and this ideal holds for males as well as females” (p. 997). The authors identify “cultures of honor” are present in Mediterranean societies (Greece, Italy and Spain), Middle East and Arab cultures, Latin and South American cultures with Iberian roots, and the American South. A review of secondary data by Leeming and Boyle (2004) states “continuity of shame might depend in part on the particular social and cultural niche the person occupies” (p. 385) and “clearly some people have more to be ashamed of than others, according to the dominant cultural norms” (p. 386). Tapper and Tapper (1992/1993) write “honour and shame constitute an ideology of control that embraces relations of both production and reproduction: it applies to the control of all resources, including women” (p. 4).

Kulczycki and Windle’s systematic review of research literature (n: 348) on honour killings in the Middle East and North Africa identified:

Rooted in social standing, cultural mores, and institutions, the concept of family honour provides a socially sanctioned justification for murder because a woman is regarded as a vessel of the family reputation. (Kulczycki and Windle, 2011, p. 1442).

The authors concluded honour killings occur in the majority of countries within those regions. Ljungvist’s case study of the chastity code advocated by the Spanish Renaissance humanist Juan Luis Vives notes:

An honor culture of women and their sexuality is today principally associated with Middle Eastern cultures, but has also been prevalent in the European Mediterranean world and, to a lesser extent, in the rest of Europe during antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early modern period. (Ljungvist, 2012, p. 140).

An ethnographic study of rape in Bougainville by Braithwaite (2006) argues “the same shame and pride dynamics that are exploited to motivate the onset of war also motivate rape in war” (p. 14).
Glazer and Ras’s (1994) analysis of secondary data focusing on a murder for family honour in Israel writes “family honor killing violates the human rights of women” (p. 273). Gray’s (2010) Australian study of semi structured interviews with counsellors, and alcohol and other drug workers (n: 17) concluded “shame is understood to be compounded by the stigma of drug use and the negative labels applied to clients, such as “addict” or “junkie” (p. 699). Caffaro, Ferraris and Schmidt (2014) write “in the more individualist northern Italy the concept of honour is more centred on personal values and gender roles are more flexible” (p. 306).

According to Abu-Loghod (2002) women from the Bedouin community in Egypt are known to cover their faces with a black head cloth in the presence of older, respected men. This is considered to be a voluntary act by women who are deeply committed to being moral and having a sense of honour tied to family.

1.8 Honour Based Crimes and Killings

As aforementioned, this study did not specifically focus on honour based crimes and killings. However, there is a growing body of literature which recognises honour and shame has a pivotal role in such acts. Therefore, this section provides some evidence of the scale of this issue.

Statistics from the United Nations reported an estimated 5000 women are killed worldwide each year in the name of ‘honour’ (UNFPA, 2000). This is recognised as an international issue as honour killings have been documented in Bangladesh, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, Sweden, Turkey, Uganda and the UK (Sajid, 2003). A study by Nasrullah, Haqqi and Cummings (2009) investigating the epidemiological patterns of honour killing of women in Pakistan via secondary data analysis state “all over the world, women are most often killed by their husbands, boyfriends and ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends, however what is different for HK is that brothers are often involved in the killings” (p. 195). They identified although honour killings were most prevalent among Muslim countries, their “study showed that Christian and Hindu minorities were also victims, suggesting the phenomenon is not limited to a single religion but rather reflects cultural norms” (p. 195).

Odeh’s (2010) paper discusses honour killings and gender construction in the Arab world “if a man doesn’t intervene by killing his sister or wife once she has shamed him,
he suffers a loss of his gender: he is no longer a man” (p. 919). Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2003) a Palestinian female therapist, challenges orientalist notions of “naming femicide as “crimes of passion” in the West and “crimes of honor” in the East is one reflection of the discriminatory constructions of frames of analyses, which build a simplistic system that hides the intersectionality among political, economic, cultural, and gender factors” (p. 590). Her interviews with tribal notables revealed they believe “filth can only be dealt with by burying it” (p. 585). As written by Idriss:

Honour killings and HBV are aggravating crimes not only because they harm actual victims, but also because they serve to spread fear amongst other intended (female) victims that they too will face violence if they defy cultural norms of expected behaviour. (Idriss, 2015, p. 207).

“Honor crimes are explained as the behavior of a specific ethnic or cultural community. The culture itself is taken to be the cause of the criminal violence. Thus the category stigmatizes not a particular act but entire cultures and ethnic communities” (Abu-Lughod, 2011, p. 18).

1.9 Honour and Shame as a UK Issue

This section offers an indication of honour and shame within South Asian British Muslim communities. In-depth critical analysis of existing literature is covered in the next chapter.

Some South Asian British Muslim families seem to have a domineering stance towards female relatives and expressed conditional terms of acceptance. Ayyub states:

No price the women will pay would be greater than the shame they would bring on the family if they chose to end their marriage. Therefore, many women, even in the face of extreme domestic violence, continue to stay in the marriage because leaving would bring shame to their family. (Ayyub, 2000, p. 243).

Honour is intertwined with controlling female behaviour and if she breaks a code of honour, then she has brought dishonour to her family, especially to male relations (Baker, Gregware and Cassidy, 1999).

Bhopal conducted in-depth interviews and a six month participant observation study (n: 60) investigating the phenomenon of South Asian dowries in the UK. She identified:
Independent women are seen as having broken the rules of South Asian culture and ruined the *izzat* of family members and so they must be punished. They are no longer accepted freely into the community and are seen as being sexually promiscuous and rebellious. (Bhopal, 1997, p. 487).

Another study reports “men whose control is threatened will use violence to avoid shame to restore their sense of honour” (Araji, 2000, p. 7). “Shame isn’t just one thing… shame with society, that’s about other people’s problems with you; it’s not about you” (Gilbert, Gilbert and Sanghera, 2004, p. 117).

Chantler (2003) undertook qualitative investigation of service responses to South Asian women in Manchester (UK) who attempted suicide or self-harmed. They conducted individual, semi structured interviews, and group discussions and describe one participant’s narrative “it was this combination of interlocking factors – immigration, domestic violence and shame – that she described as having led her to attempt suicide” (p. 38).

A qualitative and quantitative study by Dale *et al.*, examining educational and employment experiences and aspirations for young Bangladeshi and Pakistani’s living in Oldham, UK (n: 82) identified:

While the notion of honour was widely accepted, there were considerable differences in the ways in which it impinged on girls. For the most traditional families it meant girls were not allowed outside on their own, and going to FE college or university was forbidden. By contrast, in other families, girls were encouraged to go to university, even if it meant living away from home. (Dale *et al.*, 2002, p. 955).

In-depth interviews by Gask *et al.* (2011) to explore understanding persistence of depression in British Pakistani women in East Lancashire (n: 15) found for some participants “the stigma of ‘depression’ further contributed to the experience of isolation however this appeared to be a self-imposed act of avoidance, sometimes in response to the experience of shame and embarrassment” (p. 53).

Basit (1997) conducted a qualitative study of semi structured interviews of British Muslim girls, their parents and teachers. In reference to the schoolgirls, she writes “they are cognisant of the concept of family honour which is deeply embedded in Islamic ideology. They have been socialised from a young age to sustain this honour by
refraining from actions that could jeopardise it” (p. 436). An action research project by Burman and Chantler (2004) included semi structured interviews (n: 23) and identified “shame about being abused may be compounded by how minoritised women’s cultural heritages are constructed” (p. 389).

1.10 Precis of Honour and Shame

After careful consideration of other authors’ cited references which are provided in the remainder of the thesis, this is my succinct statement of honour and shame; honour is a concept, which is intellectual and relational. This consists of spoken and unspoken rules, which appeared to be learned by members of particular socio-cultural groups; i.e. South Asian British Muslims. However, if honour is perceived to be breached, then there are clear consequences of a more serious nature for females compared to males. Family status and behaviour expectations are gender based. Shame is an emotion and is defined by how one responded to a perception of ‘lost’ honour. It manifests itself on two levels; internal and external. Internal shame is a sense of an individual feeling ashamed, shameful and shameless. External shame has a social element which is very closely connected to acts of punishment and enforced compliance by others. “The fear of shame and ridicule can be so strong that people will risk serious physical injury or even death to avoid it” (Gilbert, 2003, p. 1205).

I suggest social and family pressure is applied to enforce men and women to conform to sociocultural mores. Strong expectations for them to live prescribed lifestyles, as determined by others, are imposed upon them. Depending on whether the individual fulfilled this obligation, he/she is either accepted or rejected by their families and/or communities. Overwhelmingly, females are considered to be the carriers and maintainers of family and societal honour. I was aware exploring honour and shame was a challenging task. I concurred with “shying away from controversial topics, simply because they are controversial, is also an avoidance of responsibility” (Sieber and Stanley, 1988, p. 55).

1.11 Research Process

The methodology for this study encompassed the philosophy of a humanistic approach (Hough, 2000; Feltham and Dryden, 2004), hermeneutic researcher stance (Grix, 2010; Gray, 2014; Lichtman, 2014) and interpretive epistemology (Robson, 2011; Walliman, 2011). I adopted a relativist ontological position for this study (Burr, 2003; Moses and
Knutsen, 2007; Blackburn, 2008; Braun and Clarke, 2013a; Cresswell, 2014) and implemented a qualitative research method (McLeod, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). An in-depth and nuanced discussion of the study positioning is illustrated in the methodology chapter. A humanistic orientation emphasises individuals’ free will, responsibility and self-actualisation (Colman, 2009; Strawbridge and Woolfe, 2010). A humanistic framework focuses primarily on human values, empathy being a way of understanding others, and it also accentuates “the power of individuals to realize their human potential” (Jary and Jary, 2000, p. 278). A humanistic approach stresses “human goodness, potentiality and wholeness” (Feltham and Dryden, 2004, p. 104). McLeod notes:

Qualitative research is humanistic, in the broadest sense of that term. Like other fields of humanistic enquiry, it proceeds on the basis that, individually and collectively, we create the world we live in, must take responsibility for it, and can choose to make it different. (McLeod, 2001, p. 5).

As I embrace the philosophy of humanistic ways of being in all aspects of my life, this naturally imbued in how I approached and engaged with the research study. It was particularly important for myself that the participants and I were in autonomous, albeit different positions, within this investigation. I knew how empowered I was in the process of this research, and I wished to offer as much empowerment as possible to the participants during the course of our interactions. In harmony with a humanistic framework (du Plock, 2010), the participants were offered as many choices as possible and appropriate; i.e. partaking, interview dates/times/venues, individual/focus group/photo elicitation exercises et cetera. They were requested to share at a level that felt comfortable and safe for them. Hence, they were offered, and they took responsibility, for themselves in imparting with their narratives.

I conveyed empathic understanding (Rogers, 1967; Geldard and Geldard, 2003; Freire, 2007) towards the participants. I desired for them to experience being valued by myself as individuals, and participants, with their encompassing intersecting identities, principles, attitudes, beliefs and experiences. I aspired to facilitate a positive and meaningful interview experience for all of the participants. I acknowledged the power of their words as I wanted them to recognise their input would contribute towards further understanding of the complexities within the honour and shame phenomena. I
believe, as human beings, we are responsible for the accord and discord which exists in the world. As a human race, we have the power to heal or harm the planet.

I strived to create a positive and nurturing research environment which promoted the participants’ autonomy. I explored with the participants their knowledge, opinions and experiences of honour and shame as I endeavoured to make sense of their world in relation to the research question. I did not adopt a leading, judging or directing stance. I trusted and accepted the participants had the ability and capability to connect with their internal processes and express themselves of their own volition.

I undertook a qualitative study as this appeared a particularly apposite method for the research topic. Loseke (2013) states “no method of generating data is perfect. Use critical thinking to choose the technique that makes the most sense given the questions that you want to answer” (p. 89). McLeod (2001) writes “qualitative methods have traditionally been considered as most appropriate for research which seeks to uncover the meanings embedded within a slice of social life or piece of action. Qualitative research is seen as contributing to the growth of understanding, rather than to the collection of factual knowledge and construction of causal explanation” (p. 178).

Qualitative data was generated via individual interviews, focus groups and photo elicitation exercises. Participants were Bangladeshi, Indian, and Pakistani Muslims who lived in the UK. Thirty participants were interviewed with an age range of nineteen – sixty-four years old. Face to face and telephone interviews were conducted as I did not wish to exclude hard to reach participants in my study. My aim was to include breadth and depth to my research and I did not want challenges such as location, disability, language or time to prevent inclusion. The participants lived in regions such as the North West, South East, Greater London, Yorkshire and the Midlands.

I have attempted to portray the richness and reality of this qualitative research to offer some insight into the many layers of the honour and shame phenomena. McLeod writes:

The power of psychotherapy researchers is grounded in who they are, where they are, and how they speak. The concept of voice can be used as a means of opening up an awareness of how power, control and influence are exerted. (McLeod, 2001, p. 163).
The following chapters illustrate how this research was meaningful not only to myself, but also to the researched. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) write the twelve aspects of qualitative research interviews include “Positive Experience. A well carried out research interview can be a rare and enriching experience for the interviewee, who may obtain new insights into his or her life situation” (p. 28).

1.12 Research Question, Aims and Objectives

The title of this PhD research was:

Exploring Honour and Shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women

The three research questions guiding this study were:

1. What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women?
2. What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women?
3. What are the gender differences in male and female honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims?

The research objectives of this study were:

1. To conduct individual, semi structured interviews with adults of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani heritage.
2. To facilitate focus groups with South Asian British Muslim men and women.
3. To undertake photo elicitation exercises exploring honour and shame.

1.13 Researcher Insider/Outsider Positionality and Reflexivity

From the onset of this study, I have contemplated how and where I was going to be positioned within this research investigation. “Positionality refers to the way in which others position the individual identity and affiliations he/she may have. This can have a bearing on whether the researcher acquires the position of an ‘outsider’ or an ‘insider’ ” (Sanghera and Thaper-Bjorkert, 2008, p. 553).

Tinker and Armstrong assert:

Researchers are always both insiders and outsiders in every research setting, and are likely to oscillate between these positions as they move in and out of
similarity and difference, both within and between interviews. (Tinker and Armstrong, 2008, p. 54).

Liamputtong writes:

The insider and outsider status, as I have suggested, may shift at a particular moment of your fieldwork, and this may mean that you would need to reconsider your research process over and over again. (Liamputtong, 2010, p. 133).

It has been documented the intentions of some minority ethnic researchers, and how the findings are utilised, has been considered with suspicion by participants from the same race and ethnic groups, and cultural affiliation as the researcher (Kusow, 2003; Tillman, 2006). I did not experience such tensions with the participants and suggest this may have been present in the mindsets of persons who did not partake; i.e. non-graduate men and Imams, which is explored further in the methodology and discussion chapters respectively.

Irvine, Roberts and Bradbury-Jones (2008) acknowledge researcher intimacy may result in complacency and overfamiliarity may result in loss of objectivity and a disregard to specific nuances. However, they argue:

Insider researchers are able to immerse themselves in the original data and, if bilingual or multilingual, can mediate between linguistically diverse datasets, this may provide added insight and clarity to the interpretive process. (Irvine, Roberts and Bradbury-Jones, 2008, p. 44).

Despite some shared linguistics between some of the participants and myself; i.e. English and Urdu, I acknowledge my Urdu was not as advanced compared to participants who had emigrated from Pakistan. There were moments when participants were requested to elaborate on the meaning of their vocabulary as I did not comprehend some words. I do not have an indigenous Urdu accent as English is my principal language.

It is feasible some of the native Urdu speaking participants may have been attuned to some of my English modulated Urdu, which could have positioned me as a limited insider, and potentially an outsider, in dialectical terms. This corresponds with Coloma’s (2008) experience of not being considered an authentic Filipino partly due to
his “American-accented Tagalog” (p. 14). I acknowledge I may have been an outsider in language proficiency levels with research participants to whom Bangla was a first/second language as I have extremely limited understanding of this vocalization.

Merriam et al., (2001) writes that previously it was assumed a researcher was predominantly either an insider or an outsider, which resulted in advantages and disadvantages. However, now there is recognition the boundaries between these two positions are not so clearly delineated and there are complexities within either status. Merriam et al., notes:

It has commonly been assumed that being an insider means easy access, the ability to ask more meaningful questions and read non-verbal cues, and most importantly, be able to project a more truthful, authentic understanding of the culture under study. On the other hand, insiders have been accused of being inherently biased, and too close to the culture to be curious enough to raise provocative questions. The insider’s strengths become the outsider’s weaknesses and vice-versa. The outsider’s advantage lies in curiosity with the unfamiliar, ability to ask taboo questions, and being seen as non-aligned with subgroups thus often getting more information. (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411).

During the course of arranging the interviews, a considerable number of women signed off their text messages and/or emails with ‘x’ which I suggest is generally considered to typify some form of affection. Due to the research boundaries, I did not utilise the same character in my responses as I considered this inappropriate. I replaced the ‘x’ symbol with a smiley emoticon which I hoped would convey a welcoming and non-intimate interaction.

Quraishi (2008) draws attention to the dilemma he experienced as a British Muslim researcher greeting Muslim male participants who were detained at some prisons in England. Due to the prison environment and researcher boundaries, he was unable to exhibit some of the physical customary greetings between Muslim men; i.e. firm handshaking, kissing the cheeks, hugging et cetera. Instead, he would place his right “outstretched palm to them and wave by way of ‘salaam’ ” (p. 462). He then incorporated this into a more heartfelt and sincere greeting by “folding the arm inwards to rest on the heart” (p. 462).

Quraishi’s (2008) narrative resonated with myself on some levels as some female participants initially greeted myself with a warm embrace. I propose this may have
been symbolic of them considering me as an insider and also an indication of their warmth towards myself. I was initially surprised by such gestures as my boundaries regarding physical contact within the research dynamics were very different to those participants. This may have indicated I was an outsider in understanding and accepting of what may be considered cultural norms regarding greetings. However, I was mindful of my personal space being encroached without my consent. From my perspective, these were not mutually initiated hugs. Thus, I set the tone of subsequent greetings by offering the female participants a handshake. I wished to have clearly defined professional boundaries, yet, offer them a welcoming gesture. Due to my insider awareness, I was attentive that some Muslim men, due to their religious beliefs, will not shake hands with a female researcher, which is also documented by Al-Makhamreh and Lewando-Hundt (2008).

As suggested by Tillman (2006), I cogitated upon the extent of my own “cultural knowledge, cross-race and same-race perspectives, and insider/outsider issues related to the research process” (p. 269). During the course of the interviews, I was mindful of the differences in the research relationships; gender, ethnicity, power, language, education, socioeconomic status, regional and language inflection, employment, religiosity, age, appearance, culture and subculture variations. I suggest to some degree, the participants would have noticed this too. Spoken and unspoken negotiations took place from both parties to facilitate developing a mutually meaningful research experience. I verbalised to each participant there were no correct or incorrect answers to the questions, and I was very much interested to hear about their concepts, attitudes and experiences relating to honour and shame. It was made explicit to them they were under no obligation to answer any question they may feel uncomfortable with, and I welcomed any questions they had regarding the research study and interview process.

Banks (1998) developed a typology of cross cultural researchers which consisted of four types of researchers:

- Indigenous-insider – this individual endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge of his or her indigenous community and culture and is perceived by people within the community as a legitimate community member who can speak with authority about it.
- Indigenous-outsider – this individual was socialised within his or her indigenous community but has experienced high levels of cultural assimilation into an outsider or oppositional culture. The values, beliefs, perspectives, and
knowledge of this individual are identical to those of the outside community. The indigenous-outsider is perceived by indigenous people in the community as an outsider.

- External-insider – this individual was socialized within another culture and acquires its beliefs, values, behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge. However, because of his or her unique experiences, the individual rejects many of the values, beliefs, and knowledge claims within his or her indigenous community and endorses those of the studied community. The external-insider is viewed by the new community as an “adopted” insider.

- External-outsider – the external-outsider is socialized within a community different from the one in which he or she is doing research. The external-outsider has a partial understanding of and little appreciation for the values, perspectives, and knowledge of the community he or she is studying and consequently often misunderstands and misinterprets the behaviors within the studied community. (Banks, 1998, p. 8).

Egharevba (2001) a British born first generation Nigerian woman, writes she dressed conservatively when meeting research participants who were women of South Asian heritage and all, except one, practising Muslims. She ensured her arms and legs were covered with clothing which was not too revealing, fitting or tight.

In order to illustrate my respect towards the participants religious and sociocultural beliefs, to facilitate the research engagement, and reduce some of the visible barriers, I also took care in my dress code when meeting the participants. I wore full sleeved garments and full length skirts, with a shawl draped across my shoulders. I choose not to wear a hijab. I do not wear traditional Asian clothes and my choice of attire is part of my identity. Hence, it was important for myself to remain authentic as I refuse to be disingenuous to myself or other persons. Therefore, my appearance for the interviews was not too dissimilar to how I may ordinarily dress, with modesty, in any environment. However, I did tie my hair back as I was mindful that my shoulder length hair may be deemed improper by some of the participants, which could result in an unnecessary barrier between us. It is plausible my insider/outsider positionality may have been affected by how the female participants who wore a hijab, niqab and abaya experienced the contrast between our appearances. I propose I had dual insider and outsider positionality with the participants which was also influenced by whether they wore Western or non-Western clothes, how they perceived my dress code and how their image impacted upon myself, and vice versa.

Ryan, Kofman and Aaron’s (2011) paper focusing on the insider/outsider status of peer and academic researchers in researching British Muslim communities highlights an
insider peer researcher’s experiences. He was employed because of his location within a specific religious and ethnic community and found:

> Participants regularly positioned him as an outsider because of his physical appearance and dress. Far from being simply recognised and accepted as an insider, he frequently had to tell participants he was in fact ‘one of them’. (Ryan, Kofman and Aaron, 2011, p. 55-56).

The aforementioned authors note one advantage of being outsider researchers was “people tended to assume that we knew little or nothing about their culture, attitudes, religion, lifestyles, family structures… rather than assuming any shared understanding, they tended to explain things to us in detail” (Ryan, Kofman and Aaron, 2011, p. 57). I suggest that despite careful planning with regards to researcher positionality, the participants, researcher, and the research process itself will determine where the researcher, and indeed the researched, are placed in each study.

All throughout the research process, I maintained clear and firm boundaries with the participants. I only engaged with them in a research capacity. Unlike Tillman (2006) who shared experiences of teaching and administration, in addition to offering strategies for teaching, discipline and classroom management to the participants, I did not impart any examples or opinions of my professional experience regarding honour and shame. As per Al-Makhamreh and Lewando-Hundt (2008) in order to maintain researcher integrity, my views were not expressed to the participants.

Hall (2004) states she had an outsider status in her research with South Asian women in West Yorkshire, England, who were immigration applicants (n: 30). With the exception of one, all of the participants were her acquaintances. She provided immigration application advice to one participant who specified she would only partake if the researcher provided her with such guidance. I suggest the dual relationships between the researcher and researched, and the giving of advice on immigration matters could be considered boundary issues as their interactions were not confined to research interactions.

In my opinion, regardless of whether researchers are insiders or outsiders, or in between this continuum, it is important they remain focused upon their role and responsibilities as researchers without entering into advice giving positions. Otherwise, this could
contribute towards a significantly imbalanced power and reduced egalitarian dynamic in the relationship, with a possibility of the researcher being positioned in a superior and/or expert status. I suggest caution needs to be exercised when interviewing a participant with whom there is a pre-existing relationship as this could impact on the validity (Robson, 2002; Kumar, 2011; Lichtman, 2014) and reliability (Flick, 2002; Mason, 2002; Gray, 2014) of the data generated.

Apart from my pilot studies, all of the research participants were unbeknown to myself. I did not wish to interview persons for the main study with whom I had engaged with previously. Hence, I only knew the participants in a research capacity and maintained this boundary after the data was generated. I differ with Marshall and Rossman’s (2011) suggestion that researchers, within the boundaries of their personal ethics and researcher role, should reciprocate the participants input via childcare provision, grass cutting, gift vouchers, errands, favours et cetera. They state the researcher is indebted to the participants. Although I very much appreciated the participants’ contributions, I did not feel obliged to demonstrate this by physical gestures of reciprocation. My verbal communication encompassed my genuine appreciation. The participants agreed to voluntarily partake and there was no indication from them they expected me to provide any additional non-research based service(s) to them. The participants and I only interacted for research purposes and this boundary was upheld.

Egharevba’s (2001) paper focusses on her reflections as a black female researcher who interviewed female student teachers of South Asian ethnicity (n: 19) in England. Eighteen of the participants were Muslim and she “answered the majority of personal questions immediately” (p. 233). I disagree with Egharevba’s (2001) argument that her providing personal, professional and academic information contributed in the research dynamics being further enabled. I suggest it is possible for the relationships between participants and researchers to be developed and strengthened without the need for researchers to divulge personal material and overstep boundaries by engaging in non-research activities for participants. I consider researchers are responsible for establishing and maintaining professional, research boundaries regardless of instances whereby participants may knowingly or unknowingly challenge these.

The participants and I shared some intersecting connections; i.e. South Asian heritage and being Muslims, which may have positioned myself as an insider. However, on
occasions, I could also be viewed as an outsider as complete homogeneity did not exist between us on all levels. Sub cultures within cultures do exist (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013; Cameron, 2017). I propose I may have been an outsider of a greater extent with the migrated participants who were of Bangladeshi and Indian origin due to the differences in language, culture and mores. I did not ascertain which Islamic sect the participants may have identified with as I did not consider this information pertinent in answering the research question. However, I acknowledge the religious sect and religiosity similarities/differences could have had some bearing on the insider/outsider positionality within our interactions.

At an overt level, it may have seemed I was more akin to being an insider with participants whom, like myself, were of Pakistani heritage. However, I suggest the diversity at the covert level may counteract such assumptions. It is possible I may have been more aligned as an insider with the British born Bangladeshi and Indian heritage participants as the similarities of our sociocultural experiences, generation variances, education, worldviews et cetera may have been of more significance than simply our ancestral histories. To my knowledge, unlike myself, none of the participants were of Iranian origin which suggests I could not have been an absolute insider.

I considered myself to have the advantageous position of being able to venture in and out of the insider/outsider positionality as I do not believe I am wholly immersed in the majority white British or minority South Asian cultures within this country. I have multifaceted, intersecting identities; Muslim, British, South Asian and Iranian. I have been able to find a way to live in harmony with diverse cultures and societies, which I acknowledge, accept and appreciate. Thus, my proximity to the research included fluidity and freedom as I engaged with the process and participants. According to Banks (1998) typology, I fluctuated between being an indigenous-insider and indigenous-outsider. My position as an insider/outsider researcher was not static, but included movement as there were many layers to how this positionality was developed by myself and the participants. I propose the majority of nuanced meanings were easily understood by myself and yet others were more difficult to fathom. I will elaborate on this point further in the discussion chapter.

I suggest I was not entirely an insider nor outsider, but positioned within both realms, which was influenced by the relationship, interaction and depth of interconnectedness
between myself and each participant. I propose the researcher insider/outsider positionality entails verbal and nonverbal negotiations between the researcher and participants. The complexities of this status are not always clearly deciphered nor delineated. They may change during the interaction depending on the degree of interconnectedness between the researcher and the researched. I correspond with Kusow’s assertion:

We must not see insider/outsider identities as predetermined roles but rather as a result of the nature of the research topic under investigation, the status characteristics and biographical particularities of both the researcher and the participant(s), and the local conditions in which the fieldwork takes place. (Kusow, 2003, p. 598).

1.14 Reflexivity

Due to the research topic, the persons being researched and my interest, I maintained a naturally close reflexivity position. Throughout the duration of this research, I critically assessed and questioned my role in the research process. I reflected upon how I may have affected the research participants, my interpretations and understandings of the findings. I am aware the participants had an impact on myself and I suggest vice versa will have occurred. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) refer to reflexivity as “there is no one-way street between the researcher and the object of study; rather, the two affect each other mutually and continually in the course of the research process” (p. 79).

Mason writes:

Qualitative research should involve critical self-scrutiny by the researcher, or active reflexivity... this is based on the belief that the researcher cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are generating. (Mason, 2002, p. 7).

I concur with Braun and Clarke’s (2013) argument that researcher “bias as a concept does not apply as a valid critique of qualitative research” (p. 328). The authors suggest the researcher’s humanness and subjectivity can be utilised as a research tool by being reflexive. I have endeavoured to engage with, and share my reflexivity, all throughout the research process. A reflexivity synopsis is offered at the end of chapters one – six.
1.15 Summary
The main topics covered in this chapter are the genesis of this thesis which can be traced back to the time I spent in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province. My interest in this area developed while I was working with South Asian British Muslim communities. My experience of working with themes of honour and shame has driven this research. The rationale to focus on South Asian British Muslims is explicit. An overview of honour and shame being an important aspect within some national and international cultures has been illustrated. The research process, questions, aims and objectives have been demonstrated. My researcher positionality has been explained. The concepts of honour and shame as central to familial and societal structures will be explored in-depth in the next chapter.
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Chapter Overview
A literature review is an essential component of any research investigation. To place my study into context and fulfil my research aims, it was crucial to distinguish the content of current knowledge and existing studies regarding the honour and shame phenomena. This chapter critically analyses previous research concerning these issues. Culture and Islam was a specific participant criterion, and its history and contemporaneous impact is critically explored and reflected upon. Existing literature and my findings indicated power and control appeared to be the nucleus of the honour and shame phenomena. Thus, a review and critical evaluation of the Duluth Model and some patriarchal theories are examined. Remarkably, my findings identified the concept of bride price was practised in some British Bangladeshi Muslim communities. Although prior studies which focused upon the same demographics as my participants made no reference to the bride price practice, a literature search identified this existed in other cultures. Hence, an overview of bride price customs in other societies is explored.

2.2 Literature Review Aim
The main purpose of this task was to locate existing academic material linked to this subject and identify the emerging void. As these gaps were ascertained, the rationale for my investigation was further strengthened to present an original contribution to knowledge within academia and beyond. Hart (2001) writes “a search of the literature is an essential part of every research project” (p. 2). Oliver (2014) states “the principal purpose of the literature review is to establish the academic and research areas which are of relevance to the subject of the research” (p. 125). Aveyard (2007) explains the aim of the researcher is to systematically search, review and critique existing literature pertaining to the focus of study with a view to illustrating a gap in the current research base. A template for critiquing literature by Wallace and Wray (2011) was utilised in this process.

2.3 Literature Review Process
A focussed strategy was adopted to obtain research material which was of direct relevance to my research topic. This assisted to lay a foundation for my study and place it within the wider context of existing, credible, academic research. This entailed a thematic analysis approach as I aimed to illustrate in a systematic way existing literature
Thematic analysis was undertaken of my findings to have consistency with the previous findings and my own. I envisioned thematic analysis of this chapter and the findings chapter would offer a structured and cohesive representation of existing and new data. Punch (2006) writes “a completed literature review needs a structure” (p. 41) which corroborated with Rugg and Petre’s (2004) recommendation for this.

As my research was focussed on gender, honour, shame, ethnicity, race, culture, religion and Britain, utilising a systematic method appeared logical. This ensured the searches resulted in locating rich data which reflected the participant criterion of my study. The majority of the research papers elicited were written by authors who had reviewed previous studies or had completed their own qualitative investigations. Very few quantitative studies were undertaken. Papers I considered appropriate reading and connected to my subject matter were selected. Keywords pertinent to the research question are illustrated below. The Duluth Model and patriarchy are also included in this chapter as they were the model and theory identified from the data analysis phase of my study. They will be explored in the discussion and conclusion chapters in relation to my findings. I considered it relevant to look at theories of feminism. Having done so, I became aware the discussion chapter was more appropriately focused on the Duluth Model and patriarchy. The rhetoric from the participants and existing literature appeared more orientated towards patriarchy than feminism. A preliminary explanation of feminisms is included in the appendices (Appendix 1).

Over the years, I have attended conferences such as ‘No Honour in Violence’ (Faith Network 4 Manchester, 02/07/08/www.manchestercommunitycentral.org) and the ‘European Campaign Against Forced Marriages’ (www.hennafoundation.org, 10/07/08). From my perspective, there appeared an underlying link between the narratives shared at these presentations and my research investigation. Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999) argue “cultural and personal systems of honor that depend on the behaviour of others are an integral part of the killing of women by their families or intimates” (p. 164). Araji (2000) writes “men whose control is threatened will use violence to avoid shame to restore their sense of honour” (p. 7). Material I read prior to commencing my research focussed predominantly on the consequential violent behaviour and did not ascertain the concept and the various facets of its formation. This strengthened my aim to delve further into this topic and elicit further understanding of
the overt and covert rules of honour and shame which were defined by familial socio-cultural beliefs as “notions of honour and shame are located at the point where familial politics and the politics of religion, tribe and nation meet” (Werbner, 2007, p. 165)

Journals, books, websites and electronic resources were searched to obtain literature. Research papers were identified by searches on the electronic databases via the John Rylands University of Manchester Library. Key words; i.e. South Asian, men, women, Muslim, honour, shame and British were typed into ProQuest, Scopus Medline, ERIC, PsycLIT, and PsycINFO among others. To locate more focussed material, the searches were narrowed to selecting health and social science subject areas and using alternative words; i.e. izzat, sharam, Bangladesh, Indian, Pakistan, male, female, Islam, England and honor. Internet searches on Google and Google Scholar accessed published material in the public domain. Texts of some autobiographies were selected as I wished to ascertain perceptions of honour and shame from a wide perspective which was not confined to research and academic fields of knowledge and experience. As the honour and shame phenomena appeared present in everyday lives, I considered it important to obtain evidence which represented the diversity of how and why this emerged.

The majority of literature obtained focussed upon honour based violence, crimes and killings. Although my study investigated the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of the honour and shame spectrum, I considered it appropriate to include this aspect of the literature in this chapter due to its relevance. It offered some insight into the sociocultural and familial threads of honour and shame interwoven within these phenomena and my study was firmly positioned within this context. The following key themes emerged from the pilot studies and the main investigation. The majority of my literature search was conducted following the data collection as the thematic analysis themes emerged from the data analysis phase. However, literature was also searched before and after this process. I embarked on this exercise with a clear vision and rationale for conducting the searches which assisted in making fundamental decisions of which literature was relevant/irrelevant and guided the inclusion/exclusion of specific terms and studies.

As part of my ongoing literature search, I located some papers which discussed notions of internal and external honour and shame. I had already independently identified the
same categories as I had drawn a spider diagram to visualise what honour and shame encompassed (Appendix 2) based on my research question and literature review. More text was added to this spider diagram during the data generation process and analysis of the findings. As some authors wrote about the multiple facets of honour and shame in a similar manner to myself, this suggested they considered the complexities of these phenomena comparable to my perspective.

The following section focusses upon:

(1) Honour
(2) Shame
(3) South Asian
(4) British
(5) Islam

2.4 Honour
2.4.1 The Definition of Honour
Honour in Urdu is called ‘izzat’ and this same term is spoken by Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani South Asian communities (Wilson, 1978; Sinha, 1998; Werbner, 2002; Joshi, 2003; Hussain, 2005). Izzat “is highly valued; it is the conduct, actions, and social performances of women that family attain honour and prestige” (Gill, 2009, p. 479). Izzat also “refers to a wide spectrum of sociocultural relationships and ties that bind family and community groups together… honour often has multiple connotations and overlapping meanings related to respect, esteem, dignity, reputation and virtue” (Gill and Brah, 2014, p. 73-74). In Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, the loss of honour is bezti (Toor, 2009).

Gill (2011) notes “Typically, a woman who lives in an honour-based society learns either that she is not regarded as a human being or that she is not equal to her male counterparts” (p. 221). Tapper and Tapper (1992/1993) write Muslims in most of North Africa, the Arab world and Kurdistan consider male agnates; i.e. fathers and brothers continue responsibility for females after marriage. It is their decision to punish females should they misbehave. “The family or the lineage are concerned with the honour of their sisters and daughters both before and after marriage, hence they wish to control their marriages” (p. 14). In contrast, Muslims in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and some
parts of Pakistan transfer the rights and responsibilities of females to their husbands at marriage. “The family lineage is concerned with the honour of wives who come in as well as with unmarried daughters; so they wish to make sure that the wives come from families they know and trust on the basis of past performance” (Tapper and Tapper, 1992/1993, p. 14).

A paper by Latreille (2008) writes in rural Tunisia there are three distinguished broad dimensions behind numerous manifestations of honour which include public/private space divisions for men and women, rules of gendered tasks, behaviours and interactions which are adhered to “because a code of honour compels them to do so” (p. 600). Similarly, Baxter (2007) writes among West Bank Palestinians, honour is an ideology which is comprised of expectations about appropriate ways for men and women to ‘be’ in the world. This includes moral, ethical, right ways of living which extended beyond family relationships.

Ben–Naeh (2005) writes honour and shame issues existed within the value system and mentality of Ottoman–Jewish society. Crook (2009) writes honour and shame were essential cultural values in the Mediterranean. In contrast, Coombe (1990) notes some scholars argue the honour and shame complex did not exist in all Mediterranean societies whereas others argued that as it existed in abundance in other societies, it could no longer be considered distinctively Mediterranean. Hume (2007) writes the Hispanic culture includes the concept of machismo, which includes “concepts of honor, courage, and a man’s obligation to be head of the family and provide for it” (p. 221). Honour, a good name and reputation was also of import in Rwandan culture (Ilibagiza, 2007).

2.4.2 Islam and Honour
This research focussed on participants who were Muslims and they made references to honour within the context of Islam. De Vries (2007) argued honour and shame are significant aspects within the Qur’an and several of the ninety-nine names of God refer to his honour. He writes “honour appears as an entity in itself, something that God can possess and distribute” (p. 34).
The practice of honour crimes is not permissible in Islam (al-Attar 2013). The Holy Qur’an declares “killing one innocent human being is akin to killing the entire human race” (Qur’an 5:32; 6:151; 17:33; Hofmann, 2001). Hidayatullah writes:

Islam does not sanction the abuse or murder of women based on these alleged sexual transgressions; it secures women the right to divorce and the choice of a marriage partner... crimes in the name of family honor are the symptoms of cultural views of women’s sexuality and shame. (Hidayatullah, 2003, p. 285).

Correspondingly, Amer, Howarth and Sen’s (2015) qualitative, semi-structured interview research (n: 17) of British Arab Muslim women found “the concept of honour and how it dictates the actions of female is purely cultural… it is not linked to religion” (p. 11). This paper clearly illustrated the research design and participants’ demographics. It discussed the author’s positionality as an ‘insider’ and revealed rather than limiting the research engagement, this resulted in trust, warmth understanding and humour was present in the interviews. This contribution may be useful for other researchers when considering their ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’ positions as other authors have identified this is relevant in the process of research (McLeod, 2003; Etherington, 2004; West, 2004; Liamputtong, 2011).

Brown’s (2006) study of the role of Islamic identity for British Muslim women identified themes of culture, faith, forced marriage, gender dynamics and female violations via analysis of primary and secondary data. The paper fails to specify the number of research participants. Hence, it is difficult to ascertain how many women were directly affected by the findings and the possible magnitude of this issue.

Kammoun (2013) notes a significant number of Tunisian women who experienced physical violence were “urged to keep it secret to preserve and protect the family’s honour and avoid social scandals” (p. 236).

2.4.3 South Asian Culture and Honour
In culture and languages originating from India and Pakistan, honour is translated into ‘izzat’ and ‘ghairat’ (Shahani, 2013/2014). Upholding izzat is “an integral part of the Asian culture” (Sinha, 1998, p. 105). In Northern Pakistan, these terms “convey a complex range of significations: honor, jealousy, courage, modesty and shame – all of which apply to both men and women” Shahani (2013/14). Reputation and merit are
analogous to izzat and ghairat. These values are considered of the upmost importance and instilled particularly into girls from a young age as “Izzat is everything” (Khatun, 2009, p. 63). In Pakistan, many people believe an unmarried woman of honour would not leave the parental home to live independently (Kristof and Wuddun, 2010).

Gill and Brah (2014) write “the Urdu word izzat, often translated simply as ‘honour’, refers to a wide spectrum of sociocultural relationships and ties that bind family and community groups together” (p. 73). Shahani (2013/2014) notes for Bangladeshis in London “men are expected to protect women’s honor, while women are expected to preserve it” (p. 276).

Ahmed, Reavey and Majumdar’s (2009) semi structured individual interviews (n: 8) with South Asian British women survivors of sexual violence, reported pressure from family members regarding family reputation and honour resulted in some women returning to abusive relationships. It was their mothers who “often deploy a discourse of family honour and shame” (p. 18). This study provided valuable insight into how some mothers enforced their daughters to return to sexually abusive relationships.

Rozario’s (2006) paper offers an interesting claim that middle class Muslim women in Bangladesh have the need to distance themselves from lower class women to safeguard their own status and honour. None of the other papers reviewed appeared to have associated honour and shame with a class system.

2.4.4 Gender and Honour

Fischbach and Valentine (2007) write “Societies which maintain rigid gender roles that define masculinity or male honor in terms of dominance are strongly associated with violence against women” (p. 216). Similarly, Gill (2011) notes in honour based societies “the man is the defender of his and his family’s honour: it is his duty to defend it against any behaviour that might be seen as shameful or humiliating by his community” (p. 246). Interestingly, Payton (2011) writes female honour is static; it cannot be increased nor regained, and when it is lost, this is forever. In contrast, male honour is dynamic and in a constant state of flux; it can be maintained and increased through active participation and competition in community life. Chew-Graham et al., (2002) state women considered the responsibility and burden of family honour was disproportionately placed upon themselves. Bhopal (2000) writes “it was only women who were able to alter, destroy or enhance their family’s izzat” (p. 40). Begum (2008)
writes honour is viewed as being men's responsibility, whereas shame is women's burden. I suggest these notions appear to be analogous in South African communities as honour and shame were deeply entrenched in that culture (Moult, 2007).

I propose choice of marriage partners and who initiates the decision for betrothal was one example of gender-based honour discrimination in some Muslim families, communities and cultures. Although Islam stipulates both men and women have the right to choose their spouse and freely consent to marriage (Hidayatullah, 2003; Esposito, 2011) unfortunately some Muslims replaced this understanding of Islam with their own patriarchal and traditional notions. Ali (2008) writes “you couldn’t fall in love with just anyone, but had to marry the person your parents had chosen for you. To refuse would be to dishonour the family” (p. 103). Comparably, some Muslim women were married by their fathers without having met their spouse and not even knowing his age as “it is shameful to ask such questions (Souad, 2005, p. 79). From the literature, it appeared honour killings in Pakistan were ubiquitous. A study by Solberg (2009) reported a fifth of Pakistani homicides were linked to the honour concept and constituted to more than nine murders of women every week. I found these figures startling and suggest there would be public outcry if they reflected murdered men. Significantly, Kristof and Wudunn (2010) state “in much of the world, women die because they aren’t thought to matter” (p. 128).

Almosaed (2007) questionnaire study (n: 230) examining violence against women in Saudi Arabia found the majority of men felt “violence is an effective way of dealing with female ‘misconduct’ ” whereas the majority of women felt “men who abused women were not ‘real men’ and were only exploiting their positions” (p. 67). This appeared to be a robust investigation. The aims and methodology were transparent and the limitations of the study were discussed. Results indicated both genders were physically punished during their childhood and adolescence by their parents. However, the findings also revealed that both parents had been equally abusive towards their daughters, whereas it was predominantly the fathers who had been abusive towards their sons. I suggest, this study highlighted there was gender based violence discrimination by parents towards their daughters even before they reached adulthood. As the majority of previous studies identified the prevalence of male violence, I suggest these findings were of significance.
A paper by Dustin and Phillips (2008) draws a distinction between crimes of passion (associated with the West) and crimes of honour (associated with the East) increasing the impression of cultural and behavioural divisions between majority and minority ethnicities. I argue it is important to focus on the criminal act itself as regardless of its location, a crime was committed. I suggest the emphasis on whether the crime occurred in the East or West could possibly divert the attention on to sociocultural aspects rather than recognising the person(s) involved in the crime were responsible.

Khan (2006) examined secondary data of honour related violence in the Muslim world and stated “honour related violence occurs across class, caste and different ethnic groups among Muslim communities” (p. 11). Samad (2010) writes in cases of male forced marriages, mothers, aunts, and sisters applied psychological pressure on men as honour was usually connected around family or sexuality. Hence, this paper reported males were not completely exempt from enforced honour codes, and on occasions, females were the perpetrators of abuse.

From extensive reading, I comprehend there appeared to be cultural and traditional perceptions honour was considered a significant attribute of the male gender compared to females. This attitude and belief system was in complete contradiction with Islamic values, which clearly state the importance of egalitarianism between both genders, including honour (Lyon, 2004). Islam does not encourage, nor endorse, sexual discrimination. It seemed men being held in high esteem compared to women derived from socially constructed attitudes and belief systems whereby men were considered of greater importance than women. Lyon (2004) also notes Islam states all humans are equal and Muslims are brothers and sisters, however, “Pakistani culture tells them that this ideal equality is in the eyes of Almighty Allah alone” (p. 82).

Focussing on Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, Wilson (2006) writes honour is closely linked to prestige, reputation and the male ego “any hint that a woman has broken patriarchal rules or crossed patriarchal boundaries, even unknowingly or by implication, is usually seen as damaging izzat” (p. 13). Similarly, Werbner (2002) writes “izzat can be translated as honour, a man’s inner pride in his ability to protect his reputation, his possessions and his womenfolk through his physical power and virility” (p. 133).
Some Muslim families’ response upon the birth of females was viewed as a potential threat to their honour being lost. Durrani (1998) states “when a girl is born we mourn her as a risk to our honour... when a son is born, we celebrate, because a protector has arrived” (p. 132). In the same vein, Sasson (1993) writes in Saudi Arabia “the common emotion expressed at the birth of a female is either sorrow or shame” (p. 30). Correspondingly, Chavis notes among Afghan village families:

Men were valued so much more than women that the birth of a baby girl was greeted with sorrow. Mothers of newborn girls were offered sympathy if they were lucky; unlucky ones were blamed and even divorced. (Chavis, 2004, p. 25).

I argue the lamentation upon female births is un-Islamic practice as Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) stated angels enter the homes when a daughter is born and “bring blessings to her and to those who love her” (Shehabuddin, 2013, p. 460).

2.4.5 Individual Honour

Chew-Graham et al., (2002) conducted a qualitative study of four focus groups (n: 31) in Urdu, Punjabi and English. Participants were South Asian British Muslim women, and one Sikh female “izzat (‘honour/respect’) was given precedence and preference over the care and happiness of children in some families” (p. 341). I suggest this was a fairly thorough research. The methodology was detailed and participants’ demographics included. Excerpts from the focus groups provided supporting evidence. I propose the discussions in English, Punjabi and Urdu may have helped to facilitate clearer communication. The paper did not discuss the limitations of the study, nor how the interpreter may have impacted on the dynamics, which I considered important omissions.

Very limited literature focussed upon individual honour was obtained. A possible explanation for this could be that within the South Asian Muslim culture, significant value was placed upon a collective sense of being, rather than the individual. Sinha writes:

Individualism is not an acceptable concept to the Muslim ethos, since individual ambition and success are translated to mean improving the position for the whole family, whether in financial, social, or prestige terms. (Sinha, 1998, p. 35).
Similarly, Hussain (2005) notes “To South Asian women, the individualism and independence so valued in the West appears selfish and irresponsible” (p. 22). Thus, it seemed more importance was attached to the collective honour and not the individual honour.

2.4.6 Collective Honour

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2014) write the concept of honour is “one of the bedrocks of social order and social cohesion. Anyone who fails to uphold the obligations of loyalty threatens the family’s reputation and honour” (p. 90). Bano (2011) states “the role of women as preservers of family honour means that only they can increase the honour of the family through obedience and only they can “lose it” and thus shame the family” (p. 205). Dwyer (2000) conducted interviews and group discussions (n: 49) exploring young South Asian British Muslim women negotiating diasporic identities. They were expected to reproduce their parental culture and this role was “reinforced through an emphasis on izzat, or family honour” (p. 478). The author did not acknowledge any limitations of the study. I suggest one drawback could be that the participants were aged sixteen – eighteen years old and from two schools. Hence, data was not obtained from a wider participant demographic, which may have resulted in different findings.

A paper by Werbner of secondary data focussed on honour, shame, sexual embodiment and the hijab among South Asian British Muslims concluded:

The traditional honour and shame symbolic complex, which accords the older generation of Muslim immigrants control over the sexuality of young women and men, and over their marriage options, and which includes veiling as a sign of modesty, clearly does have its pernicious side for young Muslims of Britain. (Werbner, 2005, p. 44).

Souad (2005) writes assumptions or lies could result in Palestinian’s women’s death for the sake of others’ honour. This act would not be considered as a crime by the men, but a “crime of honour, jarimat el sharaf” (p. 76). Premarital sex was “considered a grave dishonour to one’s family – a dishonour punishable by death” (p. 337).

From the literature, it seemed for some South Asian communities, their sense of collective honour was of higher value than one’s personal identity. I propose each
family member was required and expected to accept the religio-cultural value system which he/she belonged in order to maintain the family’s collective honour system. Weston’s (2003) research of secondary data states the importance for South Asian British communities “protecting the public honour (“izzat”) of one’s family and community acts as a central framework of social control, encouraging the masking of shameful private behaviour with the public veneer of conformity” (p. 112). A report on the Liberation from Forced Marriages by the Muslim Arbitration Tribunal in England and Wales (2015) states “the principles of the traditions and rituals of forced marriage are laid firmly in a cultural belief that is based upon a notion of honour and pride” (p. 5).

Gill writes:

The family honour must be preserved at all costs: family interests take precedence over individual interests. As izzat relies on the behaviour of women, safeguarding the family izzat can also be viewed as a means of exercising social control over women’s bodies and behaviour. (Gill, 2011, p. 347).

Comparably, Coomaraswamy (2003) writes “honour is a code that ensures that women will behave in a manner that preserves their chastity and their obedience. If they dare to cross the boundaries, violence will be their fate” (p. 497). This corresponds with Qadeer (2006) and Pervizat’s (2011) literature on women being subjected to abuse if their conduct is deemed dishonourable. Faqir (2001) writes “families associate their honour with the virginity of their unmarried daughters and with the chastity of the married ones” (p. 69). El Guindi (1999) writes female rape is “an ultimate violation designed to break Muslims by dishonoring their families and humiliating Muslim men” (p. 171).

Okin (1999) writes in rural South East Asia, West Africa and Central, Latin and South America, females who were raped were commonly pressurised to marry their rapists. Marriage, or marriage proposals, led to rapists’ legal exoneration. “By marrying his victim, the rapist can help restore the family’s honor and relieve it of a daughter who, as “damaged goods,” has become unmarriageable” (p. 15). Similarly, Welchman and Hossain (2005) write some countries in the Middle East and Latin America legally offer reduced or suspended penalties, or the suspension of prosecution if an alleged male perpetrator of rape/sexual assault married his female victim. The familial reasoning for
this in Palestine was due to the protection and preservation of family honour. Ramaseshan (2011) notes in India, female rape was not comprehended as a violent act, but a loss of chastity. Thus, loss of virginity was connected to the honour and shame of the family. This literature was supported by Abdo (2006) who writes a Muslim female “nonvirgin is less than desirable” (p. 106).

2.4.7 Internal Honour

Daly, Wilson and Weghorst (1982) write female chastity was considered the most important aspect of familial honour. Men may lose or gain honour by their own/their kinship deeds. Loss of male honour was not easily/quickly regained. Females could only lose their honour for themselves, and their kinship, by female unchaste or immodest behaviour. Female loss of honour could never be regained. “Not infrequently, men salvage some of their lost honour by killing an unchaste wife, sister, or daughter (and the male seducer)” (p. 19).

From the literature, I suggest there were macro and micro levels of honour and shame. Internal honour and shame could multiply into an external affront of immense magnitude; i.e. Werbner (2000) reports the Salman Rushdie affair in Britain was and rather remains “a matter of honour and shame” (p. 310). The majority of protestors were South Asian Muslims. A religious ruling of the death sentence was announced by Ayatollah Khomeini. I propose this case highlighted the rage on a national and international scale towards one individual who was perceived to have caused dishonour and shame and “deserved to die.” I propose the parallels between an individual’s act and others’ decision of determining their fate in the honour and shame causation, whether on a local, or global level, consisted of wrath and vengeance against the perceived transgressor.

2.4.8 External Honour

Payton explains:

Honor should be seen in terms of a measure of reputation that is both generated and policed through social interactions, wherein an agnatic collective’s ability to claim respect and inclusion within the community is dependent on the individual reputations of its female members. (Payton, 2014, p. 2866).
Meetoo and Mirza’s (2007) paper on secondary data stated “‘Honour killings’ are extreme acts of domestic violence culminating in the murder of a woman by her family or community” (p. 187). This paper made no attempt to provide information on the cultural, racial, ethnic, faith or age group of the participants. Thus, it could be of limited use in relation to specific demographical data.

Griffiths et al., (2008) focus group research (n: 61) with young Bangladeshis, their mothers and sexual education in London reported the “public and family honour relies upon each individual member of the family maintaining accepted religious and cultural norms and therefore masking shameful or deviating behaviour” (p. 711). The research methods were explicit. I propose the data collection was conducted in a culturally appropriate and sensitive manner as the groups were of the same sex. Mixed gender groups may have caused some discomfort to the participants and hence adversely affected the research process and findings.

2.5 Shame

2.5.1 The Definition of Shame

The Urdu word for shame is ‘sharam’ (Ring, 2006; Gill, 2011) and is the linguistics of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani Muslims. Shweder (2003) writes in India, “‘shame’ in the Oriya language is layja (or lajjia)” (p. 1110). Sinha (2013) notes for Indians “in shame, the person is judged worthless or blameworthy” (p. 142). Gilbert and Andrews (1998) write “shame has been recognised since antiquity” (p. v).

Brown’s (2007) qualitative study explored shame and its impact on women, men and children in the USA. She interviewed diverse adults (n: 300+) and argued shame was a universal emotion as we all experienced shame as no one was exempt from it. Shame was a silent epidemic and taboo. The main focus of her study was on research participants feeling shame due to their way of being and/or because of others’ responses to them. There was minimal data on individuals feeling shame because of others’ conduct, which was in contrast to the majority of existing literature as illustrated in this chapter.

Price and Erez (2007) write “many Jewish victims of spousal abuse think they have failed in their primary duty as a Jewish woman, let their husbands down, and brought shame to their families” (p. 425). Similarly, Bernades and Wallace (2007) note
minority ethnic women living in America experiencing domestic violence “who seek help from relatives or friends may be told to accept the abuse for family honor and reputation, or that violence is what she deserves” (p. 494). A quantitative study by Martin et al., 2006 (n: 70) exploring the relation of entrapment, shame and guilt to depression in carers of people with dementia found shame was linked to depression and entrapment. This paper did not provide any information on the culture, ethnicity or faith of the participants. Hence, it was of limited relevance to my research topic.

The honour and shame construct was also present in the lives of some Turkish Muslim women living in Sweden experiences of enforced marriages and domestic abuse (Akpinar, 2003). This paper highlighted how a husband, father and brother felt some shame and dishonour, but did not respond to their Turkish village members wanting them to take action against a wife, daughter and sister who had left the marital home. Latino wives disclosing physical abuse by their husbands “would bring shame to the entire family” (Hume, 2007, p. 221).

2.5.2 Islam and Shame
An article on mentalhealth4muslims forum (2010) reports “Islam defines shame according to whatever acts God deems unlawful (haram) or disliked (makruh)… any behaviour that is displeasing to God is what renders it shameful and anyone who engages in such acts should feel a strong sense of shame. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said ‘If you have no shame, do as you wish’ ” (www.mentalhealth4muslims).

2.5.3 South Asian Culture and Shame
Maitra (1996) writes in North Indian languages, shame is lojja and sharam. “When one member of the family is at risk of being shamed all others are also at risk, since each is defined not by her/his ‘shame’ alone, but the family’s honour” (p. 296). Shahani (2013/2014) notes the Bangladeshi shorom has dual meaning; “shame and punishment of guilty behaviour… and modesty and shyness” (p. 276). Gill (2011) writes “shame is to be avoided at all costs” (p. 219). Yick (2007) states in many Asian countries there were preferences to have sons. Wives who were unable to produce sons were “humiliated, publicly shamed and sometimes beaten” (p. 32).
Roy (2012) writes in South Asian societies, mental illness was associated with shame and not talked about publicly. Family members with mental illness were hidden away. Women experiencing sexual violence from their husbands may not access external help due to feeling ashamed and humiliated. Correspondingly, Bradby et al., (2007) research on the use of child and adolescent mental health services by British Asian families noted mental illness was associated with madness, which was considered shameful. The shame and blame for children’s mental health problems were linked with the mother, not the father. Organisations associated with mental health were described as shameful.

Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999) study of secondary data argued women killed by their families/male intimates were integrated with cultural and personal belief systems of honour and shame. Male honour was dependent upon them controlling female behaviour and used to rationalise the murder of women as “the killing of women by close family members throughout the world can in part be explained with reference to underlying honor/shame systems as a subcategory of patriarchal ideology” (p. 180).

Gilligan and Akhtar (2006) conducted 12 group discussions with Asian women (n: 130). They argued “izzat (honour/respect,) haya (modesty) and sharam (shame/embarrassment) are for many Asian communities, crucial detriment of behaviour in response to child sexual abuse” (p. 1367). The paper states all of the discussions were verbalised in Bangla, English Punjabi and Urdu, which I suggest could have been of particular benefit to the participants to whom English may have been a second language. The authors claim all of the participants “appear to have been Muslim” (p. 1365) and acknowledge they did not request individual information from the participants. There is no evidence to support their assumption, which I consider a flaw in their supposition. I propose how one portrays his/herself cannot be deemed as a signifier of faith.

2.5.4 Modesty
This term materialised from reading the literature and my research interviews. It was affiliated with haya, honour and shame. Guru states:

A respectable woman is one who avoids eye contact with unrelated men, is modest in her attire and does not flaunt her ‘dangerous’ sexuality. Her honour,
prestige and reputation (*izzat* and *sharam*) are closely tied to the representation of her body and to the male protection that she finds. (Guru, 2009, p. 293).

This view was supported by Lyon, 1995; Patel, 1999; Atkin, Ahmad and Jones, 2002; Ring, 2006; Werbner, 2007 and Siraj, 2011.

Baron (2006) writes “according to Arab customary law, immodest actions dishonoured the family, metaphorically tainting the family blood, which could only be ‘cleansed’ or redeemed by loss of life” (p. 1). She elaborates; a woman considered to have brought dishonour would be killed by a male relative. Her death and blood was symbolic of the shame and dishonour being washed away. Ramaseshan (2011) states in India “‘modesty’ is a quality that all female children must possess” (p. 125).

In Islam, modesty is equally applicable to both genders (Hofmann, 2001; Esposito, 2011; Minault, 2011, Mahmood, 2013). However, literature I located within the honour and shame complex, indicated the importance of modesty was linked to females rather than equalitarian requirements for males and females. Immodesty within women appeared utterly reprehensible.

### 2.5.5 Gender and Shame

Wilson writes:

*Sharam* requires a woman to be watchful of all her actions – how she walks, how she responds to others – because patriarchy demands that *sharam* is always present under the surface. She has to feel *sharam* about all aspects of her body and about her sexuality. (Wilson, 2006, p. 12).

Similarly, Bannerji (1994) notes “thus, for women, everything from clothes to conversation must be ruled by “shame” ” (p. 177).

Gangoli, McCarr and Razak (2009) state “*izzat* and *sharam* are based primarily on the notion the bodies and actions of women and girls represent a community or individual honour” (p. 424). They noted some Muslim men were also subjected to conform to honour and shame notions; i.e. a seventeen year old, South Asian British man pressurised by his mother to marry his fifteen year old pregnant girlfriend as their situation was shameful on the family. I note, in the literature analysed, there was very limited connexion to male shame as this was predominantly associated with females.
Rheubottom (1980) writes in rural Yugoslav Macedonia “a non-virgin could be returned to her house in disgrace seated backwards on a donkey” (p. 227).

Feldman (2010) secondary data analysis suggested religious, civil and customary norms, expectations and overlapping were some of the contributory factors why some Bangladeshi women “may choose suicide, to avoid being shamed, beaten, or killed, knowing full well that they will be, or they commit suicide after a stoning that marks them as shamed but does not lead to their death” (p. 312). This paper offered some useful insight of why shame was of import on an individual and collective sense. The claims appeared consistent and convincing with other studies to support her argument.

2.5.6 Individual Shame

Individual shame appeared to be present in sexual violations. Mai (2007) was gang raped in 2002 by some village men in Pakistan. She writes “I did nothing to deserve my shameful punishment” (p. 24). Mai writes:

A woman is simply an object of possession, honour or revenge. They marry or rape them according to their conception of tribal pride. They know that a woman humiliated in that way has no other recourse except suicide. They don’t even need to use their weapons. Rape kills her. Rape is the ultimate weapon: it shames the other clan for ever. (Mai, 2007, p. 11).

The above account had parallels with Goodwin’s (2006) narrative of a woman sexually assaulted on a Cairo bus as “being manhandled is so shameful in our culture, decent women suffer in silence rather than be accused of having encouraged the man” (p. 339).

Cheung, Gilbert and Irons (2004) quantitative study (n: 125) of undergraduate students at the University of Derby indicated there was a link between social rank, shame, depression and rumination. This paper did not distinguish between the cultural, ethnic, racial and religious identities of the participants. Thus, it was not possible to analyse the findings in relation to my study.

2.5.7 Collective Shame

Toor writes:

Damaging the family’s izzat leads to shame/sharam. Sharam is the opposite of izzat; the corollary of dishonour/bizati, the double-edged sword. The possibility
of bringing bizati and sharam to one’s family and community is regarded with the greatest severity. (Toor, 2009, p. 243).

Comparably, Yick (2007) states in Asian cultures “shameful behaviours do not merely reflect on the individual but ultimately on his/her entire family, lineage, and even community” (p. 33).

Sanghera (2009) had to maintain ‘ugly’ secrets about bullying, coercion and fear “I believed it was shameful to discuss this with outsiders and that if I did, I would compromise our honour – izzat – the most important thing in my mum’s life” (p. 1). As a South Asian British Sikh schoolgirl, she ran away before a forced marriage occurred and was disowned by her family. Her mum declared “you have shamed us. You are dead in our eyes” (p. 1). This literature reported the fact that some South Asian British women also wield abusive honour and shame practices, and that they also had domineering positions within families. Perceptions of Muslim women’s transgressions resulted in shame being brought to their families and “she must die to restore the honour of her parents, brother – of the entire village” (Souad, 2005, p. 47).

2.5.8 Internal Shame

From existing literature, shame appeared important to numerous socio-cultural groups of people worldwide and seemed a defining measure of human behaviour. Gilbert, Pehl and Allan’s (1994) study analysing secondary data found “shame is not one affect but is related to a variety of affects and cognitions… feelings of helplessness, anger at others, anger at self, inferiority and self-consciousness” (p. 34). Ahmed and Bould’s (2004) semi structured interviews with Bangladeshi women (n: 120) found “shame is attached to a deserted wife” (p. 1334) and “further shame is attached to the position of maid” (p. 1336). This paper identified the correlation between shame and marital status, and employment position. Hence, it seemed shame was not only attached to women who were perceived to have been abandoned by their husbands, but also perhaps to a class system.

Kellett and Gilbert (2001) write “there can be a sense of internal, personal or private shame associated with seeing oneself as inferior, inadequate, flawed and rejectible” (p. 11). Gilbert (1997) states the various domains of shame; relational, group, body,
achievements, feelings, conformity, submissiveness, inferiority, self-esteem, humiliation, avoided and guilt.

2.5.9 External Shame
Quantitative research (n: 186) by Gilbert et al., (2007) on differences in shame focussed attitudes to mental health problems in Asian and non-Asian students included Hindu, Sikh and Muslim women. They found “Asian women have a greater anxiety about their social standing, especially in relationship to their communities and families… the fear of bringing shame to one’s family is strongly linked to confidentiality issues” (p. 136). This paper offered a useful analysis of shame and mental health within the British South Asian diaspora. However, as the researchers did not correlate the results to the different faiths, it was not possible to assess these findings in more depth to my research.

Wilson (2007) writes migrant spousal South Asian women in the UK who experienced violent marriages/relationships and for British legal reasons were deported to their country of origin “where often, blamed for bringing shame on their families and falsely accused of adultery, they face humiliation, violence and possibly death” (p. 29). This paper critically analysed some of the tensions with the British legislation and immigration in the context of forced marriages, honour based killing and women’s deportations.

Shahani (2013/14) argues notions of honour and shame are modulated and at times intensified among diasporic communities in Britain due to transitional changes and transverse from South Asia to Britain. Gender hierarchies being strengthened and female oppression hardening authorised men to violently constrain the movements of women, drastically limiting their public role and in extreme cases, murdering them with impunity, in the guise of honour killings. She states the honour/shame model predominantly focussed on female sexual transgression, whereas I found other studies concluded honour and shame was also significantly connected to; women’s clothes and conversations (Bannerji, 1994), how women talked and responded to others, and women exiting marriages (Wilson, 2007).

A study by the Home Office (Hester and Westmarland, 2005) on domestic violence reported “some Asian women were reluctant about calling the police because of the
shame and possibly further abuse this would bring on them” (p. 52). Kellett and Gilbert (2001) note “there can also be an external or public/social domain of shame where one believes that others see the self as inferior, inadequate, flawed and rejectible” (p. 11).

I suggest some South Asian British Muslims who migrated to the UK may be fearful the honour and shame they revered, could become diluted by future generations attitudes and behaviours. It appeared, although they had made the decision to migrate to a completely different sociocultural environment, they expected the South Asian honour and shame value system and patriarchy construct to remain within their families and communities in Britain. Perhaps this is why they continued to exert familial and social control despite the sociocultural environment of the host country having very different understandings, approaches and mores regarding honour, shame and gender equality. The transition from South Asia to Europe, but also for many migrants; rural living to urbanisation, would inherently involve some degree of acculturation. I contemplated it would be a natural process for the indigenous community to have been affected by the migration of the South Asian diaspora and maybe it could also be expected the migrants’ honour and shame concept would evolve as they now lived in the UK. Acculturation is explored further in the discussion chapter.

2.6 Culture
This section is included in this chapter as the study focused on a specific cultural group. A generic outline of culture is explained which then leads into the South Asian culture to place this study into context. Jary and Jary (2000) state “culture may be taken as constituting the ‘way of life’ of an entire society, and this will include codes of manners, dress, language, rituals, norms of behaviour and systems of belief” (p. 129). Haralambos and Holborn (2013) note “culture and sub cultures are an important source of social identity” (p. 6). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2014) write “in non-Western cultures the concept of ‘family’ continues to be of central importance” (p. 3).

Hussain (2005) states “culture is not genetically inherited but is instilled by upbringing within a given cultural context or a given set of parallel contexts” (p. 4). Lago writes:

Culture is socially transmitted and profoundly affects our ways of seeing and thinking about the world, of understanding relationships among people, things and events, of establishing preferences and purposes, and of carrying out actions and pursuing goals. (Lago, 2006, p. 45-46).
Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2003) notes “culture is perceived by many as a powerful lens for scrutinising society and expanding our understanding of human thoughts and actions” (p. 592). Dhillon-Stevens (2012a) and Moodley and Palmer (2006) state cultures are fluid and evolve with time and space within individuals, communities and societies. Thus, I suggest culture is not motionless as it does not remain within the confines of where it was created. It is tangible and continuous.

Honour and shame are global phenomena and of interest to diverse demographics. Herzfeld states:

Since the beginning of systematic anthropological research in the Mediterranean lands, the terms ‘honour’ and ‘shame’ have been used to represent an enormous variety of local social, sexual, economic and other standards. The significance of these values in each culture should not be minimised. (Herzfeld, 1980, p. 339).

Gill (2004) writes in some cultures “honour codes are formal and codified; in others norms of honour tend to be more informal and implicit” (p. 475). Carline (2011) writes one’s culture cannot be simply abandoned and argues the oppressive aspects of one’s own, and others cultures, should not be embraced.

2.7 South Asian Culture

The South Asian culture consists of a breadth of diversity and similarities. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are South Asian countries (Sayem, 2012; Paxton and Hughes, 2014; Awasthi, 2015). A minimum of twenty languages and an excess of two hundred dialects are spoken in this region (Bose and Jalal, 2011). I suggest generalisations contribute towards misinformed presumptions of the South Asian communities as a homogenous group of people who share a common culture and heritage. There is an array of rich varieties in cuisine, clothing, traditions, rituals, faiths and lifestyles (Hussain, 2005). Assumptions, lack of awareness and beliefs by some individuals who regard South Asian culture with a simplistic attitude prevail “I suppose you, being a Gujarati, and me, being a Bangladeshi, and being born and brought up 4,500 miles apart, you can forgive them for thinking we’re the same” (Webb-Johnson, 1991, p. 28).

King (2009) writes the first generation of South Asian Muslims in London were predominantly from Pakistan and North India and “they brought with them a culturally
strong notion of *izzat*” (p. 319). Awasthi (2015) states caste systems, patriarchy, controlling female sexuality, arranged and forced marriages are significant factors in South Asian countries. Due to notions of honour and shame, some South Asian countries have been characterised by crimes “to say India is to think dowry deaths, to say Pakistan is to think honour killing, to say Bangladesh is to think of acid-throwing disfigurement” (Visweswarn, 2004, p. 509). Bhopal (1997) concludes “traditional South Asian women are seen as second-class citizens, they are not respected and are regarded as being inferior to men” (p. 491).

Gilligan and Akhtar (2006) state “*izzat* is a complex concept, consistently reported as a major influence in Asian family life” (p. 1368). Pilkington, Msefti and Watson (2012) write “South Asians tend to be allocentric, that is, the self and family are integral rather than separate concepts. Therefore, the role of family honour in decision-making processes fits with the cultural beliefs of South Asian populations” (p. 15). Lyon (2004) writes a Pakistani man “who cannot control his ladies, who pays too much attention to their desires, is afraid of women. Consequently both a man’s manhood and his *izzat* are diminished” (p. 133).

Chantler (2003) argued “idealised notions of strong family values in South Asian cultures need to be tempered by an understanding that families can also be a site of oppression for women – just as white families are” (p. 118). A paper by Ghuman (2005) on Asian girls in the West states “many Asian parents feel strongly that their daughters carry the *izzat* (honour) and traditions of the family and that they need protection and ‘extra care’ in their schooling and socialisation” (p. 1).

### 2.8 South Asian Communities Residing in England

As South Asian British Muslim men and women were a feature of this research, an overview of the countries these minority ethnic groups originated from is illustrated below.

- **Bangladeshis**

They primarily originated from the Sylhet district, North East of Bangladesh. People from Sylhet speak Sylheti, and Bangla is the national language. Islam is the predominant religion (Poole, 2002; Bose and Jalal, 2011; Huq, 2013).
• Indians
They originated mostly from Gujarat and Punjab in India. The languages spoken are Gujarati and Punjabi respectively. Hindi is the official language of the central government. Hinduism is the predominant religion (Maloney, 1974; Bose and Jalal 2011).

• Pakistanis
They chiefly originated from Azad Kashmir, Punjab and the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The languages spoken are Mirpuri, Punjabi and Pushto respectively. Urdu is the official language (Rabbani, Qureshi and Rizvi, 2008) and is spoken as a second language by the majority of the population. Islam is the predominant religion (Maloney, 1974; Poole 2002; Abbas, 2005; Bose and Jalal, 2011).

There was an influx of South Asians migration to Britain during the 1950s and 1960s. They “increased cultural diversity and brought alternative ways of life… including new religious practices that challenged some of the taken-for-granted norms of social behaviour” (Perkins and Thorns, 2012, p. 65). The majority of people who emigrated were men with the aim of improving their financial circumstances, their families joining them when they had settled and/or supporting their families in the homeland. “South Asian migration to the UK in the post-Second World War period was a gendered phenomenon; early migrants were mainly men who came to the UK on work permits under the British nationality act 1948” (Anitha, Pearson and McDowell, 2012, p. 755). Laungani (2004) states “they came with no material assets to boast of, other than the social, religious and familial values which they had imbibed in their own ancient cultures” (p. 32). They were “very diverse in their culture” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p. 216). Giddens and Sutton (2013) note “many migrants found their ideas of honour and family loyalty largely absent among the white British population” (p. 393).

Hussain (2005) writes as earning money was their primary focus, they were considered hard workers and employed in unskilled jobs; i.e. labourers in mills and factories. The majority had limited education, worked very long hours in poor working conditions, and for very little pay. Correspondingly, Dale et al., (2002) writes “immigrant men were willing to take low paid jobs working night shifts in the mills at a time when local men could not be recruited to these jobs” (p. 944). Hussain states:
Racial violence and racism became a dominant part of British national politics. It became a national sport to beat up ‘Pakis’, as all South Asians were known with the years between 1971-1976 – known as the ‘Paki-Bashing’ era. (Hussain, 2005, p. 20).

I suggest the British environment they entered was hostile and dangerous for them. They were working class people who experienced discrimination. They had defined gendered roles within their communities. Perhaps, through the passage of time, as the men in particular attained more equal rights in Britain, their vulnerability reduced. I have critically reflected upon whether there was a transition within the migrated South Asian men from them originally being victimised and disempowered in Britain, to them being empowered and mistreating whom they considered vulnerable; South Asian women. Perhaps the persecuted became the persecutor.

Secondary data analysis by Rew (2011) noted forced marriages within the UK were linked to the manner “cultural and religious discourses intersect, with cultural concepts of izzat (honour) and sharam (shame) – sometimes used as a powerful justification for a marriage by some parents” (p. 73). An individual interviews study by Hennink, Diamond and Cooper (1999) investigated the social and cultural aspects of South Asian British girls and women (n: 61) reported girls had mostly Asian female friends as their parents discouraged them from socialising with white girls as white girls may mix with boys and influence their daughters. The research methods were clear. This paper identified how some South Asian British parents considered the ethnicity of their daughter’s friends of significance in how accepting or resistant they were to such friendships. I propose there was an underlying parental fear that undesirable friendships may lead to their daughters engaging in wayward behaviour.

Research by Dwyer (2000) on South Asian Muslim girls in England aged sixteen – eighteen years involved interviews and group discussions (n: 49). The findings revealed their daily negotiations of diasporic identities were complicated. They alternated on drawing on their British, South Asian or Muslim identities depending on the situation. I propose this indicated how multiple identities were embodied, and depending on the milieu, they were internalised/externalised to coexist and be accepted within various sociocultural environments. I will explore further South Asian British Muslims and the intersect of their multiple, hybrid identities in the discussion chapter.
2.9 Islam

As this research focused on Muslim men and women, an overview of the Islamic faith is illustrated. “Islam is the second largest faith group in the United Kingdom” (www.mcb.org.uk). Approximately one fifth of the world’s population is Muslim (Fulcher and Scott, 2007). “One billion people from a vast range of races, nationalities and cultures across the globe – from the southern Philippines to Nigeria – are united by their common Islamic faith” (www.saudiembassy.net). “Islam is in no sense a race, an ethnicity or a single culture; it is a worldwide religion” (Dhillon-Stevens, 2012b, p. 647). One out of four people on planet Earth are Muslim (Esposito, 2011). There are two main branches of Islam; Sunni and Shi’a, and over 150 sects (Paxton and Hughes, 2014). I propose Muslims, akin to members of other major religions, cannot be generalised as a homogenous faith group of people. There are many categories and subcategories of different beliefs, sects, religious worship, spirituality, opinions and practices of an Islamic way of life. Shaheed (1999) writes Muslims are “divided by class and social structures, political systems, cultures, ethnic and racial identities, natural technological and economic resources, and differing histories” (p. 62). Chavis (2004) notes “there are as many forms of Islam as there are nations and peoples who practice it” (p. 27). Afshar (2013) states there are multiplicities of Muslim identities, and divisions by race, class or nationality are not recognised by Islam.

Islam is an Arabic word, which means peace or surrender [to the will of God] (Mahmood, 2013).

The Five Pillars of Islam are:

1. Shahadah (profession of faith)
2. Salah (offer five daily prayers towards Makkah)
3. Zakat (almsgiving, 2.5% of an individual’s total net worth, excluding obligations and family expenses)
4. Sawm (fasting during the holy month of Ramadan)
5. Hajj (pilgrimage to Makkah)


2.9.1 Qur’an, Sunnah and Hadith

The Qur’an is the source of Islamic teachings and laws, and deals with the bases of creed, morality and history of humanity. The content of the Qur’an is considered the
direct words of Allah (swt) which were revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) (Wadud, 2006; Kausar, Hussain and Idriss, 2011) in seventh century Arabia (Contractor 2012). The Qur’an is the source of truth for Muslims (Elgousi, 2013). Wadud (1999) writes the goal of the Qur’an was to “emulate certain key principles of human development: justice, equity, harmony, moral responsibility, spiritual awareness and development” (p. 95). Sunnah is a sacred source of the practice and examples of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and “is the second authority for Muslims” (www.saudiembassy.net). Hadith is sacred text which “is a record of Islamic tradition: it is a record of the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad [pbuh] his family, and his companions” (www.religionfacts.com). Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) continues to be revered as “a perfect human being, often referred to as the ‘embodied Qur’an’ ” (Chaudhry, 2015, p. 89).

2.10 Honour Based Violence, Killings and Suicide

Qualitative research indicated tensions between the South Asian British Muslim culture and violence. This section is included as themes of violence, killings and suicide were present in existing literature and my findings. Husseini (2011) states since the ancient civilisation period, so-called honour crimes and honour related violence against women have existed in diverse continents. Shipway (2004) writes “women experiencing intimate violence and abuse are not a homogenous group, neither are the men who abuse them” (p. 4).

Honour killings are committed by people of different faiths; Muslims, Christians, Druze and Jews (Gill, 2009). As noted by al-Attar (2013) this custom predates Islam and occurs in the Indian subcontinent, Middle East, Eastern European and the Mediterranean. Murders in the name of honour continue in Italy. “FGM, Sati and honor killings are the type of women’s human rights violations that most resemble torture” (Coomaraswamy, 2003 p. 497). Faqir (2001) writes “brothers or fathers therefore kill any female members of their family if she does anything to sully that honour” (p. 71). Hanser (2007) notes in Pakistan, it is estimated hundreds of women were murdered by their families annually so family honour could be saved. Pervizat (2011) writes honour based crimes are a violation of women’s human rights which Coomaraswamy (2003) states cause “severe pain and suffering” (p. 495).
Kressel (1981) writes historically in some Arab Muslim countries the male killer would “sprinkle his victim’s blood on his clothes and parade through the streets displaying the bloody murder weapon... to increase his honour” (p. 143). He was viewed as “one who restored honour” (p. 143). This resonated with Souad’s (2005) experience in Palestine of petrol poured on her and set alight by her brother-in-law as she had sex before marriage, and became pregnant. In their community, her brother-in-law was a hero.

In the Middle East, honour killings are related to patriarchal societies and are a culturally entrenched custom. They are condoned and prevalent as “the honour of men is often constructed through the need to control female sexuality” (Ghanim, 2013, p. 58). In Jordan and Egypt, perpetrators of honour crimes received three month’s imprisonment for killing their sister or daughter (Husseini, 2011). Similarly, Corsi (2013) notes Jordanian legislation permits honour killing sentences of three months – two years if the murdered woman engaged in or was subjected to dishonourable acts; i.e. extramarital relations, rape or sexual harassment, and she was murdered by a male relative to retrieve their family honour. Rape charges are discontinued if the rapist consents to marry the victim and does not divorce her for three years as this saves her honour. Kristof and Wudunn (2010) report although honour killings are illegal in Iraqi Kurdistan, a teenage girl was publicly beaten to death by at least one thousand men. Security forces witnessed the attack, but did not intervene.

According to the first Association of Chief Police Officers of England, Wales & Northern Ireland Honour Based Violence Strategy (2008) on average twelve people are murdered every year in this country “for transgressing someone else’s perverted notions of honour” (p. 4). Statistics of how many commit suicide/escape are unknown. Honour based violence is not a religious phenomenon, but a cultural one, which affects diverse communities. Research on honour based violence inspection for Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary by Hester et al., (2015) of ethnically diverse women in England (n: 50) reported 36 participants had experienced honour based violence and/or forced marriage. Idriss and Abbas (2011) write there is a rise in the number of honour killings and honour related violence in the UK. Gill (2006) states “notions of honour can act as catalysts for so-called honour-based violence when ideas of family and community are challenged by women” (p. 1). As this paper did not include the references for eleven citations, the evidence to support these claims was absent.
The challenge of addressing honour based violence and crimes was evident as “honour” crimes are an example of ethnically specific violence which needs to be approached with particular sensitivity” (Liberty, 2003, p. 5). Patel and Siddiqui (2010) note in the UK “there is a tendency for state institutions to ‘exoticise’ the more dramatic culturally specific practices such as forced marriage and honour killings and isolate them from wider debates of violence against women and state accountability” (p. 109).

Pervizat (2011) writes in Turkey “executing a woman is seen as a rite of passage into manhood for some young men or boys” (p. 143). Sen and Kelly (2007) state “violence and discrimination against women in the name of honour, by physical or psychological means, can result in social exclusion, denial of access to education and employment, ill-health, loss of potential and loss of life” (p. 22).

Nasrullah et al. (2009) states in parts of Pakistan honour killings are referred as “Karo Kari, where Karo refers to the ‘blackened’ or dishonoured man and Kari to the ‘blackened’ woman (p. 193). I note the loss of honour only appeared to be attributed to the man and I reflected upon whether there was a perception the female was considered not to have honour in the first place, hence, there was an absence of her being dishonoured. Qadeer (2006) writes karo kari involves male relatives killing women for often alleged romantic liaisons.

### 2.11 South Asian and Muslim Patriarchy

The theory underpinning this research, which I identified from the data analysis, was patriarchy. Hence, a brief literature review of patriarchy is incorporated in this chapter and explored further in the discussion chapter. Giddens and Sutton (2014) define patriarchy as “The systematic domination of women by men in some or all of society’s spheres and institutions” (p. 100). Rubenser (2007) writes “Human society, over thousands of years and across virtually all cultures, has been organised around a patriarchal system in which the man is dominant and the woman subservient” (p. 310). Weaver et al., (2000) note how patriarchal systems have perpetuated the structural gender inequalities based on the economic, social and cultural subordination of the female gender. Cheal (2005) notes patriarchy is considered a universal structure which affects women globally in public and private spheres. Wadud (2015) argues “No matter how long patriarchy has been the bulwark of human communities, it is unsustainable,
untenable and un-Islamic” (p. 273). Al-Attar (2013) claims “patriarchal fiqh is a human product and should not be treated as a divine law” (p. 79).

Myers and Shaw (2004) write “A patriarchal society is one dominated by men, in which women accept, or are forced into, subservient roles” (p. 84). Paxton and Hughes (2014) report patriarchal societies also include “male entitlement to sexual services” (p. 27). Nedjai (2013) states “Patriarchy confers men the right to control and abuse women in order to preserve their manhood” (p. 215). Scholz (2010) states “Patriarchy means a whole network or system of control of women and women’s bodies by men” (p. 19). As noted by Oakley (2002) “The notion of patriarchy gives us a theoretical framework for understanding the nuanced experiences of our everyday lives” (p. 218).

Sev’er (2005) reports patriarchy that is particularly ‘vicious’ is present in the majority of North Africa, the Muslim Middle East, and South and East Asia. She states “what is noteworthy is in no place on earth and in no time in human history, can we find cultural rituals and practices that have similarly enslaved boys/men on the basis of their gender” (p. 30). Knauss (1987) notes “The persistence of patriarchy, the dramatic tenacity of a system of male dominance and female subordination, has been the dominant pattern in Algeria” (p. 141). Nedjai (2013) concurs with this and claims culture and Islamic ideology constructs have contributed towards men’s domination and discrimination of women in the Algerian context.

Awasthi (2015) states “it is part of the construct of South Asian masculinity to watch over and guard the conduct of women of one’s own family so they do not cross the boundaries of family honor” (p. 13). Stafford (2011) notes honour crimes are linked to patriarchal notions that female chastity of virtue is entwined with her family’s honour. Contractor (2012) writes “patriarchy superimposed male honour upon the Muslim woman’s personality” (p. 2).

Qadeer (2006) reports Patriarchy in Pakistan “rules women’s lives, controlled by fathers when young and dominated by husbands as married adults” (p. 199). Gill (2009) states “patriarchal communities often seek to establish their own autonomy, with their own laws, within (or even apart from) U.K. society, when these communities should be governed by the laws and principles of the wider society of which they are a part” (p. 477).
Anitha (2008) notes “within South Asian communities, the notion of family honour is often tied to the woman’s ability to remain constrained within and uphold the patriarchal norms that govern social relationships” (p. 196). Bano (2000) writes women were perceived to shame the family by any public behaviour which was considered disgraceful. Their husbands were viewed as having failed in maintaining patriarchal control over their wives.

Mir-Hosseini (2015) notes traditionalist patriarchal suppositions and policies endorsed by established pre-modern interpretations of the Shariah “provide Islamists with the theological and ideological justification to keep women under male authority and treat them as second-class citizens” (p. 38). An interview study by Gill (2004) (n: 18) argues “Asian women may be hindered by the strong patriarchal nature of South Asian culture and the influence of religion, which may limit a woman’s role to the traditional one of wife and mother” (p. 479). This seemed to be a thorough and sensitive research investigation. The paper detailed the methodology and it is apparent careful consideration was given to the process in recruiting participants whom had experienced domestic violence. Detailed demographical information regarding the participants was another positive. This was a small scale study and the data was generated only from East London, which could be viewed as limitations of this study.

Wilson (2010) writes in Britain, “Within South Asian families, patriarchal relationships were shaped by their specific history in their country of origin” (p. 56). Gill and Brah (2004) note honour based violence towards women takes place “within a framework of patriarchal family and social structures” (p. 73). Barn’s (2008) qualitative study (n: 10) of individual interviews in London found patriarchy and izzat were among the contributing factors which lead to mental distress of British Bangladeshi women. The methodology was explicit and the data was generated from social workers’ perspectives. I suggest this was a very useful research investigation as it identified how patriarchy and honour had a negative impact on some British Bangladeshi women. Hence, these findings may be of particular relevance to healthcare professionals. Limitations of this study are that Indian and Pakistani perspectives were excluded and the data was generated from one particular location in London.

Hume (2007) writes “many Asian communities have strong patriarchal values that devalue women and girls and emphasize the importance of obedience” (p. 222). Sev’er
and Yurdakul (2001) explored existing literature on honour killings in rural Turkey and reported “in rigidly codified patriarchal systems, the awakening wants, desires, and independence of women are considered threats” (p. 988). Begikhani et al., (2010) state in Kurdish communities “women have a lower status in the family as men dominate the private space through patrilineal relations, financial decisions and selecting partners for their children” (p. 26). Shaheed (1999) argues “similarly the essential components of patriarchy in a Muslim society are no different from those found elsewhere… the subordination is visible regardless of whether religion is a player or not” (p. 62).

Existing literature indicated patriarchy was a global issue and not confined within a particular location, culture, race, ethnic, religious or secular group. The literature indicated within the honour and shame concept, patriarchy had an underlying presence in the filial and social constructs of female lives. I propose male domination appeared as widespread as the honour and shame phenomena itself. There was strong evidence which signified patriarchy with the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame.

2.12 Domestic Abuse

Upon completion of a systematic literature review of studies, and thematic analysis of my findings, particular features which appeared to support the honour and shame system were identified; power, control, patriarchy and abuse. There was consistently strong evidence of violence and abuse being exerted to gain enforced conformity and compliance. The pivotal role of imposed expectations being fulfilled contributed towards the perpetuation of the honour and shame phenomena.

Domestic violence remains a global issue which “has no national borders or cultural boundaries” (Hancock and Siu, 2009, p. 131) and “violence against women is an international reality” (Shipway, 2004, p. 7). The United Nations reports one in three women experience physical or sexual violence, predominately by their intimate partners (www.unwomen.org). In the UK, two women are killed each week by their current/ex male partners (Giddens and Sutton, 2013; www.pkc.gov.uk). Domestic violence occurs worldwide in most, if not all cultures (Shipway, 2004; Fischbach and Valentine, 2007; Nicolson, 2010). McCarthy and Edwards (2011) state power is generally considered as “the capacity of an individual to achieve desired outcomes against the wishes or interests of another” (p. 157). Thiara and Gill (2010) write violence against
women is rooted in power and control which is a powerful deterrent in women disclosing abuse. “Given their dis/location, in British society, it is even more unsurprising that South Asian women face personal and social barriers in disclosing abuse” (p. 45).

Solotaroff and Pande (2014) state human rights and other organisations note custodial and sexual abuse of women in custody in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. The Human Rights Watch reported more than 70% of Pakistani women experienced physical and/or sexual abuse, including gang rape by their jailers. No police officer was punished for the crimes, despite incontrovertible evidence in custodial rape cases (www.hrw.org). Kristof and Wudunn (2010) note female rape victims in Pakistan were advised by a gynaecologist to refrain from going to the police because the police would also rape them. I propose some women are abused in the institutions which were purportedly meant to protect them, which further increases the challenge of eliminating domestic and sexual violations.

2.13 The Duluth Model

I identified a framework called The Duluth Model which is utilised in domestic abuse work. This is a practice based model in the real world. Literature searches revealed few, if any, similar models. This, and the lack of sufficient research into such an important area of human experience conveys its own story about how worldwide domestic abuse, despite extensive efforts, has not been successfully reduced nor eliminated. The Duluth Model is recognised internationally in domestic violence work (Aymer, 2008; Bumiller, 2010) and the UK (Bonham and Vetere, 2012). This model originated from Minnesota, USA in the 1980s and is one of the longest operating multi-agency programmes focussed on changing abusive male perpetrators behaviour (Dobash et al., 2000; Shipway, 2004).

The theory underpinning this interesting model is male perpetrators of violence should remain accountable for their actions, and keeping abused female victims safe (www.theduluthmodel.org). This is primarily a feminist model (Pence and Paymar, 1993; Babcock, Green and Robi, 2004; Day et al., 2009; Carlson and Jones, 2010; Arias, Arce and Vilariño, 2013; Herman et al., 2014) and incorporates CBT elements in its treatment programmes (Gondolf, 2007; Aymer, 2008; Miller, 2010; Arias, Arce and Vilariño, 2013). The model attributes patriarchal ideology, and men’s power and
control over women being sanctioned by societies, as the main cause of domestic violence (Stover, Meadows and Kaufman, 2009).

There are many layers to this model and religion, culture, traditions, values, language and norms are incorporated. The Duluth Model was created from the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP). The Power and Control Wheel (Appendix 3) is the theoretical framework underpinning it (Pence and Paymar, 1993). One of the aims of the DAIP is to help facilitate abusive men change their behaviours from the Power and Control Wheel to those on the Equality Wheel (Appendix 4). (Pence and Paymar, 1993). The programme is generally weekly, group sessions of 90 – 120 minutes, over six months (Gondolf, 2002). Role-plays, group exercises, vignettes and action plans are incorporated (Miller, Gregory and Iovanni, 2005). Within the UK, a cognitive behavioural model or psycho-educational approach are the most common types used in perpetrator programmes (Shipway, 2004).

The Duluth DAIP is “the most commonly used court-sanctioned intervention in the United States and Canada for men convicted of domestic assault” (Corvo, Dutton and Chen 2009, p. 324). The majority of batterer intervention programmes in the USA follow the Duluth Model (Jackson et al., 2003). Findings from the website (www.theduluthmodel.org) indicated 68% of offenders who move through the Duluth criminal justice system and non-violence classes did not reappear in the system eight years later. There have been significantly reduced reoffending rates for communities internationally who adopted parts of this model (www.theduluthmodel.org). Some critics regarding the lack of convincing effectiveness of the Duluth Model and CBT programmes were Babcock, Green and Robi (2004), Dutton and Corvo (2007), Carlson and Jones (2010) and Arias, Arce and Vilariño (2013).

The Duluth Model was utilised with Mexican and African-American men (Schwartz and Waldo, 2003). Some critics (Hurst, 2002; Hancock and Siu, 2009; Niekerk and Boonzaier, 2016) found the Duluth Model may be limited when working with men of black and minority ethnicities as they had different cultural ideals of masculinities. I suggest it is important to heed the advice of the original writers of the Duluth Model; Pence and Paymar (1993). As noted by Miller (2010) they recommended the programme be adapted to meet the culture, race and ethnicity of attendees. Hence, the model is fluid and not rigid. There are possibilities, and encouragement, for it to be
modified. I note critics of the Duluth Model recommended changes, but did not devise their own models. I suggest this indicated the challenges of creating a new transcultural model which was relevant to the global population.

I assert it would be virtually impossible for one model to be universal and inclusive to meet the needs for the world’s diversities and cultural nuances. I suggest there will always be critics and advocates of models and theories on any subject matter. The academic literature above has conclusively shown the Duluth Model is used with diverse groups of people, including minority ethnicities, on a worldwide level. I argue there must be defensible reasons for its longevity. I note new model recommendations by Stuart (2005), Chavis and Hill (2008) and Lothstein (2015) all included, not excluded, elements of the Duluth Model.

The Duluth Model and/or the Power and Control Wheel is endorsed by many women’s domestic abuse organisations in England, Ireland and Scotland, some of which are referenced here; (www.berkshirewomensaid.org.uk; www.newcastlewomensaid.org.uk; www.pkc.gov.uk; www.thewomenscentre.uk.net; www.womensaid.ie). It is also utilised by some South Asian domestic abuse organisations and groups in Manchester (www.saheli.org.uk, www.theroby.org.uk).

Positive critique of the Duluth Model is documented. Research by Stover, Meadows and Kaufman (2009) stated a recidivism rate of circa 30% within six months of the Duluth Model intervention. Dobash et al., (2000) reported the Duluth Model is generally “acknowledged to be one of the most successful community-based justice projects for violent men anywhere in the world” (p. 48). Deaton and Hertica (2013) established the multiagency involvement of the DAIP “can reduce sociocultural support for family violence” (p. 15). The Power and Control Wheel was utilised in domestic abuse research with Pakistani Muslims (Rabbani, Qureshi and Rizvi, 2008). This illustrated it was considered an appropriate and compatible theoretical framework for South Asian Muslims. The academic literature above has conclusively shown the Duluth model is recognised, valued and implemented nationally and internationally in addressing domestic violations.
2.14 *Bride Price*

My findings identified a bride price custom was present in the lives of some British Muslim Bangladeshi families. Apart from Qadeer’s (2006) book, which noted a historical Pashtoon custom in Pakistan of bridewealth known as ‘sar paisa’ a literature search did not locate any published material regarding bride price for Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani Muslims in South Asia or the UK. Hence, this could tentatively be viewed as a new phenomenon. However, as noted below, I identified bride price existed in other cultures.

Stafford (2011) reports in sub-Saharan Africa, bride price entails the husband purchases his wife upon marriage by giving cattle or other assets to the bride’s family. The author argues bride price should be considered an honour crime. Peters (1980) notes Bedouin camel herders in Cyrenaica practised the custom of bridewealth. Turton (1980) writes for Mursi cattle herders and cultivators in southwestern Ethiopia “Bridewealth consists, ideally, of thirty-eight head of cattle” (p. 67). Moult (2007) states bride price has contributed to domestic abuse, women’s oppression and “reinforces the idea of the man’s proprietary ownership of his wife” (p. 657). Parkin (1980) notes in parts of Kenya, an Islamic marriage payment of Shs 1200 (approximately £8.68) was given by the groom to the bride’s father. The father generally utilised a third or half of this payment for wedding and dowry expenses.

Kandiyoti (1998) identified classic patriarchy exists in North Africa, Muslim Middle East, South and East Asia where marriage payment was a dowry or bride price. Monetary amounts £500 - £2000 were considered normal. Comaroff (1980) writes marriage and bridewealth control is “contriving the exchange of women in such a way as to reproduce structures of dependency” (p. 22). Comparably, in the Melpa and Wiru areas of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, the groom gives pigs to the bride’s father (Strathern, 1980). Bride price also occurred in Nigeria (Emecheta, 1976) and Ireland (Boyne, 1998). Dissimilarly, Barnes (1980) noted often Eastern Indonesian parents preferred not to accept bridewealth. Significantly, Mellor (2004) argues “once someone accepts a gift they are indebted until they repay it” (p. 95). Thus, from the literature, it was apparent females sold into marriages occurred within diverse racial, ethnic, religious and sociocultural groups of people.
2.15 Summary of the Literature Review

Extensive literature searches on the research question produced the aforementioned papers, which were critically read and analysed. A review of previous studies identified an absence of a focussed research investigation exploring the concept, definition, impact and gender differences of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims. I suggest traditions, culture, beliefs, values, religion, gender, fear, pride, violence, possession and ownership were some of the facets fused together within the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women.

My analysis from the literature review suggested honour and shame was:

- A system created by men and society to control females.
- Based upon attitudes and perceptions derived from culture and not sacred sources.
- To the advantage of men and disadvantage of women.
- Of greater significance than human life.
- Powerful in its construction and fragile in its disintegration.

From the literature, it appeared honour and shame occurred because:

- Men were considered superior and women were considered inferior.
- It offered a sense of sociocultural and religious identity.
- Filial and societal expectations must be fulfilled.
- There was an underlying fear of losing authority, standing and faith.
- Expressions of individual choice, liberation and human rights were not permissible.

Factors which research suggested maintained the honour and shame system were:

- Culture, tradition, customs, fear, attitudes, segregation, pride, social systems, patriarchy, belief systems, gender roles, codes, expectations, faith interpretations and hegemonic masculinities.
Factors which research suggested undermined honour and shame were:

- Modernity, equalitarian gender systems, female empowerment, assimilation, autonomy, multiculturalism and a reduction/rejection of South Asian cultures, traditions and customs.

I propose, although there has been some merging of South Asian and British cultures; i.e. food, dress, interests, education and employment, it appeared the fundamental attitudes and belief systems remained separate. Hence, this division could be a barrier in the dual populations reaching a mutually cohesive, inclusive, converging and accepted shared understanding of the concept of honour and shame in Britain. As written by de Ishtar (2008) “cultural embeddedness is an extremely difficult method, particularly since people engaging with societies other than their own inevitably suffer culture shock” (p. 169).

The mechanism for why honour and shame was so crucial appeared to be supported by:

- Migration diaspora, identity, protection, patriarchy, racism, traditionalism, familial and social control, gender inequalities, power and control, cultural transmission, abuse, and interpretations of the Islamic faith. Female sexuality and modesty was regulated by South Asian British Muslim familial and societal constructs. Western and Islamic knowledge, particularly for females, challenged patriarchy, and the honour and shame constructs.

The Duluth Model offered an explanation of how these phenomena occurred, the power and control mechanisms which underpinned it and how this may be challenged. Patriarchy seemed an underlying theory of why these phenomena happened. Cultural practices and notions of honour and shame appeared to have been transported from South Asia to the UK via migration. The hostile UK environment may have reinforced these concepts being maintained in addition to some persons’ reluctance to let go and assimilate. People from rural and urbanised milieus were affected. Perhaps, female virginity was so highly valued not only due to religious reasons, but because it offered assurances offspring were fathered by the men indicated, and not illegitimately.
I note, quantitative methods only appeared to be undertaken when shame was explored in relation to mental health (Cheung, Gilbert and Irons, 2004; Martin et al., 2006; Gilbert et al., 2007; Pilkington, Msefti and Watson, 2012) and as a mixed method regarding Islamic identity of British Muslim women (Brown, 2006). I propose, exploring honour and shame is a sensitive topic. External to the mental health sphere, possible barriers to quantitative research with South Asian British Muslim communities could arise from language differences, access to participant difficulties, literacy issues, perceptions of intrusiveness and cultural insensitivities, which may offer an explanation for the absence of quantitative studies.

Literature was read and interpreted via thematic analysis. I acknowledge this could have been read differently; i.e. feminist or theological perspectives. However, this was not a feminist or religious study and the literature did not appear to indicate these theories as a possible rationale for why these phenomena occurred.

2.16 Reflexivity
As I critically analysed the research literature, the enormity, complexities and depth of the research topic dawned upon myself. I had previously heard fellow researchers, academics, participants and conference attendees express my study was “very interesting, challenging, a real issue” and a “big topic” among occasional exclamations of “oooh!” and wincing. One participant shared “you have chosen the hardest topic possible.” Such comments did not evoke trepidation or hesitation. To the contrary, I was even more determined to complete this study.

2.17 Summary
This chapter illustrated the aims and process of the literature review. The salient literature pertaining to this study were explored and critically examined. The next chapter explains and critiques the methodology undertaken for this study.
3 METHODOLOGY CHAPTER

3.1 Chapter Overview
This chapter commences with a focus on my researcher position. It then explores the epistemology, ontology and methodological process (Blackburn, 2008; Dawson, 2009; Corbin and Strauss, 2015) for the research undertaken. It illustrates why and how the research study was investigated and critically explores the reasoning in adopting a qualitative methodological approach, which encompassed three qualitative data generation methods. My theoretical framework and researcher stance is also discussed to elucidate the research design. The import of research sampling, ethical issues, and resources and timescale are illustrated. The processes of data collection, pilot studies and data analysis are all critically reflected upon. Research validity, reliability and trustworthiness is explored. The chapter concludes with my reflexivity and a summary of the methodological considerations.

The aim of the research was to explore how South Asian British Muslims understood and experienced honour and shame. The research title for this study:

Exploring Honour and Shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women

The three sub questions guiding this research were:

1. What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?

2. What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?

3. What are the gender differences in male and female honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims?

3.2 Researcher Position
My philosophical framework derives from a humanistic approach which states that with the right conditions, humans have a natural tendency to grow and reach their full potential (du Plooy, 2010). The uniqueness of human beings, their subjective
experiences and human values are a particular focal point of this theory (Hough, 2000). I concur with Maslow’s (1943) pyramid of physiological, safety, social, selfrespect and esteem, and self-actualisation needs. Each level of need has to be met before the next one can be meaningfully approached (Sanders, 2011; Perkins and Thorns, 2012). My researcher stance originates from hermeneutics (Davy, 2010). This is a theory of interpretation, discovering meanings of text, conversations and a person’s sense of the world (Jary and Jary, 2000). McLeod (2001) notes qualitative research approaches of hermeneutics, phenomenology, ethnography, feminist research, narrative analysis, naturalistic research, heuristic research, grounded theory analysis, ‘new paradigm’ methods and discourse analysis have all made distinctive contributions to human science. Sanders and Wilkins (2010) describe hermeneutics as “the art and science of interpretation of meaning, traditionally of text, but in social sciences more of human experience or social events” (p. 201). This approach requires the researcher to be actively involved in the research process and to remain close to the studied subject.

Babbie (2014) writes during textual analysis “social researchers sometimes speak of the “hermeneutic circle”, a cyclical process of ever-deeper understanding” (p. 137). Hammersley (2006) states the definition of hermeneutics is “the study of how we understand the communications, actions and products of other human beings - especially those of past times or other cultures” (p. 133). The methodology for my study was thematic analysis. My aim was to obtain a broader search of the honour and shame experiences and, hence, thematic analysis was considered an appropriate approach. My reflexivity was part of this process and considered in how the methodological approach was decided upon.

As written by Denscombe (2014) and Bell and Waters (2014), the following offers a synopsis of some methodological approaches available and I have provided my rationale for why they were not selected. Methodological choices such as case studies were not selected as the predominant characteristic of this approach involves mainly focusing on one instance for investigation. This was not appropriate for my research question as I wanted to focus upon various aspects of the honour and shame phenomena. Grounded theory was not considered as I did not intend to produce a new theory. Action research was not implemented as my aim was not to solve a practical problem or create guidelines for best practice. Ethnography was rejected as I had no intention of spending a substantial amount of time directly observing South Asian
British Muslim lives and their cultures from a fieldwork position. Furthermore, Denscombe (2014) notes phenomenology does not attempt to explain the cause of the issue being explored as its main focus is upon attempting to provide a description and interpretation of the experiences studied. I did not consider this approach suitable in answering my research question as I wished to ascertain some of the underlying causes of the honour and shame phenomena. Also, as noted by Gray (2014) phenomenological research involves five – fifteen participants, hence, my sample size of thirty (pilots n: 8, main study n: 22) far exceeded this recommendation. In summation, my theoretical framework complemented the research question and design, which also incorporated a focus on the individual and his/her subjective experiences.

3.3 Insider Researcher

As explored in the introduction chapter, my researcher positionality was an important factor in the methodology of this study. This is briefly revisited in this section and explored in more depth in the discussion chapter. Carter and Bolden (2012) state “the significance of the researcher obtaining “insider” or “outsider” status varies depending on the topic of discussion and participants’ perceptions of the researcher” (p. 264). Stanfield (1998) argues the researcher’s autobiography, culture and historical context is of great significance as this determines what the researcher is, does and does not see, in addition to their ability to analyse data and disseminate knowledge adequately. Stanfield notes:

People of colour, women and others traditionally outside the domain of research authority have argued only those researchers emerging from the life worlds of their “subjects” can be adequate interpreters of such experiences. (Stanfield, 1998, p. 335).

Plummer (2011) writes “tensions over the differences across cultures and languages we are born into which are the limiting horizons of our thinking and practices” (p. 209).

3.4 Epistemological Approach

For the methodological process for this study, I reflected on the concept of knowledge and how this is obtained (Burr, 2003; Dawson, 2009; Martin, 2010; McLeod, 2016). I questioned how I conceived the world and how reality is known. I felt it was important for me to understand my process in order to comprehend the research participants’ realities as this would underpin how the research was conducted. Ontology is the
“theory of the basic constituents of social reality” and epistemology is “the theory of knowledge” (Parker et al., 2003, p. 178 & 209). As a Muslim, my faith has had a profound effect on my view about the nature of knowledge and how the world came to be. In Islam, the Qur’an is the holy book and the written words of Arabic are directly communicated from God; Allah (swt). The sacred text was revealed to Muhammad, the last Prophet (p.b.u.h) via the archangel Gabriel (Sarwar, 2003). For Muslims, the source of truth is the Qur’an (Elgousi, 2013). I believe that as human beings, we may strive for knowledge and we have the right to question what we know and how do we know this. We may also be able to offer some reasonable and logical explanations regarding knowledge. However, through a religious lens, I believe that ultimately it is Allah (swt) who has the absolute knowledge, authority and wisdom.

According to Cresswell (2014) there are four worldviews; postpositivism, constructivism, transformative and pragmatism. The major elements of each position are:

- **Postpositivism** – determination, reductionism, empirical observation and measurement, theory verification.
- **Constructivism** – understanding, multiple participant meanings, social and historical construction, theory generation.
- **Transformative** – political, power and justice oriented, collaborative, change-oriented.
- **Pragmatism** – consequences of actions, problem-centered, pluralistic, real-world practice oriented (Cresswell, 2014, p. 6).

Creswell (2014) encourages researchers to consider the philosophical worldview assumptions they bring to the study, how the research design relates to their way of thinking and how the research methods translate this approach into practice. When I reflected upon my understanding of the world through a Western and un-Islamic lens, I could identify with constructivism as this “rejects a single ultimate truth” (Braun and Clarke, 2013a, p. 336). My search was to find answers, understanding and meanings to this research topic. I acknowledge, my stance within the truth continuum fluctuated depending on whether I held a Western, Islamic or a combination of these two perspectives regarding the concept of truth.

My aim was to gain an understanding of participants’ knowledge regarding honour and shame, and how this was acquired. Neuman states:
Four commonly used alternatives to social research that many people rely on to acquire knowledge and make decisions: personal experience and common sense, experts and authorities, popular and media messages, ideological beliefs and values. (Neuman, 2014, p. 2).

I considered a qualitative study (Holliday, 2002) with a social constructivist (Hepburn, 2006) and interpretive epistemological stance (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012) the most appropriate methodology (Braun and Clarke, 2013a) to elicit how the concept of honour and shame was created, known, understood, negotiated and experienced within human interactions among South Asian British Muslim men and women. The thread of meaning and interpretation was woven through the tapestry of my research, and very present in my hermeneutic (Grix, 2010; Gray, 2014; Lichtman, 2014) epistemological (Walliman, 2011) and thematic analysis frame of reference (Kumar, 2011; Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015).

Kashima (2005) draws the link between culture and epistemology in cultural psychology. He states culture is socially and historically constructed, people construe themselves using concepts and other symbolic structures that are available, people develop a theory of mind (i.e. a theory of how the mind works) to understand others, people have beliefs about the world, and they act on those beliefs, people engage in meaningful actions and culture is constitutive of the mind.

3.5 Ontological Stance
I believe the nature of being and reality (Moses and Knutsen, 2007; Martin, 2010) is shaped and developed by our life experiences. The internal and external social environment influences our understanding of the self and others. How we position ourselves within relationships and contribute towards the formation of dynamics is related to our sense of self, others, and the world. I propose our worldview is influenced by familial, societal, cultural, and political constructs which have been created by the human race. Religion, spirituality, agnosticism and atheism will also influence our view of the world. Personal growth and development is influenced by power, language, opportunities, belief systems, and concepts of success or fulfilment and so forth. The meaning of life and reality is subjective, and created by our unique sense of the world (Parker et al., 2003). I knew the participants may have multiple realities which could differ from my own. I did not foresee this being a source of
tension as I envisioned my levels of acceptance, respect and appreciation of diversity would not impede our dynamics. Loseke writes:

We each view the world through our own places in it. Our personal characteristics (such as gender, race/ethnicity, age, religion, nationality, and so on) are associated with particular experiences and ways of viewing the world. (Loseke, 2013, p. 116).

I have attempted to be transparent within the realms of my awareness as “different researchers embrace different realities, as do the individuals being studied and the readers of a qualitative study” (Cresswell, 2012, p. 20). My ontological stance (Moses and Knutsen, 2007) was in harmony with hermeneutics (Hammersley, 2006). The key elements of interpretations, meanings and worldviews underpinned both of these social science theories about human understanding, knowledge and existence.

Within the ontological continuum, how reality is understood can be categorized into three ways of seeing the world; relativism, critical realism and realism (Blackburn, 2008). Relativism has been described as “it can be taken to mean the view that individuals and groups see and understand the world in different ways and there is no way of making judgements about which is the correct one” (Jackson et al., 2005, p. 171). Critical realism is “a philosophical position that acknowledges there is pre-existing external reality and that it is the purpose of social inquiry to explore this” (Finlay and Ballinger, 2006, p. 258). Braun and Clarke (2013a) note a critical realist position underpins several qualitative approaches which include some versions of thematic analysis, grounded theory, discourse analysis and interpretative phenomenological analysis. Realism has been defined as “the view that scientific claims provide a picture of the universe as it really is (rather than seeing them as socially determined or reflecting the workings of the human mind)” (Jackson et al., 2005 p. 158).

Upon contemplation of the nature of life and reality, I realised I believed in more than one paradigm within the ontology continuum. From a religious perspective, I held a critical realism position that a pre-social reality exists “independently of human activity” (Sumner, 2006, p. 93) but disagreed with we can only partially know or partially access reality (Braun and Clarke, 2013a). I believe that life and reality is primarily created by Allah (swt) and it is possible for us to access and know of this
reality through the Islamic faith. I also believe our sense of reality is developed secondary through our lived experiences and is socially constructed. From a Western perspective, I was in alignment with relativism as “what is ‘real’ and ‘true’ differs across time and context, so that what we know reflects where and how knowledge is generated” (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p. 27) and “there can be no ultimate truth, and that therefore all perspectives are equally valid” (Burr, 2003, p. 204). I believe that our understanding of realities, truths and existence are subjective experiences, and I acknowledge, accept and appreciate the diversity of these fundamental beliefs that exist in the world.

3.6 Research Methods

There are three data generation approaches of research; qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (Giddens and Sutton, 2014). I will briefly explain the quantitative and mixed methods approaches and expand upon the qualitative strand in more detail as that is the one I selected. Quantitative strategies include experimental research and non-experimental designs; i.e. surveys. Mixed methods comprise of qualitative and quantitative research and data being combined or integrated in the research study. The main models which currently exist in social sciences are; convergent, explanatory sequential, exploratory sequential, transformative, embedded or multiphase mixed methods (Cresswell, 2014).

Cresswell (2012) states the five approaches to inquiry he has seen most frequently in qualitative research within social, behavioural and health science literature are; narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study. A criticism of qualitative research is that it relies too much on the researcher’s subjectivity and their unsystematic views about what is significant and important in addition to the close relationships developed with the participants. Replication of a qualitative study is difficult, problems of generalization and lack of transparency in the research process are further criticisms (Bryman, 2012).

Consideration of my philosophical worldview (Corbin and Strauss, 2015) contributed towards the choice of research methodology and design. I was aware my input towards the research could be influenced by my internal frame of reference as qualitative research is underpinned by epistemological and ontological beliefs (Grix, 2010). Denzin and Lincoln note qualitative researchers:
Stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry… they seek answers to how social experience is created and given meaning. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013, p. 17).

3.7 Methods of Data Collection
There are a range of counselling research models, genres and techniques which have been developed; i.e. quantitative, qualitative, action research, case study, theoretical sampling, survey, experiment, ethnographic, grounded theory and narrative enquiries/stories (Bell and Walters, 2014). As previously noted, the researcher’s model of scientific knowledge (epistemological and ontological positions) will guide how the data collection decision is reached. A simple way of defining and understanding these types is to categorize them into two research methods; quantitative and qualitative (Hewson, 2006). The definition for these terms is “Quantitative research is empirical research where the data are in the form of numbers. Qualitative data is empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers” (Punch, 2014, p. 3). For myself, there is a different energy about engaging with qualitative research which is encapsulated by Braun and Clarke:

We love qualitative research; it’s rich, exciting, and challenging in lots of ways; it captures the complexity, mess and contradiction that characterizes the world, yet allows us to make sense of patterns of meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2013a, p. 10).

3.8 Quantitative Method Exclusion
Historically, quantitative methods and scientific methods were the predominant ways of conducting research in psychology. However, during the 1980s, qualitative methods developed a stronger position within psychological research and this trend has continued thereafter. Quantitative research is objective, reductionist, scientific, positivist, experimental, contrived and deductive (Hancock, 2002). Quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Quantitative researchers work with mathematical models, statistical tables and graphs. Writing generally takes place in an impersonal, third person voice (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013). Criticisms of quantitative research include; researchers fail to distinguish people and social institutions from the world of nature, its measurement processes have an artificial and spurious sense of precision and accuracy, reliance on instruments and procedures hinders the connection between research and everyday life,
and the analysis of relationships between variables creates a static view of social life that is independent of people’s lives (Bryman, 2012).

There are a variety of quantitative methods available to collect and analyse data; i.e. secondary data, questionnaires, observational research and content analysis. Braun and Clarke (2013a) write although a quantitative method can generate broad data as many people can partake, the resulting data is shallow as limited complex data is obtained from the participants. In contrast, although qualitative data generation may be narrow, it is rich with thick descriptions. Punch (2006) describes thick description as “the emphasis in qualitative research on capturing and conveying the full picture of behaviour being studied - holistically, comprehensively and in context” (p. 157). Quantitative method also requires the researcher to have a detached and objective position. Conversely, qualitative encourages subjectivity and reflexivity.

I considered a survey design on this sensitive topic inappropriate as my research questions required substantial, detailed answers from the participants. Hence, it may not have been feasible to obtain such answers from a questionnaire. It was pertinent for me to generate my own data for analysis as the secondary data available would not offer the same depth or clarity as its focus was primarily linked to honour based violence and killings, rather than the psychological and emotional aspect of these phenomena. A quantitative method of distributing large amounts of questionnaires for completion seemed inappropriate and too impersonal for my research question. It may not have collected the rich data I aimed to assemble, nor would it offer any flexibility for clarification or expansion on particular points the participants or I may have wished to delve into further. It would have been unsuitable due to its rigid and inhibiting elements, and also “at a pragmatic level, quantitative data involves numbers and qualitative data involves words” (McLeod, 2003, p. 183).

Furthermore, there are additional drawbacks associated with the use of questionnaire studies. I knew of researchers who had experienced participants not fully completing or returning questionnaires. Unfortunately, this resulted in studies being curtailed due to lack of data collection for analysis. Similarly, Rugg and Petre (2004) write “it is completely usual for over 80 per cent of recipients to throw away the questionnaire” (p. 148). Also, not all of my potential participants may have been literate in English, which was another reason for why I deemed questionnaires inappropriate. Naturally, I did not
wish to embark on a research method which could potentially lead to the same unsuccessful outcome. I note questionnaire difficulties emerged in other studies with British minority ethnicities. Ankrah’s (2002) study exploring spiritual emergency and counselling received twenty completed questionnaires out of eighty submitted. She experienced a number of people of African and Caribbean heritage “unwilling to be part of the research” (p. 58) as they did not want to “risk any further exposure to a psychiatric system they had experienced as racist” (p. 58).

Also within quantitative approaches, the researcher has a propensity to be a postpositivist, which involves emphasis on the cause, outcomes, reductionism, measurement and theory verification (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2010). This epistemological position (Robson, 2011) was not in harmony with my philosophical views and could lead to tension within the research process due to the conflict in belief systems of how reality is known. The testing of theories, verifying/refuting hypotheses and numerical measurements are some of the components to the quantitative approach. As I did not have a theory to test, and entered this research with an open mind to receiving new material, I was not in a position to quantitatively test what was unknown. The potential limitations associated with the use of a quantitative method were the fundamental reasons why this approach was rejected.

3.9 Combined Qualitative and Quantitative Method Exclusion

The appropriateness of combining qualitative and quantitative methods with interviews and questionnaires was considered. I decided a mixed methods approach would not be conducive in answering the research question for a number of reasons. Firstly, there was the issue of coherent epistemological positioning within these frameworks and how my personal reasoning did not fit with pragmatic claims of knowledge, which are typical of researchers within this approach.

Secondly, I struggled with developing a firm rationale for why mixed methods would be the most appropriate approach and could not justify this to myself, let alone to fellow researchers, academics or supervisors. Thirdly, collating data from large broad scale surveys could have been inherent with practical difficulties; i.e. completion issues, participants’ literacy skills and return address issues. In my professional experience, sometimes South Asian people were reluctant to complete questionnaires as they appeared to harbour trepidation of potential risk. Asking closed questions and initially
working with numbers, rather than people, would have been in direct contradiction to my natural style as a researcher. I know I would have resisted and not wholeheartedly embraced this approach. Hence, negative researcher reflexivity could have pervaded the research. Finlay and Ballinger (2006) refer to research being co-constituted and it is a joint product of participants, researchers and readers, and the relationships built. They write participants affect researchers and vice versa. Hence, I did not wish to knowingly subsume any tensions on my part into the research. This was against my ethical and professional values, and principles, as a researcher.

In order to answer the research question and due to the sensitivity of its nature, I considered a qualitative approach the most relevant, and combining quantitative and qualitative would be an unnecessary complication. Evidence suggests it is uncommon for a qualitative and quantitative method to be conducted simultaneously as this can be very challenging and of enormous difficulty to even the most experienced researchers. McLeod notes:

> It is not at all easy to carry out research that bridges the quantitative-qualitative divide, and so most researchers concentrate their efforts on conducting either quantitative or qualitative research, but not both at the same time. (McLeod, 1999, p. 27-28).

The researcher’s lens and their way of seeing and making sense of the world are certainly kindled in the planning and undertaking of social enquiry. Greene (2007) explains this lens includes assumptions about the character and the nature of knowledge about the social world we attempt to understand. She refers to the contentious and fractious debates between proponents of qualitative versus quantitative methodologies. Her aim is to encourage researchers to not only consider applying mixed methods approaches or forms of data, but also different ways of seeing, interpreting and knowing. I suggest from a reflexivity point of view, Greene’s (2007) strategy may have been beneficial as any blind spots I had, may have been brought into my awareness. However, as I intended to engage in the research process as a whole person, I could not envisage mixed methods being effective for myself or the research project. I would not have been able to completely switch from one epistemological stance (Denscombe, 2002) to another depending on whether it was a qualitative (Marshall and Rossman, 2011) or quantitative (Gray, 2014) method being conducted. There would have been some cross contamination due to the blurring of two different frames of references and
underlying philosophies, which could have jeopardized the authenticity and reliability of the study. The incongruence within myself regarding fundamental quantitative principles further reinforced my decision to opt out of this method choice.

3.10 Qualitative Method Inclusion

After careful consideration of the research methods, I opted for the qualitative one; individual semi structured interviews, photo elicitation and focus groups. They appeared the most suitable methods to elicit valuable data, check consistency and offered flexibility. They accommodated direct clarification and expansion on any point, which would not be possible in the quantitative method. This would appropriately offer participants an opportunity to expand upon their experiences and is a two-way communication. Denzin and Lincoln explain:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 4).

The participants’ input would hopefully be rich and intense through their linguistics as opposed to simply words on a questionnaire. The rationale for this decision was because I wanted to ascertain in-depth knowledge about the participants’ definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame. I also wanted to obtain a sense of their lived experiences of this concept to understand how their knowledge and reality was linked to these phenomena. I considered the triangulation of these approaches would strengthen the validity, credibility and trustworthiness of my study (Morse et al., 2002; Robson, 2011).

Seidman’s (2013) view “at the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individuals’ stories because they are of worth” (p. 9) captured the reasons underpinning my methodological decisions for this research. I note Gangoli and McCarry (2006) research study investigating forced marriages in North East England consisted of Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian participants. Surveys, telephone, face to face interviews and focus groups were the data collection methods. Their methods were very similar to my own (except surveys) and as both of our topics could be considered as being sensitive, this reaffirmed obtaining data through different methods was appropriate.
As no single method is superior to another and “exclusive reliance on one method, therefore, may bias or distort the researcher’s picture of the particular slice of reality she is investigating” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p. 112) further reinforced my decision to use a combination of qualitative research methods. Photo elicitation and focus group methods involve participants who are actively involved in generating data through direct discussions of their subjective interpretations and perceptions. Renzetti and Lee (1993) state visual imagery is considered to be particularly appropriate for conducting research on sensitive topics.

Based upon these understandings and their appropriateness to the sensitive research topic, I considered the three methods; individual interviews, photo elicitation and focus groups would work in harmony together as “triangulation has special relevance where a complex phenomenon requires elucidation” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p. 112). Triangulation is an approach which involves using more than one perspective, theory, participant, method or analysis. In my inquiry, I adopted triangulation of the research methods as a tool to test the validity of the research findings (Table 1). This technique is performed “by comparing the outcomes of using different methods of exploring the same phenomenon to check that they are all consistent” (Finlay and Ballinger, 2006, p. 263).

I was aware of the challenge of analysing large amounts of qualitative data; i.e. trying to make sense of it in a structured and cohesive manner, and making editorial decisions about what to include/exclude in the findings chapter. I was perceptive the material obtained would arise from the participants’ subjective views and experiences. Hence, my findings could not be applied as a generalization to the wider South Asian British Muslim population. My researcher role was to analyse and interpret the verbalization, and omissions, from an analytical stance as much as possible.

Individual interviews, photo elicitation and focus groups were conducted with the purpose of triangulation as each research method consists of strengths and weaknesses. My aim was to produce more robust qualitative data and I propose triangulation helped to deliver this. Silverman (2011) writes multiple methods is the most common application of triangulation in qualitative research and:
The assumption is that, if the findings obtained with all these methods correspond and draw the same or similar conclusions then the validity of those findings and conclusion has been established. (Silverman, 2011, p. 369).

3.11 Types of Interviews
There are various forms of interviewing styles within the qualitative method. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe the following as tools for the interviewer. The selection from this choice is based upon the purpose of the inquiry, the kind of knowledge sought, the interview subjects, and the personal skills and style of the interviewer:

- Telephone interviews
- Computer-assisted interviews
- Focus group interviews
- Factual interviews
- Conceptual interviews
- Narrative interviews
- Discursive interviews
- Confrontational interviews

The researcher is responsible for designing the density of the interviews, which can vary from being unstructured, lightly structured, heavily structured to fully structured (Wengraf, 2001). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) write there are three main approaches to interviews for research purposes; interviewing as a craft, interviewing as a social production of knowledge and interviewing as a social practice. They state “interview knowledge is produced, relational, conversational, contextual, narrative and pragmatic” (p. 53). There is a range of qualitative data generation, and King and Horrocks state:

In qualitative research, interviewing is one of the most frequently used methods when generating data. Other methods could include; observation, diaries, the generation of visual images or other forms of text. (King and Horrocks, 2010, p. 6).

3.12 Individual Interviews
Individual interviews are performed to elicit participants’ valuable data through their own language and experiences. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) note there are seven stages to an interview process:

- Thematizing an interview project
- Designing
- Interviewing
Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) also note face to face interviews involve “a bodily presence with access to nonlinguistic information expressed in gestures and facial expressions” (p. 148-149). Observations on body language and facial expressions contributed towards informative data.

3.13 Telephone Interviews

It was not possible to arrange face to face interviews with all of the participants due to their preferences and distance. Novick (2008) notes within qualitative research, telephone interviews tend to be considered less attractive than face to face interviewing because “the absence of visual cues via telephone is thought to result in loss of contextual and nonverbal data and compromise rapport, probing, and interpretation of responses” (p. 391). However, she argues “telephones may allow respondents to feel relaxed and able to disclose sensitive information, and evidence is lacking that they produce lower quality data” (p. 391). I suggest, with the advancement of technology, it may be wise to consider the breadth of options available to reach out and engage with participants. Limiting oneself to face to face interviews may in fact inhibit access to the diversity of participants and data which is available through other means; i.e. telephone interviews. Opdenakker (2006) writes telephone research interviews have become more common within the last two decades and the benefits of this include increased access to participants. Telephone interviews would also be more appropriate for participants who may be reluctant to explore personal and sensitive material face to face with a researcher.

I suggest telephone interviews included, rather than excluded, additional participant/researcher engagement. As a counsellor and clinical supervisor, I offer counselling and supervision sessions via face to face, telephone and Skype. I incorporated those skills and experience within my researcher role. The interviews were arranged in advance at a mutually convenient date and time. I was the one who incurred the expenditure of the telephone calls. The ‘Participant Information Sheet’ (Appendix 5) and ‘Informed Consent’ (Appendix 6) documentation was submitted in advance and completed electronically as per the ethical requirements noted in 3.19. The interviews were audio
recorded and although there was no visual connection between the participants and myself, I was able to ascertain heightened verbal communication; i.e. intonation, sighs, pauses, stammering and verbal emotions, which all contributed towards the data generated. As noted by Back:

For qualitative researchers, the tape recorder became the prime professional instrument intrinsically connected to capturing human voices on tape in the context of interviews. (Back, 2014, p. 246).

3.14 Photo Elicitation
Images are present in our everyday lives and are either created by ourselves or others. In the world we live in, it is virtually impossible not to come across photographs of people, objects or locations within and outside our homes. Perhaps in some very remote or tribal parts of the world, where people have minimal or no technological resources, their contact with imagery may not exist in their realities. However, in the majority of the world, advertisements are vast. I suggest they are designed to attract attention and generate some type of effect; internal/external reactions. I propose images also hold power and influence. The use of photography within social research has developed over the past thirty years. How culture operates has been explored utilising this method. Reavey writes:

One of the major concerns for those working with psychology is how such cultural practices, including visual practices, impact on how people experience the world they live in. (Reavey, 2011, p.xxvi).

Liamputtong suggests:

In using photo elicitation as a method, the researcher’s authority is decentred, and this helps to empower the research participants, particularly those who have been silenced in society. This makes the method essentially suitable to vulnerable people. (Liamputtong, 2002, p. 143).

I utilised photo elicitation as this is a creative method which uses images to directly encourage participant discussion. Mitchell (2011) writes visual participatory tools such as photography, video and drawing can be utilised by researchers in social sciences investigating critical issues such as culture, gender, human rights, poverty, violence, education and health across a range of disciplines. Using images in research is an unconventional and innovative method of facilitating dialogue and generating interest
which captures initial reactions to the visual stimulus as “every photograph contains many hidden facts and stories beyond the immediately obvious” (Miles and Kaplan, 2005, p. 81). Photo elicitation has a distinct advantage of obtaining immediate focus and engagement within a short timeframe. Participants’ qualifications or knowledge on the subject matter is extraneous as individuals are assisted to communicate by the images. One of its main goals is “to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through large and small group discussion of photographs” (Wang and Burris, 1997, p. 369).

I note, Majumdar’s (2011) study utilised photo elicitation and photo production to explore South Asian women’s experiences of closeness in UK married life. This indicated images were an appropriate tool for obtaining qualitative data with persons of minority ethnicities. Henwood, Shirani and Finn state:

> Photo elicitation is a multi modal technique for studying what people (come to) see in, and say about pictures. It provides ways of combining the visual and verbal by using pre-existing, researcher or participant generated images, encouraging their careful and creative viewing by study participants, and eliciting extensive, verbalised responses to their symbolic qualities. (Henwood, Shirani and Finn, 2011, p. 331).

According to Tinkler (2013) it is important to consider the following five questions before using images within research:

- How do you conceptualise a photograph?
- Can photos constitute evidence of the social world?
- How do temporalities shape photo research?
- What can you do with photos?
- How do you combine methods?

These questions encouraged me to contemplate my views on how evidence is linked to photographs, knowledge, social phenomena, epistemological and ontological positions. The importance of time linked to the photographs and research, using images creatively and how they could form part of a cohesive methodological design was also critically contemplated. Stanczak (2007) writes “methodology considers the innovative ways in which researchers employ visual tools and techniques in the field to generate rapport and data” (p. 10). Goldstein (2007) states a photograph can never represent reality despite it may have been produced under the most ideal technical and well intentioned
circumstances. He argues every photograph lies, cameras cannot replicate human vision, a photograph records a brief moment in time and every photograph is manipulated.

For the pilot study, which was part of a Data Generation; Qualitative Methods Module, I chose the technique of not to provide any information about the images and not specify a research question as these options are available with photo elicitation (Rose, 2016). I wanted the discussion to emerge directly from the participants’ interpretations of the visual stimulus. The participants were aware the exercise was conducted under the context of my PhD. For the subsequent photo elicitation exercise, the participants were asked to answer ‘What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?’ The narratives of the images were revealed after the participants had answered the research question and discussed the images in conjunction with this. As my research topic was sensitive and challenging in nature, I considered it most apt to use a method which complemented this research.

3.15 Focus Groups

I utilised a focus group approach as I considered it a very useful technique in obtaining a deeper level of rich data from multiple people in one or more settings. I was aware this depended on the group’s interaction and my skills as a moderator. Focus groups also provide researchers with an opportunity to elicit subjective opinions, experiences and feelings from participants concerning a specific subject, product or service. As my research was examining sensitive and complex phenomena, it was important for me to select participants who would be able to articulate their views with some confidence.

Krueger and Casey (2009) state the features of a focus group are people who possess certain characteristics to provide qualitative data in a focused discussion to help understand the topic of interest. Vicsek (2007) considers the outcome of the focus group is impacted by situational factors which consist of interactional factors, characteristics of participants, moderator, environment and content. She argues it is important to take these aspects into consideration during the analysis process as this can result in richer and more useful conclusions. Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2011) state focus groups not only enhance the kinds and amounts of empirical material obtained in qualitative research, but the richness and complexities of group dynamics themselves offer significant data as “focus groups also allow the researcher to see the complex ways
people position themselves in relation to each other as they process questions, issues, and topics in a focused way” (p. 559).

Focus groups are described as “they allow individuals to respond in their own words, using their own categorisation and perceived associations” (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990, p. 13). Barbour (2007) notes some of the key points about focus groups are they can be utilised when undertaking research “on topics conventionally regarded as ‘sensitive’ – provided that adequate forethought is given both to research design and ethical considerations” (p. 27). Liamputtong (2011) suggests focus groups are a key research method in obtaining data from participants who may not be readily accessible as they are hard to reach because they are disenfranchised or disadvantaged. Liamputtong states:

The focus group method is suitable for examining sensitive issues and for research involving vulnerable and marginalised populations because people may feel more relaxed about talking about these issues when they see that others have similar experiences or views. (Liamputtong, 2011, p. 107).

Liamputtong also writes:

The focus group methodology is a culturally sensitive data collection method for research in cross-cultural settings and research with ethnic minorities since it permits the researcher to reach communications which people use in everyday interactions, and reveals cultural norms and values. (Liamputtong, 2011, p. 127).

Ryan, Kofman and Aaron (2011) state “focus groups are unique in the sense that participants clearly outnumber researchers and so may gain confidence in expressing controversial views” (p. 57). Kumar (2011) notes the data obtained from focus groups may be detailed and rich, and is akin to interviewing a group of participants collectively. He notes a criticism of this method is “if the discussion is not carefully directed it may reflect the opinion of those who have a tendency to dominate a group” (p. 128). Similarly, Babbie (2014) notes “controlling the dynamics within the group is a major challenge” (p. 330). I propose there will be some limitations to all research methods and it is important to consider how the research question will interact with the choice of methodology and methods, and vice versa. I suggest the harmony or disharmony among these key aspects of the research design could be a guide in deciding which methodological and method approaches are selected.
The usefulness and validity of data obtained from focus groups is subject to how comfortable the participants felt during their process of sharing their ideas, views or opinions. Intrapersonal factors and individual differences, interpersonal factors and environmental factors all influence the participants comfort zones (Stewart and Shamdasani, 2015). A research study investigating British South Asian communities’ perspectives on fertility and infertility which utilised focus groups suggested “focus groups can be a powerful, versatile, and effective research tool in accessing community attitudes” (Culley, Hudson and Rapport, 2007, p. 102-112).

Krueger and Casey (2009) criticisms of focus groups range from participants’ tendencies to intellectualize, emotional void, participants may make up answers, trivial results, dominant participants influencing results and the results obtained cannot be depended upon. As illustrated in my findings and discussion chapters, all of the participants demonstrated emotional interaction which I detected by their intonation (quiet/raised voices) and slow or fast speech (drawn-out vowels/hurried words). I did not perceive them to be emotionally closed as suggested by Krueger and Casey (2009). Facial expressions, smiling, laughing, frowning, sighs and body language (folded arms, clenched hands, nodding, shaking heads, hand gestures, relaxed posture) was evidence the participants engaged at an emotional level.

My decision to utilise focus groups was underpinned by credible research and literature which indicated this as an appropriate data generating method when researching sensitive topics with minority ethnicities. These two particular features were present in my study. I have stated how the collaborative nature of focus groups offers an additional advantage in obtaining rich qualitative data in one setting. Bell and Waters (2014) writes focus groups can include a varied group of people who may be considered to have a shared interest, concern, experiences or “are known to have a professional concern about, and knowledge of, the issues involved… focus groups are undoubtedly valuable when in-depth information is needed” (p. 183).

3.16 Sample Types
As noted by Engel and Schutt (2014) within qualitative research, a variety of sampling strategies for participation selection exist:
• Convenient sampling – participants are selected because they are available or easy to find.
• Quota sampling – participants are selected after the population is divided into groups that represents certain characteristics. Set quotas ensure the sample characteristics are in proportion to their prevalence in the population.
• Purposive sampling – participants are selected because of the unique position of the sample elements. Also, they may be knowledgeable about the issues being explored.
• Snowball sampling – participants selected are asked to identify other persons who may wish to participate, who are then interviewed. They are then asked to identify others in the population. Snowballing is helpful to engage with hard to reach or hard to identify interconnected populations.

I opted for a purposive sampling strategy. Creswell describes this approach as:

This means the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study. (Creswell, 2007, p. 125).

Snowballing naturally occurred as my research was shared in the public domain by people unknown to myself and some participants approached me via that route.

3.17 Sample Number
Generally, there are smaller sample numbers in qualitative studies compared to quantitative. However, there are no minimum or maximum stipulations and the methodological choice would indicate an appropriate number. After reading various academic and research books, my understanding was rather than a fixed number of participants being stipulated, emphasis was placed upon having a sample size which was sufficient to achieve adequate qualitative data. As illustrated later on in this chapter, I aimed to conduct thematic analysis of the data. West (2013) writes in reference to thematic analysis where he is contrasting this with grounded theory and interpretative phenomenological analysis “greater numbers of participants are expected” (p. 67). Denscombe (2014) writes generally focus groups may consist of six – nine participants and this number is often decreased in small scale studies.

A total of thirty participants were recruited for this research. This figure includes the pilots and main study participants. They were aged between nineteen – sixty-four and consisted of twenty females and ten males. The pilot studies numbers were; the same seven participants for the x1 photo elicitation and x1 focus group (Table 2) and three participants for x3 individual interviews, of whom two also took part in the x1 pilot
group exercises (Table 3). Therefore, a total of eight participants were recruited for all of the pilot exercises. For the main study, a total of twenty-two participants were interviewed (Table 4). The participant numbers for each main data generation method were; three for the x1 photo elicitation, of whom two partook in the x1 focus group, and nineteen participants for x19 individual interviews. Tables 2, 3 and 4 specify which participants engaged in the exercises. Any participants who engaged in more than one activity is depicted by noting the multiple exercises they participated in beneath their pseudonyms in the table illustrations. Due to the amount of demographic information included in the tables, it was not possible to have one table to demonstrate the main study participants. However, every effort has been made to present the tables and content with clarity.

The initial plan had been to firstly conduct six photo elicitation exercises with male/female/mixed gender groups. Secondly, focus groups were to be performed with the same participants after a refreshment break at the end of the photo elicitation exercise. Thirdly, individual interviews with an equal number of male and female participants were to be arranged. All of the group participants were different to the ones which took part in the individual interviews, except for the pilots. I discovered there was reluctance from some female participants to take part in the group exercises with men they did not know due to cultural and religious reasons. Therefore, I decided to have same sex group exercises to help facilitate a safe and comfortable space for all present.

However, women only group exercises materialised for the main study. It was not possible to arrange men only photo elicitation and focus groups due to the practical difficulties in arranging dates/times which were convenient for the majority of men. I am left to speculate if there was some reluctance or resistance by some of the men in partaking in the group exercises or if this transpired because as noted by Braun and Clarke (2013a) focus groups may be “difficult to recruit for and organise… not a good method to use with busy people” (p. 113). However, as I had obtained sufficient data from the men via their individual interviews and reached “a point of saturation” (Dawson, 2009, p. 54) I did not pursue arranging the group exercises when it appeared inessential.
3.18 Sample Criteria

In order to maintain consistency of participants’ cultural, racial and ethnic identities, it was essential a group of people who had some homogeneity of these key aspects were identified as the study focussed on a specific socio-ethnic group. Dallos and Vetere (2005) write “a homogenous sample is when we define our population of interest very specifically” (p. 38).

Segmentation was applied all throughout the study as a way of selecting participants who met the main composition of the sample criteria; gender, age, faith, ethnicity and nationality. As aforementioned in the literature review chapter, South Asian Muslims do not have complete homogeneity. While I was aware differences would be present on an individual and group basis, I thought the participants may be able to share their subjective opinions and experiences from a place of being in an internal position to the research subject as opposed to being external and thus somewhat distant to the phenomena explored. Morgan writes:

> Segmenting samples are closely tied to the emphasis on homogeneity in the composition of the focus groups. It is this homogeneity that not only allows for more free-flowing conversations among participants within groups but also facilitates analyses that examine differences in perspective between groups. (Morgan, 1997, p. 35).

The five categories of sample criterion were:

- **Gender**: Male and Female
- **Ethnicity**: Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani
- **Nationality**: British
- **Religion**: Islam
- **Age**: 18+

As I am bilingual in English and Urdu, and have a good understanding of Hindi, Hindko, Mirpuri and Punjabi, the participants were given choices of which language they wished to converse in. The majority spoke in English, and some of the migrated participants spoke in Punjabi or Urdu to various extents. During the analysis stage, I realised it was an oversight on my part not to have ascertained from the participants which generation of South Asian British Muslims they identified with. I did not consider it appropriate to make presumptions about their generational status and posthumously include this when I did not have the factual information. The participants
were living in the UK through diverse life histories and stages; i.e. grandparents’ migration, parental migration, their own migration as children and adults, their parents and/or the participants being born in the UK. Platt (2014) states “generation is straightforwardly defined based upon country of birth” (p. 52). In contrast, Anthias (2009) argues making distinctions of generation types based upon typologies of who originally migrated is problematised. Portes and Rivas (2011) note in addition to first and second generation immigrants, there is a “1.5 generation” which includes children born overseas and brought to the host country during their early years. I concur with the recommendation by Fontes (2009) to establish “who immigrated when” (p. 30) when working with immigrant families.

Hence, in order to illustrate some of the participants’ demographics throughout the thesis, I have included their gender, age, country of birth and ethnicity in an abbreviated code format in parentheses following their pseudonyms; i.e. A = Age. B = Bangladesh/Bangladeshi. CB = Country of Birth. ENG = England. E = Ethnicity. G = Gender. I = India/Indian. K = Kenya. P = Pakistan/Pakistani. S = Scotland.

For example; Amna was a female, aged 39, country of birth was Pakistan and she was of Pakistani ethnicity. Her demographics are presented as follows; Amna (G:F, A:39, CB:P, E:P). Akbar was a male, aged 33, born in England and of Pakistani ethnicity. His demographics are presented as follows; Akbar (G:M, A:33, CB:ENG, E:P). These codes are noted in the abbreviations page of this thesis. Tables 2, 3 and 4 demonstrate additional participants’ demographical information.

Occasionally, Saabira (G:F, A:52, CB:B, E:B) expressed herself in Bangla and then interpreted this into Urdu or English as I did not understand Bangla. Some of the participants also vocalised a variety of Islamic phrases in the Arabic vernacular, which were familiar to myself and comprehended; i.e. “fitnah”, “haya”, “khula” and “talaq.” Although I was taught to read the Qur’an in Arabic, unfortunately, I am unable to converse in this language as my verbal proficiency levels are not on par with my Arabic reading ability.

3.19 Ethical Issues

It is imperative to carefully consider ethics within research to facilitate a robust ethical framework. Within all manners of research investigations, codes of ethics exist and
ethical committees are established. The latter examines the research design and methods before the research commences. According to Flick:

Good ethical practice is then based on two conditions: that the researchers will conduct their research in accordance with ethical codes; and that research proposals have been reviewed by ethics committees for their ethical soundness. (Flick, 2014, p. 53).

Ethical principles of protection, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity within the research design are scrutinized by the ethics approval process, which is part of the procedure in how the integrity and quality of the social research is justified and judged (Miller et al., 2012). Christians (2011) notes major scholarly associations have adopted their own codes of ethics, which include an overlapping emphasis on these four guidelines; informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality, and accuracy. Bond (2004) states researchers have responsibilities to themselves which includes ensuring personal safety, entitlement to be treated ethically, and careful consideration of personal challenges and vulnerabilities involved in carrying out the research. I adhered to these points.

The following ethical considerations were key aspects of the research study:

- **Informed consent.** The research process was made explicit to the participants and an explanation given on how their input would be utilised. Opportunities for questions were offered. A minimum two weeks’ contemplation period was incorporated so individuals did not feel obliged to partake. Participants were made aware they had the option to withdraw from the study at any stage, without explanation, and this would not be to their detriment. All of this was clearly explained to each participant at the pre-interview contact/meeting and when the ‘Participant Information Sheet’ (Appendix 5) and ‘Participant Informed Consent Form’ (Appendix 6) was completed. The participants and I signed and dated two copies of this documentation, one was given to them, and the other retained by myself.

- **Confidentiality.** The destination of the recording and material obtained was explained verbally and also transparent on the written material. This was repeated before the interviews commenced. Pseudonyms were adopted.
Confidentiality was a key issue regarding the ethical issues. The participants shared some troubling narratives and, hence, the need to disguise their identity was extremely important. Two of the pilot study participants accepted the option to change their occupations to similar employment positions. However, all other demographic details, and the findings remained authentic. The audio recordings were subsequently erased to comply with The University of Manchester’s ethical research governance (www.seed.manchester.ac.uk) and (www.manchester.ac.uk/research/environment/ethics/).

- **Ground rules.** These were explored with the participants for the group exercises. All present agreed they would respect different opinions, not interrupt, and adhere to the allocated timeframe. Mobiles were on silent or switched off. As the participants for the pilot group exercises were my ex-colleagues, an additional understanding for everyone to be treated equally regardless of age, gender and employment seniority was agreed. There was a consensus confidentiality was to be maintained during and after the exercises. The fact my ex-colleagues were part of a pre-existing group culture would have contributed towards how they related to each other, myself and the topic explored.

- **Boundaries.** During the interviews, I was present in the role of a researcher and not a counsellor. I asked the participants to be mindful they shared at a level which felt comfortable and safe. Pre-arranged venues and time keepings were effectively performed. My researcher contact details were provided to each participant.

- **Avoidance of researcher over-identifying with participants.** As all of the participants and I were South Asian British Muslims, I chose not to express my views regarding honour and shame as I did not want my opinions to influence the participants’ answers. The questions were carefully considered and phrased to avoid leading. My supposition was the similarities between the participants and myself may enhance the interview process as intrinsic cultural meanings would be clear and more easily understood in comparison to a researcher from another racial or ethnic heritage or faith. However, I do acknowledge that due to the similar intersecting identities between myself and the participants, it is
possible that some shared assumptions may not have been voiced. Therefore, unintentionally, the reader of this thesis may not have been privy to such data.

- **Participants must not be left in an emotionally vulnerable state.** Informed consent was obtained to contact the participants’ General Practitioners if I considered this appropriate. This would only occur in circumstances of participants at serious risk of harm to self and/or others. It was made clear should this intervention be necessary, the participants would be notified of this decision prior to this communication occurring. The research supervisors would be contacted immediately and informed if confidentiality could not be maintained due to safeguarding concerns. Before the end of the interviews, it was essential to engage with the participants in the present moment to ensure they felt sufficiently grounded within themselves. Due to the research title and content, it was possible the participants may feel in need of emotional support post interview. At the end of the interviews, each participant was given a list of telephone helpline numbers for local (Appendix 7) and national (Appendix 8) services should they wish to access therapeutic intervention.

- **Respect towards participants.** All participants were respected throughout the process and offered opportunities to participate and share freely. They were given the choice not to answer any of the questions. They all willingly shared information apart from one male participant who did not want to reveal his marital status. McLeod (2010) notes there are five moral principles fundamental to social life in democratic societies; autonomy, non-maleficence, beneficence, justice and fidelity. He states counselling and psychotherapy practice and research should be informed by these principles. I fulfilled this requirement.

- **The University of Manchester Research Ethics.** As stated by the university, care, consideration and integrity was integral in conducting the research to ensure its guidelines were adhered. An application to The University of Manchester’s Committee on the Ethics of Research on Human Beings was successful and approval was obtained prior to the research project commencing (www.manchester.ac.uk/research/environment/ethics).
• **BACP research guidelines.** The British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy has “Ethical guidelines for researching counselling and psychotherapy” Bond (2004, p. 1). This was adhered to and read in conjunction with the “Ethical Framework for Good Practice in Counselling and Psychotherapy” (BACP, 2013). According to Bond (2004) salient ethical issues for research consideration are:

  - Trustworthiness
  - Managing the risks of research
  - Relationships with research participants
  - Research integrity
  - Research governance

These key issues were a fundamental part of the study and my research supervisors were consulted on any ethical queries. Furthermore, the research was discussed in clinical supervision to ensure there were no safety concerns. Ethical issues were adhered to at all times, with transparency. Jenkins (2002; 2007; 2012; 2017) has written extensively about duty of care, trust and confidentiality towards clients regarding therapy and the law. I also applied these requirements towards my research participants. As recommended by Gray (2014) my safety was also taken into consideration and all of the interviews occurred in public places or over the telephone. I kept myself psychologically and emotionally grounded during the research process and I did not require counselling or debriefing due to hearing some of the participants’ traumatic life experiences. I did not experience any risk researching this sensitive topic or sharing some of the participants’ experiences and viewpoints at conferences. The conferences I have presented at thus far generally comprised audience members whom had an interest in research, academia, Muslim women et cetera. I greatly value my privacy and generally maintain a discreet profile in various aspects of my life. Hence, as I did not engage with any media sources, my research has not been recognized in the wider public domain as yet, and I did not perceive any safety concerns.

### 3.20 Resources and Timescale

I identified the following resources as vital components to successfully completing the research:
• **Communication.** Research supervision was crucial in discussing my research process on a regular basis. I was the founder of the Greater Manchester Diversity Researchers’ Forum. Seminars occurred 19/03/10 - 27/04/12. I established this forum to facilitate a researcher community among undergraduate/postgraduate, part time/full time researchers from various universities within the North and North West regions of England. A fellow researcher and I chaired these forums on a monthly basis and researchers presented their studies on topics such as; Policing Disorder in the Regenerating City, Criminalising Dissent in the War on Terror, Women in ICT Project Management in China, Visually Impaired Counsellors and Psychotherapists in Training, Researching British Muslim Radicalism, BME Professionals in the NHS, Clubs and Club Drugs, and British Muslim Fictions.

• **Research journal.** Periods of movement, times of non-transition, ideas and inspirational moments were noted. This contributed towards the creativity of analysing the data and surfacing of new material. My process of the research journey was written. During the last eighteen months of the research project, I made notes of anything significant which came into my awareness by entering this on to my mobile phone or writing this down on a post-it note so as not to lose this information; i.e. some women’s silence linked to not being shameless (2016), murdering your child does not bring shame, but them marrying without the family’s consent does? (2015), look up Southall Black Sisters website (2014). My research supervision notes were revisited to help me in the process of the thesis write-up. My research journal, in its various modes, was a clear audit trail of this investigation (Appendix 9). Dallos and Vetere (2005) highlight the importance of self reflexive analysis by researchers undertaking qualitative methods.

• **Timetable.** As noted by Orna and Stevens (2009) I devised a research schedule, which detailed research tasks in trimesters from September 2008 – September 2014 (Appendix 10). Being ill with pleurisy over a four month period from December 2010 – April 2011 resulted in a delay in the data generation process. Also, due to unforeseen, personal circumstances, it was not possible to achieve the tasks as planned and a submission pending period to 31/09/15 was obtained. Subsequent to this, two extensions were granted for ill health reasons. The
eighteen months leading up to the thesis submission deadline of 31/08/16 were particularly challenging for multiple health issues; surgery, plantar fasciitis, Achilles tendon inflammation, repetitive strain injury, very low vitamin D diagnosis of 29/75, and two episodes of stomach lining inflammation due to prescribed painkiller side effects.

3.21 Participant Selection
The following steps were undertaken in selecting research participants:

3.22 Participant Identification
I identified a number of organisations which had contact with the relevant population. I notified colleagues and other professionals of this research and asked fellow researchers to disseminate this information. Contact was established with counselling, mental health, support and general recreational organisations in the North West region of England and further afield, initially by a telephone call to introduce myself and the study. The research question and a brief explanation of participants’ criteria, confidentiality and interview process was outlined. Depending on whether any interest was generated, this procedure was followed up by an email letter (Appendix 11). Once potential participants contact details were obtained, I contacted them and arranged a pre-interview contact/meeting.

Research flyers (Appendix 12) were distributed to local community organisations, printed in a newsletter, emails sent to women’s refuges, health and wellbeing groups, healthcare professionals, community leaders, Muslim forums, Islamic Studies centres, several university Islamic Societies, Muslim councillors of political parties, and The University of Manchester student emailing lists for the School of Environment, Education and Development. I also disseminated flyers to libraries and takeaways in attempts to include participants from diverse backgrounds within the South Asian British Muslim diaspora. The participants were recruited from a variety of personal and professional biographical profiles to offer a wide and fair representation within South Asian British Muslim communities. However, no non-graduate males participated. As illustrated in the conclusion chapter, I have suggested their absence is taken into consideration in future research.
The publicising of my research, as described above, resulted in participants contacting myself via email, telephone or text message with their interest to partake. I ascertained they met the five categories of sample criterion as illustrated in section 3.18 before arranging a pre-interview meeting/telephone call as explained below in section 3.23. I did not obtain any information regarding their perceptions or experiences of honour and shame at this juncture as I aimed to obtain this data at the interview stage. All of the participants who made contact with myself were recruited for the study as they met the essential demographics stipulated regarding their gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion and age. I did not decline any potential participants as I did not receive contact from anyone who did not meet this specification.

3.23 Pre-Interview Meetings
A meeting was arranged on an individual basis to explain the aim of the study and research protocol. ‘Participant Information Sheet’ (Appendix 5) and ‘Participant Informed Consent’ (Appendix 6) documentation was provided to each participant. This meeting offered potential research participants an opportunity to raise any questions or obtain further clarity about the research and their role. After the two weeks’ contemplation period, the participants were contacted and mutually convenient interviews were arranged. Only one potential female participant did not attend the pre-interview meeting as arranged, and no subsequent appointment was arranged for her. Travel reimbursements were offered to all participants and only one of them accepted this. As per the ethics protocol, a maximum of £20:00 was paid and a receipt was issued. The interviews were conducted in private and quiet rooms at The University of Manchester, community centres or participants’ employment premises. The telephone interviews entailed a pre-interview telephone call and the same contemplation period process occurred as the face to face interviews.

3.24 Pilot Studies
Pilot studies were undertaken to assess the research process and questions. These were three individual interviews, one photo elicitation exercise and one focus group. As my ex-colleagues matched the demographic makeup of the sample criterion, I approached them on an individual basis. The rationale for selecting colleagues as participants was because they worked with vulnerable South Asian communities in the North West. Stewart and Shamdasani (2015) suggest in the process of conducting useful focus group research, it is important to ensure there is enough similarity and
common ground within the group to help facilitate a meaningful conversation in addition to sufficient diversity among the members to reveal differing perspectives, ideas and some creative tension. Therefore, I envisaged the participation of my ex-colleagues in the context of research and learning, would hopefully enhance their knowledge about these phenomena, which may then be of direct benefit to the clients they worked with.

The pilots were utilised as an essential tool in testing out the research design, conceptualization of the research interview, and Kvale and Brinkmann’s (2009) seven stages of interview process. The learning from the pilots resulted in modifications being made; i.e. formulation of the subsequent three defined research sub questions and ascertaining the participants’ religiosity. The pilots also affirmed my initial intention to include group interviews in the ensuing research practice to obtain qualitative data. Observations on non-verbal communication also contributed towards informative data as “the research interview is a flexible way of gathering research data that is detailed and personal” (McLeod, 2003, p. 74).

The data from the pilots has been included in the findings, analysis, discussion and conclusion of this thesis. The rationale for not excluding the pilot data from the main study was because I wanted to include all of the narratives in this study, regardless of whether they were derived from the pilots or thereafter. I wanted the voices and experiences of each participant to be heard and recognised with equality. Each participant invested their time, energy and personal aspects of themselves by partaking and I felt I would have been undertaking an injustice by not offering equal attention to the pilots as they merited, as per the main participants. Not including the data elicited by the pilots in the thesis, would have been unacceptable for myself as I valued their contribution with the same import as the main study participants. The pilot participants had also given their informed consent for their data to be incorporated in its entirety within this thesis and I fulfilled this process.

The data from all of the pilot and main study individual interviews, photo elicitation and focus groups generated throughout this study have been presented, critically analysed and discussed as a combined whole rather than divided sections based upon the type of data generation method. The reasoning for integrating all of the data as a whole was so
that it could be presented in a cohesive and thematic way, rather than being positioned in a fragmented manner based upon on how it was derived.

### 3.25 Opening and Closing of Interviews

All of the participants and I signed two copies of the ‘Participant Information Sheet’ (Appendix 5) and ‘Participant Informed Consent Form’ (Appendix 6) before the interviews commenced. One copy was given to the participants and another retained by myself. Again, an opportunity was offered to the participants for them to express any queries they may have before the interviews started.

The interviews commenced with questions regarding their demographics; i.e. age, ethnicity, marital status, education and occupation. This approach was adopted to obtain specific information and to build a rapport. This was followed by a semi-structured interview format, open questions with a balance between a directive and non-directive approach. This technique helped to ensure research questions were answered with opportunities for participants to engage, discuss and exchange views among themselves during the group exercises. For the individual interviews, an interview schedule was not utilised as my style as a researcher was to refer to the mind map I had designed which comprised of all they key elements to be explored in a compact and constructed format (Appendix 13). As suggested by Mason (2002) I did not interact with the participants with an entirely pre-scripted stance, but engaged with the participants in an organic way and explored the research topic in a manner which naturally flowed from one aspect to another as per their dialogue.

For the photo elicitation, one image at a time was produced for the research participants to share their interpretations of the impact of honour and shame. No information regarding the narratives of the images for the main study (Appendix 14) were offered until the end so as not to influence their interpretations of the visual stimulus. The data from the focus group was concentrated on the gendered differences of honour and shame.

The photo elicitation and focus groups were performed with the same people, and on some occasions, these were on the same day and environment, with a comfort break in between. The photo elicitation exercises were first, followed by the focus group. All of the interviews were 45 – 90 minutes duration and were drawn to a close by ascertaining
if the participants had anything further to add. Their interview experience was also ascertained. I thanked all of the participants for their time and conveyed my appreciation of their valuable contribution. Mutual goodbyes were expressed. After the participants’ departure, I noted my reflections. The audio recordings were retained in a safe and secure manner. The transcripts were typed by myself.

Towards the end of the interviews, I returned to the present situation and asked some non-emotive questions. The purpose for this was to bring the participants back to the present moment, sensitively facilitate them to focus on less deep material and to carefully bring the interview to a close. As a therapist, I always bring the clients back to the present towards the end of their session as part of a safeguarding strategy to ensure they are not left in an emotionally vulnerable way of being. I decided to adopt the same approach with the research participants as there was a possibility the research participants may be emotionally and/or psychologically affected by what they had shared or heard. I reiterated to the participants what was going to happen to the information which had materialized and reassured them that what they had shared would not be identifiable, and only I would transcribe the digital audio recording.

A specific research sub question was assigned to each research triangulation method to explore different aspects of honour and shame as illustrated in Table 1 on the following page.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British</td>
<td>Individual Interviews</td>
<td>Obtain individual attitudes and belief systems regarding the concept. Male and female direct perspectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim men and women?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and</td>
<td>Photo Elicitation Exercises</td>
<td>Participants’ reflection on how individuals and identities are affected and influenced by honour and shame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the gender differences in honour and shame for South Asian British</td>
<td>Focus Groups</td>
<td>Ascertain examples of gender differences and underlying reasons for this. Multiple perspectives to be obtained in one setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim men and women?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 – Research questions, qualitative method type and purpose of data generation method
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity &amp; Country of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Seating Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zara</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Mental Health Caseworker</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Community Development Worker</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yumnah</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Mental Health Caseworker</td>
<td>Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Counselling Caseworker</td>
<td>Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabeen</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Indian Kenya</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A’ Levels</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariq</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Law Graduate</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neelam</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 – Pilot study photo elicitation and pilot focus group research participants’ demographic information
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity &amp; Country of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Telephone or Face to Face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rawahah</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bangladeshi England</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Mental Health Community Development Worker</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Community Development Worker</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(also participated in pilot photo elicitation and pilot focus group – see Table 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neelam</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(also participated in pilot photo elicitation and pilot focus group – see Table 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 – Individual pilot study research participants’ demographic information
The illustration below represents the participants’ demographic and personal data for the main PhD study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity &amp; Country of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>Telephone or Face to Face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nangial (individual interview)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>Chief Crown Prosecutor</td>
<td>Very devout &amp; spiritual. Not x5 daily prayers</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shafia (individual interview)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Scotland</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Clinical Auditor</td>
<td>Hijab. Fasts. Tries to pray x5 daily</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali (individual interview)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Indian England</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Friday prayers. Spiritual. Has alcohol &amp; pork. Very connected to God.</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saabira (individual interview)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bangladeshi Bangladesh</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Mental Health Link Worker</td>
<td>Hijab. Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamza (individual interview)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Indian India</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>Community Development Officer</td>
<td>Meditates. Not practising.</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 – Participants’ demographic information for the main study
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity &amp; Country of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>Telephone or Face to Face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noreen (photo elicitation)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Matric (secondary school)</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Hijab, abaya nigab, Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junaid (individual interview)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Indian England</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Tries to pray regularly</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaafirah (individual interview)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bangladeshi England</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Unpaid Internship</td>
<td>Hijab, Struggles with physical rituals</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophia (individual interview)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Retired Education Officer</td>
<td>No hijab. Islam affects her whole being</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmal (individual interview)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bangladeshi Bangladesh</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Student &amp; Customer Service</td>
<td>Occasional prayers. No alcohol/pork/smoking.</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zainab (individual interview)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Indian India</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BSC Degree</td>
<td>Retired Forensic Nurse</td>
<td>No hijab. Fasts. Prays often</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fazila (individual interview)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Hijab &amp; abaya, Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 – Participants’ demographic information for the main study
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity &amp; Country of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>Telephone or Face to Face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gulshan</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Research Fellow</td>
<td>No hijab, Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feroz</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Not disclosed</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Read exegesis of the Qur’an</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amna</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Hijab &amp; abaya, Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qabila</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Freelancer</td>
<td>No hijab, Deeply religious</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lujaina</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bangladeshi England</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Student &amp; Sales Assistant</td>
<td>No hijab, Religion is a big influence</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleena</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Hijab, Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mifzal</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bangladeshi Bangladesh</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>Doesn’t practise properly</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 – Participants’ demographic information for the main study
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity &amp; Country of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>Telephone or Face to Face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shareen (photo elicitation and focus group)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Hijab, Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mavisha (individual interview)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani England</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>No hijab, Prays x5 daily</td>
<td>Face to Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismail (individual interview)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bangladeshi Bangladesh</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Carer, Student &amp; Imam</td>
<td>Very high level of practice</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 – Participants’ demographic information for the main study
3.26 Data Generation Experiences of Individual Interviews

The pilot individual interviews were undertaken with three participants (Table 3). Nineteen participants engaged in individual interviews for the main study (Table 4). A mind map (Appendix 13) was utilised as an interview guide, which I showed to the participants at the beginning of the interview, and explained I would be referring to this as I conducted the interview. In order to enable the readers of this thesis to have a clearer understanding of the research questions and how the participants were invited to answer them, an interview schedule was designed subsequently to the data generation stage (Appendix 15). As suggested by Mason (2002) the substance, style, scope and sequence of the questions were carefully considered. The questions were situated into four categories; opening of the interviews, honour focus, shame focus and closing of the interviews. The rationale for this strategy was to incorporate some flow and fluidity, rather than questions being randomly asked.

All of the questions were asked in a clear, direct and open ended manner to elicit the data for the research question. All of the participants, except Noreen (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P) as noted in 3.27, remained focussed on the topic. I felt a professional research relationship was established and maintained with all of the participants, irrespective of the gender differences. I did not feel there was a significant education imbalance between the participants and I as the majority of them were university graduates, and two undergraduates. There appeared to be a general mutual understanding of our vocabulary without the need to adjust our natural lexes. Most of the interviews were conversed in English, with some participants including terminology in Arabic, Bangla, Punjabi or Urdu, which I reciprocated as appropriate. Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) was the only participant who declined to answer one of my questions. When I asked him how he would describe his marital status, he quietly responded with “please, just leave this…” I sensed this was a sensitive topic for him and, thus, did not consider it appropriate to ask him if he had any children.

As no non-graduate males participated in the study, I am left to speculate whether there may have been a more palpable unequal power and equality dynamic in those research relationships due to the disproportionate education disparities that would have been present between them and I.
I note, there was an interesting difference in what appeared to be inhibited and uninhibited vocabulary expressed by the participants. The males were very polite and did not express any words which could have been perceived as being offensive. In juxtapose, some of the females articulated lexicon which included “piss off”, “slag”, “harlot” and “tart” as they talked about their narratives. I found the female discourse very interesting, particularly as I am not accustomed to hearing such language in any aspects of my life. The significant gender and research dynamics are further explored in the conclusion chapter and also in my published book chapter (Mansoor, 2015a) (Appendix 16).

3.27 Data Generation Experiences of Photo Elicitation Exercises

For the pilot, seven persons who were my colleagues at the time of the study were recruited for the photo elicitation pilot exercise. They were all South Asian British Muslims and aged above eighteen. They were employed in the fields of social work, counselling, mental health, management and community development. As per the research protocol, the ‘Participant Information Sheet’ (Appendix 5) and ‘Participant Informed Consent Form’ (Appendix 6) documentation was completed after the two week contemplation period and prior to the exercise commencing. The exercise took place in the manager’s office and tea, coffee and water was available for the participants. In order to facilitate participant empowerment, I did not decide upon the seating arrangements, but, invited the participants to choose where they wished to be seated. Depending on their comfortableness preferences, some participants chose to sit on chairs and others on the floor. This exercise was conducted as part of a Qualitative Data Generation Module as per the course requirement. As noted in section 3.14, the participants were not asked to answer a research question for this exercise, but to offer their interpretations of the images (Rose, 2016). However, they were aware this task was in relation to my PhD regarding honour and shame.

The images I selected for this pilot derived from an autobiographical narrative of a British Muslim woman raised in England called Zana Muhsen. At the age of fifteen, she was taken by her father to Yemen for a ‘holiday.’ Upon her arrival in Yemen, she was sold into a forced marriage by her father for £1300 and held captive there for eight years (Muhsen and Crofts, 1994). Zana’s sister Nadia, at the age of fourteen, was also sold into a forced marriage. At the time of this exercise, Nadia remained captive in
Yemen. A brief description of the narratives pertaining to the images is enclosed in the appendices (Appendix 17).

The rationale for selecting these images was because honour and shame concepts underpinned this narrative. The faith and nationality of the two women in this autobiography was the same as the research participants. There were some similarities regarding cultural identities, albeit, there were racial and ethnic differences. I produced two sets of the twelve scanned and printed images and concealed the captions of each image with a strip of card. Apart from the first and last image, which illustrated Zana in England before her trip to Yemen, and then upon her return after being released and reunited with her mother in England, I wrote in non-chronological order ‘Photograph One’, ‘Photograph Two’ and so forth on the strip of card. I considered it important to illustrate the images in the natural order of how this narrative unfolded as I wanted the photographs to represent the authentic timeline of its innocent beginning, traumatic middle and happy reunion at the end.

The participants were requested not to remove the concealed captions as I would share the story behind the images after all twelve photographs were discussed. I deliberately presented the images without any visible captions as I wanted the participants’ interpretations and discussion to emerge without being influenced by any text connected to the visual stimulus. My facilitation of this exercise was in alignment with Miles and Kaplan (2005) who “chose not to supplement the images with their own descriptions of what the photographs were showing (they preferred to allow a free and unbiased discussion)” (p. 81).

The participants were given one image at a time; i.e. one copy of ‘Photograph One’ was presented to the participants seated on the chairs, and another copy of ‘Photograph One’ presented to the participants on the floor. They were given time to individually absorb the image before passing it on to another colleague. After ‘Photograph One’ had been seen to everyone’s satisfaction, the participants were invited to share their interpretations to the group and discuss this further. This process was repeated for the twelve images which included interpretations and discussions of several minutes after each photograph was analysed.
The participants were intrigued by the photo elicitation exercise and enthusiastically engaged with this. They were very vocal in expressing their viewpoints. Towards the end of the exercise, I revealed the story behind the images. The participants were visibly astounded. There were gasps of “oh my God”, “bay-ghairat” and “tauba!” There was a unanimous “Ugh!” from all of the participants when I held up and disclosed ‘Photograph Nine’ was the father. The participants compared how strikingly different Zana and Nadia looked in the UK compared to Yemen. They expressed their thoughts and feelings about the story behind the images, and how this was connected to honour and shame issues. They talked about the sadness they felt upon learning about Zana and Nadia’s experiences.

I thanked the participants at the end of the exercise and brought the activity to a close. I confirmed a focus group would commence after a short comfort break. At this juncture, Neelam (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P) arose from the floor and in a very quiet and slow intonation declared “s-o n-o-w I w-i-l-l- m-a-k-e- m-y w-a-y out” and deliberately stamped on the father’s face in ‘Photograph Nine’ as she left the room. Loud applause, cheers and laughter spontaneously ensued. Jabeen (G:F,A:53,CB:K,E:I) placed her shoe on the same image and said “stab it!”. Rana (G:F,A:39,CB:ENG,E:P) suggested the photograph could be created into a dartboard. As I collected all of the images after everyone had left, I noticed Tariq (G:M,A:42,CB:P,E:P) had silently drawn a hangman’s noose around the head of the father. The participants verbal and physical reactions of shock, horror, disgust and outrage are explored in section 5.13 of the discussion chapter and also documented in my book chapter (Mansoor, 2015b) (Appendix 18). The pilot focus group occurred with the same participants after a short comfort break following the photo elicitation exercise. They naturally discussed the honour and shame phenomena without any prompting from myself.

For the main study, I opted to use a different set of images. The rationale for this was twofold. Firstly, I considered the dramatic responses by the participants of the photo elicitation pilot a unique experience. I had no desire attempting to replicate, contrast or compare the pilot with future exercises by utilising the same images with different participants. Secondly, upon reflection, I considered it pertinent to utilise images which were more connected to South Asian British Muslim identities as these were central factors of my research study. I also selected some images which included ‘honour’ and ‘shame’ in their headings. All of these photographs were held in the public domain and
derived from internet searches or book covers. A brief description of the narratives pertaining to the main study images is in enclosed in the appendices (Appendix 19). The participants who contributed towards the main study photo elicitation exercise were Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P), Noreen (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P) and Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P). Their demographics are illustrated in Table 4. Amna and Shareen also participated in the main study focus group which was held on a different day.

As there were only three participants for the main study photo elicitation exercise, one set of images was prepared. The participants were offered no explanation of the history or context of the images. They were made aware an explanation would be offered towards the end of the exercise. One image at a time was introduced and the participants were asked to share their interpretations in relation to the research question ‘What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?’

**Noreen (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P)** was the only participant throughout all of this research study who spoke mainly in a non-English language. She spoke predominantly in Urdu. She had migrated from Pakistan upon marriage to a UK spouse. She was attending English language classes in the UK and had not engaged in education beyond secondary school in Pakistan. Noreen constantly focussed upon Islamic perspectives and theological matters as she digressed from the research question. Despite polite reminders from myself regarding the study focus, and the other participants asking her to discuss and answer the research question, she continued to focus on religious matters. Faith appeared to be a central focus in her life and she expressed Islam was applicable to all Muslims, at all times. I attempted to re-establish the focus by acknowledging Islam, honour and shame were part of the research. However, the study encompassed other areas which were important and I also wanted to hear her views regarding those aspects. It seemed she viewed the world, and hence, the research exercise, only through a religious lens. Her faith appeared pivotal to her identity and she wore a hijab, niqab and abaya. **Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P)** talked in a combination of Urdu and English, which consistently occurred within the same sentence.

The photo elicitation exercises necessitated I implemented an assortment of tasks, skills and techniques simultaneously. I was responsible for introducing the images,
facilitating the discussions, notetaking of nonverbal communication and being observant of anyone requiring my attention. In addition to this, I also created opportunities for all of the participants to express their viewpoints.

### 3.28 Data Generation Experiences of Focus Groups

The pilot study focus group occurred on the same day as the pilot photo elicitation exercise. After the participants’ visceral emotional reactions to the narrative appeared to have receded, the participants were offered a refreshment break before the focus group commenced. Although a research question was not posed for the pilot focus group, the participants naturally commenced discussing honour and shame concepts and narratives without any prompting from myself. I ensured all of the participants had opportunities to express their opinions and invited their responses by facilitating the participants input; i.e. “Any further comments?” and “[Participant name], is there anything you would like to say?” My approach appeared to be in harmony with Denscombe’s (2014) statement the researcher’s role in a focus group is to “facilitate the group interaction rather than lead the discussion… participants are encouraged to discuss the topic among themselves” (p. 189).

For the main study focus group, only Amna (G:F, A:39, CB:P, E:P) and Shareen (G:F, A:30, CB:P, E:P) attended. Noreen (G:F, A:28, CB:P, E:P) did not attend and did not communicate with myself she was going to be absent. The opening and closing of the focus group was facilitated as detailed in section 3.25. As recommended, there was a focus to this type of interview (Kumar, 2011; Marshall and Rossman, 2011). The participants were asked to discuss ‘What are the gender differences in honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?’

All of the participants were encouraged to express their opinions in an authentic manner as I reiterated there were no correct or incorrect answers to the question. I explained I was very much interested to hear what they had to say and it was absolutely fine if they had different opinions to each other. They were requested to be mindful of sharing at a level they felt comfortable with and there were no expectations on my part for them to divulge any information they did not wish to impart with. I conveyed to them that whatever they chose to share would be respected, accepted and valued.
The discussion between Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) and Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) revealed at times they agreed and disagreed upon what they considered gender based honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims. Their opinions provided an opportunity to gain some insight into their perceptions of male/female honour and shame, but also their reasoning which underpinned their way of thinking. At the end of the focus group, they both laughed and said I had witnessed their “arguments” during the focus group and photo elicitation exercise. They both expressed feeling surprised at discovering each other’s different beliefs regarding honour and shame.

3.29 Data Analysis

Qualitative data takes shape in many forms as there is no single type. According to Denscombe (2014) qualitative data can be derived from reports, interviews, diaries, interactions between people, events, cultural objects, artefacts and symbols. He states the format of data includes transcripts, talk, text, images, video recordings and photographs. There are numerous ways to analyse qualitative research data; e.g. grounded theory, phenomenological, narrative, co-operative inquiry and heuristic approaches. These potential forms of analysis are also methodologies which shape and restrict the findings. It is noted that despite these different methods, there are strategies which “depend on the systemic application of five fundamental ideas: immersion, categorisation, phenomenological reduction, triangulation and interpretation” (McLeod, 2003, p. 85). Qualitative research requires to be evaluated for its validity, which is more difficult compared to quantitative method as the latter’s instrument of measurement can be more accurately replicated. The following stages were entered and withdrawn at various periods, and in no particular order to gain an understanding and sense of wholeness as noted by McLeod:

Stage 1: Immersion. The researcher intensively reads or listens to material, assimilating as much of the explicit and implicit meaning as possible.

Stage 2: Categorisation. Systematically working through the data, assigning coding categories or identifying meanings within the various segments/units of the ‘text.’

Stage 3: Phenomenological reduction. Questioning or interrogating the meanings or categories that have been developed. Are there any other ways of looking at the data?
Stage 4: **Triangulation.** Sorting through the categories. Deciding which categories are recurring and central and which are less significant or are invalid or mistaken.

Stage 5: **Interpretation.** Making sense of the data from a wider perspective. Constructing a model, or using an established theory to explicate the findings of the study. (McLeod, 2003, p. 85).

3.30 **Transcriptions**

All of the research interviews were transcribed verbatim, including significant moments; i.e. raised voices, pauses, hesitations, sighs, interruptions, laughter and crying et cetera. This way of working was consonant with “as you make the transcription you are already translating from one kind of language into another, from something that was designed to be heard, into something that is meant to be read” (Parker, 2005, p. 65). The recordings were listened to and read a number of times to assist the auditory and visual analysis, and to absorb the essence of the interviews to “get a sense of the meaning of the text as a whole” (McLeod, 1999, p. 128).

3.31 **Thematic Analysis**

Analysing qualitative data involves a process of detection, defining, categorizing, theorizing, exploring and mapping (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). Using a framework helps the analyst to work with the copious amount of data generated and incorporate all of these interconnected stages to assist in making sense of the data in a coherent and structured manner to creatively offer meaning to the data. Ritchie and Spencer (2002) illustrate the following five stages in qualitative data analysis involved in framework; familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, mapping and interpretation. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) view qualitative data analysis as three concurrent flows of activity; data condensation, data display and conclusion drawing/verification. Braun and Clarke (2013b) state thematic analysis is flexible and its analysis processes are common to most aspects of qualitative research.

I note, thematic analysis was utilised as an appropriate approach to analyse sensitive data in previous studies regarding British Muslim women and virginity (Amer et al., 2015), a two year Department of Health qualitative study with Bangladeshi social workers regarding their perception of Bangladeshi women’s mental illness, well-being, sources of stress and service provision (Barn, 2008) and sexual education research with young British Bangladeshis and their mothers (Griffiths et al., 2008).
I opted to use thematic analysis as this is a process used as part of many qualitative methods and, therefore, it is not a separate method. It is a way of analysing data and identifying themes within, and across, transcripts. This method is particularly popular with researchers from human science disciplines; i.e. sociology, anthropology and psychology. Sanders and Wilkins (2010) write the objective of thematic analysis is “to offer a rich description and/or interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation… the researcher is looking for ‘meaning’ rather than try to prove or disprove a hypothesis” (p. 214).

Winter (1992) notes thematic analysis assists in communicating observation, findings and interpretation of meaning to scholars who are using different methods. Searching for themes can be undertaken in analysing qualitative data from a number of other approaches; grounded theory, critical discourse analysis, qualitative content analysis and narrative analysis. Data such as interview transcripts, diaries, historical documents, memoirs and videotaped encounters among others, can be analysed using this process.

Boyatzis (1998) describes this process as a way of “seeing” the data, which consists of four phases of inquiry. The first step is to perceive a pattern or theme within the data, which describes and interprets key aspects of the phenomenon. A theme is identified within the data at two levels, manifest (directly observable in the information) and latent (underlying within the phenomenon). The theme may derive inductively from the actual data or be produced deductively from theory or previous research. Links to any specific or all identified patterns of meaning within the data can then be made. Bryman (2012) writes repetition of text per se is not a criterion for that to be considered a theme as “most importantly it must be relevant to the investigation’s research question or research focus” (p. 580).

The second step is to perform the process with reliability ensuring the significant moment is recognised and coded with consistency, which will strengthen the research validity. The third step is encoding the pattern. This involves identifying parts of the text and attaching a name to it, which then represents a code. Ezzy (2002) writes coding is “the process of identifying themes or concepts that are in the data. The researcher attempts to build a systematic account of what has been observed and recorded” (p. 86). A code may be derived from a number or themes, a complex model with themes, indicators, and qualifications that are causally related, or something in
between these two forms. When a number of codes are compiled or integrated in a research study, this is referred as a codebook (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Thematic codes may be developed theory driven, prior data/research driven or data driven (inductive). A thematic code should capture the qualitative richness of the phenomenon and needs to be utilised in the analysis, interpretation, and presentation stages of the study. Babbie (2014) notes “the key process in the analysis of qualitative social research data is coding – classifying or categorizing individual pieces of data – coupled with some kind of retrieval system” (p. 409).

The fourth step is interpreting the identified pattern which requires “interpreting the information and themes in the context of a theory or conceptual framework – that is, contributing to the development of knowledge” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 11). Eisner considers the following questions are of importance in the interpretation:

- What does a situation mean?
- What is its significance?
- What gives rise to it?
- How can it be explained?
- What theoretical ideas help us understand the action that has taken place?
- Are other interpretations possible?
- Are they competitive?
- If so can they be resolved or do we live with multiple interpretations? (Eisner, 2003, p. 23).

Braun and Clarke (2006) incorporate two further steps to this process which includes the researcher initially familiarizing his/herself with the data and lastly producing a report. All six of these phases were incorporated within my research. I commenced the initial thematic analysis process by typing up the interview transcripts.

### 3.32 Thematic Analysis Coding

All of the codes were generated inductively (Dawson, 2009; Gray, 2014) and intended to be sensitive to the context of the material. I did not develop any theory driven codes as I did not wish to identify codes influenced by theory or previous research. It is recognized that reduced interrater reliability and validity is usually a result of a theory driven approach. The codes were developed following the five steps recommended by Boyatzis (1998); data reduction, themes identified, themes comparisons, code development and determining the code reliability. As I read and absorbed the
transcripts, I wrote notes on the transcripts of the codes I perceived from the data and a separate code list was created. I do not claim the findings from my study are an indication of wider generalizations of South Asian British Muslims as they derived solely from the data of thirty research participants.

The purpose of this phase was to produce codes to help organise the raw data into meaningful groups. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) write “codes are prompts or triggers for deep reflection on the data’s meanings” (p. 73). Clarke, Braun and Hayfield (2015) state the codes are clustered together to “create a plausible mapping of key patterns in the data” (p. 23). The text was carefully analysed and significant words or ideas were noted as preliminary codes which were initially identified at the manifest and latent levels (Braun and Clarke, 2013a) (Appendix 20). Detailed analysis continued and emerging patterns of key words were highlighted by colour classification for direct identification; i.e. ‘honour’ was highlighted in turquoise colour every time it appeared within the transcripts. A different colour was introduced as I identified new patterns from within each unit of analysis, which may have been a single word, one sentence or a whole paragraph. At times a multitude of colours were allocated to each unit of analysis. Thus, each emerging pattern was colour coded. This process resulted in the words illustrated in Table 5 below initially being colour coded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honour</th>
<th>Shame</th>
<th>Islam</th>
<th>Relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Consequences</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 – Original thematic analysis seven main themes

3.33 Themes
Theme development occurred after the codes were identified and arranged into a list. It was necessary to create themes which consisted of codes as this process assisted in the reduction of raw material into manageable pieces to work with. The coloured patterns identified from the data became the provisional main seven themes (Table 5). The text within each coloured theme was placed together and potential sub themes were then identified from them. This process was repeated as I returned to reading the data several times and searched for any patterns which I may have previously unnoticed. This contemplation period took significant time as I searched for alternative ways of
seeing and making sense of the data within each transcript, and also across the transcripts. Hence, I was immersed in revisiting the data during the process of coding, colouring, and identifying the main and sub themes. Each unit of text was read numerous times to fully absorb the narrative and to obtain a deeper sense of the nuances hidden within the layers of the explicit data. Some themes were evident at the manifest level (Braun and Clarke, 2013a); i.e. honour, shame, relationships, and they were noted as important aspects of the data. Upon closer exploration, significant themes were discovered at subtle, latent levels (Braun and Clarke, 2013a); i.e. emotional and financial.

Upon further considerations, it was decided to produce the findings in two sections; honour and shame. New main and sub themes were then identified and placed within these two sections. All of the main themes were identified inductively from the data (Dawson, 2009; Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015) as the participants verbalised these terms with some repetition throughout their narratives. This resulted in the names of the initial seven main themes and numerous sub themes being altered. The final seven main themes which “describe the essence of the collected stories” (Sanders and Wilkins, 2010, p. 215) and derived from the honour and shame sections were:

**Psychological, Emotional, Physical, Sexual, Financial, Relationships and Islam.**

I agree with Braun and Clarke (2006) that the frequency of a particular theme occurring within a text, does not necessarily determine that theme to be of more significance compared to a sporadic theme. Bestowing greater attention to themes based upon the number of their occurrences, would have introduced a quantitative element into a fundamentally qualitative analysis process. For me, the importance of a theme was determined by the perceived essence and meaning of what that theme represented and how it answered the research question. Braun and Clarke state:

> A theme might be given considerable space in some data items, and little or none in others, or it might appear in relatively little of the data set. So, researcher judgement is necessary to determine what a theme is... you need to retain some flexibility, and rigid rules really do not work. (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 82).
Holliday (2002) notes “thematic headings can emerge entirely from the corpus of raw data, or may sometimes relate to the stages in data collection, or can be both” (p. 121). Codes which were similar or connected were clustered together to form a main theme. Repetition of analysing and clustering the codes continued until no further additions could be made to the themes, and no additional themes could be produced. In order to create defined codes, the text and themes identified were read repeatedly to make connections among the themes. I followed the guidelines offered by Braun and Clark:

> Work systematically through the entire data set, giving full and equal attention to each data item, and identify interesting aspects in the data items that may form the basis of repeated patterns (themes) across the data set. (Braun and Clark, 2006, p. 89).

At times, it was challenging to decide which code to place in a particular main and sub theme. I connected with my own internal research supervisor and revisited the research question and transcripts. I also consulted my research supervisors for guidance. This resulted in additional codes, and existing codes were moved to another theme or placed in more than one theme (Gray, 2014). Hence, some of the data has been allocated in more than one theme. For example; male homosexuality has been placed within the ‘Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships and Male Homosexuality’ and ‘Secrecy’ sub themes within the main honour and shame sections. Similarly, codes such as; pride, abuse, image, traumatized, warning, disowned, male homosexuality, kissing, control, ashamed, damage, Islam, attitudes, chaste, respect, status, dead, sexuality, consequences, elopement, scrutiny and rich have also been placed within the multiple honour and shame sub themes.

Throughout the analysis stage, I realised the fluidness of the narratives and text did not necessarily belong in one theme. At times, the participants started to talk about a particular aspect of honour and shame, and as they expressed themselves, they changed the focus to a different aspect of this phenomenon. Hence, their narratives switched from one theme to another within a single unit of text. I acknowledge how and where I positioned the text stemmed from my subjective analysis and another researcher may have reached a different decision. The process of condensing the vast of amount of data from thirty participants was challenging.
The process of identifying themes and codes ceased when no further themes or codes emerged from the text. This resulted in the initial seven main themes and numerous sub themes, which were colour coded on to flip chart paper. This evidence is in the appendices (Appendix 21). The revised main themes, sub themes and codes are illustrated in the findings chapter. Some samples of the thematic analysis process from seven transcripts are illustrated in the appendices (Appendix 22).

3.34 Validity, Reliability and Trustworthiness

These three concepts are fundamental aspects in assessing the research investigation. This criterion has to be taken into consideration during the methodological process and quite often, the findings from a research project are subject to critique by the strength of its validity, reliability and trustworthiness. Morse et al. (2002) contend reliability and validity is given a substantial amount of attention within all research methods and without rigour, the research is worthless, becomes fiction and loses its utility. They argue strategies such as investigator responsiveness, methodological coherence, theoretical sampling, sampling adequacy, an active analytic stance and saturation must be built into the qualitative research process to ensure rigor, reliability and validity of the completed study.

Robson (2002) defines validity as “the degree to which what is observed or measured is the same as what was purported to be observed or measured” (p. 553). Flick (2002) writes reliability within qualitative research requires the origin of the data to be explicated in a way so it is possible to check what is a statement of the subject and where the researcher’s interpretation is conveyed. She suggests clear training and rechecking of the procedures in the field or interview and with the text to improve the comparability of different interviewers’ or observers’ conduct. She notes documenting the whole research process increases the research reliability. Trustworthiness is a “general, neutral term, referring to the extent to which one can have trust or confidence in a study and its findings” (Robson, 2002, p. 553). Ballinger (2014) writes in order to facilitate trustworthiness in her research, she created an electronic audit trail, retained a research journal, and consulted trainer colleagues regarding the analysis. I also maintained similar processes.

All of the research exercises were explicitly explained with transparency and I made every effort to adopt a non-leading stance. It would be inaccurate to suggest my
presence did not have any impact on the data generation process. How I affected the research dynamics is explored in the discussion chapter. My personal opinions regarding the concept of honour and shame were not disclosed as I did not wish to influence the participants’ data by my views. I have demonstrated a clear, audit trail from the conception to the conclusion of this research. Evidential documentation is enclosed in the appendices. Pilot study transcripts were made available to those participants to read. From the main study, three transcripts were submitted to the participants whose pseudonyms were the 1st, 13th and 26th letters of the alphabet. Apart from some minor spelling and punctuation errors, they were verified as accurate manuscripts. I propose this action contributed towards the trustworthiness of the data produced.

3.35 Reflexivity
Within qualitative studies, the researcher’s reflexivity has become increasingly significant. I suggest the researcher’s position is pivotal to how the study develops and what is included/excluded during this process. My demographics, personal, professional and academic background, attitudes, experiences and sociocultural environment all contributed towards this inquiry, which was linked to the trustworthiness of the findings. The meaning of reflexivity appears subjective to each individual. Finlay and Gough write:

Some researchers utilise reflexivity to introspect, as a source of personal insight, while others employ it to interrogate the rhetoric underlying shared social discourses. Some treat it as a methodological tool to ensure ‘truth’, while others exploit it as a weapon to undermine truth-claims. (Finlay and Gough, 2003, p. ix).

I concur with Etherington’s statement:

I understand researcher reflexivity as the capacity of the researcher to acknowledge how their own experiences and contexts (which might be fluid and changing) inform the process and outcomes of inquiry. (Etherington, 2004, p. 31-32).

Corbin and Strauss (2015) recommend researchers “must be self-reflective about how we influence the research process, and in turn, how it influences us” (p. 27). As noted by Holliday (2002) I was mindful of carrying my own cultural experiences, discourse
and presence into the research setting and acknowledge my focus of the findings derived from my way of engaging with the data.

Throughout my journey to becoming a PhD social scientist, I critically reflected upon the following questions:

- What is the research question?
- Why am I asking this?
- What meaning does this question have to myself?
- How meaningful is this question to others?
- Why am I conducting the research this way?
- What could I have done differently?
- How has this research impacted on myself?
- How has the research impacted on others?
- How have I impacted on the research process, and other people within, and outside, the research field?
- Why did I start a PhD?
- What have I learnt?
- What is my original contribution to knowledge?
- How will people receive my research?
- How will researchers and academics critique my research?
- How do I want to live my life after the PhD?

I discussed my subjective, reflexive positioning with peers, colleagues, friends and my research supervisors. I know my approach, gender, age and style of dress influenced how participants engaged with me and the topic, which is explored in the discussion chapter. Gorard (2013) writes “the researcher can not only unwittingly skew the results of the research once data has been collected, they can influence the research process from start to finish” (p. 165). Factors which may influence the objectives, process and outcomes of the research could be regarded as researcher bias. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) state researcher effects can lead into biased observations and inferences. They suggest biases could be reduced by triangulation of several data collection methods, remain focused on the research questions, obtain feedback from the participants, which can occur during the data collection and “avoid the “elite” bias by spreading out your participants; include lower status participants” (p. 298). My study included all of these processes.

The thematic analysis process of sensing themes, identifying codes, defining main and sub themes as per analysis of the findings were performed with consistency.
Consultations with my research supervisors ensured the validity, reliability and trustworthiness of this process. I propose thematic analysis was a very appropriate way to compare any similarities or differences within and across themes from the various datasets produced on a study of this scale. My researcher stance, each stage of the analysis process, findings and interpretation have been explicit with justification.

3.36 Summary
This chapter has demonstrated how the research was designed and implemented from the initial planning stages to the data analysis process. The rationale for the methodological design and how this consisted of a coherent strategy is clearly illustrated. The next chapter presents the main findings obtained from the implementation of this methodology.
4 FINDINGS

4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter illustrates the findings derived from this qualitative study as answers to the following research questions:

(1) What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?

(2) What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?

(3) What are the gender differences in male and female honour for South Asian British Muslims?

The illustration below depicts the honour and shame findings obtained from the data generation process. I selected and purchased the vector (www.shutterstock.com) as I considered it encapsulated the essence of honour and shame as per my study findings.

![Honour and Shame Diagram](www.shutterstock.com)

Figure 1 – Honour and Shame: Two sides of the same coin
4.2 Thematic Analysis Main Themes, Sub Themes and Codes

Thematic analysis was undertaken and seven main themes were identified;
**Psychological, Emotional, Physical, Sexual, Financial, Relationships, and Islam.**

This chapter initially focusses on the honour aspects of the findings. The shame section of the findings commences on page 178. The table below illustrates how the participants’ language contributed to the formation of the honour main and sub themes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honour Main Themes</th>
<th>Honour Sub Themes</th>
<th>Honour Participants’ Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One Psychological</td>
<td>Culture Collective</td>
<td>Thinking, mindset, inbred, psychological, understanding, beliefs, opinion, concept, perception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ingrained Respect,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dignity Reputation and Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Emotional</td>
<td>Collective Rules and Obligations</td>
<td>Feelings, cry, feel, emotions, sensitive, upset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females Ostracized</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Physical</td>
<td>Image Status</td>
<td>Image, abuse, clothes, physical, appearance, pure, standing, consequences, hijab, dishonoured, status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dishonour Consequences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Sexual</td>
<td>Reputation and Status Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships Gender Based Communication Barriers</td>
<td>Sex, male homosexuality, chastity, sexuality, virgin, sexual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Financial</td>
<td>Marital Wealth Considerations Status</td>
<td>Money, poor, finance, rich, financial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Relationships</td>
<td>Respect, Reputation and Status Gender Based Family Dynamics Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and Obligations Male Control and Abuse</td>
<td>Parents, siblings, extended family, teachers, friends, colleagues, society, peers, community, relationships.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 – Honour main and sub themes identified from the participants’ language.
In order to present the findings in a clear fashion, the findings are initially presented in one table for the honour focus and another table for shame. The seven main themes and subsequent sub themes are illustrated in each of the corresponding sections within both tables. Table 7 on the following pages illustrates the honour main and sub themes in addition to the thematic analysis codes. Table 8 in the shame section illustrates how the participants’ language contributed to the formation of the shame main and sub themes. Table 9 in the shame section depicts the shame main and sub themes, and the thematic analysis codes.

When the participants referred to specific South Asian countries or ethnicities, this has been noted in their quotations and/or my commentary. Otherwise, my commentary and their quotations referred to Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani nations and ethnic identities.
### Table 7 – Thematic analysis of honour main themes, sub themes and codes identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honour Main Themes</th>
<th>Honour Sub Themes</th>
<th>Honour Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>One Psychological</strong></td>
<td>Culture Collective Ingrained Respect, Dignity Reputation and Status</td>
<td>Izzat, female honour, male honour, family honour, mindset, neighbourhood, community, society, status, dishonour, culture, traditions, teachings, image, label, ghairat, training, men, embedded, pride, beliefs, struggle, identities, attitudes, overseas influences, nurture, ingrained, public, respect, psychological, truth, gendered boundaries, lies, dishonour, South Asian, shadow, dignity, control, inbuilt, nurture, human, family, Islam, childhood, community, tarnished, inbred, faith, parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two Emotional</strong></td>
<td>Collective Rules and Obligations Females Ostracized</td>
<td>Pride, strong collective bonds, success, we, verbal and non-verbal rules, die, respect, outcast, family, expectations, disowned, gendered role differences, society, exclusion, peace, honoured, not talking, downfall, obligations, funeral, love, ostracized, scared, risk, emotional, happy, felt, close, fear, cared for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three Physical</strong></td>
<td>Image Status Dishonour Consequences</td>
<td>Expectations, reputation, image, respect, traditions, attitudes, unblemished, amputations, culture, pure, hijab, scared, respect, poisonous injections, label, domestic abuse, Islamic dress, dishonoured, status, disowned, profession, consequences, education, warning, killed, dignity, force, pure, refuge, look, rich, dishonour, labelled, disgrace, perfect, tarnished, right, punishment, escaped, prostitute, result, conduct, dead, Christian/non-Muslim dress, class, truth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honour Main Themes</td>
<td>Honour Sub Themes</td>
<td>Honour Codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Four Sexual</strong></td>
<td>Reputation and Status Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships Gender Based Communication Barriers</td>
<td>Pre/extra marital affairs, slag, dishonour, marriage concerns, tart, dishonoured, reputation harm, chaste, psychological dishonour, non-mahrams, female virgins, illegitimacy, girlfriends, male homosexuality, bad girl, gendered separate lives, disowned, floozy, mahrams, damage, individual, family name, status, collective, harm, tatters, afraid, saving face, gender, wives, macho, don’t speak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Five Financial</strong></td>
<td>Marital Wealth Considerations Status</td>
<td>Property, money, rich, poor, wealthy, prestige, superior/inferior caste, income, cars, marriage proposals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Six Relationships</strong></td>
<td>Respect, Reputation and Status Gender Based Family Dynamics Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and Obligations Male Control and Abuse</td>
<td>Pride, family relationships/dynamics/bonds, stain, forced marriages, no friendships, patriarchy, forbidden love, male honour, arranged marriages, chauvinistic, female autonomy suppressed, abuse, honour rules, kissing, colleagues, attitudes, society, gender, terrorism, neighbours, sexuality, congruence, appreciated/unappreciated, male superiority, amicable, respect, choice, dictatorship, closeness, reputation, dominant fathers, female inferiority, friends, gendered differentiation, status, warning, daughter burden, ashamed, princesses, freedom, inequalities, object, damage, acceptance/non acceptance, family honour, control, broken down, rules, good, education, ownership, ghairat, suffer, disobeys, oppressed, assault, suppressed, degraded, torture, dual identity, scrutiny, good, ultra-traditional values, secretive life, sacrificing, alienated, family, no choice, label, dying, divorced, slapping, difficult, mental health, employment, discussion, separated, roles, obligations, responsibilities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 – Thematic analysis of honour main themes, sub themes and codes identification
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honour Main Themes</th>
<th>Honour Sub Themes</th>
<th>Honour Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seven Islam</strong></td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td><strong>Allah</strong> (swt), unconditional love, Islam, culture, modesty, rights, community spirit, <strong>nikah</strong>, chaste, merger, respect, perceptions, gossip forbidden, decent, dishonourable, good, portrayal, society, God, destroyed, Muslim converts, recommend, lowering the eyes, sexuality, male/female <strong>hijab</strong>, freedom, sins, Muslim identities, Muhammad (pbuh), <strong>nigab</strong>, honourable, <strong>burkhas</strong>, religious practise, male and female homosexuality, beards, non-mahrams, lost hope, untruths, generations, oppressive, angels, covering up, reputation, family, misinterpreted, faith, societal, prayers, education, protecting, beautiful, liberating, shameless, revenge, assumptions, gendered equality, un-Islamic practices, control, <strong>haya</strong>, illiterate, rights, values, Islam, belief/non-belief in <strong>Shariah Law</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender Based Family Dynamics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modesty within Islam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perceptions of Visible Muslims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Misinterpretations of the Islamic Faith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Teaching of Islamic Principles Recommendations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 – Thematic analysis of honour main themes, sub themes and codes identification
4.3 Findings Process

All of the participants were allocated pseudonyms to protect their identities. To demonstrate research transparency, the transcript page numbers are included and correspond with the sentenced quotations for each participant. Data I considered pertinent in answering the research question was incorporated in this chapter. I made the editorial decision to be selective and exclude data which was superfluous and not directly related to the research focus. Hence, the following pages hopefully captured the essence of the richness, texture, nuances and quality of the participants’ voices, experiences, thoughts, feelings and personal journeys. Italics represent the participants’ quotations and words spoken with particular emphasis were highlighted in bold text. Hyphenated text indicates the slow pronunciation of lexis.

My commentary is offered to illustrate the patterns and themes which emerged from the data, and also connect the narratives in a more cohesive manner. I have attempted to present a balance of the participants voices and my own vocalization in order to connect their words into a chain of meaning. Text placed within quotation marks within my commentary represents the words spoken by the participants. Due to the thesis word count limitations, I have not included the narratives for all of the images of the main photo elicitation exercise, but selected quotations which were a vital part of the data. The narratives of images which the participants considered did not comprise of honour and shame issues, and did not raise any conflict of opinions, have not been included. The data connected to the images have been located within the context of the main and sub themes rather than creating a discrete, disjointed space for them.

4.4 Honour Section

The main and sub themes identified within the honour section are illustrated below.

4.5 Main Theme 1

Psychological

Honour emerged as a crucial theme for all of the participants. The majority of participants referred to “izzat” when they talked about honour. All of the participants talked about honour in a psychological sense. There was rhetoric that honour was “deeply embedded” within their lives from childhood onwards. This contributed towards how their perceptions, attitudes and beliefs regarding honour developed.
4.5.1 Sub Theme 1.1

Culture

Individual, collective, sociological and ethnic identities, behaviours and influences contributed towards how beliefs, customs and traditions maintained an honour culture which was deep-seated. Ali (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I) and Zainab (G:F,A:64,CB:I,E:I) talked about the complexities of honour. The quotation below illustrated the significance of culture with honour.

You can’t define it, you can’t really explain it, but it’s something that already exists within a culture, within a tradition. When I came out to my parents erm... honour was definitely involved because my parents told me that I’m not allowed to tell people in the community (Ali, p. 3-4) (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I).

Albeit, the participants were raised in diverse environments, honour based values, beliefs and principles appeared to be a perceptible underlying link which they all shared. Participants who were born and nurtured in the UK referred to having traditional, cultural upbringings to various degrees. There was a sense their South Asian and Muslim intersecting identities were significantly amalgamated within cultural notions and values of honour. Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) explained the potency of honour and how this was greatly valued regardless of one’s biographical profile.

Honour is a significant part of err Muslim society. Honour is above everything and anything else, regardless erm what social class and geographically where you come from and what education and background you have. Honour is always seen as the most significant and is inbred in you from your childhood (Mavisha, p. 3) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

The cultural influences of honour were also propagated by extended family members who lived abroad continuing to have significant authority in the family life of some South Asian British Muslims. Some South Asian British Muslim families chose to uphold outdated traditional honour and shame practices which were no longer practised in South Asia.

Things that are now seen as being ... wrong in Pakistan are still seen by those who emigrated from Pakistan to this country, as the way things should be. There is a
residual impact of homeland on home... we shouldn’t underestimate the influence the other country still has on people here (Nangial, p. 12-13) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.5.2 Sub Theme 1.2

Collective

All of the participants talked about how their notions of honour originated from the environments they were raised in. Their awareness and understanding of honour was influenced by many factors; i.e. mentors, religious books, society et cetera. Immediate and extended family members appeared to have had significant roles and input in the development of an honour based culture where the collective sense of honour was considered of more import than the individual. Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) explained which key persons consisted of the collective honour.

Parents, the rest of the family... aunts, uncles and everyone else in the extended family... the Muslim community as a whole (Gulshan, p. 2) (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P).

Honour issues were not confined to South Asian British Muslims who were of particular education or economic demographics. As a Chief Crown Prosecutor, Nangial (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P) disclosed the largest group of ethnic minorities who engaged in honour based violence and forced marriages in this country were South Asian British Muslims. Hamza (G:M,A:53,CB:LE:I) expressed honour was linked to following certain norms and etiquettes in societies. To “break or fall foul” of these resulted in dishonour. Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) highlighted there was a collective response from some South Asia British Muslim families, and men in particular, when they felt affronted by honour issues.

Its nurture, isn’t it? Honour is not something you kill over, which our men do. It’s not somebody that you abuse, and try and take control over. My family hired somebody to try and kill me. Why? Because I broke away from a relationship that you made for me? Because I could not take what this man was giving me? Because I could no longer err uphold my dad’s honour in the community? Because I couldn’t physically take it? That was my punishment for trying to save myself from breaking down and being institutionalized (Mavisha, p. 24-25) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).
There was a recurring theme of honour not being an attribute which was limited to individuals. The positives of family honour included feeling pride, respected and strength in their togetherness as a family unit.

_Honour is the glue that keeps the family together. In its positive form it is a very strong family sense and something the family erm... should be proud of because it means that erm they’re respected and they’re strong together (Nangial, p. 2)_ (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

**4.5.3 Sub Theme 1.3 Ingrained**

The participants expressed honour was “embedded” within them since childhood. Persons who provided the nurturing for them were key figures in how the honour concept was created. They had been “taught” to honour themselves, their families and communities. Some participants talked about how this “training” and “conditioning” had been delivered by numerous family members; parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles and so forth. Lujaina (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B) was the only participant who disclosed honour had not been “implanted” within her from her nuclear family upbringing, but by her extended family.

There were narratives of honour being so deeply instilled within persons, that for some South Asian British Muslims, honour appeared to be a necessity of life and was forever present. Mifzal (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B) articulated a profound statement that an absence of one’s honour was parallel to a person not even being a member of the human race.

_Without honour you don’t feel like a human being because you are the smartest and the greatest compared with other living beings. You have the feeling of honour inbuilt with you and in every step of your life, honour is the issue and as you mature, get your education and even in your professional life, the feeling gets very strong. (Mifzal, p. 5)_ (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B).
4.5.4 Sub Theme 1.4
Respect, Dignity, Reputation and Status

All of the participants shared the meaning of honour was associated with respect and izzat. Some participants expressed honour exceeded respect. Honour, respect and izzat were intertwined, and at times they were key factors in developing perceptions of appropriate/inappropriate male and female interactions. I have chosen a quotation from Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) which summarised the magnitude of honour.

[deep sigh] Yes, honour in terms of respect is always there. Sometimes honour is being used to create boundaries for the woman and the man. The issue of honour is extremely huge. Honour is too much. It is v-e-r-y important, sensitive, good, positive and sometimes not positive... it is a very important factor of our life (Feroz, p. 7) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

The dignity of individuals and their families was interconnected with honour. There were expectations for family dignity to be upheld which indicated their honour remained “intact.” Nangial (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P) explained honour was “positive” and shame was the “disrespect” that “flowed” from honour.

*Family should have dignity and that comes from the way you carry yourself erm within the family and to the greater society. Honour is not bringing shame to the family (Ismail, p. 3) (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B).*

All of the participants consistently expressed honour was interlocked with reputation and status. The male and family reputation was considered of greater significance compared to the reputation and status of individual females. Any damage sustained to male and/or family honour was described to result in collective reputations and statuses being “dishonoured”, “stained”, “tarnished” et cetera. The participants expressed females were considered the carriers of family honour.

*Getting divorced and remarried affects the honour of the family... male members of the family being dependent on substances can bring dishonour to the family, d-r-u-g-s, drinking alcohol, brings a bad name to the family and also to our status in the community. With a woman, a girl... that is our honour and if that honour is gone, then its tarnished the whole family (Ismail, p. 3-4) (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B).*
Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) described “honour traits” were not backbiting, not doing wrong to others and helping other people. Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) shared an “honourable person” was someone who did not lie, cheat or kill.

4.6. Main Theme 2

Emotional

All of the participants talked about the variety of feelings people experienced in relation to honour. The emotional response to honour fluctuated from positive feelings to negative ones, depending on perceptions of honourable/dishonourable conduct.

4.6.1 Sub Theme 2.1

Collective

All of the participants referred to many intricate layers that existed within honour. They were very much aware of how honour was directly linked to their own and/or a family member’s behaviour. There was a rhetoric honour was the core of one’s being and always present.

*It is always coming with you like your shadow* (Mifzal, p. 5) (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B)

The participants described how emotional bonds with family members and persons from the societies they were raised in remained strong despite the distance of locations among them in later life. Feelings experienced in relation to honour and shame remained intense and were not diluted due to discrete living domains. There was a shared sense of honour and shame being experienced collectively, rather than this being a solitary, emotional experience.

*You are never separated from your family or from your society, even if you live alone.*

Even if your parents are thousands of miles away from you, they will also feel ashamed if you do something wrong and they will be very honoured on your success (Mifzal, p. 6) (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B).
Communal feelings of honour and shame towards another person appeared customary. Some participants frequently referred to a plural sense of feeling honour and shame rather than from their individual perspective. There was consistent emphasis on “we” rather than “I.”

*We will feel honour and not shame towards the man because he is Islamically covered. We feel shame on the woman* (Shareen, p. 16, photograph 5) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

### 4.6.2 Sub Theme 2.2

**Rules and Obligations**

All of the participants referred to “rules” of honour which existed within families and communities, which people were obliged to adhere to at all times. These verbal and non-verbal rules were a guide to deciphering which type of conduct was allowed/disallowed. Pride was felt by family members when individuals upheld the expected honour rules.

The participants talked about different honour roles and expectations based upon gender were customary. Men were expected to be the main earners and providers for their families. Females were under no obligations to be in employment and financially support themselves and/or family members. However, females were expected to have particular characteristics which illustrated they were the personification of what impeccably Muslim girls and women should be. Fulfilling gender based rules and obligations appeared to elevate the family, and particularly the male, sense of pride and honour.

*The expectation is that she has to look good, act good and be a perfect girl. She has to be the ideal Muslim girl* (Lujaina, p. 6-7) (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B).

Families feeling honour and pride increased furthermore when females conformed to the honour based marriage proposal rules and customs.

*We actually felt honoured and proud because my sister, though being a very modern girl, she maintained the family rule as the guy came to propose and it was very much within the system* (Mifzal, p. 9) (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B).
4.6.3 Sub Theme 2.3
Females Ostracized
All of the participants expressed females who were considered not to have conformed to honour “codes” and “rules” were rejected to various degrees. Their exclusion appeared to be on a continuum of being subjected to a lack of communication, care and love from their families and/or communities to disownment.

One thing that has affected my life so much is the marrying and how you are either honoured or shunned in society. The area I’m from [Mirpur] they’re very much “you’re going to marry your cousin from back home.” I actually opted for the harder path of not having the arranged marriage erm I married somebody who is also of Pakistani origin erm of a different caste, also a Muslim. I’m still a bit of an outcast because of that [sounds hurt] and that was a downfall for me. I’m not on good terms with quite a few members of my extended family (Gulshan, p. 7-8) (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P).

There was a sense that females who were ostracized were not permitted to reconnect with their families and communities should they wish to do so. The emotional pain women experienced at being rejected by their families was particularly apparent in Gulshan’s (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) narrative.

For the last five years, I’ve been trying to resolve this situation, erm for the sake of peace from the family. One of my close family members said to me recently she never wanted to speak to me again e-v-e-r and if she were to die, she didn’t even want me at her funeral [emotional tone] (Gulshan, p. 11) (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.7 Main Theme 3
Physical
All of the participants talked about honour in a physical sense. Individual and collective honour appeared to be visible and subjected to praise or criticism depending on notions of what was considered appropriate/inappropriate comportment.

4.7.1 Sub Theme 3.1
Image
Image being linked to honour and shame emerged as a prominent sub theme. All of the participants talked about the expectations and pressures placed upon individuals and
families to present an unblemished image to their communities. The image of family and individuals was connected to their “reputation” and “status” within societies and Islam. More space has been allocated to this sub theme due to its richness and relevance to all of the participants.

As your family, you wanna look pure, the perfect family for other communities to look at. You don’t want anyone to think ‘o-h, m-y G-o-d, look there’s something wrong with this family’ (Zara, p. 6) (G:F,A30,CB:ENG,E:P).

An individual’s honour was connected to their public demeanour. Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P) explained honour meant an individual must not “disgrace” their family in the eyes of the public, particularly not their own community. Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B) considered personal honour was related to how one acted and dressed. What one ate and where one worked was also a reflection of their honour. Doing what was “right” and “perfect”, and also something for the community, without causing harm to anyone were other examples of an honourable image. Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) expressed how she presented herself was associated with honour. Her mother had told her not to talk loudly on the bus, and not to scream and run up to her friends should she see them in public. Her mother did not want her to have any male friendships.

A family deliberately marred the image of their daughter as an act of retribution when they felt she had dishonoured them by obtaining a divorce. Mavisha’s (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) narrative illustrated how her family chose to publicly damage her image and respect in order to salvage their own honour and respect in the public domain.

My mother, brother, father and husband really did dishonour me in the community. I was very confident and very well respected in my community. Now I’ve got a very negative image in the society [quietly spoken] even after seventeen years. As a punishment, my family told people that my character wasn’t good and I’d run off with twenty-eight different men who I didn’t know at all! [incongruent laugh]. That’s what’s tarnished my respect in the community because people don’t know what actually happened. Considering my family knew what I was going through, they were just trying to save their respect. So, they labelled their daughter equal to a prostitute “she
is dead as far as we’re concerned.” So they retained their honour and respect in the community (Mavisha, p. 8-9) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

Fear of individuals and their families being judged by community members was another reason why some South Asian British Muslims were very concerned about their public image. Shafia (G:F,A:28,CB:S,E:P) talked about individuals being an “ambassador” for their families. Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) and her mother started to wear the hijab when Zaafirah was aged nine due to her mother’s fear of them being judged when she became widowed. Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) and Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) had very opposing opinions regarding photograph 5 of the main study which depicted a Muslim man and woman in Western clothes. Amna challenged why honour and shame attention was only drawn to women. She considered it important that Muslim men should be dressed according to Islamic principles and not be exempt from this due to their gender.

I disagree with Shareen the man looks okay. If we focus on honour and shame, and stay within our values, then why is the man okay in this photo? We are objecting on the woman as she is not wearing Islamic dress or hijab. He is wearing totally Christian or non-Muslim dress, so why does honour and shame only come on the woman? We should focus on him too because he is not wearing Islamic hijab. Yes, men don’t need to cover their head, but he needs hijab too (Amna, p. 15, photograph 5) (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) [conflict of opinions between Amna and Shareen continued].

4.7.2 Sub Theme 3.2

Status

From the narratives, there was a sense that honour, which was tangible, was displayed with pride for public attention and admiration. Professional status was significant as this increased/decreased a family’s physical honour.

I always wanted to be a psychiatric nurse but erm it was considered beneath my family honour that someone like me, a bright, educated woman going into nursing was unthinkable (Zainab, p. 4) (G:F,A:64,CB:1,E:I).

Honour was also attached to hierarchal systems of education, lineage and proprietorship. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B), was raised in a middle class family in
Bangladesh, and graduated in Russia. She referred to honour being delineated by a class system. Her narrative indicated there were expectations that persons from the middle to upper classes would engage in lifestyles considered to be fitting of their status. This corroborated with Zainab’s (G:F,A:64,CB:I,E:I) family feeling a slight to their honour due to her nursing profession and their status.

In England, all jobs have dignity, but we don’t have that in Bangladesh. The people who work in knitwear factories in Bangladesh have got no educational, family background, no land, they come from erm like nothing. My sister was very rich, but I felt shame to ask her for money. I started work here in a knitwear factory. Only my husband and me used to know that I’m working. Even my children don’t know. I was feeling down. But in another sense, I was proud because I am not begging money. I’m earning. But still I used to feel very like it’s not an honourable thing to tell. I never said that “I’m a machinist.” After a few months, I felt very honoured to say “I am a part time interpreter from [north west city name] law centre” (Saabira, p. 7) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

4.7.3 Sub Theme 3.3

Dishonour Consequences

The ramifications of being caught up in honour and shame issues surfaced as a very intense theme. The severity of the consequences depended upon the gender of the person perceived by others to have engaged in improper conduct. All of the narratives were consistent in expressing females, irrespective of their age, received harsher punishments when they were viewed as the cause of dishonour. The consequences for females varied in resultant communication, disownment, safety and abuse.

I am aware of cases involving families where the daughter has become a prostitute erm… done as much as you can to go against what her family might think is appropriate yet they… simply disown her and that’s the end of the matter. In other scenarios, a single kiss can lead to her death. I don’t really differentiate between honour and shame… I think they’re two sides of the same coin (Nangial, p. 5-6) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

There were graphic examples of some families attempting to inflict harm upon female relatives whom they perceived to have caused them collective dishonour.
Dad’s honour [swallows] my family’s and husband’s honour was at stake... I had five young children, fleeing domestic abuse of every nature. When I was in a refuge, the men of the family traced me and all turned up and tried to force me to come home. Fortunately, I always escaped and sought help from outside... my family did this to try and keep hold of the honour they have built up and weren’t going to allow that to be erm reduced in any way... Dad tried on many occasions to erm get me to Pakistan so he can have me killed [quietly spoken]. He even threatened to give me a poisonous injection [swallows]. He discussed having my arms and legs amputated [clears throat] (Mavisha, p. 13 & 14) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.8 Main Theme 4
Sexual
All of the participants referred to honour being related to matters of a sexual nature. Heterosexual and male homosexual relationships within and outside marriages were discussed, which were underpinned by perceptions of sexually acceptable/unacceptable behaviours.

4.8.1 Sub Theme 4.1
Reputation and Status
All of the narratives indicated harm to reputation and status was consonant with dishonour. Female relatives who were considered to have erred with the honour codes, were customarily the target of avenging behaviour. Individual and collective reputations were seriously harmed if a person, particularly females, were involved in pre/non marital sexual relationships. Romantic relationships, which may not have included any physical intimacy, were also considered to negatively affect the honour and social standing of the person(s) involved in the relationships and their families. Male homosexuality was kept hidden due to fears of prospective family marriage proposals for females of the current and next generations being adversely affected.

Two of my uncles got divorced and one of them accused his wife of sleeping with the other one. The family’s name was in tatters. My dad was really worried about ... err my sister because she wasn’t getting any proposals... in the end she got married at the age of twenty-one, which was seen as being l-a-t-e in my community [Memon] [laughs]. She now has daughters. When I came out, my mum said ‘you can’t let the whole
community know, because we have to think about the daughters and people aren’t going to come and propose” (Ali, p. 8) (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I).

4.8.2 Sub Theme 4.2

Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships

Sexual relations outside the sanctity of marriage were a colossal loss of honour, with dishonour and shame being the result. Pre/non marital sexual intimacy was forbidden, especially for females.

If you have sex before marriage, a lot of people say that you don’t have honour anymore. A way of retaining your honour is to remain chaste until you get married (Zaafirah, p. 3) (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).

There was consistently more emphasis on male relatives feeling dishonoured if they discovered their female relatives were engaged in pre/non marital sexual activities. Some male relatives resorted to violence and murdering their daughters, sisters, nieces et cetera. Hamza (G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I) disclosed he would experience psychological dishonour if his daughter sexually transgressed.

I would feel a sense of being dishonoured and shame if I found out that my daughter was having sexual activities before she got married. Not that I would kill her, it would be more of a psychological dishonour as opposed to taking drastic steps (Hamza, p. 15) (G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I).

According to Fazila (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P), honour for Muslim males in their teens until their early twenties was focussed around how many girls they could “bag in a week.” From the narratives, there were different honour rules for some males who were sexually active outside marital relationships. Their sexual interactions were considered acceptable by themselves and their peers. However, they and their peers refused to marry females who may also have been sexually active prior to marriage.

At college, I only had male friends and... they weren’t virgins, but when they spoke about a wife it was “no, she has to be a virgin.” So, they’re ingrained and raised with this idea [incongruent laugh] that’s where their honour comes from; a wife that’s a virgin (Fazila, p. 24) (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P).
Contradictory to the above quotation, Junaid (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I) expressed male honour was related to men abstaining from looking at sexual material and not engaging in pre/non marital sexual relationships. There were also indications of some parents having more gender equal sexual expectations from their offspring. However, there were some ingrained attitudes that girls who were considered acceptable for courtships, were unacceptable as wives.

*My parents expected my brother to behave in a certain way and he did that. He never dated because my parents would have been horrified. A couple of his friends did and that was seen in the context of 'there are girls you go out with and there are girls you marry' (Zainab, p. 8) (G:F,A:64,CB:ENG,E:I).*

Females who became pregnant out of wedlock frequently experienced a double rejection. They were renounced by their families and also disconnected from their communities.

*I know a girl that did get pregnant and her parents disowned her. No one was talking to her (Lujaina, p. 7) (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B).*

4.8.3 Sub Theme 4.3

Gender Based Communication Barriers

Communication within and outside the family dynamics seemed to be limited due to differences in sexuality, gender and perspectives. Ali’s (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I) narrative depicted the stigma attached to male sexuality.

*I came out to my parents three, four years ago. My mum thought about it every day for a year but I think she’s come round… me and my dad still don’t talk about that kind of thing. My dad is... definitely afraid of a lot of people finding out his son is gay because my dad is very macho. You can’t live within the community if you are homosexual (Ali, p. 4-5) (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I).*

Fazila (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P), Ali (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I), Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) and Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) shared some families and communities maintained discrete spaces between males and females due to honour perceptions. They described how this physical division resulted in men and women...
living “very separate” lives as there was limited “mixing” between them. From Fazila’s (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) narrative, there had been a significant movement in her understanding of sexual honour. During the interview, she disclosed she previously had a boyfriend. She was labelled a “slag”, “tart” and “bad girl” by her friends and community. She described herself as having been a “floozy.” Now, as a married woman, she and her husband only talked with persons classified as their mahrams.

4.9 Main Theme 5
Financial
There were accounts that one’s financial status either strengthened or weakened their own and their families honour position. Finance and honour was intertwined in the considerations of marriages, status and materialistic attainments.

4.9.1 Sub Theme 5.1
Marital Wealth Considerations
Some families preferred to consider marriage proposals based upon the monetary circumstances of a potential spouse and his/her family. Unions which indicated wealth and prosperity were viewed favourably and acceptable.

Financial position is linked to honour. Finance is definitely something people consider within marriage. When my dad proposed to my mum, my mum’s family was not having it. My uncle said “there is not enough money in the house to even buy bread.” He was right. Everyone was really happy when my sister’s arranged marriage proposal came because she was getting married to a really rich family (Ali, p. 16) (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I).

Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about there being a preference for endogamous marriages between British Pakistani’s with relatives in Pakistan as this would improve the financial status of overseas spouses. Property remaining within kinships was an underlying reason why some marriages outside the caste system were disapproved. For some families, their caste status was significant and connected to their honour. There was a suggestion that exogamy resulted in financial loss, which could subsequently reduce a family’s honourable standing as this was intertwined with their monetary assets.
I know someone who is sixty years old and is not married because her family didn’t want her to marry someone outside the caste [Seyed] because that’s going to affect their honour. They think the caste they belong to is a superior caste than all other castes and giving their daughter in an inferior caste affects their honour... this is one of the main reasons like people who... owning lots of properties... prefer to marry their umm daughters and sisters off in the same family so the property just stays in the family rather than going out (Neelam, p. 12-13) (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P).

4.9.2 Sub Theme 5.2
Status
Fazila (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) expressed that within the South Asian British Muslim communities, men aged above twenty-one years old were credited with an increased level of honour depending on their employment position, income, car type and if they owned a spacious house. Similarly, Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) talked about how people who were viewed as having increased financial and social standing were automatically ascribed with honour. In contrast, people with reduced financial mobility struggled to receive the same level of honour.

But it does seem that in society, people who have got money and prestige in the community, get automatic honour, whereas poorer people have more difficulty getting it (Qabila, p. 3-4) (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P).

4.10 Main Theme 6
Relationships
From all of the narratives, relationships appeared to be at the crux of the honour and shame construct. All of the participants talked about honour and relationships as this was of relevance to them. Hence, more space has been allocated for this sub theme to depict the very rich data elicited.

4.10.1 Sub Theme 6.1
Respect, Reputation and Status
Relationships were a central feature in how honour notions were created, understood, valued and maintained. The lifestyle choices by an individual did not only affect him/her, but also had significant connotations for their families and wider collectives respect. Honour either strengthened or weakened the family structure, reputation and
status. As females of all generations were considered the carriers of honour, perceptions of their transgressions had a greater impact on the respect, reputation and status of their families.

Honour was of importance in how marriages occurred, which was connected to whether such relationships were accepted/rejected by their families and communities. Exogamy was predominantly considered to harm the family’s respect and resulted in troubled dynamics within their kinships and societies.

*Honour* is used a lot in the context of marriages. Especially for a girl. If you marry out of the family or without the whole community, whole family’s blessing, that is a *stain upon the honour of your family* (Gulshan, p. 3) (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P).

Forced marriages were consistently connected to honour issues and family reputation. Zainab (G:F,A:64,CB:I,E:I) recounted a case of young British Pakistani woman who was admitted to a mental health unit where she worked as a forensic psychiatric nurse. This patient was being coerced by her parents to marry an older cousin in Pakistan. This was a particularly powerful and disturbing narrative. Therefore, I have included a fuller quotation below which illustrated how parental honour and reputation remained a priority despite their daughter’s suicide attempt and mental health deterioration.

*She pleaded with her parents and tried to make them understand but they said it was a question of their honour. If they said no, they would never be able to go to Pakistan a-g-a-i-n and it would bring shame to the f-a-m-i-l-y in England and Pakistan... She considered poison and other things... and decided she was going to set herself on fire... she bought matches. As she was wondering around [name of large department store] she thought if she would set fire to her clothes and the clothes rail together, the flames would engulf her, she would pass out with the resultant smoke and then she would burn. She tried to do it, but instead of setting her clothes on fire, she set the clothes rail on fire... the police came and arrested her for arson. At the police station, she completely lost her ability to think or speak in English and reverted to Urdu even though she was born and brought up here... she was assessed and admitted... The parents were like this broken record and weren’t willing to back down at a-l-l. According to the parents, it did them unimaginable damage to their honour. They said it would be a shame to show their face in Pakistan again* (Zainab, p. 11) (G:F,A:64,CB:LE:I).
During the interviews, Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B), Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B), and Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) disclosed their relationships of forbidden love which they had hidden from their families. Due to the perceptions of honour held by their relatives and communities, they felt unable to be congruent about these personal liaisons. To protect his family’s honour and reputation, Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B) decided to bear the loss of a relationship which seemed very dear to him.

I was in a relationship with a German, Christian girl. But because she was not from Bangladesh and from a different religion, it would create a problem that would affect the family reputation and honour. That’s the only reason I had to end it… it was difficult… I had to make a judgement call whether I put my family first or my personal life [quietly spoken] (Ajmal, p. 7) (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B).

Fazila (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) was the only participant who had not experienced any difficulties from her family regarding her intra-ethnic marriage. Her husband was a Muslim convert of white English and Hungarian heritage. An absence of courtship indicated the marriage was conducted within the requisite honour rules, and in a respectful manner.

Some women had the autonomy to choose if they wished to work outside their homes. Other women, who desired to be in employment, were prevented by their husbands. This barring was expressed by some participants who were of Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage. Employment restrictions upon women of Indian origin did not materialise in my study. Class did not appear to be a contributory factor as the narratives of women not allowed to work were from working and middle class backgrounds. Men wanting to be the sole income generators and feeling disrespected if their womenfolk worked was present in these honour experiences.

My bhabhis are graduated to masters and I listen to my brothers’ say “no, you won’t go outside for a job… it’s against my respect. You are not poor. You don’t need money. I will provide you whatever you want.” So, honour is being constructed of chauvinistic objectives (Feroz, p. 8-9) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).
All of the participants shared honour was significant for families’ respect, reputation and status. Family relationships were “intact” or “damaged” depending on kinship conformity, particularly female conformity, of the honour rules.

When dad arranged my marriage, it was a very honourable thing he did. It increased his respect within his family. When things went wrong with the marriage, we were not allowed to exit the marriage because he didn’t want this label that his daughter was divorced or separated… in his opinion that brought him down from his standing within society and family…. he was sacrificing his daughter for his brothers. I had no choice in the marriage. He was my cousin in Pakistan. He was dying of TB. The abuse started two weeks after we got married (Mavisha, p. 4 & 11) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.10.2 Sub Theme 6.2
Gender Based Family Dynamics
This sub theme was particularly important and has been allocated more space in the thesis. Different notions of honour existed for males and females within families and societies. Variances in acts of pleasure, communication and displays of affection were met with gender based approval/disapproval. Intimacy within families varied and there was no conclusive evidence to suggest this depended on gender, parental or sibling positions. Lack of male respect towards females of all ages was a recurring theme from all of the narratives. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) talked about British Bangladeshi men not appreciating their wives and praising their children. She said men had limited appreciation of their daughters and restricted their children from respecting their mothers.

Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) described having “amicable” relationships with her father and siblings, but never “in-depth conversations” or “friendships” with them. She had a close and warm bond with her mother. Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B) shared he was close to his sisters. Lujaina (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B) talked about having compatible relationships with her siblings and that she knew “how to act, behave and be well mannered” as her father’s daughter. There was some rhetoric from the participants that children were inclined to be closer with their mothers compared to their fathers. “Dominant fathers” appeared to be one reason why children did not approach them.
directly if they experienced difficulties. The mothers were the communication link between the offspring and their fathers.

Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about women being regarded as a commodity and placed in substandard positions due to their gender. She generalised that all Pakistani men were of the same frame of mind that they were the superior sex irrespective of their nurturing environments and education attainments.

*Women are treated as an object in your dad’s house or your husband’s. You are insignificant, regardless of how well educated or good you are. You’re always inferior. Men are always superior, whether they are educated or not, regardless of where they were raised. I think because we come from the Pakistani… ethnic background, their psyches are all the same (Mavisha, p. 17) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).*

Relationships between parents and their children strongly indicated males were prized over females. Abusive fathers and aggression appeared to supersede feelings of love. In comparison to sons, some daughters were denied equal consideration, food, concern and appreciation by their mothers.

*Some mothers give different attention or priority between their girls and boys. I have seen families in Pakistan where the best food has to be given to the boy and the less quality food is given to the daughters (Amna, p. 5) (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P).*

Some of the participants talked about how female transgression and subsequent consequences were routinely deployed to threaten other females with honour based violence if they did not conform to the honour rules and obligations.

*I’ve used the phrase “gender terrorism” about honour based violence before. It happened very vividly in the Banaz [Mahmod] case. When the trial was going on of those who killed her, women’s groups were saying that girls were turning up in their shelters saying “my father has said to me, you’ll be the next Banaz.” It’s very complex… its patriarchal societies (Nangial, p. 8) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).*

Photograph 17 in the main study transpired to be a contentious issue between Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) and Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P). Their disagreements upon
whether it was acceptable/unacceptable for a Muslim man to publicly kiss his wife on her head resulted in a polemical reaction, with raised voices. **Noreen** (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P) expressed in Urdu the bedroom was an appropriate place for physical contact between spouses.

*No, it is not in Islam that you kiss your wife outside. With honour and shame, they are outside on the beach, there will be **thousands of other people** present. Their **children** will be there too who will feel ashamed. I don’t think this is honour **erm** as a Muslim woman. This is not in our culture, society or Islam* (Shareen, p. 35, photograph 17) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

*For me, it is **okay**. She is his wife. He’s not **erm** doing it on places which you can object. **It’s just on the head. It is respect!** Even your brother, they give you a kiss on the forehead outside, you **don’t mind** it. **Why can’t husband touch?*** (Amna, p. 36, photograph 17) (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P).

Some females, of any age, were tended to by their families, especially the male relatives. Despite this, there appeared a reluctance to welcome female births due to them being a potential future risk to their family honour.

*Girls in the most are in good, decent families. There are exceptions, but generally **erm** girls are treated like **princesses**. Every responsibility is being taken up by the male members of the family. They take it **erm** as a matter of **pride** they are looking after their daughters. There is a strong bond and generally daughters are **taken care of**, but there are still many families who consider daughters a **burden**. They know there’s a **possibility** of them becoming vulnerable just because of their daughters so they would not ask for **erm** daughters in the first case* (Aleena, p. 17-18) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

The participants talked about how females of all ages experienced greater challenges regarding honour and shame within family relationships. The quotation below from **Mavisha** (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) illustrated some of the struggles encountered by females.

*I’ve not told anybody I am married to my third partner. He’s **told me** he is the man, he wears the pants and these are the rules I must adhere to. He also knows I’m a very*
strong character and he can’t make me conform to his way of thinking. I’m willing to co-operate, but I’m not going to be dictated to, disrespected or have my power and dignity taken away (Mavisha, p. 18-19) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) shared his close-knit family would have a discussion with young family members who behaved in a dishonourable manner; i.e. drinking alcohol or taking illegal drugs. In contrast, Feroz’s (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) quotation below demonstrated how his brother responded with physical violence towards their sister due to his notion she had behaved in a dishonourable manner.

When my sister was sixteen, I came home, she was crying and my younger brother was slapping her [slapping hand gestures]. I asked “what are you doing?” He said “she got a telephone call.” I said “okay, but you receive a call every single day from three different girls.” He said “No! She’s involved.” She had only taken a call from some unknown male and he thought that she is talking to him deliberately (Feroz, p. 12) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

The narratives of some of the younger participants demonstrated they preferred to live authentic lives. However, the conditional acceptance they received from their families and communities made this difficult. This resulted in some of them resorting to duplicitous lifestyles in attempts to meet their own desires, yet appease the demands by their relatives and societies.

It’s important to me that my family know and accept who I am. If you’re trying to live your life your way, and you’re part of this family, your community that are trying to get you to live your life in another way, you feel very alienated. You end up living a secretive life, a dual identity (Zaafirah, p. 6 & 16) (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).

All of the participants consistently indicated the male gender was desired and prized from birth onwards. Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) expressed male superiority was hierarchal, as men considered themselves to have the authority to instruct orders upon younger males, and that all males were entitled to command females.

A husband declaring his wife is his equal and then insisting on referring to her as “tu” is equivalent to the families who insist they love their sons and daughters equally, but

4.10.3 Sub Theme 6.3

Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and Obligations

The responsibility of carrying and maintaining family honour was placed upon the females, which was an enforced “burden.” Expectations upon females to fulfil these obligations were vast and if they faltered in this process, this resulted in them being harmed to various degrees. This was a significant sub theme and has been allocated more space as appropriate.

The female is seen as a person that upholds family honour so her actions are under more scrutiny. If she does something that she shouldn’t be doing, that is viewed as her family don’t really have any control over their females. Whatever the females do is a reflection back on the males honour (Shafia, p. 5) (G:F,A:28,CB:S,E:P).

Honourable females, of all generations, were expected to be domesticated and “good” daughters, sisters, mothers, wives et cetera. Them having an education was a “bonus.” Males being considered honourable was attached to them being “good” in their religion, family roles, responsibilities, employment and financial positions. They were expected to ensure their families and progeny had “good” lifestyles. Mavisha’s narrative below exemplified how some women were abused and regarded as merchandise due to male notions of honour. Female honour, respect and dignity was considered of reduced import compared to their male counterparts.

I fought tooth and nail for my honour, which is my respect. I didn’t need to be degraded and abused on a daily basis. The perception of honour by the men of our family was about pride, ownership, dictatorship. Mum said to me “we’ve given our daughter for the sake of Allah (swt).” Khuda wastey. In my opinion, the daughters, your children are not an item that you can give Khuda wastey. You give money, clothes for the pleasure of Allah (swt). Your daughters are your flesh and blood. You give birth, you raise them, they’re part of you. They are not objects lying around the house you can pick up and give to another person to be abused for the sake of Allah (swt) [spoken passionately] (Mavisha, p. 14) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).
Different perceptions of female education being associated with honour/dishonour emerged. No objections to Indian Muslim females accessing further/higher education were reported. Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) shared some Pakistani Muslim females were encouraged to become graduates as education assisted women’s independence. However, Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) expressed there were some objections to British Bangladeshi females accessing further/higher education and employment due to parental fears of their daughters subsequently making their own marriage choices, socialising with males, and forming friendships with people who were “English” or of other faiths.

Bangladeshi people in the community think “its honour to not send her to college.” They think it is their honour to keep their daughter at home (Saabira, p. 10) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

Conversely, Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) reported British Bangladeshi Muslim females studying or working was not seen as dishonourable. However, they experienced resistance from families who had “ultra-traditional values.” There was gender based divisions of appropriate/inappropriate socialising. For some Pakistani Muslims, it was honourable and acceptable for males to be entertained by sexually provocative dancing girls, yet their womenfolk were not permitted to have conversations with males.

In marriages, on the teel mehndi we invite the dancing girls. All the males sit there and enjoy the women dancing and throwing money at them, which is acceptable and a norm in the society. The father, grandfather, son and everyone is there. But if a woman talks to man and her brother catches her it will be very difficult for her. There are two different standards of ghairat for male and female (Feroz, p. 11) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

Although there were expectations for males to adhere to the rules and codes of honour, any transgressions on their part, with the exception of homosexuality, did not cause the same level of distress or damage to their families compared to female misdeeds. It was primarily the male’s individual honour that was affected rather than the collective honour being harmed as the family “were not completely broken down.” If females did not adhere to the honour expectations, the collectives honour was damaged. The social
construct was a key factor in women experiencing greater hardships regarding honour issues.

For females, honour has a more strong meaning. The way society works, people tend to accuse a female more quickly if something wrong happens than a male... the social structure is designed in a way that if a woman does something wrong, she will suffer more than a man (Ajmal, p. 5) (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B).

4.10.4 Sub Theme 6.4
Male Control and Abuse
From all of the participants, there was a strong sense that for some men, their honour was of paramount importance. They would go to extreme lengths to retain this, especially if their honour was in jeopardy of being diminished.

Men’s understanding of honour is that women are not allowed do the things that men are allowed to do. And if your women, daughter, sister, wife, mother disobeys you in some way, shape or form, that somebody will look down on you, that your reputation will be damaged erm that’s worth more than anything else. You can recover from financial debacles and from illness, but you cannot regain your respect and honour. Some of them feel that’s worth protecting above all else (Nangial, p. 5) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

Men who were highly educated at times also resorted to abusive practices when they felt their honour was damaged. Hence, literacy levels were not an indication of whether abusive behaviour may or may not occur due to honour perceptions. Akbar (G:M,A:33,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about two married doctors who experienced some tension, not an extramarital affair, in their relationship. The husband became “jealous” and burnt his wife’s breasts and chest with an iron. Quite often, it was close male family members who violated women whom they suspected of having engaged in non-virtuous conduct. Abusive acts in the name of honour and shame included female mutilations and/or intentions to dismember female limbs.

They do these things to the woman if they doubt she is not a decent woman. For their honour and shame, they cut the nose or they do torture, her husband, father (Amna, p. 22, photograph 9) (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P).
Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) and Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P) expressed that within South Asian British Muslim communities, women were seen as the “property” of men. Hence, men were considered the “owners” of women. From all of the narratives, there was a rhetoric that men controlled how women lived their lives and decided what choices were available/unavailable to them. Yumnah (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) and Jabeen (G:F,A:53,CB:K,E:I) talked about men being responsible for their abusive control, and their violations were not defensible due to honour and shame issues.

*It’s got nothing to do with honour or shame... it leaves you speechless that one person can go through so much pain. There are so many men like that who have that kind of attitude here* (Jabeen, p. 36) (G:F,A:53,CB:K,E:I).

Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) described how British Bangladeshi husbands physically, emotionally, financially and sexually abusing their wives was not honour, but shame. The quotation below illustrated how some men restricted some women’s social, economic and employment autonomy due to their perceptions of masculine honour and shame.

*Sylheti men, 99% of them want their wife at home to look after the children and cook. They want to keep their wives suppressed and oppressed. They are misers financially. They abuse them and physically assault them sometimes. They are enjoying their social life and some of them don’t even allow their wife to go to the neighbour. The men think ‘oh, if they go out, it’s a shame because they might disclose something private.’ They don’t like it if the wife works. People say “oooh, why can’t you look after your money matters?” They feel proud they can boldly say “my wife is not working because she’s okay financially” because he’s providing everything* (Saabira, p. 9) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

4.11 Main Theme 7

Islam
All of the participants conversed about Islam and honour, which was a vital part of the data. Faith was a pivotal aspect in their lives and they talked about the diverse perceptions and experiences of being South Asian British Muslims.
4.11.1 Sub Theme 7.1

Culture

The participants talked about honour from Islamic perspectives and expressed their subjective understandings of this. **Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P)** shared the positives of Islamic honour included respect, culture and community spirit. Muslim solidarity in times of “joy” and “sorrow” were considered a source of strength. **Yumnah (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P)** said honour was a “beautiful, loving and warm” word.

**Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P)** stated a theological view that gossiping about Muslim girls and their reputation was not acceptable as their honour could be “destroyed.” **Ali (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I)** talked about his previous intention to temporarily marry a lesbian to conceal his homosexuality and make his parents happy. Now, in his early twenties, he felt he had been able to fuse his intersecting identities of faith, homosexuality, South Asian and British cultures.

_I know a lot of Muslims struggle with their sexuality but I feel... I’ve [pause] not only adapted my religion, but also adapted myself to... bring those two things together. People say a lot about Muslims in Britain, we have two cultures that collide, it doesn’t work. I think there’s definitely a merger that can take place and you can definitely be both (Ali, p. 23) (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I)._}

4.11.2 Sub Theme 7.2

Gender Based Family Dynamics

Family relationships within the context of Islam arose with a succinct expression that unconditional love should exist in all relationships. The reality was in stark contrast to Islamic theology.

_In Islam, love should be unconditional between umm males and females as brothers and sisters, husbands and wives... fathers and daughters, mothers and sons. But that doesn’t really happen (Junaid, p. 11) (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I)._}

Muslim men marrying women of their own volition experienced reduced family resistance. **Nangial (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P)** acknowledged he had been able to marry a white, catholic girl at university as his gender gave him “greater leeway.”
However, all the other narratives depicted both spouses being of the Islamic faith was important and such marriages, including Muslim converts, were more acceptable, compared to when only one spouse was a Muslim.

*When my brother wanted to marry erm a Chinese girl, my father* **struggled with it** *a bit, but she agreed to become a Muslim so then that became acceptable* *(Zainab, p. 8)* *(G:F,A:64,CB:I,E:I).*

**4.11.3 Sub Theme 7.3**

**Modesty within Islam**

Some of the participants, of various ages and demographics, talked about the Islamic concept of modesty regarding clothing, demeanour and reduced eye contact which was applicable to both genders. They made references to female chastity being one aspect of modesty. **Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P), Hamza (G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I), Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B), and Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) expressed both genders lowering their gaze when communicating with non-mahrams “demonstrated” modesty. Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) and Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) questioned the discrepancies in Muslims only expecting Muslim females, not males, to cover in public.** Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) stated Muslim men also had to dress “decently” and men wearing shorts in public was unacceptable.

*If you look at the concept of* **hijab**, *you’ve got women in* **burkhas** *walking alongside their husbands who are in t-shirts. There does seem to be a huge inequality… women are expected to be these* **perfect, little chaste angels** *(Zaafirah, p. 8)* *(G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).*

Greater attention was drawn to female modesty compared to male modesty. The majority of participants expressed female modesty was connected to being covered up and/or wearing the **hijab**. Female clothing which was not revealing was considered positive and attributed to honour. **Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) expressed men did not see her in a sexual way and respected her as she was “in hijab.” Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) said women being dressed modestly offered protection for both sexes from sexual transgressions.** Hamza’s *(G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I)* understanding of modesty encompassed men being attentive to how they spoke to children and women, and not talking in a loud voice. **Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) disclosed**
that despite her being aware of the religious requirement of Muslim women only being permitted to live with mahram men, she had previously contravened this.

In my second year and third year at uni, I chose to live in a house with two men... that was a h-u-g-e deal for my mum. She went ballistic, especially because she said it was a sin. She told me not to tell any of my family due to my reputation, so people have this perception of me as a good, chaste Muslim and not going around and being, in my mum’s words, “shameless” (Zaafirah, p. 3) (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).

4.11.4 Sub Theme 7.4
Perceptions of Visible Muslims
This sub theme was very meaningful and relevant to all of the participants. Hence, it has been allocated sufficient space. British Muslim women wearing the hijab was linked to how they and their families were represented in the public sphere. The headscarf was worn through choice/coercion. Tariq (G:M,A:42,CB:P,E:P) talked about how some young females were forced to wear the hijab. However, later on in life, when they were able to make their own decisions, in “revenge” they would “go on the wrong path.” Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) expressed females being coerced into wearing the hijab was an honour and shame issue, and unacceptable.

If she is wearing the scarf by force by the parents, it’s not good. The shame and honour concept by force is not good... her eyes are not happy. I cover my head when I am going out, it gives me respect. But I don’t want my husband, parents, sister or brother to force me (Amna, p. 7, photograph 1) (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P).

Lujaina (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B) had challenged her mother who wanted their family representation to be impeccable. She was assertive in her identity as a young British Muslim woman and did not feel the need to visually demonstrate being a Muslimah by covering her hair.

I say to my mum “why are you trying to portray us as a perfect family?” She’s v-e-r-y strict about it and wants everything intact. She’s like “why don’t you wear a scarf?” I’m like “because I don’t want to wear a scarf. I don’t need to put on a scarf to show someone that I’m a Muslim.” I’ve got one identity as a British Muslim (Lujaina, p. 4) (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B).
Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P), Neelam (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P) and Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) alluded feelings of negativity towards the headscarf and niqab. They considered this was attached to Muslim women’s encumberment, and was not an Islamic requisite.

*The forgotten Islam* that Muhammad (pbuh) brought to this world was very liberating for Muslim women. In that time *hijab* was an element of respect because people used to make fun of women and he gave respect to women. Now it’s become a *constraint*. That’s our problem. Not Islam’s problem… earlier women, *like my mother, she never liked this hijab*… *she was pushed towards that at some stage*. But now the girls are going reverse… the reverse sort of Islamic culture is becoming very strong (Feroz, p. 10 & 25) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

Some participants expressed Muslims who were perceived as practising their faith were considered honourable. It seemed the more visible one’s Muslim identity was portrayed through their appearance and religious worship, this resulted in them having an increased honourable position within Muslim communities. One participant’s “assumption of a good and honourable” group of *hijab* wearing Muslim girls was challenged when she witnessed them behave in a manner which did not correspond with her belief of honour and shame conduct.

*The girls did something really shameful*. A bloke came on the tube and they were talking to him. Just before they got off, they yelled down the tube “*by the way folks, this man hasn’t had any sex for a long time and he’s up for it!*” [incongruent laugh] (Qabila, p. 20) (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P).

4.11.5 Sub Theme 7.5

**Misinterpretations of the Islamic Faith**

This sub theme was a critical part of the data. All of the participants talked about it which indicated it was important to all of them. I have allocated more space for this sub theme as appropriate. Different interpretations of the Qur’an and how this linked to various understandings within the context of honour and shame emerged. Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B), who was an Imam and a PhD student, explained how different interpretations of religious text had resulted in unequal dynamics between genders. This resulted in misinformed religious beliefs that men were required to maintain family
honour, and women were responsible for causing dishonour and shame if they did not behave according to men’s beliefs. He stated such notions and behaviour were not Islamic decrees.

*In the eyes of God, the male and female status, their religious practice and worship is equal. The only problem that happens now is interpretation of the Islamic scriptures with regards to the status of a woman in a family err one is this verse that men are protectors of women. So, they have the authority in the family… they’re in charge of the family. So now, it’s almost like a woman is accountable to the man because being the head of the family, he has to keep the honour and dignity of the family. If women do anything that is contrary to the value he believes that family should have, then she can bring shame and dishonour to the family. But Islam doesn’t stipulate this* (Ismail, p. 8) (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B).

All of the participants conveyed it was not permissible in Islam for honour based killings and forced marriages to occur. Such behaviours were linked to cultural values of honour and shame.

*Islam is against honour killings and any killings full stop* (Akbar, p. 11) (G:M,A:33,CB:ENG,E:P)

Cultural practices being represented as religious ones were connected to honour and shame experiences. Mavisha’s (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) mother and grandmother were “taught” men had the “religious right to beat their wives.” Her grandmother used to place a stick near her husband’s side of the bed so it was easily accessible if he wanted to beat her. Mavisha challenged her mother’s mistaken belief when she told Mavisha that Mavisha’s husband’s domestic abuse was acceptable. Mavisha expressed her frustration that women of previous generations were told such “untruths” about Islam and continued to believe these inaccuracies.

*I brought a Qur’an to her and said “show me where it says a man has the religious right to beat his wife and I will believe you.” She couldn’t show me because she was illiterate, as was her mother. We’re just asking to be treated like a normal, human being and Islam has given us that right. Men use any means to try and control women. Religion gives a lot more freedom and equality to women than the culture does, but*
our people follow the culture. They pick and choose and distort some parts of the religion to suit their own needs (Mavisha, p. 40-41) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

Aleena (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) talked about how within Islamic principles, it was entirely acceptable for a Muslim female and/or her family to initiate a marriage proposal. In contradiction, due to Pakistani cultural and societal notions, such proposals were deemed very “disrespectful.” Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) shared that as an Imam, he was frequently consulted on marital discord and domestic abuse and/or violence. He had witnessed how “Islamic values” were replaced by “cultural values.” Repeatedly, there were narratives of cultural practices overriding theological stipulations within the honour and shame phenomena. Male dominance and the desire to continue traditional customs were more prevalent regarding females. In relation to Islamic divorce, Mavisha’s (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) quotation below demonstrated how her family disregarded the Shariah Law, which is based upon the Qur’an and Hadiths.

Religion often is put to one side. Manmade traditions are followed and adhered to. When I did leave umm I got divorced by the Shariah Law. My family did not believe in Shariah Law... they cared about the dishonour and disrespect that was brought by this divorce (Mavisha, p. 7) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.11.6 Sub Theme 7.6

Educational Teaching of Islamic Principles Recommendations

All of the participants expressed education was essential in replacing distorted perceptions of Islamic honour and shame. They recommended the original contents of the Qur’an needed to be conveyed to South Asian British Muslim communities of diverse age groups via religious talks and educational settings. They articulated “manmade rules and stories” needed to be replaced by authentic theological material and for this knowledge to be shared to facilitate a positive change.

The answer is education. The earlier you engage with young people and children... you try and change attitudes and tell them what a good and bad relationship is... you tell them the importance of honour and the erm negative sides of it. You tell them that men and women are equal, you try and give them a faith background for that. Deal with the misinterpreting before its misinterpreted... all of that will have the ability to
change in a generation or two or three or four. You’ll change it through a community saying “no, enough is enough.” You’ll change it through men saying “not in my name” (Nangial, p. 12) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

Qabila (G:F,A:48,CB:ENG,E:P) requested for me to ensure the police and government discontinued using the term “honour killing” as such deaths were murder; there was no honour in murder and the two words were completely contradictory.

4.11.7 Sub Theme 7.7
Changing Behaviour and Mindsets
The majority of participants conveyed there was a need for authentic, factual and healthy communication to occur between both genders to improve understanding, and reduce tensions regarding honour and shame. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) recommended my research be taken beyond the PhD qualification stage to help facilitate change within communities and “implement law sittings.”

Comparisons between different generations embracing/rejecting positive change emerged. There appeared to be a pattern of some younger generations of South Asian British Muslims refusing to conform to honour and shame expectations as stipulated by their elders. They felt some of the older generations cultural mores were no longer applicable in twenty first century Britain. Lujaina (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B) expressed there was “lost hope” for the previous generation changing their mindsets. However, Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) considered negotiation and cooperation from different generations was required to reduce further harm being meted out to girls.

You have parents with “come what may, kill and be killed” attitude. The newer generation believes “hang on a minute mum, that was your generation, you come from Pakistan. That might happen in those days in that country. We don’t live in that country anymore. This is what we are about.” There should be some centre point in this where people from both generations can meet. Otherwise, there’s going to be a lot of clashes and a lot of girls are gonna get killed. A lot of girls will be forced back home, married off, and made to stay there (Mavisha, p. 38) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:ENG,E:P) said people needed to initially look at themselves and their families to facilitate change, rather than focussing on a societal level.
Correspondingly, *Rana* (G:F,A:39,CB:ENG,E:P) challenged how much awareness did individuals have regarding their own expectations and oppressive conduct.

*What are we expecting from our children, brothers, sisters, community? We have to look deeper why something has happened to try and understand ... and stop yourself from being oppressive* (*Rana*, p. 11) (G:F,A:39,CB:ENG,E:P).

### 4.12 Shame Section

This section is focussed upon the shame aspect of the research findings. Table 8 illustrates how the language verbalised by the participants contributed to the formation of the shame main and sub themes. Table 9 depicts the shame main and sub themes, in addition to the thematic analysis codes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shame Main Themes</th>
<th>Shame Sub Themes</th>
<th>Shame Participants’ Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>One Psychological</strong></td>
<td>Culture, Respect and Stigma, Control and Abuse</td>
<td>Thinking, perception, beliefs, psychological, understanding, traumatized, mindset, opinion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two Emotional</strong></td>
<td>Secrecy, Individual and Collective, Expectations and Damage, Loss and Pain</td>
<td>Feelings, cry, feel, hatred, secret, emotions, love, rage, traumatized, angry, sensitive, upset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three Physical</strong></td>
<td>Female Image, Abuse, Family Members Murdering, Female Relatives</td>
<td>Image, abuse, look, clothes, family, appearance, standing, stain, consequences, physical, hijab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Four Sexual</strong></td>
<td>Dirty, Pre/Non Marital Sexual, Relationships and Male, Homosexuality, Secrecy, Consequences</td>
<td>Sex, homosexuality, naked, kissing, illegitimacy, sexual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Five Financial</strong></td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Money, poor, finance, benefits, misers, financial, begging, rich.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 – Shame main and sub themes identified from the participants’ language
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shame Main Themes</th>
<th>Shame Sub Themes</th>
<th>Shame Participants’ Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Six Relationships</strong></td>
<td>Gender Based Family Dynamics Reputation, Disgrace and Damage Consequences Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and Obligations Image and Decorum Control and Abuse</td>
<td>Parents, siblings, extended family, teachers, friends, community, colleagues, peers, society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seven Islam</strong></td>
<td>Misinterpretations of the Islamic Faith Mercy for Muslims Covert and Overt Perpetuation of un-Islamic Practices by Religious Leaders Mechanisms for Implementing Positive Change</td>
<td>Allah (swt), Religion, faith, scriptures, God, Allah (swt) Muhammed (pbuh), Hadith, Qur’an, Islam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 – Shame main and sub themes identified from the participants’ language
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shame Main Themes</th>
<th>Shame Sub Themes</th>
<th>Shame Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>One Psychological</strong></td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Mosque, society, sharam, culture, values, sentenced, cohesive, judged, courtesy, dishonour, rules, parents, haya, immediate/extended family, device, respect, Islam, codes, teachers, control, rejected, concept, madrassa, deep, misdemeanours, fear, changing, stigma, culturally bullied, eternity, abuse, harm, psychological, governed, respect, Britain, attacked, shameful, breached, men, consequences, bury, sociological and political contexts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rules, Respect and Stigma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Control and Abuse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two Emotional</strong></td>
<td>Secrecy</td>
<td>Forbidden love, silence, people, failed, rage, polygamy, frustrated, dead, ashamed, secret, anger, non-mahram, hate, parents, disapprove, we, traumatized, individual/collective expectations, disown, family, depressed, bury, criticisms, truths, I, judgements disgrace, love, friends, cut all ties, upset, mum, sold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individual and Collective Expectations and Damage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loss and Pain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three Physical</strong></td>
<td>Female Image</td>
<td>Dress code, immodest, swear, pure, scrutiny, feminine, isolate, community, sharam, image, kill, decency, murder, shameless, perfect, observed, suicide, modest, shameful, covering, stain, male relatives, elopement, intact, slap, looking down, girls, suspicion, intact, dead, miniskirts, assault, hijab, buried alive, isolate, boyfriend, kissing, stigma, women, revenge, disown, identity issues, hit, control, insular, dishonouring, traditions, dead, kinships, ladies, permanent stain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abuse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family Members Murdering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female Relatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 – Thematic analysis of shame main themes, sub themes and codes identification
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shame Main Themes</th>
<th>Shame Sub Themes</th>
<th>Shame Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Four Sexual</strong></td>
<td>Dirty Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships and Male Homosexuality Secrecy Consequences</td>
<td>Shameful, dirtying of a name, female virgins, fear, silent, elopement, good girl, bad, reputation, exiled, big slag, dirtying of honour, sex is wrong, decent, ruining, adultery, bad girl, naked, illegitimacy, females vulnerable, boyfriend, prostitution, male homosexuality, result, female genitals, disowned, perverted, mistresses, not punished/grounded, hide, sexuality, buried, medical examinations/treatment, forgotten, dishonoured, high risk, male mistakes, ashamed, arranged/forced marriages, secrecy, murdered, female rape, consequences, affair, dirty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Five Financial</strong></td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Masculinities, employment, money, status, forgery, debt, benefits, begging, profession, misers, hide, provision.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Six Relationships** | Gender Based Family Dynamics Reputation, Disgrace and Damage Consequences Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and Obligations Image and Decorum Control and Abuse | Male: power, manhood, positive investment, innocent, gold, control, social standing, expectations, celebrated, nothing to lose, modesty, attitudes, rules, conduct, patriarchy, supported, repairable shame, tormented, ashamed.  
Female: expectations, negative investment, punished, tarnished, silk, damage, modesty, out casted, fire, sex, conduct, discipline, mental health prison, society, illegitimacy, shameful, slaughtered, bad, female abortions, punished, marriage money, dead, label, sins, elopement, kinship, sharam, persecuted, taint, burden, disgrace, contaminated, sectioned. |

Table 9 – Thematic analysis of shame main themes, sub themes and codes identification
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shame Main Themes</th>
<th>Shame Sub Themes</th>
<th>Shame Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seven Islam</td>
<td>Misinterpretations of the Islamic Faith</td>
<td>Allah (swt), manmade rules, women oppressed, brainwashing, true Islam, covering up, look down, cultural values, ignorance, pragmatic, brainwashing, stranded, maulvis, scriptures, modernity, control, not in Islam to abuse women, Muhammad (pbr), prayer mat, Bengali Muslim identity, no discrimination, Islamic values,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mercy for Muslims</td>
<td>hijab, stoned to death, khula, prevent, fair and just, man’s society, not rigid, mullahs, forgotten Islam, crying, honour and shame, talaq, forgiveness, Imams, sins, society has no right to judge you, misinterpreted, hide in the shadows, education, deconstruct these constraints, Qur’an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Covert and Overt Perpetuation of un-Islamic Practices by Religious Leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanisms for Implementing Positive Change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 – Thematic analysis of shame main themes, sub themes and codes identification
4.13 Main Theme 1

Psychological
Shame emerged as a central theme for all of the participants. The majority of the participants referred to shame as “*sharam*.” From the data, it was evident that shame was of great import in their lives. There was a sense of strong perceptions, attitudes and beliefs that shame was detrimental and must be precluded.

4.13.1 Sub Theme 1.1

Culture
All of the participants talked about being aware of the importance of avoiding shame from childhood onwards. Their families and societies were key agents in perpetuating notions and upholding customs, traditions, mores and values of what may/may not be considered shame. Individuals and collectives all contributed towards sustaining a shame avoiding culture which was deeply entrenched. This sub theme has been offered more space as appropriate.

*Society will define what is honour and shame. Once you are outside of your society, that honour is gone, that shame is gone... honour and shame has changed its definition* (Mifzal, p. 11) (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B).

The nurturing the participants received, and the environments they were raised in during their early years, had a significant impact on how their understanding of shame was formed. They shared their perceptions, understanding and knowledge of shame derived from many sources; i.e. immediate and extended family members, teachers, community members, friends, teachers, Islamic madrassa, boarding school education, society, culture and Islamic understanding.

Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P) emphasised it was important for the national and international sociological and political contexts to be considered when exploring honour and shame in relation to ethnic minorities. Otherwise, they could be viewed as an “aberration.” Akbar (G:M,A:33,CB:ENG,E:P) expressed honour and shame would always be present in a cultural sense. However, he stated the next generation may not be open to listening or acting upon shame in the same manner as the current generation. Although Mifzal (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B) talked about the concept and definition of
shame was changing at a fast pace, he profoundly stated that honour and shame would exist infinitely.

*Shame is changing very rapidly, but whatever the year, honour and shame will be there to eternity* (Mifzal, p. 18) (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B).

Cultural notions of shame were not absolute within nuclear and/or extended families living in Britain. Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about how her extended family’s cultural values of shame differed to her parents. She was rejected by her extended family and community based upon her decision to marry a Muslim who was of a different caste, but the same ethnicity.

*If my mother and father were okay with my relationship, I don’t see why I was judged and sentenced by members of my extended family. What right do they have over my parents to cast me out of society?* [heavy sigh] (Gulshan, p. 10-11) (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P).

Some of the younger participants shared accounts of the tensions they experienced regarding shame with their parents and/or older relatives of being raised in a British culture which at times was in conflict with traditional South Asian cultures. Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) expressed many parents did not realise the harm they were causing their children by raising them in Britain without the parents knowing anything about the British culture. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) stated individuals choosing not to live healthy and fulfilling lives, and neglecting themselves was shame. She expressed disrespecting other cultures, discriminating people due to their race and religion, and parents not teaching and guiding children to becoming independent, was also shame. She and some of the other participants said dishonesty and lies were shameful.

### 4.13.2 Sub Theme 1.2
Rules, Respect and Stigma

Rules of shame appeared prevalent in South Asian British Muslim communities. Rules were formed by men and it was habitually females who were expected to comply with them.
There’s all manner of rules which men may create. They simply decide the rules by which our family, our community will be governed. They don’t communicate it… through osmosis people get to hear what these rules are and if you don’t comply, there are consequences (Nangial, p. 7) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

All of the participants indicated marriages were of significance within the honour and shame complex. When family expectations of marriage partners were not implemented, this led to short and long term strained family relationships, intertwined with feelings of shame and stigma. Hamza (G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I) shared the magnitude of the shame and stigma he and his wife experienced due to their son’s marriage to a non-Muslim woman was reduced due to them living in a large city, not having a substantial number of people in their personal lives, and also not living in South Asia. Feroz’s (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) quotation below depicted the significance of shame in South Asian British Muslim societies.

_Haya is a word which we use in Urdu and this means respect [pause] and courtesy. It comes from Arabic. Sharam is the extreme level of this and is a very powerful and important concept in my society_ (Feroz, p. 14) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

Wrongdoing which indicated codes of honour were not maintained resulted in dishonour, shame and penalties of various degrees. Honour was affiliated with strength and positivity. Shame was associated with weakness and negativity.

_This code is a device to keep the family on the straight and narrow, invariably women, children as well. The code is meant to ensure the family remains respected, strong, cohesive and that if erm it’s breached… then like the wall with a hole in it, that wall will fall down_ (Nangial, p. 7) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.13.3 Sub Theme 1.3

Control and Abuse

The majority of participants indicated when an individual was perceived to have behaved in a “shameful” manner, his/her family felt that he/she had brought shame into their lives. Yumnah (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about circumstances when a family may be accepting of transgressions by their children. However, due to societal pressure, they were obliged to exercise reprimanding behaviour. Hence, the control
and abuse within the shame phenomena did not necessarily originate from the immediate family, but could be consequential to societal control and expectations of parental punishments.

*It’s harder for the family because they would accept the children’s misdemeanours and little weaknesses. It's the communities and society that doesn’t. If a father went to Mosque “what sort of father are you? You let your daughter wear these sorts of clothes? You let your wife do this?” C-o-n-s-t-a-n-t b-i-c-k-e-r-i-n-g! So h-e h-a-s t-o p-r-o-v-e a p-o-i-n-t by doing something. He’s culturally bullied into doing something, like forced marriages and taking them abroad. That will sort the children out! (Yumnah, p. 7)* (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

Narratives from Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) and Nangial (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P) indicated at times extended family members living in South Asia contacted relatives in the UK to express their disapproval of what they perceived to be “shameful” conduct by females here. Hence, some women were subjected to control by relatives in local and international settings, and subsequently abused.

*One of my cousins in Bangladesh had nothing better to do than to show my mum photos of me on Facebook with my male friends. She went absolutely ballistic and attacked me on quite personal levels (Zaafirah, p. 13)* (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).

### 4.14 Main Theme 2
#### Emotional

All of the participants talked about the range of emotions people experienced in connection to shame. Feelings associated with emotional pain, anger and tears were some of the responses within the shame complex.

#### 4.14.1 Sub Theme 2.1

#### Secrecy

The participants talked about how feeling shame was encased with negativity and secrecy. Efforts were made on individual and collective levels from all generations to keep shame hidden. The quotation from Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P) below succinctly illustrated the substance of feeling shame.
Shame cuts deeper into people than honour. Honour is something in the public view and shame is something that you bury, very deep within yourself and within the community (Sophia, p. 10) (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P).

Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B), Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) and Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) disclosed their previous/current intimate partner relationships which they had not revealed to their families and/or friends due to others’ perceptions of shame. There was a rhetoric that some young single Muslims, particularly females, were not permitted to be in intimate partner relationships outside of marriage as this was considered “shameful.”

I ended up falling in love with someone in the first year at uni. I haven’t told my mum, she would go mental even though nothing physical ever happened. I’ve kept it pretty secret as I’d be made to feel quite ashamed because I’d gone out there and experienced something that only adults should feel or experience in marriage. He was someone who was very harmful, from a completely different background to me, Irish, ex-catholic, alcoholic [incongruent laugh] (Zaafirah, p. 12) (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).

4.14.2 Sub Theme 2.2

Individual and Collective Expectations and Damage

Individual shame could also be experienced when a female overstepped into a non-mahram male’s personal space. Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) disclosed she felt “ashamed of herself” if she had danced too closely with males despite there being no sexual perceptions attached to her proximity by herself or the men she danced with. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) expressed parents not taking responsibility for educating their children, and adults “demanding” the government resolved their homelessness was shame. At times, individuals not achieving their own and/or others’ expectations of personal conduct resulted in them feeling shame.

When you have failed your responsibilities successfully, you feel depressed, frustrated and finally you feel ashamed because you have failed (Mifzal, p. 6) (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B).

There were numerous examples of collective expectations placed upon individuals to conform to perceptions of socially appropriate deportment, otherwise they experienced
damaging outcomes. Feroz’s (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) quotation below illustrated the conflict he experienced between his own values compared to his male peers regarding throwing money on female dancers as per some customary marriage celebrations. He reluctantly imitated his peers. Otherwise, their criticism would have left him feeling “ashamed” which he managed to avoid by compromising on his own principles.

England has been a very good country for me because when I came here, I was part of that system and society. I used to attend the mujras because my friends are getting married. Honest to God, I... I never liked to throw money on the dancing women. But if I don’t throw money, I would feel very ashamed. People would say “Mr [surname] has no money.” So, I would take my stack of money, ten thousand, fifteen thousand [Pakistani rupee] go there for five minutes, pay my price and leave the place (Feroz, p. 20) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) talked about feeling shame if she did not share some “crucial truths” about the behaviour of some British Bangladeshis. She felt shame about other people who engaged in conduct which she considered exploitative, dishonest and immoral.

I know this other husband who disappears every three, four months and he keeps marrying poor women in Bangladesh every three months. It is shame to me. And another young man, he has got twenty-three women already as wives. The fathers in Bangladesh, sold their daughters for financial and short term benefit (Saabira, p. 19) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

To prevent shame being attached to his family, Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B) decided not to marry someone who was from a different culture, race, ethnicity and faith to himself. Stopping any potential shame damage to families at times necessitated some intimate, partner relationships to be relinquished.

If I would have married that German girl, then my people would say “yeah, he’s married someone abroad, a Christian, a different religion.” That would have been a shame for my parents, I might have felt it’s causing some disgrace to my family (Ajmal, p. 11-12) (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B).
4.14.3 Sub Theme 2.3
Loss and Pain

From some of the narratives, there was a sense of underlying loss and pain within the range of emotions associated with shame. This was more perceptible in the examples when some South Asian British Muslim females were disowned by their families due to notions of them having brought “shame and disgrace” to their families. Feroz’s (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) quotation below demonstrated that beneath parental feelings of shame, fury and resentment, some love for their daughters remained, albeit it was intertwined with emotional pain.

[deep sigh] Emotionally it never breaks… but sometimes rage, anger, hatred overcomes the love. Even if they disown their own daughter, it’s not that they don’t remember their daughter, they’re just angry. Sharam. Shame. When they feel the shame…but somewhere the love is there (Feroz, p. 31) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

The emotional loss and pain was also experienced by a British Bangladeshi father whose daughter was disowned by him and his sons due to her marriage to a white male. The father remained interested in how his daughter was. It seemed the hurt he felt at her actions prevented him from resuming contact with her. The brothers dissolving all contact resulted in a loss of relationships for both parties; them and her.

My cousin has contact with her mum, and her dad indirectly tries to find out how she’s doing. He doesn’t talk to her because he’s still upset about what she has done. It was never ever a case where her five brothers were going to go... hunting for her, they wouldn’t be violent... they disapprove of what she’s done. They’ve cut all ties with her (Rawahah, p. 13) (G:F,A:26,CB:ENG,E:B).

The aftermath for Muslim women who contravened shame obligations was partial or complete severance from family connections. Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P) shared an account of a young Muslim woman whose father was “traumatized” when she married a Sikh male. She was disowned by her brothers. However, it was not only Muslim women who were ostracized when they married someone outside their faith. As depicted below, such responses crossed the parameters of religions and cultures.
I’ve got a very close friend who is white English and her brother married a Jewish woman. Her family had a funeral service for her because she was dead for them. If they cut you out, that’s what people do. You are dead. You have brought so much shame! (Sophia, p. 5-6) (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P).

4.15 Main Theme 3
Physical
All of the participants talked about shame in a physical sense. There was a rhetoric that shame associated with individuals and collectives was visibly discernible and there was a physical response in shame being removed from public view.

4.15.1 Sub Theme 3.1
Female Image
For some South Asian British Muslim families, it was important they presented an image which was “pure”, “perfect” and “intact.” Communities who considered the appearance of some females inappropriate, not only criticised the females concerned, but also their parents. Thus, parental honour was questioned by societal notions of shame despite the parents themselves, on occasions, not being concerned this was an honour and shame issue.

Even though I may not perceive my daughter’s behaviour or dress code as being connected to my honour, the society may perceive it as shame as apparently, I’ve not brought the children up in an environment showing decency (Hamza, p. 9) (G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I).

There were various narratives of discord between parental and progeny notions of shame regarding the physical expression of females. Females who did not act demurely were considered “shameless” and “immodest.” Some women were expected to comport themselves with a quiet presence and not have eye contact in order to shield themselves from any attachments of shame.

God, I’ve heard the word shame a lot. I should protect my shame. I shouldn’t act shamelessly. Acting shamelessly is acting l-o-u-d, gesticulating, going to places where illicit things happen. I’ve been told by my mum on many occasions that I act shamelessly and that’s literally because I laugh a lot. Shame is very much about acting
in this traditional, feminine way and being modest, looking down err not looking someone straight in the eye, not hugging men erm which I do (Zaafirah, p. 17) (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).

Female demeanour was closely related to higher echelons of shame, which was associated with male honour. The length of female skirts appeared significant as a number of participants expressed miniskirts were shameful and indecent attire.

*If my daughter went out on a Saturday night imitating the culture of this country, in very tight fitting clothes, revealing her body and wearing miniskirts, I would consider that as a very shameful act being committed by her. My honour is at stake. I would see that as dishonouring me* (Hamza, p. 8) (G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I).

There were narratives of some mothers and/or daughters experiencing pressure to wear the hijab due to third party notions of shame. Some presumptions existed that the hijab safeguarded or reduced the possibility of shame. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) expressed the hijab did not guarantee against what may be perceived as shameful and un-Islamic behaviour.

*They force their children to do the hijab. I've seen those girls kissing boys with their scarf hanging on their neck! [incongruent laugh]. It is shame to force the daughter and not teach her* (Saabira, p. 13) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

4.15.2 Sub Theme 3.2

Abuse

All of the participants shared accounts of abuse being meted out to females by male relatives due to notions of shame. Male abusers consisted of fathers, brothers, uncles, grandfathers, male cousins and so forth. The stigma of kinship shame was viewed as a permanent “stain.” On occasions, familial suicide occurred to escape the “disgrace” of female elopement. The lives of couples who eloped were in danger from the female’s kinship. Avenging the shame also indicated the brothers of the eloped male were at risk of being murdered.

*My sister was talking on the telephone and on the assumption that she is deliberately talking to a man, there was a physical assault on her. If, God forbid, someone’s
daughter goes off with a boy there’s a high probability her parents would never come to that social term before the incident. There’s a stigma which never goes off any family. Some people, especially the parents and mothers, would prefer suicide, instead of facing the people (Feroz, p. 15-16) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) whispered that British Bangladeshi communities “hit” their children which she described as shame. Tariq (G:M,A:42,CB:P,E:P) was the only participant who shared some in-depth examples of male children also being abused by their fathers. His narrative related to his professional experience with probation. Some children and young people appreciated the autonomy they had outside the home environment, whereas at home, they were answerable to controlling, authoritarian fathers. They were verbally and physically abused by their fathers upon arriving home. Identity issues amalgamated within honour and shame were some of the aspects present in these abusive relationships.

At home… father is waiting and he welcomes you with a swear or a slap, and that is a very dangerous thing to do (Tariq, p. 9) (G:M,A:42,CB:P,E:P).

4.15.3 Sub Theme 3.3

Family Members Murdering Female Relatives

Murder being the result for some females whose families considered them to have brought the family honour into disrepute by their shameful behaviour was not a rarity. The majority of the participants knew, or had heard of women, whom experienced this fatal outcome.

I am the national lead on honour based violence and forced marriage. Every single case in the country will run past me at some point. Banaz Mahmod who was sixteen, went through a forced marriage in London, came out the other end battered and bruised... she managed to get out of that marriage... she’s observed by some busybody in the community who has seen her kissing her boyfriend outside the tube station. She’s only twenty years old... he felt affronted by what he saw [swallows]. Shared that with her father and her uncle and within twenty-four hours she was dead (Nangial, p. 4) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).
Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) narrated an event in Pakistan whereby a man murdered his wife and three daughters based upon his suspicions his wife was involved in an extramarital relationship. Their bodies were placed in public view to demonstrate he had removed the cause of shame.

I know a case in my own area. The guy killed his wife and three daughters on the suspicion that his wife has illicit relation. There was no evidence. He killed them and put them on this chowk. That guy is roaming around on that place without any sharam (Feroz, p. 16) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

I have included an additional quotation below which depicted not only the ramifications for females directly considered to have brought shame, but also to any other females of all generations whom may feel the loss of those relationships ending, and compassion for the deceased due to shame killings.

Generally, daughters would be respected, but the moment they see their daughter has brought even a slightest of shame... according to the definition of society and to the perception of the people, they are going to definitely disown and completely isolate her from the rest of the world. I knew a girl who ended up marrying some guy on her own. Her father killed her because she had brought shame to the family... in some parts of Pakistan, in Sindh, if a girl is indirectly associated with something shameful, she will be buried alive. If some female tries to support her daughter, sister, she will be killed as well [spoken in a matter of fact way] (Aleena, p. 18) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

4.16 Main Theme 4
Sexual
From the narratives, there was a strong theme of shame being attached to issues of a sexual nature. There was a rhetoric of permissible and non-permissible sexual contact being ensconced in secrecy which often resulted in adverse outcomes.

4.16.1 Sub Theme 4.1
Dirty
All of the participants talked about shame being attached to defilement. Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) explained shame was the “dirtying of a name” and “dirtying of
honour.” He expressed female elopement was definitely considered “shameful” which increased if she became pregnant outside of wedlock.

Fazila (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) and Neelam (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P) shared narratives of how it had been “ingrained” within the South Asian British Muslim mindsets that shame was attached to sexual organs and sexual relationships. Girls were raised with messages that for cultural and religious reasons, they should not engage in any sexual contact prior to marriage. The consequences of this conditioning resulted in some women’s perceptions that sexual intimacy was “dirty.” They continued to have these notions when married and struggled in detaching the embedded negativity that sexual contact was shameful.

The most shameful thing for Asians is always sex “oh g-i-r-l-s s-h-o-u-l-d n-o t h-a-v-e s-e-x b-e-f-o-r-e m-a-r-r-i-a-g-e because culturally it’s bad and culturally men want virgins.” We’re told you shouldn’t touch a boy before marriage... it is a shameful act before marriage. In Islam, it exists as well. Because I had been taught so much that sex is wrong, just don’t do it. When I got married, I carried this... sex is wrong, bad... dirty, perverted... idea into my marriage (Fazila, p. 38-40) (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P).

Neelam (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P) also shared that some South Asian British Muslim women were sexually “vulnerable” in their marital relationships as they were raised without any awareness of sexual intimacy. Hence, they were sexually “completely helpless” as they did not know what was “right.” Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) expressed parents being unknowledgeable and unaware of sexual abuse regarding children was shame as many people “did bad things” to children. She whispered young mothers not breastfeeding their babies as they believed this caused breast shapes to change was shame.

4.16.2 Sub Theme 4.2

Pre/Non Marital Sexual Relationships and Homosexuality

All of the narratives conveyed that sexual relationships outside marriage were considered shameful. In pre/non marital sexual relationships, a much deeper intensity of shame was attached to females and their families compared to males and their families. Fazila (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about the shame she incurred during her teenage years when she had a boyfriend, which included sexual contact.
I had a very bad reputation in school with my friends and my family because I got a boyfriend [incongruent laugh]. He would say he’s been having sex with me... the whole school would know about it. My friends were “oh, you’re such a slag. How could you do that?” Erm that little incident in school taught me all about reputation, sex, shame [pause] he told people what I looked like naked. I hadn’t even been naked in front of him! It was so very shameful for people to know that about me. After school, I went into college with this reputation. Everybody knew who I was because I was this big slag. That’s when I realized... you... have to be a decent or a good girl, and I have to know my limits (Fazila, p. 44-45)

There were some conflicting opinions as to whether men experienced shame due to their involvement in extramarital affairs. Hamza (G:M,A:53,CB:I,E:I) expressed he would “incur shame” on himself if he had an extramarital affair whereas Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) contradicted this.

Prostitution is a big issue in the Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian communities here. Men do adultery, they keep mistresses, they keep remarrying and they don’t feel shame (Saabira, p. 15)

Ali (G:M,A:21,CB:ENG,E:I) shared he was obliged to keep his homosexuality partially hidden. Due to others’ perceptions of shame, and the fear his sexuality would negatively impact his nuclear and extended family, his community were unaware of his homosexuality. From all of the narratives, male homosexuality was the only example when some men were permanently disowned by their families and communities.

A family friend came out as gay after... getting married and having two kids... that was very shameful because nobody went to that family’s house for a long time. He got divorced and his kids still don’t speak to him. There was a lot of shame put on that family. They were exiled from the community (Ali, p. 11)

Female sexual impropriety resulted in parental and familial shame. Fazila’s (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) experience of not being subjected to physical violence when it became known she had a boyfriend appeared atypical. All of the other accounts included females being harmed to various degrees.
That’s the w-o-r-s-t, most shameful thing when your parents are hearing this is what their daughter’s boyfriend...has been saying about her. My dad stopped talking to me [quietly spoken and incongruent laugh] coz he didn’t know what to do. My mum... would always come and say “don’t have sex with him. This is what his ultimate goal is, he’s gonna break you... if you do that.” I would be like “oh, who are you to tell me not to do anything??” She never shouted or [swallows] they never punished me, I never got g-r-o-u-n-d-e-d. It was explaining “because you’ve got a bad reputation, now we’ve got a bad reputation, it’s an honour thing” (Fazila, p. 45-46) (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.16.3 Sub Theme 4.3

Secrecy

There was a strong theme of secrecy being attached to sexual matters, intimate partner relationships and sexuality. Talking openly about intimate aspects of the human body was a “taboo” and considered “extremely shameful.” There was a rhetoric of how shame surfaced for some adult female patients accessing medical interventions. Keeping silent either by choice/duress regarding their bodies due to shame resulted in serious consequences, and on one occasion, death.

This client’s erm mother-in-law developed breast cancer. She didn’t tell anyone, not even her doctor, because the breast is considered a shameful area. It reached that stage where she couldn’t hide it anymore. When she went to see her G.P, she was at her final stages of cancer. She died within one month... another client was forced into a sterilization operation by her husband. She has never mentioned it to anybody. There is so much shame associated with female genitals, they don’t talk about it (Neelam, p. 39) (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P).

Male homosexuality held a deeper meaning of shame for some families and communities. Some men felt compelled to keep their non-heterosexuality a secret even from their kinship. However, there was no indication the homosexual men themselves felt shame regarding their sexuality.

I have this Pakistani friend and he’s gay. He’s said on his life he’s never gonna come out because of the shame... sexuality is a completely different thing (Lujaina, p. 14) (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B).
4.16.4 Sub Theme 4.4

Consequences

All of the participants shared the consequences of shame affected the individual(s) directly linked to the issue, and their families. There was a threat that future marriage proposals for unmarried sisters, daughters, nieces et cetera would be adversely affected as they and their families were considered “high risk.”

Muslim men fathering children outside of marriage was another example of when men were accountable for a shame issue. **Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P)** shared she knew a South Asian British Muslim man who felt shame at having an illegitimate child. Family acceptance, albeit delayed, of transgressions based upon male gender consistently materialized from the accounts.

*This guy got this girl pregnant and they had the child. Everyone knew the guy and was talking about him... people were willing to disown him. His parents kicked him out. But a month later, they accepted him and the baby* (Lujaina, p. 7)


**Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P)** said some Pakistani families’ reactions to illegitimacy included ending the life of the unwed daughter and/or the foetus/baby, or arranging adoption for the baby. Women who chose to marry someone of a different race, ethnicity and faith were viewed as having brought shame to their families. The repercussions for these women invariably resulted in exclusion.

*I have a cousin whose erm... married... a... w-h-i-t-e m-a-n. Family members consider her as bringing shame to the family. Everybody avoids talking about her... she’s that forgotten member of the family* (Rawahah, p. 10)


Females engaged in non-platonic relationships which developed without their families’ knowledge or approval resulted in collective shame. Some families responded by immediately arranging/forcing them into marriage.

*I had a friend who came here from Pakistan and she had a very extreme upbringing. Over here she had so much freedom. She was out in the pub, smoking, one white*
boyfriend after another just as trophies. As soon as her parents found out, they came marching into England, grabbed her, took her home and got her married to the first man who offered for her (Zainab, p. 23) (G:F,A:64,CB:I,E:I).

Other families responded by murdering their female relatives to protect their family honour and prevent shame from infiltrating through to them. Women who were suspected of engaging in pre/non marital sexual relationships were murdered, as were their mothers if they dared to visit the graveyard. Murdering these women was considered to fortify the family, and the male honour, in particular.

Some places in Pakistan, if a sister, daughter is having an affair, just to defend their family honour, they will get her murdered. They have not allowed their family to feel ashamed of anything. There is a graveyard, no headstones, nobody ever goes there to say their prayers erm because all the women who are suspected of having an affair have been murdered and buried there. One of the mothers took the courage to go and say her prayers; she was murdered and buried there as well. They want to prove to the community they are very honourable people (Neelam, p. 35-36) (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P).

Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B) and Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about shame being attached to females who were sexually violated. Their families felt they were dishonoured and shamed by such incidents. The women were considered to have had their honour “taken away” and “lost their dignity.” In South Asia, they often committed suicide as these women were considered to have brought the shame. There was an expectation a woman who had been raped “will give her life” because she had been dishonoured. The consequences for female victims and survivors of rape, and their families, was permanent damage. In contrast, male perpetrators of rape, and their families, were disconnected from shame. Or, if they did experience any shame, this was rapidly concealed.

If a girl is raped, she has brought shame on the family. That is bizati of the family. If a man rapes “oh, he has made a mistake” it’s just a slap on the wrist. He will not be seen as bringing shame to the family or if there is any evidence of shame, it will be quickly buried (Mavisha, p. 36) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).
Ajmal (G:M,A:27,CB:B,E:B) also disclosed many young girls committed suicide in Bangladesh as a result of eve-teasing and verbal abuse by boys.

4.17 Main Theme 5
Financial
There were narratives that monetary circumstances contributed towards shame attachment or detachment. Finance and shame were interconnected with masculinities, economic independence, disposable income and employment status.

4.17.1 Sub Theme 5.1
Status
Ascribing to notions of hegemonic masculinities and being the sole earner was important for some men. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) expressed people begging for money when they were fit and healthy, not repaying borrowed money, forgery, and “giving birth one after another to stay on benefits” was shame. Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) expressed he would feel very ashamed if people inaccurately thought he did not have money. In contrast, Lujaina (G:F,A:19,CB:ENG,E:B) stated shame was no longer attached to people experiencing financial difficulties as they were living in a recession.

Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) talked about feeling shame in the past due to her previous employment and financial positions. She was a university graduate and had felt ashamed to be in employment which she, and possibly other persons, considered beneath her station. She attempted to appear invisible and conceal her employment situation.

When I came to this country, my husband was a psychiatry doctor student for five years and he didn’t work. I had three jobs. That time I didn’t tell anyone. I used to hide myself with a long nursing dress and leggings and do night shifts as an auxiliary nurse [last two sentences whispered]. But now, I feel proud. It's not shame. I earned the money and provided for my family (Saabira, p. 11) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

4.18 Main Theme 6
Relationships
All of the narratives indicated relationships were pivotal in the shame complex. They all talked about the interactions, perceptions, dynamics, experiences and outcomes in correlation to healthy/unhealthy relationships and shame issues.

4.18.1 Sub Theme 6.1
Gender Based Family Dynamics

Some participants of Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage verbalised that predominantly, a sense of loss and discontentment was felt by the majority of families at the prospect of a daughter. Neelam (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P) explained in Pakistan 90% of people felt more happiness on the birth of a son. Daughters were not considered good investments as the money, love and warmth they received would “go down the drain” when they were “married off.” She disclosed some female foetuses were aborted due to preferences for sons. Male births were considered a positive investment as they continued the family line. Some participants expressed prayers were said for women to have sons and male births were celebrated.

I felt more happy when my son was born compared to when my daughter was born... I have a cousin who had three daughters and erm [sigh] when the gynaecologist told her the fourth child is a girl, she had her erm aborted because of the gender (Neelam, p. 23-24 & 25) (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P).

According to Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B), within some British Bangladeshi families, there was a shift in some parents who previously considered the birth of their daughter a burden, to now seeing her as a future financial gain for their own advantage. She worked as a mental health link worker and had substantial contact with Bangladeshi communities in a North West city. Her quotation below illustrated that some British Bangladeshi parents were practising a bride price system for their own materialistic acquisition.

Nowadays, husbands’ attitude has changed. Before they used to think ‘girl is burden’ but now they count them as almost the same, but not absolutely. Some accept them “oh, all my three girls are nice” but some say “no, I should have a boy.” The Bangladeshi community [very quietly spoken] some of the father’s think ‘oh daughter, if we arrange erm her marry with the immigrant, we can ask for £20,000, £30,000.’ The
parents keep the cash or the ornaments. The parents enjoy that money. No, no, no! The daughter doesn't enjoy the money (Saabira, p. 38-39) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

4.18.2 Sub Theme 6.2
Reputation, Disgrace and Damage Consequences

There was a consensus among all of the participants there were gender differences in how shame was viewed and experienced by Muslim men and women. Gulshan (G:F,A:34,CB:ENG,E:P) talked about much higher expectations placed upon females and their “minor actions” were considered shameful. In contrast, males were able to escape from being blamed for shameful behaviour. This theme has been allocated more space accordingly.

It would probably be easier for a girl to be shamed... and more difficult for a girl to wash her sins away if she did anything that would come back to her in front of people than a bloke (Qabila, p. 11) (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P).

When both genders engaged in consensual pre/non marital sexual relationships, it was the females who were blamed and shamed for these “sins.” They were held responsible for their family’s subsequent “disgrace.”

In Pakistani society, ultimately the responsibility will go to the female and she has brought the disgrace. He is an innocent guy. If it gets p-u-b-l-i-c, there is no chance that girl would ever get married (Aleena, p. 8) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

Shame felt by multiple people was a recurring theme. There was compelling unification of shame, immediate and extended families.

If a girl went with a boy, that is a shame for her whole family, not only for the mother, father, brothers, sisters, but chacha, taya, khaandaan (Feroz, p. 15) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

Some of the participants expressed males were able to engage in illicit sexual relationships as they “had nothing to lose.” Males could hide their sexual transgressions with ease compared to females, who could become pregnant. There was a sense the harm caused to the reputation of individuals and their families due to shame perceptions
was severe. Female reputation was susceptible to irreparable damage regardless of whether a female had been involved in a shame issue, or whether she was suspected of having done so.

*It’s a label. Even if the girl hasn’t done anything, she can be persecuted or punished just by it being said that she’s done something shameful* (Zara, p. 4) (G:F,A30,CB:ENG,E:P).

All of the narratives, except Fazila’s (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) included accounts of females being chastised and/or mistreated to various degrees by their families due to being embroiled in shame issues. The continuum of the consequences ranged from verbal exclusion to physical exclusion, and on occasions supposed or actual demise.

*As a form of erm trying to discipline the other girls, I was out casted err by the family err nobody was allowed to communicate with me. If people outside the community asked about me, or if a new person who joined the family ever got to know my name, they were told I was dead* (Mavisha, p. 8) (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P).

Akbar (G:M,A:33,CB:ENG,E:P) and Nangial (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P) conveyed how their previous perceptions that shame would have reduced meaning for the current generation was contrary to reality. They explained that some young males had reinforced and perpetuated the shame attitudes of previous generations. The consequences for females perceived to have engaged in shameful conduct resulted in their reputation being damaged for life.

*A young man was saying his view was that man was a piece of gold and a woman a piece of silk... if gold was dropped in mud it would be wiped clean. Silk is stained forever... one shameful, dishonourable incident will damage and taint the woman forever and thereby everything else will get contaminated in some way* (Nangial, p. 7) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.18.3 Sub Theme 6.3

**Gender Based Family Roles, Responsibilities and Obligations**

All of the participants talked about the roles males and females were required to fulfil to avoid shame being attached to them and/or their families; i.e. men were responsible for
upholding their family honour. Females were responsible for not bringing any shame into their own and their family’s lives. Discrimination and risk was attached to females from birth onwards. The penalties for females who were considered to have brought shame were customarily lifelong sentences of criticism, rejection and annihilation.

Some of the shame avoiding expectations placed upon women were unattainable and not within their power; i.e. being instructed to give birth to males. For some South Asian British Muslims, perceptions of surplus females were attached to shame. The quotation below was particularly powerful and I have included it in its entirety to illustrate the depth and breadth of its shame correlation.

I know one lady, she got two beautiful girls and she became pregnant. Husband said ‘erm “third one shouldn’t be a girl. If you can’t give the third as a boy, I will go to Bangladesh and remarry.”’ I am talking about twenty years ago, and at that time there was no scan to tell the gender. She had a baby girl. It was ringing in her mind because she loved her husband ‘oh, I’ll lose my husband if he will remarry.’ She developed psychotic like problem and postnatal depression. She came back home and when the girl was seven days old, she absolutely slaughtered the new baby. At night time, the three girls were sleeping with her. Husband was at work. She thought ‘it’s better to slaughter her, otherwise…’ She brought her down, yeah, and slaughtered her with a kitchen knife. She took the knife upstairs and she tried to slaughter the first one, who woke up, and ran away. She tried the second one... she has got a cut mark here on the throat [gestures towards own throat]. And she was then in [North West city name] mental health prison. Because her husband would remarry. It is a shame (Saabira, p. 16) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

She elaborated this husband was involved with “bad women, prostitutes” when his wife was imprisoned. She looked embarrassed and disclosed feeling shame to tell me he had “bad sex style.” She subsequently described how he sexually abused and injured his wife after her release.

4.18.4 Sub Theme 6.4 Image and Decorum

Shame was very closely connected to perceptions of modesty and acceptable/unacceptable conduct. How one sat, talked, stood, ate, looked, behaved,
socialised, lived and so forth was evaluated and judged as either including or excluding shameful characteristics.

*If you grow up in a Pakistani household, shame is rammed down your throat since you are a child, as a girl or a boy. It’s an all pervasive word that you grow up with. It definitely conditions your modesty and the way you behave* (Zainab, p. 14) (G:F,A:64,CB:I,E:I).

However, female conduct was examined on a micro level. **Qabila** (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) and **Zaafirah** (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) said women who were viewed as being too visible or sociable were considered by some South Asian British Muslims as behaving in a “shameful” manner.

*If a woman is too bold and looking around, it is seen as her being shameful. If a woman is out and about too much, then it’s fitnah* (Qabila, p. 15) (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P).

Photograph 13 in the main study drew a spontaneous reaction of shock and repugnance from **Shareen** (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) and **Noreen** (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P). The image was of a female Indian Muslim professional tennis player named Sania Mirza, wearing tennis clothes. I presented the photograph by stating it was an image of a young, Muslim woman and was interrupted by Noreen’s exclamation in Urdu.


**Amna** (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) recognised the tennis player. **Noreen** (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P) expressed that from an Islamic perspective such attire was “bad” and not permissible. Correspondingly, **Shareen** (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) expressed the result of wearing such clothes was “very bad.”

*O-h, m-y G-o-d!* [incongruent laugh] **When I look at her I feel shame, so what can I comment about this? This is shame for Asian, Muslim ladies** (Shareen, p. 29, photograph 13) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).
In contrast, Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) did not express any objections to Sania Mirza’s outfit. She explained to her peers it was a “forced dress” which had to be worn by tennis players. The discussion of photograph 13 illustrated strong and subjective perspectives of what was/was not considered shameful despite the participants having some shared demographics; born and raised in Pakistan, migrated to the UK upon marriage, and wearing the hijab.

With the exception of male homosexuality, any threats to male virility were quashed when men experienced shame. This shame appeared to be a momentary sensation and not a long term reflection upon the male’s character. Neelam (G:F,A:42,CB:P,E:P) stated anything which was “a blow to their manhood” caused men shame. Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) shared males having girlfriends, taking substances and drinking alcohol was temporary and “repairable shame.” Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) described if girls engaged in “exactly the same” behaviour as boys, the collective response would be “let’s shoot her.”

Photograph 12 in the main study of a Muslim man and woman on a beach elicited diverse opinions. Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) expressed this was a “nice photo” as the woman was covered and they were having entertainment outside. However, Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) objected to the woman’s posture in public as non-mahram men would have seen her in that pose. Noreen (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P) said there was no issue with the image if the woman was with her husband.

It is not in Islam for women to show themselves in public. Muslim women do not sit like this. She should sit properly like a normal human being [incongruent laugh] (Shareen, p. 28, photograph 12) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

4.18.5 Sub Theme 6.5  
Control and Abuse

From all of the narratives, elements of control and abuse existed within the shame construct. Males were identified as dominant figures in the shame repercussions.

Shame is not measurable... it ultimately comes down to the men in the family or the community determining what the rules are and they're arbitrary, and will determine what the consequences are (Nangial, p. 6) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).
The majority of control and abuse which surfaced in the shame experiences was male upon female. However, there were some accounts of male upon male control and abuse. Tariq (G:M,A:42, CB:P, E:P), Yumnah (G:F,A:43, CB:ENG, E:P) and Ali’s (G:M,A:21, CB:ENG, E:I) narratives included psychological, emotional, physical and verbal abuse by male relatives and/or male community members towards other males. There were expectations for men to assert their masculinity and authority through violent methods to demonstrate they had taken action to reduce shame.

My husband felt ashamed he couldn’t keep a wife. His friends erm and the men of the family picked on him for not being able to control me. He had to do whatever he could to show them he was a man. They tormented him, even though they supported him. My dad always used to err beat women into submission. He was embarrassed I had dishonoured and defied him in the community. His social standing was jeopardized, which brought shame on him (Mavisha, p. 27-28) (G:F,A:43, CB:ENG, E:P).

Lujaina (G:F,A:19, CB:ENG, E:B) shared that in her British Bangladeshi family, she had questioned her sisters and female cousins why it was not possible for her to choose her own husband. Even if her family were formally approached with a marriage proposal and “he ticked all the right boxes” such a marriage was objectionable. All of them, bar one sister, expressed this was inconceivable as it would bring shame on to her dad.

People would say “look the daughter’s gone and chosen a guy for herself and the father couldn’t stop her. You would be ashamed and dad would be ashamed. Our father never wants to be shamed” (Lujaina, p. 10) (G:F,A:19, CB:ENG, E:B).

4.19 Main Theme 7

Islam

All of the participants talked about Islam and shame. They all embraced their faith and talked ardently about their perceptions and understandings of Islam. They drew attention to numerous examples of how some Muslims had digressed from the theological scriptures and guidance, which resulted in shame based detrimental outcomes.
4.19.1 Sub Theme 7.1

Misinterpretations of the Islamic Faith

This sub theme also contained a large amount of data. All of the participants talked about how Islam was “misinterpreted.” Interpretations of Islam resulted in detrimental outcomes for individuals who were considered to have broken the rules of shame which they were expected to preserve. The participants stated cultural notions of shame were not Islamic and “manmade rules” was frequently articulated. They highlighted some of the cultural mores which contradicted the scriptures; i.e. forced marriages, honour based violence and killings, abuse, denial of women’s divorce rights, female education and employment precluded. They expressed views that Islam was “very pragmatic,” “not rigid” and encouraged female autonomy.

*It’s very clear in the Qur’an and Hadith what shame should mean for men and women, which are very practical. Nothing onerous, nothing difficult to live by. If men play their part, women wouldn’t be so oppressed. If men think of modesty the way they are supposed to, all this about covering women up or not allowing women to leave the house wouldn’t be happening. It’s the insecurity of men* (Zainab, p. 19)


There was dissension regarding the understanding of Islam, particularly in reference to the hijab. Amna (G:F:A:39,CB:P,E:P), Shareen (G:F:A:30,CB:P,E:P), Gulshan (G:F:A:34,CB:ENG,E:P), Zaafirah (G:F:A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) and Noreen (G:F:A:28,CB:P,E:P) expressed wearing the hijab was “honourable” and offered them increased “respect.” However, Qabila (G:F:A:48,CB:P,E:P), Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) and Neelam (G:F:A:42,CB:P,E:P) did not believe it was a religious requirement for Muslim women to wear the hijab. Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) explained the “brainwashing” she had received regarding Islam had previously impaired her decisions in how she engaged with non-Muslims. Her remorse at her former prejudices was tangible. She said deliberate misguidance of Islam, and practising Islam without adhering to the Qur’an, was shame.

*My daughter’s friend, she’s a Hindu girl, but I used to hate her *[cries]. *I am crying because... of what I’ve learned “she’s Hindu, she’s bad.” I realise now, I did a mistake. It’s not my fault. My brain became brainwashed for a short time. Now whenever I meet her, I give her more love. Her mum died of cancer. I keep praying*
for her as I pray for my daughter because my attitude changed. I didn’t understand the Qur’an that much, but now I do [recites an Islamic text in Arabic] “the Qur’an says you respect all religions” now I know it, but at the time I didn’t (Saabira, p. 30-31) (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B).

The participants shared numerous narratives of cultural practices contradicting Islamic rights to marriage choices. Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) disclosed that although his family were quite religious, they objected to two of his sisters marrying non-Bangladeshi Muslim men. He expressed his Islamic values overrode his ethnic values and he facilitated their marriages.

Islamically, you don’t discriminate based on colour, race language and so on. Islam is one religion of faith so if you share the same faith, there’s no problem getting married. The Bengali community, which is similar to my family’s view, is linked to this Bengali identity within Islam, and basically, we marry our o-w-n, which is based on ignorance because of not having more Islamic understanding (Ismail, p. 7) (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B).

Different interpretations of Islam, honour and shame emerged in the context of women’s face covering. Noreen (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P) and Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) praised photograph 11 in the main study with “it’s very nice” comments. However, Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) objected to what she perceived as male control in the illustration. She disputed it was not a religious requirement for Muslim women to cover their faces. She stated the image represented honour and shame issues, not Islam.

He is standing very proud [incongruent laugh] with the woman like a goat behind him. I am totally against with women covering like erm a vegetable if they are doing it Islamically. I don’t like this photo. No. He’s showing himself as “I am something and the woman is totally under me.” Islam asks a woman to cover her hair and I agree. I never read anywhere Islam asks a woman to cover her face. This photo looks totally like a man’s society and there is no right for a woman. This is honour and shame. It is not Islam (Amna, p. 25, photograph 11) (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P).
None of the participants vocalised any support towards abusive shame practices. Shareen (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) expressed there was no shame in people being born with disfigurements. If mutilation injuries were sustained due to deliberate actions by other persons, then this was un-Islamic and shameful. Noreen (G:F,A:28,CB:P,E:P) and Amna (G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) agreed with Shareen’s opinion.

[deep sigh] If she is naturally like this, there is no shame because we should be grateful for how Allah (swt) has created us. If someone has cut off her nose this is shameful matter and not honour for us because it is not in Islam to abuse women (Shareen, p. 23, photograph 9) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

4.19.2 Sub Theme 7.2
Mercy for Muslims
There were repeated statements from the participants that many Muslims did not know, nor understand, the essence of Islam. They talked about how culture, abuse and shame constructs contributed towards un-Islamic ways of life.

The true Islam which came from Allah (swt) to Muhammed (pbuh) is the forgotten Islam. The problem with the people is that they don’t even know and understand what Islam is. They use Islam. Islam says if a wife has an illicit relationship, give her talaq. That’s it. Women were given the right to... err khula fourteen hundred and thirty years back. The relationship is over. But no, this sharam, revenge, anger... is there (Feroz, p. 19-20) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).

Some of the participants articulated although Allah (swt) bestowed forgiveness upon those who “sinned” and were penitent, some South Asian British Muslims refused to forgive fellow Muslims who may have erred in their Islamic requirements. Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) talked about how her mother regarded her as a “harlot” when she returned home after completing her university studies. Her mother was “really hostile” and she was the recipient of her “abuse.” She disclosed that when she was at university she would go dancing on Friday nights in attire which included a headscarf, “kameez, trousers and shiny shoes.” Her boundaries did not restrict her from dancing with males and females in public. I have included a fuller quotation below which captured the richness of the differences in Islamic and cultural forgiveness, strained...
dynamics of a mother/daughter relationship, and the diverse interpretations of shameful conduct regarding women.

*If you sin, you learn from it, you ask for forgiveness.* Mum was “you’re being really shameless.” *I know I’ve set myself limits. I’m not going to pursue a relationship outside marriage.* She finds it really annoying I won’t just listen to her and be under her control and constraints. It was r-e-a-l-l-y tough going. I felt very on edge…. like I was on probation… anything I did wrong just set her off “you’ve never listened to me. You always have to learn by making these catastrophic mistakes that affect your future.” *What catastrophic mistakes? I didn’t come home a crack whore, having been pregnant with an aborted baby…* She was like “you should be on the prayer mat crying for forgiveness” as she wanted that physical proof I was repenting for all these sins I’d committed (Zaafirah, p. 15) (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B).

Aleena (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P) and Sophia (G:F,A:60,CB:P,E:P) shared that in adultery situations, theologically there had to be at least three/four independent witnesses, otherwise no punishment was permissible. The reality was that some women suspected of adultery were at times “stoned to death by extremists.” Women were never forgiven for their real or perceived “sins.”

*The concept of shame naturally is associated in Islam. The society has got no right to judge you or keep on disregarding you. But in Pakistani society, even if somebody is two thousand times regretful, guilty and has been through punishment, nothing wipes off their sins. They have to become stranded. Although Allah (swt) is forgiving, the Pakistani people don’t have that view. If you are guilty of any sin, that isn’t forgivable* (Aleena, p. 25-27) (G:F,A:30,CB:P,E:P).

4.19.3 Sub Theme 7.3

**Covert and Overt Perpetuation of un-Islamic Practices by Religious Leaders**

I shared the difficulties I had experienced in religious leaders withdrawing from my study with Nangial (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P). Due to his profession as a Chief Crown Prosecutor, he had contact with Imams. He explained Imams were generally paid by committees which predominantly consisted of large numbers of male members.
Imams who were/perceived to be “offensive” would no longer be employed. This was a significant reason why researchers were prevented from engaging with them.

Imams I meet, there are three groups... modern... accessible... understand their language needs to change, they need to embrace modernity. The middle group is the vast majority errr... see their role simply as guardian of the scriptures... and to lead the prayer. They don’t see themselves....in any... counselling or chaplaincy type role where they can lead a community... A third group is the most dangerous group. They’re the ones that hide in the shadows... are keen to perpetuate... misinterpretations... prevent... those who are modernising from having a voice... I can always introduce you to lots of modern thinking Imams, but they will probably shut up the moment you put the tape recorder on... (Nangial, p. 9-10) (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P).

4.19.4 Sub Theme 7.4
Mechanisms for Implementing Positive Change

Albeit participants talked about painful punishments, they also thought creatively of how to resolve the negativity linked to shame to reduce, prevent and end this suffering. They all emphasized the importance of educational and religious input. They expressed South Asian British Muslims needed to be re-educated about honour and shame constructs. Ismail (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B) expressed how Muslim men viewed honour, dignity and shame needed to be addressed and for them to accept this could be “both parties.” The imbalance and “double standard” that women were the carriers of honour and brought the shame “needed to stop.” The participants stated that children, youths and adults all needed to hear, understand and accept males and females were equal in Islam. This knowledge needed to penetrate the homes, youth clubs, mentoring environments, Mosques, communities and so forth.

The issue of honour and shame has links to moral values and they have to come back to the values that Islam says men and women are given the same opportunity, respect, status (Ismail, p. 15) (G:M,A:43,CB:B,E:B).

There was a rhetoric if Muslim women were knowledgeable of the Islamic scriptures, this would empower them to challenge misinterpretations of the faith and define the
differences between cultural and religious practices. All of the participants expressed their support towards Muslims women’s autonomy.

*If women are encouraged to read the script instead of listening to some nonsense people who are maulvis and mullahs with these big daaris, who do nothing. Women more than men need to understand their rights so they could be a contributory force to deconstruct these constraints. If women convey this voice “come on, what are you talking about? Islam says this. The Qur’an says this, it’s written.” [firmly taps hand on desk]. Women can do this, but the first thing is if they are willing to change their own fate (Feroz, p. 31) (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P).*

### 4.20 Reflexivity

The participants shared first hand experiences of either themselves, or someone they knew, who had been caught up within the complexities of honour and shame. I experienced them as authentic and courageous in sharing and entrusting me with their personal accounts. Their narratives included some disturbing material, which required I take regular breaks as I undertook the thematic analysis aspect of this study. At times, I found the content harrowing and it would have been unhealthy for me to continue to focus on this for long periods of time. At a subconscious level I had blocked out some of what I had heard from the interviews until the analysis stage. It took me some time to process and work through the impact of the research participants’ experiences. My equilibrium was not disturbed due to any primary personal struggles, but secondary in nature due to the impact of the participants’ narratives.

I was aware that in my professional role as a clinical supervisor, I was working with supervisees who were supporting vulnerable clients who had experienced trauma. In my private practice as a counsellor, I was offering therapy to clients who were presenting with their own traumas. Hence, at times, I felt my professional and researcher life was surrounded by trauma. My experience appeared akin to some counsellor research participants “distancing themselves from the traumatic material they were working with” (Gubi and Jacobs, 2009, p. 202). I recommend self-care for researchers is crucial, especially when exploring sensitive and emotive topics. Otherwise, there are possibilities researchers could experience vicarious trauma and/or secondary traumatic stress (Bayne *et al*., 2008) as experienced by some counsellors who witness the “destructive nature of interpersonal trauma” (Sanderson, 2012 p. 549).
4.21 Summary
This chapter illustrated the richness of the data generated from this study. The next chapter explores how these findings answered the research questions and critically analyses this in conjunction with existing literature.
5 DISCUSSION

5.1 Chapter Overview
This chapter explores the research questions and aims to illustrate plausible answers. The honour and shame phenomena appeared to be underpinned by patriarchy and the findings are considered in conjunction to their position within this theoretical concept. The key features of the main and sub themes are drawn out for critical analysis.

The importance and rationale for South Asian British Muslims not being otherized (Holliday, 2002) are explored. The dynamics and nuanced communication between the researcher and researched is deliberated. The most compelling findings which emerged from the data generation process are expounded in the original contribution to knowledge. The unexpected repetition of religious figures withdrawing from the study is critically examined. Evaluation of the methodology and the learning which transpired upon deeper self-contemplation is reviewed. Finally, my reflexivity in the process of discussing the findings are exemplified.

I note, these findings cannot be extrapolated to all South Asian British Muslims as the data emerged from a sample size of thirty research participants. The discussion is based upon my analysis of the data, which will have naturally been influenced by my perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, life experiences et cetera. As stated by Corbin and Strauss (2015) “Researchers bring their many aspects of self and experiences to the research process. These, sometimes even unconsciously, enter into how data is interpreted” (p. 22). I have attempted to be tentative in my claims. I do not assert that my discussion is a reflection of an absolute truth. My intention was to explore the underlying issues, which derived from the findings, and offer some further understanding and considerations of the honour and shame phenomena.

The purpose of the research was to explore how South Asian British Muslims understood and experienced honour and shame. The research title was:

Exploring Honour and Shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women

The three research sub questions were:
• What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?

• What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?

• What are the gender differences in honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women?

5.2 Sociological Theories
In order to obtain a sense of the findings and to place this study within a theoretical context, I read some sociological theories, which are briefly included in this section. As my findings strongly resonated with patriarchal theories, these are discussed in-depth in the subsequent section. Sociology attempts to explain and understand human behaviour in society. There is an abundance of sociological concepts; i.e. gender, class, poverty, capitalism, restorative justice, and family and power et cetera (Giddens and Sutton, 2014). Five theoretical perspectives in society are; Functionalism, Conflict Perspectives, Marxism, Feminism, Interactionism and Postmodernism (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013). Theorists such as Max Weber, Sylvia Walby, Michael Foucault and Ann Oakley focussed upon gender, sexuality, power and patriarchy. Theoretical concepts within feminism are diverse, however, “the starting point for this theorising is always the notion of patriarchy” (Best, 2003, p. 177). Social theories are concerned about how is society possible, the social nature and reasons of human behaviour, relationships between individuals and societies, and power and relationships (Best, 2003). My findings resonated strongly with theories of patriarchy. Hence, this is discussed in relation to the honour and shame phenomena.

5.3 Patriarchy
Patriarchy is the theory I have applied in an attempt to offer some understanding of the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims. The existing literature on patriarchy is extensive and there is not the scope to discuss all of it within this study. However, some pertinent aspects have been selected for exploratory discussion. I acknowledge, it was only Nangial (G:M,A:50,CB:ENG,E:P) who used the term “patriarchal.” However, although the remainder of the participants did not vocalise “patriarchy” their language and
descriptions of life experiences corresponded with this; i.e. object, property, owned, chauvinistic, obey, oppressed, manmade rules, suppressed et cetera.

My findings indicated some of the patriarchal values, attitudes and belief systems which existed within some South Asian British Muslim communities did not resonate nor complement with twenty-first century living and cultural mores of the UK. There was a rhetoric from the participants that patriarchy at times overruled Islamic principles.

Based upon my data, I suggest patriarchy dominated some females, and also males who did not ascribe to the notion of hegemonic masculinities. Some participants shared narratives which indicated oppressive and controlling patriarchal boundaries were being challenged. I propose the South Asian British Muslim patriarchy went beyond exercising subjugation and female domination. At times, patriarchy resulted in individuals being annihilated from their families and communities, or even murdered. I suggest this particular type of patriarchy was not as covert as it was in other predominately Western cultures (Oakley, 2002; Wilcox, 2006).

Regardless of British legislation and human rights, South Asian British Muslim patriarchy appeared overt, deeply rooted and valued by some. From my findings, there were indications some women; i.e. wives and mothers colluded in maintaining the patriarchal construct and systems. I noted a pattern that some women who appeared to support patriarchy did not seem to have financial or employment independence. Perhaps them being dependent on their husbands for financial means reduced their empowerment and they relinquished their autonomy to the men whom they may have considered as their providers. It could be argued, perhaps some women colluded with this patriarchy and gendered roles in order to fulfil their own needs; i.e. not taking responsibility for key decisions regarding their children’s future. I suggest finance offers different opportunities and levels of self-governance in life. The monetary power some men held in family relationships sometimes appeared to expand into abusive honour and shame practices.

I have considered the possible connections between South Asian Muslim patriarchy and acculturation and will offer some explanations for consideration. It is documented that self-empowerment and individualism are Western concepts (Hussain, 2005; Yick, 2007; McKenzie-Mavinga, 2009). Previous studies evaluating autonomy have identified this to be in conflict with the South Asian British Muslim concepts of valuing collectivism (Laungani, 2002; Hussain, 2005; Dhillon-Stevens, 2012b; Jackson, 2015). Thus, I
suggest it is possible some South Asian British Muslims may view the world through a different lens. This may explain why for some people, patriarchy was acceptable, valued and condoned as it may not be perceived as being harmful as per the Western ways of thinking, living and being. Hence, although some generations of South Asian British Muslims may indeed be physically living in the West, their frame of reference may be significantly engaged with the cultural environments of their countries of origin.

However, based upon my data, I suggest some of the latter generations who were raised and more exposed to Western concepts, could be more open, accepting and desiring of Western ways of living. I propose, depending on one’s intersecting multiple identities; i.e. gender, faith, ethnicity, race, sexuality and so forth, some individuals may experience polarised positions within their internal and external spheres in the UK. Interestingly, none of my participants indicated they wished to reject their ethnic or religious identities. Conversely, they appeared to strive to amalgamate these aspects of themselves within a Western concept and world in which they resided.

Upon deeper reflection of my findings, I cautiously suggest some South Asian British Muslims may have experienced threefold patriarchal constructs; Western, South Asian and Muslim. No other studies I located within the honour and shame complex appeared to have focussed on the honour and shame experiences within this triad. Prior studies have noted the significance of South Asian patriarchy (Chen, 1995; Bano, 2000; Sev’er, 2005; Anitha, 2008; Gill, 2009; Wilson, 2010; Awasthi, 2015), Western patriarchy (Weaver et al., 2000; Oakley, 2002; Myers and Shaw, 2004; Cheal, 2005; Wilcox, 2006) and Muslim patriarchy (Wadud, 2005; Contractor, 2012; al-Attar, 2013; Mahmood, 2013; Nedjai, 2013; Mir-Hosseini, 2015). However, upon reviewing the literature, no data was found on the association of the merging of these trio patriarchal types within the honour and shame phenomena or indeed within the South Asian British Muslim honour and shame complex. I propose some South Asian British Muslims may have encountered additional struggles, barriers and dilemmas due to exposure to the threefold patriarchy. For others, who were caught in the tension of the honour and shame phenomena, they could have experienced additional layers of difficulties, thus, a multiplication of issues and patriarchal constructs.

My findings indicated on occasions, patriarchy superseded family relationships of love and care. These results had parallels to some participants’ experiences of honour and
shame transcending family bonds and nurture. I propose experiences of Islamophobia, as shared by some participants, may have exacerbated their angst furthermore. Hence, it is unsurprising studies have found high rates of suicide among South Asian British women, which on occasions has included reports of it being double the national average (Burr, 2002). Husain, Waheed and Husain (2006) report that South Asian British women aged sixteen – twenty-four years old were significantly more likely to self-harm compared to their white counterparts, which corresponded with Dickson et al., (2009) Manchester study that British South Asian women’s rate of self-harm was higher than white women.

Wadud (2006) notes “Patriarchal control over what it means to be human robs females of their God-given agency and full humanity” (p. 255). Contractor (2012) writes “The patriarchy that Muslim women challenge is not religious but is derived from the culture of Muslim communities. This cultural patriarchy can deny women access to education, careers and social authority, which ironically are rights Islam assures them” (p. 9). My results were in agreement with those obtained by these authors.

Yuval-Davis (1997) notes in various nations, traditionally the rule of the father was applied to younger men and women. My findings were in correspondence with her and Ljungvist’s (2012) paper on patriarchy whereby men considered they owned female bodies and female chastity, and women defiling their chastity meant simultaneous defilement of men’s honour as part of the chastity code advocated by the Spanish Renaissance humanist Juan Luis Vives (www.ibe.unesco.org). Wadud (1999) argues for social justice, it was essential to challenge patriarchy for an egalitarian system where the contributions and tasks from each gender would be truly respected. She emphasised the Qur’an never orders a woman to obey her husband. Existing literature noted for persons of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani heritage, honour and shame constructs were interrelated with patriarchal rules which women were expected to uphold (Werbner, 2002; Qadeer, 2006; Wilson, 2006).

My study findings from all of the triangulation methods consistently suggested patriarchy was a mechanism which supported the honour and shame system. Several key factors could explain this result. Patriarchy appeared to ensure men continued to retain power, control and authority. Obsessive control of female autonomy, sexuality and reproduction were some of the components which were present within patriarchal
constructs. Participants indicated women were devalued and excluded from making decisions about their own, and their family lives. There was a vocalised repetition it was men who benefitted from the positions which they, and societies, had created for them. This could possibly be one reason why men appeared unwilling to release this control.

My data analysis identified the position held by some women appeared to their detriment. However, there were also indications that despite some women’s efforts to challenge and change this, the fierce opposition they encountered meant a significant proportion of them remained in disadvantaged positions. Giddens and Sutton (2013) note over the twentieth century, patriarchal power within families has generally declined. It could be argued this may be the case in the West generally, but not among some minority ethnic groups. My study did not support their statement as applicable to my participants. It was evident from my findings that male domination of females continued as this was transported from one generation to the next.

Patriarchy within the white British society also prevails (Walby, 1990; Oakley, 2002; Wilcox, 2006; www.londonfeministnetwork.org.uk). I propose although it appeared white British society was more liberal regarding women, the reality is men still held most of the power, and retained masculine privileges and positions. In Britain, gender inequalities in employment remain as women receive approximately three quarters of the amount of salary earned by men (Bennett, 2006) and were employed in roles generally considered of low status (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013). Siraj (2010) writes “the patriarchal family is based on a hierarchical social structure which positions the man as the head of the family ‘ruling’ over women and children” (p. 195). Thus, it could be claimed a liberal form of patriarchy entrapment and social control existed in the UK white society. Hence, according to my findings and existing data, it could be inferred it was not only South Asian British Muslims who continued to uphold patriarchal systems, but white British indigenous people also maintained these constructs.

Existing literature illustrated a significant number of South Asian women experienced patriarchal natal families and were subjected to patriarchal cultural expectations (Chaudhuri, Morash and Yingling, 2014). Bannerji (1994) argued while some women developed at length in education, their bodies and clothing remained in a patriarchal
hold as “they are held in place by “shame” in the matter of their body, sensuality, and sexuality” (p. 191). Hunjan’s (2003) qualitative study of Canadian South Asian women (n: 13) who experienced intimate partner violence, found family honour may be unique to the South Asian culture or amplified by cultural factors linked to patriarchal beliefs. All of these findings had parallels with my data regarding limited female autonomy due to patriarchal and cultural notions of honour and shame.

Awasthi (2015) writes South Asian men in the USA have a status of privileged kings and princes in their homes, communities and cultures. Based upon my findings, I suggest this description could be applied to some South Asian British Muslim men. Dwyer (1999) notes “through the dominant patriarchal discourse the veil remains invested with symbolic meanings of purity, religiosity and morality” (p. 18). Bennett (2006) writes “The history of patriarchy is not, therefore, a history of men; it is also a history of women as survivors, resistors, and agents of patriarchy” (p. 59).

From my findings, patriarchy and male privilege existed. The social construct of honour and shame facilitated men to hold powerful and controlling positions, as they were considered superior to women. A loss of male honour appeared simultaneous to a loss of male power and control. This may possibly explain why some men strived to ensure they were not dishonoured as this could jeopardise their authoritative positions. My findings suggested a palpable reluctance for some men to consider, let alone accept, equalitarian gendered South Asian British Muslim relationships and societies.

5.4 Definition and Concept of Honour

According to my participants, honour was connected to respect and dignity. It appeared a precious feature of character and standing on individual and collective levels. Honour was visible and presented for public view and admiration. Dishonour maligned this attribute and position. Females were considered a hazardous gender as their demeanour had the capacity to relegate their families’ honour status. The evidence from my study highlighted the juxtaposition of females having the power to increase/decrease the honour attributed towards others. However, paradoxically, women seemed powerless to prevent the diminishment of their own honour in others’ perceptions.

I note, Baxter (2007) did not ascribe honour as a code because this would indicate a system of rules and regulations. My findings and other literature contradicted this as
references of honour codes were stated (Coomaraswamy, 2003; Begum, 2008; Latrielle, 2008; Abu-Lughod, 2011; Shahani 2013/14). My participants referred to spoken and unspoken rules whereby honour codes existed and people were expected to abide by them in all aspects of their lives.

5.4.1 Psychological Honour
Throughout the data generation process, it consistently emerged male psychological honour was negatively affected by female relatives engaging in sexual relationships outside marriage. It seemed active female sexuality outside the institution of marriage was detrimental to her male relative’s honour and pride. Her sisters’ future prospects of marriage proposals would be jeopardised and her family’s reputation would be permanently damaged. This may possibly explain why some parents restricted their daughter’s movements in order to reduce the risk of her behaviour resulting in loss of their psychological honour. Any perceived, or actual threat of honour being lost due to shame, resulted in men engaging in avenging behaviour towards whomever caused this loss in order to reclaim it.

From my interviews, the term “psychological dishonour” emerged when visible/invisible and verbal/nonverbal codes of honour were broken. Men appeared to experience dishonour when women were deemed to have participated in shameful acts; i.e. wearing revealing clothes, pre/non marital sexual activity, seeking divorce et cetera. Women who were viewed as having engaged in any form of shameful behaviour were considered tainted, stained and of reduced value for the rest of their lives. It seemed the shameful act of these women was deemed to contaminate everything they came into contact with. I suggest this could possibly be one reason why some women were murdered; to end their toxicity from spreading. There were indications preventing dishonour was of greater importance than Islamic Shariah Law; i.e. Muslim women fulfilling their rights to divorce. The Qur’an and Hadith are explicit women can obtain divorce (Hidayatullah, 2003; Bano, 2010). Hence, based upon my data, I propose for some people, their perception of psychological honour/dishonour overrode aspects of their faith.

5.4.2 Emotional Honour
From the narratives, it was apparent that feeling honour was desirable and attached to positive emotions. This type of honour was linked to individuals and collectives either
accepting or rejecting other persons due to their understanding of honourable/dishonourable conduct. Honour responses connected with negative emotions appeared more prevalent towards females compared to males. Collective feelings of honour appeared strong despite some family members no longer living in close proximity.

My participants shared females felt burdened with being the carriers of family honour which corroborated with Qadeer (2006) and Chew-Graham et al., (2002). Males were consistently allowed more freedom in lifestyle choices compared to females. Behaviours such as smoking, “clubbing”, drinking alcohol, drug taking and dating were considered as them “growing up” and quickly dismissed. For females, such behaviours were strictly prohibited as this contravened the honour rules imposed upon them. The boundaries for females were constricted with expectations for them not to bring the family honour, particularly the male honour, into disrepute. Females not fulfilling the honour obligations resulted in families and men feeling their pride and respect was harmed. This resulted in females being excluded from their families and communities to various degrees, which appeared to be an emotionally painful experience for the females. From the narratives, there was a rhetoric of males feeling their honour was “at stake” due to perceptions of female transgressions.

Burman and Chantler’s (2004) research noted minoritized women were blamed for the violence they experienced. One South Asian participant shared she had hurt the male perpetrator's honour and dignity. My findings echoed this. However, my data and existing literature was contrary to Pervizat’s (2011) who found Turkish Muslim men felt burdened by female transgressions.

My study indicated some parents appeared to collude with upholding the value of honour even when they engaged in abusive practices. My findings revealed the cases of two women from Zainab (G:F,A:64,CB:I,E:I) and Saabira’s (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) narratives who were sectioned and/or imprisoned as a result of their irrational and emotionally troubled behaviour borne out of developing mental health problems and illness as a direct consequence of the intense pressure of their honour based experiences. There were narratives of some women sacrificing their lives or being made into sacrificial offerings in the name of honour. Women who were considered to have caused dishonour and brought shame were murdered and buried in unmarked graves in
South Asia. This was the same consequence for their mothers if they visited their deceased daughters’ burial places. There was a sense such gestures proclaimed they were not even worthy of an identifiable resting place and all familial connections were eradicated. Based upon my findings, I propose for some people, honour was infinitely, and eternally, more valuable than human life.

5.4.3 Physical Honour

From my study, this type of honour seemed embodied and personified in a visible, physiological way. It was closely connected to male pride and masculinity. Families strived to create a “perfect” and exemplary family image for others to marvel and aspire to achieve. There was evidence some men and women preferred to have male children as this appeared to strengthen their accomplishments. There was a sense that in some perceptions, majority/only girls, weakened their family unit. Women were pressured to produce sons and punished if this did not occur.

According to my participants, physical honour was also linked to morality. The guardians of moral behaviour were primarily male family members; fathers, uncles, brothers, and grandfathers. It appeared, senior female relatives; mothers and grandmothers were assigned as secondary custodians of younger females. I suggest there was an authority gradient in the monitoring and policing of morality and there were different understandings of its constitution in the male/female and older/younger generation dyads. In authoritarian hierarchal terms, senior male figures were at the high level, junior males at the middle level and senior females at the lower level. Female authoritarian positions appeared to arise when there was an absence of men. There were expectations of deference to authority. Insolence resulted in problematic outcomes for those who defied it. This finding was consistent with Faqir’s (2001) “women also police each other through the spreading of rumours” (p. 70).

I propose the authority gradient was not confined to South Asia British Muslims and was present elsewhere. Glazer and Ras (1994) write village Arab women “monitor each other’s daily behaviour… gossip about deviant behaviour is passed with ease… led to murder for family honour and the critical role played by women’s gossip” (p. 279). Eldén writes in Sweden some Muslim:
Women are expected to take responsibility for the behaviour of other women, to control and protect each other in order not to defile the honour of the family... as long as the loyalty does not make them disloyal to man. If it does, they are obliged to abandon other women and stay behind the interest of the male collective. (Eldén, 2011, p. 134).

Control was exerted to ensure compliance of behaviour, conversations and image. Monitoring of females was emphasised and castigated on aspects beyond their control; i.e. male offspring.

5.4.4 Sexual Honour
This type of honour seemed to evolve around the embodiment of female sexuality. All of the participants consistently shared there were unequivocal expectations and requirements for Muslim women to remain chaste, pure and untouched until marriage. It seemed female virtue was measured and prized by her not being sexually intimate outside of marriage. If it became known she had, she was considered sullied for the rest of her life. A substantial proportion of female value was based upon virginity as this reflected her sexual honour remained intact. I suggest this then filtered through to her securing her family’s sense of her sexual honour as she had abstained from pre/non marital sexual contact. Paradoxically, there did not appear to be any cultural expectations for men to be celibate outside of marriage despite this Islamic stipulation. Although there is no scientific proof of female virginity (Christianson and Eriksson, 2011) culturally, different belief systems regarding proof of female chastity existed.

I propose the puritanical portrayal of Muslim women was a reflection on her and her family’s sexual honour. These findings resonated with “women’s sexuality is controlled by men through patriarchy in order to ensure the legitimacy of their offspring” (McCarthy and Edwards, 2011, p. 181). Female virginity expectations were not restricted to South Asian Muslims as Odeh (2010) writes for Arab Muslim men “the culture does not actively seek, stress or demand their virginity” (p. 920).

According to some of my participants, women who were sexually violated were considered to have reduced honour and their perpetrators were not held accountable for their actions. Suicide was the result for some women and their families whom felt bereft at the loss her individual, and their collective sexual honour.
Females who engaged in sexual activities outside the sanctity of marriage were derogatory labelled, persecuted and considered to have insulted their own, and their families, sexual honour. Males were granted automatic privileges because their gender was considered superior. There were no cultural expectations for males to remain virgins until marriage, yet they severely punished/murdered female relatives whom may have engaged in sexual relations outside of wedlock.

5.4.5 Financial Honour

Financial honour appeared to stem from wealthy status and stability. Some of my participants suggested honour was readily available for financially secure people to claim and own compared to those who struggled economically. Middle class families appeared to support their womenfolk receiving higher education. However, some middle class Pakistani women were disallowed employment as some men considered this affected their financial honour and male pride as providers. Thus, women who had postgraduate degrees were not permitted to utilise their education career wise and denied economic independence. Aspects of my findings resonated with Walby’s (1990) cultural patriarchy structure of masculinity and femininity ideals “a financially dependent wife was central to the discourse of masculinity. It was necessary to be able to bring home a ‘family wage’ to achieve full masculinity” (p. 105).

However, some working class Bangladeshi men also disallowed women from employment which resonated with Rozario (2006) who identified Muslim women employed in Bangladesh, which included interaction with unrelated males, were considered to have compromised on their honour and their family status. These findings were comparable with Velayati’s (2011) qualitative and quantitative research in Iran which explored women’s roles in rural/urban migration and the impact of this on their socioeconomic position within families and societies. Velayati notes:

The concept of honor also plays an important role in interrupting women’s progress to higher levels of education. In Iran, as in many other Muslim societies, the notion of honor is generally linked to women’s sexuality. (Velayati, 2011, p. 157).

My participants indicated some Muslims considered women engaging in further/higher education or employment/employment types as dishonourable, whereas others opposed
such views. This discrepancy could be attributed to the subtleties and nuanced subjective interpretations of honour and shame.

Some participants revealed some South Asian British Muslims families preferred endogamy for their children to retain family wealth within their immediate kinships. My findings depicted some women were pressurised to marry spouses from overseas to improve their husband’s financial prospects. Some women were used to retain family wealth and denied marriages outside kinships. These narratives appeared to support Kulczycki and Windle (2011) “family honour is further rooted in economic and legal systems that emphasize material wealth remaining in the family” (p. 1448). Latif (2011) also noted that exogamy within the UK Pakistani Mirpuri community was considered to bring dishonour and shame upon the family and taint the family bloodline.

I suggest consanguineous marriages appeared desirable as they contributed towards strengthening family relationships, offering overseas spouses improved economic opportunities within the UK, and reduced family wealth dispersal to persons considered outsiders. I propose close intra-familial marriages could pose a health risk as studies have reported there may be genetic issues for children borne from marriages between close biological relations due to “potential problems associated with detrimental recessive gene expression in consanguineous progeny” (Bittles, 2001). Salter (2014) states “the linkage between masculinity, honor, and violence appears to be strengthened in socioeconomic context characterized by poverty and disadvantage” (p. 107). My data contradicted this statement. My findings identified male patriarchy, honour and abuse was prevalent in affluent, educated families as well as those who experienced social deprivation.

5.4.6 Relationships and Honour
It was apparent from the participants that honour dictated virtually every aspect of their lives. Family relationships, societal relationships, romantic relationships, births, deaths, marriages and divorces were all regulated by the concept of honour. Decisions even on a minuscule level; how one chose to eat/drink correlated to whether this was honourable or dishonourable. Increased attention was directed at females and they were subjected to harsh criticism compared to males. Fathers made decisions regarding their daughters access to education, employment and marriage. Mothers appeared assigned with grooming their daughters into “perfect” Muslim girls. They disciplined them on how to
sit, walk, talk and dress, which Joshi (2003) refers to as social conduct. The impact of this “conditioning” affected how they conducted themselves, which substantiated Hussain’s (2005) reference to social learning being acquired as “individuals learn how to behave within a specific cultural framework” (p. 108).

My participants shared it was not only women who were negatively affected by the honour experiences, as men were also subjected to this force. There seemed to be a hierarchy of male authority with senior men exerting power and control on to younger male relatives. When men did not react to the possibility or experience of dishonour, they were “culturally bullied” into retaliation to demonstrate their hegemonic manliness. This retribution not only reaffirmed their position of masculine dominance and allegiance, but also served as a warning to women who may contemplate digressive behaviour; severe repercussions were guaranteed. Female isolation, poisoning plans, limbs amputation threats, and murder were used as threatening outcomes to females who had or may break the code of honour, which corroborated with Payton’s (2011) “the names of the dead are used as weapons against the living” (p. 78).

Most of the participants voluntarily referred to “honour killings.” I concur with Qabila’s (G:F,A:48,CB:P,E:P) opinion it was absolutely contradictory to place these two terms together as there was no honour in the act of killing. Taking someone’s life unlawfully, with premeditation, is murder (www.cps.gov.uk). I suggest ‘honour based violence/murder’ or ‘dishonour based violence/murder’ may be appropriate terms. To my knowledge, there is no faith which condones these acts of brutality. Regardless of one’s culture, race, ethnicity or theological stance, there is no validation for human abuse. I note, there is a universal level of acceptance regarding human behaviour. Unfortunately, violations occur locally, nationally and internationally.

The Human Rights Act 1998 stated fundamental rights and freedoms which people in the UK have access to included:

Right to life, freedom from torture and inhumane or degrading treatment, no punishment without law, respect for your private and family life, freedom of thought, belief and religion, freedom of expression, right to marry and start a family, protection from discrimination in respect of these rights and freedoms, and right to education. (www.equalityhumanrights.com).
The UN Declaration of Human Rights was formed in 1948 and has thirty articles. Article one states; “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood” (www.un.org). In the declaration, all humans are entitled to have rights to life, freedom, equality, marriage, divorce, employment, leisure, opinion and expression among others.

Significantly, in 1990 some Muslim countries affiliated with the Cairo Islamic Human Rights Declaration. This was based upon the interpretation of Shariah Law and consists of twenty-five Articles. Article one includes; “All human beings form one family whose members are united by their subordination to Allah and descent from Adam. All men are equal in terms of basic human dignity and basic obligations and responsibilities, without any discrimination on the basis of race, colour, language, belief, sex, religion, political affiliation, social status or other considerations.” Article four states; “Every human being is entitled to human sanctity and the protection of one’s good name and honour during one’s life and after one’s death.” Article eighteen states; “Everyone shall have the right to live in security for himself, his religion, his dependents, his honour and his property” (www1.umn.edu). I propose honour within some Muslim countries was considered a vital element of humanity and, thus, incorporated within the Islamic constitution of human rights.

My data identified there were elements of imposed control, especially upon females. They were expected to conform to behaviours stipulated by their families and subjected to emotional, psychological and/or physical abuse if these demands were not met. At times, some men were also the recipients of abusive practices.

My research indicated some families, and men in particular, required their female relations to be their status symbols and the epitome of honour. There were strong preferences for females to be attractive, modest, pristine and obedient. I suggest, like trophies on display, it appeared they had to be polished, gleaming and without any smears. This study found that unvaryingly such women symbolised the reward and success of families’ achievements. The findings from my study suggest women were considered personal possessions. Any inkling of female deviation from others expectations resulted in them being apprehended as men appeared to have a vested
interest in maintaining patriarchy. Otherwise, it can thus be suggested, there was a risk of honour exiting and shame entering their lives.

5.4.7 Consequences of Honour

The ramifications of honour had an immense impact on individuals and their families. In my study, women were liable for maintaining male and family honour. As this responsibility was not apportioned equally among both genders, I suggest it was easier to denounce women when honour was brought into disrepute. Females were accountable for its preservation. My research illustrated the multitudinous pressure placed upon women to conform or deliver results; i.e. forced marriages, male births. Some women who were unable to meet such high demands, resorted to extreme measures out of sheer desperation. I suggest their level of distress was so severe, that one woman, with suicidal intent, attempted to set herself alight in public. Another slayed her newborn daughter. Such actions resulted in these women being arrested by the police, subsequently sectioned and admitted to psychiatric units.

The underlying reasons for such grave behaviour was honour and shame. Refusing to yield to a forced marriage was perceived to harm parental honour, and shame them. Giving birth to a third daughter was deemed unacceptable by a husband who wanted sons. His wife committed female infanticide as a way of preventing her husband from carrying out his threat to remarry. The reality was; these cases were not occurring in the South Asian subcontinent, but within the UK. These examples illustrated how some families appeared to use honour and shame as a weapon to vanquish women so they attempted to kill themselves, or murder other females, when they were held captive to abusive demands and ultimatums. I propose although honour and shame concepts may have developed in minds which originally resided in the third world and impoverished environments, they remained very potent in developed nations such as the UK. I suggest immigration transported these mindsets as cultural attitudes and belief systems travel with migration (Lago, 2006; Moodley and Palmer, 2006; Dhillon-Stevens, 2012).

My findings confirmed women who were considered to have violated the honour code were abused by persons known to them due to notions of honour and shame. My study supported Amer et al., conclusion:
The repercussions of ‘losing’ one’s virginity outside of marriage are not processed through a religious lens but through a cultural one… God is forgiving, and once having repented a person should not be judged on their past sins. However, culturally this is not the case. Once a woman is found to have engaged in premarital sex, she will then be continuously judged and treated as a pariah for the remainder of her life. (Amer et al., 2015, p. 13-14).

The Association of Chief Police Officers of England, Wales & Northern Ireland Honour Based Violence Strategy (2008) states “‘so-called honour based violence’ is a fundamental abuse of Human Rights. There is no honour in the commission of murder, rape, kidnap and the many other acts, behaviour and conduct which make up ‘violence in the name of so-called honour’” (p. 30). There have been numerous cases of British Muslim women killed in the name of honour (Idriss and Abbas, 2011; Payton, 2011; Gill and Brah, 2014). Police errors in not protecting such women despite being aware they were at risk from their families are documented (Begikhani, Gill and Hague, 2010; Payton, 2011). Hence, the consequences of any transgressions from what was perceived to be acceptable behaviour had a direct impact on the individuals, their families and their communities.

5.5 Definition and Concept of Shame

My data identified shame was a feeling which was defined by how one responded to a perception of “lost” honour. For my participants, feeling shame was concealed very deeply within oneself, family and/or community. It was linked to dirtiness, contamination and impurity. If the secrecy became public knowledge, the repercussions for individuals and their families were detrimental. Through overt and covert messages, South Asian British Muslims were aware from childhood onwards they must not engage in shameful behaviour. Although females were more exposed to this conditioning, rules also existed for males. My findings suggested the concept of shame in relation to the male gender was orientated around notions of masculinity, occupation and monetary resources provision.

Gill (2009) writes sharam is connected to personal honour even though it may not necessarily be considered to be the opposite of honour. To the contrary, all of my participants understood sharam as the opposite of honour which resonates with Toor’s (2009) writing. The majority of my participants considered honour and shame as “two sides of the same coin” which contradicted Gill’s (2009) viewpoint.
From my findings and analysis, it appeared the concept of shame went far beyond and deeper than feeling embarrassed or uncomfortable due to a blunder. Cognitive processes; ostracism, and behaviours; revenge, suicide and murder were some of the reactions upon experiencing shame. It seemed the level of humiliation was so profound and overwhelming, only an act of punishment against the person who was perceived to have engaged in a shameful act, could reduce the encountered shame. Another person’s suffering appeared to alleviate the intensity of shame, albeit it was impossible to completely erase its mark regardless of how fleetingly its existence may have been.

5.5.1 Psychological Shame
This type of shame was linked to the mind and thought processes. From my interviews, psychological shame appeared to manifest in relation to others’ conduct deemed shameful. I suggest psychological shame was not necessarily contained within the individual who had engaged in shameful behaviour, but other persons experienced the shame as if it was theirs to own, endure and resolve.

My participants indicated that due to shame, untruths were deliberately fabricated. Secrets and lies ensued to avoid/reduce shame. A possible explanation for this might be that it was too painful or humiliating to openly acknowledge being shamed by others and denial was a coping strategy. Mavisha’s (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) family attempted to retain their honour and appeared nonchalant of the harm caused to her by them publicly defaming her.

Psychological shame quite often resided due to others understanding of its representation; i.e. a Muslim woman wearing a miniskirt may not feel shame regarding her attire, yet other Muslims instantly felt shamed by her comport. Based upon my study, I suggest perceptions of psychological shame were linked to social barriers and resulted in some of my participants living disingenuous lives. Some were restricted on how much social freedom they had to integrate with people from diverse faiths, races, ethnicities and cultures. It seemed parental and familial fear of children being tempted to engage in undesirable behaviour appeared to be the underlying reason why some young people did not have the autonomy to make their own decisions about how they wanted to live within societies. There were indications that trepidation was linked to the prospect of psychological shame, regardless of whether the risk was real or envisioned.
Women who drew attention to themselves by being too vocal or visible were negatively judged as behaving in a shameful manner. Their presence, whether it was auditory or visual, was curtailed by their families and communities due to other persons understanding of shame. Individuals who were perceived to have engaged in shameful behaviour were considered of decreased value and respect.

5.5.2 Emotional Shame
Shame appeared a self-conscious emotion. This type of shame was linked to undesirable feelings of degradation. My participants shared feeling shame was an emotion people strived to avoid. There was an instant reaction to keep shame hidden as it was considered to have derived from an immoral or deviant act. Secrecy surrounded shame and untruths were told to disguise the reality. Male homosexuality was obscured with heterosexual marriages. Pregnancies out of wedlock due to consensual sexual relationships, or rape, were aborted due to shame.

Some participants revealed within some South Asian Muslim countries there was an expectation for female rape victims to end their lives due to the shame attached to them. This resonated with other literature; Mai (2007) who was gang raped in Pakistan. She stated suicide was the only option for Muslim women who were raped. This material was consistent with other studies; Paxton and Hughes (2014) write due to family or tribal rivalries, Pakistani girls are gang raped every year. Hundreds of these girls commit suicide as they were “considered deeply dishonored and stigmatized” (p. 5) and “suicide is the expected way for a woman to cleanse herself and her family of the shame (Kristof and Wudunn, 2010, p. 80).

My study raises the possibility the raped woman’s shame was not hers alone, but her family also felt as though they were victims and shamed by her experience. She was viewed as the source of their shame. There was a sense that her removal was a requisite as they appeared aggrieved by her experience and presence. Perhaps if she did not exist, there was no evidence of shame. My findings suggested the shame was reduced/secreted with her death as it was buried with her. Women who were considered to have brought shame were discarded, disowned, murdered and coerced into suicide.

Shame attached to females due to interfaith marriages or elopement were analogous to them being dead either metaphorically or literally was a recurring theme in the
narratives. According to some of my participants, for some parents, feeling shame due
to their daughter’s elopement was so acute, they considered/ended their own lives. It
seemed they could not bear the excruciating pain of living with shame. There was a
sense that feeling shame was intolerable for them and maybe death offered them an
escape. In Islam, human life is considered sacred as it is given by Allah (swt). He
decides when we will die and human beings should not interfere with his choosing of
our death (www.bbc.co.uk). It is written within Surat An-Nisa, 4:29 “And do not kill
yourselves [or one another]” (quran.com). Despite suicide prohibition in Islam, such
deaths occurred. Hence, it could be plausibly suggested that in honour and shame
events, some Muslims forgo the decrees of their religion and took their own lives. This
was another example of how the potency of honour and shame superseded religious
duties.

Some participants stated South Asian Muslim men who raped did not feel any shame by
such acts and nor did their families. These findings contradicted Lyon’s (2004) writing
that rape in a Pakistani village was considered a very serious matter. He noted immense
shame was associated with relatives of the rapist and “the family would do everything
in their power to compensate the girl’s family financially” (p. 85).

5.5.3 Physical Shame

This type of shame appeared to be embodied and personified in a visible, physiological
way. My participants articulated there were beliefs women should not draw attention to
themselves as this was shameful behaviour. They were encouraged, and expected, to be
demure and dressed with modesty. Joshi (2003) notes dressing modestly was linked to
respect in society. As written by West (2004) there was a belief in Sudanese culture
that good Muslim women did not make eye contact nor did they offer their opinions
without being asked to do so. My findings indicated there was increased emphasis on
Muslim women’s modesty compared to men. Some women were even restricted in
expressing natural feelings; i.e. laughter and joy in public. Only Amna
(G:F,A:39,CB:P,E:P) and Zaafirah (G:F,A:21,CB:ENG,E:B) questioned the
imbalance of Muslim women being expected to cover up in public and yet there was no
issue of immodesty for Muslim men wearing t-shirts and shorts outside their homes. It
can thus be suggested the inequalities of verbal and/or physical freedom of expression
between Muslim men and women were gender based degrees of shame.
5.5.4 Sexual Shame

This type of shame appeared to evolve around the female embodiment of sexuality. All of the participants expressed women were only permitted to engage in sexual relationships within marriages. Any form of non-platonic physical contact outside these perimeters was forbidden. If there were any suspicions/evidence of this having occurred, the consequences were deleterious to women. Fazila (G:F,A:28,CB:ENG,E:P) talked candidly about her sisters, cousins and friends’ sexual involvements with men when they lived away at universities, which were kept deeply “hidden.”

From my data, it seemed some female’s sexual reproduction was controlled by men. One woman was forced to undergo sterilisation under coercion by her husband. This result may be explained by the woman being silenced in fear and shame. She allowed an invasive medical procedure to take place on her sexual organs even though she was unwilling. This example illustrated the depth to which some men viewed themselves as the owners of female bodies. Troublingly, this narrative indicated healthcare professionals did not appear to detect the enforced compliance despite rigorous procedures in place for patients informed consent for surgery.

Marital rape and sexual abuse surfaced in some of the interviews. There were indications some women were sexually vulnerable due to their lack of knowledge regarding healthy, sexual relationships. They were raised in environments where their awareness of sexual matters before marriage was deliberately restricted/non-existent. I suggest some Muslim women did not appear to have control over their own bodies in a physical sense as their sexual contact was initially controlled by their families, and subsequently, their husbands. My findings of sexual shame corroborated with Thiara’s (2010) paper noting marital sexual violence was disclosed to the researcher as “sexual violence was central to the abuse experienced for over half of the women, and something they had never revealed to anyone, finding it too shameful” (p. 159).

My findings resonated with Walby’s (1990) patriarchal relations in sexuality “Male sexuality is forced on women through rape, prostitution, pornography and other cultural practices... knowledge is withheld from them” (p. 121). However, my data also contradicted Walby’s (1990) writing of the liberal feminist view “Non-marital sexuality
is no longer so severely sanctioned. Women who bear children out of wedlock are no longer social pariahs” (p. 122).

Sexual shame also surfaced within consensual marital relationships as some Muslim women remained affected by internalised messages that physical contact before marriage was a “dirty” act. This illustrated the long term psychological and emotional impact regarding physical intimacy and healthy relationships. Within Islam, it is forbidden for both genders to engage in any sexual activity outside of marriage (Khattab, 2013). However, this ruling appeared to be reinforced only towards females which stemmed from cultural notions of sexual shame.

5.5.5 Financial Shame
This type of shame appeared to be linked to financial instability and dependency. Some of my participants shared for some people, shame was attached to limited/no income and how others perceived them. It seemed financial shame was not only experienced by an individual, but also collectively as there was family collusion in being secretive about receiving benefits or employed in an occupation considered beneath their station. I suggest some people felt judged by their communities and to avoid being viewed with disdain, they made efforts to conceal their financial and employment circumstances.

Feeling shame and financial deprivation corroborated with Ballinger’s (2007) research exploring social class and counselling. She wrote a participant shared her mother had felt ashamed due to being a poor member of the family. I propose such expressions were not limited to South Asian British Muslims, as there were no Black or Asian counsellor participants in Ballinger’s study. An individual and/or a family member feeling ashamed of one’s employment and attempting to avoid other persons finding out about this also materialised in Velayati’s (2003) findings regarding the narrative of a woman who cleaned and chopped vegetables at home as paid work for a greengrocer’s in Tabriz, Iran.

Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) revealed the hidden shame of some British Bangladeshi husbands being “misers” and reluctant to spend money on their wives or families. These women were not permitted to work. Hence, some women and children were not economically autonomous as their husbands/fathers held financial authority.
5.5.6 Relationships and Shame

Shame was predominantly associated with family or sociocultural expectations of behaviour infringement. Shame appeared to permeate all aspects of female lives. Women who were viewed to have brought shame were victimised.

My findings indicated there was a shift in some of the attitudes regarding shame. Persons who may be viewed as the first generation of South Asian British Muslims had firm beliefs of not allowing any perceived or threat of shame from coming into contact with their immediate and extended families. They upheld traditional and cultural ways of living and engagement which were similar to their experiences in South Asia. This seemed to be one of the contributory factors of disagreement in the recognition, meaning and experience of shame among the diverse generations of South Asian British Muslims. There were a few examples of the latter generations men’s attitudes of shame being more aligned with whom may be considered the first generation of men and women as some young males valued the thinking and ways of life as per their parents and grandparent’s generations. Interestingly, there appeared to be more solidarity among younger women’s concepts of shame. They indicated a unified understanding of its meaning and representation. Hence, they had reduced agreement with some of their male peers’ attitudes and most certainly disagreed with both genders of previous generations. These findings suggest that there was more solidarity among the sisterhood than the brotherhood.

Some of my participants shared honour and shame was present for some South Asian British Muslims accessing the healthcare system. This corroborated with Pilkington, Msefi and Watson’s (2012) findings that increased shame and izzat were connected to reduced intentions to seek help for mental health issues and “people who had migrated to Britain produced significantly higher scores on the measure of shame/izzat than those who were born in the country” (p. 15). I propose this is another example of how the understanding, influence and impact of honour and shame fluctuated depending on age, migration and/or environmental factors.

From my findings, I suggest some South Asian British Muslim families appeared to dominate female family members and exhibited conditional acceptance of them. Traditional customs from South Asia impositions upon younger generations in the West quite often resulted in tense generational family relationships. Resistance by the
The younger generation was viewed as defying authority, religion and cultural practices. The challenges of being exposed to polarised internal/external environments led to some young people being caught between the dichotomy of cultural and religious identities. Some South Asian British Muslims with hybrid cultures and intersecting identities experienced healthy ways of belonging, and being accepted within bicultural or multicultural spheres, as perpetual challenges.

My findings indicated the younger generations of South Asian British Muslims had created hybrid identities and lifestyles which were acceptable to the socially constructed bicultural and multicultural environments they lived in. However, they experienced ongoing challenges at attempting to maintain their authenticity while negotiating the dichotomy of private and public value systems, expectations and acceptance. Some participants were living fulfilling and unfulfilling ways of life as honour and shame was intertwined with individual, familial and societal principles. Giddens and Sutton (2013) write there are three models of ethnic integration; assimilation, melting pot and cultural pluralism. My data illustrated there were intergenerational differences in which of these models South Asian British Muslims identified with.

Among my participants, there were myriad examples of shame experiences; non-platonic relationships outside of marriage, lifestyle choices, dress styles, employment/unemployment, individual/family image, illegitimacy, education/lack of education, sexuality, finance and divorce et cetera. The consequences for females were critical when men felt they were dishonoured due to female shameful behaviour. Some women who chose to marry Muslim men were abused, disowned or murdered. Women seeking divorce from forced/unforced marriages were met with opposition from their families including amputation and death threats. Participants shared accounts of women who were murdered due to elopement or “a single kiss.” My findings corroborated with the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation in London whereby a father offered a £100,000 reward for his daughter’s death as she had stained the family honour (Payton, 2011).

Bilton et al. (2002) state prior to the twentieth century, legitimate sexual activity in Western societies seemed to be firmly established within the family. Since then, sexual relationships occurred before, alongside, after or without marriage and “fewer people blink an eye” (p. 156). My findings indicated this emancipation was not available, nor
accepted, by the South Asian British Muslim communities. I suggest sexual behaviour was regulated, especially for females, in a manner not dissimilar prior to the 1960s sexual liberation era in Britain.

The narratives depicted some families experienced shame akin to social death. Parents appeared to promptly disown or distance themselves from their daughters due to their perceived shame. Men in the family readily engaged in psychological, emotional and physical abuse.

Such fierce acts of indignation, wrath and ferocity made me question; how healthy were the relationships prior to the shameful experiences? It seemed the family bonds and love (if any) were very conditional and subject to female relatives complying with strict rules of behaviour which were in harmony with the honour and shame constructs. Any discord or dissent was not permitted. I suggest there were very strong conditions of worth placed upon females from birth onwards by their families. Receiving positive regard, love, attention and acceptance from another person subject to one’s behaviour is a condition of worth (Sanders, 2007). As the love and nurturing appeared subjective to receiving specific outcomes in return, perhaps that was why its withdrawal from the families was instantaneous.

### 5.5.7 Consequences of Shame

From my interviews, it appeared perpetrators who exerted abusive power and control did not seem to take ownership of their harmful behaviour. Instead, they apportioned the responsibility on to the victims who were held accountable for causing shame. Individuals who were perceived to have brought shame were isolated from their families and communities as punishment. From my findings, silence appeared to coexist with shame. It seemed women were stifled to express themselves due to restrictions placed upon them by significant others in their lives. Significant others are defined as “those particular individuals whose views, opinions and reactions contribute to and influence the conception we have of ourselves” (Bilton et al., 2002, p. 17).

My findings had timbres with Gill’s (2004) research that South Asian British women subjected to domestic violence were blamed for the abuse and forced to be the bearers of shame. To avoid dishonouring the family, violence was kept hidden. Women were silenced and socially isolated.
5.6 Female Status

Female participants shared their perceptions of experiencing healthy/unhealthy dynamics within their personal lives. Some were raised in what was presented as positive, loving and nurturing home environments. They appeared to be treated with respect and equality. However, the majority experienced the opposite and strong conditions of worth (Sanders, 2007) were palpable. It seemed patriarchal social construct systems were in place with expectations for females to be obedient, dependent, and never challenge obligatory rules of honour. They were subjected to familial and societal expectations of enforced compliance and conformity. Some women disclosed experiencing psychological, emotional, physical, financial and sexual abuse, which included marital rape. I argue, abuse of women and infringement of their autonomy was due to patriarchy, as Islam has given women many empowering rights (Wadud, 2006; Rabbani, Qureshi and Rizvi, 2008; Bakhtiar, 2009; Contractor, 2012).

In my study, there were themes of women forced into marriages and not allowed to continue with education/seek employment due to male pride and dishonour. I suggest such behaviours indicated conflicts between Islamic and cultural values. It appeared religious values were replaced by cultural values as Islam gave women the right to vote, inheritance, choose their own spouse, pursue education and employment in seventh century Arabia (Mahmood, 2013). Analogous legal rights for women in the West were not permitted until the nineteenth century (Esposito, 2011). In fact, Bibi Khadija (the first wife of Prophet Muhammad, pbuh) approached him with a marriage proposal. She was an accomplished and wealthy business woman in her era and she initially employed him to trade for her in Syria (El Guindi, 1999; Brown, 2009). Bibi Ayesha, who was one of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was a “pre-eminent Islamic scholar” (Contractor, 2010, p. 31). After the death of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) Bibi Ayesha recorded 2,210 Hadith as she disputed opinions of Islam which were hostile to women. However, interestingly “for centuries Islamic scholars discounted Aisha’s importance and rejected her feminist interpretations. All but 174 of her hadith were discarded” (Kristof and Wudunn, 2010, p. 170).

From my findings, there appeared to be a difference between traditional tenets based upon Islam and cultural adaptations of the faith. The original religious ideology was based upon empowering Muslim women. Allah (swt) had bestowed respect and value for women. As noted by Shehabuddin (2013) women have privileged status in Islam
and there is a Hadith that states paradise lies at the feet of the mother. These examples illustrated how women, particularly mothers, were considered in very high regard and care in Islam. It appeared some Muslim women’s rights, status and equality was reduced by some Muslim men who foisted a distorted version of Islam. There was a sense that misogynistic ideology was utilised to justify claims of religious male authority.

My findings were consistent with other literature; Contractor (2012) notes British Muslim women differentiated authentic Islam (gave women rights) and culture (imposed patriarchal interpretations of Islam which could deny women their rights). Stuart (2005) writes in parts of North America, fundamentalist groups of some of the main religions hold beliefs which can be utilised as justification of abusing women. Rabbani, Qureshi and Rizvi (2008) study reported Muslim women were considered as objects. They concluded “the correct interpretation and communication of the rights conferred to women by Islam” (p. 424) was required to combat domestic violence.

In my study, there was a rhetoric of reluctance in accepting Bangladeshi women choosing their own partners. Despite a male proposer being of Bangladeshi heritage, females deciding whom they wished to marry were considered shameful. Bangladeshi women marrying Muslim men of a different racial or ethnic heritage were confronted with collective antagonism. The data identified their families had strong preferences for continuation of an undiluted, Muslim Bangladeshi, bloodline. These findings identified contraventions of Islamic principles of marriage as such matrimones were permissible subject to the Muslim man and woman’s consent. Interracial marriages were entirely acceptable in Islam. A Muslim man may marry a Muslim, Christian or Jewish woman and a Muslim woman may only marry a Muslim man (Ali, 2006; Esposito, 2011).

Thus, I argue, South Asian British Muslim families rejecting exogamy was un-Islamic.

My participants’ narratives indicated the levels of acceptance and significance of South Asian British Muslim women by their families and communities was diverse. The findings indicated polarised positions existed within families and societies. Participants described female foetuses being aborted in South Asia, to girls being treated like princesses. They were abused or pampered, respected or degraded. They were displayed as showpieces or annihilated if they transgressed from imposed expectations. My findings identified the struggle some South Asian British Muslim men and women
experienced in living within multicultural and pluralist environments due to their families’ perceptions of honour and shame. Being authentic to themselves, and others, appeared important to themselves and they made efforts to live transparent lives. Despite their endeavours, not all of them experienced acceptance from the host or minority communities. Muslim men’s homosexuality was predominately not accepted by their families and communities which corresponded with Jaspal and Siraj’s (2011) findings.

Muslim women were challenged regarding their appearance, regardless of whether they wore the hijab or not. Ryan’s (2011) qualitative study of ethnically diverse Muslim women in London identified women who were visibly identifiable as Muslims due to their hijab experienced stigmatisation as some non-Muslims perceived them as cultural outsiders. Some Muslim women who chose not to wear the hijab, or wore the hijab with lipstick, trousers and high heels were stigmatised by fellow Muslims. Their morality as good Muslims was questioned. They were not perceived as good Muslims because they had transgressed the group norms. Hence, some Muslim men and women continued to be caught in the tense intersection of not being fully accepted nor fully rejected by both communities, which surfaced in my data.

My findings illustrated, sadly, for some females, discrimination started within the womb as feticide occurred based solely upon their identified gender. Quite often, females born into the world were greeted with disappointment and treated negatively even in basic humane requirements; i.e. food, education, employment, and marital choice compared to their male siblings. It was not only male relatives who were accountable for the maltreatment of females; at times their mothers were the perpetrators. Hence, power and control was not only male gender orientated, but on occasions, women colluded with the abuse or were the sole violators. My findings were analogous with other literature; Chavis (2004) writes Afghanistan is one of the very few countries in the world where women have a shorter lifespan compared to men due to customary practices of boys and men being fed before girls and women. Kristof and Wudunn (2010) state the widespread practice of female nourishment and medical treatment was secondary as males was primary.

As there was a preference for male births, I suggest for some South Asian British Muslims, females were undervalued. There was a sense some females were easily
dispensable. Gill and Mitra-Kanh (2009) note within the South Asian subcontinent, gender ratios at birth are significantly skewered in favour of male babies. Alarmingly, “In South Asia, there are 40 million missing women in India, 3.8 million in Bangladesh and 4.9 million in Pakistan” (p. 684). These statistics existed due to a combination of son preference, daughter devaluation and avoidance of having daughters via abortions and/or neglect. The authors argue daughter devaluation was connected to patriarchal kinship systems, dowry costs being a significant disincentive for raising females, and religion alone, including adherence to Islam, could not offer an explanation for daughter devaluation or excessive female mortality. Gill and Mitra-Kanh conclude:

The underlying cultural norms that generate the phenomenon of missing women in South Asia persist among first generation migrant communities in the UK… South Asian women in the UK practise sex-selective abortions. (Gill and Mitra-Kanh, 2009, p. 697).

The authors did not state the evidence to support their claims, which I considered an imperative oversight in their paper. It would have been useful to know if the terminations were occurring in South Asia or the UK. If it was the latter, it is unclear what medical or ethical reasons were presented to the healthcare professionals for this to be permitted. Gender selective abortions within England, Scotland and Wales are unlawful as stipulated in the Abortion Act 1967 (Department of Health, 2014) despite the foetus gender may be disclosed via ultrasound scans.

Hofmann (2001) writes in pre-Islamic Arabia, female newborns were sometimes killed due to economic reasons. However, after the revelation of the Qur’an, this practice was outlawed. He notes in the present time, millions of unborn foetuses are selected out due to their gender identification via ultrasound scans. Oakley (2002) writes worldwide sex determination utilised for prenatal femicide is “arguably the most brutal and destructive manifestation of the anti-female bias that pervades patriarchal societies” (p. 144) which results in hundreds of thousands of girls disappearing every year. My findings and existing literature confirmed despite female abortions/infanticide being prohibited in theological and legal terms, these practises continued. I suggest although females were entrusted to uphold honour, which was of immense value, paradoxically, it appeared their status was not considered deserving of this.
I experienced all of the female participants to be strong and empowered women. They were articulate, vocal and appeared to be in a place in their lives where they were able to challenge oppressive, harmful and dehumanising practices. My perception corroborated with Chantler and Burman’s (2003) statement South Asian women in their study had “fought and survived systems of oppression based on class, racism and sexism, and have also challenged cultural norms of South Asian communities at great emotional (and often physical) risk to themselves” (p. 45).

Thus, it can be suggested power and control was present in all aspects of females’ lives and for some, the opportunity for them to even enter into the world was eliminated.

5.7 Islam

The concept, attitudes and experiences of honour and shame were diverse within the Muslim world. Wikan (1984) writes in Sohar, (Oman) men deny female honour was at risk or it could not be lost if she sexually misbehaved. The responsibility was assigned to her parents or husband because if she had not learnt the right way, then how could she be expected to adhere to it? Some men who were aware their wives were unfaithful would not necessarily instigate divorce. People who were aware of female adulterous behaviour would not disclose this to the husband as that was very shameful. From my findings and the literature review, I suggest this paper’s findings were atypical to the common practices within the honour and shame phenomena.

My findings indicated, based upon one’s image, assumptions were made of their religiosity. If they were perceived as ‘visible’ Muslims, they may automatically be considered honourable persons. Women who wore the hijab were offered an increased level of respect than those who did not. These findings were in correspondence with Werbner’s (2007) that veiling in South Asian Muslim societies was “perceived as external symbols of female modesty and family honour” (p. 162). In contrast, Williamson and Khiabany’s (2010) paper claimed upper middle class British Pakistani parents quite often did not accept marriage proposals for their sons to veiled girls. They considered the hijab was associated with lower middle class status. Hence, I suggest there was a hierarchal construct system in place based upon honour and shame linked to image, wealth, education, caste and piety. Wadud (2006) stated the hijab did not guarantee respect or protection as the hijab of oppression, liberation, deception, and integrity all looked the same.
My participants expressed forgiveness was granted by Allah (swt) if one who sinned, repented and was genuinely remorseful for his/her actions. I considered it paradoxical so many people appeared to disregard Islam as a merciful faith, especially when this is in the recitation of Bismillah ir-Rahman ir-Rahim (In the name of Allah, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful) (Wadud, 2006) which Muslims are required to say before commencing any task (Akbar, 2010). From my findings, it emerged a significant number of people in the South Asian British Muslim communities did not forgive, nor forget, any wrongdoing of female conduct. Female characters were stained for life for perceived errors or misdemeanours. Females were “judged and sentenced” by their families and communities until they died.

Contractor’s (2012) qualitative research with Muslim women in Britain (n: 50) consisted of individual interviews, thematic discussion groups and digital storytelling. Her participants shared their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons were “involved in Muslim women struggles as their supporters and confidants” (p. 105). The majority of her participants were of British South Asian heritage. She adopted convenience sampling of diverse “visible Muslims” via university Islamic prayer rooms and Islamic colleges which offered theological courses to women. She acknowledged her sample could be criticised as not fully representing all Muslim women.

Contrary to Contractor’s (2012) findings, the majority of my research participants reported an absence of male family support. I propose academic and religious education empowered Muslim women and Contractor’s study appeared to substantiate this. In my opinion, it was significant her participants were recipients of University and Islamic College education. They would naturally have increased access, awareness and knowledge about Islam and perhaps the misinterpretations which were detrimental to women. Therefore, their strength to challenge Islamic misinterpretations may have been advanced as they had the religious and educational authority to do so. Hence, it was unsurprising those women appeared autonomous and empowered. My female participants were from a cross section of social, educational, class, and religiosity status.

There was a consistent rhetoric from the participants for Muslims, and particularly women, to access Islamic and academic education so they could challenge and readdress the gender inequalities and un-Islamic practices. Mavisha’s (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) literacy helped her to discern religious fact from fiction,
which assisted her to break free from the generational cycle of male upon female abuse within her family. I suggest education offers individuals different opportunities, power, choices and journeys in life. Allah (swt) considers men and women to have equal intellect and the Qur’an states Muslim men and women should seek knowledge (Minault, 2011). Thus, it could be asserted Muslim women being more aware, and implementing their rights as stipulated within Islam could provide them with the ammunition to defend their autonomy in seeking education, employment and marital choice.

As discussed in section 5.14, my findings demonstrated there was clear reluctance from male and female religious leaders to participate. Through my conversations with fellow researchers, academics, and community workers, I note the deficit of Muslim leadership being vocal on honour and shame, forced marriage and domestic abuse issues appeared common practice. However, some Muslim female scholars around the globe have not shied away from publicly speaking on issues others may deem controversial. El Guindi (1999) writes some women at ‘Ain Shams University in Cairo prayed behind a female Imam. Mahmood (2005) notes a woman preacher leading the prayer to other women at the Umar Mosque, Cairo, received criticisms from some Muslim men and women. Professor Amina Wadud is a prominent African American scholar of Islam whose work focuses on Qur’anic exegesis. She is a leading feminist and challenged traditional Islamic scholars by leading mixed congregation prayers in Mosques in New York and London (Wadud, 2006; Guardian, 2015). Despite threats to her safety and being called a “devil in hijab” she remains determined to have discourses about women’s rights within Islam. She questions male interpretations of Islamic text and subsequent patriarchy. De Bellaigue (2017) writes that within 150 years of when the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) died, 4,000 named women taught and preached in Mosques in Medina, Cairo and Jerusalem. He states that historically, there did not appear to have been a gendered separation in these places of worship.

Organisations such as the Muslim Women’s Network in the UK are proactive in addressing Muslim women’s rights issues. Their website states its first principle as:

We are an Islamic feminist movement that uses the Quran’s spirit of equality and justice to challenge human interpretations (based on culture and tradition) that discriminate against women and girls, to achieve equal rights and opportunities for all. (www.mwnuk.co.uk).
Nigosian (2004) notes Muslim women are insisting on “gender equality in national, secular and religious spheres” (p. 91) and are challenging patriarchy.

The Muslim Women in History campaign by Muslim Women’s Network UK (www.mwnuk.co.uk) highlighted prominent roles held by females in Islam from the ninth century to the twentieth. They had eminent positions; i.e. ruler, scholar, philanthropist, scientist, warrior, saint, mathematician, and activist et cetera. Their reign was universal and covered countries such as Saudi Arabia, Spain, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Morocco, Bangladesh, Syria, India, Nigeria, Pakistan and Iraq. “In early Islam, women excelled in scholarship, medicine and warfare” (Rabbani, Qureshi and Rizvi, 2008, p. 420). However, future generations of Muslims were influenced by local Indian cultures, which supported women as inferior, and there was a shift in the values regarding Muslim women (Sayem, 2012).

I find it disconcerting that now in the twenty-first century, some Muslim women were repeatedly suppressed by oppressive regimes, dictatorship and discriminatory practices governed by men. There was a sense that some Muslim women had been removed from their positions of authority to one of enforced, domestic servitude. In my opinion, this wave of Islam based upon culture and tradition, rather than Islamic scriptures, seemed to have contributed towards a reduction in Muslim women’s movement rather than progressing further with the passage of time. It is ironic that historically Muslim women had empowered roles within families and societies and now, despite the development of science and technology, so many appeared to be eradicated from the public sphere to becoming invisible, marginalised and disadvantaged members of societies. Based upon my data and existing literature, I suggest the subjugation of women seemed to be synchronistic with the rise of the honour and shame phenomena.

There was a comparable rhetoric from the participants the real essence and principles of Islam were altered into harmful practices which originated from manmade rules rather than holy text. Islamic rulings and some historical and/or contemporary South Asian cultures were clearly discrepant. As indicated in this study, the misinterpretation of Islam by Muslims contributed to abusive relationships and murders. Fundamental changes regarding the position of women in Islam was to the detriment of women. Some men appeared to have a mindset they had the religious authority to govern women. This manifestation was certainly present within the honour and shame
complex. Some people appeared to ignore the Islamic fact that Islam asserts the importance of egalitarian gendered relationships (Lyon, 2004) and Islam does not condone abuse of women (Wadud, 2006; Kusha, 2007; Kausar, Hussain and Idriss, 2011; Mahmood, 2013). Bakhtiar (2009) challenges how could Allah (swt) who is The Merciful, The Compassionate endorse Muslim men beating their wives?

I propose psychological conditioning may have impaired some people’s understanding of what was Islamic fact and fiction. It seemed perpetrators of abuse had a misjudged sense of entitlement to violate, kill or murder others in the name of Islam within their homes, communities or nations. I suggest the impact of such indoctrination had widespread damaging consequences. I propose Islam may have been utilised for partisan reasons by abusive propaganda and perpetrators to various magnitudes. I endorse the “Qur’an cautions against automatically and unquestionably assuming one’s parents convictions” (Hoffman, 2001, p. 188).

The revelation of the Qur’an was originally scribed in Arabic (Rippin, 2012; Mahmood, 2013; Mattson, 2013; Azmayesh, 2015) and not all Muslim are literate in this language. Many Muslims around the world are taught to recite the religious text in Arabic by learning the Arabic alphabet, word formation and the pronunciation. Thus, Arabic can be read without understanding the text. This denotes all Muslims who read the Qur’an in Arabic are not linguistic in Arabic. Several implications for this are discussed in how encultured misinterpretations could have arisen. Firstly, the Qur’an has been translated into many languages and it is possible some interpretations may have been lost in this process. Secondly, prior to other language translations, there was a reliance on religious leaders/other learned persons for their interpretations of the content. Thirdly, the text could have been misinterpreted differently in another language to what was originally intended in the scriptures. Fourthly, individual perceptions, understanding, literacy, accuracy and bias may have impacted on subsequent interpretations. Interestingly, Lazreg (2009) acknowledges although Muslim women in the Middle East are discussing religious matters focusing on women's issues, they have depended upon interpretations of religious text by male theologians who have not always promoted the interests and needs of women.

My findings identified Islamic principles were misconstrued by cultural practices, which primarily resulted in the elevated status of males, and lowly status of females.
Islamic egalitarianism appeared diminished as some individuals exerted power and control over others. One example of the controversy around the misinterpretation of the Qur’an is Chapter 4, Verse 34 regarding marital domestic abuse. Bakhtiar (2009) argues the word ‘idribu’ has been grossly misinterpreted into men being allowed to ‘strike, beat, hit, chastise or spank’ a nushuz wife. She claims the correct meaning of ‘daraba’ and ‘idribu’ is to ‘go away from them’ or ‘leave them’ and let the emotions subside, which replicates the response of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). The exegesis of text 4:34 is challenged by Muslim female activists and scholars (Wadud, 2015; Bakhtiar, 2009) and some Muslim male scholars (Larsen, 2015). Wadud (2006) states all Muslims aspire to lead lives as per the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) who excelled in everything as a human being. There is no reference in the Qur’an he beat his wives or any women.

Although the Islamic Society of North America recognised Bakhtiar’s translation of the Qur’an, there was some resistance towards Muslim women reinterpreting Islamic text regarding gender “because their interpretations are not accepted by their communities as ‘authentic’ or because their interpretations are dismissed as unauthentic and possibly deviant” (Contractor, 2012, p. 158). Kausar, Hussain and Idriss (2011) argue the Qur’an and Sunnah condemns violence against women and text 4:34 is “largely misunderstood and misconstrued” (p. 108). They note some Islamic scholars believe gentle chastisement of women is permissible. However, the authors accentuate any form of violence towards women is harmful. Kusha (2007) writes “The Qur’an does not condone any form of wife abuse because it is a form of transgression against the text enunciated principle of righteousness and moral conduct” (p. 597). I suggest the misreading or misinterpretation of text 4:34 is one example of how Muslims may believe men have the religious justification to abuse their wives, which could then extend to other girls and women.

5.8 Modesty
Within the Muslim world, and my findings, there appeared a longstanding history of modesty being more ascribed to females than equal attribution to both genders despite “the Qur’an also contains general injunctions about modesty for both men and women” (Ernst, 2003, p. 145). Latreille (2008) notes “modesty has been conceptualised as a complement of honor, the former being associated with women, the latter with men” (p. 600). My data illustrated female modesty was signalled by wearing the hijab, not
talking loudly in public, lowering the gaze and general conduct. Similarly, Ring (2006) writes a modest Pakistani Muslim woman keeps her eyes down, mouth closed, and is not open to invasive forces of sex, love or potential corrupting influences of other people. Mills (2006) highlighted some British Pakistani women muted or silenced their language in different ways due to their perceptions of appropriate female behaviour as “talking openly in front of a man is like you throwing your respect away” and “freedom of speech may lead to open conversations between men and women which could result in people losing their shame and doing bad things” (p. 11). It appeared women talking freely indicated a reduction in their self-respect and there was some apprehension of mixed gendered conversations. For some women, communication was suppressed. Hence, it appeared they were perceived to be quiet and honourable, rather than vocal and shameful.

Some participants shared wearing the hijab was considered an honourable act by the Muslim communities. Lazreg (2009) states modesty is a major reason why Muslim women wear a veil in addition to reclaiming and asserting their cultural identity as a badge of honour. Some participants expressed their dismay at Muslim women wearing the niqab as this was not an Islamic requirement. Indeed, there was no religious obligation for Muslim women to wear the hijab. The niqab is not compulsory, but a matter of personal choice, as is the hijab (Hofmann, 2001; Wadud, 2006; Lazreg, 2009). Interestingly, Shirazi and Mishra’s (2010) Muslim women participants highlighted “the niqab attracts more attention to those wearing it, and hence works against the concept of Islamic modesty” (p. 56).

Lazreg (2009) notes the wives of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) did later on wear the hijab but not for religious reasons. They wore the hijab so they could be distinguished from the wives and daughters of ordinary Muslims. El Guindi stipulated:

Neither in the Qur’an nor in a reliable Hadith can be found any explicit ordinance promulgated by the Prophet Muhammad [pbuh] ordering either Muslim women in general or his own wives to veil themselves, or in particular to face-veil. (El Guindi, 1999, p. 152).

I have reflected on how many Muslims are aware of this religious fact and tentatively suggest it is possible the misinterpretation of the hijab being mandatory may have originated from patriarchy.
From my study, I suggest female upon female/male abuse may not be recognised and/or minimised. Some women were complicit in abusive practices and not absolutely powerless or purely victims within the honour and shame phenomena. They did have some control, and at times they abused this, which resonated with Samad’s (2010) findings. I propose it is important to recognise female abusers do exist and further research regarding the role of females perpetuating the honour and shame complex would be warranted.

5.9 Male Homosexuality
Some of my participants shared male homosexuality was hidden due to fear of jeopardising honour, which was consonant with Jaspal and Cinnirella’s (2010) study. My findings were also comparable with Jaspal and Siraj’s (2011) interview research with British Pakistani Muslim gay men (n: 10) and ‘‘coming out’’ was construed as posing threats to a crucial dimension of their ethno-religious identity, namely ‘izzat’ (honour)” (p. 189). South Asian British Muslims concealing sexuality was also present in Yip’s (2004) research with predominantly South Asian British Muslim men who were non-heterosexuals. Fear of reprisals to themselves and/or their families due to notions of honour were the reasons for selective or non-disclosures of homosexuality. Payton (2014) writes British Muslim men who are homosexuals appear to not only be at risk of violence from males, but on occasions, also from females.

My participants shared narratives of homosexual South Asian British Muslim men hiding their sexuality within the guise of heterosexual husbands and fathers to maintain family honour. This was analogous with Khan’s (2001) paper of homosexual males maintaining family honour and community obligations in India. My findings resonated with Bennett (2006) that homosexual men have suffered due to patriarchy and misogyny. Interestingly, none of my participants made references to female homosexuality. To my knowledge, no homosexual women participated in my research.

5.10 Emasculation
My participants indicated men received negativity from other men when they were perceived to have not met expectations of their male peers in controlling female behaviour. These findings were supported by other literature; Lindisfarne notes:
Men who demonstrate weakness, by failing to control either women’s behaviour or their own independence in the arrangement on completion of marriages, lose credibility… Thus, a man may be labelled ‘dishonourable’, or feminized as ‘soft’ or ‘weak’ ” (Lindisfarne, 2005, p. 85).

Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999) note men who did not respond by delivering physical punishment were considered, by their non-action, adding to the shame brought on by females.

Charsley and Liversage (2015) study stated some Muslim men who migrated into Europe for marriage were in disempowered positions with their wives and marital families. Semi structured interviews of migrated Pakistani men in the UK found their experiences contradicted the stereotypical image of Muslim men as patriarchal figures who abused their power over Muslim women. No such data emerged from my findings. However, in my counselling practice I have worked with migrant South Asian British Muslim men who were physically, psychologically, emotionally, sexually and financially abused by their British-born spouses and families.

In my study, masculine identities appeared to be questioned when men did not exude or ascribe to hegemonic masculinities. Giddens and Sutton state:

> Although hegemonic masculinity is up as an ideal form of masculinity, only a few men in society can live up to it. A large number of men, however, still gain advantage from its dominant position in the patriarchal order. (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p. 641).

The authors elaborate femininities and homosexual masculinities were in subordinated relationships to hegemonic masculinities, which correlated with my findings.

I argue a particular South Asian British Muslim patriarchy existed. On occasions, they refuted the jurisdiction of British law when honour and shame transcended this jurisprudence. Although the honour and shame cultural concepts may no longer be in harmony with the law of the land, its value appeared to be of utmost importance.

Men who were perceived to be emasculated were at risk of being abused by other men, and occasionally women. There was a sense they could be preyed upon by others when their roles and identities were not considered robust. A vulnerable masculine male
appeared to have a diminished sense of self protection. I argue not all South Asian British Muslim men are powerful and controlling. Depending on their personalities, attitudes, circumstances and identities they may choose to relinquish the power and control afforded to them from birth, or this may be confiscated from them by other persons more forceful than them.

5.11 Not Alienating South Asian British Muslims
My research shared some of the facets of abuse within some South Asian British Muslim families. As noted by Holliday (2002) I have attempted to present this study with care and not to otherize the participants as this could reduce them to “something less than they are, by othering the ‘different’ or ‘foreign’ as simplistic, easily digestible, exotic or degrading stereotypes” (p. 186). A significant number of my participants vocalized the media were “racist” and “biased” in their reporting of honour and shame issues, which included “tarnishing” the whole South Asian British Muslim communities. I do not wish to collude with discriminatory reporting and have endeavoured to present a fair and unprejudiced discussion based upon my findings. Hence, I considered it important to include this section in the discussion to draw attention to the fact that abuse exists in every culture (Shipway, 2004; Fischbach and Valentine, 2007; Nicolson, 2010).

We live in a diverse world and there are different practices and views on how life is lived. Culture is not universal. It is multi-layered and nuanced. I suggest it is not feasible to apply one way of cultural living as acceptable to the human race. Culture is “the way of life, including knowledge, customs, norms, laws and beliefs, which characterizes a particular society or social group” (Giddens and Sutton, 2014, p. 135). The reality is we live in multicultural, multiracial, multifaith and pluralist societies, which naturally fluctuate as “societies are never static, homogenous or united” (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013, p. 19). People live “within a complex of many cultures and subcultures” (Cameron, 2017, p. 32). Ineichen (2012) notes British South Asians remain diverse in culture, religion, class and geography. Hence, South Asian British Muslims are heterogenous. I support Hall’s (2004) suggestion that as Britain is a multi-ethnic society “the majority and minority-ethnic populations should be encouraged to understand the lives and experiences of each other” (p. 129).
As aforementioned, domestic abuse is a global issue and present in diverse populations and cultures. “Domestic violence, sexual harassment, sexual assault and rape are crimes in which males use their superior social or physical power against women” (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p. 944). Violence against women “is present in every country, cutting across boundaries of culture, class, education, income, ethnicity and age” (Mamdouh and Kharboush, 2013, p. 151). Shipway (2004) notes “violence within the Muslim partnership is thought to occur with similar frequency to that of other religions and cultures” (p. 52). “The subordination, regulation and control of women and girls through physical, sexual, mental, financial and emotional abuse happen in every culture and use the same mechanisms the world over” (Nayak, 2015, p. 54).

In the UK, violence by men against female partners remains prevalent and two women are killed by their partners each week (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Women being viewed as chattels was not limited to some South Asian British Muslim communities. Towns (2014) writes capitalism and Christianity were the central cogs to European civilisation and female subjugation was one of the outcomes of the capitalistic movement. Kristoff and Wudunn (2010) highlighted “female infanticide persists in many countries, and often it is mothers who kill their own daughters” (p. 76). Although the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) outlawed female infanticide and granted women inheritance rights (Chaudhry, 2015), I suggest this fact was disregarded by some Muslims. Significantly, “the institutionalization of practices deeply rooted in patriarchy happened in the post-prophetic years” (al-Attar, 2013, p. 80).

Decades previously, illegitimacy in England was associated with shame and families were viewed by their neighbours as lacking respectability if they had an unmarried pregnant daughter (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). Within the twenty-first century, there seemed reduced shame for white British families having children outside of marriage. Statistics for England and Wales reported 53% of births in 2014 occurred within marriages or civil partnerships (www.ons.gov.uk). However, as per my findings, illegitimacy for South Asian British Muslim families was of intense shame, which I note was not dissimilar to the experiences of the white indigenous population prior to the 1960s.

Giddens and Sutton (2014) note Victorian English families discipline included very strict rules and physical punishments. Middle class wives were predominantly confined
to the home whereas many men who were considered respectable, frequented prostitutes and brothels on a regular basis. I argue there is no universal concept of what is considered healthy and/or acceptable family relationships and dynamics as this evolves. What may have historically been considered customary norms, may today be rejected as unacceptable. From my findings, I suggest some contemporary South Asian British Muslims were no different in their notions of double standard gendered sexual morality and acceptance compared to white British Victorians.

Research by Gohir (2013) regarding sexual exploitation of Asian girls and young women in England identified Asian men did not only target white girls. “A key driver for targeting Asian and Muslim girls could be that they were considered as a “less risky” option because they were unlikely to seek help or report their abuse due to “shame” and “dishonour” ”(p. 98). Muslim girls and women being silenced in reporting sexual abuse was compatible with my findings as familial and non-familial sexual violations were not reported due to the honour and shame repercussions.

Salhi (2013) writes in some Middle Eastern and North African countries honour killings were not considered as punishable violence as “they are practiced for the reason of redeeming family’s or the clan’s honour” (p. 14). My literature chapter attested honour based killings occurred in diverse cultures and populations. This was not sanctioned by Islam, but linked to patriarchal control as “there is no evidence in the Qur’an or the Hadith that could justify honour killing” (al-Attar, 2013, p. 67).

Previous studies have found Islam is not the only faith which has been misinterpreted for patriarchal power and female subjugation. al-Attar (2013) notes religious texts in Christianity were utilised to maintain perceptions of gender inequality and female inferiority. Shipway (2004) states Christian men could find passages in the Bible which appeared to “support male domination and even condone violence against women” (p. 52). Lamrabet (2015) recommends Qur’anic text should be read through the interpretive framework of equal universal human rights and in conjunction with the standards of our present time as per the approach adopted by scholars from past centuries.

From my study and existing literature, I argue not all non-Western men are angry or dangerous, and neither are all non-Western women unassertive or violated. Abuse
occurs in all religious and secular societies and to single out non-Western nations, could possibly be racist, discriminatory, sexist and culturally stereotyping ways of thinking. I propose the complexities of honour and shame are so subjective and nuanced they may appear logical to some people and illogical to others.

5.12 Original Contribution to Knowledge
From my study, I will tentatively offer some conceivable new contributions to knowledge which may be considered as indicators of additional understanding and meaning of the South Asian British Muslim honour and shame phenomena. With a small sample size of thirty participants, caution has been applied to my discussion. These findings may not be a reflection of the wider South Asian British Muslims.

5.12.1 Honour
Unexpectedly, and rather astoundingly, my findings identified the extent of harm caused to some South Asian British Muslim women’s psychological health when they were subjected to abusive honour practices by their families. This resulted in some women being sectioned and admitted to mental health institutions for treatment as they were a high risk to themselves and other persons. Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) declared she had to seek help from external agencies to “save” herself from “breaking down and being institutionalised” as a result of her family’s perception of being dishonoured and shamed by her divorce from an abusive, forced marriage. None of the existing literature I obtained and analysed reported cases of South Asian British Muslim women being sectioned due to a deterioration in their psychological and emotional health as a direct consequence of being subjected to honour and shame abuse by their kinship. In fact, none of the studies focussed upon the impact on one’s psychological and emotional health and wellbeing in correlation to the honour and shame phenomena. I suggest these elements could be explored in future research.

Another critical finding which emerged from my research was a perception held by some South Asian British Muslims that honour was considered the essence of a human being. Without honour they did not even feel like a human. This suggested that for some Muslims, human life and existence without honour would be nonentity. No other literature I analysed found an absence of honour equated to not being identifiable as part of the human race. Thus, I cautiously suggest this may be considered a central finding.
There was a rhetoric from the narratives that although honour and shame may be evolving, there was a belief it would be remain in the lives of South Asian British Muslims until eternity. Hence, despite cultures continuously being in a state of evolvement (Moodley and Palmer, 2006) honour and shame appeared to have an eternal presence. The metaphor of honour following people like a shadow was expressed by Mifzal (G:M,A:31,CB:B,E:B). Hence, the magnitude of honour was a constant reminder in the lives of some South Asian British Muslims. Honour was a welcome presence and a source of strength. There was a sense that honour appeared to represent light and illuminated the positive aspects of individuals and collectives.

5.12.2 Shame

A profound metaphor of men being analogous with “gold” and women being analogous with “silk” materialised from my study. Gold was a precious metal and could be wiped clean if it came into contact with “mud.” Silk was made of lustrous fibres and if it came into contact with the same mud, this resulted in it being damaged and stained forevermore. The mud represented shame. Apparently, it was impossible to remove the mud from the silk. Hence, anything and anyone who came into close proximity with the piece of silk would become “contaminated.” Thus, any shame attached to males was easily cleansed. For females, the same shame was a permanent feature and left an indelible mark for the rest of their lives.

Shame appeared to be so compelling that some people chose to endanger their own health and wellbeing rather than accessing healthcare interventions. This was perceptible in the narrative of the female who died of breast cancer as she felt ashamed to even consult a female medical practitioner about her symptoms. None of the literature I located on honour and shame noted any findings on the female embodiment of shame being an impediment in seeking life and death medical treatment.

From the narratives, there was a sense shame was deeply wounding and permeated almost every aspect of one’s being. Shame appeared to strike through the heart of individuals and collectives. There was a sense that shame emerged as a shadow when the light of honour cast upon individuals and collectives was obstructed by perceptions of transgressive comportment. Shame had a dark presence and some South Asian British Muslims were fearful of being under its unwelcome shade. Shame appeared to represent hostility, condemnation and a cause of weakness. Hence, people strived to
avoid being connected with shame. Families who felt they had been shamed by their relatives, particularly women, felt anger, hate, rage and so forth. However, my findings uncovered deep emotional pain, hurt, love, upset and loss beneath the visceral, antagonistic emotional and physical reactions. Published literature on honour and shame issues for South Asian British Muslims did not focus upon the emotional loss and pain experienced by persons whom we were embroiled in these phenomena. Hence, my discovery could be tentatively considered a significant original contribution to knowledge.

Based upon my findings, it seemed men felt very threatened by shame attachments. All human beings have two types of responses when confronted with a situation which induces anger, fear or pain; fight or flee (Cannon, 1929; Feltham and Dryden 2004; Colman, 2009). From my data, it appeared that men instinctively reacted with their innate fight response as shame appeared to be a very dangerous experience for them. Hence, in order to defend themselves, they lashed out physically and verbally to whom they perceived was endangering them; habitually women. I propose men felt unsafe, insecure and vulnerable when challenged with a shame situation. It seemed that in order to protect themselves, men instinctively fought back and attacked whom they considered the source of their anger, fear and pain. From all of the narratives, there was no indication that men responded by fleeing a confrontational shame experience. Their innate fight response may offer an explanation as to why some men appeared to react with an instantaneous and vengeful reaction towards individuals who were considered to have brought shame into their lives, which were customarily their female relatives. Existing literature I reviewed did not focus upon the fight and flight response in relation to dishonour and shame issues, which could be considered a noteworthy contribution to these phenomena.

5.12.3 Research Dynamics

I claim my study elicited very rich data from the participants. The narratives depicted the intensity of their honour and shame experiences and how this was woven into their tapestries of life. I have critically reflected upon plausible factors which may have contributed towards this outcome. Several possible reasons for this are now explored and discussed.
One; the careful construction of the research methodology (Bhatt, 2004; Kumar, 2011; Gray, 2014); i.e. cultural and religious sensitivities, pre-interview contact/meetings, triangulation, telephone interviews, my appearance, and venues arranged for participants’ convenience may have enhanced the research experience. These considerations may have not only encouraged the participants to partake, but perhaps demonstrated to them the respect and value of their contribution, and my genuine intention to reach out and engage with them.

Two; the research question is an emotive subject and is likely to generate some interest and feelings in persons directly or indirectly connected to this topic. Perhaps the participants readily shared their detailed narratives as they had prior personal connections with the subject matter due to their own and/or others’ experiences related to these phenomena. I propose the research question is pivotal in generating participatory interest.

Three; I suggest the relationships between myself and the participants were of significance in the resulting findings. It is feasible at times my insider positionality strengthened the research dynamics, trust, and communication between us. I acknowledge the impact of my stance on researcher/researched dynamic would vary depending on the topic, research participants, their demographics and the interactions between us. I recommend the researcher stance requires careful consideration in any research design, particularly concerning issues of verbal and non-verbal nuanced communication and understandings. The import of the researcher’s stance has been extensively written by many authors (McLeod, 2003; Etherington, 2004; West, 2004; Liamputtong, 2008).

Four; perhaps my counselling skills and conveyed core conditions (Rogers, 1967) to the participants helped to facilitate a confidential and safe space for them to express themselves. I suggest it is highly unlikely that if the participants had felt unsafe, they would have shared their private experiences and vulnerabilities. Hence, care needs to be given to how the tangible and intangible environment is created.

Five; the shared multiple intersecting identities between the participants and I may have enriched the research experience for them and for myself. It is plausible the participants were naturally open and expressive individuals. This could be due to their personalities
and also their cultural ways of being. They did not present as being reserved which is quite often associated with the white British culture (www.historic-uk.com).

There is a vast amount of literature available on conducting research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Bell and Waters, 2010; Sanders and Wilkins, 2010; Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014). As noted in the methodology chapter, I paid particular attention to the ethical research guidelines as stipulated by the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy (Bond, 2004) and The University of Manchester (www.manchester.ac.uk). However, as illustrated in the methodology chapter, I also amalgamated my own authentic style as a researcher within these frameworks. I suggest it is important for researchers to retain their own autonomy and equally encourage participants to be autonomous in their research experience. I did not hide behind a sterile, professional façade and genuinely desired for the participants to experience equality in our relationships. It is possible that my principles of beneficence, respect, acceptance and empowerment, among others, may have contributed towards the resultant data as my authenticity as a person was present in my researcher role. Albeit, the research methodology is of significance, I tentatively claim that it is the human connection between the researcher and researched which ultimately makes the difference in what transpires during the research encounters.

I felt a trusting and respectful research connection was quickly established with the majority of the participants. I was surprised at how forthcoming they were in sharing their own personal concepts, attitudes and experiences of honour and shame. Quite often they included me in their narratives and expressed “our culture” “our parents’ generation” “us” “we” “sister.” This suggested they felt an affiliation with myself and positioned me as an insider. Members of the Islamic community of faith (Ummah) are considered brothers and sisters (Hofmann, 2001). This could be another reason why I was referred to as a “sister.”

The participants verbalised Arabic Islamic terminology; i.e. “Insha’Allah”, “Allah (swt)” and “Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).” I understood the context and content of these references whereas a non-Muslim researcher may have struggled to grasp the significance of these linguistics. Some of the participants also spoke in Urdu and Punjabi. Due to my multilingualism, I predominantly understood the meaning of such words and asked for clarity when I did not comprehend. I suggest the depth of the research experience and engagement were enhanced because the participants and I were
of the same faith and of similar cultural, racial, ethnic and linguistic intersecting identities. I suggest a researcher of a dissimilar heritage and/or faith would have contributed towards a different dynamic being created and it is possible very different data may have materialised.

Contrary to other studies with young British Muslim men, facilitated by South Asian British Muslim women, I did not experience any of the male participants attempting to “exercise discursive control and judgements” Archer (2002). Nor was I challenged about wearing a long skirt and long sleeved top as noted by Archer (2001) when a participant stated “‘you wouldn’t get Pakistani women dressing like that round our area’ and suggested if his own sisters wore skirts he would ‘kill ’em’ ” (p. 13).

Some participants disclosed relationships they had concealed from their families. Several factors could plausibly explain these results. One possible explanation for the divulgence of sensitive information could be because they felt safe within the interview environment, research process and trusted I would maintain their confidentiality and anonymity. Another possibility was they may have welcomed an opportunity to talk about honour and shame as they keenly engaged with this topic. The women in particular enthusiastically shared they were so happy a fellow Muslim woman wanted to hear about their experiences. They hoped their sharing, and my research, would help alleviate the abuse of other women.

5.13 Surprises

Some unexpected processes occurred during the interviews and some conceivable explanations for them are explored for deliberations.

An unexpected, and remarkable, finding from my data was the practice of bride price in some British Bangladeshi Muslim communities. My research discovered for some British Bangladeshi families there was a significant change in their attitude upon the arrival of female births. Historically, the reaction was of disdain. However, presently, some father’s disappointment regarding daughters appeared reduced as they now considered them as future financial investments which they could reap through them by arranging their marriages to overseas spouses. They demanded £20,000 or £30,000 from the groom before the nuptials could occur. These conditions were met as the overseas spouses were keen to enter England. Hence, the bride’s parents financially
gained from this arrangement. The monetary exchange did not derive from a cultural dowry system which exists in some Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani cultures (Menski, 1998; Al-Sharmani and Rumminger, 2015) nor was it the Islamic requirement of mahr upon a nikah.

In the Qur’an, there is direct reference of husbands bestowing their wives a marriage gift, which is known as mahr (Bakhtiar, 2009; Mir-Hosseini, 2015). This is given at the time of marriage (Vatuk, 2013) so she can have economic empowerment (Chaudhry, 2015) and her own financial rights (Al-Sharmani and Rumminger, 2015). I emphasise the concept of mahr is not to be confused with bride price, dowries or dowers.

Based upon my findings, it appeared some British Bangladeshi Muslim females were utilised as a commodity and traded as economic and environmental incentives which profited the benefactor (parents) and benefitted the recipient (husband). Some fathers in Bangladesh had also “sold” their daughters for “financial and short term benefits.” Significantly, no previous study has investigated this practice in South Asian Muslim communities in the UK or South Asia. I note only Saabira (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) disclosed the bride price practice. She revealed this from her informed personal and professional interactions with some British Bangladeshi communities in the North West region of England. I consider it is important for this data not to be minimised due to its limited occurrence. Maybe bride price was not openly acknowledged due to an awareness it would most likely be considered unacceptable from ethical, moral, legal and religious perspectives. Perhaps there was silence surrounding this practice as there may have been underlying feelings of shame for individuals who were complicit in its collusion. Hence, keeping bride price secret may have been part of the shame continuum and process. I suggest future research exploring the hidden practice of bride price here in the UK would be warranted.

I was surprised in the moment when some of the participants expressed deep emotions during the interviews; i.e. Saabira’s (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) tears, Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) and Mavisha (G:F,A:43,CB:ENG,E:P) appeared impassioned and rapped the desks in front of them as they emphasised Qur’anic content which differed to entrenched cultural and traditional customs. However, upon reflection, perhaps it was actually unsurprising some of the participants expressed feelings of pain, frustration, anger et cetera as my research could be perceived as an emotive topic.
Another possible explanation is perhaps the participants were naturally quite expressive of their feelings. Hence, they were being congruent about how they felt and did not appear to mask their authenticity.

Perhaps the most striking interview was the pilot study photo elicitation exercise. This resulted in a verbal, physical and emotional visceral outburst from the participants when I revealed the factual story behind the images (Appendix 23). This reaction may be explained by the suggestion the participants felt confident in illustrating their spontaneous and raw emotions. Also, perhaps they felt safe in the research environment and maybe sensed I would be accepting of their responses and not be judgemental.

I was surprised at the depth and velocity the participants shared regarding their personal lives. My findings included disclosures of polygamy, homosexuality, secret marriage, sexual relationships, forbidden love and the articulation of explicit language. Interestingly, a few female participants revealed feeling shame during the interviews as they disclosed their narratives or in response to viewing some of the images. A possible explanation for this might be the revelations signified the participants were receptive to experiencing and expressing shame as a consequence to their own, or others’ conduct. These findings suggest feeling shame was present within a controlled and semi structured research interview environment. Hence, it seemed it was possible for shame to arise in any moment and affect one’s emotions.

I have presented my research at several national conferences, one of which was in Leicestershire on 10/04/15 and titled ‘Muslim Women In Today’s Society.’ Unexpectedly, I heard the audience wince when I shared Saabira’s (G:F,A:52,CB:B,E:B) narrative of a woman who slaughtered her seven days old baby girl. Another unpredicted result was seeing one woman in the audience starting to cry and others also visibly upset. I later discovered a panellist seated behind myself wiped her tears with her hijab at this point. When I heard, and saw the reaction from the audience, I realised it would have been pertinent for me to have cautioned them that some listeners may find the content disturbing and for them to exercise some self-care; i.e. leave the room for respite if required. Such audience responses could be connected to their personal or professional life experiences of which it is highly unlikely I would have prior knowledge. However, from their reaction, it seemed there was a strong
correlation honour and shame discourses appeared to kindle feelings of sadness, pain, dismay and so forth.

Another disturbing finding that materialised from my study was in parts of South Asia, some Muslim female rape victims were expected to take their own lives. I found it particularly disconcerting that some parents considered this a requisite and/or that they ended their own lives. It is difficult to explain this result. A possible explanation for this may be that the feelings of dishonour and shame were so intense, perhaps life was considered too painful and/or unbearable to continue with. Maybe death offered a form of escape from a reality that was so undesirable and unwelcome?

5.14 Imam’s Withdrawal

I was particularly keen to interview Imams as I was interested to hear their religious and personal views about the honour and shame phenomena. I perceived them to hold powerful and influential positions within some South Asian British Muslim communities. Disconcertingly, all of the Imams, except one, either ignored my initial communications or withdrew from the study after the contemplation period. A Hafiza also withdrew prior to arranging an interview. There are several possible explanations for this result. Perhaps they perceived a risk in taking part. Maybe they viewed the research topic a threat. As noted by Kusow (2003) and Tillman (2006) some black and minority ethnic researchers were considered as suspicious insiders by potential and actual participants. The Imams may have harboured suspicions about myself, my motivation and how I may report their data and the implications of the findings. Hence, these could have been potential reasons why they chose not to partake.

It is also feasible the Imams did not want to engage with a female researcher. I suggest the absence of a headscarf on my part could not have been a contributory factor as the majority of my contact with them had been via telephone/email so they would have been unaware of this fact. It could be argued that as there were no gender differences between the Hafiza and I, this was not a causal effect. I found it ironic; these religious leaders were supposedly positive role models regarding Islamic practice and the way of life, yet most of them did not have the courtesy to respond to my communication.

Furthermore, when Imams were recently approached with requests to signpost me to credible resources of Islamic literature, all bar one, did not even acknowledge this
communication. Only one Imam replied to say that apart from the Qur’an, he did not know of any books to recommend. I find this incredulous and question what material in addition to the Qur’an do they actually study? From my findings, I suggest some religious leaders have deliberately placed barriers between themselves and researchers.

My experience of Imam’s withdrawing had parallels with Brown’s (2006) research on British Muslim women’s identity. Her findings revealed there was a complete lack of response from all of the Mosques she contacted. However, Gangoli, Razak and McCurry (2006) interviewed British male Muslim community leaders who were representatives of a Mosque committee, community centre and a politician. All of them, except the politician “denied that forced marriage or domestic violence was an issue in their communities” and “most of the leaders expressed strong patriarchal values about controlling women” (p. 32). These results further support my argument that some Muslim community leaders’ attitudes were not conducive towards addressing/reducing violations within their own communities. These outcomes affirm Shipway’s (2004) statement “religious and community leaders in all cultures tend to be men and only some speak out against violence” (p. 46).

Despite my disappointment of Muslim leaders’/representative’s withdrawals, and my main supervisor’s reminders I had sufficient data, I pursued this with determination. My last participant was a PhD researcher and an Imam; success!

5.15 Research Methodology Critique

In retrospect, I recognised it was unrealistic to expect mixed gender group exercises could be arranged without any undue difficulties. In fact, this only occurred for the pilot studies with professionals whom worked in the same organisation. Attempts at recreating this with South Asian British Muslim communities outside a workforce environment did not come to fruition. Some female participants appeared reluctant to be interviewed with men, which again highlighted the importance of cultural awareness and understanding when undertaking research with minority ethnicities. I propose creating and facilitating a research environment whereby participants feel safe and empowered may assist them to engage with confidence and with trust in the researcher and interview process. Such factors could possibly contribute towards participants receiving a positive and meaningful research experience, which reinforces Faircloth’s (2012) view on the importance of taking into consideration the empowerment of
respondents and what occurs after the interviews. Hence, as the concept of gendered shame was present in the operation of my research, obtaining the data in a culturally appropriate and sensitive manner was of paramount importance.

My findings identified from the triangulation of individual interviews, photo elicitation and focus groups that patriarchy was the theory underlying the honour and shame phenomena. I suggest this indicates the validity of the research findings. This corresponds with Silverman’s (2011) view the validity of the findings and conclusion has been established if the triangulated methods resulted in the same or similar conclusions. As noted by Finlay and Ballinger (2006), my triangulation outcomes also confirmed the consistency of the findings in exploration of the same phenomena.

In future research, I would offer Skype interviews as an additional option. I would also ascertain from the participants their generation identity.

5.16 Learning
Throughout the course of this study, I have gained new insights on this topic regarding my reflexivity. My initial impression was the female participants engaged wholeheartedly with this study and were extremely forthcoming in their sharing compared to male counterparts. I had considered the male participants to be rather reserved and careful in talking about their concepts, attitudes and experiences of honour and shame. However, upon deeper self-reflection and processing, I realised, unfortunately, I had not recognised their contribution through the same lens. My impression of the men’s data had been influenced by feeling a closer connection with the women and their narratives based upon my own gender. As a result, for a period of time, how I engaged with the data was affected by whether the participants and I were of the same or different gender. I realised although I had attempted to be impartial and unprejudiced in my role as a researcher, on occasions, this had faltered; I had consistently accepted how the females presented themselves in comparison to the males. I learned although the women were more vocal and expressive during the interviews, and the men had a quieter demeanour, this did not indicate men were reluctant or hesitant to share their personal material. To the contrary, I realised the men simply had a different way of engaging with the study and myself. Hence, what they shared was of equal depth, richness and value.
5.17 Reflexivity

Consequential to extensive reading, and deeper self-reflection, I recognised Muslim women were indeed proactive in public spheres; i.e. Musawah is an international movement whose focus includes Muslim women’s human rights (www.musawah.org). The Muslim Women’s Network UK is an Islamic feminist movement who challenge discriminations against females by utilising the Qur’anic context of justice and equality as a resource (www.mwnuk.co.uk). Longstanding organisations such as Southall Black Sisters (www.southallblacksisters.org.uk) have been supporting black and minority women since 1979. They have challenged domestic violence and forced marriage issues at local and national levels. Karma Nirvana is a UK organisation which has helped male and female victims and survivors of forced marriages and honour crimes since 1993 (www.karmanirvana.org.uk).

I have attempted to draw this chapter together with equal emphasis on the narratives of both genders who participated in my research. This approach was also extended to other existing literature. Indeed, the data from my study was very rich and deep. I have strived to invest my time and energy to produce a meaningful chapter, which was deserving of the participants’ contributions and narratives.

At times, I felt sad, angry and frustrated at the injustices and abuse experienced by humans all around the world due to the honour and shame phenomena. I have deliberated upon:

- How many cases are never reported?
- How many people continue to suffer in silence?
- When will these atrocities end?
- Where is the compassion?
- What has happened to humanity?

I suggest all theories will have their limitations and will be critiqued, accepted and rejected accordingly. As noted by Best (2003) all social theories make assumptions regarding how we know what we know, and the nature of reality. He writes:

‘Truth’ is difficult to achieve in the social sciences… we cannot take it for granted that the assumptions you and I make about the world and how it works are true. We should question all assumptions, including our own about the world and how it works. (Best, 2003, p. 11).
5.18 Summary
This chapter focussed on a discussion of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims based upon the data generated. The thematic analysis main and sub themes identified from the data analysis were critically explored. Not alienating South Asian British Muslims, researcher and researched dynamics, original contribution to knowledge, surprises, methodology critique, learning and reflexivity were also analysed and discussed. The following chapter focusses on the conclusion of this research.
6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Chapter Overview
This chapter revisits the aims of the study and offers some concluding statements of the key findings which answered the research questions. Contributions to practice and training are critically analysed and discussed. Future challenges and positive ways forward are critiqued and argued. My recommendations for future research considerations regarding the honour and shame phenomena are made explicit. A final reflexivity section of the dynamics between myself and the participants, my researcher journey and my positionality at this juncture of the research process is discussed. A concluding summary completes this chapter.

This study set out to explore the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women. This research was conducted with thirty participants. Hence, it cannot be claimed the findings and discussion are a representation of South Asian British Muslims on a larger scale. Returning to the research questions posed at the beginning of this study, the following answers were identified:

6.2 Honour
My study indicated the definition and concept of honour was highly venerated and surpassed levels of respect. Data analysis identified hegemonic masculinities and male authority were central characteristics in the honour construct. The findings of this study suggested honour and shame was a socially constructed and controlled system, which was gender based and to the advantage of men. From the data generated, I suggest that honour and shame are a bilateral concept as they cannot be completely compartmentalised into two singular, segregated, discrete realms which are disconnected and external from each other. Honour and shame are interrelated and converge, and it would seem that one cannot exist without the other. The participants indicated academic education attainment levels made no significant difference to the honour and shame code practices. Clearly defined gender based honour differences existed for males and females, which for some occurred from the moment their gender was established in the womb or the world. Paradoxically, the birth of females in some families symbolised the potential demise of family honour in the years ahead. Based
upon my study, I argue the honour construct was not only developed by the influence of significant others (Bilton et al., 2002,) but also appeared to be governed by them.

Upon having worked very closely with this research topic for a substantial number of years, I am able to recognise what drives some individuals to cause harm to others due to their perceptions of being dishonoured. The reality is, the world is full of diverse customs, traditions, attitudes and beliefs (Jary and Jary, 2000; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003; Lago, 2006; Haralambos and Holborn, 2013). I propose all societies will consist of healthy and unhealthy ways of being, and depending on which lens is being used to view them, they will be judged as engaging in acceptable or unacceptable practices. The reality is we do not live in a perfect world, and tribulations exist. Although I do not condone the practice of honour and shame abuse, I can understand why some people feel the necessity to uphold honour and reclaim this when it is imperilled.

Perhaps the most unexpected, and disturbing, finding from my data was the deeply perturbed narratives of some South Asian British Muslim women being sectioned and admitted into psychiatric institutions as they were considered at risk to self and/or others. Their harmful behaviour and poor mental health appeared to be closely related to their abusive experiences of honour and shame. No other literature I reviewed identified women being sectioned in correlation to honour and shame influences and consequences. In relation to these narratives, I cautiously suggest a number of possible implications of safeguarding concerns for further considerations. Firstly, how much awareness do mental health professionals have concerning the honour and shame phenomena. Secondly, what type of conversations are occurring among healthcare professionals regarding individuals who may be perceived at risk and how are their safeguarding issues identified and addressed. Thirdly, would it be appropriate for one specific professional; i.e. general practitioner, psychiatrist, social worker et cetera to initially intervene, or would a multidisciplinary approach be more conducive. I propose the current financial austerity measures may be an additional challenge in addressing such occurrences. Perhaps future research could explore the causal effect of honour and shame on an individual’s mental health.

6.3 Shame
A profound and overwhelming sense of shame was experienced when familial and sociocultural expectations of behaviour were breached. My study found this emotional
response was deeply wounding and concealed within the private domain. The evidence from this research suggested the embodied purity which was originally held by chaste Muslim women was no longer ascribed to them when they were considered unchaste and impure. It appeared paradoxical that through the action or ritual of violating and/or murdering these women, men obtained a form of purification. Data analysis revealed the honour and shame construct included psychological, emotional, physical, sexual and financial abuse.

The experience of this research helped me to see the struggles encountered by parents whom considered themselves as the ‘wounded party.’ I can now see both parties suffered in their own ways within the honour and shame complex. Albeit, on the surface some families may display feelings of anger, rejection, hurt pride and revenge, I suggest beneath this, for some, there was also acute pain. The pain varied from psychological, emotional and physical, depending on whom was considered to be the recipient or donor of this distress. Nonetheless, I have seen emotional pain does touch all of those involved to various degrees.

Upon completion of my study, I propose the shame construct is unlikely to significantly change unless there are positive shifts in the attitudes and beliefs regarding this concept and its definition. I suggest at the very least, this process would involve people becoming more receptive, and less resistant, to alternative ways of thinking, listening and being. Respecting others and accepting females as equal human beings would also be critical elements for change to be possible. It is highly unlikely such shifts will occur in the foreseeable future. I propose this would be a slow process, which may take many decades before a different movement within the honour and shame phenomena is established.

6.4 Patriarchy
This study also aimed to answer what were the gendered differences in male and female honour and shame. It identified the South Asian British Muslim honour and shame phenomena appeared to be ruled by threefold patriarchal systems; Western, Muslim and South Asian. Honour and shame impacted on how individuals and collectives abided or defied patriarchal and jurisprudence systems. There was clear evidence the needs and rights of females were considered more expendable compared to males. Hence, overt gender based honour and shame differences existed in terms of lifestyles, relationships,
autonomy, education, opportunities, emancipation, social justice, acceptance and love. Male honour was recoverable whereas female honour was not. The reality is, gender based discriminatory practices are universal and not confined to the South Asian British Muslim diaspora. Addo’s paper on the United Nations human rights treaty, cultural diversity and respect for human rights reported:

Inequality between men and women is the product of social practices over time that privilege men and in that sense has proved harmful in its limitation of the opportunities available to women to fully enjoy the benefits of human rights. (Addo, 2010, p. 637).

Males who did not ascribe to hegemonic masculinities were viewed as being emasculated. On occasions, this vulnerable positionality resulted in them being the recipients of violations. Thus, honour and shame orientated ways of thinking negatively affected both genders, albeit it was predominantly females who were targeted within these phenomena.

My findings also identified some Muslim women were striving to have positions as empowered, valued and respected members of families and societies, which corresponded with previous studies (El Guindi, 1999; Contractor, 2012; Nedjai, 2013). Data analysis found women were reclaiming their rights in the private and public spheres as they recognised they were entitled to have autonomy and equalitarian relationships. Some women were also questioning misinterpretation of the Islamic faith which resonated with other studies (Nigosian, 2004; Mahmood, 2005; Lazreg, 2009; al-Attar, 2013). I note, over recent years, there seems to have been a been a public shift in Muslims women’s movement as they are academically, religiously and scholarly challenging and deconstructing Islamic transliterations which were historically influenced by patriarchal concepts, values, attitudes and beliefs (Ali, 2006; Wadud, 2006; Kusha, 2007; Lamrabet, 2015). Hence, it could be tentatively claimed that Muslim women being knowledgeable about their religious rights was a source of strength for them in public and private spaces.

6.5 Contribution to Practice
The findings of this study offer a number of considerations regarding counselling practice. This research experience helped me to gain a deeper awareness and understanding of why honour was prized and held in such high regard than my previous
It seemed, for some Muslims, their sense of dishonour, due to their perceptions of their children’s shameful conduct, struck to the very core of their being. The wounds inflicted by what they perceived as shameful behaviour invariably did not heal. It appeared they had to remove the source of their emotional and psychological pain. Frequently, it was the daughters whom they considered the cause of their angst. Rather than parents bearing the pain and trying to work through the difficulties, they responded by ending the relationships; i.e. disownment or in extreme cases, murder. It seemed as if their daughters no longer being part of their lives offered them some relief. However, the solace of being estranged from their daughters was limited as I have seen the pain and grief some mothers endured at knowing their daughters were alive somewhere in the world. Yet, their sense of honour and shame prevented them from reconnecting with their daughters, even when their daughters reached out to them for contact.

My study indicated the majority of South Asian British Muslims appeared to be from conservative societies which were not dissimilar to some Muslim conservative societies in Pakistan (Lyon, 2004; Qadeer, 2006; Ring, 2006). Hence, it could be argued that as culture is “the whole way of life” (Fedorak, 2012, p. xxvi) and it travels with migration (Moodley and Palmer 2006; Dhillon-Stevens 2012a; Kenny and Smillie, 2015). Thus, I suggest it is unsurprising their embedded conservatism would manifest itself in any new environment. Hence, the intolerance of being affiliated with dishonour and shame here in the UK was not dissimilar to the responses in South Asia.

From my research, I realised when some families reacted with harsh punishments and violence, this was because it seemed as though they were robbed of their honour, which at times they valued more than family relationships. When some men felt their honour was diminished, they lashed out in anger in attempts to restore the damage they perceived was meted out by the wrongdoer. They considered the person whom caused them dishonour as having committed a crime for which they had to be punished. As a parallel to the legal system in any law abiding country, the sentence for a person found guilty of a crime may be short, medium or long term. Based upon my findings, I argue, within the honour and shame phenomena, the family and community appeared to be the judiciary team. The sentence they decided resulted in women being condemned for life, with no opportunity for appeal nor parole.
This newfound understanding helped me to develop further empathy for clients who chose to disown their womenfolk due to honour and shame. Hence, the core conditions (Rogers, 1967) I subsequently conveyed to such clients felt more organic. I no longer experienced an impediment within myself in offering a deeper level of empathy (Freire, 2007), congruence (Cornelius-White, 2007) and unconditional positive regard (Bozarth, 2007) to them.

I have been challenged as a researcher and therapist with the honour and shame issues, and study. Completing this research facilitated my counselling skills, qualities, knowledge and practice to grow to a deeper level, which further enhanced my continued personal and professional development. This resonated with McLeod’s (2012) writing about therapists as researchers and how “research is a way of reflecting on practice and on assumptions about the therapeutic process” (p. 205). This research journey has certainly informed my practice (McLeod, 2016).

I note, other authors have established the significance of cultural and religious belief considerations when working therapeutically with people of diversity. Anand and Cochrane (2005) suggest “culturally specific concepts such as “sinking heart”, izzat, kismet and “shame” might enable mental health professionals to understand the belief systems within which South Asian women function and develop a shared understanding of emotional distress” (p. 210). Like myself, they considered this understanding would assist in developing therapeutic relationships and trust, while being aware of the diversity of Western and non-Western views of mental health and wellbeing.

Mishne (2006) highlights the importance of religious matters to be considered in therapeutic relationships without generalizations or stereotypes being formed to assist in culturally competent and sensitive empathic psychotherapy provision. Worsley (2004) writes “therapy and spirituality are inextricably interwoven” (p. 30). McLennan, Rochow and Arthur (2001) also suggest clients religious and spiritual diversity, values and identities need to be considered in counselling. Khalid (2007) states spirituality is a significant factor when counselling Muslim clients. She notes from an Islamic psychology perspective “distress and mental unrest are manifestations of an incongruent heart or an unstable soul that is lost and has become distant from itself and the creator” (p. 34). Hamjah and Akhir (2014) conclude “the Islamic approach in counselling has
the potential to help the client overcome problems, and this matter needs to be continued to enhance the effectiveness of counselling” (p. 288).

I propose it is important for healthcare professionals to have some awareness of the complexities surrounding honour and shame when working with South Asian British Muslim clients. Due to immigration, British cities have become multiethnic and religiously heterogeneous (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Hence, minority ethnic persons will access healthcare services. As my research indicated, honour and shame was pervasive and impacted on an individual’s psychological, emotional, physical, sexual and financial wellbeing. Within the UK there is a lack of black and minority ethnic counsellors (Dhingra and Saxton, 2004). Thompson (2013) writes the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy Universities and Colleges Division only has 5% members who are black and ethnic minority counsellors.

I suggest it would be helpful for therapists to have an understanding that some clients from this particular cultural, racial, ethnic and religious group hold greater value to the collective sense of being with others, rather than the Western way of valuing the individual. For some, the sense of ‘I’ is of little relevance as more significance is attached to the sense of ‘we’ (Dhillon-Stevens, 2012a; Jackson, 2015) whereas in many Western countries “autonomy and individualism are the guiding philosophies” (Yick, 2007, p. 33). Laungani (2002) writes “In Indian family life, one’s individuality is subordinated to collective solidarity, and one’s ego is absorbed into the collective ego of the family and one’s community” (p. 136). Thus, if clients presented with honour and shame issues, I propose it is important for therapists to be mindful of how clients may process their feelings as this cannot be simplified to an encroachment of one’s autonomy.

I suggest it could be conducive for therapists to have some awareness and knowledge regarding the intersectionality of faith, spirituality and healing for some clients. Bojuwoye (2005) states “all human groups have developed culturally appropriate systems by which they respond to diseases and restore health” (p. 70). Inayat writes:

Because mental distress in the practicing Muslim community is generally understood in terms of moral transgression or the result of Divine Will, religious intervention or methods are frequently resorted to for healing. (Inayat, 2005, p. 161).
Kumar, Bhugra and Singh (2005) state a Muslim healer is named a Pir or Sayana and “chanting sacred verses, sprinkling of “holy water,” preparing a talisman infused with special healing qualities” (p. 114) are some of the healing rituals they undertake, whereas a Hakim practices psychological medicine. I propose it is important for therapists to be mindful of the cultural influences which may be present in the therapeutic relationships as “therapy has a culture, is unique, and has a particular cultural way of understanding what words mean” (West, 2004, p. 140).

I suggest it is important to discuss the diversity of culture, race, ethnicity, spirituality, and faith on counselling training courses. Communities have internal variations and are heterogeneous. Sub cultures exist within cultures and mainstream societies (Kulu and Hannemann, 2016). Saul (2003) notes “cultures, religions, and their interactions are tremendously complicated” (p. 268). Identities are multi-layered, complex and multifaceted. We live in a multicultural Britain (Abercrombie and Warde, 2000) yet the majority of counsellors continue to be of white ethnicities. Statistical data I obtained from the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy on 18/08/16 identified their statistical database of the counselling professions dated 01/08/16 had the following ethnic counsellors registered; White (n: 28,058), Bangladeshi (n: 71), Indian (n: 470) and Pakistani (n: 167). These figures are not representative of the counselling professions across the UK, nor representative of all of their members as some persons have not disclosed such information. However, these figures do offer an indication of the vast difference among the white and Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani ethnicities in the counselling professions. Evidently, these numbers do not reflect the demographical population of this country.

Thus, I consider, it would be helpful for trainee counsellors to have increased awareness and knowledge regarding the macro and micro levels of cultural differences, subtleties and intrinsic meaning; i.e. an understanding of familial and sociocultural expectations of conformity within some South Asian British Muslim communities, which then contributes towards dissonance within some individual’s organismic self and self-concept (Feltham and Dryden, 2004). Such awareness may help towards creating deeper therapeutic engagements when working with black and minority ethnic clients. As noted by Dhillon (2015) “therapeutic practice is inherently based upon Western cultural assumptions of the individual’s supremacy, assumptions that may conflict with the collectivist perspective of group belonging” (p. 202).
6.6 Contribution to Training

Psychotherapies have been created from the Western world’s perspective of the mind, ill-health, emotional distress and healing (Bhugra and Bhui, 2006). The reality is we live in diverse multicultural, multiracial, spiritual and secular societies and nations. Abercrombie and Warde (2000) write “contemporary Britain is a multicultural and multiethnic society” (p. 227). I suggest Western, Eurocentric and androcentric models of therapy may have their limitations when working with clients of black and minority ethnicities. There could be differences in understanding the cause of their distress. Perceptions of healthy/unhealthy ways of being and healing regarding their psychological and/or emotional wellbeing, in addition to their sense of self and others, may be different.

Gilligan and Akhtar (2006) noted Eurocentric models of practice were inappropriate when working with cultures which were not considered in the development of such theories. Graham states:

> Conventional methods of counselling and psychotherapy continue to be challenged for their failure to address racism, cultural identities, and the economic context of the individual. (Graham, 2005, p. 212).

Feltham and Horton (2012) write no significant multicultural model has emerged and “there remains little available formally to underpin Islamic values for Muslim clients” (p. 678). Smith (2005) notes “traditional, religiomagical healing persists in the modern world even among the scientifically trained” (p. 196). Lo and Dzokoto (2005) state “the importance of considering the cultural values and religious beliefs in the client’s native country cannot be overemphasized” (p. 127).

My research illustrated some insight into the multifaceted aspects of the honour and shame phenomena. This may provide counsellors some understanding of why honour and shame was so powerful and significant, which at times superseded and conflicted with parental, sibling and familial relationships. As noted by Bilton et al., (2002) “the relationship between parents and children is the fundamental building block of society” (p. 7). My findings indicated, parental/children honour and shame dynamics not only affected the individuals concerned, but also wider societies. I propose it would be conducive for therapists to be mindful of these implications, which may help them to empathise at a deeper level.
The significance of visible and invisible macro and micro level cultural differences exist in relationships. I suggest it is important for therapists to be aware of this diversity when working with minority ethnicities within counselling relationships as it may affect the therapeutic engagement, dynamic and process, in addition to the client’s personal growth and development. For example; universally, eye contact is a very common non-verbal expression (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). As noted in the findings chapter, some of the participants referred to no eye contact with non-mahrams depicted modesty. The Qur’an states Muslim men and women are required to lower their gaze and be modest in their conduct (Esposito, 2011; Minault, 2011; Fedorak, 2012; Mahmood, 2013). I propose the lowering of the gaze could be interpreted differently through a Western lens; i.e. avoidance, lack of confidence, disengagement et cetera. Females being taught by their families to keep their eyes downcast was also present in the narrative of a South Asian British Sikh woman’s experiences (Sanghera, 2016). This reinforces the need for therapists to take into consideration their cultural awareness, competencies and limitations.

I propose it is important for training to include how some individuals may develop mental health problems or illnesses as a direct consequence of being subjected to abusive honour and shame practices. For some clients, honour and shame may be an integral part of their identity. Familial relationships and culture could impact on one’s identity development, positions in relationships and sense of the world, which I suggest needs to be included in counselling training courses. This may assist trainees gain further understanding about the intrinsic complexities and nuances of human growth, relationships and engagements. As noted by Abercrombie and Warde (2000) some minority ethnicities in Britain have preserved a separate cultural identity to the white British society.

I suggest it would be conducive for the level of cultural, racial, ethnic, religious and spiritual diversity among counselling students, peers, trainers, and supervisors to be considered. I consider it is important to have supportive and challenging trainers, and supervisors, who can help to identify any impediments in the counselling relationships the trainees/counsellors may be unaware of, in addition to facilitating the trainees/counsellors’ growth and development. For example; Clarke (2004) worked with a young, British Pakistani Muslim client who had fled, with her children, from a violent and adulterous arranged marriage. Her family considered she had brought
shame on them. The author states “my interconnected sense of self helped me understand her shame at letting her family down and feeling weighed down by the burden of their humiliation” (p. 136). This case study illustrated the importance of therapists being aware of the impact of shame on the client and their families, and being empathetic of these cultural notions and experiences while working in a culturally, racially, ethnically and religiously diverse therapeutic relationship. As noted by Greene (2006) the therapist’s race, gender and sexual orientation et cetera will affect what they choose to see and avoid.

I propose that during the process of conducting research, there will be visible and invisible barriers present between researchers and the participants. These will naturally have a direct impact on the reflexivity, engagement, data collection and research findings. I suggest it is imperative for researchers to contemplate their impact on the research and researched as “the researcher is always present in the research as a total and cultured being in the context of the research” (West, 2004, p. 139). Diversity; i.e. gender, age and race may be more apparent than unseen differences; i.e. faith, disability, values, sexual orientation, culture and attitudes. How researchers present themselves; i.e. greetings, appearance, vocabulary, body language and understanding will contribute towards helping/hindering the research process, and experience for both parties. I argue, regardless of whether we, or others, identify researchers as an insider/outsider (Merriam et al., 2001; Irvine et al., 2008; Ryan et al., 2011) does not necessarily indicate how the research process may develop. As noted by West (2009) “the researcher is unique so any alteration of key elements of the researcher will change the data gathering and analysis in some often subtle but significant way” (p. 193).

Within my research, there were macro and micro levels of cultural, religious and gender awareness, understanding, interpretations and differences within the relationships; i.e. Feroz (G:M,A:37,CB:P,E:P) did not close the interview room door at his office despite my request other voices along the corridor may interfere with the quality of our audio recording. Instead, he left the room and the other voices soon subsided. He then returned and expressed he was ready for the interview to commence. Approximately halfway through the interview, he voluntarily explained his reasoning to leave the door wide open. To reduce any untoward assumptions being made by his South Asian British Muslim male colleagues that we were engaging in a non-research based activity, we needed to be visible. I realised in that situation my awareness and understanding
was akin to an outsider and not an insider (Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008; Liamputtong, 2010; Ryan, Kofman and Aaron, 2011). Apparently, if I been a white female, or a male, there would have been no issues in closing the door.

I acknowledge there may be possible limitations to being an insider researcher and offer the following for consideration. Some data may not have been emphasised or drawn out for discussion due to the participants and I having a shared understanding of its meaning and experiences. Hence, the reader of this thesis may not be privy to this and, therefore, did not hear about some significant narratives; i.e. racism, Islamophobia, disrespect and discrimination towards some South Asian British Muslims.

I have endeavoured to undertake this research in a culturally sensitive and appropriate manner. I opted for a qualitative method as I did not consider a quantitative approach would be culturally or linguistically conducive for the participants’ demographics. I aimed to reduce as many visible and invisible barriers as possible to help facilitate a deep and meaningful research experience for those being researched and myself. As stated by Liamputtong (2008) “cultural sensitivity is referred to as knowing the cultural context of the group with whom the researchers wish to work” (p. 4).

### 6.7 Future Challenges

The magnitude of the honour and shame phenomena is extensive and an ongoing concern. Based upon my study, I will draw on some of the key elements to address some of the future challenges. There was a rhetoric from the participants for South Asian British Muslims to have opportunities to engage with academic and religious education regarding healthy and unhealthy relationships. I suggest there is a logical need for the differentiation between cultural and religious practices to be explicit and understood. The recommendation for this knowledge would apply to both genders and before adolescence may be most beneficial. I acknowledge these recommendations may be viewed as impractical, unrealistic or unachievable. Nevertheless, I consider it important to state them as their feasibility is not known with any real certainty. Otherwise, as stated by Balzani (2010) “to do nothing is to fail not only South Asian women but also South Asian men” (p. 97).

Also, revisiting Islamic texts to question misinterpretations and attempt to dispel distorted perceptions of the faith with credible resources and visible Islamic scholars
may reduce and prevent further harm being done in the name of honour and shame. Different understanding of Islamic scriptures empowered or disempowered individual positions, especially females, within their families and communities. I argue it is imperative for visible women Islamic scholars to work with South Asian British Muslim communities and teach them about the authentic tenets of Islam. Historically, Islamic scriptures were predominately interpreted by men, even though women are not prohibited from this action (Wadud, 2006; Bakhtiar, 2009; Lazreg, 2009).

Significantly, Afshar (2008) notes “the absence of women from the process of interpretation of the holy text, tafsir, has resulted in man-made laws that have been detrimental to them and their interests” (p. 422).

I propose there is an increasing need for women Islamic scholars to reinterpret sacred text and publicise this widely in attempts to readress the damage caused by patriarchal interpretations and regulations. I argue there is a desperate need for Muslim leadership based upon the original Islamic scriptures. There needs to be a public declaration of which interpretations are acceptable and denounce unacceptable misinterpretations. I am aware these recommendations may appear idealistic, however, they are imparted for valid reasons. I make no claims to provide answers as to whom or which organisation may be considered befitting of such a formidable task. The reality is such efforts could be considered very contentious and receive polemical responses. It has previously been documented that several executive committee members at Glasgow Central Mosque resigned as a consequence of them and their families being threatened and abused. The executive members had attempted to make reforms and had exposed misogyny, corruption and racism. Apparently, traditionalists opposed the committee’s actions and “tried to destroy them.” The police were summoned. A lawyer stated “today is an extremely sad and shameful day for Scotland’s Muslims, but it’s time the silent majority spoke up” (www.bbc.co.uk).

6.8 Positive Ways Forward

All of the participants expressed authentic religious education as a constructive approach for empowering Muslims. They vocalised an urge for Muslim women to be more assertive in ensuring their rights were respected and for them to take a firmer stance against oppressive, un-Islamic practices. Contractor (2012) found young British Muslim women were utilising the hijab, Qur’anic and Sunnah knowledge to communicate and demand their rights. My participants expressed Islamic knowledge
could challenge harmful, cultural practices and belief systems, which were not part of the authentic Islamic scriptures and way of life.

I suggest Islamic education and academic education could offer Muslims the means and resources to challenge cultural, traditional and patriarchal practices. This knowledge may empower them to develop their own independent mindsets and identities. Islam could be a source of strength for Muslims to challenge patriarchal and cultural impositions. Wadud acknowledges the Qur’anic words are subjected to multiple meanings and diverse interpretations. She urges:

The goal of interpretation is to unveil the meanings that reflect the spirit of the very idea that Allah, the Ultimate, Who is ultimately unknowable, intends for human agents to apply. (Wadud, 2006, p. 204).

My study findings indicated there was a gendered communication divide in some South Asian British Muslim families and communities. Some participants requested for men to engage and listen to women’s experiences so men had a clearer understanding of issues from the females’ perspective. This resonated with some authors’ suggestions for different masculinities to be developed. Awasthi (2015) recommended hegemonic masculinities to be replaced by honourable masculinities, which included male qualities of empathy, support, just, liberating oppression, taking responsibilities for women, children and communities. Thapar-Bjorkert argued in addressing gendered violence, a new model of masculinity was required which:

Sustains itself, not through dominance over women, but through collaboration… as securing gender equality is not about disempowering men but working with them to dismantle power hierarchies. (Thapar-Bjorkert, 2011, p. 196)

A further recommendation from the participants was for men to oppose and reject colluding in detrimental honour and shame interactions. It was envisaged this would help facilitate constructive and safe reforms for future generations. Some of the participant’s rejection of the term ‘honour killings’ was consonant with existing literature. Ring (2006) argues “honor killing stories” must be renamed “stories of angry men” (p. 106). Gill (2011) states honour based violence and honour killings should be redefined as violence against women as “there is no “honour” involved in these murders” (p. 245). Husseini (2011) refers to ‘so-called’ honour crimes deliberately and not simply ‘honour crimes’ as this could be misinterpreted as justifying these murders,
whereas there is no honour in any honour killing. I support all of these arguments. I believe it is important to recognise the act of violence, rather than detracting from it with the additional label of ‘honour’ which could dilute the enormity of such crimes. I also very cautiously propose perhaps “shame killings” may be a more apt term as people killed and murdered others due to their own perceptions of having been shamed by their victim(s).

I argue another positive way forward with the honour and shame phenomena is to reassert Muslims women’s rights as equal and valuable members of families and societies as; granddaughters, daughters, nieces, sisters, mothers, wives, aunts and grandmothers. It seems there is an urgent need for a reconstruction and reinterpretation of Islamic scriptures with clear emphasis on the meaning of Islam and its fundamental principles. I suggest Muslims and non-Muslims need reminding the fundamental meaning of Islam is peace (Mahmood, 2013) so they can differentiate between the harmless and harmful beliefs and practises.

I tentatively propose that dissemination of my research may also be considered a productive move towards facilitating progressive change. As noted by Hanley, Lennie and West:

> Due to the hidden nature of the work, research is probably more important in counselling than in other disciplines. How else could we learn about what is happening in practice, training and supervision? (Hanley, Lennie and West, 2013, p. 138-139).

### 6.9 The Duluth Model

Previous research has established there are five main types of violations in adult relationships; psychological, emotional, physical, sexual and financial abuse (Rabbani, Qureshi and Rizvi, 2008; McCarthy and Edwards, 2011). The participants’ narratives had strong correlations with all of these aspects of abuse. The Duluth Model and the Power and Control Wheel (Appendix 3) incorporated all of these abusive practices. Underlying themes of male power, control and domination over females were prevalent. Miller (2010) notes during the Duluth Model work with male groups, there was recognition notions of masculinity were linked to pride, authority, money and power of making decision in families. All of these issues emerged in my findings of the honour
and shame complex. Based upon my study, I suggest the Duluth Model and the Power and Control Wheel are appropriate interventions for working with victims and survivors of honour and shame abuse. As documented in the literature review, this model is endorsed by some South Asian British women’s groups, refuges and diverse women’s organisations who utilise this model in their field of domestic abuse work.

I suggest it is important to be mindful that domestic abuse is not limited to adult intimate relationships but can include “child abuse, sibling abuse, spousal abuse, and elder abuse” (Gondolf, 2002, p. 3). Multiple perpetrators of abuse were present in my findings and a power and control model depicting this within the honour and shame complex could be researched further. Also, developing an honour and shame diagram and how this is interrelated with domestic abuse could be created.

I propose the Duluth Model could be utilised as a foundation and then modified with other intersecting identities; i.e. faith/no faith, spirituality, ethnicity, disability, race, culture, sexuality and patriarchy. As stated by Pence and Paymar (1993) this model can be adapted to meet the needs of diverse communities. Hence, adjustments appropriate to the current framework could be one positive way in delivering a culturally sensitive and appropriate domestic abuse programme in relation to honour and shame.

6.10 Future Research Recommendations

My study fulfilled its aim to answer the research questions. However, along the course of the research journey, other significant areas which may benefit from further exploration were identified. Hence, it is recommended that further research is considered with the following focus:

- Exploring honour and shame with visible and invisible Muslims
- Exploring honour and shame with Muslim theological representatives
- Exploring honour and shame with non-graduate South Asian British Muslim men
- Exploring honour and shame, and bride price, in diverse cultures and faiths
- Exploring honour and shame, domestic abuse and counselling interventions
- Exploring honour and shame, power and control, and multiple perpetrators
- Exploring women perpetuating the honour and shame phenomena
- Exploring honour and shame with a cross section of cultural, racial, ethnic and religious intersecting identities
- Exploring honour and shame in Muslim/non-Muslim, male/female and South Asian/White research dyads
6.11 Reflexivity

There were some similarities between myself and the research participants; i.e. faith, culture, and language which I suggest contributed towards a mutually deep research experience. I have aimed to capture and convey the findings, intrinsic nuances and multi-layered meanings so they remained true to the participants’ narratives. As noted by Merriam et al., (2001) “every researcher struggles with representing the ‘truth’ of their findings as well as allowing the ‘voices’ of their participants to be heard” (p. 414).

Irvine, Roberts and Bradbury-Jones state:

Insider researchers are able to immerse themselves in the original data and, if bilingual or multilingual, can mediate between linguistically diverse datasets, this may provide added insight and clarity to the interpretive process. (Irvine, Roberts and Bradbury-Jones, 2008, p. 44).

I commenced this PhD degree on a part time basis in September 2008 and it was the most challenging academic experience I have encountered. For the past six years, I have been in full time employment, and undertaking a doctoral study at the same time has been very taxing. I have experienced moments of excitement, frustration, success, disappointment, energy, lethargy, motivation, ill health, relief, tension and liberation. It was a real privilege interviewing the participants. I am deeply honoured they chose to share their narratives and experiences of honour and shame with myself. I will always appreciate and value their contribution as they very much helped to make this research process and thesis a reality.

My journey as a researcher has offered myself opportunities to participate in activities I could not have envisioned. In addition to presenting my research at national conferences, I was approached to write two book chapters, participate in a telephone interview for Therapy Today and submitted a written piece for The Choice Newspaper, all of which I accepted. I was invited to attend a conference at the European Parliament in Brussels in November 2015 to discuss the ‘Elimination of Violence against Women’, which was a particular highlight of my doctoral experience.

My knowledge regarding honour and shame, research methodologies, Islam, sociological theories and cultural diversity has increased. I have become more confident in presenting my research at conferences, albeit this remains an ongoing process. My autonomy and levels of authenticity have developed furthermore. I have
become more resilient in all aspects of my life. I live in the present and look forward to the future.

Having reached this stage of my study, I aim to publish some papers and continue to present at conferences. I have an avid interest in conducting further studies regarding the honour and shame phenomena and intend to seek out employed research opportunities to facilitate this aim.

6.12 Summary

Upon completion of this research, I now have an increased understanding and knowledge of the depth, magnitude and intensity of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims. The purpose of my study has been accomplished. I hope this piece of research will be of some benefit to other persons in the fields of research, counselling, healthcare professions, voluntary and statutory sectors. I also hope that it will ultimately be of some assistance in helping individuals who have been negatively affected by the honour and shame phenomena.
7 REFERENCES


BBC. (2016). Please probe ‘threats’ claims at Glasgow Central Mosque. Available at:


British Association for Counselling & Psychotherapy (2013) *Ethical framework for good practice in counselling and psychotherapy*. Leicestershire: BACP.

Brown, B. (2007). *I thought it was just me (but it isn’t)*. New York: Penguin Group (USA) Inc.


De Vries, G. (2007). ‘Explaining the atonement to the Arabic Muslim in terms of honour and shame: potentials and pitfalls’, *St Francis Magazine*, 4(II), pp.1-68.


Finlay, L. and Ballinger, C. (eds.) (2006). Qualitative research for allied health professionals: challenging choices. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.


Appendix 1: Feminisms

There are diverse positions within the feminist movement. The first wave of feminisms surfaced during the 19th and early 20th centuries and focussed on women’s right to vote, equal opportunities and access to societal institutions, including higher education (Contractor, 2012; Giddens and Sutton, 2013). These feminists “argued and campaigned for equality in the legal and political spheres” (Best, 2003, p. 147).

The second wave of feminisms occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s and focussed on legislative changes which challenged unequal positioning of women in societies, liberation and empowerment. This radical movement for change challenged women being oppressed by male dominated patriarchal societies and institutions. Theorising and academic feminist research were part of this shift (Contractor, 2012; Giddens and Sutton, 2013). These feminists strived for more than equal rights and aimed to increase awareness on diverse issues regarding identity and gender hierarchy. They believed “all women shared a bond of oppressive patriarchy that was enforced by fathers, husbands and a range of other men” (Best, 2003, p. 147). During the 1970s, South Asian feminists challenged violence against women in their communities (Thiara and Gill, 2010).

The third wave of feminisms occurred during the 1990s and focused on reclaiming derogatory terms used to describe women; i.e. ‘bitch’ and ‘slut.’ Since 2011, global ‘slut walks’ occurred representing women claiming their right to choose how they dressed without being subjected to sexual harassment or rape (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Contractor (2012) writes third wave feminisms also “sought to remove blind-spots in early feminist movements that did not contextualise the struggles and contexts of women who were not white or middle-class” (p.140). She explains French feminism, Jewish feminism and Islamic feminism were some of the many types of feminisms which emerged as a result of the intersectionality of women’s experiences.

There are a range of feminist theories; liberal, socialist/Marxist, radical, dual-systems, critical, post-modern/poststructuralist, black and postcolonial (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Best (2003) writes “No area of the social sciences is untouched by feminism” (p.
and “There are rich and varied ways of theorising within feminism, but the starting point for this theorising is always the notion of patriarchy” (p. 177). The following four perspectives were selected as they appeared pertinent to my study:

**Islamic Feminism**

Muslim feminist “demands are grounded in Islamic theology and they articulate these demands in both Islamic and pluralist settings. When Muslim women take voice against patriarchy (whatever its forms), they simultaneously also challenge stereotypes of Muslim women” (Contractor, 2012, p. 157). Chaudhry writes:

> The Muslim feminist movement, then, is no different from Christian and Jewish feminist movements in its central aim: to make a patriarchal tradition speak and be relevant to modern egalitarian values, so that those committed to gender justice are not forced to choose between their ethics and their religious identity. (Chaudhry, 2015, p. 88).

**Liberal Feminism**

Predominately concerned with equal rights for women, including voting, ending discrimination and equal opportunities. Focussed on attempting to establish equality with men in the existing social order via legislation. Considered men and women essentially the same in character, neither gender benefitted from the existence of gender inequalities and viewed the potential of males and females was suppressed. Revolutionary changes in society was not sought as there was a preference for reforms to occur within existing social structures and work through the democratic system (Bilton et al., 2002; Fulcher and Scott, 2007; McCarthy and Edwards, 2011; Haralambos and Holborn, 2013; Giddens and Sutton, 2014).

**Socialist Feminism**

This position included feminism and Marxist capitalism, and liberal politics. It considered patriarchal relations intertwined with capitalist production and women exploited was not attributed entirely to men. Capitalism, not patriarchy, was considered the main source of women’s oppression as primarily capitalists benefitted from this. Focussed on domestic labour, female wage and men being the dominant class who oppressed women and exploited them financially, politically and sexually. Housewives and mothers unpaid work was viewed as exploitation (Bilton et al., 2002; Fulcher and
Radical Feminism
This position challenged the foundation of social and political order, and rejected the liberal feminism stance of reforming legislation. It considered patriarchy a global feature of human society as the problem, not capitalism. Power men held over women explained the domestic division of labour. Society was considered patriarchal and men benefited from the subordination of women as it was men who ruled and dominated society. This approach focussed on love, sex and reproduction which were considered closely linked to male domination and violence towards women. It viewed women as different and superior to men. Revolutionary change was considered to possibly offer women liberation (Bilton et al., 2002; Fulcher and Scott, 2007; McCarthy and Edwards, 2011; Haralambos and Holborn, 2013; Giddens and Sutton, 2014).

Black Feminism
This approach was developed as the previous three categories were considered limited regarding black women. Nayak (2015) notes “the premise that unequal gender relations bind women together in a shared discourse, and the assumption that women are a homogenous group, are contested” (p. 66). She argues “An ideology does not become a Black ideology by painting a Black face on it” (p. 52). There was a belief some feminists were remiss in addressing social inequalities created by class, race, faith, sexuality and world region (Bennett, 2006) and “Women have differential amounts of power based on factors such as region, class, religion, race, and ethnicity (Paxton and Hughes, 2014, p. 29). Black British feminists challenged stereotypical images of black British women being passive victims of racism, patriarchy and class inequalities. They illustrated black British women were brave, proud and strong as they challenged their experiences of domestic violence, sexism, racism, police and immigration authorities. They developed a different family structure in which they had autonomy (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013). Black feminists argued the main feminist schools of thought which focussed upon the struggles of white, predominantly middle class women who lived in industrialised societies had not considered ethnic divisions which existed among women (Giddens and Sutton, 2013; Giddens and Sutton, 2014).
In summary, feminists have different opinions and understanding regarding the root causes of gendered inequalities and patriarchy. Haralambos and Holborn (2013) highlight “It is difficult, therefore, to identify a single ‘universal or hegemonic structure of patriarchy or masculine domination’” (p. 126). Giddens and Sutton state:

Hegemonic masculinity is associated primarily with heterosexuality and marriage, but also with authority, paid work, strength and physical toughness… the homosexual is seen as the opposite of the ‘real man.’ (Giddens and Sutton, 2014, p. 96).

However, all feminist theories “agree that knowledge is related to questions of sex and gender and that women face oppression in patriarchal societies” (Giddens and Sutton, 2013 p. 95). Diversity among women and feminisms exists. Hence, I suggest no one particular strand of feminisms could be wholly applicable to all women and their life experiences. However, patriarchy, power and control were relevant to all feminisms.
Appendix 2: Honour and Shame Spider Diagram
Appendix 3: Power and Control Wheel

The Duluth Model Power and Control Wheel (Pence and Paymar, 1993; www.duluthmodel.org)
Appendix 4: Equality Wheel

The Duluth Model Equality Wheel (Pence and Paymar, 1993; www.duluthmodel.org)
Appendix 5: Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
"EXPLORING HONOUR AND SHAME FOR SOUTH ASIAN BRITISH MUSLIM MEN AND WOMEN"

Participants are being invited to take part in this research study and it is important the following information is read and understood before a decision is made for participation. Any questions regarding the research are welcome and will be promptly answered with provision of additional information as required.

This research is being undertaken by Nasreen Mansoor as part of a PhD thesis in Counselling Studies in the Manchester Institute of Education at The University of Manchester. The research is being supervised by Dr William West, Director of Counselling Studies Programme and Research Supervisor. The Researcher has undergone a satisfactory enhanced level of Criminal Records Bureau investigation and may be contacted at any juncture via email on Nasreen.Mansoor@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk or researcher mobile number 07583 544590.

The aim of this study is to examine the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame regarding South Asian British Muslim men and women living in England. The purpose of the research is to gain an understanding of the meaning of honour and what contributes to the formation of this concept. The formation, definition and attitudes regarding shame will also be explored. Gender differences regarding this phenomenon will be a particular focal point.

A maximum of thirty male and female Participants aged 18+ from three specific ethnicities; Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani will be selected. A qualitative research methodology will be implemented by undertaking a confidential photo elicitation/focus group/individual interview exercises. Photo elicitation requires the Participant to interpret photographs the researcher will provide and answer the question ‘What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim Women?’ This will be a group exercise. Focus groups involve Participants discussing the research question ‘What are the gender differences in male/female honour and shame for British Muslims?’ The individual interviews will address the research question ‘What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim women?’ All exercises will be performed at mutually convenient pre-arranged venues such as private meeting rooms in community centres, libraries and universities. All exercises will between forty-five/ninety minutes in duration. The same Participants will be involved in the photo elicitation and focus group exercises. Time keeping will be effectively adhered and any travel expenses incurred by the Participants will be reimbursed upon receipt of journey tickets. The interviews will be audio recorded and only the Researcher will have access to the recordings and will be responsible for transcribing the interviews. Some Participants may receive a copy of the transcript and
will be requested to verify it to be an accurate recording of their interview. A copy of
the transcript will be submitted to any Participant who specifically requests it. Once the
research has been fully completed the Researcher will destroy the audio recordings to
safeguard the confidentiality of the Participants.

Each Participant will have a minimum period of two weeks to consider his/her decision
in participating in this research following receipt of the ‘Participant Information Sheet.’
Both verbal and signed 'Informed Consent' will be obtained from the Participant and a
duplicate of this will be given for him/her to keep. The Participants understand they are
free to withdraw from the research at any stage without any obligation to give a reason
for their decision. Should a Participant decide to withdraw from the study then this
would not be detrimental to him/her in any way or in accessing any future service or
treatment. It is important for the Participant to understand what the research will
involve and to ask for further information if they are unclear about anything. All
information the Participants share will be viewed as ‘data’ and this will be analysed by
the Researcher at a later stage to help answer the research question. The data will be
stored for a maximum period of two years after the confirmation of the degree result
and will be shredded after this time has lapsed. It will be stored in a locked and fire
proof filing cabinet in the student researcher’s home which only the student researcher
will have access to. All data in electronic formats will be password protected and stored
in the student researcher’s home which is fitted with a burglar alarm system.

The identity of the Participants will remain confidential at all times and the information
provided will be safeguarded unless subject to any legal or ethical requirements, which
the Researcher will clearly outline from the outset. Their privacy will be adhered to and
any factual details such as occupations may be amended to something similar in the
thesis. This will be in order to continue to protect the Participants identity at all times.
However, the actual essence of the interview will remain authentic and quotations will
be given with pseudonyms. The principles of the Data Protection Act will be strictly
adhered to at all times. It is possible that due to the research title and interview content,
some Participants may feel they require emotional support after the interview has ended.
A list of counselling agencies and their contact details will be offered to each Participant
for him/her to decide if he/she wishes to establish contact with these organisations.

A copy of the research summary will be forwarded to each Participant upon submission
of the thesis. The PhD commenced in September 2008 and is envisaged to be fully
completed before September 2014. The research will be submitted for publication in
journals and books during the course of study and upon completion. However,
Participant identity will remain confidential within the thesis and all published material.
Formal complaints should be directed to the Head of the Research Office, Christie
Building, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL.
Participant's Signature ............................................................ Date ............
Participant's Full Name .......................................................... Date ............

I confirm that I have fully explained the purpose and nature of the PhD research and
confidentiality will be adhered to subject to any legal or ethical requirements. The
interviews will be conducted with respect and sensitivity towards each Participant and
the Researcher will be attentive in minimising the impact of the interview on the
Participant.

Researcher's Signature ............................................................ Date ............
Researcher's Full Name .......................................................... Date ............
PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM
EXPLORING HONOUR AND SHAME FOR SOUTH ASIAN BRITISH MUSLIM MEN AND WOMEN

If you are in agreement to participate in this research study, then please initial the boxes and sign the consent form below.

(1) I confirm I have read the attached ‘Participant Information Sheet’ on the above research project and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions, which have been answered satisfactorily.

(2) I understand that my participation in the study is on a voluntary basis and that I am free to withdraw at any stage without giving a reason for this decision. My withdrawal will not be detrimental to any treatment or service I may require in the future.

(3) I understand that the research exercises will be audio recorded.

(4) I agree to the use of anonymous quotations.

(5) I agree to my General Practitioner being informed of my participation in the study.

(6) I agree that any data collected may be passed to other researchers.

(7) I understand the research is part of a PhD thesis and confidentiality will be safeguarded unless subject to any legal or ethical requirements such as I am currently at serious risk of harming myself or another person.

I agree to take part in the above research.

Participant's Signature ………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Participant's Full Name ………………………………………………………………………………………………………
(Block Letters)

Date ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
Researcher's Signature .................................................................

Researcher's Full Name .................................................................
(Block Letters)

Date .................................................................
### Appendix 7: Local Telephone Helpline Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholics Anonymous</td>
<td>0845 769 7555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis Point</td>
<td>0161 225 9500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruse Bereavement Care</td>
<td>0161 236 8103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ChildLine</td>
<td>0800 1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help The Aged</td>
<td>0808 800 6565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHS Direct</td>
<td>0845 46 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police (emergency)</td>
<td>999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police (non-emergency)</td>
<td>0161 872 5050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relate (couple therapy)</td>
<td>0161 872 0303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaritans</td>
<td>0161 236 8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>0161 834 4809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saneline</td>
<td>0845 767 8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafford Community Alcohol Services</td>
<td>0161 747 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafford Community Drugs Team</td>
<td>0161 905 8570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifeline Manchester</td>
<td>0161 839 2054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester Women’s Aid</td>
<td>0161 636 7525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roby</td>
<td>0161 257 2653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42nd Street (ages 14 – 25)</td>
<td>0161 832 0170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSPCC (English)</td>
<td>0808 800 5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSPCC (Urdu)</td>
<td>0808 096 7718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSPCC (Punjabi)</td>
<td>0808 096 7717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rethink Advice Line</td>
<td>0208 974 6814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester City Council Children &amp; Families Contact Centre</td>
<td>0161 255 8250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parentline Plus</td>
<td>0808 800 2222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAMA – Meet A Mum Association (weekdays 7:00pm – 10:00pm)</td>
<td>0845 120 3746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Appendix 8: National Telephone Helpline Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholics Anonymous</td>
<td>0845 769 7555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruse Bereavement Care</td>
<td>0870 167 1677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ChildLine</td>
<td>0800 1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help The Aged</td>
<td>0808 800 6565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHS Direct</td>
<td>0845 46 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police (emergency)</td>
<td>999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police (non-emergency)</td>
<td>0300 123 1212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relate (counselling)</td>
<td>0300 100 1234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaritans (local call rate)</td>
<td>08457 909090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelterline (free phone)</td>
<td>0808 800 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saneline</td>
<td>0845 767 8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim Support Line (local call rate)</td>
<td>0845 3030900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesbian &amp; Gay Switchboard</td>
<td>0207 837 7324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Aid (free phone 24hrs service)</td>
<td>0808 2000 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s Advice Line</td>
<td>0808 801 0327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSPCC (English)</td>
<td>0808 800 5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSPCC (Urdu)</td>
<td>0808 096 7718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSPCC (Punjabi)</td>
<td>0808 096 7717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rethink Advice Line</td>
<td>0208 974 6814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parentline Plus</td>
<td>0808 800 2222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAMA – Meet A Mum Association (weekdays 7:00pm – 10:00pm)</td>
<td>0845 120 3746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 9: Evidence of Research Journal
### Appendix 10: PhD Research Schedule

|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- **MONTH**: Specifies the time frame for each activity.
- **YEAR 1 2008 – 2009**: Critical Reading & Writing Module (Sept 2008)
- **YEAR 2 2009 – 2010**: Data Generation; Qualitative Methods Module (Sept 2009) & Introduction to Quantitative Methods Module (Oct 2009) & Qualitative Data Analysis Module (Feb 2010) & PhD Review Panel (June 2010)
- **YEAR 3 2010 – 2011**: Ethical Approval & Data Collection (Sept 2010)
- **YEAR 4 2011 – 2012**: Data Collection
- **YEAR 5 2012 – 2013**: Data Analysis
- **YEAR 5 2013 – 2014**: Writing Up Thesis
Appendix 11: Letter to Professionals regarding PhD Study

Dear Professional’s Name

Re: Exploring Honour and Shame for South Asian British Muslim Men and Women – PhD Research at The University of Manchester

Further to our telephone conversation today, I am writing to provide you with further information regarding the above research. I am currently employed as a Counselling Project Co-ordinator and I am also studying at The University of Manchester. The study is being conducted as part of a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Counselling Studies under the supervision of Dr William West, Director of Professional Doctorate in Counselling and Research Supervisor.

My research comprises of interviewing South Asian British Muslim men and women who are of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani heritage. I am writing to yourself to request if you could please assist in identifying any such persons to interview on a confidential basis. I am searching for persons aged 18 years and above who meet these specific criteria and are fluent in conversing in English, Hindi, Hindko, Mirpuri, Punjabi or Urdu.

Please find enclosed a ‘Participant Information Sheet’ and ‘Participant Informed Consent Form’ which explains all aspects of the research in further detail. I am very willing to meet up with yourself and/or a member of your management team to discuss this further, and answer any questions which you may have. I would appreciate it if you could please give this matter some priority.

Please do not hesitate to contact me for any further clarification and thank you for your assistance. I look forward to hearing from yourself in due course.

Yours sincerely

Nasreen Mansoor
M.A Counselling, MBACP (Accred).

Email: Nasreen.Mansoor@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk
Researcher Mobile: 07583 544590

Encs
Appendix 12: Research Flyers

EXPLORING HONOUR AND SHAME FOR SOUTH ASIAN BRITISH MUSLIM MEN AND WOMEN

ARE YOU A SOUTH ASIAN BRITISH MUSLIM MAN OR WOMAN AGED 18 YEARS AND ABOVE?

I am currently conducting research on South Asian British Muslim men and women of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani heritage. This study is being undertaken as part of a PhD in Counselling Studies at the University of Manchester and is being supervised by Dr William West, Director of Doctorate in Counselling and Research Supervisor.

I am interested in exploring the definition, concept, impact and gender differences of honour and shame regarding South Asian British Muslim men and women, and all that this encompasses.

Do you meet these criteria?

- South Asian British Muslim Male/Female
- Bangladeshi, Indian or Pakistani Ethnicity
- Aged 18 years and above
- Fluent in English, Hindi, Hindko, Mirpuri, Punjabi or Urdu

If yes, can you please help?

The research will be conducted by confidential interviews and your personal details will not be disclosed to anyone else. If you are interested and would like further information, then please contact me via email or telephone to discuss this.

Nasreen Mansoor
M.A Counselling, MBACP (Accred).

Email: Nasreen.Mansoor@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk
Researcher Mobile: 07583 544590
Appendix 14: Images of Main Study Photo Elicitation Exercise

Photograph 1
Mai (2007)

Photograph 2
Image from www.flickr.com

Photograph 3
Bibi (2009)

Photograph 4
Image from www.flickr.com

Photograph 5
www.theguardian.com (2011)

Photograph 6
Unicef (2007)
Photograph 7
Sanghera (2009)

Photograph 8
Image from www.flickr.com

Photograph 9
Stengel (2010)

Photograph 10
Image from www.flickr.com

Photograph 11
Image from www.flickr.com
Photograph 12
Image from
www.flickr.com

Photograph 13
Image from
www.flickr.com

Photograph 14
Image from
www.flickr.com

Photograph 15
Malik (2009)

Photograph 16
Image from
www.flickr.com
Photograph 17
Image from
www.flickr.com
Appendix 15: Interview Schedule for Individual Interviews, Photo Elicitation and Focus Groups

Thank you for participating in this research. The ‘Participant Information Sheet’ and ‘Participant Informed Consent’ documentation has been completed and copies given to yourself. As you are aware, the aim of this study is to explore the definition, concept, impact and gender differences regarding honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women. I have shown to yourself and explained the mind map I will be utilising as a guide to facilitate the questions and explore key areas of the research. I am very much interested to hear your views regarding this topic and there are no right or wrong answers to what you say. Please do let me know if any of the questions are unclear and I will explain them further to yourself. Also, I would like to confirm that you are under no obligation to answer any of the questions you may not wish to. It is important that you share at a level that you feel comfortable and safe with, and please do let me know if you would like a pause at any stage, okay? I will initially ask some general questions about yourself and your family and then focus on questions related to ‘honour’ first. After ‘honour’ has been explored, I will then move on to the ‘shame’ aspect of the research. We have a maximum of ninety minutes. Have you any questions before we start the interview?

Opening of the individual interviews, photo elicitation and focus group exercises:
- Could you please share your age and describe your ethnicity, marital status, education and employment status?
- In order for me to have more of a sense of your personal and family history, and how this may be of relevance in answering the research question, could you please explain who was in your family of origin and who are your current family members in terms of parents, siblings, husband/wife, children et cetera? And their ages, education, and current employment status please?

Honour Focus - Eliciting data through a combination of general and then specific research questions formulated for each data generation method:
- What does the word ‘honour’ mean to you?
- When and how did you first become aware that honour was of significance?
- How would you describe the definition and concept of honour for South Asian British Muslim men and women? (Individual Interviews Question)
- In your opinion, what is the impact of honour for South Asian British Muslim men and women? (Photo Elicitation Exercises Question)
- How would you describe the gender differences, if any, regarding male and female honour for South Asian British Muslim men and women? (Focus Groups Question)
- Could you please tell me about any experiences either yourself, someone you know, or any accounts you have heard of when honour has been an issue?
- What are the consequences for people when honour has been an issue for themselves/and or someone they know?
- What is your understanding of what Islam states about honour?

Shame Focus - Eliciting data through a combination of general and then specific research questions formulated for each data generation method:
- What does the word ‘shame’ mean to you?
- When and how did you first become aware that shame was of significance?
• How would you describe the definition and concept of shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women? (Individual Interviews Question)
• In your opinion, what is the impact of shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women? (Photo Elicitation Exercises Question)
• How would you describe the gender differences, if any, regarding male and female shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women? (Focus Groups Question)
• Could you please tell me about any experiences either yourself, someone you know, or any accounts you have heard of when shame has been an issue?
• What are the consequences for people when shame has been an issue for themselves/and or someone they know?
• What is your understanding of what Islam states about shame?

Closing of the individual interviews, photo elicitation and focus group exercises:
• How would you describe your religious practise?
• Are there any other areas of honour and shame that you would want to talk about that may not have been covered by this mind map?
• Are there any further comments regarding honour and shame that you may wish to share?
• How did you experience this research interview/photo elicitation exercise/focus group?

Thank you so much for participating. Here is a list/I will email yourself a list of telephone helpline numbers should you wish to access some support for yourself. It has been a pleasure interviewing yourself for my research and I really appreciate what you have shared. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any queries regarding my study and/or what you have talked about today. Thank you and goodbye.
Introduction

This study aims to explore the concept of honour and shame in connection with South Asian British Muslim men and women. This is a complex phenomenon which affects people of diverse ethnic, racial, socio-cultural and religious heritage. It is imperative to note that honour killings, which are a worldwide issue, are at the extreme end of this spectrum. The police, human rights organisations and media reports indicate honour based crimes are now occurring within the United Kingdom. However, this study intends to investigate how this concept is developed and defined. It will explore the manifestation of beliefs, attitudes and influences which contribute to its formation. It does not aim to focus on the ensuing violent honour crimes or honour killings, which have been investigated by previous research studies.

As a multilingual counsellor, I frequently see young South Asian British Muslim women who present with psychological and/or emotional distress due to the complexities of honour and shame. They are caught by the tensions of parental and familial pressures to conform to socio-cultural norms and expectations. I have worked with them as they struggle with the dichotomy of being who they are and who their family expect them to be. Coercion, pressures, emotional blackmail, cultural identity issues, honour and shame are all powerful mechanisms of conformity placed upon some women by significant others in their lives. These women have certain conditions placed upon them by these significant others. This ‘condition of worth’ means that it is ‘difficult for us to be self accepting due to us having a low view of ourselves and the “judgemental experts” in this life, both past and present, have been so powerfully destructive’ (Mearns & Thorne, 1999, pp.6–7). A study by Meetoo and Mirza (2007) explored gender,
violence and the limits of multiculturalism in the context of honour based killings.

I aim to explore how the concept of honour and shame potentially conflicts with factors of parental, sibling and familial bonds and nurture. As such, this phenomenon is of interest to myself in both an academic and professional capacity and I aim to explore it further utilising a qualitative methodology. Photo elicitation exercises, focus groups and individual interviews were the data generating methods. My theoretical framework derives from a humanistic approach and researcher stance originates from hermeneutics, which is an interpretation, discovering meanings of text, conversations and person’s sense of the world. The data was analysed utilising thematic analysis.

**Research question**

I am of the opinion that there is conditional love and acceptance towards South Asian British Muslim women by their families and communities. My hypothesis is that South Asian British Muslim men are also subject to familial socio-cultural rules and expectations of regaining lost honour. This honour is considered to be lost due to a perception of unacceptable female behaviour. This results in psychological, emotional, physical, sexual and financial abuse to varying degrees. I wish to explore how the links between gender roles, nurture, tradition, culture, religion and internal and external influences are contributing to this increasing problem. This research will also endeavour to establish recommendations for positive change, which are derived from within this specific ethnic and religious group of people on whom the study is focused.

I envisage that this investigation will answer the following research questions:

- What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?
- What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?
- What are the gender differences in male/female honour and shame?

**Participant criteria**

It was essential that a homogenous group of people were identified as the study focus is on a specific socio-ethnic group. As such, they would be able to share their
subjective opinions and experiences from an internal position rather than an external one.

The six categories for the sample criteria were:

- **Gender:** Male and female
- **Ethnicity:** Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani
- **Nationality:** British
- **Religion:** Islam
- **Language:** English
- **Age:** 18+

This social scientific study aims to enhance individuals’ and organisational awareness and understanding regarding this sensitive and controversial phenomenon. This chapter will focus on the language, behaviour, boundaries and reflections which have derived from the data collection process.

**Female language**

During the process of data collection, I have been surprised and fascinated by the explicit vocabulary expressed by the female participants. They have openly shared the derogatory labelling given to them by the significant others in their lives when they have behaved in a manner that was perceived as unacceptable by other individuals. They have been referred to in terms such as harlot, slag, tart, bad girl, floozy and prostitute. The participants appeared to use such terminology with ease and fluidity with little hesitation or embarrassment at being subjected to such a degree of criticism.

A young Bangladeshi female graduate described how her ‘mother attacked me on many levels’ when she discovered the participant had chosen to live in mixed gender student accommodation whilst studying at a university away from the family home. She elaborated that her mother had considered her to be a ‘harlot’ for such behaviour. In this situation, the participant did not indicate that she was subjected to male dominance as her father had died during her childhood, her male sibling was younger than her and she had two sisters. They had little contact with extended family members. I sensed that in this scenario, the participant’s mother was the person exerting her authority and control over the children and as the participant was the eldest, she was the first one to step onto new terrain and suffer the consequences.
My understanding of all forms of abuse whether it is psychological, verbal, emotional, physical, sexual or financial is when one person(s) is in a domineering position over another person(s) and there is an abuser/victim relationship. Who holds the position of power and control in relationships is not always defined by gender, as illustrated in this case. In this family, the mother was the head of the household and I suggest her position was created by the fact that her husband was deceased and there was little contact with other male adults in their extended family. The participant was being coerced into conformity by wearing a hijab, daily Salah (prayer), socialising restrictions and disempowerment by her mother exerting her authority. Women who have a senior position of hierarchy within families at times dominate other female relatives. This is an issue that I am accustomed to working with and in my experience as a counsellor, I have worked with many male clients who have migrated from the South Asian sub-continent to the United Kingdom as spouses. They have perceived themselves variously as victims of psychological, emotional, physical, financial and sexual abuse by their wives and their families. Such crimes are under reported due to male victims feeling deep shame and being emasculated by the experience of having been abused by women. It seems that men’s role in family and society appears to be defined at the overt level, whereas within the confines of the home, this notion is covertly challenged. Therefore, outside of the home environment, some men will talk about being humiliated, shamed and dishonoured by women and/or men. A safe, therapeutic space appears to be one place where men are seeking professional help to share and explore their traumatic experiences of abuse. However, within the sphere of research, I have found that none of these men have come forward to talk about themselves as victims of abuse and the consequent impact of this within a continuum of honour and shame.

Another participant openly shared her experience of being ‘persecuted’ by her family after she left an abusive husband in a forced marriage from the age of 18 which lasted many years. She described how her parents, sisters and brothers ‘degraded’ her and that she was ‘dead’ as far as they were concerned. She felt she had been made an ‘outcast’ from her family and the South Asian Muslim community in the city where they all resided. Her family would deny her presence by not acknowledging she even existed when with new acquaintances. In circumstances where people knew of her existence and they would ask how she was, her family would lie and say she had run off with another man. In this scenario, they would say a different man each time they repeated this fabrication of truth – people believed them as it would be incredible that a family would make up such an invention. The participant was labelled as a ‘loose woman and prostitute’ who had ‘run off with 28 different men’. She felt that her respect had been ‘tarnished’ in the community and she had been ‘dishonoured’ by her husband as people didn’t know what had actually happened. Her male family members had the view that
women should be ‘seen and not heard’ and her father had ordered that she be given ‘poison’ and have an ‘amputation’ of all her limbs to ‘teach her and the other women in the family a lesson and for them to remain obedient’ as women were ‘inferior’.

This participant shared that, after many years of no contact with her family, she was now in direct interaction with some family members, albeit the relationships remained strained. Even 15 years after her divorce, her dad continued to send her messages via other people that he wanted her to reconcile with her ex-husband. She felt that this was an ‘ongoing battle’ between her and male relatives as it was about their ‘male power and pride’. She described their attitude as:

*We are gonna win.* We have brought her back to where we wanted her to be. They’ve been dishonoured, because their daughter has fought and broken the reigns regardless of 10, 15 men trying to hold this little woman into this place in their society, in their family that they created for her.

The above interview indicates an example of a patriarchal society of power, dominance, and abuse that exists in the lives of many South Asian British Muslim women. Honour represented status to the participant’s family, which was interconnected with power. Family collusion in psychological, emotional and physical abuse is clearly apparent, with the men making the decisions about the subordinate position of the female role within the family system. It is unclear how willing the female relatives would be in participating in such behaviour and I suggest that even if there was some reluctance on their part, their non-autonomous position within the family relationships would make it very difficult for them to resist what was expected by the men. I believe the women would also be fearful of the possible dire consequences to themselves should they refrain from the collusion, which strengthens the controlling position of the men and reinforces the exertion of power.

It is widely recognised that the majority of South Asian Muslim families view shame as deeply insulting and at times will resort to extreme violent behaviours in order to prevent this penetrating their family.

Shame isn’t just one thing… shame with society, that’s about other people’s problems with you; it’s not about you.

*(Gilbert et al., 2004, p.117)*

I suggest this participant’s family felt threatened at the possibility of a woman from their kin challenging their authority. In order to prevent this from occurring,
they resorted to threatening behaviour. When they discovered this was not having
the desired impact, they then deliberately told lies to dishonour her, knowing this
would leave a permanent mark on her character. The family felt that her behaviour
was shameful and that she was bringing shame on them, which placed them
in a disempowered position within the socio-cultural milieu. They
retaliated by defaming her.

Men whose control is threatened will use violence to avoid shame to restore
their sense of honour.

(Araji, 2000, p.7)

It seems that the men in this family dominated the womenfolk, the abusive
cycle of male dominance to female submission passing from one generation to
the next, with these interactions between the genders in the examples above seen
as power and control issues.

The analysis also identified the more subtle issues of discrimination, inequalities,
struggles, vulnerability and submissiveness. I empathised with these hardships
with my awareness of people being disempowered within family systems of power
imbalance and injustices. My findings suggest that power and control are strongly
linked to honour and shame, leading to this participant being disempowered on
many levels – she was living in a male dominated patriarchal society where
women were expected to be submissive and subservient. Gender discrimination
was evident in this family, resulting in her continual struggles to gain respect,
acceptance and equality. As women are usually considered the carriers of honour
within most South Asian Muslim communities, the family were deliberate in
publicly humiliating and shaming the participant as an additional method of
punishment and ‘annihilation’.

During the course of the interview, I felt shock and horror at the extent to
which the participant’s male family members were prepared to go to restore their
honour. Before me was an attractive and petite young woman, a mother to six
children and who had survived tremendous threats from her family through
finding the strength within herself to challenge and resist their abuse. I felt
admiration towards the participant who had faced numerous difficulties, trauma
and illnesses in her life, and yet had managed to raise her children as a single
parent to the best of her ability and obtain a degree at the age of 40. Actually
meeting with someone who was recounting such harrowing events first hand was
a different experience to reading this in text form or watching a documentary. I
felt connected to the participant and could see the strength of her character. She
was very articulate in her communication and her well-groomed appearance was
suggestive of positive self-nurturing. Her words were powerful, descriptive and spontaneous. I did not detect any resistance from her and felt she readily engaged in the interview process and was keen to openly talk about her life experiences, whilst I noticed her body language remained quite closed, indicating that although she was outwardly composed, there was some internalised tension present.

Male language

In sharp contrast, all of the male participants selected refined speech during the interviews. They also made references to honour in Urdu and included ‘izzat’ within their vocabulary; there appeared to be a general aura of reservation and detachment. I believe it is of significance that there was a sense of their being reserved during the research process on various levels and that their speech and the amount of demographic information shared was carefully selected. On one occasion, a participant declined to share his marital status and politely requested ‘please, just leave this’. The majority of the male participants adopted formal or closed body language, which was indicative of them not feeling relaxed or comfortable during the interviews. It is important to acknowledge the gender difference between myself and the male participants, its significance relevant in how the men chose to communicate their knowledge and experiences. Their selection of words, description of people and events, including and excluding details, would have all been affected by communicating and engaging with someone from the opposite gender. I am of the opinion that the men were more conscious and affected by the gender difference than I, and that this was connected to how they were careful and hesitant in sharing certain aspects of personal material and experiences.

I also believe that, to a certain degree, the males presented as being detached from the issue and wished to distance themselves from the subject matter on various levels. They all considered it important to highlight that neither they nor their family members condoned the power and control exerted over females and that such behaviour ‘happens in other families’.

Perhaps the women were more vocal and congruent as either they or someone close to them had been at the receiving end of being punished or not accepted due to honour and shame issues. There is the possibility that due to my gender, the women felt more relaxed and open and welcomed me into their sense and experience of the world as they frequently called me ‘sister’. A kinship connection was established as I reciprocated this term, which was a new
experience for me. Interestingly, there was never any reference to ‘sister’ or ‘brother’ during my contact with the male participants. This omission could be linked to the thought from male participants that with a more collective sense of self-identity I would not be bound by rules of confidentiality, which has been noted as potentially an issue with general practitioners of South Asian origin. Or, that a woman asking these questions might have an unspoken agenda – and that the perceived family unit might be judged or threatened by their disclosure.

Participants’ cultural sensitivity awareness

During the interview process with a male participant I discovered the significance of micro-level cultural differences, perceptions and acceptable behaviour. I arrived to interview a British Pakistani Muslim male, who was in his thirties, at an educational establishment where he worked. He had indicated a preference to be interviewed during his working hours and a mutually convenient appointment was arranged. The participant greeted me very politely and escorted me to an office where he had writing material and a glass of water available for my convenience. I was aware that he had left the office door wide open and, prior to recording the interview, I requested he either close the door or leave it slightly ajar as I could hear other voices further along the corridor, which might interfere with the quality of the audio recording. The participant did not verbally acknowledge my request and quietly left the room. I sensed within that moment that I had made a faux pas, but I did not comprehend how or why. Some moments later I heard the other voices subside and the participant returned to the interview room. The door remained wide open and he indicated he was ready to participate in the interview, which I commenced. It was approximately 30 minutes later that the participant verbally acknowledged my request to close the office door. He said he had not closed the door and I verbalised I had noticed this. He elaborated that it would have been inappropriate to do so as his South Asian Muslim male colleagues would have teased him about this afterwards. I was perplexed about why this would occur and asked him to explain this further. He responded by making reference to the fact that this is what happens in such situations, as though I was familiar with such behaviour. As I was confused and unaware of such behaviour, I explained that I did not understand what had happened and why. He then explained that because I was a Muslim woman his colleagues would have assumed a non-research based activity would be taking place in the office if the door had been closed. If I had been a white female or indeed a male, then this assumption would not have been made. Therefore, in order to minimise any untoward presumptions being made, he had left the door wide open so that we were visible.

Although I understood the reasoning behind his actions, I remained surprised as to why anyone would make such inaccurate and unnecessary assumptions. During
many years of working with South Asian British Muslim men as colleagues or professional/client relationships, I had never encountered such a scenario or concern previously. I appreciated the participant’s care and consideration and felt that his actions were respectful in nature. However, I was also aware that he had automatically presumed that I understood his behaviour and his colleagues’ jest, whereas I had been completely oblivious. This example highlights the subtleties of gender and cultural awareness and differences. It also highlighted to me the discriminatory insinuations that may be directed towards either me or participants by others not directly involved in the research process. I take particular care with my dress code whilst conducting this research, especially when I am interviewing male participants. I do not wear the hijab or traditional Asian clothes. I have found a balance of dressing modestly, as Islam stipulates, whilst retaining my own identity with Western garments. This experience brought into my awareness that other barriers between researcher/participant do exist that go beyond what is visible and may exist in one person’s notion of respect and acceptability and yet not in another’s. How does one become aware of such intrinsic subtleties regarding culture when this is not openly talked about, or only people within a certain socio-cultural mindset are party to this knowledge? In this situation, I was clearly very much the ‘outsider’ and unfamiliar with such thought processes.

**Variance of researcher and participant boundaries**

Throughout the research process, I have been very much aware of the disparity in boundaries between myself and the participants. A significant number of the women have signed off text messages/emails with ‘x’, which generally symbolises some form of affection. As a counsellor I am accustomed to maintaining firm boundaries with clients and I applied this same skill with the participants. Clearly, it would be inappropriate for me to reciprocate an ‘x’, and after careful consideration I decided to replace this with a smiley emoticon instead. I felt this symbol would acknowledge their gesture and my response would be friendly in return, but not intimate. Prior to the research, I had never used an emoticon and I feel that I have found a balanced way to maintain an appropriate, professional boundary between the participants and myself.

A considerable number of female participants have greeted me with an embrace, which was totally unexpected on my part. I felt that although the participants were using this as a welcoming gesture, I was uncomfortable with this body language due to the researcher/participant boundaries. In order to reduce the likelihood of this occurring, I now pre-empt this by offering my hand with a view to a handshake and that appears to set the tone of our meetings. Unremarkably, the
male participants have maintained a professional researcher/client boundary with no close proximity at any level. I feel the female participants have been very transparent about sharing their experiences within the context of honour and shame. They have openly talked about their personal material and at times appeared curious to know more about myself on a personal level. Some have asked about my marital status and family background and invited me to attend social events with them post-interview. Once again, I was left with the dilemma of not wanting to appear to rebuff the participants as I would not be able to accommodate their requests, whilst maintaining researcher/participant boundaries. I explained to the participants that due to research boundaries, I was not in a position to share personal material about myself and unfortunately would be unable to see them outside the context of research, and that I appreciated their invitations. Upon reflection, I surmised the participants requests may naturally have derived from them wanting to identify or develop a different type of connection between us that extended beyond the confines of research. If we had met under different circumstances, I too would have liked to have maintained contact with the participants, but this opportunity was not available to either party.

I found it significant that some participants voluntarily said they would not disclose my researcher mobile number to anyone else without my prior consent as they did not want to dishonour or shame me. They said that I too was someone’s daughter and sister and they would respect my privacy. I very much appreciated and valued their consideration and our mutual respect was transparent. The participants’ concern regarding my honour and shame would suggest that this concept was a lived experience and very present amongst us in the room.

Reducing the visible and invisible barriers within research

I deliberately used simple language without jargon during the research interviews. As I am multilingual, the participants were offered a choice of languages to converse in. Although most of them selected to communicate in one language, almost all of them used particular phrases of expression that exist in another, which offers precise interpretation of their meaning. As such, communication awareness and choice is a significant way of connecting with others. The majority of female participants voluntarily addressed me as ‘sister’ which was an alien experience to myself. Until this juncture, I had only ever used the terms ‘brother’ or ‘sister’ in reference to my biological siblings. I interpreted the female participants’ reference to ‘sister’ as a sign of respect, acceptance and kinship and, therefore, I also used the same terminology when addressing them and quite surprisingly, it felt very natural to do so.
Although I am of Iranian and South Asian heritage, my levels of cultural understanding were not at the same micro-level as some of the participants. I noticed that this difference was more apparent with participants who had migrated to this country, whereas I had an equal, shared understanding with participants who, like myself, were born and raised in England.

Dress code is an important factor for consideration whilst conducting research interviews. All of the male participants were in Western clothing, whereas the females have been in Eastern and Western attire. The majority of females wore the hijab, one a niqab and three an abaya. To assist with researcher/participant engagement and connection, I did not want my clothing to be a barrier. It was important for me to be congruent and, therefore, I did not wear a hijab or change my style of dress out of the ordinary. Instead, I had a shawl casually draped over my shoulders and my hair tied back. These subtle changes were a healthy balance of being respectful towards the participants’ religious and socio-cultural and beliefs whilst maintaining my own identity.

Gender awareness, sameness and difference between myself and participants appear to have been significant in how forthcoming participants have been with their material, vocabulary, body language and proximity to the research subject and myself. The female participants have freely expressed themselves and very quickly connected with myself and focus of the study. I sensed the males have been hesitant, reluctant and at times have held back from fully immersing themselves within the research process and topic. As previously indicated, at times, the male participants have appeared to be more conscious of the gender difference than I have and, therefore, they have altered how much they share at various levels accordingly.

**Hijab representation**

The majority of female participants wore the hijab and I was intrigued by what this represented. All of the women were either raised to wear the hijab or, as adults, they had made this informed choice. One of the participants, who wore the hijab, niqab and abaya, was keen to show me photographs on her mobile of herself when she was not wearing these garments. This was in the context of her relating honour and shame to female dress code and Islamic values. She was of the opinion that a woman revealing her décolletage would bewitch any man! Although I accepted her viewpoint, I did not communicate any agreement with her notion of women having the power to bewitch men simply by their dress style.
I was fascinated to hear one young female Muslim participant recount her experience of starting to wear the hijab during childhood soon after her father’s death. Her mother felt the hijab would offer them protection and she made the decision for her and her daughters to cover. The participant felt comfortable wearing the hijab as she felt, as an adult, she was choosing to do this, and she wished to engage in daily prayers only if this was her desire and not another’s expectations. She confided that she would go dancing with male friends in nightclubs whilst wearing the hijab and could feel the hostility from other Muslims there towards herself. This participant did not have any qualms about dancing in nightclubs and shared that at times she realised she had become too close to males whilst dancing and she would then pull away and place some distance between them. She was fully aware of the disapproving looks she received from Muslim men who were bystanders, drinking alcohol. She felt them drinking alcohol was unacceptable behaviour and laughed at the thought of her definitely having a good time compared to them. She did not feel that wearing the hijab restricted her in dancing with men. Her family were unaware of her socialising in this manner as they would not consider this to be acceptable behaviour.

This is one example where I discovered the incongruence between the represented persona and hidden behaviour of some Muslim women. I contemplated what the hijab means to women, and I have learnt that women wear it either through choice or pressure. For some women, the hijab represents Islamic and moral values; and for others, it is simply a garment and is not a measurement of their religious practice. During my counselling practice, I have worked with a number of South Asian Muslim women who wear the hijab who have been involved in extramarital affairs. On occasions, such clients have terminated pregnancies as the conception has been out of wedlock. I now realise that I held preconceived ideas that the hijab was an indication of a Muslim woman’s religious practice and that this cloth symbolised a certain conduct of behaviour. I now understand the hijab represents diverse meanings and values to individuals and generalisations about its significance and purpose can no longer be upheld.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has highlighted some of the participants’ plight in being caught between the tensions of parental pressures to conform to socio-cultural norms and expectations which inhibited their personal growth and development. All of the female participants were spontaneous in their language and engagement with the research interview and study, which was in sharp contrast to the male interactions. The females were very congruent about their lives and experiences of honour and shame. Interestingly, some women chose to be transparent about their personal
lives during the interview, yet were living in a real state of incongruence outside the research space. The dichotomy of their represented persona and concealed behaviour was striking and this disparity appeared to be connected to perceptions of conditions of worth by the significant others in their lives. The female participants used their voice to express themselves and voluntarily shared that they were so happy that a female Muslim researcher wanted to hear their stories so they could help other women and prevent further suffering in the world.

Researcher awareness of intrinsic socio-cultural attitudes and behaviours has been illustrated and recognition of the variance of boundaries has emerged. Reflections on being aware of visible and invisible barriers and considerations on how to decrease them have been shared. Examples of Muslim women challenging the boundaries placed in their lives by significant others are illustrated in the context of congruent and incongruent behaviours and lifestyles. This chapter clearly demonstrates that South Asian British Muslim women's ongoing battle for respect, choice, equality, empowerment and social freedom continues.

Discussion points

1) What does language signify for research participants and researchers?

2) How is participant behaviour represented and understood within the research relationship?

3) How can participants and researchers maintain boundaries that are mutually respectful and acceptable whilst facilitating research engagement and autonomy?

4) How open are researchers to look inwardly at their roles, preconceptions and expectations of themselves and the participants?

5) What learning, growth and development has occurred for researchers as individuals and social scientists during the research process?
References


Appendix 17: Photo Elicitation Pilot Study Narratives of the Images

- Photograph One – Zana and Nadia in England as young teenagers prior to travelling to Yemen.
- Photograph Two – Nadia wearing a hijab and niqab.
- Photograph Three – Zana, Nadia and Tina (Nadia’s daughter) in Yemen.
- Photograph Four – Zana (with a companion) returns to Yemen four years after her escape to meet up with Nadia.
- Photograph Five – Nadia, Tina and Zana in Yemen.
- Photograph Six – Zana (with a friend) after her return to England. A third person’s face is partially visible between the two women.
- Photograph Seven – Zana and her two younger sisters who had continued to reside in England. Photographs Six and Seven were taken at the same event.
- Photograph Eight – Nadia cradling Tina, her infant daughter, in Yemen.
- Photograph Nine – Zana and Nadia’s father.
- Photograph Ten – Nadia, Tina and Zana in Yemen.
- Photograph Eleven – Nadia, Tina and Zana with Eileen MacDonald (a journalist from The Observer newspaper) in 1987.
Appendix 18: Nasreen Mansoor’s (2015b) Book Chapter ‘Honour and Shame: Through the Eyes of South Asian British Muslim Women and Men’

Chapter 15

Honour and shame
Through the eyes of South Asian British Muslim women and men

Nasreen Mansoor

Introduction
This chapter explores the concept of honour and shame in relation to South Asian British Muslim men and women in the context of a focus group discussion stimulated by a carefully selected series of photographs relating to the ‘sale’ into marriage of two British Muslim girls by their father. The focus group took place as part of a pilot study for a larger doctoral study to investigate how the concept of honour and shame is constructed and the impact it has on an individual and collective level.

Honour and shame are a complex phenomenon affecting people of diverse ethnic, racial, sociocultural and religious heritage. It is imperative to note that honour killings, which are a worldwide issue, are at the extreme end of this spectrum. The police, human rights organisations and media reports indicate that honour-based crimes are now also occurring within the United Kingdom. However, this study investigated how this concept is developed and defined by exploring the manifestation of beliefs, attitudes and influences that contribute to its formation. It did not aim to focus on the ensuing violence of honour crimes or honour killings; instead its aim was to explore understandings of individual perceptions of honour and shame and the significance of this ideology in the group’s lives.

There were three research questions guiding this study:

1. What is the definition and concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?
2. What is the impact of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women?
3. What are the gender differences in male/female honour and shame for South Asian British Muslims?

As a multilingual counsellor, I have frequently seen young South Asian British Muslim women who presented with psychological and/or emotional distress due to the complexities of honour and shame. They were caught between the tensions of
parental and familial pressures to conform to sociocultural norms and expectations. I have worked with them as they struggled with the dichotomy of who their family expects them to be. Coercion, pressures, emotional blackmail, cultural identity issues, honour and shame are all powerful mechanisms of conformity placed upon some women by significant others in their lives such as parents, siblings, extended family members and other persons of the same race and cultural identity.

Honour is a concept that is intellectual and relational. It consists of spoken and unspoken rules, which appear to be learned by members of particular sociocultural groups, for example South Asian British Muslims. However, if honour is perceived to be breached, then there are clear consequences of a more serious nature for females than for males. Family status and behaviour expectations are gender based.

Shame is an emotion and is defined by how one responds to a perception of lost honour. It manifests itself on two levels: internal and external. Internal shame is the sense an individual may have of feeling ashamed, shameful or shameless. External shame has a social element which is very closely connected to acts of punishment and enforced compliance by others.

Honour and shame are challenging concepts. The motivation to research the way they are understood in England today stemmed from a personal and professional interest, especially as ‘shying away from controversial topics, simply because they are controversial, is also an avoidance of responsibility’ (Sieber and Stanley, 1988: 55).

The study
Seven British Muslims (five females and two males) were invited to participate in a focus group as part of a doctoral study on honour and shame. A series of twelve photographs were selected to represent the autobiography of two British Muslim girls who were ‘sold’ into marriage by their father and held captive in the Yemen for 8 years. Using photo-elicitation as a method for exploring cultural beliefs, the photographs were presented to the focus group without any explanatory text in order to elicit ideas, values, beliefs and attitudes towards ‘honour’ and ‘shame.’ The images were instrumental in obtaining rich, qualitative and emotive data, which resulted in a dramatic outburst from the participants when the story behind the images was revealed. Key elements of honour and shame were identified as individual, family and sociocultural expectations of lifestyle choices, power and control being separate entities to this notion and gender inequalities and discrimination towards females by males.

In my role as a counsellor, honour and shame are recurring themes within the context of relationships and family dynamics. In my doctoral studies, I have been exploring the way in which the concepts of honour and shame are sometimes superseded by factors associated with parental, sibling and familial bonds and nurture. Statistics from the United Nations reveals that an estimated 5,000 women are killed each year in the name of ‘honour’ (UNFPA, 2000).
This is recognised as an international issue and ‘Honour killings have been documented in Bangladesh, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, Sweden, Turkey, Uganda and the UK’ (Sajid, 2003, n.p).

Some South Asian Muslim families appear to have a domineering position towards female family members and exhibit a conditional acceptance of them. Studies have revealed:

No price the women will pay would be greater than the shame they would bring on the family if they chose to end their marriage. Therefore, many women, even in the face of extreme domestic violence, continue to stay in the marriage because leaving would bring shame to their family.

(Ayyub, 2000, p. 243)

Honour is intertwined with controlling female behaviour and if a woman breaks a code of honour, then she has brought dishonour to her family, especially to male relations (Baker et al., 1999). Another study reports, ‘Men whose control is threatened will use violence to avoid shame to restore their sense of honour’ (Araji, 2000: 7).

Preliminary findings from my research revealed that females are burdened with the responsibility of being the carriers of family honour from childhood. Any shame they bring is a permanent stain on their character and shame not only affects a woman’s psychological and emotional wellbeing, but also physical health. In one case it prevented one woman from seeking medical help for breast cancer. Gender differences in perceiving shame was apparent, with men behaving inappropriately dismissed as being part of ‘growing up’. In the South Asian subcontinent, pregnancies with female foetuses were terminated as the male gender was preferred. Family disownment, threats and physical chastisement of females was not uncommon in the UK. It was considered important for men to feel they were able to control female behaviour within their families and they felt emasculated when this did not occur. In order for the men to feel they had regained power over the women, they quite often reacted in a forceful way that was detrimental to the health and wellbeing of their female relatives. Male shame emerged in examples of men having limited education, insufficient financial resources, female relatives living an un-Islamic and culturally inappropriate way, and being unable to duplicate other male behaviour such as having a girlfriend. Some families strived to create an image of a perfect family as they considered it important for their communities to view them as being ‘pure’.

Such social and family pressure is aimed at ensuring that both men and women conform to social norms. An expectation for them to live a particular way of life considered acceptable by the significant others is imposed upon them. Depending on whether the individual fulfils this obligation, he/she is either accepted or rejected by the significant people. Females are considered to be of great significance in the maintenance of family sociocultural honour. In their study of gender, violence and the limits of multiculturalism in the context of honour-based killings, Meetoo and Mirza (2007) explored the differences of power and equality in both male and female gender roles in relation to familial and societal expectations. My doctoral study focused on how the concept of honour and shame is developed, identified and influenced.
In this chapter I provide an account of a focus group in which I used photographs to elicit understandings of the concept of honour and shame by a purposive sample of British Muslim men and women. The design of the focus group was largely modelled on an article by Miles and Kaplan (2005) who describe some surprising findings when photo-elicitation was used to explore the concept of inclusive education in school communities in Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania.

**Preparing for the focus group**

I identified seven colleagues of South Asian heritage with British nationality and of the Islamic faith, who worked with vulnerable South Asian communities within the voluntary sector, and invited them to participate in a focus group. I envisaged that involving healthcare professionals in this activity would enhance their knowledge about the phenomenon of honour and shame, and that this would, in turn, be of direct benefit to their clients.

There were five female and two male research participants: four were born and raised in England, two were born in Pakistan and one in Kenya. Their ages ranged from 30 to 53. Four were married, one was single, one was divorced and one widowed. They all had children of their own, with the exception of the 30-year-old single female. Five of the participants had been educated to university degree level, one had a college diploma and the other had ‘A’ levels. Their professions included social work, management, counselling, mental health worker, and a community development worker (see Table 15.1 for the participants’ demographic information). All seven participants were accustomed to expressing their views about sensitive issues, including honour and shame. Nevertheless, participants were offered a minimum of two weeks to decide whether to take part in the study, and I took a great deal of care in ensuring that they were fully informed about the purpose of the focus group. ‘Participant Information Sheet’ and ‘Participant Informed Consent Form’ documents detailing the study were distributed. Participants’ demographic details were kept anonymous and I adhered to the BACP ethical guidelines for researching counselling and psychotherapy as written by Bond (2004). The focus group took place in the office of the manager of the charity for whom I used to work. It was, therefore, not possible to create an ‘ideal’ research environment due to the limited space available.

Although some of the focus group literature suggests particular seating arrangements for moderator and participants’ positions, in order to manage those who are talkative and those who are less talkative, and to promote cohesion and discussion (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990: 88), I did not want to specify where the participants should sit; I wanted to give the participants a choice so that they would feel empowered and autonomous in the focus group discussion. Some participants chose to sit on the floor as they felt more comfortable with their legs stretched out and this helped to form a circle. There was a relaxed and informal atmosphere in the room as we all knew each other, tea and coffee were made available and we all chose our preferred seating arrangements, some were seated on the floor, while others chose to sit on chairs.
Ground rules were discussed at the beginning and I suggested that it was important to have equality amongst the participants regardless of age, gender and employment seniority. It was agreed that confidentiality would be maintained by all with respect to the discussion that took place and any disclosures made by individuals. The main focus of the discussion was the story of a British Muslim family, told through photographs.

A life story in photographs
Zana Muhsen, a British Muslim woman, was brought up in England and sold into a forced marriage at the age of 15 by her father for £1,300. She was held captive in the Yemen for the following eight years (Muhsen and Crofts, 1994). Zana’s sister, Nadia, was also sold into a forced marriage at the age of 14 and remains in the Yemen.

I chose this autobiographical account as a stimulus for the focus group discussion because the concepts of honour and shame run throughout the narrative. The racial and cultural identities, faith and ethnicity, were similar to the characteristics of the focus group participants. Most importantly, the book contained twelve photographs which in themselves told the story of the two girls in the context of the Yemen and England. Since the book was in the public domain, the use of the photographs was both legally and ethically acceptable.

I scanned and printed the photographs and numbered them non-chronologically, with the exception of the first and last photographs, which were correctly numbered (see Table 15.2 for a list of the photograph captions in the order that I presented them). I produced two complete sets of images for ease of access: one set were studied by the group seated on the floor, the other by the group sitting on chairs. The captions for each photograph were concealed with a piece of card. I asked the participants not to uncover the captions until we had finished discussing all twelve photographs, as this would sabotage the whole process. The full explanation of the story would be revealed at the end of the exercise.

The rationale for producing images without any visible captions was because I aimed to elicit rich data directly from the participants’ interpretations without the influence of any leading or bias. Miles and Kaplan (2005: 81) explain that they, ‘chose not to supplement the images with their own descriptions of what the photographs were showing (they preferred to allow a free and unbiased discussion)’. A criticism of this approach is that the group may be influenced by some participants’ opinions and be swayed towards others’ interpretations rather than expressing their own individual views. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, this was not a problem as participants confidently voiced their diverse opinions and interpretations.

One of the main purposes of photo-elicitation is quite simply, ‘To promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through large and small group discussion of photographs’ (Wang and Burris, 1997: 369). I deliberately chose not to offer any information about the images as I wanted the discussion to emerge directly from the participants’ interpretations of the visual stimulus. I explained to the participants that I would show them one image at a time and that they would have time to digest the visual
### Table 15.1 Research participants’ demographic information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity &amp; Country of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Seating Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zara</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Mental Health Caseworker</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Community Development</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yumnah</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BA Degree</td>
<td>Mental Health Caseworker</td>
<td>Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Counselling Caseworker</td>
<td>Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabeen</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Indian Kenya</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>'A' Levels</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariq</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Law Graduate</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neelam</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistani Pakistan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>Floor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15.2 The captions for the 12 photographs

1  Zana and Nadia as young teenagers in England before travelling to the Yemen.
2  Nadia wearing a hijab (headscarf) and niqab (veil).
3  Zana, Nadia and Tina (Nadia’s infant daughter) in the Yemen.
4  Nadia and Zana (with a companion) meeting up four years after Zana’s escape.
   Zana returned to the Yemen to visit Nadia four years after she left.
5  Zana, Nadia and Tina in the Yemen.
6  Zana back in England with a friend after she had escaped from the Yemen. The face
   of a third person is partially visible between the two women.
7  Zana and her two younger sisters who had remained in England. This was taken at
   the same event as photograph six.
8  Nadia holding her infant daughter, Tina, in the Yemen.
9  Zana and Nadia’s father.
10  Zana, Nadia and Tina in the Yemen.
11  Zana, Nadia and Tina with Eileen MacDonald, a journalist from The Observer
    newspaper, in 1987.
12  Zana meeting her mother at Gatwick Airport, England, in 1988 after her escape.

image individually before sharing their interpretations to the group.

There was an atmosphere of intrigue, excitement and enthusiasm for the first 45
minutes of the focus group. I offered several minutes for discussion of each photograph
before presenting the next image. Animated discussions followed the reading of each
photograph. Participants eagerly and carefully examined each photograph in detail and
shared their interpretations. As Miles and Kaplan (2005: 81) state: ‘Every photograph contains
many hidden facts and stories beyond the immediately obvious.’

Reactions to the actual story
After spending 45 minutes discussing and exploring the twelve images, I
explained the actual story behind the images. The participants were visibly shocked
and there were gasps of ‘oh my God!’ and ‘tauba!’ (‘God have mercy’ in Urdu).
Spontaneously, they began to discuss issues of honour and shame and all that this
encompassed, as they were aware that this was the focus of my study. When I held up
photograph nine and revealed the identity of the father, there was an unanimous ‘Ugh!’
sound from the participants and they all made sounds of disgust: ‘The arrogance of
“I’m a man! I’m proud, I can do whatever I want!”’ ‘Rogue, that’s what I was going to
say – he looked like a rogue.’

The participants compared the photographs of Zana and Nadia when they were
living in England with the photographs of them living in the Yemen. At this point there
were numerous gasps of, ‘O-h-h, i-s t-h-a-t Z-a-n-a? Oh, look how different they
look!’ Holding the contrasting images together for all to see, Zara helped others to see the contrast between the different lifestyles in England and the Yemen. At this point, it struck me what a powerful tool photographs can be in highlighting such differences.

Some participants were unable to relate to such circumstances. They struggled to comprehend how any parent could behave in such a way. They were appalled by the father’s behaviour. Rana contemplated whether he behaved this way because maybe he felt ashamed that his daughters had become too westernised in England and perhaps he felt that his honour was at stake.

Tariq reflected that there was a lot of ignorance in the 1980s, and so such reactions towards the westernisation of children of South Asian heritage were widespread. Although he thought forced marriages were still occurring as a consequence of honour and shame, he hoped that with enforced legislation things had improved. His viewpoint would suggest that although attitudes within society and the law may have changed with time, such cases were not a rarity.

Zara and Yumnah were aware of many girls disappearing from society due to honour and shame issues and they thought that nothing had been done about this. There was some tangible anger towards the father because despite attempts from Zana and legal professionals he had not been prosecuted for his actions: ‘As a father, how can you do that to your children? To your own flesh and blood? That’s destroying somebody’s life’; ‘It’s got nothing to do with honour or shame.’

The participants felt that the women had been victims of abuse in a patriarchal family system where the father was the head of the family. He had behaved in an evil manner to satisfy his own selfish needs. This was a story of male power and control, and it had no connection with honour and shame. The feelings expressed were of anger, sadness, gloom and disgust. Some participants were angry that the father had ‘got away with it’, and that he had ‘an arrogant face.’

It’s control. He had power and control because he was a father, the head of the family and he put his family through that and he is evil. That is pure blatant evil.

Bay-ghairat! [an Urdu word meaning a dishonourable person].

I’m feeling a lot of sadness in my heart and when you compare your life with their life, they have been through s-o m-u-c-h p-a-i-n.

At the end of the focus group, I thanked the participants and declared the activity finished. Neelam got up from the floor and very quietly and slowly announced ‘s-o n-o-w I w-i-l I m-a-k-e m-y w-a-y o-u-t’ and deliberately stamped on the father’s face in photograph nine as she went. Jabeen followed by placing her shoe on the same photograph, while remaining seated on the floor. Cheers, laughter and loud applause ensued. Jabeen said ‘stab it!’ and Rana suggested the photograph could be made into a dartboard. Tariq silently took photograph nine and drew a hangman’s noose around the head of the father.
Making sense of the data analysis: reading the photographs before the life story revelation

If themes ‘reside’ anywhere, they reside in our heads from our thinking about data and creating links as we understand them.

(Ely et al., 1997: 205-6)

I audio recorded the discussion, transcribed it and then carried out a thematic analysis of the data generated by the photo-elicitation activity in the focus group after revealing the meaning of the photographs. The codes were generated inductively, following the five steps recommended by Boyatzis (1998: 45): data reduction, themes identified, theme comparisons, code development and determining the code reliability. I also worked, ‘systematically through the entire data set, giving full and equal attention to each data item, and [identified] interesting aspects in the data items that may form the basis of repeated patterns (themes) across the data set’ (Braun and Clark, 2006: 89).

The response to the story behind the photographs was an overwhelmingly emotional one. All of the participants were studious in attempting to read the emotions behind the eyes and in their facial expressions. It was interesting that there was a strong focus on eyes as a key part of the facial expressions in the photographs. Participants connected with the distress experienced by Zana and Nadia, and were empathic towards the hardship they had encountered. It was the emotional content of the images and the messages being conveyed by the women’s eyes, in which they read sadness and fear, that captured their imagination the most. They recognised that the two women had experienced trauma, ‘anguish and despair’: ‘no soul in her’ and ‘no life’.

Some participants interpreted the relationships between the two women as happy sisters, lesbians or even mother and daughter. Some thought they were from the Middle East or Afghanistan, while others thought they were earthquake survivors or even terrorists because Nadia was wearing a hijab, niqab and abaya (headscarf, veil and robe). Six of the participants felt that Nadia was threatening two other women in western clothes with ‘God is watching you’ because of the way she was pointing her finger towards them. I found it alarming that an individual could be labelled as a terrorist purely based upon one’s own interpretation of an image. This was particularly disconcerting as the participant who made this completely inaccurate assumption was a woman who periodically chose to wear a hijab.

Four of the female participants felt that the father was ‘cocky’, too confident, and ‘a poser’. Participants felt there was a level of incongruence between his style of dress and the expression on his face. Interestingly, only Neelam felt she could sense positive qualities from this image and considered him to be a reasonable and hardworking person.

Zana and Nadia’s mother was seen as having mental health difficulties, even dementia, as her face was not very expressive, and she did not acknowledge her daughter’s kiss. In general, the majority were more sympathetic towards the women than the man. Based upon visual interpretations, the participants were very quick to come to conclusions about how faith, behaviour and character were represented. They formed strong opinions about the characters, their relationships, lifestyles and religious identities.

There was a strong sense of the perilous situation encountered by the women.
The words used included: hiding, protest, survivors, ostracised and stoned to death. They thought the hiding of the face by one woman was deliberate so no one would recognise her and she could not be persecuted if she was taking part in a protest. Other interpretations were that they were earthquake/war survivors waiting for aid or that they had been ostracised and left on their own. Yumnah considered the women to be witnessing someone being stoned to death and that they had been bullied into sitting there to watch. This suggested that they considered the women’s lives to be at serious risk and that they were in a disempowered state of being. Although the participants did not share this, I felt that they were referring to the helplessness of the women’s circumstances.

Akbar thought Zana and Nadia’s father was on trial and that he was in a prison cell. The participants perceived the women as being ‘persecuted’ and the father as being ‘prosecuted’ and so characterised them as victims and persecutor.

**A deepening understanding of honour and shame**

After the story had been revealed and their initial reactions subsided, the participants started to talk about honour and shame. They felt honour was beautiful and strongly connected to family, community and status. Being aware of honour was an unspoken message that was passed on to young children and was linked to respect. The South Asian British Muslim society viewed women to be the honour of the family, whereas religiously, both men and women were the honour of the family. The image of a pure and perfect family was something that people would try to maintain as this was held in high regard by their communities.

The participants discussed how forced marriages and honour-based violence occurred due to cultural traditions. They made reference to occasions when some people reacted in a manner that was considered acceptable within the sociocultural community they belonged to, whereas someone external to this community might not necessarily have the same belief or practice. They felt there was a pressure from South Asian British Muslim societies for fathers to respond to minor female misdemeanours, resulting in a tendency for males to be dominant and females to be submissive. Although some fathers may themselves accept their wives’ and daughters’ behaviour, they were socially pressured/bullied into making cultural decisions such as forced marriages, often carried out in their countries of origin. This suggests that some men perhaps felt emasculated and they would then react in an abusive manner to satisfy the community they lived in.

The participants felt strongly that ignorance of Islam was linked to the oppression of Muslim women by Muslim men. They discussed how some people may consider themselves to be very understanding, but when difficulties arose within their own families they reacted differently and they themselves would become oppressive towards their own family members. They recognised that the expectations they themselves placed upon their own children, siblings or communities could be considered as oppression by others. Rana suggested that all of them needed to look deeper into understanding why an event had occurred and to try and stop themselves from becoming oppressors. The differences between safe boundaries and control were explored within the challenges they experienced in childrearing. There was a general agreement that it would be more appropriate for fathers to talk and discuss with their children why certain behaviours such
as drinking alcohol was not acceptable, as it was prohibited in Islam. They felt that when this type of communication did not occur, oppression and control emerged in the relationship. This linked to Rana’s opinion that maybe the father in the story felt the girls were becoming too westernised, hence his decision to remove them from that environment so he could control their behaviour and reduce the shame and dishonour he felt.

The participants talked about shame being a taboo and this term went against the values of the community. It was considered to be a negative label which tarnished the individual considered to have brought shame, and which would have an impact on their family as they would lose their standing within their community and be the subject of gossip. Interestingly, Yumnah was of the view that shame could be seen as a positive in terms of covering oneself and modesty. It was apparent that shame was attributed significantly more to females and if they challenged perceived traditions of conformity, then punishment, exclusion and persecution were the result.

This reinforced my hypothesis that some South Asian British Muslim families appear to have a domineering position towards female family members and exhibit a conditional acceptance of them. The participants believed that South Asian British Muslim communities bullied and pressurised families, particularly fathers, to react to the shame. Forced marriages sometimes occurred to counteract the experience of shame. Although children continued to be aware of shame from a very young age, their understanding of this was very different to that of their parents and grandparents.

**Discussion**

As a British-born Muslim woman the barriers and discrimination I have experienced due to my gender, racial and socio-ethnic identity led me to research a topic exploring the complexities of honour and shame for British Muslim men and women.

From a researcher’s perspective, I approached the data by acknowledging the spoken words, expressions and behaviour of the participants. I also looked more closely at the numerous connotations of the interpreted narratives by the participants. I then identified the more subtle issues of discrimination, power and control, inequalities, struggles, vulnerability and disempowerment for analysis. I recognised these hardships and empathised because of my professional awareness of people being forced into submission. Abuse of power and injustices such as domestic violence, racism, gender inequalities and the oppression of marginalised groups of people contribute to the placing of some individuals in subordinate positions within familial and societal dynamics.

Although the majority of participants were in agreement with each other’s interpretations of the visual stimulus, a few had formed different opinions about some of the images. The participants were confident and assertive in voicing their different viewpoints and did not appear to collude with the majority. All of the participants shared their interpretations with passion as each one of them was convinced that their interpretation was the correct one and at times they rejected a dissimilar opinion.

The participants entered into a natural discussion of the concept of honour and shame without any prompting from me. Photo-elicitation offered significant information into the concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women. The images were scrutinised and interpretations openly shared. This then helped to formulate a deep and meaningful discussion about the concept of honour and shame and
all that it encompasses: its formulation, definition, influences, gender inequalities, examples and consequences, which were key factors in whether honour and shame were viewed in a positive or negative manner. The participants were clear in their opinion that male power and control was very different to honour and shame and there was no connection between these forms of behaviour and concept.

**Learning and limitations**

In reflecting upon the focus group and the rather surprising spontaneous physical reactions to the photographs, I have considered the possibility that it was the partial seating arrangement on the floor that made it easy for participants to stamp on the photograph, as the participants who exhibited this behaviour had chosen not to sit on chairs. However, I had also created a safe and relaxed environment where participants felt able to express themselves freely.

I maintained a neutral stance up until the point when Neelam stamped on photograph nine. At this point, I joined in the rapturous applause and cheering. Although I was the researcher, the focus group had finished and it felt appropriate to join in at this point. It was refreshing to see Neelam expressing her emotions with such frankness. She had been the only participant who had voiced positive words concerning the father’s image and character when she had been invited to offer her interpretation prior to hearing the actual story. Her subsequent reaction indicated that she had completely changed her opinion about the father.

Using a shoe as an object to demonstrate one’s disgust or to insult another person is a symbolic gesture in many Muslim countries. During a news conference in Iraq in 2008, an Iraqi journalist, Mutandar al-Zaidi, threw a shoe at the then US President, George W. Bush, while shouting, ‘This is a goodbye kiss from the Iraqi people, dog’, and, ‘This is for the widows and orphans and all those killed in Iraq’, as he threw a second shoe (BBC, 2008). The news report stated that, ‘showing the soles to someone is a sign of contempt in the Arab culture’. This is a commonly held view in Muslim culture and is not associated with a specific racial or ethnic group of people.

It was significant that the three participants who had such profound visceral reactions at the end of the photo-elicitation exercise had all been born and raised in South Asia or Africa. Two participants had migrated from Pakistan to England as married adults and the participant from Kenya had emigrated in her late teenage years. This raised the question for me of why those who spent their childhood in South Asia or Africa responded in such a dramatic way to the father who they perceived to be ‘dishonourable’? In contrast, the participants who had been born in the UK simply watched their colleagues’ overt demonstration of their emotions and their insulting behaviour towards the father who they viewed as having no honour. This has led me to contemplate how these individuals would behave towards someone in their personal lives in relation to honour and shame issues? This pilot study illustrated the cultural differences in expressing negative feelings and whether they are exhibited covertly or overtly. It appeared that the participants who had migrated felt the need to express their disdain in a physical manner as using their voice was not enough. This possibly indicates that their understanding of the boundaries regarding chastisement and their responses to
the issues of honour and shame could be different to UK-born citizens’ opinions and behaviours. Therefore, it is likely that the sociocultural environment does have a significant influence on how the concept of honour and shame is developed from an early age. These attitudes and beliefs remain with the individual despite subsequent education, environmental and lifestyle changes. The reactions from Neelam, Jabeen and Tariq indicated with transparency that their mindset was acutely different to those who had been born and raised in a western society.

Tariq drawing a hangman’s noose on the father’s photograph was equally demonstrative of the contempt he felt. However, his response appeared to be more private as he did not draw any attention to his silent action. It did not appear that the other participants were aware of his drawing as he had been seated on a chair and I only noticed what he had done as I collected the photographs at the end of the exercise. I interpreted his drawing as a way of him communicating his opinion that the father should be killed. Although his reaction was non-verbal, it spoke volumes.

It is of interest that the women demonstrated their disgust for the father with such transparency that it attracted attention to their behaviour. However, Tariq did not verbally or physically highlight his response to the group, which suggests that his action was more akin to that of a silent protest. The gender differences have been of significance on many levels within this study. All the female participants were open and transparent in sharing their experiences and opinions and in engaging with the research at every level. In sharp contrast, the males were hesitant, careful and guarded during the research process. This parallel process has also been replicated in the scenario noted above, as the male participants remained reserved in how they communicated verbally and non-verbally during the photo-elicitation exercise.

The unanimous delight at photograph nine being stamped upon helped to lighten the atmosphere and created a positive energy once again. Prior to this, it had briefly become heavy and subdued when the story behind the images was revealed. Ending the exercise in a positive healthy environment was important in order to ensure the participants were not left carrying any negative energy from the research exercise and all that this encompassed. At the end of the focus group I distributed a list of telephone helpline numbers in case the nature of the discussion had left anyone in an emotionally vulnerable state, which might necessitate therapeutic intervention.

Photo-elicitation assisted in providing significant insight into the complexities surrounding this powerful phenomenon. The images revealed a strong narrative of power, control and abuse which led to an in-depth discussion regarding honour and shame. I am doubtful whether the participants would have experienced or indeed shared such deep emotions as anger and sadness without the images being such a powerful part of the research process. I had planned the process with careful consideration and structured how the images were introduced with the captions concealed. The revelation of the story behind the images was a pivotal point in drawing a surge of reactions from the participants as they were aghast at learning the facts. I did not envisage such profound qualitative data could emerge from using images, as the response from the participants to the story behind the photographs was an overwhelmingly emotional one for them.
Throughout my research, I have had mixed reactions to the focus of the study — some have embraced the opportunity, while others have declined to take part in the study. None of the religious leaders I approached agreed to take part, while Muslim men from working-class backgrounds have not shown any interest in participating. I have interviewed Muslim women from various social backgrounds and middle-class Muslim men, and they have welcomed the opportunity to discuss these issues.

**Conclusion**

Photo-elicitation proved to be a very powerful method which invoked interpretations and emotions whilst eliciting rich, qualitative data. This pilot study indicated that gender inequalities, power and control, and ignorance within society were contributing factors in relation to honour and shame. It also offered an insight into the consequences for South Asian British Muslim men and women should this concept be brought into disrepute.

Presumptions based upon physical appearance can lead to some people viewing others as a threat or danger, and this can happen very quickly, leading to inaccurate assumptions with potentially damaging repercussions in society, particularly in relation to Muslim men and women. Misinterpreting a person’s character, behaviour or intention simply on the basis of physical appearance led to the fatal shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes in 2005, when police officers mistook him for a suicide bomber (BBC, 2007).

Using images was extremely helpful to explore the participants’ opinions and understanding of the concept of honour and shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women. This method enabled me to facilitate an emotive, honest, transparent and illuminative discussion. Honour and shame were viewed as positive and negative notions which were ingrained from early childhood. This notion is not primarily contained within an individual’s frame of reference and their sense of the world, but is deeply intertwined with the perception of other people’s expectations which require fulfilment.

The images invoked strong feelings within the participants who were very congruent in expressing their emotional, psychological and physical states of being. They were spontaneous in sharing their views and confident to voice a different opinion to the majority. Power, control and equality differences in male and female gender roles in terms of behaviour and attitudes were explored in relation to familial and societal expectations of females being key members in maintaining family sociocultural honour. This pilot study indicated how the concept of honour and shame supersedes factors of parental, sibling and familial bonds and nurture as the participants shared that at times family members will behave in a manner that is harmful towards their families’ children in order to retain the family honour and status within their community.

The discussion that followed the photo-elicitation exercise reinforced their belief that honour and shame is a separate entity to issues of power and control. Abuse, trauma and fear were clearly detected from the images, whereas the honour and shame concept underpinning the narrative was missed during the photo-elicitation stage. In my opinion the power and control was clearly depicted by the women’s distressed demeanour, closed body language, very sad facial expressions, traumatised look in their eyes and the intensity of
their despair and desperation emanating from the images, which were accurately identified by the participants. Honour and shame are abstract concepts deeply engrained within the psychological and emotional aspects of our being, and so were not visible in the photographs. The participants shared opinions of how shame could also be viewed as positive in terms of individuals having self-respect, modesty and honour, and this was linked to how they cover, talk, and express themselves.

References


Appendix 19: Photo Elicitation Main Study Narratives of the Images

- Photograph One – Muktaran Bibi gang raped in an honour revenge act in Pakistan in 2002. The heading states “In the name of honour” (Mai, 2007).
- Photograph Two – a young Muslim man wearing a kufiya (www.flickr.com)
- Photograph Three – An elderly British Pakistani Muslim woman being embraced by a young woman (Bibi, 2009).
- Photograph Four – an older Muslim man wearing a kufiya (www.flickr.com)
- Photograph Five – Aasiya and Muzzamil Hassan. Married American couple of Pakistani heritage. In 2009, the husband, a television executive, was found guilty of beheading his estranged wife within days of her submitting divorce papers (www.theguardian.com)
- Photograph Six – Ghulam and Mohammed married in Afghanistan. They were aged eleven and forty years old respectively (Unicef, 2007).
- Photograph Seven – Image from a book titled “Daughters of Shame” by a British Sikh female author (Sanghera, 2009).
- Photograph Eight – A Muslim man sat on the ground with the heading “Stolen honour: stigmatizing Muslim Men in Berlin” (www.flickr.com).
- Photograph Nine – Bibi Aisha was married at fourteen years old to a Taliban fighter in Afghanistan. She absconded from the abusive marriage at eighteen years old. Upon being caught, she was returned to her in-laws by her father. Her nose and ears were cut off and she was left to die in the mountains (Stengel, 2010).
- Photograph Ten – Muslim men in prayer (www.flickr.com).
- Photograph Eleven – A Muslim man in traditional clothes standing in front of a woman wearing a burkha (www.flickr.com).
- Photograph Twelve – A Muslim man standing and a Muslim woman sitting on a beach (www.flickr.com).
- Photograph Thirteen – Sania Mirza is an Indian Muslim professional tennis player (www.flickr.com).
- Photograph Fourteen – Aisam-ul-Haq Qureshi is a Pakistani Muslim professional tennis player (www.flickr.com).
- Photograph Fifteen – A young British Bangladeshi Muslim woman wearing a hijab and abaya, sitting down and holding a football (Malik, 2009).
- Photograph Sixteen – A young Muslim man holding, and kissing a very young Muslim girl on her cheek.
- Photograph Seventeen – A Muslim man kissing a Muslim woman on the head. They appear to be on a beach.
Appendix 20: Thematic Analysis Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Manifest Codes</th>
<th>Latent Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender differences</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriarchal society</td>
<td>Male dominance</td>
<td>Female Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submission</td>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Inequalities</td>
<td>Struggles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secrecy</td>
<td>Teachings</td>
<td>Belief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicide</td>
<td>Honour</td>
<td>Shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Community collusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td>Gossip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth</td>
<td>Protection</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotions</td>
<td>Consequences</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Teachings</td>
<td>Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Abuse</td>
<td>Suppression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>Sacrifice</td>
<td>Colleagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood</td>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>Ostracized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>Forced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reputation</td>
<td>Abuse</td>
<td>Respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss</td>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Conditional love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>Conditional love</td>
<td>Blame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 21: Thematic Analysis Main Themes, Sub Themes and Codes on Flip Chart Paper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Theme</th>
<th>Sub Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honour</td>
<td>Honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-faceted norm</td>
<td>Gendered honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stemming from societal norms</td>
<td>Individually honourable family customs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence against women</td>
<td>Honour in the community setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevalent in minority</td>
<td>Gendered honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honouring women</td>
<td>Honouring women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scapegoating</td>
<td>Scapegoating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual relations</td>
<td>Sexual relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal relation</td>
<td>Interpersonal relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instilled in men</td>
<td>Instilled in women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honouring women in minority</td>
<td>Honouring women in minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honoured more than men</td>
<td>Honoured more than men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasreen Masoor

PhD Research Study

The concept of Honour and Shame for South Asian British Muslim men and women

Thematic Analysis
Main Theme

Shame

Sub Themes

- Strong sense of shame
  - Drug taking, Homelessness
  - Family shame, not being able to provide
  - Exploitation in circumstances of debt
  - Domestic abuse
  - Alienation from family

- Inner shame
  - Feelingorce, self-denial, self-negation
  - Self-value, self-respect
  - Not accepting oneself, not being who you are
  - Hesitant, not sure, unsure of your own
  - Anxiety, failure
  - Female violence
  - Self-harming
  - Drunk
  - Sexual barriers
    - Friend in return for money
    - Money instead of marriage
  - Sexualized
  - Manipulation
  - Economy, power, have your finger on it
  - So called 'Madam'
  - Social upheaval
  - All manner of triggers, runaway out of home
### Main Theme

#### Islam

- Position in Islam
- Beliefs related to women
- Women in Islam

**Sub Themes**

- Teachings
- Social norms
- Beliefs and practices
- Gender roles
- Respect
- Marriage
- Education

---

### Main Theme

#### Gender

- Inequalities related to women
- Labeling
- Violence
- Power and control
- Communication

**Sub Themes**

- Position in society
- Social norms
- Violence against women
- Power and control
- Communication

---

[382]
**Main Theme**

**Consequences**

- Ostracised
- Punished
- At risk
- Safety issues
- Hidden
- Forced
- Abused
- Exploited
- Abandoned
- Externalised
- Excluded

**Sub Themes**

- Physical, psychological, and emotional
- Family and friends
- Men and women
- Media
- Community
- Insults
- Violence

**Relationships**

- Counselling
  - Significant others
  - Family
  - Community
  - Support
  - Friends
  - Institutions

**Conditions of worth**

- Social and cultural
- Emotional and psychological
- Physical and sexual

**Self-concept**

- Internal and external
- Value

**Abuse**

- Physical
- Emotional
- Sexual

**Empowerment**

- Support
- Advocacy
- Representation
- Resources

**Struggle and fight for freedom**

- Consequences and effects
  - Violence
  - Stigma

**Emotional**

- Loss of hope
- Depression
- Anxiety

**Physical**

- Injury
- Sickness
- Fatigue

**Sexual**

- Infertility
- STIs
- HIV

**Survival**

- Housing
- Food
- Health care

**Consequences**

- Identity
- Self-esteem
- Future
Appendix 22: Samples of Thematic Analysis Process on Seven Transcripts

Participant Number 12

18/11/11

dynamics. For my example, when I say like I am very well bonded, especially my aunts from my mother’s side, because when I grew up my mother was there and my parents were also there. So I have like equal attention from my mother and from my aunts. Sometimes I find it difficult to make the difference in some respects. The things like I can tell my mother, I can also tell my aunt because I don’t feel any difference because they are also part of my growing up as a kid so, so was my grandmother from my mother’s side because she was also there all the time.

Researcher: Okay (quietly spoken)

Participant: So anything my grandmother tells me will have same impact on me as my mother or my aunts. If they say something like ‘what you’re doing is not right’ it will put the same amount and pressure on me if my mother says it. For some people, it’s different. If you’re aunt says something, you don’t care, if your mother says something you care about it. But for me, it’s kind of variable. So this is my example. Like it depends on, like in this current situation it depends on how much you see someone. I mean sometimes it happens like you might see often quite often and you don’t like, like them or something like that. It happens, but if you like someone and you see them quite often, then you will create a special bond with them. Maybe, you’re just your friends, or like your distant cousin or distant aunt or someone like that.

Researcher: Okay, that’s great. Thank you for sharing that (Participant’s name). So now we are moving onto the Islamic part of this study. I have some basic questions regarding that. The first one is just to hear what your opinion is about what Islam says about honour and shame for Muslim men and women?

Participant: Like in the...?

Researcher: Yes, as Muslims, what does Islam encourage?

Participant: The basic thing is like for both men and women, is to live a life that doesn’t look extravagant or what the term for it is, like a decent life. Like everything you do, it’s like that’s why everything that can create, like extravagance, like alcohol is banned in Islam. Like a very limited amount of alcohol does not make any change in you, but if you drink a lot it can create, like extravagance or excessive things people do here because they are drunk or something like that... So that’s perspective like Islam says: ‘Don’t do something that you regret later.’ That’s very much and then it is difficult to maintain the same thing in your entire life. I mean, very few people can maintain that in their entire life; that they don’t do something that if, they don’t do something that is expensive or they don’t feel shame about. So that’s one thing and also like in Islam, when they talk about women, they say like, their appearance it has to be in a way that it doesn’t create any echo or something to men. Because women through their dressing can create like a really big impact in the society and things like that. Like we can see in the world like if we talk about all that commercial advertising and things like women with just
Participant: I think what's interesting is in my mum's side of the family, there was no head of the household. There was no head and my grandparents passed away and there was no conservative figure. When my uncle came to this country, they were both your after my mum, you know, they were they were obviously going to do something better because they came here when they were younger.

Researcher: Yeah, that is fascinating. And what are your thoughts in terms of Islam and what that says about honour and shame for Muslim men and women?

Participant: I think (exhales) there are certain values of Islam, getting married for example, you know...or being heterosexual. You know...[inaudible] you know, whatever you're tempted, you would tick? [17:51] erm...that...[pause] that kind of influences that honour and shame assumption. We've spoken a lot about marriage already and you know, marriage is like the most obvious one I can think of...because...I think marriage is really encouraged, you know, it's not even allowed, when two people get to know each other or whether they have sex as a consequence, it's just not done, they're not married and you're just not allowed. Erm...[pause] but it's national because...there's...I also feel like South Asian culture has a lot of separation from Islam. I don't think it's completely consistent on it because I think you do have different communities within South Asian culture, you have, you know, you have the Indian community, the Pakistan...the different Pakistani communities and sort of the Pakistan...you know...I don't know, sort of like Hindu's and stuff like that. Erm...so...I think...I think...it's difficult to understand where this kind of honour and shame comes from...Erm, I think's beyond my knowing for me.

Researcher: In future generations, there's no way that would have been permitted because...I think they're a sense of...it's more about girls within South Asian communities and now you see, you see more...women getting married with...in England and you'll see that with maybe black Muslims as well because we have got larger more conservative communities in England. Erm, and this is actually a case my uncle was telling me about this, that...that...er...some guy said you know, he was talking to him and he said 'my daughter's in love with a Pakistani guy. I don't know what to do.' And he said...look, they're South Muslim and you have to say yes because they're both Muslim.
Participant: Em (pause) people who are embracing their religion now are seen to be very honourable. But I think back when I was growing up, you were sort of trying to blend in. The people that would be living in a society and trying to make a good name, you know. For example, you would try to make friends a bit more easier and getting to know this 

Researcher: Yes, I can understand that perspective. Is there anything else you want to say about honour (participant’s name) before we look at the shame aspect of the interview?

Participant: Erm (pause) not that I can think of at the moment. Erm... not that I can think of at the moment.

Researcher: Right, okay, that’s fine. So (participant’s name) with regards to shame, what does that word mean to you?

Participant: Erm being shunned from your own society. Erm... doing something that is completely against the traditions, cultures and expectations. Dishonouring your family, your parents.

Researcher: And again, who or what has influenced your understanding that this is what shame means to you?

Participant: Erm all the people around me er family, parents, other people.

Researcher: That’s fine, thank you. And again, looking at the gender differences, and this time looking at shame, what are the differences, if any, in your opinion comparing a Muslim man’s shame to a Muslim woman’s shame?

Participant: Erm I guess about the bar is set much, much higher for the girls. You know, smaller, smaller actions, much smaller actions are shameful for a girl whereas the boys can get away with a lot more in their day to day life as well as other things.

Researcher: Yes and can you give me some examples please when shame has been an issue and what the results have been?

Participant: For one example, a girl, I mean, me, myself, em growing up, I was never allowed to sort of stay out late or stuff out or do these things. But it was never an issue for my brothers. They would be out until the early hours of the morning, even at a younger age. Of em you know pop out to places and may even go out with their friends and then you know, even erm people, more so they’d be out and sort of having fun with the opposite sex or you know going out with girls and having girlfriends. Like it’s not like they’re actually completely, but it wasn’t like most guys. Whereas, if I had at that time, that was an hour or an hour and a half I was allowed to be out. Then that would have been a huge thing and I would have had to justify where I was been or why I had gone back late. I guess in those days it was always expected to me (right) you have to protect your daughters more. Your daughters are more vulnerable than your sons. So the boys can go out and if they
Participant: I think it's my elders. You know, erm, my elders in terms of my teachers, you know, that kind of early education at school. And I am not just talking about the Islamic Madrasa but even the boarding schools in my early years. So, yeah, it's kind of, you know, it's deeply rooted. Ender in me. And I think partly it is also shaped by, you know, erm, (swallows) by our Islamic understanding of, of... the subject.

Researcher: So in terms of your parents, what were their views regarding honour and shame?

Participant: (pause) There was honour and shame if you did anything which in their opinion was not the normal or you followed a certain norm. For example you know, in my teens, you know I did partake in, (swallows) in, in errr, (swallows) smoking cannabis. (Participant and researcher both laugh) You know, which was, you know, which was... which was... (pause) not in a sense, may be, in a sense bringing shame or shame on them... how society would perceive me. (Participant’s father name) son as someone who is smoking cannabis or doing you know, doing y, z, and z. So that, I suppose that norm, in a sense it's, you know, societies understanding certain norms and here we're just talking of smoking cannabis.

Researcher: Yes.

Participant: Now that's quite interesting because my son yet as a a young, when I found out that my son smokes cannabis, I think our views have shifted you know from what my parents or what my father's views were and how he accepted the notion of shame and... you know, me myself is quite... in my case we have slightly moved the understanding of how I had accepted that particular aspect of smoking cannabis in 2011 or 2010 as opposed to 1975, 1980s. So we have, we have seen a shift when we (pause) I mean my own understanding or my family has seen a shift in the notion of what level of shame, yeah, or how shame is perceived. You know, so for, for me, for my parents' generation maybe cannabis smoking was at a higher level, yeah, it's my case maybe it's not a very big issue. You know, erm, this is one example (pause) and again to reality. I mean, that's interesting I think in terms of... I never thought I would be talking about this, but I think because there are implications for long term or in terms of you know, in terms of our research, I think erm I'd like to share is, (pause) one of my sisters... (swallows) married someone that she wanted, that she liked. Yeah, err, (l) who was a Muslim but not from the immediate family or not somebody even from the same, you know, in the sense of, you know, if you speak Urdu, then you expect someone, but, you know, if someone speaks Urdu lets say a tongue, a different language, but still a Muslim. You know erm but is likely seen by society as may be slightly, with a negative attitude. So anyway, the point of what I'm trying to say is em there was, there was a period when I was still in, I think I was 20. I was 17 or 18 (quietly spoken) and when my sister got married without informing her parents, and how that...
alcohol and so on and all of this in fact brings a bad name to the family and also to our status in the community. So that’s a couple of things there.

Researcher: Yes, yes, there is definitely. Erm... and what have been the consequences for people then when honour has surfaced in these sort of relationships and examples?

Participant: Well, because we’re from a close-knit family, one of the things that would happen is that it would be discussed... or there’s... you know, if there’d been... depending on the way... whether they’re satisfied with how the person has carried on, then it would be discussed as to how to deal with the person, which means literally to have a word with them. If need be to admonish them verbally for their behavior and so on. I wouldn’t say so much with regard to, for example, relatives, female relatives who are going through the process of divorce and so on. Even though that did feel like a process of dishonor and sometimes shame because "how can somebody in our family go through this?" But it’s more the case of admonishing people like... young members... who are like drinking alcohol or maybe taking drugs and so on, that’s been the more case. So it’s more a case of like ern if something happened, it’s happened to our family and so on.

Researcher: Right, okay. And in terms of the gender differences ern what’s your view regarding are there any gender differences regarding male honour compared to female honour?

Participant: Oh, most definitely. There’s a lot of bias, I would say this, not just from my family, even the wider community side that I’m part of, is that there’s a lot of bias. It seems like the standard... there is a certain type of standard that women have to maintain the honour more than the men. It’s like if the men misbehave in society or even like I said for example of err... you know, for example, they do other things like this, there is... it seems like it doesn’t affect the honour so much or bring shame so much... unlike a woman in society. For example, if a relative was to run off with a bad boy, to want to go off and elope or something like that, that would be much more of an issue for honour and shame, than say for example, if a boy was to do this... so ern, I would say, definitely there is a difference... and the family, the immediate family would be thinking ern, and I suppose a lot of it is the fear of how the greater society, especially the Muslim community, our local community, will view it.

Researcher: Right, so it sounds like the family are very much aware internally of their response but also in terms of how externally people would respond?

Participant: Oh, most definitely because ern... even though we live in like a cosmopolitan city... the community has grown over many, many decades and so ern everyone still knows everyone in the area and the families so ern, there is this close-knit, especially because like the elders will go to the mosque, the young ones go to mosque and so on. So the community spirit is still there,
Researcher: Right, okay, thank you. And when did you first become aware of honour?

Participant: Well, you know, there’s a phrase don’t you? That’s right, it’s sort of a phrase that’s used. I don’t know when I first became aware of honour, but when I was a teenager, there was a lot of talk about honour. And it was something that was discussed in the family and in the community. And I think that’s probably where I first became aware of honour, but it was something that was embedded in my culture, in that sense, honour, it’s something that was part of the social fabric, a sort of a common belief that was being used more than anything else.

Researcher: Right, okay, thank you. And I’m interested to hear if you could give some examples [participant’s name]. I mean, I know within your profession, obviously, there’s really [participant]... erm, it’s up to you if you want to choose something from your professional life or your personal life, perhaps, where honour has been an issue and what the consequences have been.

Participant: Yeah, well I mean obviously professionally I am the national lead on honour based violence and forced marriage. So, erm professionally I come across it. Every single case in the country will have some aspect of honour in it, and it’s... you know, there’s a lot of cases of honour-based violence and forced marriage that are reported to me. And I focus on... and there’s, erm, one case, for example, rather than one that I may have come across in another case or community, but in that regard, I often point to the case of Humayra Bano. She was forced into marriage in London, came out the other end, bereaved and bruised somewhat, but she managed to get out of that marriage and then she, for whatever reason, she’s observed by, by someone in the community to whom she’s passed her... her daughter. She’s only twenty years old, and she’s passed her daughter on to someone, when it comes down to it, the woman was raised in her own choices and she wasn’t happy with that... (swallows) Shared that with her honour, her family and her case and within twenty four hours she was dead. So, erm, you know, you come across, you come across, you know, this is the responsibility of that kind of behaviour that is... what is it that is so important that leads you to think that harming a daughter, your niece would make it better? And I think that’s where honour, I... (laughs) you know, when she had disapproved them. And it’s... it’s... it’s... that another member of the community, looked at the... shape or form of the case, and that is what was the thing that they would do, that is common. Regrettably that is very common.

Researcher: Yes, yes (quietly spoken). So in your opinion (participant’s name) what do you think are other people’s understanding of honour?

Participant: That women are not allowed to do the things that men are allowed to do. And if your woman does anything that you know, that another... the other, that another member disapproves you in some way, shape or form, that somebody who looks down too you, that your reputation will be damaged... and that erm, that’s worth more than anything else. And you can recover from financial disorders... you can...
rather than like a... just a negative thing. Even if you know... for much of my life, I just saw Islam as being forced into all these things that I can't do... and all these people I can't see, and all these places I can't go... even... and I think that really ended up affecting the way I interacted and the way I lived in a way because... as I said, I just ended up thinking, I just had so much on my mind, what people thought of me, that I'm just not going to... you are aware that I really... and I'm not one of those people that have been raised so, I... I don't want to marry someone who's been... even with what other people think of me. I'd rather not think about what they think of me. You know, a completely honest way, so yeah.

Researcher: That's great. I mean you've covered quite a lot there in detail and you know, I appreciate you sharing your personal experiences as well. I'm just briefly and I think you've touched some of this [participant's name], what are the consequences thing for men and women when it comes to an issue for other people? What are the results for those individuals?

Participant: Well, I think their lives are affected in such a hurtful way. I think like especially if you're living in a community that... that encroaches those concepts that, you know, your social life is probably impacted. I mean, as a community, I can say, obviously I'm not going to mention specific cases, but a lot of cases where honour and shame have been brought up, they've, you know, they've been... there are a lot of people who haven't been shamed them. Their friends and... all that kind of stuff. So, I think their lives... I think personally as well, their self-esteem must be really affected. I know that my cousin... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with men and she's, she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's, she's dealing with... she's dealing with men and she's, she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... she's dealing with... and she's... she's dealing...
Appendix 23: Images of Pilot Photo Elicitation Exercise

Photographs 1 – 12 obtained from Muhsen and Crofts (1994)