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Conflict of Cultures? A Case Study of Forced Marriage Management Strategies in the United Kingdom.

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Doctor of Philosophy

August 2019

Abstract

Forced marriage (FM) occurs when one or both parties do not or cannot consent to the arrangement and are coerced through pressure or abuse. FM occurs amongst various cultural, religious and ethnic groups, and within the United Kingdom (UK) the practice has been associated with a generalised South Asian Muslim population. FM was criminalised in England, Wales and Scotland in 2014 because it directly opposes the values of liberty and autonomy which are synonymous with modern British Values. Estimates suggest there to be upwards of 8,000 FM cases per year in the UK. This thesis sought to explore the management of FM under the new legislation, its management by the police service and its management by the third sector. FM is a multi-faceted issue that requires an interdisciplinary approach to fully understand the complexities behind the offence. This thesis predominantly adopts a sociological interpretation of FM, however, because of the complex cultural factors behind the offence and the differing management approaches, a multi-disciplinary approach which drew upon elements of criminal law, criminology, public policy and the sociology of crime was used to holistically examine the topic.

Culture Conflict theory proposes that diverse societies contain varied sets of cultural values and beliefs. These group values differences often compete with one another to control the governance of particular areas of social life (i.e. the role of women, individual freedoms, and family reputation). This competition creates an intergroup conflict when policy and practice measures fail to appropriately consider a minority cultural group's values. In turn this conflict negatively impacts the management of the contested social issue. Prior to this research there was no evidence available that explored how FM was managed, and whether or not the implemented measures are influenced by a conflict of cultural values.

This study adopted an instrumental case study design, the case being a large town in the southeast of England with a significant Muslim minority population. Twenty-one in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with practitioners from the case study site, working across a variety of interdependent sectors involved in FM management. Documentary evidence including policy documents, training materials, and outreach resources were also collected. Framework analysis was used to analyse the interview data and the documentary evidence was subjected to a content analysis.

The findings identified that the recent criminalisation of FM had failed to increase reporting rates, had failed to reduce the occurrence of this honour-based crime, and had failed to adequately protect victims from the risks associated with the offence. The police service was unable to manage the crime due to a lack of reporting, a breakdown in trust with the minority community, and a lack of knowledge amongst police officers. Although the third sector received higher numbers of FM referrals than all public services, these organisations were largely dependent on the approaches, funding limitations and organisational remits of the public sector. There was an evident conflict of cultural values impacting the organisations in the case study site. This conflict was directly attributable to the values differences between the organisations which manage FM, who often sought to liberate the victims from oppressive cultural settings, and the minority population who sought to uphold cultural traditions, preserve family reputation, protect their religious identities and prevent the Westernisation of specific cultural values.

This thesis supports the criminalisation of FM, and recognises the importance of the work organisations undertake to uphold the rights of victims. In order to improve the management of FM and ultimately to reduce the crime however, this study, in accordance

with Culture Conflict theorists' recommendations, proposes a 'balance' of cultural values should occur during intervention processes. This balance could arise through specific changes within management procedures including: redefining certain elements of the criminal law, providing a consistent level of training to employees within the statutory services, seeking to deliver criminalisation in partnership with community leaders, consulting the minority population in order to ensure a culturally sensitive approach to FM management is adopted, facilitating an intercommunity dialogue beyond the sole management of FM, hosting community workshops to educate at risk groups and ensuring there is an accurate demographic representation amongst management organisations.

Contents

Declaration of Authorship

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

3. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

4. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

5. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

6. None of this work has been published before submission.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people who contributed to this thesis. Undertaking this PhD was by no means an easy task, and it would have most certainly not been possible without the input of a number of key individuals.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisory team, which throughout my time of study changed rather a lot. Whilst, at times this did make the process somewhat complicated, the input of each individual helped broaden my understanding, and given the nature of the topic studied, in hindsight their range of knowledge helped me hone my argument and refine my focus. All of my supervisors have contributed enormously to this, and I have enjoyed working with them and learning from every individual. I am particularly grateful for the support of Dr Toby Miles-Johnson who has remained part of the supervisory team from the beginning, and without his input in particular, especially his somewhat blunt honesty and personal support, I do not feel I could have completed this.

Secondly, I would like to thank my family and close friends who have supported me during some of the most difficult times during the PhD, and who helped me see the bigger picture. Without them I would not have made it past the first annual review.

Finally, I would like to thank all of the participants who agreed to be interviewed in this study. It goes without saying that without their input this would never have been possible. Without their enthusiasm to contribute to the understanding of forced marriage management, I feel I would have lost the motivation to study such a difficult and controversial topic.

Definitions and Abbreviations

AM – Arranged Marriage

DV – Domestic violence

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation

FM – Forced Marriage

FMU – British Government's Forced Marriage Unit

HBV – Honour Based Violence

HMIC – Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabularies

HOPG – Home Office Practice Guidance on Forced Marriage

HOSG – Home Office Statutory Guidance on Forced Marriage

IKWRO – Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation

IPCC – Independent Police Complaints Commission

SBS – Southall Black Sisters

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1: The background to the research

Forced marriage (FM) impacts an estimated 8,000 British citizens every year (Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) 2018; Hundal 2012; Full fact 2012; Taylor, 2008; Slack 2008). In 2014, the Conservative government sought to end this practice, uphold the rights of victims, and deter perpetrators through criminalisation. Since 2014, all statutory services in the United Kingdom (UK) are responsible for upholding this legislation and are legally obligated to protect victims, to date, no research has explored how this legislation has impacted the practice management of FM. The police service is central to the management of FM, and recent research indicates significant nationwide shortcomings in their approaches towards honour-based crimes (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) 2015), however no evidence is available that has specifically explored the policing of FM. Third sector Organisations (TSOs) are at the forefront of managing FM victims' needs and also provide essential knowledge and training to the public sector however, there is no evidence available that have explored how the sector manages FM. This study recognises the importance of protecting victims from FM and the need to support their rights, however, to date no research has explored the potential cultural values conflict FM management may encounter.

Under the new law (Section 121 Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014) FM is defined as:

> "...a marriage conducted without the valid consent of one or both parties and where duress is a factor"

Inconsistent approaches towards crime recording amongst police services and third sector organisations (TSOs) has resulted in a lack of consensus regarding the frequency in which FM occurs (FMU (2018); HMIC (2015)). However, estimates suggest there to be upwards of 8,000 cases per year in the United Kingdom (UK) (FMU 2018; Hundal 2012; Full fact 2012). FM is a global phenomenon which is associated with various cultural, religious and ethnic groups (Pope 2012). This thesis specifically focuses upon the management of FM in the UK. FM cannot be affiliated with a particular cultural group, however, in the UK it has been predominantly connected with the South Asian population and particularly the British Muslim community (Gill and Antitha 2015; Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015). The British Muslim population consists of various factions and groups; however, this differentiation has not been made within the discourse surrounding FM (Pope 2012, Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015; Begikhani et al 2010; Gill and Hamad 2016).

The act of FM directly opposes the British values of freedom, equality and autonomy (Home Office (HO) 2014). FM has been described as an oppressive and harmful behaviour which is motivated by values that are incompatible with fundamental human rights (May 2014; The Independent 2014). The public awareness of FM, and the conflict of values it presents, can be linked to the recent political focus upon social diversity, and specifically, the suggestion that Muslim minority communities in Britain adhere to patriarchal illiberal beliefs (Cantle 2001; Ouseley 2001; Casey 2016). In order to explore how FM is managed, an extensive multidisciplinary framework is required which can specifically address the complex sociological and cultural values conflicts present within the management of the crime.

Culture Conflict theory proposes that socially diverse societies witness a conflict of values when interventions represent a particular cultural values set during the management of a social issue (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). When measures do not adequately reflect the diversity of values held within the society, but instead represent those of a specific cultural group, the perceived legitimacy of these measures amongst the unrepresented communities is questioned. In turn, in response to this perceived lack of cultural relevancy, an intergroup conflict emerges. Culture Conflict theory proposes that when public policy and subsequent practice measures represent a 'balance' of cultural values, the minority population perceive these organisations and their approaches as legitimate, thus reducing the conflict and enabling the management of the social issue (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). To date no research has explored how FM is managed, and whether or not the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists can be supported within this context.

This thesis considers three key approaches in the management of FM from a Culture Conflict theory perspective. First, as the recent legislation underpins the approaches of all public services in the UK, the recent criminalisation of FM and the arising statutory duties are considered. Secondly, the police service which is the organisation solely responsible for enforcing the law against perpetrators is examined. Finally, the third sector is explored because these organisations provide an essential service to victims. Ultimately, this thesis aims to determine how FM is managed in practice, and to identify whether or not current measures are influenced by a conflict of cultural values.

1.2: The structure of the thesis

The thesis commences with the Literature Review. This review (Chapter 2) is presented in two parts. Part one discusses the problems FM associated culture represents for the values system held by the majority of the population within the UK. The discourse surrounding FM and the debate regarding immigration and the conflict of cultural values is then explored. Culture Conflict theory is examined, and a theoretical framework for the research is proposed. In part two of the Literature Review, this theoretical framework is explored under three broad headings (Values differences, Values representation, and Values balance), in relation to the current models used to manage FM in the UK. The research questions are presented at the end of the Literature Review chapter. The argument for the adoption of a qualitative approach to address the research questions is presented in Chapter 3, Research Framework and Research Methods. This chapter discusses the adoption of a case study approach (including the selection of the case study site) and the research methods used i.e. semi-structured interviews and the collection of documentary evidence. Sample selection and access, data collection and analysis methods and triangulation are also addressed. The chapter concludes with reflections on the research process and acknowledges the researcher's positionality in relation to the topic. The research findings are presented in Chapter 4 (Research Findings) under each of the research questions. These findings are then discussed in Chapter 5, The Discussion. The limitations of the research are also addressed in this chapter. The Conclusion and implications for future practice are presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2: The Literature Review

2.1: Chapter overview

This literature review chapter examines the literature surrounding the management of forced marriage (FM) within the United Kingdom (UK). The chapter is presented in two parts. Part one discusses FM and the values conflict. It begins by considering FM within the context of the criminal law and presents the most recent statistics. Part one then explores how FM has been interpreted in the social and political sphere and specifically links the current awareness to the Muslim immigration discourse of recent years. The cultural values associated with the practice and the evident values conflict FM presents are then examined. The theoretical framework, Culture Conflict theory, which analyses conflicts of cultural values from a sociological perspective is then considered.

Part two of the literature review chapter uses this theoretical framework to explore the current FM management models used by organisations within the UK. Issues unique to each organisation are discussed under the three broad themes of this framework. (i.e. Values Differences, Values Representation, and Values Balance). Part two begins by highlighting the concerns surrounding FM criminalisation, and considers the limitations of the statutory duties which the criminal law has imposed upon the public sector. The policing of FM is then considered with a particular focus upon the issues a diversity of cultural values has imposed upon the police service. Finally, the third sector is discussed and the difficulties that arise from interagency working, funding expectations and politicisation are considered. Having identified the literary shortcomings, it is proposed that research is required to determine how FM is managed, and whether or not the approaches adopted are influenced by a conflict of cultural values. The research questions are then presented.

2.2: Literature Review (Part one)

2.2.1: Forced marriage

Forced marriage (FM) is incompatible with the ideals of individual equality and liberty which have become synonymous with Modern British Values, and in 2014 the practice was criminalised to support the human rights of victims, and to send out a powerful message that FM cannot be tolerated within British Society (May 2014; Prem 2014; Chand 2014). Under English, Welsh and Scottish law (Section 121 Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014) FM is defined as:

> *"...a marriage conducted without the valid consent of one or both parties and where duress is a factor"*

There is currently no consensus on the occurrence rate of FM. Under-reporting, decentralised management approaches amongst the statutory services, and the varied remits of third sector organisations (TSOs) has resulted in no agreed figure being available (Forced Marriage Unit (FMU 2018); HMIC 2015). FM has been described as a hidden crime, with estimates suggesting there to be upwards of 8,000 unreported cases of FM occurring per year (FMU 2018; Hundal 2012; Full fact 2012; Taylor, 2008; Slack 2008). The most recent official statistics (FMU 2018) indicate that in 2017 there were 1,196 requests for help made to the FMU. The majority of victims (59%) were under the age of 25. The marriages of these British victims were due to occur abroad in 90% of these cases, with the largest proportion of these marriages scheduled to occur in Pakistan (37%). The majority of reported cases were from

female victims (78%), with male victims accounting for 22% of the referrals. Of the cases reported to the FMU, 12% of the victims were disabled.

2.2.2: FM and the immigration discourse

FM occurs globally amongst various religious, ethnic and cultural groups. The motives behind the practice have not been thoroughly researched however, in the UK awareness has predominantly focused upon its occurrence amongst South Asian Muslim communities (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015; Anitha and Gill 2015). The UK Muslim populous consists of various factions; however, this distinction has not been made within the FM discourse (Anitha and Gill 2015).

In recent years there has been an increasing notion that the generalised British Muslim community adhere to beliefs, practices and values that conflict with Western liberal notions of individual freedom and equality (Anitha and Gill 2015). This perceived conflict of cultures originated from the threat of Islamic terrorism (Modood et al 2006; Harcourt 2006), public fears of self-segregation (Cantle 2001; Ouseley 2001; Casey 2016) and widespread media coverage of a perceived patriarchal oppression of women amongst these communities (Anitha and Gill 2015; Samad 2013; Kundnani 2002). This British discourse emerged alongside an increased international media and political focus upon the perceived threats a generalised Muslim community present towards Western culture and its ways of life (Huntington 1996; Joppke 2004; Kundnani 2002; Samad 2013; Lentin and Titley 2011). These notions of incompatibility have resulted in a public mistrust and fear towards increased levels of social diversity in Western societies (Huntington 1996; Joppke 2004; Kundnani 2002; Samad 2013; Lentin and Titley 2011). The political response across many Western nations (including the UK), towards these public concerns regarding values incompatibilities, has led to public

perceptions emerging whereby state policies are believed to have failed to prevent harmful cultural values and practices from threating Western ways of life (Huntington 1996; Joppke 2004; Kundnani 2002; Samad 2013; Lentin and Titley 2011).

In the UK, this perception of group incompatibility originated from the mainstream analysis of the Bradford riots. These riots occurred because White local communities in the city of Bradford UK, believed the Asian minority population had received privileged access to public resources (e.g. housing, employment opportunities and welfare claims) (Cantle 2001; Ouseley 2001). This belief of preferential treatment led to violent clashes between White nationalists, Asian youths and the police service (Cantle 2001; Ouseley 2001). The political analysis in response to the unrest found that minority communities in Bradford (and a number of other UK cities) were living isolated lives whereby educational arrangements, religious practices, employment, social networks, and language were entirely exclusive from the majority population (Cantle 2001; p.10). Commentary on this segregation saw the emergence of the 'parallel lives' discourse, whereby for the first time the notion was established that specifically South Asian Muslim communities in the UK were deliberately self-segregating amongst racial, ethnic and religious lines (Ousely 2001; Anitha and Gill 2015).

The 'parallel lives' research (Cantle 2001; Ouseley 2001) identified that these minority communities had been perceived by the majority population to be rejecting modern British values in preference of conservative cultural and religious beliefs (Cantle 2001). In more recent years, the discourse has reaffirmed the notion that in particular, segments of Muslim minority communities adhere to regressive values which originate from religious and cultural beliefs which are incompatible with Modern British ways of life (see Casey 2016; p.71). The high-profile coverage of these cultural values differences, has specifically portrayed Muslim women

as women subject to patriarchal control and limited personal freedom (Gill and Anitha 2015; Casey 2016). It has been suggested that the Bradford riots first introduced notions of Britishness, immigration and FM into the socio-political sphere (Anitha and Gill 2015).

The term 'British Values' emerged from the political belief that by promoting a values unity between cultural groups, there would be a greater chance of integration and cohesion within the UK (Cantle 2001; Parekh 2000). The New Labour government under Prime Minister Gordon Brown (years 2007-2010), first introduced a concept of 'Britishness', and defined the core values as democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and tolerance for those of different faiths. It can be argued that FM represents a direct conflict with the values of liberty, and the rule of law. FM conflicts with liberty because the element of force denies an individual the right to live as they choose (Rawls 1978). The rule of law states that, without exception, all members of society should be governed by the same legal system (Montesquieu 1748). Therefore, because FM is illegal yet continues to occur, and because it is hidden within oppressive honour systems which prevent victims from reporting the crime (Dorjee et al 2013; Proudman 2014; Amen 2014), this demonstrates a visible rejection of these principles. However, to date there has been no research exploring the interaction between British values and FM.

This awareness of these fundamental values differences between the minority and majority populations has origins in the media reporting of FM. The discourse surrounding vulnerable women and patriarchal practices, has been closely tied to the high-profile coverage of Muslim integration (Anitha and Gill 2015). The combination of the 'parallel lives' discourse, and an increased coverage of the patriarchal values and behaviours of Muslim communities, has led to a growing public concern regarding immigration (Anitha and Gill 2015). Practices including

FM have come to symbolise this concern, and have been presented in the media as a distinctly 'unbritish' behaviour, that is actively promoted by deviant Muslim men who prevent their communities from integrating (Dughty 2004; Anitha and Gill 2015).

2.2.3: Criticisms of the values discourse

Commentators have suggested that fears of immigration and cultural values diversity, tend to result in an assimilatory political discourse being used against minority held cultural values and belief systems (Dobbernack and McGhee 2013; Joppke 2014; Johnston 2003). Critics have suggested that this populist discourse has occurred internationally and is not unique to Britain (Lentin and Titley 2011; Kymlicka 2010; Maylor 2016). It has been argued that political discussions on immigration have unfairly placed the burden of change upon the minority community, whilst ignoring factors such as economic disadvantage, historic and institutional racism, and moral panics that could be addressed by changes within the majority population (Lentin and Titley 2011; Social Mobility Commission 2017, Maylor 2016). This modern discourse has been characterised by the expectation that minority communities should abandon their cultural values and traditions in preference of a new way of life (Anthias 2013; Wade 2015; Maylor 2016; Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992). It has been argued that this approach creates a situation whereby minority communities are expected to form a full allegiance with their host country, and to denounce their cultural traditions as invalid and incompatible with Western life (Lentin and Titley 2011; Hage 1998).

In the UK, alongside other Western states, the public acceptance of immigration has declined (Joppke 2004; Barry 2001; Huntington 2002; Hage 1998). This decreasing tolerance, particularly towards Muslim community immigration has primarily focused upon the stability and cohesion of competing cultural values (Joppke 2004; Barry 2001; Huntington 2002). The

notion that Muslim immigration in particular has threatened the cohesiveness of British society and its liberal ideals, has however been criticised for being inaccurate, fictitious and founded upon a bias political agenda (Modood 2008; Heath and Demireva 2014). The central argument of these critics, who dismiss the claim that Western social values are threated, is that state policy naturally represents public opinion, and because the needs of minority groups have been increasingly accommodated (through diversity and equalities legislation), it is therefore inaccurate to claim that tolerance towards cultural diversity has decreased (see Modood 2008; Uberoi and Modood 2013).

A resources-based defence for the public support of social diversity can however be criticised for failing to acknowledge that public policy is created by elite groups, who may be unlikely to understand, or intend to represent, certain elements of public thought (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2009; Van Dijk 2006). These public policy arguments fail to address the concerns relating to the interaction between specific cultural values. These opinions (see Modood 2008; Uberoi and Modood 2013) essentially claim that a lack of public protest is evidence of public support for cultural diversity. These claims however, do not appear to acknowledge specific events (i.e. the Bradford riots), and also ignore the immeasurability of public perception. It can therefore be argued that these suggestions do not address the specific elements of social diversity which members of the public may be critical of. In relation to this thesis, public policy arguments cannot suitably address the conflict of values present in the occurrence of FM. Consequently, the counterarguments which dismiss public perceptions of cultural values conflict by resorting to claims of populism, and a public resources defence, do not address the possibility that increasing levels of social diversity have resulted in a values conflict between aspects of FM associated cultures, and the cultural values of the majority of the population.

The literature has framed the phenomenon of FM as symptomatic of an oppressive cultural values system, the presence of which threatens the stability and future of Western society (Joppke 2004; Barry 2001; Huntington 2002). Criticisms of the discourse have argued that such concerns are fictitious and/or typical Western interpretations of minority cultural practices (Anthias 2013; Wade 2015; Maylor 2016; Hage 1998). It has been suggested that the decreasing tolerance of cultural diversity in the UK relies upon fictitious populist sentiments which can be counterclaimed by evidence of an increased accommodation of minority cultural values in public policy (Modood 2008; Uberoi and Modood 2013). However, this modern discourse has not considered the cultural values conflict FM presents. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the literature regarding the interpretation of the cultural values associated with FM, and their interactions with Western cultural values.

2.2.4: The values conflict presented in FM

Throughout modern history, Middle-Eastern cultures and their practices have been viewed by Western commentators as animalistic and uncivilised in comparison to liberal enlightened ways of life (Said 1978; Nabir 2006; Morton 2007; Filler 2002). This 'orientalist' discourse has predominantly focused upon the oppression and control of female autonomy and freedom in everyday life, and these factors have become symbolic of the fundamental differences between Eastern and Western cultural values (Said 1978; Begikhani et al 2010; Hussein 2013; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006). The belief that Middle-Eastern culture is incompatible within Western society, has become the focal point for a discourse of panic and widespread fear, with affiliated minority groups perceived as threatening towards the Western values of equality and liberty (Said 1978; Ho 2007; Morton 2007; Filler 2002). Consequently, this 'moral panic, alongside the more recent concerns regarding Muslim group immigration post the Bradford riots, is also responsible for elevating the perceived sanctity and vulnerability of Western

values in relation to threats arising from FM associated communities residing within the UK (Anitha and Gill 2015; Janson 2011; Hirschkind and Mamood 2002; Navarro 2010; McLuhan 1964; Cohen 1972).

These perceived cultural values differences have become a central issue within the immigration discourse, because the media has continually depicted Middle eastern culture to be inferior to, and incompatible with Western liberal ideals (Said 1978; Ho 2007; Morton 2007; Filler 2002; Navarro 2010). In relation to FM, this awareness of incompatible cultural values can be seen in the discourse surrounding honour-based systems. These social control mechanisms (which are unusual from a liberal viewpoint) limit individual freedom, and emphasise the importance of family reputation within community and caste based social structures (Pope 2012). Within these systems, reputation governs community standing, and individuals become responsible for their family's name and their family's social status (Patel 2012). Behaviour which jeopardises this honour, can result in the offending family member being subject to violence (including FM) in order to restore and uphold their family's reputation (Bano 2007; Gilbert et al 2004).

Individual behaviours which are acceptable within a Modern British values framework, such as having romantic relationships before marriage, wearing Western clothing, drinking alcohol, and opposing patriarchal religious, class and cultural beliefs have been shown to bring shame upon a family's honour amongst FM associated communities (HBV-Awareness Network 2016; Gill 2007; Kandiyoti 1988). These honour codes and cultural expectations conflict with the Modern British values of liberty and equality, and a growing awareness of these systems has negatively impacted public perceptions of social diversity and community cohesion (Casey 2016). A specific example of this conflict of values can be seen in the regulation of an

individual's behaviour through an appeal to patriarchal values. This culturally motivated oppression visibly opposes legalised concepts of autonomy and equality (e.g. the right to life, the right to self-determination, security of persons, and freedom of expression), which have become normalised and expected of citizens residing within western states (Barry 1997; Barry 2001; Gill 2007; Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009).

The focus upon aspects of patriarchy, and the perceived threat these communities pose to liberal and British values, has resulted in the beliefs of the majority and minority groups being determined as conflicting and incompatible with one another (Said 1978; Sian et al 2012). This emphasis upon cultural values differences, has advanced the social diversity debate and has resulted in an emerging political emphasis upon nationalism, women's rights, and limiting religious identity (Narayan, 1997; Razack, 2004; Ho 2007; Huntington 1996; Joppke 2004; Janson 2011; Hirschkind and Mamood 2002; Navarro 2010). This discourse has, in turn, specifically focused its attention upon harmful cultural practices (including FM) which occur amongst the Muslim community and are unfamiliar to the majority population in the UK (Anitha and Gill 2015; p.1134). It is therefore essential to explore a sociological interpretation of this conflict, and to propose a framework which can be used to research how FM is being managed in the UK, and to determine whether or not current measures are influenced by this conflict of cultural values.

2.3: A sociological perspective of the values conflict

2.3.1: Interpretations of culture

The term 'culture' has undergone extensive sociological analysis (Smith 2016). Originally, (pre-1960s) it was suggested 'culture' could be determined from an individual's race, religion, and history (Weber 1894; Durkheim 1893; Marx 1843). Initial theorists also believed that

'culture' originated from an individual's interpretation of the world and their interaction within it (Hegel 1807). It was further suggested that these personal interpretations and values sets could be manipulated, and 'culture' was symptomatic of a deliberately constructed class difference (Marx 1843). Anthropological explanations rejected these sociological interpretations and instead suggested that 'culture' was society based on values and ideals without influence of the material world (Brown 1922).

The 'cultural turn' of the 1960s saw these interpretations questioned and deconstructed, and numerous further attempts were made to define 'culture' (Smith 2016). The quantity of definitions for 'culture', which have arisen since this era, have however failed to provide any clarity or consensus (Keesing 1974; Mayntz 1992; Silbey 2010; Spillman 2002; Archer 1996; Berger 1995; Bonnell and Hunt 1999). In an analysis of over 210 core texts on the sociological interpretation of 'culture', Smith (2016) concluded that whilst the term is referred to frequently, there is a lack of unity regarding its definition, and these variations in its interpretation have led to a muddled and confused discourse (p.388). Smith (2016) suggests that some modern-day authors believe 'culture' can be derived solely from an analysis of human behaviour (Bonnel and Hunt 1999), whilst others have suggested the term relies upon an individual's perception and subjective interpretation of their world (Bordieu 1993). However, the literature also proposes that neither of these factors suffice, and 'culture' exists as an autonomous space for expression and knowledge within unique individual dimensions (Eyerman 2006). Inconsistent interpretations have also resulted in the adoption of metaphorical analogies, whereby 'culture' has been described as equivalent to the genetic code in animal species, with the basis of social orders transmitted symbolically, or culturally (Greenfield and Malczewski 2010). The discourse has been further convoluted by some theorists combining a number of existing definitions (see Baumesiter 2005; Fine 2010). Ultimately, the literature defining

'culture' is inconclusive and complex, whilst a definition is imperative to sociologists, unfortunately it is not possible (Sewell 1999; Smith 2016).

For the purposes of this thesis, 'culture' will be defined in accordance with the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). These theorists emphasised the importance of values and belief systems in the motivation of personal and group behaviour. The constitution and impact of the 'group' upon an individual's 'culture' varies amongst these theorists. Sellin's (1933) theory implies 'culture' to be a collectively held set of values which motivate individual and collective behaviours. Later sociologists adopted the terms 'groups' and 'segments' in place of 'culture', and suggested that these categories arose from shared values and interests (Vold 1958; Quinney 1970; Vold and Bernard 1986). An analysis of the literature suggests that a consensus exists whereby 'culture' consists of personal values, personal interests and shared ideals, which is witnessed in the behaviour of each social group (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Qiunney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). Therefore, following this proposition, in order for FM to fall within the category of a 'culturally' motivated crime, it follows that identifiable personal values, personal interests and collective interests must motivate the offence.

Research suggests that the personal values which influence perpetrators to commit FM, revolve around preventing victims from adopting Westernised values, and committing non-traditional behaviours (Iranian Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO) 2014). The personal interests of the perpetrators who commit FM are derived from these personal values, and concern the preservation of family arrangements (i.e. honouring arranged marriages, advancing family interests, preserving social status in the community, and the continuing of historical

traditions (e.g. caste based and consanguineous marriage)) (IKWRO 2014; Dorjee et al 2013). The collective interests behind the cultural motives of FM are the preservation of community order, and the continuance of historic social expectation (witnessed in the existence of honour systems, the longstanding traditions of marriages arranged from birth, and patriarchal expectations regarding the role of women) (Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) 2014). Therefore, because these factors exist both on an individual and a collective basis, and they originate from historical and social values, it can be argued that the values and behaviours which motivate FM have a 'cultural' basis and justify an analysis using Culture Conflict theory (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986).

2.3.2: Culture Conflict theory

Culture Conflict theory proposes that all societies seek to uphold a particular set of values throughout the organisations responsible for managing crime (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). In diverse settings, both the creation and implementation of law can establish a conflict between minority populations and state organisations. The approaches of the responsible management organisations tend to represent particular values which may not be in-line with the values of the minority communities, thus conflict occurs (Chambliss and Seidman 1971). In order for this conflict to be reduced and for intergroup cohesion to be achieved, a balance of cultural values is required during the management of crime (Vold and Bernard 1986).

Sellin (1933) pioneered Culture Conflict theory. He suggested that minority populations may not adhere to social conduct norms, because of a lack of harmony between their cultural influences and values, and those the state seeks to maintain. When a member of the minority community follows a values set which differs from the values set the state seeks to uphold, the

manifested behaviour naturally becomes criminalised (Sellin 1933; p.63). Sellin's (1933) theory proposes that there are two types of conflict within socially diverse societies: the primary and the secondary.

The primary conflict occurs when one cultural group immigrates to another state; thus, there is an evident clash of cultural values over particular social issues (Sellin 1933; p.57). Sellin (1933) suggested that honour motivated crimes provide an example of this conflict. In these scenarios an offender may justify a violent act by appealing to their own particular values set, which then creates a conflict between the values enshrined within the law of the host society and those which motivate the offence (Sellin 1933; p.85). In response to this conflict, the state will then seek to criminalise the behaviour and the corresponding values of the minority community. According to Sellin's (1933) secondary cultural values conflict model, a clash occurs when members of the same cultural group disagree with the values of their own community, and subsequently they establish a subculture within their own host culture (p.57-58). Sellin (1933) used the example of criminal gangs and juvenile delinquents in his secondary conflict model. These gangs and juvenile delinquents do not necessarily hold a distinctly different cultural values set, but instead, rebel against elements of their own culture i.e. the expected way of life, education and conventional employment (Sellin 1933; p.57-58).

FM has been associated with British Muslim communities (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015; Anitha and Gill 2015); therefore, because these groups consist of British citizens, they satisfy the criteria for a subcultural analysis according to Sellin's (1933) theory on secondary values conflict. However, the fundamental differences between patriarchal group values and liberal group values, and the emergence of the parallel lives discourse suggest that a primary conflict analysis would be more suitable (Gill and Anitha

2015; Cantle 2001; Ousely 2001; Casey 2016). Sellin (1933) did not provide definitive indicators for the manifestation of conflict in a diverse society, however he suggested that a primary conflict scenario was likely to witness: a refusal to engage with law enforcement by members of the minority population, an establishment of dualistic legal models, and the adoption of self-governance systems amongst the minority community (p.73-76).

Sellin (1933) did not offer a proactive means for reducing intergroup values conflict, instead he proposed that conflict is a normal phenomenon within heterogenous societies, and will eventually be reduced through a natural 'acculturation process' (p.85). Through intergroup interaction, the law will eventually compromise and reflect the diversity of values held by the society it governs (Sellin 1933; p.85). However, Sellin (1933) suggested that this 'values balance' becomes hindered when state organisations force minority populations to undergo aggressive programmes of assimilation (p.101). Sellin (1933) specifically proposed that the natural socialisation process takes a period of two generations, with each generation witnessing the gradual reduction of any intergroup values conflict (p.101). It is unknown whether or not Sellin's (1933) central propositions can be applied to the current FM management models used in the UK.

Vold (1958) expanded upon Sellin's (1933) work by redefining the concept of culture, and he proposed that 'group' was a more appropriate term from which to explore an intergroup values conflict. Vold believed 'groups' were formed by a collective of individuals with shared interests and passions (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p.271). Vold proposed that individual members retain a membership to a 'group', through the constant battles they encounter when promoting their group's identity against the values and interests of the more powerful social groups (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p.272). Vold suggested that the

most powerful social groups control the organisations of the state and criminalise the behaviour of weaker social groups, thus ensuring the consistency and stability of their own social values and norms (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p273-274). Vold, in line with Sellin (1933) argued that this struggle was natural to heterogenous societies, and thus creates a loyalty within the individual to a specific group (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p273). In a similar vein to Sellin (1933), Vold believed that through socialisation an eventual compromise of values will be reached, which enables various cultural groups to co-exist harmoniously in a single state (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p.275).

Vold specifically stated that his theory should not be applied to seemingly random crimes which lack any apparent cultural values/interest motives (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p.277). FM is not a seemingly random crime because it is motivated by the desire to preserve cultural tradition and protect family honour (FMU 2014). Vold's proposition that a group struggle establishes loyalty, aligns with Sellin's (1933) notion that group loyalty leads to self-governance systems and a lack of engagement with state institutions (Vold and Bernard 1986; p.73). It would therefore seem appropriate to explore whether or not the current discourse regarding Muslim group integration has resulted in an increasing values struggle, which in turn has delayed the socialisation process and impacted upon the management of FM.

Work by Quinney (1970) directly extended Vold's (1958) proposition; he argued that society is segmented by groups, each with differing amounts of social power. Quinney (1970) suggested that the most powerful groups are able to define the values and behaviours of weaker social segments as harmful, thus justifying criminalisation. In-line with Vold (1958), Quinney (1970) supported the notion that shared interests are an important factor when a group forms a cultural identity, and thus these interests become a motive for particular behaviours. However,

Quinney's (1970) theory extends understanding in this area by suggesting that all behaviour, including seemingly random criminal acts, are motivated by a values set which can be associated with a particular segment of society. Quinney (1970) suggested that all behaviour is in some way associated to particular cultural values; with those values that differ from the most powerful segments of society, being more likely to become criminalised.

Unlike earlier theorists, Quinney (1970) also sought to explain the processes by which the values of particular segments of society are determined as incompatible i.e. he sought to understand the origins of the conflict process. Drawing upon the work of Berger and Luckman (1966), Quinney (1970) suggested that the awareness of crimes and incompatible cultural values occurs through media dissemination and public discourse. This 'diffusion' of awareness enables the most powerful segments of society to garner support for the restriction and control of the minority segment's cultural behaviours and values (Quinney 1970; p.281). Quinney (1970) suggested that those who were able to control the 'diffusion' process would be able to influence public perception, and the criminal justice organisations of the state. Quinney (1970) proposed that segments of society were constantly in conflict with one another, and, unless there was a balance in the process of 'diffusion', minority populations would be subject to the control of the more powerful segments. Quinney's (1970) propositions draws direct parallels with the literature surrounding Muslim integration and the perceived values differences between cultural groups (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015; Anitha and Gill 2015). It is unknown whether or not this 'diffusion' of cultural values incompatibilities throughout the media and amongst the public has impacted the management of FM, and whether current organisational measures are influenced by a conflict of cultural values.

Turk (1969), developed a Culture Conflict theory explanation for the creation and maintenance of public order. Whilst Quinney (1970), Vold (1958), and Sellin (1933), focused upon the criminal justice system as an interdependent whole, Turk (1969) sought to formulate a model that would enable the prediction of an intergroup values conflict during different stages of the criminal justice process. Turk (1969) proposed that intergroup conflict ranges from a simple refusal to see the organisations of the state as legitimate by the minority population, through to a physical resistance towards these organisations by individuals from minority groups (p.57). Turk (1969) also suggested that when the enforcement agent's personal values aligned with the legislation, enforcement would be heavy handed and conflict would likely occur (p.55). Reviews into honour-based violence interventions have suggested that a lack of cultural values consideration and sensitivity by the statutory services, establishes a conflict between the community and the law enforcement organisation, which in turn has jeopardised victim safety (IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013). It therefore seems pertinent to explore the relevancy of Turk's (1969) theory with regards to identifying an intergroup conflict that may be occurring during interventions between the management organisations and FM associated communities.

Turk (1969) further proposed that 'sophistication' and 'organisation' influenced the likelihood of conflict occurring during crime intervention. He argued that the more sophisticated and subtle law enforcement techniques were, the less likely it was that conflict would occur during the intervention process (p.57). Turk (1969) proposed that the more 'organised' management organisations were, the less likely it would be that interventions amongst minority communities would establish conflict (p.57). It is unknown whether or not the organisation and sophistication of organisational approaches towards FM have impacted its management. However, Turk (1969) also suggested these same factors applied to the capacity of communities to avoid criminalisation. The more 'sophisticated' a criminal act was, the less

likely it was to be detected by enforcement agencies, thus the chances of conflict occurring could be reduced when the offence could be hidden (Turk 1969; p.57). Turk (1969) also suggested that when the criminal behaviour was supported by a group, the more stubborn an individual would be towards the efforts implemented to make them change (p.57). FM remains significantly underreported due to a lack of victim engagement (HMIC 2015; FMU 2018). It is unknown whether or not the cultural setting in which FM occurs harbours factors of 'organisation' and 'sophistication' which in turn hides the crime and negatively impacts reporting rates.

Chambliss and Seidman (1971) examined the criminal justice process from law creation through to enactment. They suggested that the law represents the values of powerful interest groups. Their research highlighted the correlation between cultural group power and the likelihood of criminalisation. They suggested that the more powerful the social group, the less likely it was that their behaviour would become criminalised (Chambliss and Seidman 1971). Their research however also contested the claim that crime exists solely because of the definitions attributed to a behaviour by a powerful interest group (as purported by Vold (1958)), whilst also rejecting the view that behaviours are criminalised to protect the interests of the majority of the population. Instead, Chambliss and Seidman (1971) amalgamated both the conflict and consensus interpretation of crime, and suggested that although a purely conflict perspective of crime did not offer an adequate explanation to intergroup conflict, the law does represent the cultural values of powerful interest groups. Their study found that law making bodies did represent the majority group's cultural values, however they suggested that this process was purely coincidental (Chambliss and Seidman 1971).

Chambliss and Seidman (1971) expanded upon Turk's (1969) proposition of 'sophistication' and suggested crime should be interpreted beyond the consensus versus conflict paradigm. Instead, they suggested that law enforcement tended to ignore the crimes of stronger interest groups because these organisations were naturally bureaucratic and risk averse. Chambliss and Seidman (1971) theorised that law enforcement agencies pursue crimes that are less resource intensive and are less likely to create conflict. According to Chambliss and Seidman (1971), these 'difficult' crimes are often inaccurately represented in crime statistics (p.502-503). The link between stronger interest groups and the avoidance of criminalisation can be applied to the understanding of FM, given that FM has been associated with a sizable minority population (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015; Anitha and Gill 2015). It is not known whether the size of FM associated communities equates to them having a powerful 'interest' position, therefore increasing the likelihood of organisations avoiding criminalisation to prevent an intergroup conflict. In addition, the complexity of FM cases has not been recognised by management agencies (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008), and it is not known whether this is attributable to the resource intensiveness associated with managing these incidents.

Most recently, Vold and Bernard (1986) theorised a unified Culture Conflict model. They suggested that the original propositions were united in their suggestion that different interest groups have differing cultural values, with the most powerful group's values being enshrined within social institutions, and legitimised through a knowledge diffusion process (Vold and Bernard 1986; p.287). The enactment of state measures against specific minority group behaviours (e.g. FM) in-turn establishes conflict, due to the perceived clash of cultural values between those values the law represents, and those values of the group it seeks to criminalise (Vold and Bernard 1986).

Vold and Bernard (1986) departed from earlier theorists (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958) and rejected the notion that intergroup conflict was a naturally occurring phenomenon. Instead, and in-line with Chambliss and Seidman (1971) and Turk (1969), Vold and Bernard (1986) argued that conflict was the result of powerful interest groups choosing to criminalise the cultural values and behaviours of minority populations (p.287). Vold and Bernard (1986) proposed that a deliberate process of inclusion and parity should be undertaken for minority groups within state organisations and their policies. This inclusion would ensure that there was an accurate representation of cultural values during crime intervention (Vold and Bernard 1986; p.296). Vold and Bernard (1986) proposed that this deliberate process would therefore reduce the occurrence of intergroup values conflict by enabling 'aggregates of individuals to pursue and defend their interests' (p.296). Vold and Bernard's (1986) theory essentially supports a 'participatory democracy' (p.296) amongst state organisations, however their model fails to describe what these modes of recognition would entail. Research is therefore required to explore these propositions, and to determine whether or not there is a conflict of cultural values in the management of FM, and whether or not introducing specific measures and processes could overcome this.

2.4: Considerations for practice

It is evident from a review of the literature that the immigration discourse surrounding FM in the UK has predominately focused upon Muslim minority communities and unfamiliar cultural values and practices. FM has become symbolic of 'unbritish' patriarchal traditions, particularly the control of women and the governance of honour systems. These behaviours and their motivating values differ from the British values of liberty and equality, that British society has come to expect from its citizens (Joppke 2004; Barry 2001; Huntington 2002). The political

analysis following the Bradford riots was the first time in recent years wherein the values of the British Muslim community were questioned and scrutinised (Cantle 2001; Ouseley 2001; Anitha and Gill 2015). The recent political discourse has confirmed the notion of 'parallel lives' whilst further suggesting that there are significant cultural differences between minority Muslim populations and the majority cultural group within the UK (Casey 2016; Anitha and Gill 2015).

This social and political commentary has created a discourse which focuses upon 'Britishness', harmful cultural practices (including FM), and the stability of British/liberal values when faced with external cultural threats. Critics have suggested that these interpretations can be linked to a global populist response and are significantly unfair towards minority communities (Lentin and Titley 2011; Kymlicka 2010; Maylor 2016). It has been proposed that the Western interpretation of minority cultural values and practices have unfairly burdened immigrant communities with the sole responsibility for social values change, whilst also ignoring the bias attitudes and advantages inherent to the majority cultural group (Lentin and Titley 2011; Maylor 2016; Hage 1998). Critics have further stated that specific suggestions regarding a Muslim group values incompatibility can be disproven by referring to the increasing accommodation of minority cultural values in public policy and social institutions (Modood 2008; Heath and Demireva 2014). Whilst, these arguments provide a detailed analysis of the current discourse, and offer various areas for redress, they do not however address the cultural values differences between minority and majority populations, nor do they examine the role of conflict and the impact these factors may have upon the management of FM.

There is minimal literature available that has explored British values in relation to FM. The official definition of British values emphasises liberal concepts of equality and autonomy

(GOV UK 2014). Therefore, when contrasted with the patriarchal cultural values which motivate FM (FMU 2018) there is an evident difference. This evident difference has been discussed in the orientalism literature, which has historically continuously depicted South Asian culture as animalistic and uncivilised (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009; Said 1978). The particular values differences are visibly demonstrated in the presence of honour-based systems and the practice of FM. Ultimately, it can be clearly demonstrated that there are perceived cultural values differences between Muslim minority communities and those held by the majority population. In order to research whether this conflict of values has influenced the management of FM, a sociological framework is required.

Culture Conflict theory implies that 'culture' consists of identifiable personal values, personal interests and collective interests which motivate particular individual and collective behaviours (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). Culture Conflict theory proposes that heterogenous societies harbour differing sets of cultural values, and these differences often compete with one another over particular areas of life (i.e. the role of women, individual freedoms, and family reputation). This competition establishes an intergroup conflict when the law is upheld against the minority community who disagree with the values it represents.

The conflict of values between organisation and subject can manifest in a variety of ways including: a refusal to engage with management organisations by victims of crime, a physical resistance by perpetrators towards law enforcement agencies, and the emergence of parallel legal systems within minority communities (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Vold and Bernard 1986). It has been proposed that this conflict can be reduced through a deliberate

'balance' of values, yet the modes of recognition have not been defined (Vold and Bernard 1986). In contrast, theorists have suggested the conflict will naturally self-resolve over a specific period of time (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958). Ultimately, to date no research has determined whether or not organisations are influenced by a conflict of values, and whether the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists have implications for the practical management of FM. It is therefore necessary to consider the literature specifically relating to the practice management of FM, and to identify areas to research these propositions.

In the following section, the literature surrounding the legal management of FM, the police services approach to FM management, and the approaches of the third sector are considered. The topics unique to each sector are explored within a Culture Conflict framework. The literature from each sector is presented under three broad themes from this framework. The first theme 'Values Differences' explores the literature relating to the values of the particular management model/organisation, and highlights the differences in cultural values between the approach and the values associated with FM. The second theme 'Values Representation' considers the literature relating to the interpretation and representation of cultural values by each management model/organisation. The final theme, 'Values Balance' examines the literature and considers the degree each management model/organisation has sought to reduce intergroup conflict through a values balance during the management of FM.

Chapter 2: Literature Review (Part two)

FM Criminalisation and Statutory Duties

2.5: Values Differences

2.5.1: The Previous law

Prior to 2014, FM fell within the jurisdiction of the family court and was not a specific criminal offence. Criminalisation previously relied upon injunctions, protection orders, and the criminal offences of assault and kidnap to protect victims (Amen 2014). The government (years 2010-2015) acknowledged a number of shortfalls within these measures, and the Forced Marriage Unit was established, which increased public awareness of FM, provided victim support, and helped to create specific civil remedies, including FM Protection Orders (FMPO) (Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 and Part 4A of the Family Law Act 1996).

Commentators described these past measures as reactionary and weak because they relied upon a conviction before a victim of FM could be protected (Proudman 2014; Amen 2014; Wind-Cowie et al 2012). The previous legislation failed to recognise the unique factors within FM including honour systems, coercion, duress and psychological pressure. This lack of recognition directly prevented victim reporting, because these factors visibly demonstrated a lack of awareness of the cultural differences behind the offence (Proudman 2014; Amen 2014). These shortfalls, alongside the increasing political focus upon illiberal cultural practices and the emerging FM statistics, portrayed existing legal models as insufficient, and necessitated the legal reform (Amen 2014; IKWRO 2014; Proudman 2014). The previous British government (years 2010-2015) created a separate criminal offence of FM, with the purpose of addressing these values differences by furthering human rights agendas (May 2015), ensuring individuals

have the ability to achieve self-determination free from cultural pressures (May 2015), and deterring the occurrence of this harmful cultural practice (Chand 2015).

2.5.2: The criminal offence of FM

Under Section 121 of the of the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014, a forced marriage occurs when:

"A person commits an offence under the law of England and Wales if he or she—

(a) uses violence, threats or any other form of coercion for the purpose of causing another person to enter into a marriage, and

(b) believes, or ought reasonably to believe, that the conduct may cause the other person to enter into the marriage without free and full consent."

The law aimed to address the shortfalls identified previously, whilst also criminalising both physical and psychological coercion (Proudman 2014). The legislation extended legal jurisdiction to cover scenarios whereby the victim had been or could be taken abroad. All FM offences committed under the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014) carry a prison term with the minimum recommendation being 5 years. Under the legislation, all practitioners working within statutory organisations (including health care, social care, education, and the police services), are legally responsible for the management of FM, and are required to implement interagency working models (HOPG 2014; HOSG 2014). These amendments have received praise for offering an effective solution to managing a harmful cultural practice and for addressing the cultural values differences which motivate the offence (Proudman 2012; BBC 2014; May 2015; Chand 2015). However, to date no research has been

undertaken to explore this new legislation in practice, and to determine whether or not these measures suitably address the complex cultural values differences associated with the offence.

2.6: Values Representation

2.6.1: Group values and the law

Legislating for FM evokes a juxtaposition between tolerating cultural difference (thus promoting a core British value), and preventing the occurrence of dangerous cultural practices (GOV UK 2014; Rawls 1971). The political motives for FM criminalisation included furthering human rights agendas, ensuring individuals have the right to self-determination, and preventing harmful cultural practices (May 2015, Chand 2015).

The concern therefore arises regarding the extent the law in England, Scotland and Wales is capable of representing liberal values and achieving these aims in practice, whilst also avoiding cultural discrimination. In the UK FM has been predominantly associated with the Muslim community, who have been interpreted as animalistic, patriarchal and oppressive (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009; Said 1978). It is unknown whether or not a 'strong message' (May 2015) can prevent FM without discriminating or representing an assimilatory attitude towards the cultural values of these communities. In particular, whilst FM is illiberal and interventions can be justified due to the harm it causes, it is unknown whether or not a specific law (and the subsequent arising statutory management measures) can successfully balance a minority community's right to live in accordance with their cultural values, whilst also intervening with a specific cultural practice. It is not known whether the new legislation empowers victims to overcome and depart from the honour systems which burden them to uphold their family's reputation.

Legally promoting a victim's right to self-determination by targeting specific cultural practices imposes a moralistic judgment. This moralistic judgement may subsequently become illiberal by appearing to assimilate minority cultures into conforming with ideals of the 'good life' held by the majority community (Rawls 1971). Laws that promote the majority group's values risk appearing culturally irrelevant, illegitimate and discriminatory towards minority communities, which in turn increases the likelihood of conflict during intervention (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971). It is unknown whether or not this theoretical proposition applies to current FM interventions, and whether criminalisation has enabled non-assimilatory management strategies to be deployed during the management of FM.

2.7: Values Balance

2.7.1: Inclusion within the consultation process

A consultation process was undertaken prior to the enactment of the FM legislation. This process, which involved statutory agencies, third sector organisations (TSOs) and victims, comprised of a descriptive online survey (237 respondents), and three consultation events. The research findings were used to justify the legal amendments; however, a practice review of the legislation suggests that criminalisation has not greatly reduced the FM occurrence rate (FMU 2018). Furthermore, a nationwide review of police practice and the handling of such cases suggests that during intervention, practitioners often inadequately consider honour systems and the vulnerability of victims (HMIC 2015). It is therefore unknown whether or not the criminal offence suitably justifies its intentions to end the harmful cultural practice of FM.

The theoretical narrative suggests that managing FM without group conflict depends upon a consideration and accommodation of differing cultural values throughout the practice measures (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). In particular, Vold and Bernard (1986) suggested that conflict reduction during crime management, requires a deliberate inclusion process throughout the formulation of measures (p.296). Vold and Bernard (1986) proposed that this process should involve the engagement of individuals who hold similar values and interests from specific geographical locations, in order to ensure there is 'representation of diverse aggregates of individuals, by an equally diverse number of organised groups, under conditions of relative equality' (p296). The purpose of this 'pluralistic democracy' in the creation of policy is to ensure that when such measures are introduced, they will be viewed as culturally legitimate and so intergroup conflict will be avoided (Vold and Bernard 1986; p296).

The degree to which the consultation process aligned with Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition, and an accurate balance of values occurred is unclear. The process placed a substantial reliance upon quantitative research (HO 2012), from a sample whose personal accounts may have failed to adequately consider minority cultural values, and the intricacies of honour systems. Furthermore, it is unknown whether or not themes from the social diversity discourse, which have portrayed Muslim communities as adhering to harmful cultural values (Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009; Said 1978), influenced participant responses during the consultation process, and in turn impacted upon the creation of the criminal offence.

2.7.2: Implementation in practice

Following criminalisation, all agencies likely to encounter FM became legally responsible for the implementation of management strategies. The multiagency statutory (HOSG 2014) and practice guidelines (HOPG 2014) enshrined the criminal law into existing child and adult protection measures for all relevant statutory bodies (i.e. healthcare, social care, education and the police service). The existing guidelines stress that there is a need for cultural sensitivity, an acknowledgment of victim vulnerability, and for timely intervention processes (MS 2014; PG 2014). The guidance also emphasises the need for multiagency responses to FM cases; however, cooperation remains the responsibility of individual local areas and the recommendations do not impose a centralised model upon the statutory services (HOSG 2014; HOPG 2014). There is currently no evidence available that has explored how these guidelines have been implemented across the statutory agencies, or whether this current guidance provides adequate recommendations with regards to establishing protocols for interagency working at a local level. In addition, no research has explored how these guidelines enable practitioners to acknowledge victim vulnerability and afford culturally sensitivity during FM interventions.

FM is defined in policy documents as a marriage in which either spouse does not consent, but is coerced through physical, psychological or financial pressure (HOSG 2014; HOPG 2014). Physical coercion and violence may be easily identifiable indicators of FM however, it is not known whether, in light of honour principles, practitioners are able to appropriately recognise psychological pressure and duress. A liberal interpretation of psychological pressure, would suggest a person is coerced when any behaviour prevents them from being able to provide full and free consent. However, the impact pressure arising from patriarchal values and the preservation of family reputation (HBV Awareness Network 2016; Gill 2007; Kandiyoti 1988), has upon an individual's capacity to freely object to a marriage has not been accorded for within the guidance. An arranged marriage remains legal because parties to the marriage are able to

freely reject a proposal, however, the degree honour systems and cultural expectation influence a victim's capacity to consent, thus blurring the distinction between an arranged marriage and a FM, has not been researched or accorded for within the guidance. It is not known whether practitioners are able to navigate these crucial issues and can identify individuals at risk of a FM, whilst also managing factors such as psychological coercion, without stereotyping the cultural values and behaviours of FM associated communities.

Previous interagency approaches were criticised for lacking cultural awareness regarding honour systems, which in turn increased the danger for victims who reported FM (see IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013; Bedfordshire Police Constabulary v RU and FHS 2013). The available evidence, including reviews of police practice and evidence of underreporting, indicate that criminalisation had not addressed these shortfalls (FMU 2018; HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008). It is not known whether current measures provide sufficient knowledge to enable culturally appropriate interventions to occur during FM cases.

The official guidance describes the identifying factors of FM as a withdrawn, anxious or depressed appearance (HOPG 2014). Although FM victims may display such symptoms, whether or not practitioners are comfortable enacting safeguarding procedures and protocols reliant upon these appearances, given the potential for misidentifications and stereotyping to occur, has not been considered. A Culture Conflict theory analysis of these identifying factors would suggest that the vagueness of these guidelines demonstrates inadequate 'organisation' and 'balance', and consequently, interventions may fail to appear culturally legitimate for victims, who may then be deterred from reporting the crime (Turk 1969). Ultimately, it is not known how the current policies for FM management are implemented in practice, and whether

or not practitioners accord for the risks of inappropriate intervention and intergroup values conflict.

2.7.3: Deterrence of reporting

There is no literature available that has explored how the criminal offence of FM has been implemented in practice, and whether or not these measures are influenced by a conflict of cultural values. Counterarguments prior to the enactment of the new legislation were raised, which suggested that criminalisation would be largely ineffective (Julios 2015; Wind-Cowie et al 2012). These arguments suggested that because the majority of FM victims are female and are under the age of 21 (FMU 2018), the economic and social vulnerability these victims may encounter once FM has been reported, requires extensive interagency working to gain these individuals' trust, and to ensure their vulnerabilities can be managed (Gill 2017). These opponents to criminalisation, suggested that once victims leave their communities, unique cultural factors (e.g. honour codes and patriarchal expectations), will result in victims being unable to independently support themselves, thus increasing the likelihood of their return to their family (SBS 2016; Julios 2015; Pope 2012; Dorjee et al. 2013; IKWRO 2013). Given these vulnerabilities, it has been suggested that victims may be reluctant to proceed with criminalisation (SBS 2016; Julios 2015; Pope 2012; Dorjee et al. 2013; IKWRO 2013).

Critics also warned that criminalisation would deter reporting because a victim would be required to depart from their social setting. A victim may wish to remain amongst their community, however, the stigma arising from criminalisation may result in the individual being outcast from the group to whom they are dependent (SBS 2003). Sellin (1933) and Turk (1969) suggested that a cultural values conflict can be demonstrated by a victim's reluctance to report a crime, due to the belief that the measures are culturally 'unbalanced' and ineffective at

managing the nuances of an offence. Whilst criminalisation has been praised for deterring the occurrence of FM (Proudman 2012; BBC 2014; May 2015; Chand 2015), the crime reporting figures and low conviction rates (FMU 2018) provide support for the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists (Sellin 1933; Turk 1969) and clearly demonstrate the ineffectiveness of these measures to protect the victim. It is not known whether management organisations have sought to 'balance' the cultural values displayed in the offence, and whether measures have been implemented by the statutory services to overcome any conflict and encourage reporting.

2.8: Conclusion and the need for further research

The is no available evidence that has explored the criminalisation of FM in practice, therefore, research is required to ascertain how this crime is managed. The theoretical narrative proposes that the effective management of FM is dependent upon reducing intergroup conflict through a recognition of the minority population's cultural values (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971). The evidence suggests that the criminal law has not accorded for this process, and consequently there may be a values conflict influencing the management of FM. Current practice measures suggest there are shortfalls in detection, interagency working and centralised management strategy (HMIC 2015). It is therefore proposed that research be undertaken to explore how criminalisation has influenced the management of FM, and to determine whether current measures are impacted by a conflict of cultural values.

The Policing of FM

2.9: Values Differences

2.9.1: The current model for FM management

A centralised approach towards FM management is not currently deployed, and individual police services are responsible for creating strategy measures (HMIC 2015). A nationwide review of police practice identified significant shortfalls due to decentralisation, inadequate understandings regarding FM criminalisation, and a lack of measures to identify successful practice (HMIC 2015). This review indicated that police services have followed the methods prescribed by the multi-agency practice guidelines (discussed above) (HOPG 2014), and approaches have tended to rely upon arrest policies, injunctions, the training of specialist officers and regular police visits to 'at risk' FM associated families (HOPG 2014).

Concerns have been raised surrounding police service understandings of the cultural nuances of honour systems and FM, and it has been suggested that this lack of knowledge has jeopardised victim safety (Dorjee et al. 2013; IPCC 2008; IKWRO 2014; HMIC 2015). Previous investigations have shown that when strategies are not specifically tailored to minority cultural groups, there is a reliance upon assumption and stereotyping in the frontline policing of honour motivated crimes (IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013). Specific concerns surrounding the reliance upon a domestic violence (DV) model for the management of FM have also been raised (HMIC 2015). Therefore, because all police services rely upon a national DV framework for guidance during FM cases, the discourse surrounding domestic violence (DV) needs to be considered in order to highlight how such models might fail to address the cultural motives behind FM.

2.9.2: The current framing of FM

Individual officer interpretation is a central concern within the DV discourse (Myhill and Johnson 2015; Ericson and Haggerty 1997; Klockars 1985). Evidence indicates that victim safety can be jeopardised during DV interventions amongst minority populations, because officers stereotype these communities and also assume domestic crimes to be private affairs (Edwards 1989; Kelly 1999; Stanko 1985; Holdaway 1983). Stereotyping towards minority groups can also result in police officers categorising communities through perceptions of decency and conformity to the majority population's cultural values, with minority individuals being determined as more likely to commit DV (Stanko 1985; Loftus 2009).

The extent stereotypes surrounding Muslim cultural values (Said 1978; Ho 2007; Morton 2007; Filler 2002; Dobbernack and McGhee 2013; Prins and Slijper 2002) have established a reluctance amongst police services to intervene with, or have influenced the likelihood of, a fair service being provided to individuals during FM cases is unknown. Whether or not police officers perceive the Muslim community as more likely to commit DV, because they have been portrayed as adhering to a different values set which emphasises illiberal patriarchal values has not been determined (Said 1978; Ho 2007; Morton 2007; Filler 2002).

There has been no research exploring whether or not police officers are confident to intervene with FM cases and whether they are able to differentiate such scenarios from DV incidents. The available evidence does however indicate that recent procedures have reduced victim safety (IPCC 2008), and critics have suggested FM interventions tend to rely upon an inappropriate DV framework (IPCC 2008; HMIC 2015). This reliance upon a generic intervention across the majority of police services in the UK, has resulted in a nationwide failure to adequately consider the values differences within honour systems, including the risks from the wider community and the potential use of violence to restore honour (HMIC 2015). Policing FM appropriately appears

to be dependent upon the reduction of stereotyping, an accurate understanding of minority cultural values, and the provision of a fair service to minority communities (Dorjee et al 2013). Therefore, the key issues preventing accurate knowledge from being obtained and deployed within current FM management strategy require consideration.

There is scarce literature available that has explored the management of FM by UK police services. The available evidence suggests that all police services have failed to adequately consider the cultural values differences of FM associated communities, particularly the importance of honour and the risks of violence from the wider community (see HMIC 2015). The reliance upon a standardised DV model has been described as inappropriate for managing these risks (see IPCC 2008). The criticisms that intervention processes ignore the potential clash of values between the police and FM associated communities, are in line with the propositions of Culture Conflict theory, which suggests that the law, and the organisations responsible for enforcing it, are likely to portray a singular values set at the detriment of minority cultural groups (Sellin 1933; Chambliss and Seidman 1971). It is unknown whether these values differences and criticisms have now been addressed by police services, thus overcoming a values conflict, and whether the cultural nuances behind the offence are now acknowledged. In order to further explore how the police service interpret and represent a particular values model, the link between crime reporting and knowledge formation requires consideration.

2.10: Values Representation

2.10.1: Reporting and knowledge

Policing crime effectively is dependent upon reliable insight (Skogan 1977). FM is an under reported crime, and consequently the majority of UK police services cannot provide reliable data regarding occurrence rates (IKWRO 2014; HMIC 2015). Without accurate data, response

measures and strategies are naturally founded upon the interpretation of limited data sets (Biderman and Lynch 1991). These unreliable findings can influence resource allocation and strategy (HMIC 2015), and management measures may not therefore provide the most culturally suitable response (Biderman and Lynch 1991).

Factors that prevent the reporting of crime include a belief that the offence is not a police matter, an overarching distrust of the police service, and a lack of confidence that measures will be sufficient in addressing culturally specific behaviours (Biles & Braithwaite, 1979; Bowles et al. 2009; Hart & Colavito, 2011; Kaariainen & Siren, 2011; Skogan, 1976; Skogan 1984; Tarling & Morris, 2010). It is unknown whether any of these factors have influenced FM reporting, and in turn, whether management measures have accorded for this, or, have attempted to overcome these factors. The only available literature suggests that the counter terrorism discourse has created a mistrust amongst Muslim communities (discussed below) (Spalek 2010; Jonathan-Zamir and Weisburd 2011; LaFree et al. 2009; Chakraborti 2007). However, it is unknown whether this has decreased the likelihood of a FM victims engaging with the police service.

It has been suggested that FM victims may be deterred from reporting the crime to the police due to unwanted police involvement with family members (Wind-Cowie et al 2012; Julios 2015). Honour systems are collusive, and victims may be at risk of violence from the wider community upon reporting FM (Dorjee et al 2013), however it is not known whether these factors have deterred victims from reporting the crime. Furthermore, whilst a victim may be reluctant to report FM because of the influence of honour systems, it is unknown whether the high profile criticisms regarding a nationwide lack of police understanding (IPCC 2008; HMIC 2015) have also discouraged victim reporting. In theory, under the new legislation the police can manage the immediate threat for FM victims by either relocating the victim or removing the

perpetrators from the situation (see HOSG 2014 and HOPG 2014). However, the complexity of this process, in light of the wider risks from honour systems, requires significant levels of interagency working, and it is unknown whether victims are confident that these systems offer adequate protection (Gill 2017).

Reporting levels decrease when the police are perceived irrelevant or inadequately prepared to manage the offence, and in turn this lack of reporting denies the police service knowledge about the crime and hinders the formation of effective strategy (Skogan 1977; Biles & Braithwaite, 1979; Bowleset al 2009; Hart & Colavito, 2011; Kaariainen & Siren, 2011; Skogan, 1976, Skogan 1984; Tarling & Morris 2010). Ensuring that police officers have a sufficient understanding of FM becomes essential to guarantee a victim's safety, and to also represent the police service as capable of managing FM. The most recent evidence suggests that police approaches have not sufficiently recognised the cultural nuances surrounding FM and honour based systems (HMIC 2015; Dorjee et al. 2013; IPCC 2008). Research is therefore required to determine whether or not this lack of cultural consideration has reduced victim confidence, and deterred the reporting of FM. Without culturally considerate intervention procedures and significant victim reporting, practice models are founded upon assumptions (Bradford 2012), which in turn decreases the likelihood of police measures appearing legitimate and culturally relevant to the victim (Turk 1969).

A victim's fear of the far-reaching nature of honour systems, and the threats from the wider community, draw direct similarities with Turk's (1969) propositions on 'organisation' and 'sophistication'. Turk (1969) proposed that policing crime is made more difficult when the minority culture are highly organised, and when there is a group philosophy to defend their harmful behaviour (p.57). Turk (1969) proposed that in order to successfully intervene with

harmful practices, a reduction of the values conflict is required. Applying Turk's (1969) model to FM underreporting, the police service would need to be highly 'sophisticated' in navigating the nuances of these honour systems, and they would also need to adopt a consistent 'organised' approach across the entire police service, thus countering the 'organisation' and 'sophistication' of honour systems (Turk 1969). The literature suggests that the nuances of honour systems, and the risks these present for victims in reporting FM are not represented or accorded for in management approaches (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008). It is unknown whether or not current frameworks have sought to overcome these recent criticisms, and whether the 'organisation' and 'sophistication' of police services is now sufficiently adequate to manage FM. In order to further explore the proposition that a conflict of cultural values impacts the management of FM, the wider literature that has explored police-minority community relations requires examination.

2.10.2: Stereotyping and discretionary intervention

Police officers must have reasonable suspicion to justify an intervention with a suspect. This process naturally represents the police officer's own personal values and beliefs, therefore, interventions become influenced by assumption, variation and stereotyping (Ellis 2010; Bradford 2012). This discretionary process grants police officers a choice regarding whether or not they should invoke the criminal justice procedure upon a suspect (Goldstein 1960). The central concern regarding discretionary intervention is the potential for the process to be unfairly evoked through stereotyping (Ellis 2010).

Previous research has suggested that stereotyping to legitimatise intervention, tends to negatively construct the identity of minority communities and leads to a conflict between these populations and the police (Casman et al. 1992; Brunson & Miller 2006; Goodey 2006). These groups often perceive the police to be unfairly enacting their power in the targeting of their

community (Casman et al. 1992; Brunson & Miller 2006; Goodey 2006). It has been argued that because of a reliance upon stereotyping during the discretionary intervention process, crime figures actually represent the inherent personal bias amongst police officers (Reiner 1986). The central question in relation to the intervention, is whether or not through the flexibility granted by police discretion, officers are able to discriminate towards particular segments of society (Reiner 1986). It is not known whether themes regarding Muslim values incompatibilities (Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009; Said 1978), the need for assimilatory liberal agendas (Dobbernack and McGhee 2013; Parekh 2008; Richardson 2004; Joppke 2004), the terrorism discourse (Hillyard 1993; Sivanandan 2006, Fekete 2004, Ansari 2005; Garland et al 2006), and substantial underreporting (FMU 2018; HMIC 2015) have resulted in police officers unfairly targeting individuals from Muslim communities during FM interventions.

Previous research examining officer determinations indicate that misunderstandings exist amongst the majority of police services regarding honour systems (HMIC 2015). Interventions have represented a level of cultural insensitivity, through a reliance upon practice models which have not adequately considered minority cultural values (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008; IKWRO 2014; Dorjee et al. 2013). It has been suggested that the UK police service as an institution, has failed to acknowledge the vulnerabilities of FM victims (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008; IKWRO 2014; Dorjee et al. 2013). The concerns of a potential bias in discretionary intervention, draw parallels with Culture Conflict theory's suggestion that the mechanisms for the legal control of cultural values (i.e. the police service) tend to represent a particular values model (Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold 1958 Turk 1969). However, it is important to further elaborate upon the conflict of values which arises between the police officer and the subject during FM cases. It is therefore necessary to consider the literature which has explored the personal values and

beliefs of police officers, and how the representation of these values may establish a conflict during FM management.

2.10.3: Police attitudes

Numerous studies have explored the individual personalities of police officers and how specific traits can influence the management of crime (see Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994). The evidence suggests that whilst the link between police personal attitude and individual conduct is difficult to demonstrate (Waddington 1999), it can be suggested that police officers tend to be authoritarian, cynical, conservative, aggressive, courageous and suspicious (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994).

These characteristics can result in police officers interpreting crime in an overly simplistic manner, from a perspective whereby they perceive themselves to be 'fighting the good fight' (Reiner 1979; p161). This personal narrative, when combined with the character traits described above, can result in the 'black letter' of the law i.e. the literal interpretation of the legislation, having little influence upon a police officer's decision-making process (McBarney 1981; p5). These factors lead to scenarios whereby law enforcement becomes largely dependent upon the individual officer's personal interpretation of the crime (Reiner 1979). Turk's (1969) Culture Conflict model, aligns with this proposition. Turk (1969) suggested that when the values of the officer are in unison with the values of the law they seek to enforce, the interaction is likely to be heavy handed thus increasing the risk of conflict (P.55). It is not known whether the motives for criminalisation (i.e. the furthering of human rights agendas, and the eradication of harmful cultural practices (May 2015)), have interacted with the identified personal traits of the police officer i.e. conservativism, cynicism and authoritarianism (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner

2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994) and have influenced the management of FM and the treatment of associated communities.

Equipping officers to manage FM effectively requires procedures to be developed beyond the existing DV model (HMIC 2015). Government guidance provides a framework (HOPG 2014), however, current decentralisation enables police services to adopt their own approaches (HMIC 2015). A number of services have sought specialist training, usually by TSOs (see the work of IKWRO; Karma Nirvana and True Honour), however, it is unknown whether this training has counterbalanced any reliance upon assumptions arising from the police officers own cultural values set during FM interventions. Whether or not police-community interactions can establish intergroup conflict (Sunshine and Tyler 2003; (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971) through the police service representing the values of the majority cultural group (Bradford 2012; Tajfel and Turner 1979;) upon minority communities during FM management, requires consideration.

2.10.4: The legitimacy of the police

Upholding the law successfully depends upon the public perceiving the police as a legitimate organisation and subsequently choosing to cooperate with them (Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Bradford 2012). In modern Britain, up until the 1950s, the police were perceived as a legitimate organisation by the majority of the population, and were seen as a symbol of national pride (Reiner 1979; p53). This idolisation was the result of the police service being interpreted in terms of them representing the collective values of the population (Bradford 2012). The representation of values results in the police portraying a standard by which society is expected to adhere (Anderson 1983; Loader 2006). The police can uphold these values through the threat of criminalisation; however, to avoid conflict, public cooperation is preferable over assimilatory

enforcement (Tyler and Wakslack 2004; Sellin 1933). Accordingly, this values agreement and social cooperation, can only occur when the values the law represent are approved by, and perceived relevant within, an individual's personal values model (Tyler 2001; Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971).

Compliance is dependent upon police interventions being perceived as procedurally appropriate (Tyler and Huo 2002). When measures appear legitimate, citizens consequently believe that obeying the law is morally desirable, and in turn they are more likely to adopt the values the law represents, thus reducing the occurrence of the crime (Bradford 2012; Tyler and Huo 2002). Police legitimacy and a values compliance can only occur when suspects are treated with fairness and respect during the intervention process (Bradford and Jackson 2011; Murphy et al 2009). When a procedure affords the suspect dignity, and demonstrates consideration, perceptions of police legitimacy are upheld and the chances of conflict occurring is reduced (Mazerolle et al 2013). When the procedure lacks cultural relevancy and represents an unfair process, perceptions of police legitimacy are challenged and a conflict arises between the suspect and the police (Mazerolle et al 2013; Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971). Continued interventions, which represent unfair processes, can portray the police as discriminatory towards a particular social group (Mazerolle et al 2013; Bradford 2012). This targeted policing establishes intergroup conflict, because the minority population perceive the police service as unfairly enforcing the majority group's values upon them (Mazerolle et al 2013).

Obtaining legitimacy within FM management, becomes dependent upon police services appearing cultural relevant during interactions with FM associated groups. When fair procedure has been afforded to the minority population by the police service, individuals are likely to feel

accepted by the majority community and are consequently more likely to accede to the values upheld by the police officer, due to an inferred sense of belonging (Tafjal and Turner 1979; Bradford 2012). The existing literature indicates that the police service has intervened inappropriately in honour crimes, due to a lack of knowledge regarding the cultural intricacies of such offences (IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013). It is not known whether these concerns have also impacted upon the perceived legitimacy of the police to manage FM amongst these communities.

Acceptance to the majority group, portrayed via the police services fair treatment of minority communities, promotes intergroup inclusion and cohesion whilst also reducing intergroup conflict (Bradford 2012). The effective management of FM therefore becomes dependent upon practice measures displaying fairness and portraying a level of cultural relevancy (Bradford 2012; Wind-Cowie et al 2012). The recent evidence suggests substantial knowledge deficits exist amongst UK police services regarding the cultural nuances associated with FM (HMIC 2015). It therefore seems likely that these factors could have jeopardised interventions and FM approaches may have been perceived to be unfair by the minority communities. Police legitimacy and group inclusion focuses substantially upon personal singular interactions (Waddington 1999), however evidence has also suggested that inclusion can be promoted through institutional bureaucratic processes such as policy measures and management strategy (Ericson and Haggarty 1997).

The suggestion that deliberate processes can be undertaken to prevent a values conflict and to obtain legitimacy, aligns with the works of Vold and Bernard (1986) and Chambliss and Seidman (1971), and also advances the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists who have suggested that intergroup conflict is a natural phenomenon (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958). It is

unknown whether current FM measures, at both a policy and a practice level, remain uninfluenced by the discourse regarding incompatible Muslim cultural values (Begikhani et al 2010; Hussein 2013; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009). The nationwide shortfalls in FM management models and case study analysis, suggest that officer understanding and procedural interventions do not adequately consider cultural settings (IPCC 2008; HMIC 2015; IKWRO 2014). It is not known whether, in-line with the theoretical propositions of this thesis (Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986), current policing models for FM are founded upon processes that afford cultural consideration and actively seek to represent legitimate culturally balanced intervention procedures. Given this proposition, it is necessary to consider the literature surrounding the British policing of minority groups, to determine whether or not a values balance is provided in the policing of FM.

2.11: Values Balance

2.11.1: British policing of minority groups

The discourse surrounding perceptions of police legitimacy and the policing of minority groups are extensive areas. For the sake of clarity, and because this thesis has adopted an interdisciplinary approach, only the main topics applicable to FM management are discussed. In Britain, the legitimacy of the police service has been impacted by increasing levels of social diversity (Reiner 1976). It has been suggested that historically the police were perceived to represent the values of the majority population, however immigration following the Second World War, witnessed the emergence of racial tension in response to increased heterogeneity (Reiner 1976). During this period, a number of key incidents resulted in the values of the police service and their approaches towards minority communities coming under scrutiny.

2.11.1.2: Scarman to Macpherson, and the Implications for FM Management

A series of race riots and violent incidents occurred throughout the 1980s and the 1990s which highlighted concerns regarding perceptions of legitimacy towards the police service amongst immigrant populations (Reiner 2010). Two high-profile public enquiries into the policing of minority communities ended the 'golden era' of British police legitimacy, whereby the police were no longer portrayed as representing a set of values which aligned with the majority of the public (Loader 1997; Weinberg 1995; Neal 2003). The first major instance which challenged the legitimacy of the police, and first witnessed accusations of police racism, was the 1981 Brixton riots. The Scarman Report (1981) published following the riots, suggested that in an attempt to reduce crime figures the Metropolitan police had systematically and repeatedly targeted members of the Black community, without sufficient grounds for suspicion. Tensions between the police and the minority population resulted in civil disorder when members of community violently clashed with the police in response to this unfair treatment (Scarman 1981; Reiner 1986; Neal 2003).

The Scarman report (1981) focused upon the discriminatory actions and policies of the Metropolitan police service, and how perceptions of illegitimacy towards the police service amongst minority populations can contribute to social disorder. The pivotal Stephen Lawrence inquiry (Bowling 1998), the second instance that challenged the Metropolitan police service's approach towards minority communities, highlighted how police inaction can fail to provide a fair service to ethnic minority groups and contributes to mistrust. The Macpherson report examining the Metropolitan police service's handling of the Stephen Lawrence murder, suggested that the police service was 'institutionally' racist, since they had failed to provide an

appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin (Macpherson 1999). The combination of these two major criticisms, whereby a police service could both actively discriminate through unfair practice and procedure, and inactively discriminate through a failure to provide an adequate service, highlight the central concerns regarding the policing of minority communities. To date, no research has explored these concerns in relation to the policing of FM.

The correlation between increased social diversity and challenges to perceptions of police legitimacy, draw parallels with Culture Conflict Theory. Cultural Conflict theory proposes that cultural diversity results in rising social conflict due to a lack of shared values between the legal institutions and members of minority groups (Sellin 1933). In order to reduce conflict a consideration and accommodation of minority cultural values within state measures should occur (Vold and Bernard 1986). Whilst criticisms have focused predominantly upon the Metropolitan police service's approaches towards Black minority communities, there is no literature available which examines the impact of police racism and illegitimacy amongst FM associated groups. This lack of research could be attributed to the fact that FM was only criminalised in 2014, and there is also minimal public awareness surrounding the policing of FM. The literature which has explored FM management by the police at a national level, indicates that the majority of police services have failed to acknowledge the risks associated with honour systems (IPCC 2008; HMIC 2015), and this in turn has increased the likelihood of culturally inappropriate interventions being deployed. Parallels can be drawn between this lack of cultural awareness (IPCC 2008; HMIC 2015) and the existing institutional racism literature (Bowling 1998; Macpherson 1999), since the shortcomings of the police service could arguably amount to a failure to provide an appropriate service towards FM associated minority groups. In order to determine whether or not the police service is able to provide a

level of cultural 'balance', thus reducing conflict and obtaining legitimacy during FM cases, an examination of the literature that has explored perceptions of legitimacy, the policing of Muslim communities, and the terrorism discourse is required.

2.11.2: Policing Muslim communities in Britain

2.11.2.1: The importance of Community Policing

Multicultural societies contain significant values variations, which influence police-community relations, by reducing the likelihood of the deployment of a consistent equitable approach towards all communities (Bradford 2012). Since the 1980s in the UK, state organisations including the police service, have sought the participation of Muslim communities within institutions and the formation of public policy (Vertovec 2002, Gilliat-Ray 2010, O'Toole et al. 2013). The literature indicates that this inclusion has increased since the 1990s, and the majority of police service engagement with Muslim groups has been in the form of community policing programmes (Jones and Newburn 2001, Bullock 2014; Smith 2002; Vertovec 2002; Hussain 2004; O'Toole et al. 2013; McFadyen and Prideaux 2011).

Community policing programs are often adopted to build relationships with local communities, demonstrate procedural fairness to, and obtain positive perceptions of legitimacy amongst minority populations; with the overall hope of achieving cooperation and improving relationships during the management of crime (Skogan, 1995; Greene and Mastrofski 1988; Sadd and Grinc 1996; Tyler 2008). Community policing is essential within socially diverse settings, because without local knowledge and the police service's recognition of cultural difference, police strategy enacts tactics and assumptions regarding the values and beliefs of minority cultures (Harcourt 2006). These assumptions can negatively impact intergroup relations when (due to a lack of awareness), the police service naturally promotes the unbalanced values

and behaviours affiliated with the majority cultural group over those of the minority population (Bradford 2012; Harcourt 2006).

2.11.2.2: Islamic Terrorism and Community Policing

Islamic terrorism has become a central issue within the community policing discourse and safeguarding programmes in particular the PREVENT agenda have been interpreted by Muslim minority communities as invasive, discriminatory and illegitimate (Spalek 2010; Jonathan-Zamir and Weisburd 2011; LaFree et al. 2009; Chakraborti 2007). Reviews of anti-terrorism policing measures draw parallels with existing concerns regarding the policing of minority communities, and the unfair targeting of specific groups (Scarman 1981; Reiner 1986; Neal 2003). The particular safeguarding strategies surrounding the counter-terrorism discourse have been criticised for racially targeting, marginalising, and unfairly disciplining 'suspect' Muslim populations (Hillyard 1993; Sivanandan 2006, Fekete 2004, Ansari 2005; Garland et al 2006; O'Toole et al 2016). An aim of community policing is to work collaboratively in the formation of policy and practice measures, however, the PREVENT agenda and counter terrorism measures have been criticised for failing to consult with these populations, and evidence indicates that Muslim communities have become suspicious of the police and view their measures as illegitimate (Briggs et al. 2006, Spalek and Imtoual 2007, Innes et al. 2011; Ragazzi 2016).

Studies have drawn similarities with the literature on police racism, wherein the police service have been found to systematically and repeatedly target minority cultural groups (Scarman 1981; Reiner 1986; Neal 2003). Research examining counter-terrorism measures has shown that there has been a 300 percent rise in stop and search practices since 2001 (BBC 2004; Poole and Richardson 2006), an increased CCTV surveillance of Muslim communities (Bonino 2012), and

police services appearing to align Asian ethnicity with terrorism (Spalek 2010; Kundnani 2006). PREVENT's emphasis on a multi-faceted strategy whereby all public bodies are responsible for monitoring at risk individuals and referring them to the safeguarding programme, has additionally resulted in unnecessary referrals made to police services by statutory workers who have misinterpreted the religious or cultural nuances of individuals from Muslim communities (Ragazzi 2016). This increased focus upon Muslim communities within government policy and policing strategy, has subsequently damaged the relationship between Muslim minority populations and the police (Garland et al 2006). It can therefore be argued that these injustices demonstrate the persistence and continuance of police institutional racism and the disproportionate targeting of minority groups (Ellis 2010; Bullock and Johnson 2018).

Critics of the terrorism discourse have also suggested that policing strategies have been perceived by Muslim populations to be unfair enactments of power (Garland et al 2006). This specific targeting through legislation and strategy has created a collective mistrust amongst Muslim citizens, who are said to be unwilling to engage with the police, because these communities view the police service as illegitimate and discriminatory (Bullock and Johnson 2018; Awan 2012; Hickman et al. 2012; Ragazzi 2016). It has been suggested that particular cultural nuances and social structures amongst South Asian communities emphasise friendship and relationship building, and thus have implications for counter-terrorism policing, which typically relies upon obtaining legitimacy through procedural fairness and operational effectiveness (see Quraishi 2005; Murray et al 2015 p.67). In the UK, because FM and terrorism are both predominantly associated with Muslim communities, and because there has been minimal relationship building between the police service and these minority communities, it therefore seems likely that the concerns arising from within the policing terrorism discourse (see Spalek 2010; Kundnani 2006; Bonino 2012), have also influenced the trust and confidence minority community members and victims have towards the police during FM interventions.

The evidence suggests that the policing of terrorism amongst Muslim communities has resulted in a values conflict (see Bullock and Johnson 2018; Awan 2012; Hickman et al. 2012; Ragazzi 2016). Proof of this conflict can be deduced from research which has demonstrated a collective mistrust of the police, a collective perceived illegitimacy towards the police, and a collective refusal to engage with the police service from these communities (Briggs et al. 2006, Spalek and Imtoual 2007, Innes et al. 2011; Bullock and Johnson 2018; Awan 2012; Hickman et al. 2012; Ragazzi 2016). These findings support the existing literature on institutional racism and also align with the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists who have suggested that a clash of cultural values can be demonstrated by a refusal to engage with police services, and an internalisation of the community's social problems (Sellin 1933; Turk 1969; Scarman 1981; Reiner 1986; Neal 2003; Bowling 1998; Macpherson 1999).

Culture Conflict theory supports the inclusion of minority groups in policing programmes to reduce conflict through a cultural values balance. Vold and Bernard's (1986) Culture Conflict model, aligns with the community policing models of the 1990s, whereby community consultation and citizen participation were sought out to prevent unfair policy and practice measures being enacted (Bullock and Johnson 2018). Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition also provides further support for the literature that suggests the police service should seek conflict reduction through relationship building amongst Muslim cultural groups (see Quraishi 2005; Murray et al 2015). However, the counter terrorism discourse has failed to provide consultation and subsequently a conflict, in the form of mistrust and a lack of engagement has emerged (Briggs et al. 2006, Spalek and Imtoual 2007, Innes et al. 2011; Bullock and Johnson 2018). It is not known whether these same concerns apply to the management of FM and if current approaches are influenced by a conflict of values. To date, no research has been conducted to determine how police services manage FM, whether or not police services seek the participation of Muslim citizens during the formation of FM measures, or whether concerns

regarding police racism are also applicable to the management of FM.

2.12: Conclusion and the need for further research

FM has only recently been criminalised, and there is scarce literature available that has explored the specific policing of FM within the UK. The available evidence has shown current policy and practice shortfalls (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008). Whether or not police officers risk procedural unfairness and deploy culturally inappropriate management models during interactions within suspected FM cases is unknown. UK police services currently adopt a decentralised approach with each individual service responsible for their management of FM. The majority of police services rely upon a DV model for FM management, and it is unknown whether these measures adequately prevent the stereotyping of communities and ensure FM interventions accord for values differences.

The underreporting of FM is a central issue (HMIC 2015) and identified motives for underreporting highlight the importance of trust and perceptions of legitimacy for victims (Biles & Braithwaite, 1979; Bowles et al. 2009; Hart & Colavito, 2011; Kaariainen & Siren, 2011; Skogan, 1976; Skogan 1984; Tarling & Morris, 2010). The degree to which measures are designed and implemented to increase trust and perceptions of legitimacy, and so encourage reporting, is however unclear. The detection of FM is reliant upon an individual officer's interpretation of the situation and their personal decision-making process (Goldstein 1960). It is unknown whether this discretionary process has resulted in the inappropriate handling of FM cases. How police officers interpret FM, and represent certain values to FM victims has not been researched, however, the literature that has explored police values gives cause for concern. This work (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994) indicates that

certain character traits are unanimous amongst police officers, and these personal values have the potential to impact the handling of FM. It is unknown whether the police service represents a legitimate approach towards FM amongst victims, however, the evidence suggests there has been little inclusion in the formation of policy and practice measures.

In order to manage FM appropriately, it is necessary for the police to portray a values balance to minority communities, thus gaining perceptions of cultural legitimacy. The discourse surrounding police racism indicates that perceptions of legitimacy have decreased due to the rising social diversity of recent years (Loader 1997; Weinberg 1995; Neal 2003). The terrorism discourse is predominantly associated with the UK Muslim population, and safeguarding measures have failed to afford any level of cultural values balance towards these communities. In previous years police services consulted with Muslim minority communities prior to the enactment of measures, however, this 'balance' of cultural values in the formation of measures is no longer apparent within the terrorism discourse (Jones and Newburn 2001, Bullock 2014; Smith 2002; Vertovec 2002; Hussain 2004; O'Toole et al. 2013; McFadyen and Prideaux 2011). It appears likely that the concerns arising from the policing of terrorism may have impacted the perceived legitimacy of police services to manage FM. The literature suggests that the cultural nuances of FM associated communities require greater consideration in community policing, because current approaches relied upon to obtain legitimacy from minority communities, may be founded upon culturally irrelevant ideals (Quraishi 2005; Murray et al 2015). Ultimately, research is required to determine how the police manage FM, and whether current measures are impacted by a conflict of cultural values.

Third sector management of FM

2.13: Values Differences

2.13.1: The role of the Third Sector

The third sector occupies a unique role within FM management. Third Sector Organisations (TSOs) are not obligated to enforce the criminal law against perpetrators of FM, and therefore their remits and objectives differ from those of the public sector. Globally, this sector develops and delivers welfare services beyond state remits and these organisations tend to provide specialist services for unique social issues (Alcock 2012; Meinhard and Foster 2003). National policies are developed centrally by governments and are generally more uniform in application, whereas TSOs are able to tailor their policies to local areas (Wind-Cowie et al 2012).

Working directly with vulnerable individuals and minority communities often results in third sector approaches becoming a driving force for social change (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 1992, p86). It has been argued that because these organisations can tailor their approaches to specific community settings, they are more likely than state organisations to be able to manage the unique cultural values differences associated with FM (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). This capacity to enact flexible strategies which are bespoke to their clientele, offers a major advantage over state services when working amongst minority cultural groups to manage FM (Wind-Cowie et al 2012).

Statutory services are legally required to uphold the criminal law and to follow the prescribed statutory guidance (see Section One of this chapter), however, TSO approaches differ. It can be suggested that the criminalisation of FM was a response to the values differences between FM associated Muslim minority communities and those of the majority cultural group. In-line

with the theoretical narrative, because TSOs are able to adopt a more nuanced tailored approach to FM than the public sector, it follows that they are less likely to be influenced by this conflict of values during the management of FM. However, there is no evidence available which has examined this.

2.14: Values Representation

2.14.1: Tailored approaches

The available data shows that the majority of FM cases involve women (FMU 2018). Male victims represent approximately 20% percent of known annual incidents (FMU 2018), subsequently, the majority of services within this area are provided by specialist women's organisations (for examples see the work of Karma Nirvana, the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Organisation (IKWRO) and Southall Black Sisters (SBS)). A women's organisation can be defined as a specific organisational model that identifies women's issues and applies a woman's solution (Riordan 2000, p64). Women's services are essential because they provide insight and awareness regarding specific social issues from a non-male, unbiased perspective (Lewis, 1994; Odendahl, 1994; O'Neill, 1994; Scott, 1990). The work of women's organisations tend to focus upon issues that impact vulnerable members of society, which are not often represented in the mainstream political focus. These include the social concerns of immigrant, refugee and minority communities (NAC 1996; Stewart & Taylor 1997; Yasmin, 1997; Myyry & Helkama, 2001; Riordan, 2000). The majority of TSOs involved in FM management adopt an approach that centers around helping service users access state-based services, and raising awareness of FM victims culturally specific needs (see the work of SBS, IKWRO, Halo Project, and True Honour).

The unbiased, gendered perspective of TSOs, sensitively represents the needs of FM victims and also supports the conflict reduction propositions of Culture Conflict theorists (Vold and Bernard 1986; Chambliss and Seidman 1971). However, it is unknown whether in practice, these organisations have the capacity to manage FM uninfluenced by the values conflict narrative presented in the socio-political discourse. Quinney (1970), proposed that an accurate, unbiased understanding of minority cultural values is essential in preventing the stereotyping of minority cultural values. Quinney (1970) argued that representing an unbiased approach in the management of crime would result in a reduction of conflict between the organisation and the individual. It is unknown whether or not TSOs have been influenced by the FM discourse and have therefore undergone a biased 'knowledge diffusion' process (Quinney 1970), which in-turn has impacted their capacity to manage FM. In order to further explore the values FM TSOs represent, a consideration of their funding arrangements and the expectations imposed upon them is required.

2.15: Values Balance

2.15.1: Funding Obligations and Expectations

TSOs are reliant upon funding from donations and financial arrangements with government bodies (Tandon 1992; Clark 1991; Hulme and Edwards 1992). Government funding is awarded to TSOs because they are able to engage with important social issues, which state organisations cannot achieve but are obligated to address (McGhee et al 2016; Tandon 1992; Clark 1991; Hulme and Edwards 1992). This relationship between TSOs and government funding is naturally susceptible to bias influence and bias expectation. Funding is typically awarded to a TSO for their cost efficiency, their capability to portray non-partisan agendas regarding social issues, their capacity to provide a specialist service, and their ability to obtain perceptions of legitimacy amongst hard to reach communities (McGhee et al 2016).

The relationship between funders and TSOs fluctuate between supply and demand motives (Clark 1991). Supply motives include the ability of TSOs to deliver services and assist state agendas, whereas demand motives concern the TSOs capacity to communicate specific community concerns to state bodies (Clark 1991). TSOs involved with FM management, deploy a dual approach i.e. they empower victims to benefit from state support (by aiding police interventions and helping service users gain access to legal recourse), whilst also delivering FM knowledge to governments organisations (i.e. training courses and insight that influence policy formation) (for examples see the work of Iranian Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO), Karma Nirvana, True Honour, and Southall Black Sisters (SBS)). The ideal working model between the state and the third sector, is the sharing of objectives and goals, which can be utilised by both institutions in response to specific social concerns (Clark 1991).

Goal sharing is the desired relationship between the state and the third sector, however, state motives and expectations often limit the organisational output of TSOs. This financial vulnerability and dependency upon state funding can influence their neutrality and capacity to provide a balanced approach within their organisational objectives (Chavesc et al. 2004; Craig et al 2004; McGhee et al. 2016). This reliance upon the state often results in specific conditions being imposed within funding arrangements, and so the outputs of TSOs naturally become vulnerable to state agendas (Chavesc et al. 2004; Craig et al 2004). A funding reliance requires TSOs to satisfy the criteria of their financers, whilst also representing the needs of their clients (Chavesc et al 2004; McGhee et al. 2016). This juxtaposition establishes a resource dependency whereby TSO criticism towards the state risks 'biting the hand that feeds' (McGhee et al. 2016; p.28; Chavesc et al, 2004: p295). The ability of these organisations to remain uninfluenced by state agendas in the delivery of their services, thus providing a balanced approach to their

service users, is therefore continuously impacted by their financial dependency (Salamon 1987; Saidel 1989). It is unknown whether or not the increased political focus upon the cultural values incompatibilities of FM associated cultures, and the need to further a human rights agenda amongst these associated populations, has in turn influenced the funding obligations for TSOs.

The concerns surrounding political expectation highlights how conflicting intentions could complicate the relationship between TSOs and the state. The differing forms of financial funding also impose a varied level of obligation, with contractual work specifying strict outcomes and expectations, whereas grants provide TSOs with a level of anonymity (McGhee et al 2016). These contractual arrangements are further complicated by the size of the organisation, and the correlation between size and bargaining ability (McGhee et al 2016). Small scale TSOs, in contrast to larger organisations are less likely to be able to negotiate the terms of arrangement and are therefore less able to retain their autonomy and remain critical of state policy (McGhee et al 2016).

The complexities described above have important implications for the relationship between FM TSOs and the state. A review of the leading organisations attitudes prior to the criminalisation of FM indicates that a number of these TSOs were opposed to criminalisation and were critical of the proposed FM statutory guidance (IKWRO 2011; IKWRO 2016; SBS 2015; SBS 2016). However, despite the fact that these concerns were not addressed in the legislation, a post-criminalisation review of these same organisations suggests that they are now supportive and encouraging of these statutory measures (IKWRO 2016; SBS 2015; SBS 2016; Julios 2015). In-light of the fluctuating approaches of leading FM TSOs towards criminalisation, it remains unclear what capacity the third sector has to remain critical of and autonomous from state aims. An application of Turk's (1969) Culture Conflict model for FM

management implies that the prevention of harmful cultural values and practices depends upon the adoption of a consistent approach across management organisations. Inconsistent and unorganised approaches are more likely to result in measures establishing conflict, and the harmful practice continuing (Turk 1969). It is not known whether the varying attitudes of TSOs towards criminalisation, provides support for Turk's (1969) proposition and this variation has impacted their capacity to manage FM in a culturally appropriate manner.

Relationship tensions between TSOs and the state arise when the state inexpertly determines itself to be representative of vulnerable social groups (Clark 1991). Whether or not the socio-political discourse's emphasis upon the liberation of victims from oppressive cultural settings (Dobbernack and McGhee 2013; Prins and Slijper 2002; Said 1978; Ho 2007; Morton 2007; Filler 2002) has influenced these organisations' capacities to remain impartial and provide an unbiased approach to victims has not been identified. The political motives for criminalisation were to further a human rights agenda, end harmful practices and free victims from oppressive cultures (May 2014; Chand 2014) however, it is not known if, through their working arrangements, TSOs are required to accommodate potentially unbalanced assimilatory sentiments within their management strategies.

2.15.2: TSO Location

Organisational capacity and location also influence the funding FM TSOs receive. Smaller organisations typically located outside of the UK's major cities, work predominantly within the domestic violence (DV) sphere, and these organisations may not be able to provide specialist FM services because of resource limitations (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). TSOs working within this sphere tend to focus upon issues which impact a small sub-section of society and

are therefore more likely to be underfunded and understaffed in comparison to larger organisations with a more mainstream focus (Karl 1995; Perlmutter, 1994; Riordan, 2000).

FM occurs across many cultural groups, however, its association with the Muslim community in the UK presents a number of unique concerns. FMs location outside of the mainstream TSO discourse means that these organisations face a number of specific limitations exclusive to Black Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) TSOs (Herman and Jacobs 2015). It has been suggested that most TSOs tend to work within a framework that naturally reflects the majority group's perspectives and cultural norms, which is problematic for BAME TSOs (Nayak 2012). When funding is dependent on the prevalence of a social issue, then naturally, concerns which impact only a small minority of the population are less likely to receive funding (Bradshaw et al 1996; Riordan 2000; Wind-Cowie et al 2012). This restrictive arrangement negatively impacts the work of BAME TSOs. During financial negotiations with their funders, TSO bargaining capacity is often reduced to a 'box-ticking' exercise, which frequently results in minimal funding being awarded (Bradshaw et al 1996; Riordan 2000). In turn, these funding shortfalls result in the provision of limited services to vulnerable individuals from minority populations (Bradshaw et al 1996; Riordan 2000). It is not known whether organisations involved with FM management encounter these unique struggles due to their work amongst BAME communities.

The autonomy of BAME TSOs involved with FM management is also vulnerable to the unique difficulties that have arisen from the social diversity discourse. Ware (2013) suggests that the changing political attitude towards immigration; from integration to assimilation, from multiculturalism to cohesion, and most recently to preventing Islamic extremism, has resulted in inconsistent funding opportunities for BAME TSOs. Inconsistent funding levels have been detrimental to the services these organisations provide for minority populations (Ware 2015).

Ware (2015) reports that the majority of research regarding BAME TSOs has focused upon inner city organisations, and thus has failed to acknowledge rural organisational struggles. Urban BAME TSOs are more likely to receive substantial support from their financers because they have a higher number of service users, thus their capacity to provide a culturally nuanced balanced approach is increased (Ware 2015). Rural organisations however, whilst providing an essential service to vulnerable minority groups, have such limited funding that often their sole organisational objective is to remain open (Ware 2015). There is no evidence available that has examined whether the objectives of FM TSOs are impacted by both the changing political discourse to immigration and organisational location.

The literature suggests that the capacity for FM organisations to provide a nuanced culturally balanced approach is susceptible to the agendas and aims of the state, due to their organisational structures and funding vulnerabilities (Wind-Cowie et al 2012; Karl 1995; Perlmutter, 1994; Riordan, 2000). There is however, no evidence available that has explored the degree an assimilatory attitude regarding Modern British values (Dobbernack and McGhee 2013; Prins and Slijper 2002; Said 1978; Ho 2007; Morton 2007; Filler 2002) has influenced the impartiality and independence of TSO service provision. TSOs work amongst social groups the state cannot easily access (McGhee et al 2016; Tandon 1992; Clark 1991; Hulme and Edwards 1992; FMU 2018), therefore, the extent political obligations and funding expectations have reduced victim reporting, by portraying TSOs as part of the state and being potentially unsympathetic towards minority cultural values requires consideration. No research has determined whether the aims of the state influence the work of TSOs responsible for FM management. Funding is a central issue for FM management, however, strategies also require TSOs to work with the statutory services to provide victim support, and this interdependency can prove to be problematic. The relationship between TSOs and external management

organisations therefore requires examination, to identify how interagency working may influence the approaches of TSOs, and to highlight how a conflict of values might occur due to these organisations reduced capacity to provide a 'cultural balance' (Vold and Bernard 1986; Chmabliss and Seidman 1971).

2.15.3: Interagency Working

Criminalisation of FM arose from the need to protect human rights, abolish harmful cultural practices and advance a liberal values agenda (May 2015; Chand 2015). Whether or not the working relationship between TSOs and statutory services has been influenced by this rhetoric is unknown. Domestic violence TSOs and specific FM TSOs are likely to be process-orientated, democratic, information sharing organisations because of the specialist gendered work they undertake (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener 1990; Rosner 1995). These organisations are more likely to prioritise cooperative working models that are tailored to local areas, in preference to objective assimilatory nationwide strategies (Walters et al 1998). It is unclear if TSOs are able to deploy a subjective localised approach to FM management, when the political discourse has portrayed FM associated communities to be incompatible with Modern British values (Begikhani et al 2010; Hussein 2013; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009; Dobbernack and McGhee 2013).

Criminalisation of FM was deemed to be necessary because of the deterrent impact of the criminal law (Proudman 2014; Amen 2014) and although TSOs were consulted prior to criminalisation (HO 2012), critics have suggested that penalising culturally specific crimes often fails to be effectively translated at a local level (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). Creating the criminal offence of FM burdens statutory agencies with a legal responsibility to protect victims, therefore, logically a balanced specialist insight (provided by TSOs) regarding the cultural

nuances of local communities is required for the law to be successfully upheld (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). A number of organisations provide training for and promote awareness amongst the statutory agencies involved with FM management (for example, see the training offered by IKWRO, SBS, and Karma Nirvana to schools and police services). TSOs may be able to provide unique insight into FM, however, statutory services are not legally required to consult with these organisations. No research has explored whether statutory agencies commonly cooperate with, or implement the recommendations of TSOs working within their local areas during the management of FM.

Research prior to criminalisation indicated that the successful implementation of past FM legislation could be achieved by collaborative working between TSOs and statutory services (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). Prior FM management approaches which were delivered by TSOs focused upon community consultation, the recognition of cultural values, and the importance of education (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). Research suggests that these culturally balanced interventions encouraged victim reporting, established rapport amongst minority communities, and reduced FM occurrence rates (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). This collaborative approach also sought to educate minority communities about the law, whilst also teaching statutory workers about the cultural nuances of FM associated communities (e.g. honour systems and social hierarchies) (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). This approach complements the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists (Vold and Bernard 1986), and helped establish a level of consistency across the statutory services whilst also effectively translating the law into a localised culturally sensitive format. However, this research was conducted prior to the criminalisation of FM, and it is therefore unknown whether such an approach, which seeks a cultural balance in line with the Culture Conflict narrative (Vold and Bernard 1986), is currently utilised.

2.16: Conclusion and the need for further research

Reducing an intergroup conflict during FM management appears to require extensive TSO input. Criminalisation of FM was motivated by the need to assimilate cultural groups whose behaviours and beliefs do not align with Modern British Values (May 2015). It is not known whether TSOs also portray this assimilatory agenda towards minority communities during their management of FM. The TSO role, by relying upon cultural recognition to engage hard to reach groups, supports Cultural Conflict theory's central proposition of 'balance' (Vold and Bernard 1986). However, expectations and funding obligations impose a level of resource dependency between the state and the organisation (McGhee et al. 2016; Chavesc et al, 2004), which restricts the role and aims of the third sector. It is unknown whether these limitations have impacted the capacity of TSOs to represent a balance of cultural values during FM management, and have thus prevented the occurrence of an intergroup values conflict.

The degree organisations are obliged to uphold the aims and values of the state appears troublesome when the discourse surrounding Muslim cultural values incompatibilities is considered (Begikhani et al 2010; Hussein 2013; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Ignatieff 2004; Day and Vanidiver 2004; Hudson 2009). TSOs involved within the FM sphere tend to work within a gendered framework, and consequently their influence upon the political discourse and the state's management of FM may be limited (Wind-Cowie et al 2012; Karl 1995; Perlmutter, 1994; Riordan, 2000). The evidence suggests that criminalisation requires the use of TSOs to educate and afford recognition to FM associated communities, thus preventing intergroup conflict by avoiding the use of an assimilatory approach against minority cultural groups (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Wind-Cowie et al 2012). However, at present, there is scarce evidence available that indicates whether an educational approach to FM management has been used. Previous interagency approaches have presented

issues for FM management, particularly in relation to knowledge deficits and culturally inappropriate responses (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008). Deploying TSOs to educate statutory services may be necessary to help effectively translate political agendas and state aims into practice, whilst also reducing the likelihood of intergroup conflict (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). There is little evidence available that has examined the third sector management of FM, therefore, research is required to determine how TSOs manage FM and whether they are influenced by a conflict of cultural values.

2.17: Research questions

To explore how FM is managed under the new legislation, its management by the police service and the third sector, three research questions were developed under the theoretical framework of Culture Conflict theory. The three research questions are:

1. How has criminalisation influenced the management of FM and are current measures impacted by a conflict of cultural values?

2. How are the police managing FM, and are they influenced by a conflict of cultural values?

3. How are TSOs managing FM and are they influenced by a conflict of cultural values?

Chapter 3: Research Framework and Research Methods

3.1: Chapter overview

The research deployed a qualitative approach that was reliant upon a case study methodology. The methods selected for the research included semi-structured in-depth interviews and the collection of documentary evidence. The chapter begins with a discussion surrounding the qualitative approach in relation to the thesis. The chapter then considers the rationale for choosing the case study methodology, including the specific advantages and disadvantages of this approach, and the justifications for selecting the instrumental case study method theorised by Stake (1995 & 2003). The selected case study area is then described and a rationale for the chosen area is given. Selecting the sample and obtaining access to the group are next addressed along with the process used for obtaining participant consent. The chapter then discusses the data collection procedure and the chosen analysis methods. The chapter concludes with a reflection upon the overall research process.

3.2: The adoption of a qualitative approach

A qualitative approach was selected due to its capacity to explore issues wherein there exists little current awareness, and for its ability to develop or extend social theory (Patton 1980). This approach enables interpretative enquiry and facilitates the development of explanations founded upon a practitioner's understandings from within their social contexts (Bryman 2004). An interpretive approach also helps facilitate the examination of 'culturally derived and historically situated interpretations regarding the social world' (Crotty 2003: p67). Therefore, because research examining practitioner's views and perceptions regarding forced marriage (FM) management models are currently scarce, it was anticipated that a qualitative research model would enable an in-depth exploration of current processes and practices.

3.2.1: Case study approach

In order to qualitatively research the proposed theoretical narrative, a case study approach was selected. Case study methodology is appropriate when multiple variables of interest (over which the researcher has little control) are present or, where the boundaries between phenomenon and context lack clarity (Yin 2003). In essence, a case study attempts to illuminate a decision (or decision set), to determine how the decisions were implemented, why they were taken, and the results they have established (Schramm 1971). This thesis explores the approaches adopted by practitioners to manage a specific social and cultural issue (FM), which in accordance with Yin (1994) necessitates the adoption of the case study approach to collect data from a specified sample within a unique chosen area. Although the case study methodology is suitable for researching FM management, a consideration of the methodology's advantages and limitations is required.

3.2.2: Methodological advantages

The case study methodology is relevant for social science research, where in-depth explanations of social behaviour are required (Zainal 2007). The ability for investigators to explain causal links in real life contexts, which remain too complex for quantitative design to capture is a significant advantage of case study research (Yin 1994). It was felt that adopting a case study methodology would enable an exploration of, and gain an understanding into, the approaches adopted by practitioners within their practice settings to manage FM.

3.2.3: Overcoming the methodological limitations

The research findings are naturally dependent upon the context within which the study has been conducted and the researcher's own presence, consequently another researcher could not

replicate the process or arrive at the same conclusions (Guba and Lincoln 1989). Naturally, the reliability and trustworthiness of the data and the subsequent research conclusions become questionable. However, the extent to which a reader can be confident that a study has been reliably conducted can be judged by three criteria: credibility, transferability and dependability (Guba and Lincoln 1989).

During the research process credibility emerged through a) the collection of large amounts of interview data and documentary evidence, this subsequently led to the production of a 'thick' description regarding the case study, b) the triangulation of data sources i.e a 'snowball' approach (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981) enabled the identification and inclusion of the full range of stakeholders, as described in the multi-agency practice and statutory guidelines (Home Office 2014), within the sample and, c) a rigorous data analysis process. This process included 'member validation' (Sandelowski 1993), whereby emerging themes were presented back to three participants who confirmed the accuracy of the research. The analysis process also involved regular discussions with the student's supervisors, regarding four interview transcripts and the overall thematic structure arising from the data analysis. Furthermore, data analysis progressed until saturation occurred, whereby later interview data could be categorised within the existing coding framework without needing to add additional codes (Fusch and Ness 2015). Implementing these processes reduced the bias and subjectivity that can arise when analysing large quantities of data (Yin 1994).

The researcher had little control over the credibility of a participant's contributions, however the experiences depicted would hopefully be credible to those involved. Extensive data gathered a 'thick' description of the case study area; therefore, the results should provide enough contextual information to make it possible for a reader to judge the possibility of

transferability of the findings. Finally, the dependability of the findings can be judged on the auditability of the research (Sandelowski 1986). Accurate reliable audibility materialises when there is a clear trail of the study's progress; this ensures a reader can clearly follow the study's progression and can understand the logic behind the decision-making process (Sandelowski 1986:34). A full description of the research process has been provided, therefore the reader should be able to understand the logic behind the research process, and the findings of the study should be considered dependable.

3.2.4: Case study typology and the selected approach

There lacks consensus regarding case study design and the subsequent research process. Leading theorists have promoted distinct variations in method (see Stake 1995 and Yin 1994), whereas later approaches have amalgamated existing works to propose hybrid models reliant upon the advantages of these main approaches (see Merriam 1998). The desire to study the influence of a cultural values conflict upon professionals working for organisations within a single geographical area, provided a theoretical underpinning most suitably managed by an 'instrumental' case study design. An instrumental case study seeks to gain insight regarding a phenomenon, whereby it has been anticipated before the research was undertaken, that the collected data could aid the development or testing of social theory (Stake 1995 and Stake 2003). The literature review proposed that a conflict of cultural values may influence the management of FM, therefore this theoretical proposition justified the adoption of the instrumental case study method. Yin (2003) (the leading counter-theorist) supports researchers who choose the instrumental case study method when the purpose of their study is to 'confirm, challenge, or extend existing theory' (p.40).

3.2.5: Instrumental case study requirements

The case study methodology requires a strict adherence to established processes in order to ensure academic rigour during the data collection phase. Yin (2003) suggests adopting methodical pre-planned tactics prior to designing a case study, wherein specific stages should include: identifying study questions, identifying research propositions, identifying units of analysis, establishing the logical linking between data and theoretical proposition and establishing criteria for interpreting the findings (Yin 2003). In order to fulfil these requirements Yin (2003) recommends undertaking a literature review surrounding the chosen topic before beginning the case study. However, whilst such rigidity helps ensure credible and reliable findings, this approach allows minimal margins for adjustment once data collection has begun (Yazan 2015).

Contrary to Yin (2002), Stake (1995) supports adaptability whilst conducting case study research. Stake (1995) believes researchers should be able to amend strategies whilst conducting a study, because flexibility grants researchers the capacity to 'tease out the problems of the case' (p16-17). Although Stake (1995) proposes adaptability, he recommends developing evolved questions or topic guides to direct the data collection process (p20). Stake's (1995) approach (perhaps less cumbersome in comparison to Yin's (2002) proposed strategy), advocates for case study researchers to organise the data collection stage methodically to 'prevent getting stuck later in the process' (Yazan 2015: p141). Both the approaches of Yin (2002 and 2003) and Stake (1995) complemented this study's aims, however, because no previous case study research had been undertaken that had explored FM management, an approach that supported the works of both Yin (2002 and 2003) and Stake (1995) was required to ensure reliable and timely data collection.

Responding to the contrasting opinions regarding case study design, Merriam (1998) promotes a generalised strategy which combines these existing works. Merriam (1998) suggests key stages for case study design must include: A literature review, a theoretical framework proposal, research problem identification, established research questions and identified sample selection. Merriam's model (1998) provided an appropriate framework for the thesis because her strategy complements the rigour associated with Yin's (2002) procedure, whilst also supporting the flexibility and relative adaptability of Stake's (1995) model. Merriam's (1998) design also complemented the processes undertaken prior to the research phase wherein a theoretical narrative was established, literary shortcomings were determined, questions were formed and the case study area identified. Subsequently, Merriam's (1998) model was adhered to whilst collecting research data through an instrumental case study (Stake 1995 and 2003) of the chosen area.

3.2.6: Context and case study location

The study's purpose was to explore the current models for FM management enacted by organisations within a diverse cultural setting where FM was likely to occur. The research aimed to gather data exploring whether or not a cultural values conflict between minority and majority cultural values existed and influenced FM management. Therefore, in order to investigate this proposition an area where there was likely to be a cultural values conflict was chosen.

The geographical location selected for the instrumental case study was a town in South East England. The area was selected for several reasons. Firstly, although FM is not affiliated to specific religions or cultural groups (Pope 2012), statistical data has found UK cases to predominantly occur within Muslim communities (Foreign & Commonwealth Office and

Home Office 2018). Census data indicates that the chosen town accommodates a Muslim population three times greater than any other South East region, and, at 14% is 10% higher than the average South Asian Muslim population within other surrounding towns. Secondly, although FM is not associated with specific cultural or religious groups (Pope 2012), evidence indicates South Asian (i.e. Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian) communities manifest the highest incidence rates (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015). The case study area displays a higher than average South Asian grouping and current estimates suggest a concentration of 12%, in comparison to the UK national average of 7.8% (Office for National Statistics 2011). These factors legitimised the chosen study location and provided suitability for the research. Due to participant anonymity concerns (discussed below) the exact location of the study cannot be revealed.

3.3: Sample selection and access

The research questions sought to collect data relating to specific interdependent sample groups responsible for managing FM within the chosen area. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of FM management, sample selection was deliberately broad to reflect and accurately portray the case study area. Access to the sample was obtained through correspondence with known gatekeepers within these organisations. Initially, the Director for a local community cohesion group (at which the researcher had previously attended several meetings), was contacted via an email whereby the aims of the project were described and an information sheet attached. This was followed-up by a telephone conversation with the Director in which further information about the project was provided. The Director put the researcher in touch with practitioners that he believed would be appropriate to contact about the study.

In addition, contact was made with the area's police service, local third sector organisations (TSOs), and other relevant bodies via contact details provided on each organisation's website. This approach led to the identification of police officers involved in FM management, appropriate individuals in TSOs, and specialist legal practitioners. The 'snowballing' sampling method (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981) was used to identify further individuals within wider fields relating to FM management. This wider sample were contacted by email, with the previous interview participant being copied into the recruitment email, to act as a gatekeeper and to establish familiarity. This approach helped gain access to educators, PREVENT strategy coordinators, and health/social care professionals working within the case site area.

3.3.1: Obtaining informed consent

All potential participants who were interested in being interviewed were sent an information sheet and provided with an opportunity to discuss the project with the researcher. Potential interviewees were also reassured that the study focus would be upon professional experience, therefore deliberately reducing any risk of secondary victimisation and the divulgence of personal information. All those who agreed to participate completed a consent form and either posted, handed, or emailed this back to the researcher prior to their interview. Interviews were delivered either face to face or over the telephone at a location and time suitable for both the interviewee and the interviewer, with the majority being held at the interviewee's place of work. Interviews were audio-recorded and both a dictaphone and a recording application on the researcher's mobile phone were used to reduce the risk of data corruption or loss.

3.4: Semi-structured interviews: Data collection and analysis

3.4.1: The interview schedule

Reviewing existing literature enabled a theoretical narrative to evolve, which helped to establish specific topics for exploration during the in-depth semi-structured interviews. The current organisational models for FM management have encountered difficulties (Amen 2014; IKWRO 2014; Proudman 2014; HMIC 2015) therefore, these approaches required examination. The literature review chapters considered the conflict of values FM presents, and the influence a possible intergroup values conflict may have upon the organisations responsible for FM management. The theoretical narrative proposed that culturally diverse societies witness a values conflict when organisations involved in crime intervention seek to represent the majority cultural group's values during the management of particular social issues (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). When public policy and subsequent practice measures represent a 'balance' of cultural values, the likelihood that the minority population will perceive these organisations and their approaches as legitimate, (and a conflict is prevented, and the social issue managed) is increased (Vold and Bernard 1986). There is currently no research exploring FM management within this theoretical scope, and therefore, the research was dependent upon the collection of in-depth, rich data specifically relating to the case study area.

The interview topic guides aimed to gather data that accurately reflected the case study area, whilst also exploring the theoretical narrative. Culture Conflict theory (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986) was explored by examining the participant's interpretations regarding FM affiliated cultures, and their views on controlling illiberal group values, assimilating these values and criminalising FM. The concepts of balance and conflict reduction were explored by seeking to elicit participant's views on the relevancy of their organisational measures, the inclusion of minority groups in the formation of measures, ideal working models, and the cultural sensitivity of

current practice models. Practitioners abilities to afford an in-depth consideration towards minority cultural values was examined by exploring individuals' experiences of current procedures, their use of local knowledge regarding the case study area, what measures were being implemented to obtain perceptions of legitimacy in their work, how they believed current measures were being perceived by FM associated communities and the extensiveness of aftercare for survivors.

The theoretical narrative was also incorporated within topics unique to each organisation. In relation to TSOs, questions were designed to explore how organisations were run, the political influences upon these organisations, their resource limitations and their funding expectations. Questions regarding the effectiveness and perceived relevancy of the criminal law were asked to practitioners burdened by the recent statutory amendments (HO 2014). All practitioners were asked for their perceptions regarding the cultural relevancy of the recent legal measures, to determine whether or not they felt criminalisation in its current form could effectively manage FM. Interviews with police officers included topics relating to crime underreporting and the accurate determination of offences, discretionary intervention and officer consistency in relation to reported FM cases, police legitimacy and the role of racism and bias. By extensively covering both the theoretical narrative and the topics unique to each organisation/approach, the research procedure sought to accurately reflect the current management models used, and sought to gather an insight into the professional experiences of participants involved with FM management.

3.4.2: Participants

Overall 21 participants from various organisations were interviewed for the study, they comprised of:

- Five police officers (including response officers, inspectors, and neighbourhood police officers).

- One solicitor specialising in forced marriage and victim repatriation.

- One local government strategic coordinator for community cohesion and counter-terrorism.

- Four third sector workers (including directors of charities specialising in honour crime, counsellors for FM victims, anti-trafficking specialists and immigration caseworkers).

- Four teachers working in schools within the case study site (including senior management, heads of years, and child safeguarding leads).

- One child safeguarding specialist working within a local college.

- Three health care workers (working in community health, diversity training, family planning and general practice).

- Two social services workers (including a manager of a vulnerable persons safeguarding department, and a specialist in identifying the capacity to consent amongst vulnerable individuals).

3.4.3: Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed following the meeting with the participant. The transcription process involved uploading the audio file into the transcription software Express Scribe. The transcripts were then analysed in Nvivo 11 using the Framework analysis method (Ritchie and Spencer 1994) to enable reliable, accurate and timely data examination. The framework analysis method helped to establish key themes, concepts and patterns emerging from the interview data (Ritchie and Spencer 1994; Ritchie and Lewis 2003). Framework analysis was selected because it reliably organises 'raw' data into themes and sub-themes relating to the

original propositions of the thesis and records the analysis into a data matrix wherein rows and columns indicate separate cases for consideration in the research findings and study outputs (Ritchie and Lewis 2003).

In order to reduce researcher bias when creating themes, following a strict procedure is essential. Initially, the interview transcripts were read to gain a familiarity with the collected data. Established guidance (see Ritchie and Lewis 2003), which recommends the analyst bear in mind the research objectives and considers the profile of the data sample, participant characteristics, and the data's diversity was followed during this process. This initial procedure identified potential shortcomings and highlighted any over-emphasis upon researcher bias by remaining true to the original meaning of the text (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). Once data familiarisation has been undertaken the analyst is obliged to establish a conceptual framework by combining emergent data themes with the pre-identified categories used during the fieldwork stage. Consequently, an initial conceptual framework was established by combining the primary case study findings and the research propositions used for the topic guide formation. Following this analysis an impartial review of the findings was undertaken to ensure that the data could not be 'bullied' to match pre-determined ideals (Ritchie and Lewis 2003: p.257). By adhering to the framework analysis method, it maintained researcher reliability, and therefore the findings could potentially be deployed in a wider context i.e. enabling the contribution to theory or amending existing social policy.

3.5: Documentary evidence: Data collection and analysis

3.5.1: Gathering documentary evidence and analysis of sample selection

Throughout the research process documentary evidence was collected to support the claims made by interview participants. During the interview procedure the researcher specifically

requested the details of any documents which had been referred to by the practitioner. All participants were willing to share available details providing they were not restricted, for example documents referring to classified safeguarding strategies and crime prevention tactics were not collected. Documents were predominantly provided in hardcopy following the interview or an electronic copy was emailed to the researcher, however where documents were not obtained through these avenues, instructions were offered to ensure the researcher could obtain access using the internet.

Where a general reference to training material occurred during the interview process, internet searches were undertaken to identify this training material. An example being the repeated reference by police officers to TSO FM training materials, which were unavailable at the time of interview. An internet search revealed specific training had been provided by TSOs, and example packages were available in the public domain. Similar situations occurred during the interviews with practitioners involved with child safeguarding. These practitioners made repeated reference to free government safeguarding courses, available via an e-learning package. This online course was accessed and undertaken by the researcher thus leading to the identification of further documentary evidence.

Documents analysed included: training programme materials, outreach work materials (e.g. educational materials and presentations), risk assessment and identification reports (e.g. victim questionnaires and reference guides for frontline practitioners), local area research reports (e.g. demography work, and social cohesion reports), government training documents and strategy guidelines (e.g. official practice guidance and Home Office materials), interagency referral documents (e.g. multiagency strategy guidance) and victim support materials (e.g. aftercare documents).

3.5.2: Content analysis of selected documentary evidence

Content analysis was undertaken with the supporting documentary evidence to identify specific themes from within the text. The researcher's aim in document analysis is to 'mine' the material for recurrent patterns or themes, which support findings from previously obtained resources (e.g. interview data) (Wesley 2010). Due to the subjective interpretation qualitative content analysis imposes, a strict procedure is required to aid accurate enquiry. Established consensus (Altheide, 1996; Morse and Richards, 2002; Neuman and Robson, 2007; Richards, 2005) for achieving rigour in qualitative content analysis was followed, whereby initial materials were reviewed to gain familiarity and identify broadly recurrent patterns. Secondly, a coding procedure was undertaken where interconnected themes were identified and recorded. Finally, the data was reviewed to reduce discrepancies and ensure accuracy in the findings, thus establishing a rigorous thematic analysis process (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane 2006).

Content analysis becomes a viable method for exploring predetermined hypotheses due to its non-reactive nature (Neuman 2006). However, to ensure accuracy and prevent any bias towards the predetermined narrative, the process was undertaken assuming no such theoretical evidence existed, therefore removing the burden from the reader to deduce the viability of conclusions and placing liability upon the analyst to support arising claims via data extraction and rigorous procedure (Becker 1998; Esterberg 2002; Berg 2004). For the content analysis to reliably explore the theoretical framework and to support the interview findings, the procedure sought to explore specific wording, phrases or sentiments relating to: the criminalisation procedure, intervention processes, cultural insight, knowledge regarding offender motive, and measurements used to review successful practice procedures and provide victim aftercare.

The interview data and documentary evidence were analysed separately but within the same time frame. Interview analysis was informed by the analysis of the documentary evidence. This concurrent analysis of both the interview data and the documentary evidence allowed for the examination of consistency within the findings of both data sets. Analysing the documentary evidence provided a further point of reference for consistency and validity checking within the analysis of the interview data. This ongoing and iterative process whereby the findings emerging from each of the datasets were compared and contrasted, therefore, confirmed the accuracy and validity of the findings (Braun and Clarke 2006; Sandelowski 1995) and offered an accurate holistic portrayal of FM management within the case study area.

3.6: Data triangulation

The case study approach promotes the collection of data from multiple sources and also recognises the significance and uniqueness of a study's context (Denzin 2006). When two or more methods examine one phenomenon simultaneously or sequentially they confirm the data's reliability, and this triangulation ensures the findings accurately reflect the case study area (Denzin 2006).

The major advantage with data triangulation is the capability to 'overcome the intrinsic bias which arises from single method, single observer, single theory studies' (Denzin 1970; p300). Data triangulation helps ensure quality in the research and prevents researcher bias from influencing the findings (Stake 1995). Triangulating the data also provides greater insight and affords a contextual reflection for the unit(s) studied (Jick 1979). The research collected data from multiple data sources (including interviews with key stakeholders and documentary evidence), and analysing stakeholder interview data alongside documentary evidence helped

determine the consistency of findings emerging from the dataset. This iterative process, whereby the interview findings were compared with the documentary evidence permitted reliable data triangulation (Braun and Clarke 2006; Sandelowski 1995). Consequently, the accuracy of findings across interviews was confirmed and a more holistic portrayal of the phenomenon under study was provided.

3.7: Ethical issues

3.7.1: Ethical approval

Prior to the research being undertaken a proposal of the project was submitted to the University of Southampton's Ethics and Research Governance Online (ERGO) system. The proposal included an Ethics application form (Appendix N) which provided a background to the research and the rationale behind the study. Participant information sheets for sample recruitment were also included (Appendix L), alongside templates for recruitment emails and letters (Appendix K). Consent forms were submitted, therefore ensuring a record of participants giving full and informed consent for the interview could be kept. An interview schedule template was provided so that the Ethics committee were familiar with the research process (Appendix O). Finally, a risk assessment form (Appendix P) form was completed to demonstrate that plans were in place should an incident arise. Once full ethical approval had been obtained, the research process commenced.

3.7.2: Data storage

Following each interview, the recording was uploaded onto the researcher's laptop and password protected. Hard copies of documentary evidence gathered during the interviews were stored in a locked draw at the researcher's address, whereas electronic copies were stored in a

password protected folder on the researcher's computer. This procedure ensured the University of Southampton's research requirements and regulations were adhered to.

3.7.3: Ensuring participant anonymity

FM is a controversial and sensitive topic and it was recognised that certain participants may have had first-hand experience, and may also work directly with survivors. However, the research did not seek to explore a survivor's experience, but rather the process sought to collect organisational level perspectives regarding FM management. Focusing on professional management approaches therefore minimised divergence into personal experience and ensured secondary victimisation would not occur. Furthermore, removing remarks made by participants in reference to personal names, places of work or any potentially identifiable factors anonymised the interview data. The case study location is not revealed due to the unique role of various participants in this study. An internet search of their specific roles alongside the location of the study reveals the contact details for a number of individual participants. Therefore, for the sake of participant anonymity, it felt appropriate to exclude the location of the study.

3.8: Reflections and Positionality

3.8.1: Reflections

Attendance at numerous community cohesion meetings prior to this study enabled the researcher to establish a network of contacts, which became tantamount to sample access once the study had commenced. Interviewees frequently stated that they were keen to contribute towards an understanding of how FM was managed in the case study site, which consequently enabled the collection of 'rich' data. Furthermore, because the researcher resided within the case study area, local knowledge and familiarity with the various organisations working within

the field of FM management enabled prompt identification and recruitment of the sample. Residing in the case study area was also advantageous during data collection because it granted the researcher greater flexibility with regards to the timings and location of interviews. It also facilitated rapport with participants i.e. specific questions could be raised about geographical references known to the researcher. This helped to focus the interview, enabling the adoption of a more personalised in-depth approach.

The main difficulties encountered by the researcher involved overcoming concerns expressed by some participants regarding the purpose of the study and the use of their data. Some participants were concerned the data could end up in the public domain and thus risk exposing their identities and personal thoughts regarding FM. Several participants were worried about how the data would be stored and who would have access to it. In hindsight, it may have been helpful to have emphasised this information to a greater extent in the participant information sheet, however, prior to interviews, participants were provided with the opportunity to meet with the researcher to discuss their concerns. Talking through these concerns alleviated their fears, and consequently the majority of potential participants then consented to taking part in the interviews.

3.8.2: Positionality

The study's aims and objectives, and the study's methodology and methods used, were approved by the University of Southampton's ethics committee. The researcher had regular meetings with his supervisors and throughout these meetings the progress of the study was discussed. Themes arising from the data analysis were revised following discussions with these supervisors. This increased the trustworthiness of the findings. In addition, the findings were also discussed with a number of the interview participants who confirmed the accuracy of the

data, thus increasing the study's validity. However, it is essential to acknowledge the researcher's own positionality in regards to the research and the topic.

FM predominantly impacts women from South Asian Muslim minority groups (FMU 2016; Gill and Antitha 2015; Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015), wherein the cultural nuances and 'ways of life' differ substantially from the researcher's own personal circumstances and life experience. The existence and impact of honour systems, the maintenance of cultural and religious tradition, and the close-knit community setting were all unfamiliar to the researcher. The ethnic and cultural differences between the researcher and the topic meant that a shared history and full understanding of the motives behind the offence were difficult to grasp and were unfamiliar to the researcher. The personal experiences and 'world view' of the researcher therefore differed from the setting and subject being researched.

The researcher's personal circumstances and viewpoints require consideration in relation to the topic and study. The researcher is a White male from a middle-class non-religious background. The researcher was raised in a cultural setting which reflected the majority cultural group familiar to Britain. The values the researcher was raised with, echo the values of the majority population and emphasised individual freedom and liberty. The researcher was not subjected to religious or cultural expectation throughout his childhood. This values emphasis on autonomy and personal freedom therefore conflict with the research topic, and the setting in which FM occurs. However, the researcher's learned personal values also emphasised tolerance and an acceptance of cultural difference. Therefore, whilst the cultural values between the researcher and the topic may differ, the personal values of the researcher should not be deemed to have influenced the research findings.

The researcher's residential proximity to the case study site should also be considered in the positionality of the research. The town in which the study was conducted was personally familiar to the researcher, having grown up in the area from childhood and residing in the town at the time of the study. This was advantageous to the research and positively impacted the process. The researcher was familiar with the history of the town and the presence of intergroup cohesion issues. These concerns, discussed in detail in the Discussion Chapter, enabled the researcher to adopt an additional level of sensitivity during the data collection phase. Practitioners interviewed openly discussed their intergroup cohesion concerns, and this could have been attributed to the researcher's familiarity with the areas discussed, particularly the local schools and religious institutions.

This study focused upon the management of FM, and therefore, solely interviewed practitioners involved with addressing this social problem. The research did not interview victims or perpetrators of the offence due to ethical and practical reasons (see Limitations of Research). The study's focus upon professional experience ensured interviews predominantly revolved around the management of the offence and not the personal views of the subject or researcher regarding FM. This emphasis on professionalism provide a centre point during the interview process and prevented the research from focusing upon the subject's personal views, but instead enabled an exploration of professional experiences and insights into the management of the offence.

The personal characteristics and backgrounds of interviewees varied substantially. The interview subjects were from a variety of backgrounds. Some participants had direct experience of FM in their own personal lives, others had experienced it through their service users, and others had been responsible for overseeing the implementation of their policy and practice

guidelines for managing the offence. The researcher's own positionality was shared with a number of the participants who were from the same ethnic and cultural group, however a number of participants were from different religious, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Interviews focused predominantly upon professional experience, therefore, the likelihood of any bias arising because of these unique factors was kept to a minimum. Finally, the research adopted a semi-structured interview technique, with data collection continuing until data saturation was reached. This helped to ensure the validity of the findings. It is hoped that by following a rigorous data collection and analysis process, by undertaking 21 in-depth semi-structured interviews, and by regularly liaising with supervisors, any bias arising from the researcher's own positionality would be greatly reduced.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

4.1: Chapter overview

The findings represent the data collected from front line professionals (including police officers, third sector workers, teachers, social workers, healthcare workers, solicitors and community cohesion officers) involved in managing FM. Data was collected using interviews and documentary evidence (see Chapter 3 for a description of these methods). Themes and sub themes that arose from the data are presented under each of the three research questions. The main points from the interviews are illustrated by anonymous quotations followed by codes in brackets that indicate the interviewee (PO= police officer, S= solicitor, SW= social worker, CCW= community cohesion worker, H = healthcare worker, T= teacher, TSO= Third sector work, SG= safeguarding officer). The three themes that arose from the theoretical narrative i.e. Values Differences, Values Representation and Values Balance, cut across these findings. These cross-cutting themes are presented as higher-level headings under each of the research questions.

RQ1. How has criminalisation influenced the management of FM and are current measures impacted by a conflict of cultural values?

Three themes and a number of associated sub themes were developed from the data representing how criminalisation has influenced the management of FM and determining whether or not current measures are impacted by a conflict of cultural values (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Themes, subthemes, and cross cutting themes representing how criminalisation has influenced the management of FM and determining whether or not current measures are impacted by a conflict of cultural values
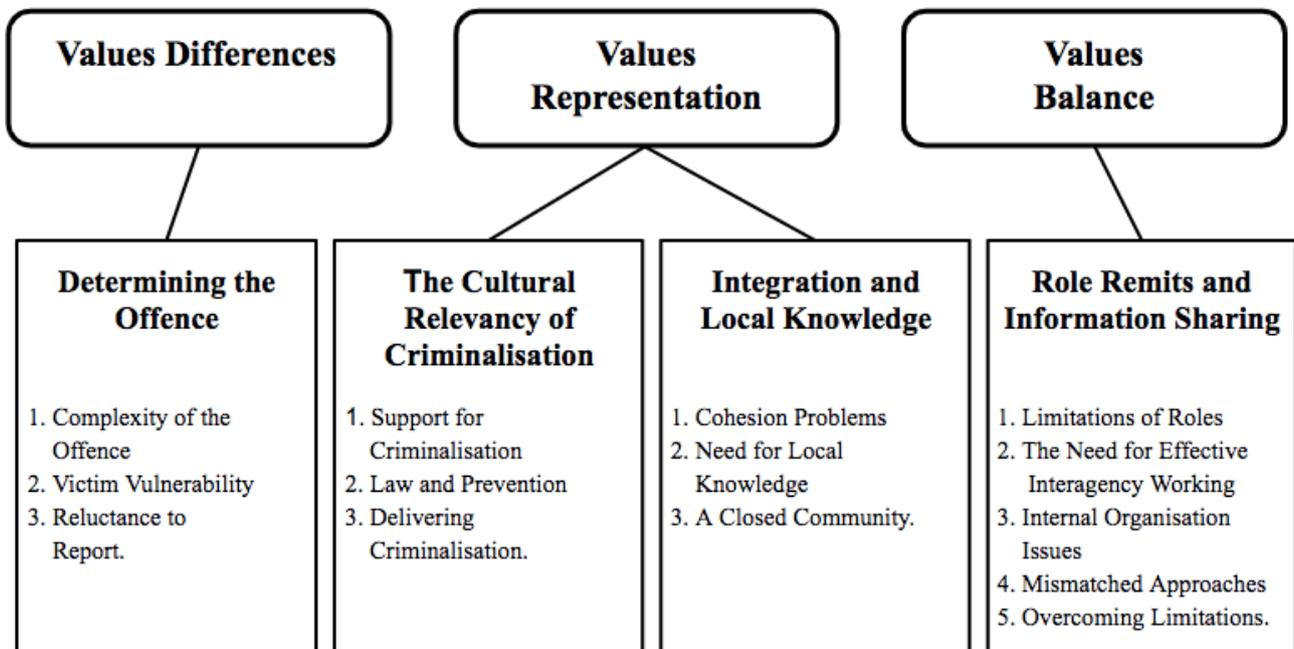
Values Differences	Values Representation		Values Balance
Determining the Offence	**The Cultural Relevancy of Criminalisation**	**Integration and Local Knowledge**	**Role Remits and Information Sharing**
1. Complexity of the Offence 2. Victim Vulnerability 3. Reluctance to Report.	1. Support for Criminalisation 2. Law and Prevention 3. Delivering Criminalisation.	1. Cohesion Problems 2. Need for Local Knowledge 3. A Closed Community.	1. Limitations of Roles 2. The Need for Effective Interagency Working 3. Internal Organisation Issues 4. Mismatched Approaches 5. Overcoming Limitations.

4.2: RQ1. Theme one: Determining the offence

The research sought to determine how criminalisation has influenced the management of FM, and whether current measures are influenced by a conflict of cultural values. A number of issues surrounding the identification and reporting of FM within the case study area were identified, and it was believed these should be addressed for FM to be managed successfully. This theme relays how practitioners felt the motives of FM were culturally unusual and differed in comparison to more conventional crimes. Participants described the influence of honour systems upon the daily lives of victims, how this influenced the reporting of FM by victims, and the difficulties they had experienced in identifying the offence of FM.

4.2.1: Complexity of the offence

Practitioners were aware of the honour systems present within the case study area. According to participants these systems were historical and originated from religious and familial expectation. Practitioners stated that these systems were normalised into victims' lives from a young age, and consequently they held substantial influence over their choices and decisions. It was believed that the concept of family honour had an enormous influence upon members of the minority community within the case study area, and it was difficult to fully appreciate these cultural values differences and the influence of these systems as an outsider of the group, and to accord for them in practice:

…Because the lengths that people will go to, to protect the family honour, overrides in some cases not just the happiness of their children but sometimes the wellbeing of their children. And that is very difficult to address… (PO 3)

It was believed that because these honour systems were significantly influential upon a victim's daily life, adhering to values and behaviours outside of these systems was undesirable due to the risk of violence. When asked whether or not these honour systems could amount to psychological pressure, thus blurring the distinction between an arranged marriage (AM) and a FM, some participants indicated that they were unaware of this distinction, and consequently it would be difficult for them to identify this difference:

…Not specifically no, I mean we might be able to make a sort of educated guess based on other things…but no not specifically… (SW 2)

Participants reported that because honour systems were so influential, it would be unusual for a victim to seek the help of statutory agencies when faced with a FM. Incidents were reported to predominantly occur abroad, and therefore, in order for interventions to be successful, the offence had to be identified prior to the victim leaving the country. However, participants suggested that there were no typical indications of FM, and this made it an unusual crime. Furthermore, because professionals were unable to identify the crime, its management was heavily depended upon victim reporting:

…Well, when you say how is it managed, the major challenge we have got around FM is finding out about it. We very rarely get somebody say to us…I am being taken out of the country to be married against my will… (PO 3)

Detecting FM relied upon the identification of a previous offence against a victim's sibling, or close family member. A family history of FM enabled practitioners to identify at risk individuals. However, pro-active work did not routinely take place:

... If we thought there was a history and these people are actively involved in doing it, then we would look at the second potential reported incident as being mmmm hang on a minute, is that the same as the last time? But no (there is no pro-active approach) … (PO 2)

4.2.2: Victim vulnerability

It was suggested that a central difficulty often occurred when those facing FM did not consider themselves to be a victim. It was described how the marriage process within the minority community differed substantially. Choosing a spouse was simply not part of the minority population's culture, because families would usually arrange their child's future partner for them. There had been attempts to educate victims of their rights within local schools (typically by TSOs), however, because the community had become increasingly more isolated in recent years, these attempts had achieved limited success:

…They don't watch British news or TV, they don't read national media, they get most of their information from the local Asian radio station, or even the Pakistani times, which you will see in circulation around here. So they are isolated, and I think if a community is isolated, unless they reach out they are likely to become increasingly isolated... (PO 1)

It was believed that victims had become more aware of their rights and the illegality of FM, however help was not being sought from the statutory agencies, because victims were often unaware that they were about to be married. It was reported that the majority of FM victims

were aged between 14 and 18 year of age, and FM commonly occurred during school holidays. In addition, participants believed victims were often unaware they were about to be married because families would keep the marriage a secret. It was reported by participants that victims would be taken abroad under the guise of a holiday and, upon realising the purpose of the trip, the practice models would be inadequate at preventing FM, and they would then be forced to go through with the marriage:

... They don't know they are going to get married but they think they are going on holiday, and then they come back and they are actually married, and they feel powerless when they are over there, they are absolutely powerless to do anything or to stop it from happening… (TSO 1)

4.2.3: A Reluctance to Report

Participants stated that although victims may be unaware or unhappy to go through with a marriage, the consequences of rejecting marriage arrangements were even more undesirable. Practitioners suggested that victims tended to be dependent upon their families and current interagency approaches would be inadequate at reducing this dependency. If the victim refused a marriage and left the community for refusing a marriage, this would result in them being unable to support themselves:

…That doesn't mean they have the freedom or liberties to make that decision to be able to leave home because they haven't got any money, their passport has been taken away, do you know what I mean… (SG)

Practitioners stated that because the community within the case study area were very close knit, special measures had to be implemented to handle these cases. For example, if a victim were to seek help, this could result in the community acting to prevent the victim from escaping:

…She (a local charity worker) *has also said that when she is carrying a survivor in my vehicle they normally have to go under a blanket on the back seats because there are one hundred and eighty pairs of eyes looking for me. When I asked for an explanation she said all the taxi companies have got details of my vehicle and they will circulate it amongst each other if they think I am carrying a survivor, in an effort to locate the survivor to bring her back into the family…* (CCW)

Furthermore, the community's cultural values were so significantly different from the majority population's, that it was difficult for a victim to be able to reject a marriage arrangement. It was reported that within the community there was support for strict sex segregation and there were few opportunities for young people to meet a partner. Marriage arrangements were seen as the only option should they wish to get married:

…The two genders you don't mix, it's seen as completely dishonourable to the family for her to be socialising with boys… she (in reference to a colleague from the minority community) *spoke to me and the last time she socialised with boys was when she was at XXXX school. So she was saying that except for that she has only had her brothers, so how are you going to meet somebody… if that is the expectation of you then actually you are quite likely to say ok I will meet this person that my mum or dad selected for me and would like me to marry because otherwise I am never going to get married…* (SW1)

Furthermore, whilst all participants expressed a desire to help victims, some participants stated that the current measures were ineffective. The majority of practitioners acknowledged that their approaches were reliant upon the victim reporting the crime rather than detection, however, FM sufferers found it difficult to engage with these services:

…If there was…a female that was reporting forced marriage issues to us…then that becomes awkward because usually…they find it difficult to discuss it… (PO 1)

However, whilst a victim may be reluctant to report FM because of the influence of honour systems, it was also believed that previous safeguarding programmes had created a mistrust amongst the minority community towards state services:

…The chair of the independent review for the historic child sexual exploitation (CSE) case actually did make a remark that part of the problem is that the Muslim community feel they are being victimised by PREVENT for example… (CCW)

Some participants suggested there were organisational processes in place to manage FM, however, the level of care and understanding regarding the nuances of FM varied between each statutory service. It was felt that these services needed to work together more effectively to provide adequate care for a victim:

…I think particularly with things like FM and stuff you know we talked about that sort of relationship building and stuff, but that is also about us having good relationships between ourselves and other agencies to make sure we are listening, understanding, you know…(SW2)

Values Representation

4.3: RQ1. Theme two: The cultural relevancy of criminalisation

In light of practitioners' experiences described above, this theme explores how although there was support for the criminalisation of FM, participants suggested there was a need for an open dialogue with the minority community. This theme highlights the statements participants made in support of more culturally relevant and sensitive approaches, the need for a detailed understanding of the case study area, and how successful FM management may arise through minority community members working in partnership with these organisations.

4.3.1: Support for criminalisation

There was strong support for the criminalisation of FM, with the majority of participants stating that the practice was unacceptable and wrong from their cultural viewpoint. It was believed that FM was unfair and harmful for the victim, and this behaviour was not compatible with 'our' way of life. Participants believed that criminalisation was necessary to uphold the standards of British society:

> …*At the end of the day, whatever level it is, it is a criminal offence in our society, in our country via our laws and it needs to be dealt with…* (PO 1 interview)

Participants suggested criminalisation detered perpetrators, and therefore, provided a means to conform behaviour that was not in line with expected British cultural values. It was stated how a strong message was needed to prevent the occurrence of FM, assimilate minority cultures, and to warn perpetrators that this behaviour was not culturally acceptable:

…Putting out that message that this is… now we are saying that this is criminal behaviour, this is a crime… is a very strong message… that we are not in this country we are not accepting that, it is not part of what we believe in so we… it's more than that actually… it's a crime. So I don't know, it's a mixed message isn't it… (TSO 2)

And:

…I think it's a positive that there is a negative message given that this is not ok. And for me I think that is always particularly true when we are talking about trying to overcome barriers of difference… (SW 2)

4.3.2: Law and prevention

Participants believed criminalisation was important and had the potential to improve FM management, however it was also suggested that interpreting the offence to be calculated and deliberately harmful was not completely in-line with their professional experiences. It was often the case that a victim would be obligated to enter a marriage because it was culturally usual for them:

…Because it is what you do… it is something that you are brought up with knowing that that is what is expected of you and that is what happens… (H 2)

Practitioners mentioned that perpetrators may not support modern British liberal values, and in their experience these individuals had different expectations regarding their children's' freedom. Some participants believed FM was culturally motivated, and these cases occurred

because perpetrators believed there was a need to preserve their cultural traditions and beliefs through their family:

> *…I think they are very anxious for their traditions and their beliefs and their communities to continue and I think their fear is that if they don't keep the line pure, if they don't bring someone over from Pakistan who has been in that culture then they are at risk or they are in danger of diluting their community, diluting their belief system or what have you, losing their traditions… (T 3)*

Practitioners showed support for criminalisation, however it was also believed that the cultural motives behind FM needed to be addressed through education and an open dialogue between communities, and that FM management organisations should represent this diversity of values:

> *…. I think a lot of it is knowledge based and education based, so we as the White British community need to have more understanding of cultural norms, but also of this kind of abuse and what that means for the person, and they, I know it's dreadful us and them, they need to have the education and knowledge of like the services and help they could get and what kind of support they would get… (SW 1)*

4.3.3: Delivering criminalisation

Practitioners suggested that whilst criminalisation was necessary, FM management could be made more successful if the current measures were accompanied with educational programmes for the minority community:

…Yes I do (support criminalisation). *I mean but do I think it is going to stop it…no I don't…they* (perpetrators) *will just adapt…I think the only thing that we can do is to just keep on educating and making sure that they* (victims) *know that they have certain rights…* (TSO 1)

It was believed that for the statutory services to be trusted and perceived legitimate in FM management, a dialogue between the communities within the case study area was required. It was suggested that both the integration concerns within the case study site, and previous state interventions with terrorism, gang violence, and child sexual exploitation cases, had represented a discriminatory agenda towards the minority community. It was suggested that hosting successive intercommunity events could reduce this conflict, and help improve group dialogue:

…So I think if we can have more multicultural events that are actually properly evaluated, not just go off and do some stupid community event that is never going to have any positive outcomes apart from everyone feels nice for the afternoon… (CCW)

Participants believed the case study area had high levels of intergroup tension between the minority and majority cultural groups. It was mentioned that any attempt to manage FM needed to follow the minority community's social structures and ideally be delivered from within the community, as without this level of cultural values representation, attempts to intervene would continue to worsen relations:

…There has to be an imam, just to say look this is a point, you know during their sort of worship, I don't know because I have never been to that but I mean someone somewhere

must be giving sermons or the equivalent, and saying that look this is something that we have to change… (H 3)

Practitioners believed intervention programmes should complement the hierarchical structures of the minority population (by using community leaders to generate awareness about the illegality and harm of FM), however, it was also believed that direct interventions with perpetrators should be culturally sensitive. Many of the practitioners interviewed were female and they stated that when they had liaised with the community, they had been expected to address the male members, and often they had perceived these dealings to be marred with levels of patriarchal disrespect:

…It is like they are not really taking you seriously, they are not listening they are just going to say yes miss that's fine in a meeting or whatever and then go away and not do any of those things… (SG)

It was suggested that because FM appeared to be a culturally motivated crime, successful delivery of the law was dependent upon the statutory services appearing culturally legitimate. Participants highlighted that at present this emphasis upon legitimacy did not tend to occur within their organisational protocols. It was suggested that working with the community to accurately represent the diversity of cultural values present within the case study site, would enable FM to be more openly discussed, which would then increase the likelihood of successfully managing the crime:

…I mean it is all very well when you have got a room full of White middle class professionals talking about FM, but actually you really need to be able to have this open dialogue with people from the community… (SG)

4.4: RQ1. Theme three: Integration and local knowledge

This theme conveys a number of shortcomings identified by practitioners, regarding the translation of law into practice. This theme portrays how existing barriers unique to the case study area impacted upon the management of FM. The theme also relays participants' concerns regarding the growing cultural divide between the communities in the case study site and how this impacted their work. Additionally, the theme reports how some participants believed previous community-based safeguarding programmes had led to a mistrust amongst members of the minority population, and how this mistrust had influenced the success of FM measures. The theme portrays participants' views and suggestions for overcoming existing issues surrounding community relations, and how they believed FM management could be improved.

4.4.1: Cohesion problems

Practitioners supported the criminalisation of FM, however, the translation of this law into practice had proven difficult, and current practice measures did not adequately acknowledge pre-existing community cohesion issues. It was identified by a number of practitioners that the case study area had significant levels of segregation with the minority community living separately from the majority population:

…The district as such, we are often called just XXXX which really annoys people from XXXX, because the district covers XXXX and XXXX and the leafy suburbs. The make up there is predominantly White and completely different. So you have got this central

concentration, of people who, not exclusively but predominantly come from the Kashmiri

area of Pakistan. They have not integrated particularly well in my view, and this is a view

shared by many other partners whom I work with on a professional basis, including the

police.... (CCW)

It was believed that the high levels of community segregation within the case study area had

resulted in the community mistrusting attempts to improve cohesion by the local council.

Practitioners were also concerned that the high levels of community segregation had resulted

in harmful cultural values becoming more commonplace, which in turn heightened intergroup

tension:

...So it is not just the usual problems of integration. It is having one large ethnic

minority with a certain cultural view of the world and I think that is becoming problematic...

(CCW)

Participants believed that FM management was likely to become increasingly more difficult in

the future, because schools within the case study area had experienced substantial pressure to

change their curriculum to better represent the cultural values of the minority population.

Members of the minority population had interpreted sex education, art classes, and music

classes to conflict with their cultural and religious beliefs:

...I have spoken to several head teachers in schools, I spoke to some head teachers

who haven't been here very long and they remarked how shocked they were at the attitude of

some of the Muslim parents. Parents that are demanding that all food should be halal, that

they not go to Christmas pantomimes, and when there was a discussion with one parent he

turned around to the head teacher and said this is the problem with your country. In terms of

they did not follow the Islamic Muslim traditions of segregation of the sexes… (CCW)

And:

…I will never forget there was a little boy who turned to a little girl next to him in a

music lesson and said to her you mustn't sing you are being a bad Muslim if you sing, you

mustn't sing… (T 3)

It was mentioned that the case study area had a history of Islamic terrorism and that the PREVENT safeguarding strategies had been interpreted as unfairly targeting the minority community. Consequently, participants believed these measures had led to a collective victimisation amongst the minority group. These pre-existing factors were believed to have resulted in substantial levels of mistrust towards the intentions of state organisations (who were also responsible for FM management):

…It (the awareness of terrorism within the case site area) *creates tensions, misunderstandings, generalisations and none of that helps breakdown the barriers between communities and cultures…* (TSO 2)

4.4.2: Need for local knowledge

Participants felt that criminalisation was necessary, however they also believed that there needed to be greater levels of cultural awareness and sensitivity displayed towards the minority population, in order to gain legitimacy and for the law to be upheld effectively. It was suggested that a more representative approach, whereby members of the minority community were

deployed to manage FM, could improve the approaches of central organisations responsible for upholding the law:

…I do think there is an issue of like recruitment of representative ethnic minority teachers. So you haven't actually got someone who you think… you know they might know where I'm coming from… (T 1)

Participants mentioned that they had not been given adequate training on the cultural beliefs of the local community. It was stated that a lack of awareness regarding the minority group's cultural values may have led to misinterpretations being made and discriminatory procedures being adopted. It was suggested that if training had been provided regarding the cultural nuances, this may have enabled a more sensitive and effective approach to be adopted:

…So I might read into things that actually is completely normal and just part of everyday culture, but because I don't have enough understanding of their culture I could easily be bias. More probably against rather than for, because of a lack of understanding. We don't have any training into different cultures, or anything like that. Someone in my team actually asked if we could have some training on that and she was told we are expected to do our own research… (SW 1)

It was believed that greater local knowledge of the minority group's cultural differences was required, however, it was also described how a much greater understanding of the honour systems was necessary. Participants suggested that whilst ensuring a victim's safety should be a relatively simple process, there was an ongoing risk of a victim suffering violence or being murdered during honour motivated cases:

…I was training at a school in XXXX, and when I was there they found out that a girl who had just left their sixth form had been murdered by her family. It was an honour killing, and it was awful… (Teacher 4)

And:

…You know there is a great big one, a huge Asian community in Birmingham, in Manchester you know and as it goes on we have to be very careful where they (the victim) *go* (once they have reported FM) … (TSO 1)

4.4.3: A closed community

Participants stated that FM was a unique crime and consequently it required a unique management approach. It was suggested that the community had adopted a system of self-governance, whereby disputes were expected to be resolved within the community, rather than seeking assistance from the relevant statutory service. It was mentioned that if FM management were to be successful, approaches would have to work with, or be approved by these systems to help promote a cultural change:

…To get people from the community working in those roles supporting them so social workers, sexual health workers… learning support staff in schools and colleges… and things like that to try and drip in to get attitudes to change… (SG)

Practitioners provided examples of experiences they had encountered with victims from the community, and how they believed these honour systems were so influential, that a victim was expected to work within these protocols before seeking outside help:

…You know you don't take it out of the family, you are supposed to deal with it within the family and you know there are protocols that they are supposed to do first. You know they would first of all go to extended family, and if that doesn't work then they go to speak to the imam, or the imam will talk to the man and tell him that he shouldn't be doing this to his wife, but that doesn't always work… (TSO 1)

It was believed that these systems hindered FM management and victim reporting. It was stated that if organisations were more representative and worked with members of the community, implementing FM legislation may be more effective. Participants suggested that their roles in managing FM may be more successful if they had access to specialist departments within their organisations, who worked with, and had detailed knowledge about, the minority community:

…For me it would be having that department deal with it and that have weeks and weeks of training, and have people from the community come in and tell them what it's like and things like that, so we have a good idea of it and they are on twenty-four seven, like shift officers are so they are there to go to it, or train shift officers properly so we know what to do… (PO 5)

Alongside implementing specialist measures, it was mentioned by participants that criminalisation could be more successful if educational programmes accompanied criminalisation. It was believed that the sole reliance upon criminalisation had resulted in the

statutory organisations representing an assimilatory attitude towards the minority population, whereby their cultural beliefs and values were being criminalised because they were interpreted as being incompatible with British society. Participants stated that this approach was antagonistic and had negatively influenced community relations. Practitioners believed that if measures could appear nuanced, and preventative rather than punitive, this may prove to be more successful:

…With anything it is just trying to understand someone's reasoning behind it isn't it. Because also there might be some learning for them. It could be that they don't understand something, it could be that they don't understand parts of English law, it could be that they don't understand that there is another way out for them. If you have been in one community and it has always been this way, then actually sometimes you are just completely naive aren't you to the reality of it. So a) it could stop it but b) it could help us to figure out where we can help earlier on to educate… (SW 1)

Values Balance

4.5: RQ1. Theme four: Role remits and information sharing

In light of the shortcomings described above, this theme explores practitioners' preparations for their roles in FM management, their experiences of working with external organisations involved in FM management, and their experiences of current FM management strategies. This theme relays participants' concerns with the interagency working processes within the case study area, whilst also highlighting some of the issues practitioners encountered within their own organisations. Additionally, the theme highlights some of the suggestions made by interviewees about how an improved interagency approach may help the FM management strategy.

4.5.1: Limitations of roles

Practitioners described FM as a complicated offence, which necessitated extensive interagency working to ensure victims were sufficiently protected. Whilst some practitioners believed they were adequately informed to successfully implement FM management measures within the case study area, some participants felt unprepared:

> *…I wouldn't know what to do* (upon encountering a suspected FM)*, and I wouldn't want to go on my opinion because it's probably wrong…* (PO 5)

Some participants stated that they had not received any training. Practitioners reported that knowledge deficits amongst frontline workers were the result of a lack of training. Courses on FM occurred on specific days of the week, and some workers had not received this training because they were unavailable on the scheduled date. In addition, other participants were not concerned about a lack of training, because they had not experienced any pressure from their managers to complete the training packages:

> *…They keep flagging up every year that we have to do them but if you really don't have time you end up just going through it really quickly and not really reading it very well, because we don't really have to deal with it very often, so you just think oh well…* (H 1)

Additionally, it was mentioned how training was delivered at set times of the year and participants or organisations could easily miss this training:

…There is not enough places or they are not running the courses often enough and that is an issue. When you think that you have got a training gap as an organisation, that is almost like an entire academic year that you could be waiting…(SG)

Practitioners suggested that the training they received had not provided them with adequate knowledge to appropriately manage FM. It was described how if/when they encountered an incident they would refer the case to senior staff, who they would hope would be more knowledgeable about the needs of victims. FM was infrequently detected, therefore, the specific skills required to manage FM could be easily forgotten:

…But the trouble is if you only do something very very rarely, if you get trained on it, if you don't deal with it on a regular basis you forget your training, you are not putting your training into practice… (TSO 2)

Some participants expressed the need for a more in-depth training model, however other practitioners felt identifying and managing FM was simply too complex for their role:

…I think there needs to be, not less of an emphasis on teachers because I think we really do need to be trained on it but I think it needs to be recognised that it is unrealistic that teachers can look out for everything… (T1)

4.5.2: The need for effective interagency working

Some participants felt they were adequately prepared to manage FM, however it was also stated that the complexity of the offence had not been acknowledged within the interagency working models. It was reported that whilst each organisation had internal procedures in place to

manage FM, the success of these internal procedures was vulnerable to the approaches of external agencies. It was believed that greater communication and consistency between all of the organisations involved in FM management needed to occur:

…The difficulty is the information sharing, so as part of the Care Act it's all meant to be like one unified service and it's all meant to be about communication sharing and information sharing and all the rest of it… but the truth of the matter is as soon as the police get involved …they then turn around and say oh it's a criminal investigation now and they don't share any information back… also from a stress perspective, if you are really worried about someone…then all of a sudden you are pushed out and you don't know what happened, you don't know what the outcome was that can be quite difficult… (SW 1)

It was identified that the case study area had a series of central intelligence hubs, where FM cases were referred into, in order for interagency strategies to be enacted. Practitioners suggested that these processes were essential for FM management, however, their experiences of making victim referrals and seeking advice from these forums, were not satisfactory:

…Although we do have like a multi-agency department that has social services and things like that… if you went to them and said we need a meeting, unless it was urgent and it wasn't a weekend then they would probably say ok we will arrange a meeting in a couple of days' time or something like that… (PO 5)

It was believed that the remit of these forums had the potential to work very efficiently and effectively, however, participants suggested a central weakness was the overreliance upon

equal input from all sectors. It was stated that some sectors were hindering interagency working:

> *…Health are not involved in a positive way on this district in these areas at the moment. I have recently fed that back for example they never bother turning up for the community safety partnership board, they never bother turning up at the PREVENT board...* (CCW)

4.5.3: Internal organisational issues

Participants suggested the interagency working models required improvement, however it was also identified that a number of internal organisational problems were impacting the management of FM. It was mentioned by some participants that their colleagues held personal views that were insensitive and underestimated the severity of the situation:

> *…I was at a presentation that someone did on domestic abuse, and they were saying it's more than just violence it's psychological and all the rest of it. And an elected member, not from this council I am pleased to say for a change, said oh well if my tea is late is that psychological abuse…* (CCW)

It was believed this factor could tarnish perceptions the minority community held towards organisations involved in FM management. Furthermore, it was stated by some participants, that the attitudes of their colleagues hindered the management of FM, because there were fears of racist accusations being made against workers:

…I have raised it (FM) publicly and I was accused by a Muslim councillor, that I was being racist because I had no evidence that this ever happened… (CCW)

Additionally, some participants stated that often information sharing between their own departments did not occur, and this left participants uncertain with regards to whether or not they had acted appropriately during an intervention:

…So once it changes department, people in different departments don't really speak to each other, it sounds really weird but they don't… (H 1)

4.5.4: Mismatched approaches

Participants suggested that improving information sharing procedures between organisations could greatly improve the management of FM within the case study area, however, external organisational structures and the availability of resources were criticised. It was stated that the response a victim received was dependent upon the organisation the FM was reported into, and the time the incident was reported. It was mentioned that should a victim report FM to the police on the weekend, these inconsistent approaches meant that the police would then have to liaise with an under-resourced social services department, which would often lead to delays in the intervention process:

…Yes, and there is like an out of hours team but trying to get them to come to you and help you is just a joke… (PO 5)

This concern was also raised by other participants who believed, from experience, that should a victim report the crime to their school on a Friday, social services may be less reluctant to

intervene than if the crime was reported at the beginning of the week. Furthermore, it was mentioned that the approaches of the social services to FM would change depending on the age of a victim:

…It's almost like you have to build a really strong case to convince them that this is something they need to get involved in, it is particularly difficult if the young person you are working with is seventeen and almost coming up for eighteen. It is almost like as soon as they get to seventeen they go, oh they are nearly an adult we don't need to get involved here… (SG)

It was suggested that the FM protocols enshrined within the multiagency guidelines, had not been adequately translated within the interagency working models. Organisations were aware of the criminalisation of FM, and the subsequent statutory guidance, however, it was suggested that there was a reliance upon previous outdated guidance and regulations. A participant described how upon reporting FM, social services would insist a parent was informed, and the parent had to then consent to an investigation. It was described how this approach to victim management did not adequately consider the individual's circumstance or the risks associated with honour systems:

…And the only time they will accept a referral without consent from the parent is if they think it is s.47 of the Children's Act, which basically says, the child or young person is at significant risk of immediate harm. But I think that is very subjective, that decision to say if they are or not. But if the social worker that picks up the referral feels it doesn't meet s.47, they won't action it without consent from the parent. And I have a particular issue because none of us would be putting in those referrals if we weren't really really concerned, and often

the parents are part of the problem. That can be a huge barrier to getting things done and getting things started… (SG)

A copy of the safeguarding procedure for this organisation was obtained (Appendix A) following the interview. These guidelines confirmed these concerns because they fail to clarify the definition of significant or immediate in the context of FM. Furthermore, the wording of s.47 of the Children's Act (1989) also confirms the subjectivity of 'significant' and 'immediate' in the context of FM. The act states a social worker must have: 'a reasonable cause to suspect that a child is suffering, or is likely to suffer, significant harm'.

4.5.5: Overcoming limitations

Participants suggested that improving management approaches was dependent upon overcoming the current limitations of the interagency working models. It was described how there was a need for practitioners across all organisations to undertake compulsory training to help establish consistent levels of understanding, which would then ensure victims were provided with adequate levels of care. It was believed that the initial processes of victim management had improved since FM criminalisation, however, ensuring victim safety required a more effective interagency working model:

…We always say getting the FM protection order is the straight forward part but it is a piece of paper, and to have an adequate support package has to involve lots of other agencies that can help people get re-housed etc… (S)

It was also acknowledged that whilst in theory, criminalisation could provide an effective level of protection for a victim, the implementation of the law was likely to be influenced by the

contexts within which the measures were enacted. It was believed that existing intergroup tensions needed to be overcome where possible to provide the best chance for the victim. It was suggested by participants that whilst FM was an issue amongst the minority community, management organisations needed to improve their approaches and relationships with the minority community in order to successfully manage FM:

…I think that there is more that could be done, and we mustn't forget that if we have not got an integrated ethnic minority population, then the predominantly White population are more likely to hold racist views…But with some proper structured attempts to integrate the populations you will then see a big shift in attitudes. Particularly from the younger people, once they start feeling that actually the rest of the community don't hold all of these prejudices against them, that actually they do appreciate their community, then you will see much better integration… (CCW)

RQ2. How are the police managing FM, and are they influenced by a conflict of cultural values?

Four themes and a number of associated sub themes were developed from the data representing how the police manage FM, and determining whether or not they are influenced by a conflict of cultural values (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Themes, subthemes, and cross cutting themes representing how the police manage FM, and determining whether or not they are influenced by a conflict of cultural values

Values Differences	Values Representation		Values Balance
Responding to the Offence	**Interpreting FM**	**Differing values**	**Participation and Effective Management**
1. No Prevention 2. Detection 3. Addressing Honour.	1. Training Discrepancies 2. Behind Closed Doors 3. Referrals Process.	1. Causes and Interpretations of FM 3. Terrorism and Mistrust.	1. Under Reporting 2. Interagency Working 3. Inclusion and Recognition.
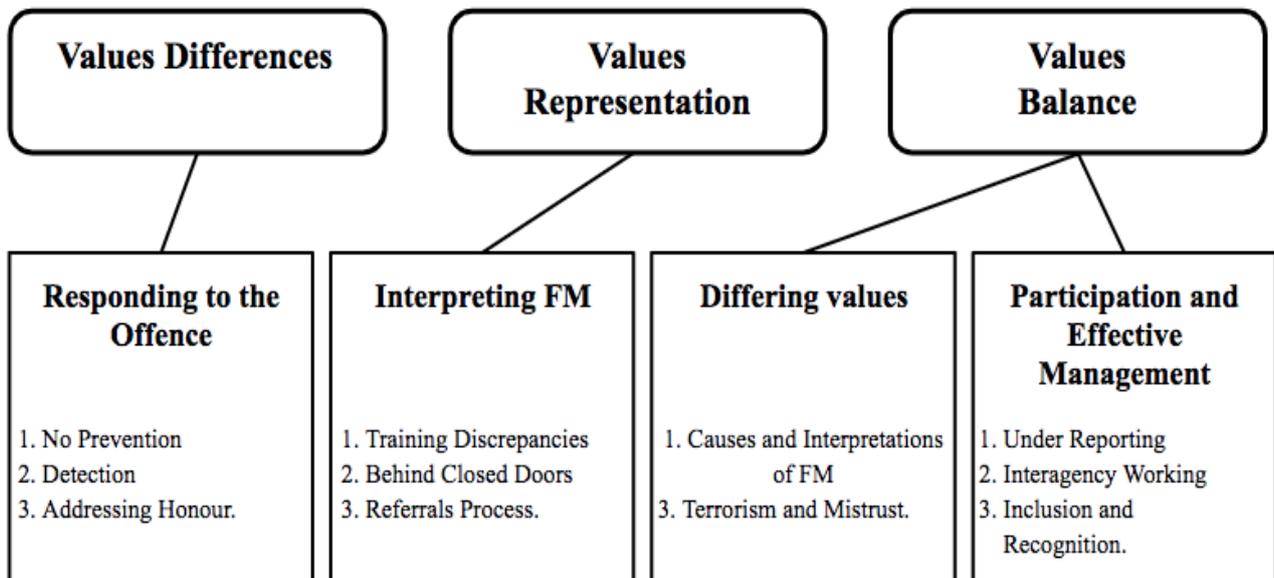
4.6: RQ2. Theme one: Responding to the offence

There were a number of external factors which meant that the police service found FM management difficult within the case study site. This theme relays how a reactive approach to FM management was being deployed, that methods for detecting FM amongst police officers were inconsistent, and how the cultural values differences arising within honour systems were preventing victims from reporting the offence.

4.6.1: No prevention

Police officers were aware of FM criminalisation, and of its occurrence within the case study site. Statistical data highlighted that there had been 25 reported cases within the site in the past year (2015-2016). However, it was believed that this figure severely underestimated the extent of the problem:

> *…The police then revealed the number of reports they had and I was shocked at the number of reports we have received in this area, bearing in mind that that is probably less than ten percent of the actuality…* (CCW)

An exploration of these statistics with participants revealed that the majority of cases had emerged through victim reporting and not through detection by police officers. However, reporting of the offence by the victim to the police occurred infrequently:

> *…We very rarely get somebody lift the phone and say to us, it's very rare, it does happen, where they say I am being taken out of the country to be married against my will…* (PO 3)

Unless a victim reported the FM directly, then the only other opportunity for the police to be made aware of its occurrence, was when they attended a call-out to a domestic incident. However, the likelihood of FM being revealed during a police visit was slight, because the cultural values of the minority population meant that the victim would often be unable to speak with the police officer without the presence of their family:

…The other thing you have got to think about is if the victim is in the same house, the perpetrator might be sitting across the room from her. So she's not going to tell us much… So she is going to be very wary, or he is going to be very wary about what they actually say to us in the first place… (PO 2)

And:

…I have on a few occasions, where the guy has been like oh why do you need to speak to her separately… If it's not possible then we just sort of try our best to deal with it but obviously it is best to try and speak to them separately, because obviously I don't know if anybody would disclose anything in front of who's in the room... (PO 4)

Reporting relied heavily upon victim disclosure, as opposed to detection, however, victims would not often liaise with the police. It was believed that the cultural values of the minority population differed so significantly from the majority of the population, that individuals may not realise they were victims of a crime:

…The issue for us is underreporting…massive underreporting… and there are many issues relating to that. One of which is confidence in the police, whether or not we can do

anything, people may not understand the high regard and the high emphasis we place on it.

Secondly a victim of FM may not see themselves as a victim of FM, they may see it as a

cultural obligation and not a crime… (PO 3)

4.6.2: Detection

Participants were unable to describe a typical situation or scenario where FM may be suspected. Practitioners stated that they could only pre-emptively intervene when there was a family history of FM. For example, when a sibling or close family member had previously gone through with a marriage and had contacted the police:

…The information would only come from the individuals involved, unless it's

historical cases within the same family about it happening. For example, that it's been

judged that a particular family have sent their daughter back to Pakistan, and all of a sudden

she came back with a lad, a husband… (PO 2)

All police officers found it difficult to identify FM. Although it was suggested by some officers that their previous experience with these cases had helped when they attended a domestic incident, they were unable to describe specific indicators of the offence and there was a reliance upon personal interpretation:

…I'd say you'd know if FM was happening just out of instinct, you'd just kind of feel

that something is not right with that woman… (PO 5)

And:

…It is usually what you find at the address, or wherever you are that to us gives us that impression that it might be something like that. Now the problem is you never quite know exactly what it is, but you just know something is not quite right… (PO 1)

Furthermore, some officers described how they interpreted body language to be an indicator that something was not right, and that a FM might be about to occur:

…If you are trying to deal with a female victim that to you is giving you body language and telling you things non-verbally, that something is not quite right…the trick is how do I remove her from this situation in order for her, or him, to provide that information to me to do something with it… (PO 1)

And:

…It entirely depends on the information that they give you, obviously you have to not just take on what they are saying but also their body language. If they are saying oh no it's fine I know him or whatever, but sometimes if you say oh have you ever met them and they are like no or do you know their family and they are like I have met his dad but never him… (PO 4)

Even when FM had been detected by an officer, it was described how a victim may hide this information from the police, because they feared further violence may arise from disrespecting their family's honour. This cultural difference was difficult for police officers to manage on both a personal and professional level:

…It's upsetting, if you walk away and leave them there and that family find out they've told you, then you might have to go back to a murder enquiry… (PO 5)

And:

…Because we do not know what sort of grilling that person is going to get. You phoned the police? SMACK! Here we go again… (PO 2)

This finding was supported by TSO workers within the case site, who suggested that reporting FM to the police was culturally unusual and was seen as a betrayal of family honour:

… Whoever calls the police it is seen that they are shaming the family it is not about this person has done this, it is not seen that these people need to be kept safe… (TSO 1)

All police officers were aware of FM and its illegality, however, some officers simply stated that because the offence was infrequently detected or reported, they would not know what to do if they encountered a victim, and would immediately refer the case to a more senior colleague:

…I would have to say if it was me that came up against this and thought there might be a FM here, she doesn't want to do this, I would have to contact someone higher than me… Like my sergeant and the domestic abuse department, and ask them what to do because I would have no idea… (PO 5)

4.6.3: Addressing honour

Participants were aware of the honour systems present within the case study area, and how the community's differing cultural values motivated FM. A number of police officers suggested that the case study site had a very close-knit minority population, wherein everybody knew one another's business:

…So all the families know each other here as much as all the families know each other over there. In fact, it's almost like sometimes where, in some incidents where Mirpur has been lifted up and plopped into XXXX. And the distances that they would live away from each other in XXXX, is the same distance they live away from each other in the villages in Pakistan…so everybody knows everybody. Families are all very much related so it doesn't take long for word to get around… (PO 2)

This level of closeness was described in terms of being similar to a typical 'village' setting, whereby members of the community were familiar with one another's lives. However, the risks honour systems created meant that victims could be placed in grave danger from the wider community if they refused a marriage, because it was believed they may try to prevent the victim from liaising with the police. However, unless the victim reported both the FM and the threats they faced, participants suggested they were powerless to help:

…So you know there is the possible implication of pressure being put on. That is something you have to explain to your victim, and you have to let your victim know that look if you are under pressure erm…then please let me know, contact me because if I don't know anything, I don't know what's happening, and I can't do anything about it… (PO 2)

Specialist protocols were in place to manage the risks the victim faced from the wider cultural group, whereby the individual could meet with a police officer at a location of their choosing. This was necessary because victims were often at a risk of violence if they reported the crime:

…The caller, a victim perhaps or even another caller should be asked when and where it will be safest to see the victim and how we can contact them safely. Because…if you have got a situation between a family…that is honour based violence, sometimes the aggrieved party might not want to let the other party know they have reported it to the police… (PO 2)

The majority of police officers believed their approaches towards FM management were adequate. However, external agencies suggested that their approaches were not suitable, and expressed some of the concerns they had surrounding the level of understanding the police service and individual officers had regarding the cultural differences of the minority population:

…You have probably seen the report from 2015, the HMIC report, around the issues. I think the issues that it highlights there around understanding of cultural issues and also understanding the lengths that people will go to try and trace family members... (S)

And:

…The feedback I have had from victims is sometimes you will get, for some reason they identified age as an issue, the younger officers will be more sympathetic than the older officers initially…But I have spoken to police officers who say ah well I go to a domestic abuse and I try and make them have a cup of tea together and that's it… (CCW)

4.7: RQ2. Theme two: Interpreting FM

This theme relays how there were inconsistencies in FM training amongst police officers. The theme also highlights a number of limitations that participants identified, particularly surrounding the interpretation of the offence and the particular distinction between an AM and a FM, and what constitutes 'force' in the context of a marriage arrangement. The theme emphasises the concerns officers had regarding the management process for FM cases, from the initial intervention through to the latter stages of their handling by the police service.

4.7.1: Training discrepancies

All participants reported that they had undertaken FM training, the format and depth of this training however varied. Some participants had attended face-to-face training at a specific FM training event, whereas others had completed on-line courses. Additionally, some participants reported they had only been provided with an overview of FM when they had started their role:

…Erm… Ongoing training, we have the whole raft of face to face sort of training sessions that we do and a lot of distance learning type things that we complete as well, but nothing sort of live, no notions of replicating a particular incident kind of thing… and I think most of it just comes from experience... (PO 1)

And:

…We had like when I first started, we went on like a neighbourhood attachment, because sometimes it is like neighbourhood that like deal with different cultures and stuff… but it was kind of like, it wasn't that great and one of the things to tick off was that you are

meant to deal with other cultures, but I don't think that I actually did deal with anyone from a different culture… (PO 5)

And:

…It's one of those things where you can kind of be doing other stuff, click a question and just keep clicking until you get to the end… sometimes you have got an officer sat next to you that done it a week ago and you just ask him then for the answers if I'm honest… (PO 5)

The variation in training level was attributed to shift patterns. It was suggested that training police officers was a logistical matter, with some officers missing courses because they were scheduled to work their normal routine when the training was due to occur:

…Well what happens is that we all belong to shift groups, team groups, neighbourhood groups, CID groups, or whatever… And what they will do is they will collectively gather maybe twenty or thirty officers… so eventually everybody gets to see it. But it is a logistics thing… (PO 2)

Some participants reported that the training they had received was taken from a wider domestic violence training package, and therefore they had not undertaken specific FM training:

…And we like attend like classroom things and we do like training packages and we have had one on diversity and just like domestics in general, but also with a little section on sort of like honour-based violence and FM. So, we do get like training packages directed but I have probably had one or two to do with diversity and that… (PO 4)

It was reported that the training modules were written and delivered by staff working within internal departments of the police service, who may have received more specialist training. It was suggested that the training appeared to be designed for a generalised national policing audience and was not tailored to the minority community within the case study site, or individual policing roles. Furthermore, it was stated that this level of intricacy would be difficult to incorporate within the training packages:

...It's just kind of like an overall PowerPoint where they stand up at the front and it's been made by head office and they just kind of stand there and flick through it… it would definitely be better if it was tailored to your actual community that you are dealing with… (PO 5)

And:

…No. It can't possibly, because of the complexity of the infighting…There is so much discordancy, you know, Muslim is very overarching isn't it…there are lots of interpretations of Islam. So no, I would say quite honestly, we train to a standard, if you want my officers to be able to understand the complexities of dealing with a situation that might involve Sunni v Shia then no it's not happening, I'll be honest with you... (PO 3)

It was explained by a TSO worker that their organisation provided this training to a specialist within the police service. This individual officer who would then deliver the training to all police officers. Copies of the training material were obtained, and these documents support some of these concerns. The information was not tailored to the local area and the legal

definitions of FM were outdated, as were the processes for upholding the criminal law and obtaining FM protection orders (Appendix B).

Participants from outside of the police service also acknowledged that training all police officers to be highly knowledgeable of FM, or the cultural intricacies of the minority community may be difficult:

…The idea of having an omni-competent copper that can do everything is rubbish, in my view…you must make sure that every frontline practitioner has a knowledge but accept that it might be patchy because you can't train everyone up to a high standard…but what you can do is have specialist units with an elite status at a very high standard. And then have good working practical knowledge for everyone else… (CCW)

Some participants suggested that the training they had received adequately prepared them for FM management, whilst others were unsure. It was reported that unless the training was regularly used there was a chance that it could be forgotten:

…Yes, I think it is. I don't really know what else we could know, obviously like in terms of prosecuting people and interviewing people, sometimes, if we would have to deal with it, maybe if we have got… it's hard because we only sort of deal with people on a domestic level… (PO 4)

And:

…I don't actually remember it. It's one of those things, like we get taught so much and you kind of think, oh we will need that one day, but because we don't use it often it's one of those things that kind of goes into your loose memory... (PO 5).

4.7.2: Behind closed doors

Participants reported a number of issues they had experienced when implementing their training into practice. It was suggested that whilst training was necessary, if the police service was not perceived to be capable of managing the cultural nuances of the offence, then the victim would not report the crime. It was suggested that because of the unusual nature of FM, in that it occurs within the private setting, victims were unlikely to seek help from the police, unless their experience went beyond what they believed to be culturally acceptable:

…You can't… it is hard to identify something like FM because it goes on behind closed doors… What is that crunch point that makes it go beyond the norm and then the need for help from the police for example… (PO 1)

Although each participant had received some form of FM training, the management strategy solely involved gathering information and referring it on to a more senior officer. However, this approach relied upon victim engagement with the frontline officer, and their interpretations of FM. Some of these officers reported that they were unaware of the differences between a FM and an AM, for example:

…No. I didn't even know there was a difference, between arranged and forced… (PO 5)

How officers determined the distinction between an AM and a FM was unclear. It was reported that detecting psychological pressure was impossible, and that the degree of 'force' between an AM and a FM existed in a tipping point that was not clearly defined and relied upon the individual officer's interpretation. Additionally, it was reported that because FM was not a 'normal' crime, the procedures relied upon for more common offences (e.g. assault) were not suitable for FM management:

…The tip over is "you will marry this person", and we will take your passport off you, or we will take you out of the country under the premise of one thing and whilst we are out there we will force you to marry somebody… (PO3)

And:

…But in terms of actually ever questioning someone on just like FM we don't do any of that. Because it is quite a hard crime to well say… unlike an assault you might say did you hit her, what happened? But with like an arranged marriage and stuff you can't really… (PO 4)

The statutory guidance for the police service (and all other statutory services) including; the official government safeguarding course (Appendix D), the Multi-Agency Statutory guidelines (Appendix E), the Multi-Agency Practice guidelines (Appendix F) and Section 121 of the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 (Appendix G) also do not define or offer guidance for the interpretation of psychological pressure or coercion and the influence it may have upon a victim's capacity to consent to a marriage.

Shortfalls in knowledge amongst the police service were also highlighted by participants from other sectors, who suggested that there was a lack of consistent understanding amongst police officers, for example:

…It varies on the worker sadly. It shouldn't do but it does. With the police… the police are… they are a bit up and down, some really don't get it and don't understand, whereas others will… (TSO 1)

Some participants suggested if training measures could be tailored to the local area, thus considering local cultural nuances, this would increase reporting rates and make the management of FM easier. This approach had not occurred at the time of the study; however, it was suggested that if senior officers felt that a greater level of localised training was necessary, then this would be provided by their organisation:

…I mean let's face it, if we had reports saying for example this is more prevalent in the Salafi community, the Deobandi or the Barelvi communities then we would have to sort of take a step back and say hang on a minute we need to put a little bit more on this training package. Officers are going out there and not knowing the full story. If that came to the force then yes changes would be made. But to my knowledge that has never been raised as an issue so I have to assume therefore it's not different for each… (PO 2)

4.7.3: Referrals process

All police officers wanted to manage FM in a more culturally appropriately manner, because they believed it was a significant problem within the case study site. However, most officers adopted an information gathering approach and this information was then referred onto a more

senior officer or department. It was reported by some participants that this approach was inappropriate for honour motivated crimes, because the incident response forms they were required to complete upon attendance represented crimes which were not motivated by honour. Once these incident response forms had been completed, leaflets listing local voluntary organisations had to be given to victims, however participants suggested this process failed to represent a true consideration of some of the community's values:

…I don't think they've ever gone to a community and said what do you think should be on this form… I think it's just the police saying, this is what we want to know about your life, so we are going to ask you these questions… it's just more generic, and I find as well that it's more tailored to husband and wife or boyfriend and girlfriend but we go to quite a lot that's like mum and son, and it's just like these questions are inappropriate… (PO 5)

And:

…Yes it is just kind of like this is the leaflet that you give to people, and it's like ok and you do it and you don't know if it's effective or it's not you have no idea, but you do it because you are told… (PO 5)

Copies of the risk assessment forms were obtained from these interviews (Appendix H). These forms do not contain a response box for the type of pressure encountered during a FM case, and only allow yes/no responses to some questions including: "have travel details been arranged?" "if you are taken abroad will you have access to a mobile phone?". Additionally, the advice leaflets for FM victims do not contain up-to-date telephone numbers or email addresses for the voluntary organisations. Nor do they mention the specialist women's advice

service for FM cases, which were available within the case study site at the time of the study (Appendix I).

FM management measures were perceived to have improved in recent years, however, specific problems arose that made it difficult for the police to liaise with the minority community. Patriarchal cultural values and gender expectations impacted female officers' interactions with members of the community. In addition, members of the minority community did not always speak English and interpreters were often required, however, these interpreters were not always available:

…Sometimes you go to jobs and people are quite like reluctant to speak to you or… yes because there is quite sort of… I think within the Asian community it is quite sort of male dominated, because the men have the say of like everything… (PO 4)

And:

…So if we are giving them advice, or something they just kind of turn their nose up at you and just look at you like who even are you, because they don't respect the opinion that we are giving them is right. Whereas if a male was to come in and say the exact same thing then they would probably be like yer ok cool, I'll do that. Whereas if it's a female saying it they will be like well you're a female… They kind of look down on you… (PO 5)

And:

…No, I rang (translator service) *up once… and they were like oh they are not in today… I was like oh so what now, and they were like do they speak any other language, no,*

okay well you'll have to deal with it on your own…so I had to use like google translate on my phone… (PO 5)

Values Balance

4.8: RQ2. Theme three: Differing values

This theme conveys the mixed interpretations participants held regarding FM, how these opinions varied with regards to the impact the terrorism discourse had upon FM management, and the concerns police officers had about the lack of trust the minority population held towards the police service within the case study site.

4.8.1: Causes and interpretations of FM

All participants believed FM was motivated by particular cultural values. It was suggested that whilst FM was a criminal offence, the factors that motivated the offence were complex and could not be simply addressed through criminalisation. It was believed that a sole reliance upon criminalisation was unsuitable, because police officers lacked an understanding of the minority community's cultural values and practices. FM was perceived to be incompatible with Modern British values and all participants supported its criminalisation, however, it was suggested that perpetrators may be unaware of its unacceptability and may not necessarily perceive the practice to be wrong:

…I can't really say what I think causes it (FM), *but I think it's just obviously certain families in certain cultures that just don't want their children marrying anyone they don't know…Like within the Asian community something you quite often hear people saying is like oh I don't want to ruin the reputation of the family name, or stuff like that. I think it's mainly within the community and I think it's more of a respect sort of thing…* (PO3)

And:

…The people who come to this country just have a different perception of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable, and that may or may not correlate to the laws of this country. And sometimes I think for them it is hard to understand why we think that is not acceptable. Because that is just something that has been going on since time immemorial from wherever their culture is from… (PO 1)

It was believed that in order to reduce its occurrence, the values and attitudes motivating FM should be addressed through education. Participants believed that if victims were made aware of their rights, the values could be countered and FM could be overcome from within the community. However, it was suggested that the cultural values of the minority population made it difficult for the victim to be fully aware of their rights:

…Highlighting the fact that it is a crime, is big. As I said to you…letting people know that they actually maybe are victims of a crime, so it's all back down to education. Schools do a lot around this so there is work being done… (PO3)

And:

…Because as long as the victims aren't aware of it, they will just accept it because that is how they are brought up…I think if something changes their perception on what is right and wrong, that is when they report it to us… (PO 1)

Participants expressed support for the recent criminalisation of FM, and it was suggested that the law would hopefully deter perpetrators from committing the crime. Criminalisation was also supported because FM is unacceptable in British society. It was suggested that a balanced approach which utilised education alongside criminalisation, would be more appropriate than an approach solely reliant upon criminalising perpetrators:

…So therefore yes it has to be criminal. Ultimately it is a criminal offence. Because ultimately if you choose to live in this country you should be afforded the rights and to be protected by the laws that we have in this country… (PO 3)

And:

…If the only way we have got to deal with that is down the criminal route then it is the only way we can deter further incidences with whoever it might be. But education is required because…I think that is the way... (PO 1)

Police officers indicated that, from their experience, FM tended to occur because perpetrators wished to preserve family traditions and reputation:

…Well…families like for example the…. Pakistani culture like to keep the family unit. They are very very family orientated… (PO 3)

And:

…I think quite often it is sort of like a respect thing within cultures, like a certain family will want them to marry someone else that has maybe got like a good reputation or a family name… (PO 4)

However, it was also suggested that whilst culture may motivate FM, it could also be influenced by religious beliefs:

…I think it's their religion. In their religion it's seen that they can do that, and they want their family to marry into like another good family… (PO 5)

4.8.2: Terrorism and mistrust

Whilst the case study site has a history of Islamic extremism, whether or not participants believed this issue influenced the relationship between the police and the minority community, and consequently impacted upon FM management, was unclear. Some participants reported that the terrorism discourse, and the consequent safeguarding strategies (e.g. PREVENT) had impacted the relationship between the police and the community, however other participants disagreed and suggested this was not a concern for the case study site:

…I don't think here there is. It is not that it doesn't exist, or that there aren't underlying issues within terrorism in any town, I just don't think that any of the cultures would say that the police are trying to persecute them specifically or anything like that and cause tension. I don't think that tension exists… (PO 1)

And:

…So the PREVENT agenda…when that was rolled out created a lot of mistrust in the police. Because from the community's perspective we thought everybody who was Muslim in the town was potentially a terrorist. And that was always the danger in the way that it was rolled out… (PO 3)

It was also stated by interviewees from other settings, that the PREVENT agenda had been interpreted to unfairly target the minority community, and this had then impacted the community's trust towards the statutory services, particularly the police, for example:

…Well yes…because it's you know what's the problem again, do you know what I mean. I mean part of this training with like PREVENT they gave us some examples that are not all from Islamic terrorism…but it was sort of very thinly veiled, it was sort of like come on we all know we are here because you are looking at Islamic terrorism… (T1)

The counter-terrorism agenda may have influenced the relationship between the police service and the minority population, however other participants suggested there were wider social issues in the area that made FM management difficult. It was reported that the police were disliked by individuals across all communities within the case study site. However, this dissatisfaction was reported to be irrelevant, because it was not the job of the police service to satisfy people:

…I don't think that the police are liked generally by most people…I think quite often the police get a bit of a bad name because…we are not here to satisfy people if that makes sense…and by doing so you are always dissatisfying people, because they are never happy… (PO 1)

It was suggested that the minority population tended to stereotype the police as culturally irrelevant and representative of White Christian values. It was perceived by the participants that the police service was unlikely to understand or represent the cultural settings and values of the minority group. It was reported that these perceptions had made policing the community difficult within the case study site:

...They are going to assume that, let's face it, me I don't look Sikh, I don't look Muslim, I look White Christian. Whether I am a devout follower or not it doesn't make any difference. But the assumption is going to be that you are a White police officer, you enforce the law, you have no interest in my culture, you don't understand my culture, and that is a barrier that they probably put up straight away… (PO 2)

And:

…I think there is a belief that probably most police officers are White, middle class men and have no understanding of other cultural backgrounds… (PO 1)

Participants indicated that the high levels of underreporting were most likely the result of a combination of fear towards the honour systems by the victim, and a lack of confidence in the police service's capacity to manage crimes beyond their own cultural understandings:

…I think females they are scared about what are the repercussions that could happen to them, and they'd know that if they were to come forward there is the potential that they could be killed… (PO 5)

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And:

> … *The information goes out so before long the whole community knows so there is that danger of the walls closing in, and people speaking to each other saying: look you know you don't really want to report this, this is going to bring great shame on the family, you don't want to do that…* (PO 2)

Participants reported that particular cultural values, including social structures and issues of patriarchy, had resulted in some officers encountering difficulties when they had liaised with the minority community. It was suggested that the community tended to deal with matters in house and were often reluctant to report issues to the police:

> …*I think sometimes it's harder with Asian communities because their culture is like to deal with things in the family… they have quite sort of large families, and they like to deal with things in the family system…* (PO 5)

And:

> …*If something happens like between their family, they don't really like to get the police involved so it's rare that we actually deal with them…* (PO 5)

There was unanimous support for FM criminalisation and for helping victims, however police officers found that the community were reluctant to engage with them during FM interventions. It was believed that members of the community were deliberately hiding information from

victims regarding FM criminalisation, in order to prevent them reporting the crime to the police:

…I think it is, but I think there is an element of maybe people are being prevented from being educated or receiving that information. I think that there are situations where people are isolated intentionally... (PO 1)

It was believed that in the past, when police officers had shown an awareness and respect for the cultural traditions and practices of the minority community, these steps had fostered a more positive relationship, and had improved enforcer-subject interactions:

…I made the mistake ages ago of saying to a lad I know are you going to go to the Mawlid then? And you know he wasn't upset by it, firstly he was probably impressed that I knew it was happening and I knew what it was about… (PO 2)

And:

…Even though we have got big chunky boots on we do offer to take our shoes off and things like that… sometimes as well they are really… they get offended if people don't take food and drink from them… So it is hard… like if you don't actually want to eat the food and you say no… but sometimes it is just easier to say yes thank you very much… (PO 5)

It was also reported that resources were limited and police officers did not have the time to build such relationships and to improve upon any negative perceptions the minority community had of them:

…And I don't think you are given the time to show that you do…unless you are in an area like neighbourhood policing or something else where, what you are dealing with is over a longer period of time… (PO 1)

4.9: RQ2. Theme four: Participation and effective management

This theme describes how police officers believed underreporting had impacted the management of FM. This theme also conveys how an under representative work force, which employed mainly White police officers had failed to portray a cultural balance to the minority community, and had negatively impacted the management of FM. This theme also highlights the central difficulties police officers experienced with the current multiagency approach to FM management, and how participants believed that education and the inclusion of the minority community during the formation of management measures, could help provide a more suitable approach.

4.9.1: Under reporting

It was stated that the approaches used by the police service for FM management had improved in recent years, however, participants acknowledged that their previous protocols may have created conflict. Furthermore, significant underreporting meant that the police service had experienced difficulties implementing these new measures:

…We have to be sensitive about how we deal with it, there is no doubt about that, we can't go storm trooping in like we used to years ago, we have to be very…we have to be very considerate but we still have to enforce the law…and it's down to the individual officers to

demonstrate how…I think we are aware of the sensitivity; we are aware of the underlying

cultural reasons… (PO 2)

And:

…The issue is not getting it reported. Because it is quite a sophisticated investigation

model that is ready to go, when we have concerns around other honour-based abuses, forced

marriage. It's all there, the infrastructure is there, it's making sure that we know about it…

(PO 3)

A victim reluctance to report FM was also highlighted by external practitioners, who believed

that although the law had changed, and new measures were being implemented, there was still

an unwillingness amongst the minority population to involve the police with family matters:

…The difficulty is in these cases is that people don't want their family members to be

in trouble with the police or sent to prison…often we see people and we prepare applications

to go to the family court for forced marriage protection orders. Even in those cases…people

decide that they don't want to do that because they don't want their parents to be in trouble

for something… (S)

The demographics of the police service were described as unbalanced and unrepresentative of

the social diversity within the case study site. It was believed that this had impacted the

management of FM. It was stated that very few police officers were employed from the

minority community within the case site area:

…No not at all. I think out of the whole of XXXX out of the officers I think we have got one but he is like Chinese Asian. He's not like Pakistani, I have never seen a Pakistani officer in XXXX… (PO 5)

Participants believed that if the police service could recruit from this population, therefore building a more representative workforce, this would make FM management easier. However, the negative relationship between the police and the minority community meant that recruitment levels were not demographically representative:

…I mean maybe just to try and diversify the police officers really, to deal with like the… you want officers to represent the community you are working with but obviously I think it is quite hard because like as I have said before, especially with Asian people the association with police isn't great. So actually trying to make these people become police officers isn't the easiest but I think it would probably help if we did have some more Asian officers… (PO 4)

And:

…I think it's because they don't want to apply, because there is so many opportunities out there for them to apply and I know that XXXX are always looking for Asian officers and I have never seen any come through, and if someone was to apply and they were to fit… to do well they would definitely employ them because that is what they need… but I think it's trying to find them which is the hardest bit… (PO 5)

Examples were provided where a more representative workforce had previously helped establish a rapport with the minority community. It was suggested that recruiting from the minority community could also provide more specialist knowledge and cultural awareness during the frontline management of FM:

…I used to work when I was on neighbourhood I used to work with an Asian lady because we have only really got like one Asian lady in XXXX, but she's a detective now. She speaks like Bangladeshi, and there have been a couple of jobs where I have called her up because some people are sort of more comfortable speaking in like their own language… (PO 4)

And:

…Definitely, because they'd have more of an understanding of it than we would… (PO 5)

4.9.2: Interagency working

An interagency approach to FM management was implemented within the study site. Participants stated that FM cases were typically referred into an information sharing forum, where all statutory services could then help manage the victim's needs. However, whilst interagency working was acknowledged as essential, and although this relationship was believed to have improved in recent years, participants indicated a number of issues that had arisen from working with external organisations:

…The time constraints that our partner agencies have in terms of the interactions that they may have, for example GPs have such short time constraints when interacting with

somebody, that can be an issue. There isn't any feedback given from external organisations… (PO 3)

And:

…Erm…with social services we don't really have a great relationship with…well I wouldn't say so from my experience that we don't really have a great relationship with them…we find it quite difficult for them to actually help us… (PO 5)

And:

…I think it has improved significantly over the last ten years. I think that a lot of that has come about because of some major incidents, and I think a lot of people have been scrutinised and people have then had to look upon themselves and how they deal with things and how they communicate with each other…I think that sometimes where I was saying earlier on about dealing with things spontaneously, that we deal with and then other departments dealing with things a little bit more slow time… (PO 1)

These findings were confirmed by practitioners from other sectors, who suggested that a central issue was a lack of interagency communication and information sharing during FM cases:

…The difficulty is the information sharing, so as part of the Care Act it's all meant to be like one unified service and it's all meant to be about communication sharing and information sharing and all the rest of it…and quite often as soon as we give it to the police,

they then turn around and say oh it's a criminal investigation now and they don't share any information back… (SW 1)

And:

…Unless they (the police) *want further information in which case they will turn up in the middle of afternoon surgeries saying well can you do a statement we are in a bit of a hurry and you think ok right, so you get that or if there is a conviction you know you will hear about it but otherwise no* (they do not share information or report back)... (H3)

4.9.3: Inclusion and recognition

Whilst criminalisation was believed to be essential because of its deterrent effect, it could also prevent FM victims from reporting the crime. It was suggested that a victim's life would be completely changed upon reporting the crime, and this had to be acknowledged and accorded for within the multiagency approach. It was suggested that these cultural and organisational barriers had prevented victims from seeking the police service's help:

…They don't understand whether they should be doing it or not, but I think the biggest thing for most people in all situations is that change. Where do they go? Because the minute they report it, I think there is that understanding that whether they want to report proceedings or anything else, the minute they've reported it something is going to change. They are acutely aware of that before they do so, that is why things are really really difficult for them to do it in the first place, because there is no way back for them. That is their house, their children, their other families, the rest of the community, how are they going to look

within the community, you know what do they do after that point. I think that prevents them from doing it… (PO 1)

Participants believed that increasing education and raising social awareness of the law would help the management of FM. However, a balanced approach which aimed to educate both the community and victims about criminalisation, was not being deployed at the time of this study. Instead, it was felt that there was a greater emphasis placed upon deterrence through criminalisation rather than education, for example:

...I think you have to enforce the law though because that is part of the education they have got to have something, there has got be a reason as to why you can't do something, because you are trying to take something out of somebody that has been engrained in them... (PO 1)

It was suggested that many perpetrators did not mean to harm their victims, but, were motivated by a different set of cultural values. Therefore, it was essential for police officers to understand these values and the motivation they provided for FM:

…But it is difficult for us to understand because we don't share the same cultural background as the people that do this. I still don't think that families who do this are necessarily bad people, but their values are such that family honour is everything… (PO 3)

And:

…I guess it would be good if they (those responsible for managing FM) *could try* (to understand the motives behind the offence) *and the offender was willing to* (provide justifications for the crime), *or if they got a result in court then they said that it was part of the sentence that they had to go to rehabilitation, I think that would be good…* (PO 5)

The internal organisational processes of the police service were also criticised. Participants were not regularly provided with feedback from their superiors or from specialist departments following FM interventions, unless they had acted inappropriately. This lack of communication made participants' jobs more difficult, because they found it challenging to learn from their experiences and improve upon their approaches:

...Never ever. You deal with something and if you hand it over to a different department unless you go on and look if it has gone to court or what the court result was then actually that is the only way you are going to find out yourself. They would never come back to you and say that was good, the only way you are ever going to find out is if you have done something really wrong they'll happily tell you you've done it wrong but they'll never tell you if you've done it right…you have no idea whether you have done it right, you just kind of have to hope that it was right… (PO 5)

It was also suggested that the severity of FM justified the need for a specialist department to be established. It was stated that specialist departments already existed for certain types of crime, and this approach could help frontline officers to more effectively manage FM:

…I guess it is our issue to deal with it, but there should be some sort of department, like an honour based abuse department that is fully trained that I can actually go to…like if

we had a robbery or something we have a department that can deal with it so there should be

a department that when a job comes in, that they think oh this could be they should be

sending them and not shift officers that don't actually know what they are doing… (PO 5)

RQ3. How are TSOs managing FM and are they influenced by a conflict of cultural values?

Five themes and a number of associated sub themes were developed from the data representing how TSOs manage FM and determining whether or not they are influenced by a conflict of cultural values (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Themes, subthemes, and cross cutting themes representing how TSOs are managing FM and determining whether or not they are influenced by a conflict of cultural values

Values Differences		Values Representation	Values Balance	
Organisation Remit	**Scope of the Problem**	**Engaging Service Users**	**Difficulties and Limitations**	**A Change of Approach**
1. Utilising Local Knowledge 2. A Different Approach.	1. Marriage Types 2. Two Different Worlds 3. Influence of Honour.	1. Appearing Legitimate 2. Tailoring Measures, the Need for Privacy 3. Losing Trust.	1. Resources and Expectations 2. Funding and Obligations 3. Interagency Working 4. Harrowing Work.	1. Improved Models 2. Inclusion 3. Education and Integration.

Values Differences

4.10: RQ3. Theme one: Organisation remit

There were a number of organisations within the case study site who provided services for FM victims. The aims and remits of these organisations varied, however, each had worked with FM victims and were familiar with the issues FM management presents. This theme relays how organisations overcame values differences to provide support to victims. The theme shows how these organisations utilised local knowledge to inform their management approaches, and how these approaches differed to those of the statutory services.

4.10.1: Utilising local knowledge

All participants had worked with victims of FM, and they had found these cases particularly difficult. Participants suggested that FM frequently occurred within the case study area, however, honour systems prevented victims from exposing the crime. Victims were reported to have sought advice from organisations throughout the FM process, i.e. before, during and after it had occurred:

> *…So we see that* (FM) *quite a bit … And some young women who we have worked with who have escaped* (before a marriage), *you know they don't just lose their family they lose their whole community because you know they will get snubbed by them or they will be pressured. You know because they have insulted the family which they call izzat, and so they have all that to contend with so it is very difficult for them not to adhere to what their parents say…* (TSO 1)

And:

…They were both (two victims of FM) *in marriages that were either arranged or forced. They were both unhappy in their marriages, the husband in both cases were basically coming to live here. There are lots of agendas going on…* (TSO 2)

All participants believed honour systems and preserving family reputation were the leading motives behind FM. Some participants suggested their main sources of knowledge were from government issued guidelines and training packages, however, others suggested that their knowledge of FM typically came from their service users, and local organisations working within the case site:

…That is our main source (service users). *I mean we have good relationships with councillors in XXXX, you know in the homeless department as well, you know we talk to them quite a lot…* (TSO 1)

And:

…Just like actually getting information and sort of experience from other colleagues and stuff because…there is generally someone who has come up against the situation that you are in with your client even if you haven't yourself yet if that makes sense… (TSO 4)

4.10.2: A different approach

Organisational approaches to FM management were inconsistent. Some organisations had been established specifically to manage honour-based abuse, whereas other organisations worked within a broader remit but also had the capacity to manage FM. Some participants reported that

their organisation provided specialist services to FM victims, whilst others indicated that they managed victims within a non-specific FM framework:

…Well the organisation was set up specifically to help victims of honour-based abuse, FGM and FM… (TSO 3)

And:

…It's general advice, so anything that comes in…we categorise it into groups, accommodation, finances, personal problems, that kind of thing… (TSO 2)

All participants suggested that their capacity to manage FM relied upon victims engaging with their services. Since client confidentiality procedures were in place, each organisation was unable to act without the permission of the victim, unless there was a child protection issue. All participants stated that they typically supported clients by working with them, working on behalf of them, and by liaising with statutory services (including the police, social services and local housing authorities) to help them escape their situation. It was highlighted how this approach helped to address the values differences between the minority population and the organisation, and consequently victims were more willing to engage with these organisations over the statutory services:

…So with both of them we looked at what is available in terms of more specialist advice out there because we are not specialist advisors. So we look for specialists, one of them actually eventually got in touch with social services and was moved out of area, to get away from the problem… (TSO 2)

And:

…Ok, the younger community with the women really embrace it and they will come and they are often very surprised because it is confidential as well when they come here. Unless it is a child protection issue then it is very different, but we tell them that so they know… (TSO 1)

4.11: RQ3. Theme two: Scope of the problem

Participants were familiar with the cultural motives of FM and provided data regarding the extent of the problem in the case study site. This theme communicates why victims had chosen to engage with the organisations, how participants believed victims were attempting to live two separate lives within the case site area, and the influence honour systems had upon victims who chose to engage with these services.

4.11.1: Marriage types

Each organisations' objectives differed, and therefore they engaged with different scenarios surrounding FM. Some of the organisations typically worked with victims based in the UK who were likely to be taken abroad to be married, whilst others helped victims who had escaped a FM abroad, and who had engaged with their organisation as a consequence of their immigration status and the wider issue of human trafficking, for example:

…And there has often been that they are married to someone from Pakistan maybe, and then or sometimes they will just take women (to Pakistan) *…some young women are taken over there at the age of fourteen, fifteen or sixteen, and married…* (TSO 1)

And:

…And her parents had basically said we want you to marry this bloke. She didn't know who he was, she had never met him before, but it was almost as if she had been like reserved for him… It got so bad that she ran away… she picked up a job in a bar where she was basically cleaning, and it was only after she had been doing the job for a couple of months that she realised that the bar was also a brothel… And basically, she was drugged and raped and woke up in a room…she didn't know where she was, and she was trafficked from there… (TSO 4)

4.11.2: Two different worlds

Participants believed FM occurred frequently in the case study site and provided numerous reasons for this. It was suggested that the town was highly segregated between the majority community and the minority population. This segregation had resulted in the minority group living in accordance with principles and traditions which differed greatly from those held by the majority of the population. These cultural values were associated with the Mirpur region of Pakistan. It was suggested that these traditions were being adhered to in the case site more stringently than they would be in Pakistan:

…I know that there are difficulties. I think sometimes from what I have heard, that second and third generation immigrants from Pakistan, the culture here is sometimes tighter, more traditional than it was back home… (TSO 2)

The extensiveness of this cultural divide was also reported by practitioners from other fields, and this separation of cultures, and these differences in values, were viewed as a significant issue for FM management, and community integration:

…So you have got these people within their own community…who will follow the edicts of their elders from whichever village they come from so that is one element of isolation. Then you have got the fact that they are the predominant minority group, and I spoke to a young man who said to me I am probably more British than most British people, but living in XXXX means I can be here a month and not hold a meaningful conversation with a non-Muslim… (CCW)

Community separation was reported to have created two 'worlds' within the case site area and consequently victims were living two different lives. It was identified that even though victims were born in the UK, they were regularly prevented from adhering to secular values in their personal lives. Victims were often in mainstream education and participated in British life at a young age, however, their home lives were very different:

…The common theme is that you know the women who are born and bred here and bought up and you know go to school here and have these values. It is like they live two different lives, and they will say that. You know, when they are at school or college or wherever they live a Western life, when they are at home they have to lead an Asian life and go within those rules… (TSO 2)

These notions were confirmed by participants working in the education sector, who believed this clash of cultural differences increased the risk of FM. Participants stated how the internal

manifestation of this values conflict was difficult for individuals from the minority community, for example:

…I really have a lot of sympathy for young people who have that kind of heritage growing up in a very Westernised society, I think they are getting really mixed messages about what is expected of them, how they should behave, how they can behave…When they are with us (a local college) *for a couple of years you see a lot of changes in that time, and particularly with the girls because they are suddenly expected to grow up and be women, and be able to do all sorts, household type things and things like that…* (SG)

4.11.3: Influence of honour

Respondents described how honour systems motivate FM, how these systems influence a victim's life, and how they made it difficult to report FM. Unlike participants from the public sector, TSO interviewees described how differences in cultural values often meant that victims were forced to marry their cousins, thus reporting FM was especially difficult. It was suggested that reporting consanguineous marriages could entail a betrayal of honour for both the immediate and the extended family, for example:

…Because they marry cousins the outer family get involved and then it causes a rift within the family, so then there is lots of blaming going on…it is so complicated… (TSO 1)

Reporting FM would often result in the statutory services being involved. This bought shame upon a victim's family. Therefore, victims were not always willing to report the crime because these measures were not appropriate for their needs. It was reported how instead, individuals would often choose to accept the marriage in order to remain within their family and social

settings. This tended to occur more frequently when the victims were older and had grown accustomed to the cultural expectations of the community. It was described how upon reporting the crime, a lack of adequate measures amongst the public services would result in a victim permanently leaving their family, and becoming socially isolated:

…With the older generation, again it is different, because they are very entrenched in it so they are often looking towards how can they manage it and cope with it. So it is sort of giving them the tools for them to do that. Some women don't want to leave, they just want to get on with it but live there safely… (TSO 1)

And:

… Leaving is really hard… once it's (FM) *been reported they have to go they won't be able to talk to their family again…* (TSO 3)

All participants described the honour systems in the case study site as highly complex. It was conveyed how a victim's honour could be lost through culturally inappropriate conduct, which was often when their family interpreted the victim's behaviour as being too Westernised or sexual, for example:

…Because she had started a sexual relationship with this guy without being married her father disowned her and was like you are not my daughter anymore like we can't have anything to do with you like literally don't come home, you are not welcome, you are not my daughter anymore, because it had bought shame on their family in his eyes… (TSO 4)

This was confirmed by participants working in other sectors, who reported that if a victim were to engage in 'Westernised' behaviour this would antagonise their family who held differing cultural values, and such conduct could result in FM being imposed upon a victim:

…I am just thinking about the actual families that I have been involved in, there was a girl who was beaten in the street by her father…Both her parents had grown up here, they had no reason to…she always used to say that her older sister was far worse than she was but she was very clever about it, she got away with it, and the parents never knew. Whereas, this one wore her heart on her sleeve, and if she wanted to go out in a mini skirt, she would go out in a mini skirt…and they for a family… should have been fairly Westernised because they have both grown up here… But then I guess you don't know what goes on behind closed doors, and what attitudes are at home do you… (SG)

Values Representation

4.12: RQ3. Theme Three: Engaging service users

Each organisation had implemented specific measures to support FM victims. These measures provided specialist care beyond that of the statutory services. This theme relays why victims were perceived to engage with these organisations, how these organisations tailored their measures towards FM victims by representing a greater consideration of their cultural values, and how their relationships with victims were fragile and susceptible to external influence.

4.12.1: Appearing legitimate

All participants described how FM victims appeared to engage with their organisations more freely than they would with the statutory services. It was believed this occurred because the statutory services were less discreet, less understanding, and their interventions increased the

likelihood of the victim's family finding out. Additionally, because the TSOs allowed victims to choose whether or not they wished for further action to be taken against their family, their approaches represented the victims' wishes and helped to gain their trust:

…Well because if they call the police, the community see it and then they become the centre of you know…they are talked about and it affects the whole family. But the community get involved all the time… (TSO 1)

And:

…Well the way we work here, is to look at the options available and help the person we are advising to choose the best option for them, we don't direct. So with both of them we looked at what is available in terms of more specialist advice out there…so we look for specialists, one of them actually eventually got in touch with social services and was moved out of area, to get away from the problem… (TSO 2)

It was also highlighted that victims who came to the UK, may not wish to engage with the statutory services because of their experience with these organisations in their home countries. This lack of trust was a hurdle to establishing rapport with victims, and prevented TSOs from successfully working with the service user, for example:

…Obviously they might believe you in the moment but it doesn't take away the fear and the psychological damage that they have…experienced as a result of the police in their own countries. And so yes, I think definitely just being an advocate…rather than working for

social services or…the home office or whatever…definitely will alleviate some of the fear…

(TSO 4)

4.12.2: Tailoring measures, the need for privacy

The complexity of honour systems meant that TSOs had implemented a number of measures to ensure victim safety and anonymity. Perpetrators would often go to extreme lengths to uphold their family's honour, and therefore organisations would only intervene when the victim themselves reported an incident. It was described how victims were unlikely to speak of an incident openly because often they were chaperoned by male members of the family when out in public, therefore careful planning had to be undertaken:

…And we have also met women at the doctor's surgery as well that is something that happens quite a lot because nobody questions… And you know they will, they are often chaperoned but the doctor will make sure it is orchestrated that she sees the woman on her own, so that the worker can have a chat with her and stuff… (TSO 1)

And:

… We would help and also we would help them to get in touch with specialists from here, they can use the phone from here which is private… (TSO 2)

And:

…She (a concerned third party) *said can she make a referral, but we don't do that because we can end up putting in more danger by us ringing up, because quite often the*

phones are monitored…so we have to be very careful…sometimes we have said before you know…does she comes in for a cup of tea, some will say yes, so we will say right well next time she comes in for a cup of tea give us a call and then we can talk to her, so we will do that… (TSO 1)

The issue of privacy was also mentioned by healthcare workers who believed it was difficult for a victim to disclose information regarding FM, because there was a tendency for male family members to speak on behalf of the victim, for example:

…That does happen quite a lot that the men try and answer all of the questions, and I either think that they don't speak very much English and the husband is trying to help, and then you actually direct a question to them…and they can answer it like date of birth and things like that. So, they can actually speak English, but the husbands tend to answer their questions… (H1)

According to participants, whilst their organisations were able to manage FM to a degree, providing immediate protection was difficult. Refuges did exist for female FM victims; however, it was said to be very unusual for a victim to engage with these services because of their proximity to the case site and the risk of danger:

…We have also got a refuge, and we do sometimes have Asian women coming to the refuge although it is not as often as a White British woman. Because it is a huge thing, a massive thing for women to go into refuge, particularly from the Asian community. Because often they have to go really far, you know to move away from the community, and communities are spread… (TSO 1)

4.12.3: Losing trust

Respondents believed that TSOs could engage with FM victims in a more culturally appropriately manner than the statutory services. This was attributed to their ability to tailor services to specific cultural settings, thus representing a consideration of the victim's cultural values. It was believed that by representing a less punitive approach, organisations were more likely to appear legitimate amongst the victims:

…Because if you have got a police officer who is saying to you this is wrong because of XYZ, there might be that sort of what is the word like it's more difficult to relate to a police officer than someone who is standing in jeans and a t-shirt in front of you that is from some totally independent organisation… (TSO 4)

And:

…Ok with honour-based abuse, what happens is we have here at XXXX, we have an Asian women's project and we are just in the process of leaving, she has just left and we are going to be getting a new worker… (TSO 1)

Participants mentioned a number of factors that negatively impacted this relationship building. FM occurred to both men and women, however, a number of these organisations implemented measures specific to female service users. This gendered approach was deliberate for some organisations because their services specifically represented the needs of women. It was also suggested that male victims simply were not willing to engage with these services because it would be culturally inappropriate for them:

…Cultural I suppose. I mean we have got one male advisor over at XXXX, but the rest of the team are female. So it may be a cultural thing… (TSO 2)

It was reported how employing representatives of the minority community within the organisations had created a level of trust with FM victims, however, it was believed that this approach had also deterred some victims from coming forward because they had believed that the information they would disclose would get back to the community:

…We have had an Asian female advisor, and definitely some female Asian students wanted to see her particularly, and some didn't want to see her particularly and I think that was because of the fear that it might get back into their community. That community honour principle trust thing… (TSO 2)

This point was also raised by practitioners from other settings, who reported that there was a need to ensure these employees were recruited from outside of the case site area, for example:

…To that end it's funny but they have almost like an exchange scheme with (a nearby town) *and* (the case site), *you scratch my back I'll scratch yours, so the interpreters all live in one place and work in the other, because of that very reason…* (H3)

All TSOs emphasised that they would only act with the service user's permission (excluding situations where there was a child protection issue), however, it was described how problems had arisen when a victim was particularly vulnerable. Participants described how, because of the risks inherent to honour systems, there was confusion between the legally imposed duty of

care for vulnerable service users (enshrined within their organisations safeguarding policies), and respecting the wishes of the individual, for example:

…I mean we have a duty for children and vulnerable adults. You know there is a reporting thing, if we think they are in danger… if you are talking about somebody who is so controlled that their family is even considering putting them into a marriage that they don't agree with, that is a vulnerable person, by the definition. So there is a tension there… (TSO 2)

The safeguarding policy for this particular organisation defines a vulnerable adult as someone over the age of 18 who may be unable to take care of themselves against significant harm or exploitation (Appendix J). Although this definition could encompass somebody at risk of FM, there was no further clarification or guidance available within the organisation's safeguarding policy.

Values Balance

4.13: RQ3. Theme Four: Difficulties and limitations

According to respondents, their work was heavily dependent upon a variety of external factors. This theme relays how insufficient resources had prevented victims from engaging with their services, how each organisation was dependent on external funding which often required specific obligations to be met, and how relationships with outside service providers could jeopardise a victim's safety.

4.13.1: Resources and expectations

All participants provided extensive information regarding FM and honour systems. It was suggested that the majority of their organisational knowledge came directly from their work with the victims of FM. However, it was mentioned by some participants that they had not received any specialist FM training, and their knowledge was gained through experience:

…Erm…Not specifically no, not specifically. I have done a lot of reading and my own research on it. You know it's something I am very aware of… (TSO 2)

And:

…I haven't had any training on FM or any like formal training at all but to be honest, it is very much a case of you know coming up against the situation and then asking colleagues or your team leader or whatever for advice on what you are supposed to do… (TSO 4)

Participants mentioned that they would like to undertake additional FM training, however, timing and funding constraints made this difficult. It was reported that if they were to undertake specific FM training this would have to be seen by their organisation as cost effective, for example:

…It would need, resource wise, you know we would have to consider the costing of it, and how long it was. You know I wouldn't be looking for more than half a day or a day's training on it… (TSO 2)

According to respondents, whilst it was possible to help victims of FM, the availability and suitability of resources was an issue. Practitioners mentioned that because victims would be at risk from the wider community, meeting all of their needs, and in particular relocating them locally was not possible:

…I mean we have had a couple of women from our area leave and go to Edinburgh… it is one hell of a distance and when you think, if you can imagine that if somebody said to you tomorrow right you need to pack a bag, with as much as you can put in and make sure you have got all of your documents, you will go to Edinburgh and that is where you are going to spend your life now, you are going to resettle there… (TSO 1)

Some participants described how their services for FM management were incorporated within a wider organisational remit. This meant that often they did not have the resources or expertise to manage all of the issues that a FM service user would encounter. It was expressed by all respondents that they would strive to help a victim, however, their role and approach was dependent upon the availability of resources within the case site area:

…It is a small amount of what we do… it is often beyond our remit you know… we don't have the resources to do a lot… you know we can't re-house somebody, we can't give them police protection, you know we don't have those resources… (TSO 2)

And:

…I mean we will never refuse to help them…but we have to work with the other agencies to meet their needs…and often in XXXX there just simply isn't the resources available things like housing you know… (TSO 3)

4.13.2: Funding and obligations

All of the TSOs were dependent upon state funding and donations. TSOs were awarded this funding because their services were necessary within the case site, for example:

…We are funded by our local council, and we are funded by XXXX county council. We are supported to a degree as well, a big degree by XXXX district council because we serve a purpose as well so we tick boxes for them. And we get bits of funding from other councils in our area but much smaller… (TSO 1)

However, it was suggested that the funding was not always sufficient to cover specialisms and further training. Often, funding for staff development had to be considered against the frequency of use and the cost:

…So my problem is if you spend a lot training up staff in specialism that they are not going to be dealing with very often, it's a waste of resources. I mean we work together as a team, so if it did come in to any member of the team we would share that within the team and support each other and look at bringing in that expertise as we required it… (TSO 2)

It was also stated that these financial arrangements would often come with expectations attached. For example, for one organisation it had to be demonstrated that their work was necessary within the case site area in order for them to receive funding. However, this could

present a dilemma when the organisation's objectives did not necessarily align with the aims of their funders because the capacity to provide a culturally appropriate approach could be limited:

…So we answer to them, you know as I say we serve a purpose for them like our Asian outreach project is funded by XXXX district council so we serve a purpose for that, and we are able to give figures you know of who we are seeing, the ages, the ethnicities and children… (TSO 1)

And:

…A charity has to work within certain parameters doesn't it, and has to work within regulations and the law… And particularly, I am just thinking if those new laws or regulations or whatever are put in place by a government that quite frankly has no idea about human trafficking or FM, then that is definitely a potential barrier in our job and would definitely make it harder because I feel like very often the charities and the organisations that actually are on the ground doing the work are sometimes the last people to actually be listened to when it comes to like the structure that we have to work within, if you see what I mean… (TSO 4)

And:

…Of course we want to help these people and end FM, but sometimes that help isn't simply about throwing people in prison or harassing the community … it's about what the

individual needs…it's about being sensitive…but demonstrating this to them (funders) *as a justification for more funding isn't easy…(TSO 2)*

4.13.3: Interagency working

All participants stated that the success of their work was dependent upon the approaches of the statutory services. It was described how organisations may have procedures in place for FM, however, often the approaches of individuals within these services impacted the treatment a victim received. A lack of cultural awareness surrounding the vulnerabilities of victims, along with a fear of talking about FM were reported:

…I think the biggest thing is lack of understanding, and lack of awareness, and as I say the blinkers on. I think a lot of people will shy away from difficult subjects, and difficult people as well. You know because to challenge people you know it can be very hard… (TSO 1)

And:

…And how dare you treat someone the way that you do. Like speaking to some of our clients in a certain way could ultimately be the reason why they go home and kill themselves, because it could be the last straw that breaks the camel's back …That sounds really extreme but actually that is reality, so I definitely think lack of understanding can mean that you are often fighting for your clients to receive the services that they need… (TSO 4)

And:

…What is stopping them (the police) *from intervening? I do think they are scared of being labelled racist or whatever…but honour is abuse, murder is murder and rape is rape…* (TSO 3)

The approaches adopted by the statutory services had improved, however, it was suggested that certain organisations had not treated FM victims appropriately. It was described how there was a lack of available resources in the case site area, and victims were regularly referred to the wrong organisations upon reporting a FM:

…The mental health is crap, but that is NHS resources…there is a huge resource issue going on there so that is very difficult to get people the help they need mental health wise… (TSO 2)

And:

…We have got another project where we are trying to talk to GPs about you know referrals for getting them to refer into us quicker because at the moment what is happening is they are referring them into XXXX and by the time they get to speak to somebody at XXXX they realise that it is not appropriate, so then XXXX refer into us. You know it is just knowing what is going on in your community and then being active in trying to change it… (TSO 1)

4.13.4: Harrowing work

All of the participants expressed frustrations at managing FM. Shortcomings were recognised to exist amongst the approaches of the statutory agencies, however, it was also acknowledged that the nature of the work was particularly harrowing. All practitioners stated that their

personal cultural values made it difficult to understand how a perpetrator could commit this type of offence, and it was acknowledged that these cases were hard to manage emotionally:

> *…I had a client a few weeks ago who was literally talking about killing herself and I was actually absolutely freaking out, and I was like I just basically took on the responsibility of like I have to make sure that she doesn't kill herself…* (TSO 4)

And:

> *…These cases are the most harrowing; you know some of the most extreme harrowing issues that we kind of deal with...* (TSO 2)

Participants believed they could manage a FM victim's needs; however, it was mentioned that these cases had an impact upon their emotional wellbeing, and that measures should be implemented to help support their needs. However, because of funding restrictions, this was not available for most organisations, for example:

> *…I just think we need to be looked after because we are face to face with some of the hardest stuff that people can go through, and if you are not looking after your staff, we are going to end up with mental health problems…* (TSO 4)

The vulnerability of TSO workers was also mentioned by external participants. It was suggested that there had been cases where employees of these organisations had been threatened, or physically attacked by members of the minority community during their work with victims, for example:

…When I talked to the specialist Asian domestic abuse worker in XXXX one of the things she said to be was well I have to keep a low profile because my car has been damaged three times… (CCW)

4.14: RQ3. Theme five: A change of approach

All participants offered a number of improvements they believed would result in the improved management of FM. This theme conveys how participants felt that improved interagency working would greatly improve the experience of victims, how including representatives from the community within the formation and enactment of measures could increase FM reporting rates, and how educating victims, perpetrators and organisations could overcome FM.

4.14.1: Improved models

It was reported that a greater level of collaboration between all of the organisations involved in FM management, could result in a more effective approach being adopted in the case site area. A consistent level of understanding, and a greater degree of collaboration between TSOs and external organisations was described as a way by which the situation could be improved:

…I think what would be really helpful would be to have, this is really difficult but would almost be to have like a network across the geographical location that we work in where we have like gone into a GP's surgery, we have gone into colleges, gone into whatever the services are that our clients might benefit from introduced ourselves, and been like this is what we do, these are the kind of people that we work with, and then almost have those

immediate referral pathways in place. So that we are not constantly fighting for whatever it is

that our clients need when we take them on… (TSO 4)

And:

…You know, if these organisations had a better understanding of their (the victims)

needs that would really help, I mean it has got better over recent years but there is still a

long way to go… (TSO 3)

4.14.2: Inclusion

All practitioners supported criminalisation. Various reasons were provided for this including:

the often-violent nature of FM, the denial of choice for a victim, and the patriarchal control FM

represented. However, it was suggested that unless members of the minority community

supported the message and change was encouraged from within, legislation would be difficult

to implement:

…I would look at links that are already well established, and there are established

links between…I mean the multiagency…there is a multi-faith chaplaincy here for instance

has links with the Muslim community. So, you start talking to people who you can talk with,

who you do have commonality with to develop that and then you know, you want leaders

within a community to be onside to then start talking to the community… (TSO 2)

And:

…I don't know how to say it…but basically like get hold of people within the communities that it is an issue for, and to be asking them to promote the fact that it is an issue…I don't know… even if there is differences in the way that those communities dress, or you know their skin colour or things like that, perhaps it is more powerful to have someone that you totally identify with standing up in front of you and saying this really is wrong rather than someone from a totally different society if you see what I mean... (TSO 4)

The police are solely responsible for upholding the law, however respondents reported that other methods of delivering criminalisation were necessary, because the police service in the case study site were not trusted amongst the community. TSOs were reported to be the organisations most likely to gain this trust, because it was believed that they appeared separate from, and non-representative of, state organisations and agendas. It was suggested that because TSOs would often employ specialist workers from within the minority community, this approach was likely to be more effective than the approaches of the statutory services:

…If it was the police that was delivering interventional education programmes or whatever, particularly with other cultures… there could be that sense of well they are just from a different culture and they see that this is illegal because it is part of their law. They see that this is wrong because it's part of their law or part of their legal system but actually they don't really understand… (TSO 4)

And:

…Of late you know we have got quite a high Polish community… so you know we are now considering that we need to have somebody who can speak Polish… so we are very

adaptable and we have to adapt to change…so it is just knowing what is going on in our community and you know we are always out there… (TSO 1)

These points were also suggested by participants from external organisations, who believed that successfully managing FM required portraying an unbiased, culturally balanced agenda whilst collaboratively working with the minority community, for example:

…Well through mosques…But also, there are a number of non-affiliated groups who actually don't have all the baggage that some of the mosques do…There is a few knocking around in XXXX, who have done a lot of really important work…why not do more work with them…they are so important because otherwise it just looks like it's all of us (agencies involved in managing FM) *ganging up on them…* (CCW)

4.14.3: Education and integration

It was described how successfully managing FM depended upon utilising an additional education-based approach and developing a working relationship with the minority community. It was reported that some of the TSOs were already involved with education at local schools and it was believed that this working model had created trust with victims. Consequently, these organisations had experienced more referrals through word of mouth, for example:

…I think it is just word of mouth that there is trust because we go into schools as well. So we will go into schools and we will talk about our service, and about that (FM)*… (TSO 1)

It was believed that an education based approach needed to revolve around two main points. Firstly, participants suggested that victims should be made aware of their rights and the services on offer to them, but secondly, an open, culturally sensitive dialogue had to be established with the community, to help them recognise the harms of FM:

…I reckon you have got to start with education…because you are never going to really get these young women or whoever it is to come forwards unless they understand that what is happening to them or what could happen to them is wrong, if it is normal to them they are never going to think oh I will just go and tell the police about this because why would you like if it part of life to you then you probably wouldn't necessarily realise that it was wrong… (TSO 4)

And:

…Communication, it is as simple as that. It is open, transparent communication. If you are going in there with your blinkers on, and with your microphone and you know speaking over people, nobody is going to listen, people shut down… (TSO 1)

It was suggested that TSOs could provide this level of education, if they received more funding and recognition by the external services they were dependent on. However, pre-existing factors unique to the case site area also needed to be addressed. This included overcoming the segregation that existed within the case study site and improving the relationship between the communities. It was described how active attempts at increasing integration were essential for the successful management of FM, and could help to establish a more community-based approach:

…You know, and I mean the wider community not just their own community…we need to be aware of what is happening, you know it is all very well people sort of hiding away and all the White British being in one end of the town, and all the Asian's on the other side …it's a recipe for disaster…we have got to be more community based, and we are not…we are separated… (TSO 1)

4.15: Summary of research findings

The research findings demonstrate how the criminal law, the police service and TSOs manage FM in practice. Each management model and organisation has faced a number of difficulties in the management of this culturally specific crime. The differences between the cultural values of the minority population and the organisations responsible for managing FM are evident. The criminalisation of FM has been upheld within the case study site, however, organisations encountered a number of difficulties implementing the legislation in practice. The majority of cases were identified through victim self-referral, however, very few cases were reported to the statutory services. It was identified by practitioners that the cultural differences between the organisation and the minority population were so significant that victims had feared violence or even death upon reporting the FM. Participants suggested that because it was culturally 'unusual' for members of the minority population to choose a spouse, it was questionable whether or not the law was suitable to promote this freedom.

There was unanimous support across all participants for the criminalisation of FM, because the law should represent British values and be used to deter perpetrators. Criminalisation was perceived as essential; however, the evidence suggests that perpetrators feared a loss of cultural identity for their children, therefore, FM was not always an intentionally harmful act. A number of practitioners suggested the lack of harmful intention justified upholding the legislation through the community's social and religious structures. The need for criminalisation to come from 'within' the community thus being more representative of their values, was supported by a number of participants. It was also believed that if the organisations responsible for implementing this legislation actively recruited more individuals from the minority population, their management of FM would appear more culturally legitimate.

A lack of cultural recognition was evident amongst all of the organisations. Many practitioners had not undertaken training on FM. Those who had received training reported how the material gave an unbalanced view of the crime, was largely generic and untailored to the case study site, and offered an overly simplistic interpretation of the offence. All participants suggested FM should be criminalised, however it was stated that the new legislation conflicted with current safeguarding measures, and practitioners were unclear of the intervention process. The criminalisation of FM was described as a step forward in managing the cultural practice, however, it was questioned how, without holistic consideration of the victim's circumstances and ongoing needs, the legislation could be successful.

Policing FM was described as difficult. It was stated by participants that although they had introduced new measures to specifically manage the crime, victims were not willing to report FM or to engage with police officers. This refusal to engage was attributed to the extensive cultural differences and expectations regarding individual freedoms. Perpetrators of FM would often be in the same room as the victim during an intervention, thus preventing them from reporting the crime to the attending officer. It was described how often it would be culturally unusual for a member of the community to choose a spouse, therefore, these individuals may not realise when they were victims of a crime. Police officers described how they were unable to determine when FM had been committed because the cultural differences behind the offence impacted their discretionary intervention process. Police officers would only suspect a FM when there was a family history of it, and when they interpreted abnormal body language. Participants relayed how a fear of culturally inappropriate interventions had made them reluctant to intervene because they did not want to jeopardise a victim's safety. Due to this concern, it was commonplace for participants to simply refer the case to their senior colleagues.

Participants reported that often the measures they deployed failed to overcome a victim's fear of repercussions from the wider community.

The processes for police intervention were not tailored specifically to FM cases. Participants had all undertaken training with regards to FM, however the extent and format of this training varied substantially. Some police officers stated that they felt adequately prepared to manage these cases, yet others lacked confidence and were unable to identify the offence. There was a reliance upon generic training procedures and intervention models which did not accurately represent the cultural values differences in the case study site. It was described how incident response forms did not appropriately consider honour systems and instead represented more typical domestic violence scenarios. Upon attendance at an incident, leaflets were distributed to victims, however the contact details for the organisations on these leaflets were outdated and did not mention the specialist advice services available for FM victims. Female police officers stated how interactions with the community were often impacted by patriarchal values differences, and it was felt that male members of the population did not respect their authority. These cultural differences were made more difficult when interactions were frequently impacted by language barriers.

The majority of participants believed assimilation through criminalisation was the solution to overcoming the cultural differences associated with FM. Most police officers believed the crime was motivated by the need to preserve cultural values and family traditions, however religion was also mentioned as a causal factor. These cultural values differences had become more evident in recent years within the case study site, this was attributed to the PREVENT agenda and CSE cases. Police officers described how they felt that the minority population had interpreted their interventions as representative of White Christian values, and were

consequently irrelevant in the governance of their community's issues. Participants discussed how victims also held this belief, and how often they felt that the police service's approach lacked legitimacy to manage FM, due to a failure to portray a cultural balance. This illegitimacy was further accredited to the lack of cultural awareness, and an unwillingness amongst victims to invoke the criminal law against their parents.

Participants described how they believed these perceptions of illegitimacy could be improved upon if the police employed a more representative work force, and sought to learn about the cultural nuances of the minority population. At the time of this study however, there were no specialist learning packages implemented and there were approximately two police officers employed from the minority population of 24,000. Police officers believed FM could only be managed appropriately when there was a unity in approach across all of the statutory services. At the time of study, the current interagency working models lacked consistency and understanding towards the needs of victims. It was believed that greater knowledge and understanding would aid the implementation of more effective culturally balanced measures, and insight into FM should be sought from offenders, and the minority population in general.

In this study TSOs had received more self-referrals by FM victims than the statutory services. Participants believed this was because they did not seek to liberate the victim by criminalising their parents, but instead aimed to provide a tailored approach. The statutory services were reliant upon criminalisation to protect the victim, whereas TSOs were willing to support victims once they had gone through with the marriage. Participants relayed how this approach had gained legitimacy amongst victims, by demonstrating an understanding towards the cultural values differences. It was believed that this empathetic approach had resulted in victims being more likely to seek the advice of these organisations than the statutory services.

Unlike the public sector, TSO participants recognised that the majority of FM cases involved a cousin of the victim, and a refusal to go ahead with a marriage would amount to a double betrayal of honour. The impact these honour systems had upon a victim's willingness to report FM was substantial. Participants described how their organisation would implement a series of measures to reduce the risk of violence and disownment, should a victim reject the marriage.

TSOs adopted a victim led approach that greatly considered victim's needs. Each organisation would only act upon the permission of the victim and would not automatically liaise with statutory services. These organisations were not obligated to uphold the criminal law unless there was a safeguarding issue. It was described how this juxtaposition was problematic for these organisations, because FM victims satisfied the criteria of a vulnerable person within the safeguarding legislation. Participants reported how they would subjectively interpret this duty in line with the victim's best interests. A recognition of the vulnerability of victims had resulted in these organisations deploying specifically tailored measures during their outreach work. These measures had been successful at victim engagement; however, it was recognised by participants that their organisations were reliant upon external services to satisfy a victim's needs, and this could deter the reporting of FM. A tailored approach appeared to have the greatest success at increasing reporting rates within the case study site, however, participants suggested that if their organisations deployed an overly representative model, this discouraged the reporting of FM, because victims feared the information they provided would be reported back to the community.

There were a number of difficulties TSOs faced in portraying a culturally balanced approach to FM management. All participants had undertaken some training however, the extent of this training was limited by their organisation's access to resources. These limitations were

attributed to funding arrangements with the public sector and interagency working models. The majority of the services provided were limited in their output due to their financial vulnerabilities. This dependency upon external financial arrangements had resulted in TSOs often being required to 'box-tick' in order to receive funding. This vulnerability meant that these organisations were often required to follow certain obligations, and this could lead to a misalignment of objectives. Participants described how a lack of unity between their organisation and their funders' objectives, could impact the level of care a victim would receive. Practitioners reported that although the public sector had improved in their approaches to FM in recent years, the attitudes and actions of individuals from within these organisations often failed to meet the needs of victims.

Unanimously, TSO participants described these cases as the most harrowing they had encountered. It was reported that the cultural values of the minority population were difficult to understand from a liberal/ Modern British values perspective. In addition, some workers had experienced physical attacks from members of the minority population when helping a victim escape a FM. The physical and mental risks these workers encountered were inadequately managed by their organisations. There was a lack of support for TSO employees, and this was believed to have impacted upon the output of their work and the handling of FM cases. Participants suggested that there needed to be a greater consistency in approach across all sectors responsible for managing FM. There was also the belief that including members of the minority community during the formation of practice measures, and employing them throughout the organisations, may help to better manage these cases. It was stated that ultimately, educating victims of their rights and increasing awareness of the services available to them would help to overcome FM. However, in order for this approach to be successful

additional effort was required in order to reduce intergroup conflict and increase community cohesion in the case study site.

These findings portray the management of FM by the central organisations and models within the chosen case study site. They are considered in greater detail in the following 'Discussion' chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1: Chapter overview

This chapter discusses the findings under each of the research questions. An initial overview of the themes relating to each question is provided. Themes are then discussed individually. Cross cutting themes (Values Differences, Values Representation and Values Balance) that arose from the theoretical narrative are presented as higher-level headings under each of the research questions. The key issues arising from the discussion are presented at the end of each question. A critical review of the research process is then provided. Conclusions are drawn from the work and implications for future practice are also highlighted.

RQ1. How has criminalisation influenced the management of FM and are current measures impacted by a conflict of cultural values?

Four themes were developed from the data representing how criminalisation has influenced the management of FM, and whether or not the current measures are impacted by a conflict of values. These themes included:

1. Determining the offence

2. The cultural relevancy of the law

3. Integration and utilisation of local knowledge

4. Role remit and information sharing

Values Differences

5.2: RQ1. Determining the offence

The findings demonstrate that it is difficult to uphold the FM legislation in practice, and these legal amendments have not prevented its occurrence. The current legislation (Section 121 of the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014) defines force (within the context of marriage) as 'violence, threats or any other form of coercion,' and the accompanying statutory and practice guidance expand upon this definition by describing coercion to include 'financial, emotional and psychological pressure' (Home Office Statutory Guidance (HOSG) 2014 p1; Home Office Practice Guidance (HOPG) 2014 p1). All participants who worked within the public services (i.e. health care workers, police officers, teachers, social workers, and

safeguarding officers) reported that whilst it was possible to detect FM when there were obvious signs of physical force (e.g. an assault, kidnap or a physical harm), any imposed psychological and emotional factors were impossible to identify. These elements are causal factors in FM (Bano 2012; p143), therefore, it is vital that they can be detected and practitioners are able to intervene. It was evident from the findings that practitioners were often reliant upon their own interpretations of FM and the legislation, which in turn meant that victims needs were often misunderstood.

Criminalisation was introduced because politicians and experts believed the law would end the harmful cultural practice of FM (see May 2014; Proudman 2014). The legislation sought to deter its occurrence, and force behaviour to conform with modern British values (May 2014; Proudman 2014). The replacement of the conventional offences (i.e. homicide, kidnap and assault) in order to manage FM was legitimised under the guise of protecting and upholding British values. This legal amendment aligns with propositions of Turk's Culture Conflict (1969) theory, which suggests that when minority cultural practices are deemed to threaten the majority cultural group's values, specific legislation is introduced to limit this threat (p.349).

The national media extensively covered the political and legal discourse surrounding FM criminalisation. The media emphasis on the abnormality of the offence, draws parallels with Turk's (1969) 'consensus' view of crime and social control, whereby the law is often implemented to portray the expected standard of the majority cultural group. The coverage of FM criminalisation through the media, and the creation of an intergroup conflict narrative also aligns with Quinney's (1970) 'diffusion' process, whereby criminal conceptions and notions of incompatible cultural differences are constructed and diffused through mainstream media sources (p22). According to Culture Conflict theorists, by emphasising the harm and

incompatibility of FM through the media, this enables the 'social reality' of crime to be constructed and legislation implemented without objection (Quinney 1970; p23; Vold and Bernard 1986). FM appears to have been interpreted through a 'consensus' view whereby the harmful cultural values behind the offence were 'diffused' as threatening the existing social order. In line with Turk (1969) and Quinney's (1970) propositions all participants in this study supported FM criminalisation due to its incompatibility with British values, and they had not queried the validity or suitability of the offence or the statutory guidance.

Participants in this study reported that the minority community within the case study site did not engage with mainstream media sources, instead there was a preference for alternate media (e.g. the Pakistani Times), and a significant proportion of the population did not speak English. Consequently, the population were isolated and unaware of the high-profile coverage of FM criminalisation, and its illegality. Participants reported that this lack of awareness exacerbated the cultural divide and therefore necessitated the use of culturally applicable sources, such as educational workshops within local schools and religious organisations, to educate both victims and perpetrators of the legal changes regarding FM.

The lack of awareness of the high-profile coverage of FM criminalisation, its illegality and the consequent cultural divide were reported to make enforcing the law complex. Similar concerns have been highlighted previously in studies exploring integration amongst FM associated communities (see Cantle 2001; Ousely 2001, Casey 2015). Findings from these studies have suggested that minority communities live isolated 'parallel lives' due to language barriers and different cultural beliefs to the majority population. Participants in this study described how overcoming these community differences with culturally applicable sources was essential to managing FM. This supports the work of Wind-Cowie et al (2012), who have demonstrated

that education and community collaboration can overcome barriers of cultural difference, and reduce the occurrence of FM.

Participants described the common process of marriage amongst the minority population in the case study site. It was relayed how victims would often consent to a marriage proposal initiated by their parents because it was culturally unusual for victims to be able to make this decision. These arranged marriages (AM) are legal, because both partners can freely reject or accept the proposal. Participants described how the degree individuals were able to freely consent was difficult to determine. It was reported that FM victims were often unaware of the marriage. They would be taken abroad under the guise of a holiday, and once aware of their family's intentions, their ability to consent was reduced because they could not escape. This situation placed the victim under an intense pressure to accept the arrangement. It was reported how during the enactment of the legislation, the cultural differences and practices of the minority population, blurred practitioners' abilities to distinguish between an AM and a FM. Participants felt that these cultural differences and the minutia of the offence had reduced the likelihood of successful legal intervention. These concerns were highlighted in the literature prior to FM criminalisation. Begum (2014) suggested that an inability to distinguish between an AM and FM, provided a rationale for opposing criminalisation because interventions would fail to be culturally sensitive and may appear discriminatory.

The findings of this study highlight the cultural values differences between communities within the case study site and draw parallels with the propositions of Culture Conflict theory. Theorists (Sellin 1933; Turk 1969) have highlighted the need to ensure public institutions and their policies adequately consider the minority group's values. Theorists have proposed that an accommodation of cultural values differences increases the likelihood of victim engagement

with these organisations and their measures through the reduction of conflict between enforcer and subject (Sellin 1933; Turk 1969). Prior to this study the validity of this cultural values accommodation between law enforcement agencies and minority populations has only been supported in retrospective analyses of crime data (Lanza-Kaduce & Greenleaf 1994; Lanza-Kaduce and Greenleaf 2000; Weidner and Terrill 2005). The findings of this study have extended understanding regarding how these cultural differences can be accommodated. This study suggests that FM criminalisation could be successful when knowledge of its illegality is disseminated to victims through workshops, community collaboration projects, and school visits.

The evidence shows that a culturally relevant 'diffusion of knowledge' amongst the minority community may prevent FM (Wind-Cowie et al 2012; Quinney 1970). The suggestion by practitioners that they were unable to identify the offence due to the differing cultural interpretations of pressure, further highlights how greater knowledge is required to reduce this difference in values and perspective. Sellin (1933) and Vold and Bernard (1986) suggested that a cultural values conflict between communities was an entirely natural phenomenon for heterogenous societies. This interpretation of conflict scenarios does not require any deliberate adaptation on behalf of the enforcer (state institutions), because the conflict is part of the normal socialisation process. This 'ordinary' acculturalisation eventually results in the automatic compromise of group values throughout social institutions and practice measures (Sellin 1933). However, the findings of this study diverge from this proposition and highlight the importance of implementing a culturally relevant knowledge diffusion process (i.e. generating awareness of FM illegality through relevant media sources and the minority population's social/religious institutions) in the creation of a consensus view against FM. This finding aligns more closely with the active conflict reduction processes proposed by alternate

conflict theorists who have disputed natural socialisation (Vold and Bernard 1986; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971).

The suggestion that the minority community in the case study site lacked awareness of the criminalisation of FM due to a lack of engagement with mainstream media sources, also draws parallels with additional Culture Conflict propositions. Sellin's (1933) concept of the 'Ghetto' and 'Control Mores' (p.85), alongside Turk's (1969) link between 'group philosophy' and 'conflict occurrence' (p.57), highlight the influence segregation has upon the maintenance of opposing cultural values. These propositions both suggest that the greater a group's size, the greater the likelihood of the minority community adopting self-governance systems. These self-governance systems prevent members of the minority population adapting to the cultural values of the 'outside' group. Thus, enacting legislation against particular cultural crimes becomes ineffective due to the minority population's collective opposition against the values law enforcement agencies seek to uphold (Sellin 1933). Turk (1969) elaborates upon this by suggesting that the likelihood of conflict is increased when the group adopt a 'philosophical identity' which entrenches and validates their beliefs. In this study, the minority group's isolation, honour systems, and active lack of engagement with the statutory services, draws parallels with both of these propositions and highlights how intergroup conflict becomes more apparent, the greater the cultural difference between communities.

It was evident from the findings, that all statutory organisations in this study adopted an approach which focused solely upon criminalising perpetrator behaviour. Rather than working with the community to educate and decrease the risk of intergroup conflict (Vold and Bernard

1986; Wind-Cowie et al 2012), organisational models sought solely to uphold the law to prevent harmful cultural values impacting upon a victim. Practitioners were knowledgeable of the factors that gave rise to FM, and the integration concerns within the case study area, however, these factors had not been considered in FM management interventions. Instead of adopting a culturally sensitive approach, practitioners were solely reliant upon the police and social services to commence legal interventions in order to protect the victim.

The unanimity of approaches, and these assimilatory attitudes draws parallels with Turk's (1969) propositions on conflict and criminality. Turk (1969) suggested that in heterogenous societies, the law often relies upon physical interventions (e.g. arrest and criminalisation) instead of psychological agreement to prevent crime. Turk (1969) suggested that in these socially diverse settings law enforcement agencies cannot rely upon psychological and social disapprovals to enforce the behavioural norms of the majority population, because these are unlikely to be recognised by the violator or violating group due to the significant cultural values differences (Turk 1969; p.345). Turk's (1969) model focused predominantly upon the interaction between police officers and perpetrators of crimes, whereas the findings of this study support his theoretical proposition in application across all statutory agencies. Turk's (1969) suggestion that a lack of shared cultural values reduces the capacity of management agencies to rely upon psychological pressure to conform behaviour, and instead are forced to rely upon more punitive measures, was evident within the case study site because all organisations relied upon physical interventions (implemented through the police or social services) to uphold the FM legislation and to protect victims.

Respondents reported that initiating an intervention during a suspected FM case would often be interpreted by the minority community as antagonistic and culturally insensitive. This conflict was attributed to the values differences between the majority population and the minority community regarding the role of law enforcement. Participants suggested the majority population would frequently refer social matters to law enforcement agencies such as the police or social services, however, the minority population were described as tending to deal with matters 'in house'. This self-governance amongst the minority population had resulted in the statutory services being viewed as invalid regarding their ability to manage private matters. This evidence supports the study's proposition that when the cultural values of the minority population differ significantly from the majority cultural group, they amount to a 'primary' cultural conflict (Sellin 1933). The lack of engagement reported across all of the statutory services in this study directly support Sellin's (1933) observations that increased social heterogeneity and social isolation can result in the crimes of minority populations 'seldom coming into the public eye, because of unofficial systems of regulation within the group' (p.73).

None of the statutory services in this study had tailored their FM management approaches to accord for the levels of social isolation amongst the minority population, nor their tendency to self-resolve community matters. Due to this lack of tailoring it was believed that victims did not engage with practitioners during FM cases because the current measures had inadequately considered the cultural differences of the minority group and the risk of harm victims faced. These findings align with previous reports which have highlighted that unless a victim's circumstances and cultural vulnerabilities are acknowledged by management agencies, their risk of harm increases upon reporting honour-based crime (IPCC 2008; HMIC 2014; IKWRO

2014). The findings of this study also support the propositions of Dorjee et al (2013), who described how, if statutory measures consider the motivation honour systems impose upon a perpetrator's psyche, then practitioners could be better equipped to prevent the occurrence of the offence, and would also be able to adequately support victims who choose to report FM.

It was evident from the findings of this study, that because of a lack of knowledge surrounding the causal factors of FM, none of the statutory services were able to identify the offence. Practitioners were aware of this shortfall however, there had been no attempts made by their organisations to help them overcome this knowledge deficit. These findings also support Turk's (1969) proposition for conflict reduction. The application of Turk's 'Culture and Criminality' (1969) to this research, suggests that organisational interventions with minority cultural practices appear unsuccessful when there is a lack of 'organisation' and 'sophistication' in approach (p.347). Turk (1969) suggested that when measures lack interagency consistency (i.e. the principle of organisation) towards a culturally motivated crime, they fail to instil confidence in a victim, thus the victim does not engage with the organisation. Turk (1969) also proposed that the more nuanced an approach (i.e. the principle of sophistication), the greater the likelihood that conflict could be avoided and organisational legitimacy obtained from the victim (p.347). It was apparent from the findings of this study, that statutory service workers perceived that victims had interpreted their approaches to FM management as lacking consistency and consideration, and in line with Turk's model (1969), this had in turn failed to instil confidence in victims and had prevented them from engaging with these measures and reporting FM.

The importance of 'organisation' and 'sophistication' (Turk 1969) to obtain legitimacy, and the need for the deliberate consideration of cultural nuances (Vold and Bernard 1986) was further highlighted by third sector interviewees. These participants reported how by adopting a flexible approach to FM management, instead of one which relied solely upon punitive measures, they had received an increased level of victim engagement. Unlike the statutory services, these organisations did not solely enforce the criminal law, and consequently they had gained a reputation amongst the minority population as being culturally aware and sensitive to the needs of FM victims. In turn, it was reported by these organisations that this approach had resulted in higher FM reporting rates. By working with the minority population and victims, these organisations had then been able to gain an even greater insight into FM. This knowledge was then used to inform management processes and to overcome cultural values differences. In turn, this approach had improved the management of FM in the case study site.

Values Representation

5.3: RQ1. The cultural relevancy of the criminalisation

A number of practitioners in this study described how the motives for FM were difficult to understand from 'our' cultural values perspective. These participants also suggested that these crimes were the most challenging cases they encountered. All participants in this study supported criminalisation because of the harm FM caused victims. It was described by practitioners how the criminal law could uphold and protect victims' human rights, thus enabling these individuals to live in relative autonomy and liberty.

These findings align with the previous literature which has highlighted how the recent politicisation of British values has attempted to assimilate minority cultural groups (Parekh 2008; Richardson 2004; Joppke 2004; Sian et al 2012; Moore et al 2008). This assimilationist rhetoric was evident within the case study site. Some participants believed that perpetrators actively chose to break the law, and that criminalisation was necessary to ensure these individuals conformed with the values of the majority culture. The politicisation of FM, and the utilisation of the criminal law to manage these cases aligns with Turk's (1969) propositions. Turk (1969) suggested that the more threatening a minority population's cultural values are towards the stability of the majority population's values, the more likely it is that specific measures will be implemented to limit this threat. The socio-political discourse surrounding FM and Muslim minority integration have focused predominantly upon the threat to 'British values'. A reading of Turk's (1969) central proposition in light of this discourse, highlights how such a threat is likely to witness 'normal legal procedures being officially abrogated in order to fight effectively for survival' (p.349). In this study, the introduction of the particular criminal offence, and the attitudes of practitioners tasked with implementing this legislation, highlight how, in accordance with Turk's model (1969) the narrative of managing FM had been framed within a values conflict perspective.

There was a strong resistance by participants towards the cultural values associated with FM, however, juxtaposed responses were also made which highlighted the complexity of managing these cases, and the dangers of oversimplifying FM motives. These findings build upon previous concerns regarding the suitability of criminalisation for FM (Julios 2015; SBS 2016). In line with the literature (Tajfel and Turner 1979), several participants in this study believed that the perpetrators they had encountered, did not fall within a simple 'us vs. them, good vs. bad' cultural values narrative. It was instead believed that FM occurred in order to preserve the

cultural identity of the perpetrator's community. In the case study site, it was described how offenders committed FM because they feared that their children were becoming overly Westernised, and no longer valued their cultural traditions. Thus, whilst the legal amendments are an appropriate response to the harmful cultural practice of FM, unless organisations address an offender's fear of losing their cultural identity, it seems unlikely that criminalisation alone will adequately prevent the occurrence of FM.

The use of harmful behaviour to preserve cultural identity in the case study site, draws parallels with Sellin's (1933) theory. Sellin (1933) proposed that in a primary conflict scenario, where the cultural values differences between communities are fundamentally different, which was apparent within the case study site, a crisis of identity occurs within the minority group. This 'crisis' witnesses a collective tendency to react on the basis of 'traditional standards' (p.86). Sellin (1933) uses the example of Chinese immigration into the United States in the early 19th century, and remarks how 'honour' systems and FM had become increasingly more prevalent following attempts at integration and assimilation (p.86). The conflict scenario in the case study site align with Sellin's (1933) suggestion that when traditional cultural norms come into contact with Western cultural norms, conflict ensues because 'family solidarity is weakened and traditions become threatened' (p.86-p.87).

The majority of respondents in this study were of the view that the conflicting message between assimilating harmful behaviour and upholding the criminal law against perpetrators who were fearful of a loss of cultural identity, justified the use of an educational and collaborative approach in unison with criminalisation. Many participants believed that working with the minority community's elders, and religious leaders, could help raise awareness of the illegality of FM and of the support available to victims, whilst also respecting the cultural identity of the

perpetrators. This echoes the proposition of Vold and Bernard (1986), who have suggested that the solution to conflict (and thus successful legal intervention) lies in 'the representation of diverse aggregates of individuals by an equally diverse number of organised groups under conditions of relative equality' (p.296). To date, only one study (Wind-Cowie et al 2012), conducted prior to criminalisation, has explored 'representation' and 'collaboration' within FM management. The researchers, in a review of community projects designed to raise awareness of the harms caused by FM, highlighted how preventative approaches which focused upon education and collaboration, reduced the occurrence of the crime (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). When organisations did not solely represent an assimilationist stance towards FM, victims perceived these approaches to be culturally legitimate and reporting rates increased (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). Despite this evidence, and an awareness by practitioners of the fear amongst perpetrators regarding a loss of cultural identity, there had been no attempts made by the statutory agencies within the case study site to work with community elders or religious leaders to educate the minority community.

The support for FM criminalisation revolved around the belief that the law would assimilate the behaviour and values of the minority community into conformity with the liberal values of the majority group. Respondents believed the law could be used as a 'negative message' to overcome 'barriers of cultural difference' and could influence the minority culture to conform with the values of 'our' society. The emphasis upon creating a values orthodoxy, and the lack of engagement and perceived illegitimacy of current measures, provide support for the propositions of Culture Conflict theory. Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) analysis of law and conflict discovered that throughout every stage of the criminal justice process (from the creation of legislation through to its enactment), each responsible organisation supports a shared values model. Chambliss and Seidman (1971) suggested that when the law expresses

moral values (as appears to be the case with FM), and is upheld by individuals who support these moral values, the likelihood of conflict is increased (p.473). The lack of engagement by FM victims and the minority community in general with the legal measures upheld by the responsible organisations in the current study, can therefore be attributed to Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) conflict proposition. The majority of participants in this study were from the same cultural background, and supported the moral values behind the law, in turn, this overt moralism and representation of cultural difference, had influenced the management of FM and had conflicted with the minority population's values.

The findings of this study also echo Turk's later work (1982) and provide further support for Chambliss and Seidman's proposition (1971). The belief amongst participants that criminalisation could force a conformity of cultural values, strengthen arguments from Turk's 'Political Criminality' (1982). Turk (1982) proposed that in any society, the dominant population codifies its values into the criminal law, thus seeking to coerce behaviour through the policing of values and actions that are socially unacceptable to their values model. This proposition expands upon Turk's original work 'Conflict and Criminality' (1969), whereby he focused predominantly upon 'ground level' individual interactions between police and subject. Through an amalgamation of Turk's propositions (1969 and 1982), it can be shown how the entire criminal justice process enshrines particular cultural values, and consequently interactions with minority cultural groups can establish conflict. The data in this study demonstrates that all participants believed FM was culturally inexcusable and that the criminal law was obligated to end the practice and represent the majority population's cultural values. This unified support for criminalisation across every organisation in this study, reinforces Turk's (1969;1982) and Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) proposition that the entire justice

process represents a particular values set which establishes conflict by criminalising socially unacceptable behaviour.

In-line with previous research (see Begum 2014; Julios 2015; HMIC 2015), practitioners in this study believed FM was underreported because victims were not confident that the statutory services had the capacity to overcome the risks of honour systems. This observation aligns with Sellin's (1933) proposition that crimes motivated by minority cultural values are often under reported due to a culture of self-regulation, whereby 'conventional avenues of justice' are not engaged with (p.73). A number of respondents (predominantly those from the third sector) reported that victims with whom they had worked, had frequently received inadequate care from public sector workers. These respondents reported that because frontline practitioners regularly underestimated the dangers of honour principles, interpreted scenarios solely from their own cultural viewpoint, and were 'blinkered' towards the needs of victims, at risk individuals continued to fear the minority population's systems of self-governance and were deterred from reporting the crime.

Respondents highlighted how individuals from the statutory services, were often unaware of these systems of self-regulation, and their approaches frequently failed to consider the victim's unique circumstances. This directly supports Sellin's (1933) observation that a lack of cultural legitimacy fails to encourage a dialogue between cultural groups, thus the crime remains hidden (p.73). The findings of this study demonstrate that the recent criminalisation of FM has not accorded for the complexity behind offender motives and the importance of honour preservation amongst FM associated cultures. Sellin's (1933) work predicted how the cultural structures within minority communities often act to sustain the existence of the group and seek

to control its members (p.85). For Sellin (1933), the solution was to facilitate minority individuals to undertake the 'acculturation' process so that conflicting norms could be resolved (p.85-p.86). It appears essential therefore, that for the law to be upheld successfully in the case study site, consideration of cultural tradition, and an acknowledgement of the correlation between cultural preservation and offender motive occurs.

Numerous respondents were aware of these honour systems and governance protocols, and it was suggested that particular organisational measures which uphold the law, should seek to deliver criminalisation in partnership with these protocols. This provides support for a deliberate 'acculturation process' (Turk 1969; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986) over the 'natural socialisation' model (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958). Vold and Bernard (1986) emphasised how direct representation of the minority community within management organisations could reduce conflict, however they cautioned against 'aggressive members who seek personal interest' (p.296). The findings of this study echo these concerns; a number of participants supported the employment of a representative workforce and community consultation in the creation of policy. Participants, in line with Vold and Bernard (1986), did however stress that inclusion processes should be cautious of individual motives, and an ideal working model with the minority community should involve non-partisan groups during the enforcement of the law.

Respondents in this study reported that recognising the importance of tradition and hierarchy within a perpetrator's psyche, and seeking to complement these hierarchical structures and influences (by working with religious and community leaders who opposed FM, to create culturally sensitive intervention processes), would ensure the criminal law could be upheld in a culturally legitimate manner. However, there had been no attempts made to afford this type

of values representation by the statutory services during their management of FM. These shortcomings were attributed almost exclusively to a lack of financial resources, and inadequate interagency working models.

It was believed that greater resources and a consistent interagency approach would enable a greater level of cultural sensitivity to be afforded during FM interventions, which in turn could also provide practitioners with a greater level of insight and knowledge. The link between increased cultural sensitivity and obtaining greater knowledge has been highlighted by Quinney in his work 'The Social Reality of Crime' (1970). Quinney (1970) suggested that criminal conceptions are 'diffused' throughout society by media and political organisations. According to Quinney (1970) these 'diffusions' are often the source of a values conflict; therefore, accurate knowledge becomes essential to the reduction of intergroup conflict. The discourse surrounding FM and Muslim integration have emphasised concerns of intergroup conflict and values incompatibilities (see Parekh 2008; Richardson 2004; Joppke 2004; Sian et al 2012; Moore et al 2008). It can therefore be argued that the unanimous support amongst practitioners for an assimilatory approach to FM management, is the manifestation of a bias 'diffusion process'. It was evident that an accurate 'diffusion process' was required in the case study site, to avoid conflict occurring during interventions. The potential bias against the minority population was recognised by some practitioners, who, in-line with Quinney (1970), suggested that collaboration with the minority community could provide practitioners with a greater level of insight into FM and improve intervention procedures.

5.4: RQ1. Integration and utilising local knowledge

Practitioners reported that upholding the law in a socially diverse setting was difficult. The statutory (HOSG 2014) and practice guidance (HOPG 2014) had not provided sufficient

support to successfully manage FM at a local level. The case study site was culturally diverse and significantly geographically segregated i.e. the majority community were located at one end of the town, and the minority community resided at the other. It was believed that this level of segregation had resulted in the minority community adopting a set of cultural values distinct from the majority group. In line with the findings of previous research, the minority group were described as living 'separate lives' away from the majority population (Cantle 2001; Ously 2001; Casey 2015).

The segregation within the town was described as being unique for the county. Participants reported that the cultural views of the minority group had, in recent years become increasingly oppositional to the cultural values of the majority population. Respondents described how recently the minority group's honour systems and cultural values had grown progressively stricter and more conservative. Participants relayed how honour codes and the community's social values were being enforced in local schools and throughout the local university. The honour systems had become so extensive that victims were having to relocate great distances to escape the influence and dangers of them. This increasing cultural values divide, and decreasing legitimacy of state interventions within the community, were directly attributed by participants to a lack of integration and an increasing scepticism towards the intentions of the statutory services.

Respondents believed the increasing segregation, and the decreasing legitimacy of their services amongst the minority community, originated from past interventions involving child sexual exploitation (CSE) cases and counter terrorism programmes (including the PREVENT strategy). These state measures were reported to have been interpreted by the minority community as invasive and discriminatory and had resulted in a lack of trust towards current

state agendas regarding FM. These perceptions of discrimination and lack of fair representation within state measures, supports previous criticisms that state interventions have harmed inter-group cohesion amongst Muslim communities (Spalek 2010; Jonathan-Zamir and Weisburd 2011; LaFree et al. 2009; Chakraborti 2007). Respondents in this study also reported that this lack of trust had been further worsened by insufficient minority representation amongst statutory service employees.

These findings draw parallels with both Sellin's (1933) theory and Vold's (1958) original Culture Conflict model. The suggestion that the cultural values divide had increased, because the minority population believed the statutory services had discriminated against them during CSE and counter-terrorism programmes, draws parallels with Vold's (1958) concept of loyalty and status preservation. Vold (1958) suggested that conflict is maintained when groups are engaged in a competition with one another, and the more powerful group legislates against the weaker population (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p273). The suggestion that the CSE and PREVENT agendas had been perceived by the minority population as invasive and discriminatory and had consequently contributed to the lack of integration, supports Vold's (1958) suggestion that the law can be utilised to control the weaker group and such scenarios directly contribute to social isolation. According to Vold (1955), the enactment of targeted legislation creates a struggle for group existence. In turn, under such conflict conditions, a growing collective isolation emerges because members of the minority population become increasingly loyal to the group they have 'had to fight the hardest to promote the interests of' (Vold and Bernard 1986; p.272).

Sellin's (1933) interpretation of group conflict is also similar to Vold's (1958) propositions on collective loyalty. Sellin (1933) suggested that when the state intervenes with crimes that have

occurred within minority communities, this creates an identity 'crisis' complex. This 'crisis' leads to a collective 'internalisation', whereby intergroup dialogue collapses and isolation emerges, because the minority population perceive the state to be targeting their cultural values (Sellin 1933; p.85). The Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) agenda and the PREVENT agenda cannot be solely attributed to the minority community in the case study site. The strengthening and expansion of their cultural values following these interventions does however, provide evidence that the stability of the minority population's values had been significantly threatened by these measures. Sellin (1933) further proposed that when a community is significantly geographically segregated, the influences of external cultural groups can be resisted (1933; p84). Sellin (1933) believed that when segregation is significant, this cultural and geographical divide ensures individuals adhere to the values of their direct community (p.85). The evidence from this study supports this proposition by highlighting how honour systems had become increasingly more powerful and expansive in recent years, and victims who had escaped FM were unable to remain in their community due to the group's adherence to strict honour codes. Consequently, these victims were having to relocate to entirely separate locations significant distances away from their community.

Respondents reported that their organisations employed few ethnic minority individuals. This subsequently made liaising with the community difficult, because it was believed that members of the minority population regarded FM measures to be irrelevant and solely reflective of the culture values of the majority group. Interviewees from all sectors described how FM interventions were also made more difficult when they were led by a female employee. These interventions were reported to conflict with the community's cultural values enshrined within their honour systems, and male members of the community would often refuse to engage with the statutory worker. There was a high level of awareness of both the honour systems and these

cultural values amongst some respondents (particularly teachers and police officers), however, the existing organisational protocols did not account for these cultural nuances, and instead measures were upheld objectively and did not recognise these important factors.

This lack of values representation draws direct parallels with Turk's (1969) predictions of conflict scenarios. Turk's (1969) work specifically focused on conflict scenarios between the enforcer and the subject. Turk's seminal theory 'Conflict and Criminality' (1969) proposed a number of scenarios whereby conflict could be predicted during interactions. According to Turk's predictions (1969), conflict is most likely to occur when state organisations uphold a law that the minority population disagree with, in a manner which opposes their values. To date, few studies have explored this proposition (see Lanza-Kaduce & Greenleaf 1994; Lanza-Kaduce and Greenleaf 2000; Weidner and Terrill 2005), and the results of the research have been largely inconclusive (Black 2014).

Previous research examining Turk's Theory (1969) analysed police-subject interactions during domestic incidents and road traffic offences (see Lanza-Kaduce & Greenleaf 1994; Lanza-Kaduce and Greenleaf 2000; Weidner and Terrill 2005). A review of these studies suggests that unlike FM, the offences these researchers chose to examine are not necessarily culturally motivated. The findings from this study support Turk's (1969) 'prime example' of a conflict scenario. Enforcer-subject interactions in this study appear to result in a conflict, when the measures specifically target the minority community, and particularly when they are initiated in a manner which conflicts with their values. The findings of this study suggest that the conduct and cultural background of the enforcer during this interaction, thus aggravates specific cultural values and increases the risk of intergroup conflict (e.g. there is a lack of engagement) (Turk 1969). Respondents suggestions that the perceived legitimacy of the FM

legislation could be further decreased when interventions were led by female employees from the majority group, aligns with Turk's (1969) model and strengthens support for a more sophisticated approach. In order to successfully manage FM, conflict could be reduced through a fair representation of the minority cultural group's values (Turk 1969) (i.e. led by male employees from the minority population), rather than an objective interpretation and implementation of the legal guidelines (HOPG 2014).

Respondents believed that for FM to be managed effectively, and for minority community members to participate in the management formation process, an inter-community dialogue beyond the sole management of FM was required. In line with the propositions of Vold and Bernard (1986), it was believed that by establishing a dialogue through community-based events, existing tensions could be reduced. This would then help create a level of legitimacy for the statutory services amongst the minority community. Participants in this study were of the view that any attempts to improve group relations through an inter-community dialogue, should be managed by individuals from local charity groups and volunteer organisations, rather than the statutory services for whom there was little trust amongst the minority group.

The lack of trust towards statutory services draws parallels with both Sellin (1933) and Vold's (1958 and 1986) propositions discussed above. A generalised mistrust towards the interagency approach to FM management, however, also highlights sentiments of Chambliss and Seidman's 'Law, Order and Power' (1971). Culture Conflict theory predominantly focuses upon the conflict which arises through the criminal law, as enforced by responsible agencies (typically the police service) (see Sellin 1933; Turk 1969). By focusing on the entire criminal justice process Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) sought to determine whether or not 'the power of the state as embodied in the criminal justice system is a value-neutral framework' (p.4).

They concluded that in both structure and function the law represents the interests of the existing power group, and consequently legal interactions with members external to the power group can easily lead to conflict (p.503). The findings of this study suggest that all statutory services involved with FM management, were perceived by the minority population to be representing irrelevant cultural values. In accordance with Chambliss and Seidman (1971), FM management approaches across all statutory organisations portrayed the values of the 'power group'. This values discordancy between each statutory service and the minority population had resulted in the FM management measures automatically establishing a conflict, due to members of the minority community perceiving these organisations and their approaches to lack a values neutrality.

The findings of this research also echo recent concerns from the practice literature (HMIC 2015; Dorjee et al 2013), which highlight that the police service in particular are substantially underprepared and uninformed to uphold the new legislation. These concerns are evident in the findings of this study, not just with regards to police services, but, across all of the sectors responsible for managing FM. Respondents believed adopting a more nuanced approach would be difficult due to a lack of organisational support, limited resources and time constraints. It was felt that there was a need for greater representation across the statutory organisations (with regards to both gender and ethnicity), however, it was reported that this was not regularly accorded for during recruitment drives, with previous attempts to recruit members of the minority community being largely unsuccessful.

This lack of engagement draws similarities with Turk's (1969) proposition whereby cultural illegitimacy can result in an intergroup conflict, which is demonstrated in a refusal by members of the minority population to engage with state organisations. The solution to this lack of

engagement according to Turk (1969) was to narrow the 'cultural difference between the evaluator and the violator' (p.42). Turk (1969) does not provide specific examples of how to overcome these cultural values differences, however it could be suggested that an accurate values representation gained through a deeper understanding of FM, and the employment of minority individuals amongst the statutory services, might be successful. Although the need to overcome the 'cultural differences between evaluator and violator' (Turk 1969; p.42) were acknowledged amongst all practitioners from the statutory services in this study, this had not been accorded for within intervention protocols and management procedures.

Participants mentioned how honour principles evident within FM, made the criminal offence both unusual and unconventional in comparison to other more commonly occurring crimes. It was suggested that these factors meant a greater insight was required to fully understand the offence. Participants recommended the creation of specialist departments within their organisations, whose purpose would be to provide frontline practitioners with a greater level of support and knowledge during the management of FM cases. It was believed that this approach would enable practitioners to be more organised in their management of honour systems, whilst also providing a greater level of recognition for the victims. Participants believed that in turn, this greater cultural representation would encourage the reporting of FM.

These suggestions draw parallels with Sellin's (1933) comments on the under representation of crime statistics within immigrant communities. Sellin (1933) described how, from his observations, the rate of crime reporting amongst immigrant communities was significantly unrepresented (p.72). A central issue for the statutory services in this study, was a refusal by the minority community to engage with their organisations and report FM. This reluctance was attributed to the victim's fear of honour systems and their belief that the service's response

would be inadequate. Sellin (1933) identified this factor, and described how the 'unofficial systems of regulation' prevent these crime figures from reaching 'the public eye' (p.73).

Sellin (1933) believed that intergroup conflict was part of a natural socialisation process, and would thus self-resolve, which in turn would witness a greater level of crime reporting. This study expands upon Sellin's (1933) proposition, and digresses from the suggestion that socialisation will naturally result in increased crime reporting. Instead, this study indicates that active attempts to engage with the minority community are required in order to encourage the reporting of FM. Participants' suggestions that there is a need for greater organisation and understanding amongst practitioners of the nuances of honour systems, in order to recognise the victims needs, opposes Sellin's (1933) suggestions and instead supports Turk's (1969) principles of 'sophistication' and 'organisation'. Turk (1969) believed a level of knowledge consistency amongst law enforcement agencies was essential to reduce the occurrence of crime. This study highlights how a lack of knowledge across the agencies towards FM, prevented victims from engaging with these measures. It is therefore proposed, in line with these theoretical propositions, that a greater level of values representation and knowledge may overcome the 'unofficial systems of regulation' (Sellin 1933; p.72), increase crime reporting and improve the management of FM.

Values Balance

5.5: RQ1. Role remits and information sharing

The law prescribes mandatory training for all staff employed within organisations which are likely to encounter FM (HOPG 2014; HOSG 2014). It was evident from the findings of this study however, that there was a lack of consistency with regards to the format and level of

training received by frontline workers. These inconsistencies were reported to have resulted in a lack of understanding amongst all practitioners, with shortfalls occurring in each of the statutory services approaches to FM management. It was described how these shortfalls in knowledge had negatively impacted the interagency approach required to successfully manage a FM victim's needs. These remarks support concerns regarding deficient awareness levels of honour systems amongst frontline practitioners, which were raised prior to this study (See HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013). The findings of this research further understanding of the practice management of FM, and highlight how previous shortfalls have not been addressed. Past practice-based research criticised the police service (see HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008), however, this study suggests that these same concerns are applicable across all of the agencies involved with FM management. This study also supports research conducted prior to criminalisation; which suggested that statutory service practitioners require a high level of education and understanding regarding the minority population's cultural values in order to ensure FM cases are handled appropriately (Begum 2014; Julios 2015).

Respondents in this study highlighted that a lack of knowledge and cultural sensitivity by public sector workers, meant that agencies were perceived by the minority community to be illegitimate in terms of their ability to manage FM. For example, victims who had left home to escape a marriage proposal, had been denied access to public housing. Additionally, victims over the age of 18 had gone unsupported, with threats to their welfare ignored because the risks inherent within honour systems were not recognised by existing safeguarding processes. These failings further highlight the need for a reliable insight into FM cases, and the importance of acquiring local knowledge and 'balancing' the values represented within the measures. TSOs, in contrast to public sector organisations, were aware of the cultural nuances of the minority population as a result of their victim-focused research. TSOs had spread awareness of both FM

criminalisation, and the resources available to victims by adopting a holistic approach. This involved visiting schools, providing safe houses, and tailoring intervention procedures to the local area. Through a reliance upon a more holistic approach, TSOs had received a substantially higher rate of FM reporting than the public-sector.

An analysis of nationwide FM intervention models, in situ prior to FM criminalisation, identified that FM and honour-based systems were largely misunderstood by the majority of police services (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008). These models (implemented within the case study site), were primarily reliant upon punitive intervention, and had been criticised for jeopardising victim safety because they lacked an understanding of honour systems and the risks the wider community posed (HMIC 2015; IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013). The findings of this study align with this work and demonstrate that unfortunately, the same concerns exist a decade later and there is a continued need for improvement across all frontline management approaches. Respondents from all organisations highlighted how they lacked a basic understanding of FM, with many unable to identify either parts of, or whole elements of the offence. This lack of recognition was attributed to inconsistent training, with many participants reporting that they had received little or no education from their organisation, were unaware of the indicators of the offence, could not determine psychological pressure, and were solely reliant upon a full victim disclosure before they were able to implement the safeguarding procedures.

The practice guidelines require an interagency working model (HOPG 2014; HOSG 2014) to be enacted, to overcome the dangers affiliated with honour systems, and to afford the victim legal protection. This obligation had been recognised across the organisations within the case study site, and an interagency intelligence hub had been established. It was evident from the findings however, that there were difficulties with this model. These difficulties included

varying levels of appreciation regarding the severity of the offence, conflicting operational protocols (whereby the new legislation conflicted with existing safeguarding measures), and a lack of access to public resources (e.g. housing, refuges, and mental health services). For example, if, following the initial intervention, a victim's needs were inappropriately handled by any agency, particularly with regards to their economic and social vulnerabilities, there was a risk the victim would return to their community because they could not maintain their independence.

These findings align with the theoretical narrative, whereby managing FM requires all statutory services to recognise a victim's cultural circumstances within their intervention procedures, to prevent inaccurate assumptions informing strategy and establishing conflict. The importance of adequate support for victims escaping FM, has been highlighted by Sellin's (1933) 'acculturation' proposition. Upon escaping a marriage, FM victims require extensive support in order to sustain their existence and to live independently (IKWRO 2013; Julios 2015). It was described by participants in this study, that without this support, victims were likely to return to their family and to proceed with the marriage. Sellin (1933) suggested that in order to reduce a harmful cultural behaviour and to overcome intergroup conflict, the individual must have an 'increased contact with the mores of the outside group' (p.85). Sellin (1933) proposed that without this contact, a victim would continue to be subject to the influences of the 'primary group', and the 'disorganising influences of our city's mores can be resisted' (p.84). The findings of this study highlight how a number of factors unique to the case study site prevented victims from undertaking this 'acculturation' process. The geographical segregation between communities, the extensive honour networks, the pressure victims faced from the wider community and the inability to return to their families upon reporting FM highlight the importance of implementing culturally sensitive procedures, to assist victims who have

reported the crime. Without adequate ongoing support a victim of FM will be unable to escape their situation. In accordance with Sellin's (1933) proposition, without support victims will therefore be unable to undertake the 'acculturation' process, and the harmful values which motivate FM cannot be resisted and FM will continue to occur.

The findings of this study also directly contradict Sellin's (1933) propositions regarding the methods of acculturation. Sellin (1933) did not propose how the acculturation process could occur, due to his belief that given time, intergroup conflict was naturally self-resolving. The harm FM poses to victims justifies challenging the notion of natural conflict reduction through socialisation. In this study, the suggestion by TSO participants that deliberate methods had encouraged victims to report the crime, and thus supported them to escape the marriage counter Sellin's (1933) socialisation proposition. The findings in this study instead support sentiments of Turk's 'organisation' and 'sophistication' models for conflict reduction (Turk 1969). Turk (1969) suggested that 'the knowledge of patterns in the behaviour of others' can enable an approach to be deployed which is less likely to encounter conflict scenarios (p.58-p.59). The 'sophisticated' and 'organised' efforts of TSOs systematically avoided antagonising honour principles and recognised the dangers these harmful cultural values posed to victims. This deliberate 'balancing' of values had proven successful in preventing any intergroup conflict from occurring, and subsequently supported the victim to undergo the 'acculturation process' (Sellin 1933). Unfortunately, this approach was not deployed amongst any of the statutory services and victims were not adequately supported to leave their community and to escape the FM by the organisations responsible for enforcing the law.

It was also evident from the findings that access to training for practitioners had been problematic. Training days and workshops were often unattended due to shift patterns. It was

described by participants from each sector how it was expected that they would undertake training in their own time. Practitioners suggested this was not always possible due to their significant workloads. A lack of training meant that practitioners were unprepared to deal with the complexities of FM cases and to appropriately manage a victim's needs. It was relayed how FM victims were reluctant to engage with services because they lacked confidence in the capacity of the organisation to provide protection. Victims were also reported to be of the belief that the statutory services would not 'balance' their needs with their duty to uphold the law, and instead these organisations would solely seek to criminalise their family. Participants also reported that FM victims often felt that the statutory services may not provide the necessary level of aftercare (including access to public resources and protection from the wider community).

This finding provides additional support for Turk's (1969) emphasis upon 'organisation', and Vold and Bernard's (1986) propositions of 'values balance'. Theoretically, a collective lack of understanding, arising through a lack of organisation (which appears evident across the statutory services in this study) leads to the inadequate consideration of cultural values (Turk 1969). These shortcomings result in the adoption of inappropriate procedures and an increased risk of intergroup conflict (Turk 1969). The shortfalls identified in this study regarding the translation of the criminal law into practice have heavily emphasised how a lack of training results in a reliance upon the statutory workers own personal assumptions regarding FM. These assumptions in turn, risk establishing conflict by appearing culturally 'unbalanced' and inappropriate. There was significant support amongst participants for a more culturally sensitive approach. It was described how such an approach could be achieved through collaboration, education, and participation in the formation of procedures for FM management. These findings align with Turk's 'sophistication' (1969) and further clarify Vold and Bernard's

(1986) 'values balance'. Without attempts to overcome the values conflict within the case study site, it appears unlikely that the new legislation will have any discernible impact upon the occurrence of FM.

5.6: Summary

The findings demonstrate that currently, practitioners are unable to implement the FM guidelines prescribed by the criminal law. It was evident that practitioners in this study lacked a consistent understanding of the motives for FM, and the dangers victims faced if they were to report the crime. This lack of insight was largely attributed to the differing cultural values of the minority population, who adhered to honour-based social systems. In practice, participants suggested that due to cultural values differences, they were only able to identify the offence when there was an element of physical force. Subsequently, the psychological coercion inherent within honour systems and the offence of FM had not been accorded for.

Criminalisation was intended to deliver a strong message that the illiberal values behind FM were incompatible with the Modern British way of life (May 2015; Proudman 2014). In practice however, this assimilatory approach to these values differences did not work. Criminalisation sought to enforce the values of the majority cultural group upon FM associated populations, however, the minority group were unaware of FM illegality and were naive to the harm it could cause. Therefore, education was preferred over a singular legal strategy. Practitioners stated that the law represented liberal values, and that factions of the minority population chose to oppose these ideals. This values conflict had impacted the interactions between the statutory services and individuals from within the minority community. All participants supported criminalisation, however accurate values representation was required to obtain perceptions of cultural legitimacy from the minority population. It was suggested that

this could only be obtained through collaboration with the minority population's leaders and the adoption of an educational approach. However, at the time of the study no such approach existed.

The findings highlighted that FM is a complex offence which is motivated by a desire to preserve cultural identity. The criminal law appears to represent the values of the majority cultural group, and participants reported they would enforce the law in order to assimilate the minority group's behaviour. This approach had also been adopted previously within the case study site to manage CSE and counter terrorism programmes. The resultant intergroup conflict had led to the adoption of a strong isolated set of values by the minority community. The increasingly conservative cultural values meant that victims were often too scared to report the crimes in case the responses they received could not protect them. The current legislation had not considered the importance of cultural preservation, nor did measures grant the capacity for organisations to consider the offender's motivations for committing FM. The minority population had adopted a hierarchical self-governance system wherein personal matters were often dealt with by 'in-house' protocols, with the advice of community and religious leaders sought, as opposed to that of the statutory services. These findings are in line with the propositions of Cultural Conflict theorists (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969) and it was suggested that interventions should be delivered through or in unison with these protocols. A collaborative approach was supported because it was believed by participants, that a fair representation of values would appear less assimilatory than the current approach, and an intergroup conflict could then be avoided. However, at the time of the study no such approach had been implemented.

Social cohesion between communities was described as poor, and naturally, cultural values were also divided. These distinctions were exacerbated because none of the statutory services had a representative workforce. Interventions had been perceived to be illegitimate by the minority community because they only appeared to support the beliefs and values of the majority population. FM management was also made worse by a lack of knowledge and training across all statutory organisations. It was believed that the inconsistencies in the understanding of FM, had resulted in statutory interventions being perceived to be illegitimate by the minority community.

A reliance upon criminalisation appeared to be ineffective in the case study site, with a more sensitive, culturally balanced approach being required. TSOs were praised for adopting a more holistic approach which reduced the values conflict during their interventions. This was attributed to the fact that TSOs were not legally obligated to adopt the new legislation into their existing protocols. The findings of this study demonstrate that a greater level of understanding of FM was required across all public-sector organisations to enable the law to be translated more appropriately into practice. Overall, it was evident from the findings that the criminalisation of FM has experienced difficulties during the transition from law into practice, and this is predominantly because of the differing cultural values between the FM associated community and the majority population.

RQ2. How are the police managing FM, and are they influenced by a conflict of cultural values?

In 2014 the police service became responsible for policing the specific offence of FM, and police officers are now required to implement the new legislation. Four themes were developed from the data representing how FM is managed by the police service, and determining whether or not the current measures are influenced by a conflict of values. These themes included:

1.   Responding to the offence

2.   Interpreting FM

3.   Differing cultural values

4.   Participation and effective management

Values Differences

5.7: RQ2. Responding to the offence

Participants believed FM occurred frequently in the case study site, however it was stated that very few cases were reported to the police service. Participants described how they relied upon victims disclosing the FM before they were able to intervene. This failure to pre-emptively intervene with cases meant that victims were not always protected from the crime. The majority of FM cases came to police attention during domestic violence (DV) incidents, whereby upon questioning, victims would reluctantly disclose the crime. Participants believed victims were fearful to openly report FM because in these incidents, the perpetrators were frequently nearby and victims were aware that police involvement in private matters could bring shame upon their family which could result in violence. This lack of disclosure

meant that officers were often reliant upon their personal interpretation of the victim's body language if they suspected there was a risk of FM. Participants also believed that victims were reluctant to disclose information because they were unconfident in the ability of the police service to adequately manage their vulnerabilities. Consequently, current reporting rates were believed to be significantly under representative of the problem.

This lack of victim engagement draws parallels with Sellin's (1933) interpretation of intergroup conflict. Sellin (1933) observed how, when there was a significant minority population within a single geographical area, there was often a reluctance by these communities to liaise with conventional systems of authority (p.73). The separation of the minority population in the case study site was described by police officers as being significant, and the community's members were portrayed as living in complete isolation from the majority cultural group. It was reported how the community's honour systems had prevented victims reporting the crime. This fear was observed during Sellin's (1933) research, wherein he noticed how minority populations often adopt systems of self-governance which consequently prevented an accurate representation of crime figures from being obtained (p.72-75). This study furthers Sellin's (1933) theory and suggests that a lack of engagement with conventional systems of authority amongst FM associated groups can be attributed to a victim's fear of the consequences of betraying their family's honour.

Police officers described how this underreporting had resulted in a lack of insight and knowledge regarding the vulnerabilities victims encountered in the case study site. Officers reported how they felt unable to effectively reassure victims that once they had reported the crime they would be able to protect them. This draws further parallels with Sellin's (1933) proposition, that when the systems of self-regulation are 'strong', the influence of the laws

and values of the majority population can be resisted (p.84). This 'cyclical' process, whereby the crime remains hidden because a victim believes that interventions are inadequate, has also been reported in the policing literature (see Biles & Braithwaite, 1979; Bowles et al 2009; Hart & Colavito, 2011; Kaariainen & Siren, 2011; Skogan, 1976, Skogan 1984; Tarling & Morris 2010). Commentators have emphasised the importance of adopting culturally appropriate intervention models, in order for victims to feel sufficiently supported and confident in reporting crime (Biles & Braithwaite, 1979; Bowles et al 2009; Hart & Colavito, 2011; Kaariainen & Siren, 2011; Skogan, 1976, Skogan 1984; Tarling & Morris 2010). These concerns were highlighted by police officers in this study, however, culturally sensitive measures were not commonly implemented to encourage reporting. Police officers were willing to adopt specific procedures during FM cases (e.g. meeting victims outside of the family home), however, this approach was not sufficiently adequate to challenge the 'systems of self-regulation' (Sellin 1933) prevalent amongst the minority community, and often FM was not reported.

The hidden nature of FM within the case study site also draws parallels with the policing literature surrounding crime reporting and domestic violence (DV) amongst minority communities. The policing literature highlights how the unreported 'dark figure' of crime prevents police services from acquiring an accurate insight into offences (Biderman and Lynch 1991). The statistical evidence collected within the case study site (appendix Q), identified that only a small number of FM cases had been reported to the police service, however, participants believed that these figures substantially underestimated the occurrence of FM. The low levels of reporting meant that there was a lack of insight regarding FM cases and specific protocols had not been implemented. Police officers in this study were instead reliant upon a standardised DV model to manage FM cases. This required the completion of

DV documentation (Appendix H), and the provision of victim support leaflets from the local DV advisory service. Participants acknowledged that there was a DV element to FM cases, however, it was also described how categorising the crime within a DV framework failed to recognise how the offence differed culturally from more frequently reported DV incidents.

DV documentation was reported to be lacking in detail and demonstrated little cultural sensitivity and cultural awareness. Support leaflets were tailored to a local support service, however, staff running this service were not specifically trained to manage the needs of FM victims. The contact details (including telephone numbers and email addresses) of the support service provided on these leaflets, were incorrect and did not correspond with the correct details available on the organisations website. It was reported by third sector workers, that this was problematic because FM victims did not always have unsupervised internet access, and consequently may not be able to access the correct contact information. By categorising FM within a DV framework, the cultural values differences behind the offence and the unique circumstances of victims were not recognised, therefore, police officers within the case study area were unable to provide the appropriate level of support.

Turk (1969) proposed that police-subject interactions would likely witness conflict when there was an inadequate consideration of the subject's cultural values and the cultural nuances behind the offence. Turk's (1969) theory suggests that conflict can be overt, i.e. demonstrated by a physical resistance from the perpetrator or subtle, i.e. demonstrated by a lack of engagement on behalf of the subject. The more 'sophisticated' the method of law enforcement, the greater the likelihood it will 'avoid overt conflict' (Turk 1969; Weidner and Terrill 2005; p91). Turk's (1969) theory does not specify whether or not this conflict is exclusive to enforcer-perpetrator interactions, or whether the conflict scenario applies to minority populations and the police

service in general. The findings of this study further Turk's (1969) research, and support both possible interpretations in the context of FM management. A conflict can be demonstrated by a resistance towards the police from the perpetrator, in the refusal to allow victims to speak with police officers alone during DV attendances. The findings also suggest that the approaches of the police service to FM cases accorded with Turk's (1969) proposition and lacked sophistication. The reliance upon standard domestic violence interventions for FM cases, and the outdated support leaflets, failed to instill confidence in victims, and in line with Turk's proposition (1969), a cultural values conflict was evident in their refusal to report the crime and engage with these services.

The police service within the case study site had been previously criticised for lacking awareness of the vulnerabilities faced by FM victims (see HMIC 2015). A number of recommendations arose from this previous practice-based research, and police officers within this study were aware of these criticisms. Despite an acknowledgement of these previous concerns FM cases continued to be managed by the same criticised protocols. The police services' response to FM cases in this study draw parallels with the existing literature surrounding DV management amongst minority populations. Previous commentators have reported how police officers tend to handle DV cases amongst minority groups less favorably than those which occur within the majority community (Edwards 1989; Kelly 1999; Stanko 1985; Holdaway 1983). It has also been suggested that interactions between minority populations and the police, can result in individual police officers misinterpreting or being reluctant to intervene with these incidents, due to a lack of cultural understanding (Edwards 1989; Kelly 1999; Stanko 1985; Holdaway 1983).

Findings from this study support these propositions; there was a reliance upon existing DV procedures for FM cases and a number of participants stated they lacked an understanding of FM and had been reluctant to intervene with these cases. The reliance on body language and the reluctance to pre-emptively intervene, support the suggestion that due to cultural differences, police officers can misinterpret or be reluctant to intervene in cases amongst minority populations (Edwards 1989; Kelly 1999; Stanko 1985; Holdaway 1983). However, unlike the existing literature the findings of this study suggest that it would be inaccurate to imply that the lack of intervention by participants was the result of a deliberate bias against the minority group. Instead, participants believed that the cultural values differences behind FM made the offence complex to manage. In opposition to the existing literature (Edwards 1989; Kelly 1999; Stanko 1985; Holdaway 1983), expressions of favouritism towards the majority population by police officers during DV cases were not found during data analysis, instead, the inadequate responses were non-deliberate and largely attributable to the cultural values differences between populations. All of the police officers interviewed in this study expressed a desire to assist these victims and to end the harmful cultural practice of FM.

This data draws parallels with the existing policing literature, however, the findings also support the theoretical proposition of this thesis. FM was described by participants as an 'unusual' crime to manage because of the cultural values and motives behind the offence. Current measures were reported to be inappropriate at accommodating these values differences. Turk (1969) proposed that when police officers fail to accord for cultural differences during interventions, they lack 'sophistication' and the risk of conflict is increased. In application to FM this 'simplified' interpretation of a scenario leads to individuals refusing to engage with police officers, because they are unconfident that the protocols can manage the risks arising from shaming their family's honour (Turk 1969). This proposition draws further parallels with

Sellin's (1933) observation that the introduction of new legislation does not necessarily deter perpetrators from committing the offence, due to the historic collective support for the harmful behaviour within their communities (p.73). According to Sellin (1933), this collective support prevents members of the minority community from liaising with the police service, due to systems of self-regulation whereby victims would fear speaking out and opposing their group's culture (p.73). Current measures deployed to manage FM within the case study site drew parallels with these propositions. Victims were fearful of reporting FM due to the pressure their family and wider community may impose upon them. In addition, in line with Sellin (1933), the criminalisation of FM had not reduced its occurrence because it was commonplace amongst the minority population to arrange the marriages of their children. In order for FM to be managed successfully, measures need to acknowledge and counter the cultural differences surrounding the concept of marriage and, as recommended by Turk (1969), visibly demonstrate 'sophistication' during law enforcement to encourage victims to report FM.

In line with the propositions of this thesis, police interactions and procedures during FM cases appear to inadequately accommodate the values of the minority cultural group. This failure to acknowledge the values differences held by the minority group had resulted in a conflict of values during FM interventions. This conflict of values typically manifested in an opposition by the victim to report the crime (Sellin 1933; Turk 1969; Vold 1958). Existing research has focused specifically upon police-suspect interactions (see Kaduce and Greenleaf 1994; Kaduce and Greenleaf 2000; Widener and Terrill 2005), however, the findings of this study also align with the propositions of wider Culture Conflict theorists who have focused on law enforcement beyond the police service (Sellin 1933; Vold and Bernard 1986; Chamblis and Seidman 1971). The findings of this study support suggestions that whilst conflict may occur during 'ground level' interactions between an officer and a perpetrator (Turk 1969), a wider conflict also arises

between minority populations and the police service when the police fail to acknowledge the values differences of the group (Sellin 1933; Vold and Bernard 1986; Chamblis and Seidman 1971). Consequently, in accordance with these theorists, this study has shown that a failure to accord for values differences results in an extensive intergroup conflict and the crime is seldom reported.

Values Representation

5.8: RQ2. Interpreting FM

It was evident from the findings that understandings of FM were inconsistent amongst police officers, and in turn, these inconsistencies had impacted the management of the crime. All police officers had completed some form of training, however the content, duration, and mode of training delivery varied. A number of police officers had undertaken in-depth training modules which solely focused on FM, and typically consisted of several face to face training days. Other participants had completed online training which, rather than focusing solely on FM, covered the cultural crimes of FM, female genital mutilation (FGM) and honour-based violence (HBV). Those who had received the face to face training reported that the material covered had been fairly detailed, however, those who had undertaken on-line training described the material as inadequate, and relayed how it had failed to provide them with sufficient insight into FM. Further, on-line learners reported they were able to 'click' through the material without actually reading the content. These participants relied upon their colleagues, who had recently completed the training, to answer the online exam questions at the end of the module. These inconsistencies in training were attributed to shift patterns, with police officers able to avoid training entirely if it was not scheduled during their working hours.

These discrepancies support the propositions of Quinney (1970), who suggested that an accurate understanding of cultural values and practices amongst law enforcement agencies is essential to reduce conflict and to successfully manage crime. Quinney (1970) implied that without an accurate 'diffusion' of knowledge, it is likely that law enforcement agencies will be susceptible to 'bias' media reporting. The participants in this study supported criminalisation, and the reasons provided aligned with the discourse surrounding the assimilatory promotion of British Values and the lack of Muslim integration, which some commentators have described as inaccurate (Parekh 2008; Richardson 2004; Joppke 2004; Sian et al 2012; Moore et al 2008). Participants from outside sectors confirmed that some police officers failed to understand FM and the unique cultural risks victims faced. These remarks and the unanimous support amongst police officers for group assimilation through criminalisation, suggests that the police service had been susceptible to the media discourse surrounding FM. These findings directly support Quinney's (1970) proposition that a bias construction of the criminal conception consequently results in the unfair targeting of the minority community by state actors, who have inaccurately determined the values of these communities to be criminal (Quinney 1970; Vold and Bernard 1986).

Inconsistencies in training had resulted in some police officers having little understanding of FM; consequently, these participants believed they were poorly prepared to manage the crime. Some officers were unsure of the differences between an AM and a FM, whilst others suggested they would not know what to do if they were to encounter a FM case. These differences in understanding had resulted in inconsistent approaches being adopted to manage FM. These fluctuations of knowledge align with Turk's (1969) propositions on 'sophistication', whereby police interventions amongst minority communities are likely to encounter conflict when their approaches are reliant on inaccurate interpretations of the crime. There was strong support

amongst officers for a localised detailed training package over the current generic national model. It was believed that a nuanced approach would enable officers to gain a greater insight into the cultural values and practices of the population within the case study site. An improved understanding of the minority group's values would in turn enable FM interventions to be more culturally sensitive, which, in accordance with Turk's (1969) proposition would prevent conflict due to an accurate interpretation of events. This need for a holistic and consistent police understanding of honour systems has been identified previously, where it was suggested that without detailed training, police officers 'cannot have an accurate perspective or reframe their interpretation of a conflict situation from the other's culture standpoint' (Dorjee et al 2013; p16).

Police officers were only able to identify the crime if there was a physical element to the offence. The psychological distinction between an arranged marriage (AM) and a FM was reported to be impossible to identify. It was suggested that FM existed in a 'tipover', whereby it would only be reported once the pressure to marry had become unbearable for the victim. This inability to identify elements of psychological pressure, blurred the distinction between an AM and a FM, and meant that the police service was unable to uphold the law unless the victim reported an imminent physical harm. Officers were unconfident that these factors alone could reliably indicate a FM, because they were unsure of the impact honour based psychological pressure could have upon a victim's capacity to consent. Police officers stated that they were unconfident to intervene with a suspected FM offence because they were motivated by a differing set cultural values, and were fearful of antagonising the situation by using a culturally inappropriate intervention. These findings demonstrate that participants were unable to fully implement procedures to enforce the law.

The lack of intervention due to cultural differences and the fear of antagonising a situation align with the propositions of Vold and Bernard (1986). In an amalgamation of existing theories, Vold and Bernard (1986) predominantly drew upon Vold's initial work (1958), Quinney's 'Social Reality of Crime' (1970) and Chambliss and Seidman's 'Law, Order and Power' (1971). Vold and Bernard (1986), proposed a number of factors wherein a conflict of cultural values would likely occur during the interactions between state organisations (i.e. the police) and minority communities. Vold and Bernard's (1986) analysis suggests that the greater the political power of the minority population, the harder it becomes to enforce the law against them. Furthermore, difficulties with law enforcement arise because the more influential a group, the more likely it will be that the crimes of the group remain subtle and hidden (Vold and Bernard 1986; p.287). The findings of this study align with these propositions. The size and corresponding power of the minority population influenced both FM victims and police officers. The fear imposed upon a FM victim prevented them from reporting the crime, and additionally, police officers were reluctant to intervene due to a fear of antagonising the population. These factors support Vold and Bernard's (1986) Cultural Conflict model and are indicative of the minority population's 'political' power and capacity to ensure FM remains 'subtle' and 'hidden'. In accordance with Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition, this lack of accurate understanding amongst the police service regarding the minority group's cultural differences had impacted the policing of FM, and consequently the law had not been upheld successfully.

The inability by participants to distinguish between an AM and a FM due to cultural differences in the interpretation of psychological pressure further support Vold and Bernard's (1986) notion of 'subtlety'. Vold and Bernard's (1986) theory implies that when the population 'hide' certain offences through 'subtlety' police officers cannot successfully intervene, thus,

additional knowledge is required amongst police officers to detect such offences. Vold and Bernard (1986), in-line with work by Turk (1969) and Chambliss and Seidman (1971), also proposed that law enforcement agencies are naturally bureaucratic and consequently focus on simpler less arduous cases. The police officers in this study could not intervene in these difficult cases due to the complexity of honour systems and a fear that their lack of knowledge regarding FM could result in interventions appearing 'culturally insensitive'. All participants mentioned how the complexity of these cases required extensive resources and time which were not readily available. It was suggested that specialist departments were required to manage FM, however, it was believed that this could not occur unless greater financial assistance was available. These findings align with Vold and Bernard's (1986) propositions, and it can be suggested that given the complexity of FM and the bureaucratic nature of policing, FM victims needs were not met and their situations were not handled appropriately, due to the police service favouring simpler less arduous cases. Without greater resources, the police service will continue to represent an unsuitable approach towards FM victims, and the crime will fail to be successfully managed.

Police officers have the discretion to choose whether or not they should invoke the criminal justice process during an interaction with a subject (Goldstein 1960). The need for a consistent understanding of FM is therefore essential to ensure police officers can respond appropriately to both victims and perpetrators of FM. The literature on discretionary intervention has shown that without sufficient knowledge and understanding into culturally associated crimes, police officers tend to rely upon assumptions and stereotyping regarding minority populations (Ellis 2010; Bradford 2012). These assumptions arise because the decision-making process for a police officer tends to reflect their own personal values and beliefs (Ellis 2010; Bradford 2012). The findings of this study demonstrate that the interpretations and beliefs about FM varied

substantially amongst police officers, therefore, in line with the existing literature (Ellis 2010; Bradford 2012), it follows that the decision making by officers would reflect these inconsistencies, and responses were at risk of becoming culturally inappropriate.

Data collected from outside of the police service (e.g. from TSO workers, cohesion officers, and social workers) confirmed the proposition that police interventions in the case study were inconsistent and culturally insensitive. Police interventions were described to be lacking awareness of the cultural risks FM victims faced. Police officers were portrayed as culturally blinkered, in that they had often sought to uphold the law in an overly simplistic manner without considering the dangers of honour systems and the risks they present to victims. This lack of awareness was also reported to be greater when the intervening officer was from an older generation; these officers, in comparison to their younger colleagues, were reported to underestimate the severity of FM cases and were hesitant to implement interventions.

The differing interpretations of FM have been highlighted in the existing policing literature which has explored the personal characteristics of police officers. Research suggests that during police interventions, officers typically represent authoritarian, aggressive, conservative and cynical approaches (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994). These values are often framed within a police officer's personal narrative, whereby they perceive themselves to be 'fighting the good fight', thus suspects are viewed as being inherently different from the police officer (Reiner 1979; p.161). These suggestions align with the findings of this study, whereby there was unanimous support for criminalisation amongst police officers, with participants suggesting the crime was unacceptable from their cultural view point, and that the motives of the offence were difficult to understand. In accordance with the literature (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994),

elements of authoritarianism and aggression were prevalent amongst police officers in this study, because the majority of participants believed that the criminalisation of perpetrators could liberate victims and prevent FM in the case study site. This representation of negative values by police officers was also highlighted in interviews with workers from other sectors. Non-police participants, in-line with the findings of existing studies (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994), described the approaches of police officers to be aggressive and culturally insensitive towards the minority population during FM cases, and it was described how often honour systems and victim vulnerabilities were not acknowledged.

The discretionary process is reliant upon the stereotyping of offenders; therefore, the delivery of interventions can lead to conflict when police officers make assumptions about a minority culture and the causes of the incident (Casman et al. 1992; Brunson & Miller 2006; Goodey 2006). It was evident from the findings of this study that there was no typical FM 'setting', and that there were also substantial variations regarding the causes of FM amongst police officers (with some participants believing FM was motivated by culture, whilst others suggested the offence was attributable to religion). Given these variations and, if, as proposed by the literature (see Ellis 2010), officers rely upon stereotyping, it follows that these variations could result in the unfair enforcement of the law. This reinforces the need for a consistent level of training and for specific FM intervention procedures to be in place. However, at the time of this study this had not been accorded for.

Turk (1969) argues, in a similar vein to the policing literature discussed above, that a conflict of values is most likely to occur when the police officer personally supports the values of the law they are upholding, and the perpetrator disagrees with the legislation and the method of

enforcement. A review of the discretionary process amongst police officers in this study highlights unanimous support for the legislation, and for criminalising the harmful cultural values which motivate the offence. Turk (1969) suggested that the greater the cultural differences between the police service and the minority individual/group the less likely it would be that 'a capacity and readiness' to openly liaise with the police service would exist amongst the minority population (p.42). Turk (1969) also suggested that this inability to 'respond to subtle clues' by the minority group leads to a situation whereby the police service have to resort to more 'physically coercive' means of enforcement (p.42-43).

The findings from this study support Turk's (1969) proposition; there was a lack of engagement with FM measures amongst the minority population due to a perceived belief that the police service solely represented values of the majority population. This lack of 'capacity and readiness' to engage with the police service, meant that in accordance with Turk's (1969) model, police officers relied upon more 'physically coercive' measures whereby a victim's family were criminalised during FM management. These physical interventions were likely to establish a conflict between the police officer and the perpetrator of FM. In order to avoid this conflict, and to manage FM appropriately, a culturally sensitive management strategy which enables the minority population to respond to the 'subtle clues' (Turk 1969) of the law is required.

The variations in content, duration, and format of training, had created a further lack of consistency during police interventions. Turk's (1969) suggestions regarding 'organisation' and 'sophistication' highlight the impact of such variations. Turk (1969) proposed that because the police service is an 'authority structure' naturally there is a high degree of 'organisation' (p.60). Turk (1969) also suggested that the more 'organised' and 'sophisticated' the minority

group, the less likely it is that the police can successfully uphold the law without conflict. The community in this study were described by police officers to be living in a 'village type setting' whereby everybody knew one another's business. According to Turk (1969), interventions amongst such 'organised' communities, are likely to be unsuccessful because the individual 'who has group support for his behaviour is going to be more stubborn in the face of efforts to make him change' (p.58). Turk's (1969) theory demonstrates the impact an uneven level of power distribution between 'subject' and 'enforcer' can have upon the implementation of the law. The findings of this study show that the minority population's 'organisation' and 'sophistication' were far beyond those of the police service. The police service's inadequate training, their reliance upon stereotyping and their lack of knowledge, had resulted in the inappropriate handling of FM cases. The police service had been interpreted as representing a values set which conflicted with the minority population's cultural beliefs, however, there had been minimal effort to reduce this conflict and to portray a level of cultural relevancy. In turn, FM cases were difficult to manage because victims did not report the crime, and police officers could not easily detect the offence. In support of Turk's (1969) model, improvements in approach were required to reduce the impact of this values conflict and to encourage a more appropriate management of the offence.

Values Balance

5.9: RQ2. Differing cultural values

Reducing conflict during discretionary intervention appears to be at the centre of successful FM management, however, the impact of the values conflict upon police intervention requires further consideration. Participants stated how managing FM was made more difficult by the close-knit minority population in the case study site, who were believed to be living in accordance with honour-based social structures common to the Mirpuri region of Pakistan.

This governance system meant that an individual's family life was often 'public knowledge', and any police involvement would bring shame upon the family's honour. Some police officers within the study recognised the importance of these systems, and the risks victims faced upon reporting FM, however, it was believed that resources (e.g. a lack of funding, a lack of victim refuges, and a lack of specialist workers) were inadequate to guarantee the victim's protection from the risks which could arise from the wider community.

It was evident from these findings that FM was believed to occur because of differences between honour-based culture and Modern British values, particularly regarding individual freedom, autonomy and the role of women. FM perpetrators committed the crime because they often felt that by choosing a spouse for their child, they would be able to preserve their family's culture and heritage from becoming Westernised. The police officers in this study did not believe all perpetrators committed FM to harm their children. Perpetrators were reported to be unaware of FM illegality, and the harm it caused. Police officers also believed perpetrators often considered a marriage to be in the best interests of their child. Police officers suggested an educational approach to raise awareness of FM illegality should be utilised alongside criminalisation. Police officers suggested that a multi-faceted approach would raise awareness amongst potential victims, thus resulting in a higher reporting rate and a reduction in FM occurrence.

Participants observations that cultural segregation had impacted the policing of FM, supports Sellin's (1933) 'primary' conflict scenario. Sellin (1933) proposed that intergroup conflict occurred either on a secondary subcultural level (e.g. gang culture, and youth crime), or a more direct primary level wherein conflict occurs when one population migrates into another and adheres to their own cultural values. Sellin (1933) specifically suggested that this primary

conflict would self-resolve over a period of two generations whereby a natural balance of values would be reached within the governing framework of a society.

Sellin (1933) suggested that during this values balance process each generation would witness the gradual decline of conflict between minority population and the state (p.101). Sellin's (1933) conflict reduction model is founded upon his observations of immigration and community integration within American cities during the early 20th century. Sellin's (1933) proposition assumes that the minority population, through geographical location and circumstance will naturally come into contact with the 'mores' of the majority group, thus integration occurs when 'traditions are broken' (p.86). The findings of this study do not support this proposition. Police officers described their relationship with the minority community as worsening, and the dangers of honour systems as increasing in recent years. Participants from external organisations confirmed this finding and suggested that the minority population's geographical segregation had enabled the community to become isolated. This isolation had been worsened by language barriers and a lack of access to mainstream media sources. This relationship deterioration suggests Sellin's (1933) proposition that conflict is self-resolving through the natural 'breaking of traditions' (p.86), cannot apply when communities are able to remain isolated both geographically and deliberately from the 'mores' of the majority population. Thus, unless the means of isolation i.e. the geographical segregation, language barriers, and media sources are addressed, a balance of values cannot occur and FM appears likely to continue.

Education of the minority population was viewed to be important to police officers, however, there was also strong support for a 'hard-line' approach and the imprisonment of perpetrators. Police officers in this study supported the use of the criminal law to uphold a victim's rights

and to enable them to live autonomous lives. This approach was supported because it was believed that perpetrators had chosen to live in this country, and therefore, were obligated to adopt values which aligned with the majority population. Police officers believed the law and the threat of imprisonment were needed to assimilate the minority cultural group's beliefs, because the values differences were substantial and had worsened in recent years.

These findings highlight the values differences between populations within the case study area; and the role the police service can play in upholding and enforcing a particular values set. Participants believed these group values differences had increased in recent years because of child sexual exploitation cases (CSE) and counter terrorism agendas. These strategies were believed to have resulted in large numbers of the minority population becoming suspicious of the police and the state, which in turn had resulted in decreased cohesion, reduced intercommunity dialogue, and increasing support for a more conservative cultural identity. Police officers relayed their experiences of this suspicion during their interactions with members of the community. It was reported that the police service was perceived to be upholding White laws for White people and representing Christian cultural values which were irrelevant and inconsiderate of the minority population's beliefs.

The notion that previous interventions had resulted in a widespread mistrust of the police service, draw parallels with Vold's (1958) Culture Conflict model. Vold (1958) proposed that when state interventions are perceived to target a particular cultural group, which was apparent with regards to the CSE and counter terrorism programmes, the targeted population 'struggles to maintain its status in relation to another' (Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986; p272). Vold believed that this status struggle results in the minority population undertaking an internalisation process whereby they persuade themselves that their course of action is

acceptable, and the behaviour continues (Vold and Bernard 1986; p275). Sellin's (1933) theory draws parallels with Vold's suggestions (1958) and also proposes that harmful cultural practices are often exacerbated when a population is specifically targeted by state measures (Sellin 1933). The findings of this study align with both of these propositions and the minority population's increasingly conservative cultural identity can be attributed to their struggle to maintain their status when faced with targeted measures by the police service. The growing prominence of these cultural values highlights the importance of police measures displaying a values balance and being aware of group status tensions during interventions with the minority population, because otherwise the internalisation will increase and crimes including FM will remain hidden through systems of self-governance (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958).

Participants reported how the minority population described the police service as upholding White Christian values. The existing literature on police characteristics (discussed above) suggests individual officers are typically authoritarian, aggressive, conservative and cynical (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994). The findings of this study suggest that these characteristics have impacted the management of FM. This research also extends the understanding of these characteristics in relation to group values conflict. This study shows that when police officers are perceived as adhering to different religious or ethnic values, this impacts their legitimacy amongst the minority population, who due to this perceived visible cultural difference, become increasingly less likely to engage with their services.

Previous literature has proposed that the police need to be perceived as legitimate to aid public cooperation and to uphold the law without conflict (Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Bradford 2012). The findings of this study support existing research that has suggested counter-terrorism

agendas have been interpreted as invasive, discriminatory and illegitimate (Spalek 2010; Jonathan-Zamir and Weisburd 2011; LaFree et al. 2009; Chakraborti 2007). The belief by participants that the PREVENT agenda had led to the minority community feeling marginalised, further affirms studies which indicate that Muslim communities feel unfairly disciplined and suspected by the state (Sivanandan 2006, Fekete 2004, Ansari 2005; Garland et al 2006; O'Toole et al 2016).

The findings of this study show that CSE interventions amongst Muslim minority populations have resulted in scepticism by these communities towards the police service. This lack of legitimacy amongst the minority population had led to a situation whereby the police were only able to uphold the FM legislation in an assimilatory manner due to a breakdown in public cooperation. Previous commentators have suggested that upholding the law without public cooperation is likely to lead to conflict between the perpetrator and the police (Tyler and Wakslack 2004). These suggestions align with Turk's (1969) proposition that a lack of cultural values balance, leads to a loss of legitimacy which then results in a reduced conformity to 'subtle psychological sanctions', thus the police are more likely to utilise physically coercive means to enforce the law (p.42). This study confirms these existing propositions; the CSE discourse, counter-terrorism agenda and religious and ethnic differences have led to the minority community perceiving the police service to be culturally unbalanced, discriminatory and illegitimate. In turn the police service were unable to enforce the law through 'subtle psychological sanctions', thus they were forced to implement physical sanctions, because the minority community did not perceive the FM management measures to be legitimate.

The importance of legitimacy during the policing of minority cultural practices is well documented in the literature. The British policing discourse suggests that following the Second

World War, immigration into the United Kingdom increased, and consequently so did racial tension. The Scarmann Report, found the police service to have unfairly and systematically targeted Black communities (Scarman 1981; Reiner 1986; Neal 2003). The Lawrence enquiry and the subsequent Macpherson Report similarly identified that the police service was institutionally racist because they had failed to provide a fair and consistent service to minority communities (Macpherson 1999; Bowling 1998). There is no evidence available that has explored the implications of these accusations with regards to the policing of FM and the legitimacy of the police service amongst these associated communities.

A central means of achieving legitimacy amongst minority communities is through the use of community policing programmes. These representative community policing programs are often adopted to afford procedural fairness, gain insight and obtain legitimacy amongst minority populations, with the overall aim of achieving cooperation in the management of crime (Skogan, 1995; Greene and Mastrofski 1988; Sadd and Grinc 1996; Tyler 2008). However, at the time of this study there was no evidence available that had explored community policing and FM. In the UK, community policing amongst Muslim communities has typically sought the inclusion of the population in the formation of policy and the implementation of legislation (Vertovec 2002, Gilliat-Ray 2010, O'Toole et al. 2013). A community police officer in this study, who worked amongst the Muslim population expressed how, by learning about the group's cultural and religious nuances he had managed to establish a rapport with the community. Whilst this had increased his legitimacy during personal interventions, it was highlighted how such legitimacy was not sought by the remainder of the police service, nor had such an approach increased the reporting of FM. Community policing appears to be essential in establishing a relationship with the minority group, which in turn enables culturally sensitive responses to be deployed. The findings of this study align with the

historic criticisms of the police service (Macpherson 1999), and further suggest that during the policing of FM, the police service can fail to provide an appropriate response to minority groups and individuals, when the cultural differences between police officers and the minority group are significant.

FM has been associated with Muslim minority communities, and the wider issues relating to the community policing of this group were apparent in this study. The findings of this research provide support for the existing literature which suggests that the counter terrorism agenda has damaged police-minority relations (BBC 2004; Poole and Richardson 2006; Bonino 2012; Spalek 2010; Kundnani 2006). Police officers described how interactions with the minority population in the site, had become impacted by an overarching distrust of the police services' intentions. This distrust was attributed to a widespread scepticism and fear of the counter terrorism measures. Research supports this proposition, and past studies have shown how the counter terrorism programmes (namely PREVENT), have resulted in a decreased engagement by Muslim minority communities during non-terrorism related police interventions (Briggs et al. 2006, Spalek and Imtoual 2007, Innes et al. 2011; Bullock and Johnson 2018).

The policing literature suggests that throughout the 1990's there was a deliberate increase in police engagement with Muslim minority communities in Britain. Nationally, police services sought community consultation and citizen participation with these groups in order to establish positive perceptions of legitimacy and to gain cultural insight (Briggs et al. 2006, Spalek and Imtoual 2007, Innes et al. 2011). This consultation process aligns with the cultural 'balance' propositions of Culture Conflict theorists (Vold and Bernard 1986). However, no such consultations had occurred within the case study site, and it could be suggested that this lack of inclusion had resulted in a lack of engagement during FM management.

Vold and Bernard (1986) suggested that in order to reduce intergroup conflict a 'balance' of perspectives and values is required in police approaches. An analysis of Vold and Bernard's (1986) conflict reduction propositions, unfortunately does not provide any specific guidance for achieving this legitimacy in practice. Vold and Bernard (1986) merely suggested that a reduction of conflict requires a 'specific process by which a redistribution of power can occur through the establishment of organised groups' (p.296). The findings of this study further Vold and Bernard's (1986) propositions. Police officers supported an inclusion of the minority population during the creation and enactment of FM policing procedure. In-line with past research (Briggs et al. 2006, Spalek and Imtoual 2007, Innes et al. 2011) interview participants suggested that a cultural values balance could be achieved by seeking collaboration from community and religious leaders during the management of FM. Participants believed this approach would increase the perceived legitimacy of both the FM legislation and the police service amongst the minority population, whilst also preventing the occurrence of conflict.

It was evident from the findings of this study, that the police service was perceived by the minority community to be enforcers of irrelevant cultural values. This illegitimacy established a reluctance amongst the minority community to cooperate with the police during FM cases. Evidence suggests that legitimacy can be obtained when fairness and respect are awarded to communities during police-subject interactions (Bradford and Jackson 2011; Murphy et al 2009). Police officers in this study were aware of the different cultural values amongst the minority population, however, no attempts had been made to ensure intervention protocols appeared fair and afforded respect towards the community's cultural values during FM cases. For example, participants identified how the minority community were more inclined to cooperate with male police officers during FM cases, however, interventions were often led by

female officers even though it was recognised that this approach may antagonise the minority population's cultural beliefs and may jeopardise the safety of victims.

Participants also described how police involvement could bring social shame upon a family, and whilst past recommendations for discreet, culturally sensitive interventions were acknowledged (HMIC 2015), there were no protocols in place to prevent this shaming. For example, and in-line with past research (Dorjee et al 2013), participants supported the use of plain clothed police officers to lead FM interventions, in order to prevent the automatic shaming that a family would experience upon the police attending their home. However, such an approach was not accorded for within the case study site and standard high visibility response officers were often deployed to manage these cases. This lack of cultural values consideration, when combined with the inconsistent levels of understanding amongst frontline police officers, and the concerns surrounding CSE and counter terrorism discourse, appear to have directly contributed to the perceived illegitimacy of the police service during FM cases within the case study site.

These evident perceptions of illegitimacy strengthen the validity of the theoretical narrative. Culture Conflict theory suggests that conflict occurs between state organisations and minority cultural groups due to a difference in cultural values (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). According to all theorists, in order to obtain legitimacy, a 'balance' of values is required within the criminal law and its enforcement institutions. This accommodation of difference and compromise of values, increases the legitimacy of law enforcement organisations, and in turn reduces the likelihood of conflict. The processes for achieving this 'balance' vary amongst theorists. Sellin (1933) and Vold (1958) proposed socialisation to be a naturally occurring process because this

'adjustment to one another is the essence of a functioning society' (Vold 1958; p273), whereas the remaining theorists (Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986) suggested that the 'balance of values' was a deliberate process where 'the best solution to social conflict lies in the representation of diverse aggregates of individual's by an equally diverse number of organised groups' (Vold and Bernard 1986; p296).

The view by participants that an educational model delivered through culturally appropriate channels (e.g. community leaders, non-partisan groups, and local schools) should accompany criminalisation, supports the active 'cultural balance' model (Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986) whilst also strengthening the findings of existing research (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). The belief by participants that perpetrators were unaware of the illegality of FM, or the negative impact it has upon victims, also validates the need for a more nuanced approach to be deployed alongside criminalisation. Criticisms of past policing approaches towards honour-based crimes have suggested there is a need for greater consideration of the motivations cultural tradition and honour can impose upon perpetrators (IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013). This study demonstrates that the police service had failed to recognise the significant cultural differences within the case study area and had not sought to achieve the 'representation of individuals or organised groups' (Vold and Bernard 1986; p296) during the creation or implementation of FM intervention procedures. Therefore, as predicted, these implemented measures established a conflict and had resulted in a lack of engagement from the minority community.

Culture Conflict theorists and previous HBV studies, have all suggested that without an acknowledgement of the cultural differences of minority cultures, police interventions can result in the adoption of a stronger cultural identity and the increased occurrence of crime

(Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Dorjee et al 2012). Legitimate police intervention can lead to a reduction in conflict, increased cooperation, and an alignment of values between the perpetrator and the police service (Turk 1969; Bradford 2012; Tyler and Huo 2002). The minority community within this study, had perceived past interventions to be illegitimate. In-line with Sellin's (1933) 'crisis' model and Vold's (1958) 'status struggle', the illegitimacy of the police service and their measures had led to an increasing cultural divide, with the minority community becoming more insular and isolated.

5.10: RQ2. Participation and effective management

Participants across all sectors believed that the police service's awareness of FM had improved in recent years; however, it was described how there were still significant shortfalls in their approach. All police officers believed that FM frequently occurred within the case study site, however, victims were reluctant to report it. This reluctance was largely attributed to the fact that victims believed the police would be unable to protect them (as described above), and they were also reluctant to criminalise their parents due to the isolation and vulnerabilities they may encounter. It was stated by senior police officers in this study, that prior to criminalisation FM interventions may have appeared 'heavy handed' and insensitive towards the minority population. Participants described how these factors may have resulted in victims feeling unconfident in the police service's capacity to fully understand their situation and vulnerabilities.

The case study area had a higher than average Muslim minority population (approximately 20%) in comparison to surrounding towns. Police officers in the study acknowledged that whilst this diversity should be represented within the workforce to obtain a level of cultural legitimacy, the demographics of the police service at the time of this study were not reflective

of this. Participants reported how the lack of representation within the police service had directly impacted the relationship the organisation had with the minority population. It was believed that this lack of legitimacy was a significant hindrance in the management of FM, because current interventions were led by members of the majority population, who may not be aware of the minority population's cultural nuances.

Participants in this study suggested the deficits in local knowledge surrounding FM could be reduced if there was greater employment of the minority population. It was also stated that the police service could benefit from researching the causal factors of FM within the case study area. By doing so, it was believed there would be a greater understanding of the local minority population, which in turn could be used to inform management protocols. It was acknowledged however, that gaining a greater cultural insight into FM was dependent upon improving the current interagency working models, and the existing information sharing protocols.

The police service within the case study site were involved with a multi-agency intelligence hub where statutory and non-statutory agencies shared information and provided support during FM cases. The majority of participants in this study described this current model as inadequate, mainly because each statutory service had differing interpretations of FM severity. Police officers provided examples of these inconsistencies whereby, often, once a victim had been referred through to social services by a police officer, the police service was then excluded from the management process, with no further information fed back to them. Furthermore, depending on the time of referral, social services were sometimes unwilling to participate if the police service reported the FM outside of their conventional working hours.

These findings provide an insight into the FM management processes deployed within the case study site, and draw parallels with the theoretical narrative. The suggestion by participants that FM was frequently unreported due to the victim's fear of social isolation, support Sellin's theory (1933). Sellin (1933) suggested that in order for the victim to escape the community, there is a need to overcome the control of 'the sustaining group' (p85). The honour systems in this study ensured that members of the community were unable to depart from the group. In accordance with Sellin (1933) for the victim to 'adjust to our conduct norms', they must 'escape the ghetto' (p.85). The current measures deployed by the police service could not enable this departure because they did not adequately consider the victims incapacity to sustain independence outside of their community.

The prevalence of honour systems, and the need for additional interagency support to overcome these systems, echoes both Sellin (1933) and Vold's (1958) propositions. Sellin (1933) emphasised the difficulty individuals faced in departing their communities, however, his analysis of departure underestimated the importance of group attachment for the victim. Vold's (1958) concept of 'loyalty' suggests victims may be reluctant to depart from their community because their membership to the group was founded on 'common interests and needs' (p271). The victims in the case study site were members of a sizeable community that were living separate lives from the majority population. The police service's protocols for FM were framed around rescuing the victim from this community and its oppressive beliefs, in order for them to completely depart from their culture and live in accordance with liberal 'British Values'. This intention failed to adequately consider 'the common interests and values' (Vold 1958; p271) the victim may share with their community, or how the victim may not wish to criminalise their family. These values differences therefore necessitate the creation of a more

'balanced' approach that enables victims to be protected, whilst also respecting their cultural values and wishes.

The suggestion that a lack of demographic representation had led to shortfalls in knowledge and perceptions of legitimacy amongst the police service, aligns with Turk (1969) and Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) propositions. Turk (1969) proposed that a failure to consider the cultural nuances of minority populations throughout law enforcement structures demonstrates a lack of 'organisation', which in turn leads to conflict during interactions with the minority community, due to perceptions of illegitimacy on behalf of the subject. Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) theory aligns with this proposition, because their research identified that all organisations involved within the criminal justice process share a similar values model. This lack of values 'balance' according to both theorists decreases legitimacy amongst the minority population and increases the likelihood of conflict during interactions with the group (Turk 1969; Chambliss and Seidman 1971). The finding that the interagency approach lacked consistency, and information sharing was limited, further support the propositions that the criminal justice process can collectively misunderstand minority group values, and that a greater level of 'organisation' was required in the case study site.

The internal procedures for FM cases were also criticised by police officers. All participants stated how FM was an unusual crime because of its unique cultural motives, and subsequently, additional knowledge was required to manage the needs of victims appropriately. There was strong support for a more nuanced approach, however, participants suggested this had not been acknowledged by senior staff and that currently there were limited resources available for this. It was suggested that the police service should move away from the current model for FM management, and a distinct department for managing honour motivated crimes should be

created. Although the creation of a separate department would be costly and would require significant restructuring, participants believed this should not matter because separate departments had been established for less complex offences such as robbery.

The need for greater knowledge across the police service extends aspects of Turk's 'organisation' and 'sophistication'. Turk (1969) suggested that police services are an 'organised authority structure', which through a shared values set, naturally adopt an agreed collective response towards crime (p.60). The findings of this study provide alternate evidence and suggest such a claim is premature in its analysis of police organisational structure. Police officers were 'organised' to the degree that collectively they unanimously opposed the practice of FM. However, the levels of understanding, and the appreciation of the harm FM caused varied substantially across interview participants. The suggestion that senior police officers did not appreciate the risks FM victims faced in comparison to their younger colleagues, or that the allocation of resources had prevented the provision of an adequate level of care, counter Turk's (1969) suggestion and instead indicate that there was an evident 'disorganisation' of approach in this case study. Turk's (1969) proposition appears to stereotype the level of understanding across police officers in the management of crime. This study suggests that when the crimes are motivated by a particularly unusual cultural values set, the level of 'organisation' amongst the police service decreases, and additional steps are required to prevent the occurrence of conflict during intervention. This 'disorganisation' was recognised by some participants who suggested that separate departments need to be created to manage the offence. This suggestion develops Turk's (1969) 'organisation' model and provides support for Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition whereby a 'cultural balance' is required to ensure interventions are culturally appropriate, and the chance of conflict is reduced.

These findings echo previous concerns regarding the policing of FM. Past high-profile cases have highlighted the importance of adopting a distinct approach towards honour-based violence (see the Independent Police Complaints Commission report (IPCC 2008) on the death of Banaz Mahmod). Criticisms have suggested that policing procedures have typically relied upon inaccurate interpretations of honour-based violence, which has underestimated the risks affiliated with these crimes (IPCC 2008; Dorjee et al 2013). Dorjee et al (2013) proposed that management approaches require a holistic understanding of honour systems. To date, no evidence has explored the police approach to FM management, however the findings of the most recent policing research in this area (see HMIC 2015) align with the findings of this study, and highlight the importance of establishing separate departments and management protocols for honour motivated crimes.

The findings of this study suggest current measures have had little impact on the occurrence of FM. These findings align with the theoretical narrative and suggest that a conflict of values has influenced the management of FM. This conflict of values arose due to the cultural diversity manifest within the study area, and as discussed, these cultural values differences had impacted the perceived legitimacy of the police service in the management of the crime. The findings of this study highlight how a minimal level of cultural diversity amongst the police service within the town (approximately, 1 police officer from the minority population of 24,000) had contributed to the police service being perceived to be illegitimate in terms of their ability to manage FM by the minority group. This lack of diversity directly supports Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition that an accurate representation of diversity is required amongst state institutions, in order to reduce social conflict (p.296). Participants were aware of the conflict of values this lack of representation could establish, however it was described how the employment of members of the minority community was difficult because the population did

not view the police favourably. The impact of this conflict upon FM management was recognised however, it was acknowledged that there had been few attempts to improve the relationship with the community and to diversify their work force.

These findings also support recommendations made in the wider policing literature which advocates for the inclusion of minority populations in the formation of institutional management measures (Macpherson 1999; Waddington 1999; Ericson and Haggarty 1997). It has been suggested that fair treatment infers a sense of belonging towards minority communities (Tafjal and Turner 1979; Bradford 2012), and whilst this inclusion typically revolves around individual interactions with the police service, the evidence suggests inclusion in institutional measures (i.e. policy creation and the formation of management strategy) can provide positive group recognition (Ericson and Haggarty 1997). The data presented in this study shows that the police service within the case study area had not consulted members of the minority population during the creation of FM strategy, despite this being proposed by a number of interview participants. The support for this inclusion directly echoes sentiments of Vold and Bernard's (1986) 'balance' and 'participation' whereby inclusion in policy creation can enable minority members to 'pursue and defend their values and interests' (p.296). These same concerns are applicable to the interagency working models in this study, which were described by participants to be inconsistent in their interpretations and understandings of FM and its victims. Therefore, the findings of this study demonstrate that without deliberately seeking an accurate values representation in the creation of measures, and by not providing a level of 'cultural balance' (as recommended by the existing policing literature IPCC 2008; Macpherson 1999; HMIC 2015), FM management is likely to be ineffective due to the conflict of values non-recognitive measures can create.

5.11: Summary

The findings demonstrate that the police service had experienced difficulties managing FM, and this was largely attributable to the differences in cultural values which motivate the offence. The police service was mainly reliant upon a victim's disclosure of FM when they were attending a DV incident. However, since perpetrators were often nearby during these occasions, victims seldom reported the crime. The support service information provided during these incidents was both inaccurate and inappropriate because the local advisory service were not specialists in FM cases, and the contact information was outdated. The police service relied upon DV protocols for their internal and external procedures, and these processes did not adequately acknowledge the cultural values differences behind FM or the dangers reporting FM posed to victims. These procedures appeared illegitimate and victims were reluctant to report the crime. Consequently, it was believed that the statistics underrepresented the true scale of the problem.

The format and extent of training participants had undertaken varied substantially, with some officers having received no training. There was support for a localised training package to help provide a more accurate understanding and representation of the minority community's values. At present the training was tailored to a national audience, and the information provided was difficult to relate to the case study site. Some participants suggested a greater insight was needed because the minority population's cultural practices meant that it was difficult to distinguish between an AM and a FM. These variations in cultural understanding and the deficits in local knowledge had negatively impacted the relationship between the police and the minority population.

Participants believed FM occurred because perpetrators wished to protect their cultural and religious traditions from becoming overly Westernised and that these individuals were not always aware of the illegality of FM, or the harm it imposed upon their children. These factors justified the use of an educational approach to prevent FM; however, such an approach was not available at the time of the study. The police service was not seen to be legitimate to manage FM amongst the minority population, because past interventions with CSE and counter terrorism had represented an assimilatory agenda towards the population. These interventions had damaged the trust held by the community towards the police service. Consequently, this lack of cohesion had resulted in a reduced level of cooperation between the minority population and the police service during FM cases.

It was relayed how past interventions led by employees from within the minority population, had resulted in greater cooperation due to a more accurate representation of values. However, the police service was described as supporting White laws for White people, and for unfairly representing values which were not shared by the minority community. This conflict of cultural values had been worsened by a lack of demographic representation amongst the police service, however, little had been done to increase recruitment efforts.

It was reported how the interagency working relationship for FM had been impacted by varying levels of prioritisation amongst each organisation towards FM cases. The police services internal organisational structures were criticised for lacking sufficient resources to appropriately manage these cases. Participants described how current procedures failed to portray a values balance during the management of FM. Police officers supported the creation of a separate department to manage honour motivated crimes, because the motives of these offences differed from more conventional crimes, however at the time of the study such a

department did not exist. The cultural values which motivated FM in the case study site differed substantially from those of the majority population, and this made it a particularly difficult offence to manage.

RQ3. How are TSOs managing FM and are they influenced by a conflict of cultural values?

It was evident from the findings that the current approach to FM management by Third Sector Organisations (TSOs) differed substantially from the approaches adopted by the public sector. Five themes arose from the data which explored how FM is managed by TSOs, and determining whether or not they are influenced by a conflict of cultural values. These themes included:

1. Organisation remit

2. Scope of the problem

3. Engaging service users

4. Difficulties and limitations

5. A change of approach

Values Differences

5.12: RQ3. Organisation remit

Participants employed within TSOs in this study had worked directly with victims of FM. The number of cases upon which practitioners had been involved with varied across each organisation, however, all interviewees relayed how these cases had been particularly harrowing and difficult. TSO workers, in comparison to those in the public sector, provided a greater insight into FM within the case study area. Police officers, health care workers and educators knew that FM occurred within the case study area, yet there appeared to be a lack of awareness amongst these participants regarding the severity of these cases.

Participants from TSOs relayed how FM occurred frequently, and also provided an insight into the causal factors within the case study site. These participants explained that although the official figures (collected by the police service) showed a gradual increase in FM reporting rates, these figures underestimated the severity of the situation. TSOs in comparison to the statutory services adopted a different management approach, with each organisation supporting victims from the initial reporting of the crime, through to accessing public resources and the provision of counselling services. This all-encompassing approach to FM management meant that TSOs had established a greater rapport amongst the minority community. The capacity to assist a victim at all stages of a marriage enabled TSOs to instil confidence in victims. This legitimacy had resulted in these organisations experiencing a higher victim self-referral rate than that of the statutory services.

These findings demonstrate how TSOs have the capacity to overcome values differences and reduce victim conflict. Participants described FM cases as the most harrowing they managed, however, each organisation's management approach was not hindered by the unusual nature of the offence. The suggestion that the crime statistics obtained by the statutory services were substantially lower than those of TSOs, supports the theoretical narrative of this thesis. Sellin (1933) suggested that crime figures amongst minority communities are seldom accurate due to systems of self-regulation and governance, which prevent victims from reporting crimes to the outside community (p.73). Sellin (1933), suggested the underreporting of crime could be attributed to a 'disagreement with the values attached to such delinquency by the dominant group, a belief in self-help and partly as a defence measure not to increase antagonism' (p.74). The capacity for TSOs to remain impartial and non-judgemental towards the perpetrators of the offence, whilst also not seeking to criminalise perpetrators unless the victim wished, ensured that the chances of 'antagonism' were minimised. This approach appeared to have

reduced the values conflict between the organisation and the minority population, and because of the visible recognition of values differences, TSOs had received a higher reporting rate from FM victims.

Each TSO relied upon members of the minority community and FM victims to inform their policies and protocols. This enabled measures to be tailored to the local area and demonstrated a consideration of the cultural nuances of the minority population. For example, it was reported that one organisation regularly monitored the demographics of the case study area, and, if there was an issue facing a segment of society that was beyond the scope of their existing procedures, they would investigate the concern and tailor their outreach work accordingly. TSOs recognised the vulnerabilities victims faced and it was commonplace for them to liaise with the statutory services on their behalf. This approach was reported to be necessary because often victims were untrusting of state organisations because they feared the severity of their situations could be misunderstood.

Utilising local knowledge to inform FM management strategy, and prevent conflict through appearing legitimate, supports and expands upon the propositions of Vold and Bernard (1986). Vold and Bernard's (1986) model, emphasises how conflict reduction can occur through a 'representation of diverse aggregates of individuals' (p296), however such representation remains undefined. The findings of this study suggest that outreach work, community research and victim inclusion in policy formation had resulted in an increased legitimacy of these organisations to manage FM. This therefore expands upon Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition, whereby researching the needs of the local community and consulting with them, can overcome values differences through representation, which in turn significantly reduces the risk of conflict and increases the reporting of crime.

The findings of this study also support the existing TSO literature. TSOs often provide services which are tailored to local areas and accord for the different cultural values of local people (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 1992). The TSOs in this study were able to provide insight into FM frequency and the impact honour has upon a victim's decision to report the crime. All participants from the third sector were aware of the risks these honour systems posed, and subsequently their policies were designed to minimise this risk. For example, participants stressed that client confidentiality was at the centre of their work, and that they would not act without a victim's permission. This had resulted in positive perceptions of legitimacy towards the third sector amongst the minority community, which in turn resulted in a higher reporting rate than that experienced by the statutory services. Subsequently, a greater insight into FM was obtained by these organisations. This finding further supports the existing literature, which suggests that by acknowledging the cultural differences of minority groups and by adopting a victim centred approach, TSOs can obtain insight into, and provide detailed knowledge of social concerns (Meinhard and Foster 2003).

The TSOs in this study implemented approaches which did not prioritise the criminalisation of perpetrators. Organisational procedures emphasised discretion and only sought the involvement of external services (e.g. the police and social care services) with the victim's consent. This approach protected the victim from the harms associated with betraying family honour. It was evident that the majority of TSO services were designed for both male and female clients, however, it was acknowledged that most of the cases encountered involved female victims. All participants interviewed were themselves, also female. This lack of male representation and engagement, reflects the wider model for FM management at a national

level, where the majority of organisations appear to tailor their work around female victims (for example see the work of Halo Project, the Iranian and Kurdish Womens Rights Organisation, Southall Black sisters, Our Girl, and Sharan). This finding is in-line with the literature which has suggested that whilst TSO services are not usually exclusive to women, they are often more capable than statutory organisations at identifying the needs of women and adopting a more gender specific approach (Riordan 2000, p64).

The nuanced approaches of TSOs in this study, and the success of their approaches reflect the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists. The unanimous suggestion that all organisational models emphasised discretion directly supports Turk's (1969) proposition. Turk's (1969) theory was directly applied to police-subject interactions; however, the findings of this study support its applicability amongst additional sectors. Turk (1969) suggested conflict could be reduced when an organisation is 'sophisticated' and knowledgeable of 'patterns in the behaviour of others' (p58). The reliance upon victim consent and confidentiality within these organisations, meant that TSOs would not act without the victim's permission. TSOs were aware of the 'patterns and behaviours' of perpetrators and the risks FM reporting entailed, consequently they adopted a 'sophisticated' victim led approach, which enabled them to avoid the dangers inherent in honour systems. In turn, by demonstrating a capacity to manage the cultural differences of the minority population, these organisations were perceived as being legitimate in their ability to manage FM.

Sellin's (1933) 'acculturation' process, suggests victims will only engage with the services typically used by the majority population when they are able to 'escape the controls of the primary group' and access 'the mores of outside communities' (p.84-p.86). The lack of engagement by male victims of FM, however, highlight the limitations of Sellin's (1933)

theory. The services of these organisations were open to both male and female victims of FM, however it was believed that, for cultural reasons, male victims would not engage with these organisations if the service was provided by a female employee. This suggests that whilst the services were capable of providing a means of 'escape' and access to 'outside mores' (Sellin 1933; p.85), unless the services provided were culturally legitimate and acknowledged specific values differences (i.e. male employees should be available for male victims), the victim would not engage with the organisation and the 'acculturation' process could not commence.

The lack of male engagement resulted in the majority of services targeting their outreach programmes to female FM victims. This outreach work reflects the national approach to TSO management of FM (See SBS; IKWRO; Halo Project). Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) propositions are evident in this gendered approach to FM management. Chambliss and Seidman (1971) specifically analysed the criminal justice process, however, central tenets of the theory are applicable to the third sector's management of FM. Chambliss and Seidman (1971) suggested that institutionally, the criminal justice process enshrines a particular values set. This shared values model results in each organisation responsible for law enforcement sharing the same beliefs and attitudes towards particular crimes. This 'unity' in interpretation was also prevalent throughout TSOs management of FM. The lack of male services both nationally and in the case study site, alongside the lack of male employees in this study demonstrate the existence of a 'shared values model' towards FM. The consequences of this shared values model were evident in that, in-line with Chambliss and Seidman (1971), these protocols failed to engage minority individuals (in this study, male victims of FM), because they were reluctant to engage with these agencies due to values differences.

Participants from TSOs could not act without the victim's approval (unless they were under the age of 16). This approach differed from the protocols of the statutory services, whereby under the recent legislation, all organisations are legally obligated to report FM to the police service (see both HOPG 2014 and HOSG 2014). This central difference was believed to have encouraged victim reporting, because TSOs were not bound to follow these recommendations. This finding confirms existing research that has examined and compared FM management by TSOs and the public sector (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). The findings of this research suggested that TSOs are likely to be more successful at victim engagement than the public sector, because they have the capacity to enact flexible strategies, bespoke to their settings and their clientele (Wind-Cowie et al 2012).

Participants in this study described how from their experience, victims would only report the crime to their organisation if they perceived the measures to be adequate enough to address the risks they faced from their family and the wider community. The values of the minority population were described as significantly different from the majority groups. Participants relayed how victims often had limited freedom, and how it was normal for parents to arrange their child's marriage. It was suggested that the prominence of these values had increased in recent years, and the community had grown increasingly more conservative. It was described how preserving cultural tradition and adhering to patriarchal values were central to the community's beliefs. Participants reported how such cases were particularly difficult to manage because victims' circumstances were more complex than the majority of other clients who were not governed by honour systems and non-British cultural values.

These values differences demonstrate the need for cultural legitimacy during the management of FM. Past research has demonstrated the importance of collaboration and obtaining cultural

understanding during the management of FM (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). The capacity of TSOs to pursue approaches beyond criminalisation aligns with the findings of this past research, and also draws parallels with the theoretical narrative. Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition, supports collaboration and partnership with the minority population in order to ensure the community are able to 'pursue and defend their values and interests' in public policy and crime management. Vold and Bernard (1986) suggested that this approach 'provides the best solution to social conflict' (p.297). TSOs utilisation of victim knowledge to inform management strategy, and their research into the local area, aligned with these propositions and ensured measures were culturally legitimate for victims. In accordance with the conflict reduction recommendations of Vold and Bernard (1986), by defending the values and interests of the minority population within their protocols, TSOs had consequently reduced conflict during FM interventions in the case study site.

Participants descriptions of the case study site and the cultural values of the minority population highlight the differences between communities and the extent of the honour systems. Participants described the risks of violence victims faced should they report a FM, and how this patriarchal control was commonplace amongst the minority group. The minority population had resided within the case study site for a number of decades, and were believed to be British Citizens, thus theoretically their crimes could be attributed to the delinquency of a 'subcultural' group (Sellin 1933). The extent of the conflict presented by their different cultural values however, align more closely with Sellin's (1933) definition of a 'primary' group conflict scenario. Sellin (1933) attributed this conflict type to scenarios wherein minimal integration had occurred, typically amongst first generation migrant communities. Sellin (1933) also proposed that a primary conflict scenario could be determined from the prevalence of self-regulation, and the rejection of the conventional criminal justice process (p.73).

Sellin (1933) proposed that this resistance to the 'mores of outside communities' are symptomatic of a primary conflict scenario, whereby the cultural values of the community hold significant influence over the actions of its members (p.84). Sellin (1933) suggested that in order for a victim to depart from the setting an 'acculturation' process was required whereby members of the group were exposed to 'the mores of outside groups' (p85). The findings of this study clearly demonstrate the cultural values differences between communities, and the impact this has upon FM management by TSOs. This research shows that the cultural values of the minority community had become increasingly more conservative in recent years; therefore Sellin's (1933) proposition that an acculturation process is a natural phenomenon which occurs over a period of two generations (p.101) does not apply to FM. The findings of this study, counter Sellin's (1933) argument, and suggest that deliberate processes are required to overcome FM, whereby victims are assisted to depart from their community and access the services they require.

The cultural values of the minority population were described as fundamentally different from those of the majority community. This conflict of values had not however prevented TSOs from assisting victims in a culturally sensitive manner. Each organisation interviewed provided a range of services for victims, from counselling and financial support, to help accessing public resources. In turn, these approaches were believed to have resulted in the minority community within the case study site perceiving these services to be increasingly legitimate in managing FM. The capacity of these organisations to adopt approaches which accorded for the cultural values differences between the populations, and to support victims in a culturally sensitive manner, align with the propositions of Cultural Conflict theorists. In accordance with Turk (1969) and Vold and Bernard (1986), conflict appears to be reduced when cultural legitimacy

is obtained. The TSOs in this study provided a tailored service to victims of FM, therefore, in-line with Turk's (1969) proposition, their approaches were 'organised' and 'sophisticated'. The 'organisation' and 'sophistication' appeared to 'balance' the values differences between the minority population and the TSO, and in line with Vold and Bernard (1986) had prevented conflict and increased victim referral rates.

5.13: RQ3. Scope of the problem

The public sector had not adopted a preventative approach and were fully reliant on victim disclosure before they could intervene in FM cases. The third sector approach differed. It was evident from the findings that victims sought advice from TSOs prior to the marriage, and at any other stage, even if they were uncertain whether or not the marriage was going to occur. For example, victims would seek the advice of TSOs if they had overheard their parents planning the arrangement, or, they would make an emergency disclosure the day they were due to leave the country for the marriage. Participants relayed how they had liaised with the British embassy to repatriate victims who had been taken abroad. It was also reported how these organisations supported victims who had entered a marriage against their will, yet did not wish to leave their family and community. These approaches demonstrated that TSOs were capable of adopting a more flexible approach to FM, than that of the statutory services which were solely reliant upon criminalisation.

It was evident from the findings that the case study site was a 'tale of two towns', with a significant cultural divide between the minority and majority populations. The minority population were living separate lives from the majority community and adhered to illiberal cultural values that were described as oppressive towards women. Participants perceived there to be a collective refusal amongst the minority community to adhere to Modern British values,

because elements of their cultural and religious traditions were key parts of the population's identity. These cultural values differences made managing FM particularly difficult. It was believed that typically victims were trying to live two separate lives, a secular Western existence amongst their peers, and a culturally traditional one amongst their family.

The adoption of a dual identity by victims was believed to be a causal factor for FM, with the victim's parents believing that their child was becoming too Western and that forcing marriage upon them would prevent the loss of their culture. This finding was strengthened when participants from outside of the third sector suggested that those vulnerable to FM would often conform to required cultural standards amongst their community, however it was commonplace for them to reject these values when out in public. When this inconsistency was discovered by parents, the FM process would then occur. Examples were provided of this cultural values clash, whereby victims had tended to adopt traditional cultural dress at home, however, when attending the local university, they would change into Western clothing. The family were then made aware of this by members of the minority population, who would report to them that they had seen the victim wearing non-traditional clothing in a public place, and consequently a marriage arrangement would then occur.

These findings highlight the cultural values differences in the case study site, and the essential work of TSOs in navigating these cultural differences. Victims were often unaware of the FM until it was due to take place, therefore, their capacity to reject the arrangement was significantly reduced. Sellin (1933), proposed that crimes within minority communities are often hidden due to systems of self-regulation (p.73). Sellin's (1933) work suggests that these cultural values differences ensure that state interventions within the minority community are difficult and are unlikely to be successful. The findings of this study suggest that whilst public

sector organisations may be unable to intervene, the third sector's holistic approach, which does not solely seek to enforce the criminal law, but instead adopts more flexible tactics, is capable of overcoming these differences and managing hidden offences. TSOs were able to support victims at all stages of the FM, and would assist victims who had been taken abroad, in turn, this flexibility had enabled them to overcome the values differences and manage the hidden offence.

Participants across all sectors believed FM was motivated by the minority community's need to maintain cultural and religious traditions. TSO participants however, demonstrated a greater level of awareness regarding these systems and their modes of enforcement. TSO participants descriptions of the case study site, and the vulnerability of FM victims, highlight the conflicting cultural values and support the propositions of the theoretical narrative. Vold (1958) suggested cultural differences between communities are unlikely to be overcome when the group members share common interests and needs. Turk (1969) supported this and suggested the management of cultural values and practices is likely to result in conflict when the population have a shared language and philosophy to defend and justify their behaviour (p.57). TSOs acknowledged the causal factors behind FM and the minority group's collective desire for cultural preservation; in turn, such recognition enabled these organisations to reduce the risk of conflict during FM interventions.

TSO participants highlighted how FM was motivated by the fear of losing a cultural identity, and how the community would go to extraordinary lengths to ensure its members adhered to the expected behaviours of the group. The findings of this study extend understanding of the values conflict FM presents, and the importance of identity preservation for associated minority groups. Culture Conflict theory implies that conflict occurs when state measures intervene with

the minority group, thus, it is implied that without intervention conflict does not occur (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). The suggestion by participants in this study that members of the minority community were actively preventing group members from adopting different cultural values, in a non-conflict setting (e.g. by enforcing their standards in the local university), highlights the complexity of conflict scenarios. All Culture Conflict theorists suggest conflict occurs during specific interactions (e.g. between police and enforcer (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). The findings of this study however, indicate that when cultural values differences are substantial, the conflict becomes internalised amongst group members who then seek to uphold their values beyond the traditional conflict setting. This expansion of the conflict scenario into areas of public life, requires a specialist awareness that only organisations such as TSOs are capable of providing, in order to identify and prevent FM in a culturally sensitive manner.

Participants in this study suggested that the values differences of the minority population required specialist management protocols to be enacted. It was reported by participants, that the minority population could go to significant lengths to maintain their traditions, and to ensure a family's honour was upheld. It was reported that workers from TSOs had been physically attacked, and their vehicles were followed and vandalised, when they were believed to be helping a victim escape a FM. These factors often meant that TSOs had low retention rates for employees, and specialist honour-based departments would often be temporarily unavailable due to staff shortages. It was acknowledged that because of the dangers to both workers and FM victims, enabling victims to manage their situations could be difficult.

The procedure for helping a victim would often involve relocating them to an undisclosed address. A worker from the organisation would call the victim a few hours before they were collected, and the victim would then be told to gather their essential belongings to leave their family and expect to never return. The victim, would then be taken to the unknown location and would be required to begin a new life alone. It was described how the honour systems in the case study site were so extensive that victims were often relocated four hundred miles away. The relocation distance meant that the victim would have to completely alter their life in order to escape a FM, and often, the vulnerabilities this imposed would deter victims from reporting the crime.

Participants believed reporting FM could bring intense shame, because often victims were expected to marry within the family. The statutory services were aware that shame could be bought upon a family for rejecting a marriage, however, interview findings suggested that these participants were unaware that refusing a cousin marriage could be twice as dishonourable for the victim, as a result of damaging the extended family's reputation. This lack of awareness meant that victims were perceived by TSOs to be reluctant in seeking assistance from the public sector.

These findings demonstrate the extensiveness of the cultural values conflict within the case study site. The suggestion that members of the minority community were resorting to physical violence to prevent victims from escaping a FM, supports the theoretical narrative. Vold theorised how, when the minority population witness a 'ground level' conflict, whereby they perceive force is used against their beliefs, the risk of physical resistance increases (Vold and Bernard 1986; p.297). Turk (1969) supported this proposition by suggesting a 'prime conflict' scenario occurs when the minority population disagree with both the law being upheld and the

means of enforcement (p.55). The suggestion by participants that the minority community were resorting to violence against third sector workers to prevent a victim escaping a FM, supports these propositions and demonstrates the physical dangers a 'ground/prime level' cultural values conflict can impose.

Participants described how violence was used as a means of returning victims to their family, whereby they would be expected to reconcile their differences, often through local community of religious leaders. These factors demonstrate the risks honour systems present to FM victims, and the levels of segregation in the case study site. The suggestion that victims were having to relocate 400 miles from the town with little warning, in order to avoid physical violence from their family and wider community demonstrate the cultural values differences in the case study site.

The extensiveness of the values differences further suggests that the case study site was witnessing a values conflict akin to Sellin's 'primary model'. Sellin (1933) proposed that evidence of this conflict was the presence of 'systems of self-regulation' (p.73). Sellin (1933) believed that these systems prevent crime reporting (p.84). Participants suggestions that community leaders were used to arbitrate between family members provides evidence of 'self-regulation'. Sellin's (1933) solution to the intergroup values conflict, was a natural acculturation process, whereby a values compromise would be reached over a period of two generations (p.101). Participants described how the cultural values divide had worsened in recent years, and honour systems had become so prevalent that victims were having to relocate 400 miles away. The findings from TSO interviews, in-line with other participants suggestions, further oppose the suggestion that cultural values differences, such as those which motivate

FM, will naturally self-resolve. Instead, in line with participants suggestions, active attempts at engagement are required to overcome the cultural values differences which motivate FM.

The greater awareness amongst TSO participants regarding FM, is in-line with the existing literature which has reported how the third sector is likely to be more knowledgeable than the public sector of immigrant, refugee and minority communities (NAC 1996; Stewart & Taylor 1997; Yasmin, 1997; Myyry & Helkama 2001; Riordan, 2000). The new FM legislation enables the public sector to prevent FM through criminalisation, however, in practice a large number of victims sought help post-offence, and because current measures did not appear to enable the public sector to protect these victims, TSOs were providing this service. This gap was recognised by participants from the third sector, who had helped victims access public sector resources after they were married. These victims were reported to have unwillingly gone through with their marriage but were unable to leave because they did not wish to bring shame upon their family and therefore sought support to help manage their situation. Participants described how this scenario was not accorded for by the public sector, who were instead focused on the prevention of FM and upholding the criminal law. The capacity of these organisations to fill a gap in existing statutory procedure, has also been identified previously, with TSOs being reported to interpret and engage with important social issues, which state organisations are unable or unwilling to achieve (McGhee et al 2016; Tandon 1992; Clark 1991; Hulme and Edwards 1992; Wind-Cowie et al 2012).

The capacity of TSOs to manage the offence at all stages and to assist victims who were already married, highlights how essential these organisations are in the management of cultural crimes. Enforcing the law against FM perpetrators, relies upon criminalisation to protect the victim and does not necessarily accord for their desire to stay with their family and community. Chambliss

and Seidman (1971) describe how laws which are not connected with economic issues, are motivated by moral and cultural values. Chambliss and Seidman (1971) suggested that 'every detailed study of the emergence of legal norms has consistently shown the immense importance of interest group activity' (p.73). The values which motivated the criminalisation of FM (discussed in Part One of this chapter) indicate the populist sentiment behind the offence. TSO practitioners attributed the lack of engagement by FM victims with state services to this legal moralism and populist sentiment. It was described how the law was not upheld in a culturally sensitive manner, and how often the approaches of the public sector conflicted with the victim's desires. The capacity of TSOs to navigate this conflict and to overcome the representation of 'interest group activity' during FM management (Chambliss and Seidman 1971), highlight the importance of these organisations in the management of the law, and the avoidance of conflict.

It was evident from the findings that TSO participants found managing FM difficult and dangerous. The harrowing nature of FM and the associated risk of violence were reported to have resulted in low staff retention rates. Participants relayed how they were not always capable of supporting the victims given the pressures and risks they personally faced. These low retention rates meant that the capacity to provide a consistent service to FM victims was reduced. Similar concerns have been highlighted previously in the literature that has explored the unique issues which impact Black Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) TSOs. These organisations, are often small in scale and face similar issues to the TSOs within the case study site. It has been suggested that these organisations encounter unique struggles (relating to resources and the political environment), as a result of their organisations being located outside of the mainstream third sector (Herman and Jacobs 2015). To date, no literature has reviewed the limitations of TSOs responsible for FM management. The findings of this study however

extend understanding, and suggest that the political environment and cultural values conflict FM presents have created unique challenges for TSOs.

The case study area was a semi-rural town, and in contrast to the majority of organisations that manage FM (which are typically located in inner city areas), those in rural locations are more susceptible to resource limitations (Ware 2015). Rural BAME-TSOs are exceptionally vulnerable because when employees leave, an entire service can no longer be provided to victims (Ware 2015; p.26). This leads to a situation whereby the sole focus of the organisation revolves around remaining open, rather than providing a tailored service to their clientele (Ware 2015). Participants in this study described how they would seek to help all victims of FM, however their capacity to do so was dependent upon their access to resources, and staff availability. These limitations highlight how adopting a tailored approach to FM management, which acknowledges the values differences between communities, is vulnerable to resource limitations.

The limitations of TSOs in this study, also draw parallels with Culture Conflict theory. The evidence suggests that when cultural values differences are accorded for, the legitimacy of these organisations amongst victims increases. The capacity for these organisations to provide a service to FM victims, was however limited by the risks of intervention for practitioners, and access to resources. The approaches of TSOs towards FM management emphasised subtlety, victim insight and discreetness to overcome the values differences within the case study site. Turk (1969) supported a discreet approach and suggested that conflict can be avoided when measures acknowledge and seek to manipulate the behaviours of others, instead of relying upon physical coercion (p.58-59). The findings of this study demonstrate the validity of such an approach, however, Turk's (1969) proposition does not acknowledge the variations in resource

access. This thesis has shown that Turk's (1969) theory can be applied beyond police-subject interactions. Unlike TSOs, police services may have access to substantial funding and resources, therefore, their 'sophistication' process (Turk 1969) may be easier to achieve. The findings of this study demonstrate that overcoming values differences and reducing conflict during FM management, by adhering to a 'sophistication' process, is dependent upon consistent and substantial resources which unfortunately TSOs may not always be able to access due to their location and BAME service provision.

Values Representation

5.14: RQ3. Engaging service users

It was evident from the findings that the services offered by TSOs differed in comparison to those of the public-sector. All participants explained how in order to gain the trust of victims, unobtrusive interventions were essential. Statutory services however, are obligated to act upon suspicion (see HOPG 2014), and therefore, interventions could occur without a victim's permission. Participants relayed how their organisational protocols only permitted intervention when a victim directly requested their help. This approach meant that all interventions were led by the victim, and so the dangers of unwanted interference and the risks associated with the shaming of a family's honour were reduced. The adoption of this approach also meant that any risks from situations in which a third party had incorrectly assumed a FM and had reported this, were reduced. For example, it was described by one interviewee that if a third party believed a victim was at risk of FM, rather than the organisation intervening themselves, they would ask the third party to offer to meet with the victim in order that they could provide them with their organisation's contact details. It was reported how this tactic had been successful because it had enabled the victim to direct the intervention only when they felt this was appropriate.

It was described how, in the case study site, victims did not report FM to the police service. Participants believed that victims feared they would lose the ability to direct the intervention process, and there would be no choice but to criminalise their parents if they reported FM to the police service. TSOs acknowledged this concern, and it was described how their organisations offered a number of discreet services to engage with FM victims and to make them aware of their holistic approach. This outreach work included sending support workers to GP practices, whereby a victim would be more likely to report the marriage because they were alone, installing private telephones to enable victims to speak to the statutory services at their organisations, visiting local schools, and employing representative workers from the minority community. It was believed that these approaches had helped establish a rapport amongst victims, and consequently these organisations had witnessed an increase in reporting rates.

The approaches of these organisations demonstrate that a values conflict can be avoided when organisations seek to represent a non-assimilatory approach to FM. The refusal to intervene without a victim's permission differs from the approaches of the statutory services. The statutory services represented an assimilatory management model to FM, whereas TSOs represented a more nuanced culturally considerate approach. It can be suggested that this values consideration was the consequence of a greater understanding of the risks victims faced. In addition, when compared to public services, these organisations had received greater referral rates because their management strategies did not emphasise the criminalisation of perpetrators. The provision of specialist services and outreach work appears to have reduced the values conflict amongst victims. These findings align with the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists who have suggested that the approaches of criminal justice organisations

often establish a conflict with minority populations, because they collectively represent an incompatible values model (Chambliss and Seidman 1971).

The notion that victims were more likely to engage with TSOs over the public sector, due to a belief that the public sector was solely reliant upon criminalisation, supports the propositions of Chambliss and Seidman (1971). In an analysis of the values represented by the criminal justice system, Chambliss and Seidman (1971) concluded that each separate organisation represents the same shared values set, which consequently results in a conflict of values during interventions with minority groups. The unanimous support for criminalisation amongst public sector interviewees, and their belief in an assimilatory approach towards perpetrators of FM, are reflective of the discourse surrounding Muslim integration and cultural values differences (Parekh 2008; Richardson 2004; Joppke 2004; Sian et al 2012; Moore et al 2008). Victims and perpetrators were described as being aware of this assimilatory attitude to FM, and it had been suggested that state measures tended to represent 'White Christian values'. TSOs sought a culturally sensitive non-assimilatory approach towards FM, thus, in line with Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) propositions, these organisations had reduced the level of intergroup conflict and consequently, victims were choosing to engage with these services.

The high levels of reporting experienced by TSOs had enabled these organisations to gain an accurate insight into FM within the case study site. Participants were distinctly knowledgeable of the cultural nuances of the minority group, and it was described how an overt representation of minority cultural values, could unintentionally discourage victim engagement. It was described how some service users had been reluctant to engage with workers from the same cultural background, because they feared that the information they disclosed would be reported back to their community. The majority of organisations represented within this study were not

gender exclusive, however, participants also acknowledged that they had predominantly dealt with female service users, because male victims were not willing to engage with their services. It was identified that lack of male engagement arose because specialist workers tended to be female, and reporting FM to a female worker may not be seen as culturally appropriate.

The suggestion that FM victims would not engage with overly representative measures expands upon Culture Conflict theory's central proposition. Theorists (Turk 1969; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; and Vold and Bernard 1986) proposed that a cultural values conflict can be reduced when measures are taken to ensure an accurate representation of cultural values during policy creation. Vold and Bernard (1986) were the only theorists to specifically propose a means of achieving this accurate values representation. They suggested that representation should include a consultation with organised groups and individuals to represent their values and interests (p.296). Vold and Bernard (1986) believed this representation would avoid conflict at the later stages of the policy's enactment. TSOs in this study adopted such an approach and relied upon victim insight to guide their management protocols. Participants also described how their outreach work was specifically tailored to the cultural values of minority communities, therefore, these organisational approaches aligned with Vold and Bernard's (1986) conflict reduction proposition.

The findings of this study, however, highlight a central concern with the conflict reduction proposition. Theorists assume that the more representative the measure, the greater the conflict reduction will be (Sellin 1933; Chambliss and Seidman; 1971; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Vold and Bernard 1986). The findings of this study suggest that whilst this proposition is largely correct; an excessive accommodation of cultural difference fails to instil confidence in victims; due to the fear that the minority population will be informed of their actions. This

thesis therefore proposes that in order for victims to escape FM, management organisations should only tailor their measures to reflect 'the diverse aggregates of individuals' to a degree (Vold and Bernard; 1986; p.296). Measures should also acknowledge how representative employment can result in confidentiality fears for victims, and processes should be undertaken to reassure victims that employees from these organisations do not share information with the minority group.

There is no evidence available that has explored the capacity of the third sector to engage with FM victims. The findings of this study however, are in-line with the wider literature that has explored the capability of the third sector in obtaining perceptions of legitimacy amongst hard to reach groups. The adoption of a discreet victim led approach, supports the propositions of previous research. Wind-Cowie et al (2012) suggested that TSOs capacities to use flexible, tailored strategies, offered an advantage over the rigid inflexible approaches of the public sector. These researchers specifically supported collaboration and community led initiatives in the management of FM (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). The findings of this study also support this proposition, however, they further understanding regarding the role of representation. Wind-Cowie et al's (2012) research focused on FM management prior to criminalisation, and the findings of this study suggest that representative employment and discreet approaches also encourage the reporting of FM post criminalisation. This study also shows that representative and collaborative approaches require the consideration of honour systems and social hierarchies. However, in contrast to Wind-Cowie et al's proposition (2012), the findings of this study highlight that collaboration and representation do not automatically instil confidence in the victim, when the cultural values differences between communities are significant. Instead, FM management requires an approach which represents a consideration of the minority group's

cultural values, whilst also demonstrating a clear level of impartiality during the criminalisation of FM.

Values Balance

5.15: RQ3. Difficulties and limitations

Participants in this study worked for different charities and each organisation's approach to FM varied. A number of organisations had specialist departments for managing FM, and had established protocols and procedures for these cases, whilst other organisations had neither separate departments or protocols. All organisations employed at least one expert worker, to which other workers could refer to for advice during FM cases. Practitioners described how they were often unsure of how to advise victims because of the recent changes to the law. For example, some organisations had not fully updated their training models to accommodate the legal changes, whilst other organisations had not yet recognised these changes in their outreach work. This was confirmed in the documentary evidence collected (i.e. training programmes and educational materials) which referenced the previous legislation governing FM, and not the specific newly established criminal offence (Appendix B).

Training shortfalls were attributed to a lack of resources. Organisations were reported to be reliant upon donations, and financial arrangements with local and central government. These funding arrangements had been in place for a number of years, however, the majority of the organisations were only granted funding because they could demonstrate that they provided a necessary service. It was described how organisations had to demonstrate that their work was tailored specifically to the needs of the local community. This was possible for all organisations; however, it was described how the level of funding some organisations received was insufficient to train all of their staff members in FM. Thus, not all employees were able to

meet the needs of the local community. Funders were reported to expect specific results, with funding organisations setting aims to achieve these results, for example, the integration of communities and the complete eradication of FM from the case study area.

Funders unrealistic expectations made it difficult for TSOs in this study to adopt culturally sensitive approaches towards FM management. It was reported how differences in expectation had strained relationships between TSOs and local councils, because aims and objectives across these organisations were not always aligned. Furthermore, the limited finances of TSOs meant that resources had to prioritise the needs of the victims over those of the employees. This was described as problematic because these cases were emotionally exhausting, and without the correct support procedures in place, these concerns negatively impacted the work of TSOs.

TSOs in this study were better equipped than the public sector to prevent the occurrence of a cultural values conflict during the management of FM. The success of their approaches (demonstrated through an increased level of victim engagement), can be attributed to their capacity to adopt flexible strategies and tailor their approach. Turk (1969), proposed that the likelihood of conflict is reduced when organisations are 'sophisticated' and knowledgeable of the behaviours of the offending group (p.61). The findings of this study support this proposition, i.e. victims engaged with TSOs in preference to the public services. The financial vulnerabilities of these organisations are however of concern for the long-term 'sophistication' (Turk 1969) required to manage FM. The lack of support available for staff who managed FM cases could reduce the likelihood of a consistent 'sophisticated' approach being adopted. For example, it was described by one participant how a specialist support worker had resigned from her position, because of the threats she had received from the minority population. Theorists

support the need for tailored and nuanced approaches to manage crimes within minority populations (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986), however, they have failed to recognise how this might occur in practice and in the long term. The findings of this study suggest that conflict reduction in the management of FM by TSOs, depends upon access to a consistent and significant level of resources, in order that a 'sophisticated' culturally balanced approach towards FM management can be adopted.

Participants raised concerns that the interdependent nature of their work meant that they were often vulnerable to the actions of public sector workers. The majority of participants described the public sector's approach to FM as 'improved', however concerns were raised. The police service lacked an awareness of the risks associated with honour systems and were described as culturally 'blinkered' towards the needs of FM victims. It was also relayed how police officers tended to enforce the law in an insensitive manner, showing little regard for the complexity of the situation. Approaches adopted by both health and social care workers were also described as insensitive and inadequate, and TSO participants reported how their underestimations of risk had led to victims threatening suicide, and the unnecessary separation of children from their family. Additionally, housing services alongside the family courts were reported to be sceptical of the needs of victims and in some past cases, individuals within these organisations had accused them of being dishonest, and of using FM as an excuse to access public housing and resources. These claims meant that TSO interventions could be damaged by the insensitivity of a minority of employees within the public sector.

It was evident from the findings that the working relationship between TSOs and public sector organisations had encountered difficulties. In line with Culture Conflict theory's propositions,

these difficulties revolved around the collective misunderstanding of FM across the public sector (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). Turk (1969) proposed that when a crime is particularly unusual, it is more likely that an unfair criminal justice process will be enforced against the perpetrator. The suggestion that inappropriate interventions had resulted in the separation of families, threats of suicide, and the denial of housing needs, supports this proposition and highlights the cultural values conflict present in the management of FM.

Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) analysis of the criminal justice process also aligns with the findings of this research. The evidence suggests that the public sector refused to recognise the cultural nuances of the offence, and in turn acted inappropriately towards FM victims. FM was criminalised to uphold and support British values (May 2014), therefore, the legislative intentions can be categorised within Chambliss and Seidman's (1971) 'moral' laws (p.73). These theorists proposed that 'moral' legislation enshrines a particular values set, which results in those who are 'politically' weak, receiving unfair treatment from criminal justice agents (p.73). All public sector organisations are required to uphold the FM legislation, and therefore can all be classified as criminal justice agents. TSO participants suggestions that collectively these organisations had acted in a discriminatory manner towards the minority community, supports the suggestion that the 'politically weak' have received unfair treatment due to the 'moral' intentions behind the law.

These findings also draw parallels with the existing literature that has explored the challenges faced by TSOs. Each organisation was relatively small in size, and as a consequence, each had experienced unique difficulties with regards to funding. Funding models were typical of local level organisations and, in-line with the literature, funding was awarded because these

organisations could interpret and engage with issues which state organisations were unable or unwilling to address (McGhee et al 2016; Tandon 1992; Clark 1991; Hulme and Edwards 1992). Participants stated that their organisations received funding because they were able to demonstrate that their work had an impact in the case study site and that the services provided were essential. The work these organisations undertook was crucial to FM management, however, a lack of counselling services for employees, and access to inadequate resources for victims had hindered their work. This is in-line with existing research which has suggested that small-scale TSOs are vulnerable organisations which tend to prioritise remaining open, and are often unable to provide a consistent long-term service (Ware 2015).

TSO participants described how public sector organisations with whom they worked, relied upon safeguarding procedures and internal protocols which were insensitive towards the FM associated community. Participants relayed how they had encountered difficulties when navigating the legal guidelines for immigration applications. Existing government protocols failed to acknowledge the risks for victims who had reported the FM upon arriving in the country, and could not return to home because they had betrayed their family's honour. This meant that practitioners were often required to advocate to the immigration services on behalf of victims to convince them of the victim's circumstances. It was also reported that being recipients of government funding meant that TSOs were obligated to demonstrate that their organisational objectives pursued criminalisation, and sought to deter perpetrators. It was suggested that this arrangement conflicted with TSOs culturally sensitive approaches, and made managing FM difficult.

These concerns have been highlighted in the literature (McGhee et al 2016; Tandon 1992; Clark 1991; Hulme and Edwards 1992). TSOs receive funding because they are capable of accessing

hard to reach groups, and provide insight into social issues which are beyond the remit of the state. McGhee et al (2016) describe how relationships between TSOs and funders naturally become motivated by cost efficiency and the capacity of the organisation to provide a unique service. TSO funding is therefore divided between supply and demand objectives. Supply motives include the ability for TSOs to deliver services and assist state agendas, whereas demand motives include the capacity of TSOs to communicate specific community concerns to state bodies (Clark 1991).

The organisations in this study confirmed they acted in both the supply and the demand capacity. All of the organisations interviewed supplied a specific service to the case study site, whilst also providing insight regarding FM back to state organisations. In-line with the previous literature (McGhee et al 2016; Tandon 1992; Clark 1991; Hulme and Edwards 1992), this relationship had encountered difficulties with regards to the expectations of TSOs. Participants described how, when communicating information back to their funders, funders were often unconvinced of the severity of FM. Participants relayed how they would only be granted funding when they could demonstrate demand for additional resources. Participants described this as problematic because FM victims were reluctant to report the crime due to the dangers honour systems posed. The approach TSOs adopted therefore, had to be culturally 'balanced' and sensitive to a victim's wishes. This 'balance' often did not revolve around criminalisation, which therefore conflicted with their funders objectives which sought to end the practice within the case study site.

These findings demonstrate how TSOs are susceptible to external influence in their management of FM. The external agencies upon which TSOs were dependent, adopted approaches which increased the risk of a cultural values conflict occurring. TSOs were able to

provide a service which 'balanced' the needs of the victim whilst upholding the law. This approach aligns with Vold and Bernard's (1986) 'balance' proposition, and enabled cultural legitimacy to be obtained and conflict avoided. This was demonstrated by the rapport they had established amongst the minority population and the increased referrals rates. Culture Conflict theory (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986) implies that conflict occurs during the interaction between a single organisation and the subject; theorists did not however, consider the impact interagency working and funding may have upon the capacity of organisations to reduce conflict. The findings of this study demonstrate that the capacity to reduce conflict by providing a culturally balanced approach, is subject to the influence and expectations of wider organisations, to which frontline management models may be dependent.

The financial vulnerability of TSOs has been discussed in the literature. It has been observed how TSOs dependency upon state funding makes their neutrality and organisational objectives susceptible to their funder's intentions (Chavesc et al. 2004; Craig et al 2004; McGhee et al. 2016). This vulnerability can lead to a juxtaposition whereby criticising the aims of the state risks 'biting the hand that feeds' and thus could result in a loss of funding, however, unless funders enable TSOs to adopt flexible approaches, these organisations may not be able to engage service users and address social issues (McGhee et al. 2016: p.28; Chavesc et al, 2004: p.295). The findings of this study echo these concerns, with all participants reporting that their organisation had limited funding, and were therefore, relatively small scale and were often under resourced. TSOs focus upon issues which impact a small subsection of society and are often underfunded and understaffed (Karl 1995; Perlmutter 1994; Riordan, 2000). The findings of this study show that funding shortfalls meant that participants lacked support in their roles, and some had not undertaken a consistent level of training. Therefore, the capacity for each

organisation to adequately manage FM cases was directly impacted by the external influences their funding arrangements imposed.

A number of organisations in this study were able to provide a full package of services ranging from counselling through to rehousing and accessing public services, whilst others, although able to offer some financial assistance were reliant upon the work of the statutory services to afford greater protection. This variation in approach meant that depending upon the organisation to which a victim referred, the level of care they received could vary substantially. The approaches of statutory service employees to FM cases also fluctuated. Participants described how, if a victim received inadequate treatment from a statutory service to whom they had been referred to by a TSO, the victim may be reluctant to continue to work with the TSO.

The findings of this study demonstrate the vulnerability of TSOs to external cultural values conflicts. The ability of the organisations to provide a consistent approach to FM varied. The lack of resources meant that often, staff within these organisations were untrained in managing FM cases, and were reliant upon senior colleagues for greater insight. The capacity of these organisations to address all of the needs of victims varied substantially, with the majority of participants reliant upon the public sector to provide aspects of victim protection. These variations in scope and service provision, support the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists. Sellin (1933) suggested the occurrence of harmful cultural practices can be reduced when the 'controls of the primary group' are weakened, and the victim can undergo the 'acculturation process' (p.84-85). The role of TSOs in this study facilitated the 'acculturation process' by supporting the victim to leave their community, whilst also enabling their incorporation into the majority cultural group (e.g. through access to housing, financial assistance, and emotional support). However, the findings of this study suggest that whilst TSOs can aid the

'acculturation process' and overcome FM, consistent levels of care and adequate access to resources are required to support the victim to depart from the minority population.

Culture Conflict theory does not expand upon the means of achieving conflict reduction. Vold and Bernard (1986) and Turk (1969) all emphasised the importance of undertaking deliberate steps to 'balance' the cultural values during interventions, and to actively encourage the 'acculturation process'. These theorists implied that conflict occurs solely between the enforcer and the subject, however, the findings of this study demonstrate that conflict reduction and cultural 'balance' are more complex than singular enforcer-subject interactions. The belief by participants that financial vulnerabilities had resulted in a lack of FM knowledge amongst TSO practitioners, suggests that their capacity to manage the needs of FM victims appropriately, thus reducing conflict and encouraging reporting, is influenced by their dependency on external funding. Participants remarks regarding the referrals process to the statutory services also extends understanding of Culture Conflict theory. Positive perceptions of legitimacy for TSOs depends upon their ability to portray a consistent consideration of the cultural values of the FM community, towards the victim. However, if the statutory services, to whom the TSOs often referred victims, failed to portray this cultural 'balance' and acted in a culturally inconsiderate manner, the legitimacy of the TSO was negatively impacted. These findings therefore demonstrate that whilst the propositions of Chambliss and Seidman (1971) and Turk (1969) are relevant to this research, these theorists failed to accord for the cultural values conflict that can arise from the interdependent working models of crime management organisations.

5.16: RQ3. A Change of Approach

It was evident from the findings that shortfalls in current interagency working were a central concern for FM management. Inconsistencies in knowledge surrounding FM and the differing

levels of prioritisation amongst the public-sector organisations, had made the work of TSOs difficult. Several participants suggested there should be a network, or intelligence model, which could be used to share information and training across all of the organisations in the case study area. A collaborative approach, with shared training and a consistent knowledge base, would then ensure victims were treated consistently throughout. This approach would also ensure that any initial work (including relationships established by TSOs with victims), would not later become vulnerable to the approaches of the public sector.

All of those interviewed supported the recent criminalisation of FM. Participants suggested that from their experience, FM cases were particularly harrowing. Staff within TSOs believed FM was a breach of fundamental human rights because victims were being denied their liberty. Participants fully supported criminalisation, however they also proposed that the current approach would likely remain unsuccessful as a result of the minority population's cultural values and honour systems. It was believed that the illegitimacy of the public sector, justified an educational approach to be utilised alongside criminalisation. Participants suggested that this dualistic model should be delivered in partnership with community and religious leaders. It was believed that if the statutory services could form a partnership with these community gatekeepers, together they could highlight the illegality and harms of FM. However, at the time of the study no such approach had occurred.

Participants suggested that the cultural divide within the town would be a hindrance to establishing a collaborative approach towards FM management. It was believed that because the cultural values differed substantially between the groups, the minority population would interpret any such attempts as invasive or discriminatory. Participants described how this hostility had to be overcome before a partnered approach was sought. Participants reported that

non-partisan community events and groups were needed to improve the dialogue and increase cohesion. These propositions were also supported by a community cohesion officer from the public sector, who believed the only means of achieving this would be for a non-political, non-religious group to organise intercommunity events. However, it was believed that a lack of funding and resources available to such organisations had prevented them from doing this at the time of the study.

These suggested improvements draw parallels with the conflict reduction techniques proposed by Culture Conflict theorists. The suggestion that a shared knowledge base was required to ensure an accurate understanding of FM existed amongst all responsible agencies, draws parallels with Quinney's 'diffusion' process (1970). All practitioners supported criminalisation, therefore, a shared values base existed. However, according to TSO participants, statutory service workers were particularly impacted by their personal values during the management of FM. Quinney (1970) proposed that an accurate understanding of crime is required, otherwise enforcement agents rely upon personal interpretations of events. The discourse surrounding FM highlights possible concerns regarding unfair interpretations of Muslim integration and inaccurate understandings of honour systems (Parekh 2008; Richardson 2004; Joppke 2004; Sian et al 2012; Moore et al 2008; IKWRO 2014; Dorjee et al 2013; IPCC 2008). TSO participants relayed how, in-line with these existing concerns, the public sector was 'culturally blinkered' thus, the findings of this study provide further support for Quinney's (1970) proposition, whereby a biased 'diffusion' process had led to inaccurate understandings and the inappropriate handling of FM cases by management agencies.

The belief that community leaders should be used to deliver criminalisation is also in-line with the theoretical narrative, and past research (Wind-Cowie et al 2012). The suggestion that

honour systems will prevent the successful implementation of legislation, aligns with Sellin (1933) and Vold's (1958) propositions. These theorists proposed systems of 'self-regulation' (Sellin 1933) and 'group loyalty' (Vold 1958) enable crimes to be hidden within closed communities. Sellin (1933) and Vold's (1958) theories imply that FM would eventually be governed by mutually agreed procedures, once the natural socialisation process had occurred. The findings of this study conflict with this suggestion in regards to FM management, because in contrast to Sellin (1933) and Vold's (1958) proposition, the community had become increasingly isolated, intergroup dialogue had failed, and the FM occurrence rate had increased. In contrast, the belief that community leaders could help ensure FM management measures were perceived as legitimate amongst their communities, aligns with Vold and Bernard's (1986) propositions. This thesis therefore proposes that an example of a values 'balance' in regards to FM management would be a collaborative model, whereby the minority community's leaders work with both the statutory services and TSOs to educate victims and perpetrators of the illegality of FM and highlight the assistance available to victims.

In contrast to both the findings of this study, and past research (Wind-Cowie et al 2012), the literature has cautioned collaborative approaches. Nayak (2012) comments that the frameworks TSOs are required to work within, reflect the values and practices of the majority population. Nayak (2012) suggests that this conformity, can fail to portray a legitimacy to minority populations whose cultural values and practices may be outside of these prescribed norms. Nayak (2012) suggests that the 'box ticking' these TSOs undertake in order to receive funding and public sector support, has meant that often the contribution BAME TSOs make, can be stifled within the existing biased system. He further states that the work of these TSOs largely revolves around the provision of information to the state, and, once this transaction has occurred, minority populations are often left out of the dialogue, thus damaging intergroup

trust (Nayak 2012). Ware (2013) supports this argument and suggests that minority populations can also lack confidence in the third sector, because their objectives tend to support the aims of the state, and the recent political discourse regarding integration and counter-terrorism is likely to have impacted the trust Muslim minority populations have towards TSOs.

The data collected in this study indicates that TSOs were limited by the 'box ticking' they had to undertake to receive funding. Nayak (2012) and Ware's (2013) suggestions that TSOs reflect the values of the state, and therefore fail to engage with minority populations, also align with the proposition by Culture Conflict theorists, whereby an increase in values representation results in increased legitimacy (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969; Quinney 1970; Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). The findings of this study however counter Nayak (2012) and Ware's (2013) arguments of a values bias amongst TSOs, and instead have demonstrated that an overt representation of minority values, can result in a decreased legitimacy of the organisation. The findings of this study do not fully support the claim by Nayak (2012) that the deliberate reduction of a values bias is required amongst all TSOs involved with minority groups. This research instead suggests that the employment of a representative workforce by TSOs, whilst necessary to a degree, can actually result in FM victims believing the information they provide will reach the community, and endanger them. However, TSOs in this study emphasised the importance of a collaborative approach over the direct employment of a representative workforce, because collaboration may help obtain legitimacy whilst also addressing individual victims' fears that information may reach the community. Nayak (2012) and Ware's (2013) propositions may apply to other BAME TSOs, however, in order for TSOs to remain legitimate in the management of FM, the values and honour systems associated with this particular community, required TSOs to avoid the overt representation of a values 'balance'.

Overcoming cohesion concerns in the case study site was supported by participants. It was believed that if trust could be established between communities, a collaborative approach could then be adopted which could enable a more effective management of FM. This finding supports past research which suggested that by establishing trust, minority groups are then more likely to participate in policy formation (Peuker and Ceylan 2016). The inclusion of the minority population in policy formation, draws direct parallels with Vold and Bernard's (1986) proposition of a values 'balance'. Vold and Bernard (1986) stressed the importance of inclusion to ensure minority communities are able to 'pursue and defend' their interests (p.296). It has been suggested that a collaborative approach with regards to the provision of education is necessary, because often perpetrators need support to be able to object to their cultural and community expectations, and to refuse to impose FM upon their family (Wind-Cowie et al 2012; p.41). Fostering intercommunity relationships was recognised by participants as essential to the successful management of FM, however, at the time of this study, none of the organisations interviewed had the resources or the time to undertake such cohesion work.

5.17: Summary

TSOs adopted a holistic approach to FM management which was not solely reliant upon the criminalisation of perpetrators. They sought to manage FM in accordance with the wishes of victims, and this involved supporting individuals who wanted to remain in their marriage, helping victims escape the immediate threat of the marriage, and managing the needs of individuals once they had left the marriage. Each organisation sought to tailor their work to encourage victim reporting by seeking to establish a level of cultural legitimacy. Confidentiality was at the centre of each organisations work and this approach had helped to overcome values differences, and gain the trust of victims. This management model had

enabled each organisation to gain a unique insight into FM, which the statutory services had failed to achieve.

FM was believed to occur as a result of a cultural values conflict held amongst perpetrators. Typically, this conflict arose because a victim's family believed their child was becoming too Westernised, and a marriage was imposed as a means of preventing this. FM cases were described as harrowing and difficult to understand from a liberal values perspective. The cultural values conflict in the case study site placed TSO workers in danger because they could be interpreted by the minority population as attempting to interfere with a family's honour. The nature of these cases and the physical risks they presented, meant that staff within these organisations struggled to provide a consistent level of support for victims, and retention rates for specialist FM workers were low.

In this study, all of the organisations prioritised a discrete service (i.e. victims were required to self-refer), and did not intervene if they suspected a person was at risk of FM. It was recognised that any unwanted intervention could jeopardise a victim's safety due to the shaming of their family's honour. TSOs sought to employ representative workers from the minority community to gain the trust of victims and to appear culturally legitimate. However, whilst this strategy had resulted in a perceived increase in legitimacy from the minority population, it could also have the opposite effect, with some victims fearing that the information they disclosed would be reported back to their community.

The services provided were inconsistent, with some organisations offering extensive services, whilst others merely signposted victims to the public sector. This meant that depending on which organisation the victim approached, the level of care they received could vary

substantially. Each organisation was aware of FM criminalisation, however, this change in the law had not been reflected in all training procedures and management protocols. Each organisation was significantly under resourced, and their services were limited without the help of the public sector. Additionally, every TSO was dependent upon external funding arrangements typically with the local government, which often meant that they were obligated to uphold the aims and objectives of these financial agreements. This was problematic because the aims of both the organisation and the funder were not always in-line, and the TSOs could be seen to be representing bias insensitive values.

The multiagency approach to FM management meant that TSOs were dependent upon the interventions adopted by the public sector. The culturally blinkered and inconsistent approaches of individual statutory workers, had however, meant that the victims needs were not always met. TSOs were of the view that working collaboratively with the minority community, particularly with their religious and community leaders, would improve the implementation of FM measures but, at the time of the research no such attempts had been undertaken. It was suggested that community cohesion had to be improved prior to the establishment of a collaborative 'balanced' approach. In order to improve community cohesion, TSOs suggested a dialogue should be established between communities; however, this had not occurred at the time of the study. Ultimately, TSOs appear to be managing FM in a more culturally appropriate manner than the statutory services, however, the cultural motives behind the offence and the organisational vulnerabilities of TSOs had negatively impacted the management of the crime.

5.18: Limitations of the research

The inclusion of teachers, police officers, solicitors, healthcare workers, community cohesion workers, third sector workers, and child safeguarding officers allowed for the triangulation of sources and the validation of data, as well as enabling a rich picture and a greater insight into FM. The inclusion of both victims and perpetrators of FM in this study would have provided further valuable information, however, it was not possible to collect this data for a number of reasons. Firstly, given the nature of honour systems and the risks of harm they pose, victims of FM are likely to be in witness protection programmes, and therefore impossible to identify for the purposes of this study. Secondly, identification of perpetrators relies upon a court conviction and the researcher did not have access to the legal databases in which perpetrators within the case study site could have been identified. Thirdly, even if FM victims or perpetrators could have been identified through these methods, recruiting them for this study would have been ethically inappropriate due to the risk of secondary victimisation and distress this research may have caused.

FM victims were not interviewed in this study, however, a number of TSO participants had first-hand experience of FM in their personal lives. Interviews with healthcare workers, social workers, safeguarding officers and teachers also provided a direct insight into these cases from a victim's perspective. Often these practitioners were involved in managing the ongoing needs of FM victims, beyond the sole criminalisation of perpetrators. Documentary evidence (e.g. training materials from TSOs) also helped to provide further insight into the victim perspective, by relaying first-hand accounts of the harms these individuals faced.

It would have been beneficial to interview religious or community leaders from the minority population, in order to gather their insights with regards to the validity of collaborative working as proposed by the theoretical narrative. Contact was made by the researcher with a local community cohesion group and several meetings were attended by the researcher in order to establish a rapport with group members. Religious and community leaders were informed about the study and invited to take part, however they did not express an interest to do so. Reasons for this lack of participation were not provided. It is assumed this unwillingness to participate may be attributable to the recent terrorism discourse (particularly the PREVENT agenda), the CSE cases, and the general lack of cohesion between communities, within the case study site. However, gatekeepers (see Chapter 3, Research Framework and Research Methods), who were vital with regards to sample access, were identified at these meetings and led to the identification of professionals involved with FM management for interview. Finally, although participants were selected to reflect key individuals involved in FM management, these findings may not be representative of the general population. However, it is hoped that the 'thick' description should provide enough contextual information to make it possible for others to judge the possibility of transferability of the findings.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications for Future Practice

FM is a harmful cultural practice that denies victims their liberty and breaches their human rights and consequently it should be criminalised. The focus upon FM within the media and political discourse has increased greatly in recent years, and the majority of commentators have expressed how this practice is incompatible with Modern British values (see May 2014; Proudman 2014). This thesis has extended understanding regarding both FM management in practice, and the theoretical implications of Culture Conflict theory in application to FM management. FM is now a criminal offence (Section 121 of the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act) and although this change was seen to be necessary and was supported by practitioners in this study, the new legislation had failed to increase FM reporting, raise conviction rates, or reduce the occurrence of the crime. The study identified a number of difficulties that have arisen during the translation of the law into practice. For example, practitioners were unable to identify the psychological pressures associated with FM, thus individuals were not protected by the arising legal measures unless they were victims of an identifiable physical abuse. In order for the specific criminal offence of FM to be upheld in the future, it is essential that the legal definition for psychological pressure is clarified and expanded upon; in order for practitioners to support victims who are unable to consent through a fear of the consequences of rejecting a marriage.

All public sector organisations lacked awareness of honour systems and the dangers these closed communities posed to victims should they report the offence. Victims of FM lacked confidence in the criminal law, and participants believed victims were unconfident that the legal measures could protect them from the marriage, or the risk of violence from the wider community should they seek help from the public sector. FM victims were also unwilling to

report the crime to the statutory services due to the unwanted criminalisation of their parents, and the economic and social vulnerabilities they would face should they use the criminal law to avoid the marriage arrangement.

This study has demonstrated that FM is motivated by a need to uphold traditional culture, maintain family reputation, preserve religious identity, and prevent the Westernisation of patriarchal cultural values. In-line with the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists (Turk 1969; Chambliss and Siedman 1985), these unique factors conflicted with the personal cultural values and freedoms held by responding statutory workers who were required to enforce the law within the case study site. This conflict of values resulted in the statutory services being perceived by the minority population to uphold White laws for White people, which had consequently impacted their ability to manage FM. Victim engagement and FM prevention is dependent upon the statutory services being perceived as culturally legitimate, and future interventions should seek to represent the interests and values of the minority community throughout their organisations. This representation could emerge through employment opportunities within FM specific departments, and community consultation prior to the creation of FM management protocols. It is anticipated that these approaches would then enable the law to be implemented successfully, reduce intergroup conflict and protect victims.

A lack of understanding across the statutory services regarding the motives behind FM, and the disbelief by victims that the statutory services could protect them from the risks inherent within honour systems, had resulted in a lack of engagement by at risk individuals with these new measures. It is therefore essential for the future management of FM, and in accordance with the recommendations of practitioners in this study, that comprehensive training is undertaken by those legally responsible for managing this crime. The training should seek to

equip practitioners with sufficient insight to identify those at risk of FM, and to enable them to differentiate between an arranged marriage and a FM.

The findings of this study align with Culture Conflict theorists' propositions regarding inter-community collaboration (Vold and Bernard 1986), and future FM policy and practice guidelines should arise through consultation with the minority population. The statutory services should seek to engage and consult with the minority population and their community leaders, prior to the formation and deliverance of FM management protocols. The findings of this study have shown that without an emphasis on conflict reduction, it is likely that upholding the criminal law during FM management will continue to be influenced by a conflict of cultural values, due to an over reliance upon generic national guidance and individual practitioner interpretation. In the future it is therefore essential that training programmes are specifically tailored to the local population, and informed through a parity process of community consultation and minority group inclusion. It is anticipated that such an approach could raise awareness amongst practitioners of the risks rejecting a marriage proposal imposes upon a victim. This collaborative management model should also be accompanied by preventative work which is not solely reliant upon criminalisation. A dualistic approach should include education for the minority population about the harms of FM and of its illegality, whilst also raising awareness amongst victims of the services available to them.

Police officers held personal cultural values which opposed FM, and consequently the unfamiliar nature of the offence has resulted in the inadequate preparation of officers to manage the crime. Police officers in this study relied upon generic domestic violence protocols for FM cases, which led to low levels of reporting. These protocols were unsuitable for the management of FM, therefore, departing from this classification appears essential. In the

future, FM must not solely be classified as a domestic violence incident, instead there is a need to create entirely separate protocols and procedures which recognise the unique cultural motives behind the offence.

The inconsistent understandings of FM and the lack of cultural awareness by the majority of police officers in this study meant that detection was solely reliant upon personal interpretations of a FM victim's circumstance. The interpretations of the police officers in this study, aligned with existing literature which has suggested certain character traits exist amongst police officers, which in turn impacted upon the management of crime (Lefkowitz 1975; Twersky-Glasner 2005; Evans et al 1992; Skolnick 1994). The police service in this study had been previously criticised for adopting culturally inappropriate interventions (HMIC 2015). These prior concerns had not been adequately addressed, and in turn, intergroup cohesion had been harmed and the police service were perceived as illegitimate in their management of FM. The conflict between the minority population and the police service had been exacerbated by a naivety amongst police officers regarding the cultural differences of the minority group. It is suggested that in the future a specific localised training package which considers the unique cultural values of the minority population, should be delivered across the entire police service. In order to provide a greater insight into FM for frontline officers, and to ensure a consistency of knowledge, and to reduce reliance upon assumption and stereotyping, this training should be delivered alongside national training modules.

For FM to be managed appropriately by the police service, there is a need for greater collaboration between the police service and other organisations during the deliverance of the law. For future interventions, the police service should not be the sole organisation responsible for enforcing this new legislation, instead, there is a need for the adoption of a dualistic

approach. This dualistic model should enable the police service to uphold the law whilst other organisations (i.e schools, social services and TSOs) seek to educate the minority community. This model should prevent the portrayal of an assimilationist stance and in turn avoid intergroup conflict between the police service and the community. A collaborative approach complements the propositions of Culture Conflict theorists, and this study suggests that any partnership must display a 'values balance' towards the minority community (Chambliss and Seidman 1971; Vold and Bernard 1986). This 'balance' could be demonstrated by diversifying the workforce to ensure there is an accurate demographic representation throughout the organisation, and establishing specialist departments and protocols for FM cases. Without adopting a more culturally considerate approach towards FM, it is likely that police interventions will continue to cause conflict within the minority population and victims will not be afforded protection.

Third sector organisations (TSOs) in this study acknowledged that perceptions of cultural legitimacy were central to conflict reduction and victim engagement during FM cases. These organisations educated at risk individuals regarding the illegality of FM, and used victim knowledge to inform organisational procedures and to enact culturally sensitive measures. This approach, in comparison to the approaches of the statutory services, had achieved a greater level of legitimacy amongst FM victims within the case study site. Consequently, TSOs experienced higher reporting figures and an increased rate of victim led referrals. In order to maintain a successful approach towards FM management, these organisations should continue to adopt approaches that are not solely reliant upon criminalisation. These tailored approaches instil confidence in victims that TSOs are not extensions of the state, and are therefore unlikely to solely seek the criminalisation of perpetrators.

In comparison to the public sector, TSOs adopt different approaches towards FM management. However, these organisations are reliant upon state services to provide victim aftercare, and for the future management of FM a consistency of knowledge across all sectors is required. It is therefore essential that training documents are updated to recognise the recent legal changes, and to prevent conflict between the safeguarding procedures of the statutory services and TSOs. TSOs and their funders must align their objectives to ensure that the vulnerabilities of victims are adequately recognised.

TSOs appeared to be better suited to manage FM than public sector organisations, however, unlike the statutory services, these organisations had been subjected to dangerous manifestations of the cultural values conflict. In-line with Culture Conflict theorists (Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Turk 1969), workers from these organisations had been subjected to a 'ground level' conflict, which manifested in physical abuse from the minority population during FM cases. This cultural values conflict was difficult for TSO workers to manage, and consequently retention rates within these organisations were low. In order to improve the future management of FM, additional funding for TSO workers should be made available by public bodies and local councils to assist TSO interventions and to support frontline workers.

In-line with the literature (Herman and Jacobs 2015), TSOs were small in scale and, due to their financial constraints, could only provide a limited service to FM victims. TSOs in this study were dependent on funding from local councils and government, and these arrangements meant that they were obligated to follow objectives which sometimes conflicted with their desired approaches towards FM management. TSOs were also dependent upon the public sector to support victims of FM, because alone they had a limited capacity to maintain an individual's safety. Unfortunately, this dependency had resulted in the success of these

interventions being susceptible to the attitudes and cultural values of the public sector and its workers, which often led to victims lacking the confidence to report FM. Without greater support from the public sector and its financers, TSOs in this study were at risk of being unable to employ a long-term holistic approach towards FM management.

In the future, TSOs need additional support from their financers to continue their educational and outreach work, because these services are essential in engaging victims and obtaining positive perceptions of legitimacy from minority communities. Additional outreach work should be undertaken to engage male victims of FM, because the majority of organisations tailored their focus specifically towards female service users. TSOs should be supported to uphold the law regarding FM, thereby ensuring a victim is confident in reporting the crime and is afforded adequate protection. Furthermore, additional resources (i.e. housing, social welfare, and victim support services) needs to be allocated to TSOs by the public sector, thus ensuring FM management can continue in a culturally sensitive manner. Finally, in order to facilitate a more successful management of FM, further funding needs to be awarded to non-partisan groups at the instruction of TSOs, to specifically support intercommunity cohesion building events.

Each sector had encountered unique difficulties when managing FM, and these difficulties were attributed to the complex cultural motives and settings behind the offence. The cultural values of the majority population had been enshrined within the protocols for FM intervention, and the personal cultural values of individual practitioners had also influenced the manner in which FM was managed. Consequently, these values differences had resulted in the minority population viewing all management organisations and their approaches as being culturally illegitimate.

The lack of cultural legitimacy had established a perceived intergroup values conflict between majority values (enshrined within organisational procedures for FM management) and minority values. To date there has been no research conducted which has explored the propositions of Culture Conflict theory in relation to the management of FM. Culture Conflict theory proposes that a conflict of values can be demonstrated by parallel legal systems, a physical resistance to law enforcement, the under-reporting of crime, the increased support for harmful behaviour, and decreased community cohesion (Turk 1969; Sellin 1933; Vold 1958; Vold and Bernard 1986). The findings from this study fully aligned with these propositions. Amongst the minority population there was: a refusal by victims to engage with the organisations, a disrespect towards female practitioners by male members of the group, a decreased level of community cohesion between the populations, an increasing support for more conservative cultural values, the adoption of self-governance hierarchies, and physical attacks on practitioners during FM interventions. The findings of this study have demonstrated that reducing this conflict is dependent upon achieving a perceived cultural legitimacy from the minority population to intervene during FM cases.

In order to establish perceptions of legitimacy and in accordance with Culture Conflict theory, there is a need to 'balance' FM measures to show a recognition of the minority community's cultural values. This study has extended understanding regarding conflict reduction and in order to demonstrate this 'balanced' representation in relation to FM management, organisations should seek to: employ representative workforces, rely upon victim insight for management procedures, respect honour systems through discreet interventions (e.g. working on a self-referrals basis, using GP surgeries to engage victims), utilise friendship networks to instigate interventions, meet with victims at a location away from the family home, research

the specific needs of the minority population in order to inform procedure, educate at risk children in local schools of the illegality of FM and, not seek to solely criminalise perpetrators.

The findings of this study have also departed from previous Culture Conflict propositions (Vold and Bernard 1986; Sellin 1933), and have demonstrated that the values conflict surrounding FM management would most likely be reduced when the cultural values and social beliefs of the minority population are deliberately recognised prior to, rather than during the implementation of procedure. Unlike previous theorists (Vold and Bernard 1986) this study has identified specific means of achieving this balance, which include: increasing the dialogue between communities by holding inter-community social events, delivering FM management in unison with community and religious leaders, enabling representatives of the minority community to participate in the formation of local management strategy and measures and, by campaigning to spread awareness of the illegality and harm FM causes to victims.

Overall, this research sought to explore how FM is managed and to determine whether or not current measures are influenced by a conflict of cultural values. This thesis recognises and supports the criminalisation of FM, however, from the outset it was acknowledged that the complexities of the offence and the potential intergroup values conflict, may impact the management of the crime. All FM management measures across every organisation within the case study site were shown to be inadequate in their management of the offence. There was a lack of understanding across every sector and amongst the majority of practitioners, regarding the intricacies and dangers of FM. The propositions of Cultural Conflict theory were evident within this study and a conflict of cultural values had impacted the management approach of every organisation. Therefore, in order to improve the management of the offence, each organisation must recognise the impact of this conflict, and seek to improve their approach

towards FM management in-line with the recommendations of this study, which are grounded within the central tenets of Culture Conflict theory.

Appendices

Appendix A - Safeguarding policy for a local college

Institutional Abuse

Institutional abuse can be defined as abuse or mistreatment by a regime as well as by individuals within any building where care is provided. Examples include lack of flexibility and choice, lack of consultation, public discussion of personal matters, inadequate or delayed responses, staff overly controlling service users' relationships and activities.

Discriminatory Abuse

Repeated, ongoing or widespread discrimination on the grounds of age, race, disability, religion, sexual preference or gender, slurs, harassment, name-calling, breaches in civil liberties, unequal health or social care.

Significant Harm

Sometimes, a single traumatic event may constitute significant harm, e.g. violent assault, suffocation or poisoning. More often, significant harm is a compilation of significant events, both acute and long-standing, which interrupt, change or damage the adult's physical and psychological development.

Historic Abuse

If a student tells a member of staff above abuse that happened in the pat then this must also be referred to the College's Safeguarding Team who will contact the relevant agencies for further investigation.

Peer Abuse

Peer abuse is defined as abuse by children and young people. This recognizes that children particularly those living away from home, are also vulnerable to physical, sexual and emotional abuse by their peers. Peer abuse should ways be taken as seriously as abuse perpetrated by an adult.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

Female genital mutilation (FGM), also known as female genital cutting and female circumcision, is defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as "all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons." FGM is practiced as a cultural ritual by ethnic groups in 27 countries in sub-Saharan and Northeast Africa, and to a lesser extent in Asia, the Middle East and within immigrant communities elsewhere.

Radicalisation

Radicalisation is a process by which an individual or group comes to adopt increasingly extreme political, social, or religious ideals and aspirations that (1) reject or undermine the status quo or (2) reject and/or undermine contemporary ideas and expressions of freedom of choice. For example, radicalism can originate from a broad social consensus against progressive changes in society. Radicalisation can be both violent and nonviolent, although most academic literature focuses on radicalization into violent extremism. There are multiple pathways that constitute the process of radicalization, which can be independent but are usually mutually reinforcing.

Forced Marriages

A forced marriage is where one or both people do not (or in cases of people with learning disabilities, cannot) consent to the marriage and may be tricked into going abroad, physically threatened and/or emotionally blackmailed to do so. Every year, hundreds of young people in Britain, both male and female, are forced into marriage against their will, often by violence and blackmail from their own families and relative.

Appendix B – TSO Training Material

INTRODUCTION TO HONOUR BASED VIOLENCE

Introduction

- Who we are
- Outcomes of the session:
  - What HBV is
  - Prevalence
  - Who it affects
  - Dynamics
  - Effective support

HONOUR BASED VIOLENCE

- Honour Based Violence; It is a crime or incident which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or community.'(ACPO Working Definition 2007)
- A forced marriage is: one where one or both parties are coerced into a marriage against their will and under duress. It is an abuse of human rights and cannot be justified on any religious or cultural basis.

HONOUR

Consists of a learnt complex set of rules that a woman/man has to follow in order to protect the family 'name' and maintain the family position

It has more impact on the woman's life than the man's – it affects how she dresses, behaves inside and outside the house, who she can talk to and have as friends

Also called Izzat, namous or sharaf

1

Who it affects?

- 64% Pakistani, 8% Indian,15% Bangladeshi, however it happens in a wide variety of communities.
- 85% are female, 15% male
- Mainly 15-24 year olds, but some as young as 10.
- Homosexuality can be a factor

Ways in Which Honour Can be Destroyed

- Ideological differences between parents and children
- Westernisation
- Refusing arranged marriage
- Relationships outside marriage or approved group
- 'Inappropriate' make up, dress or behaviour
- Loss of virginity
- Pregnancy outside the marriage or unapproved
- Homosexuality
- Reporting/fleeing domestic violence
- Forced marriage/false marriage
- Girls who 'allow themselves to be raped'

DYNAMICS

- Emotional blackmail
- Psychological pressure
- Withdrawing from school/college
- Isolation
- Imprisonment
- Violence
- Rape
- Forced suicide
- Murder

Dynamics continued

- Family members, wider community, hired killers
- Younger members often used
- May continue for a life time

2

Basic Rules for Support

- One Chance Rule
- Victim Centred Approach
- Learn more about the dynamics
- Confidentiality & information sharing
- Do not mediate

Support

- Forced Marriage Unit
  - **fmu@fco.gov.uk**
  - **020 7008 0151**
- One-stop shop
- Victims and professionals
- Repatriation
- British Citizens
- Guidelines

Other Support Agencies

- Karma Nirvana – www.karmanirvana.org.uk
  0800 5999 247
- IKWRO – www.ikwro.org.uk 020 7920 6460
- Mix Together – www.mixtogether.org
- Positive East – www.gaymenswellbeing.com
- Childline – www.childline.org.uk 0800 1111
- Honour Network – 0800 5999 247

Closing

- Questions
- Feedback
- Thank you

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**Honour Based Violence
Multi Agency Training**

Introduction

- Welcome
- House Keeping
- Rules
- Name, agency & what you want to cover
- Outline of the day

Outline of the Day

- What HBV and FM are
- Prevalence
- Concept of honour and how it can be destroyed
- Abuses and consequences
- Indicators of HBV
- How to effectively support

Aim

To gain a better understanding of Honour Based
Violence and the consequences. To be able to
respond and support effectively

1

Slide 1

"We must not allow political correctness to lead us to moral blindness"
Mike O'Brien – Solicitor General

"When dealing with HBV, remember that cultural acceptance, does not mean accepting the unacceptable".
Sir Ian Blair – Met Commissioner

Slide 2

Definition of Honour Based Violence

- **Honour Based Violence;** It is a crime or incident which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or community.'(ACPO Working Definition 2007)

- **There is no typical case.** 'Honour Killings' fall within the "umbrella" of Honour Crimes and Honour Based Violence. There are many different forms of Honour Based Violence and many of these behaviours are interlinked.

- **Honour Based Violence** exists across all cultures and many communities such as Turkish, Kurdish, Afghani, South Asian, African, Middle Eastern and South & East European for example

- **Multiple perpetrators** which can include father, mother, siblings, cousins, uncles, aunts and members of the community

Slide 3

ACPO 'Murder in the name of so called Honour' definition

'Murders in the name of so-called honour' are murders in which victims, predominantly women, are killed for perceived immoral behaviour, which is deemed to have breached the honour code of a family or community, causing shame. They are sometimes called 'honour killings'

There is, however, no honour in murder

Banaz Mahmod

Slide 4

Honour Based Violence Umbrella

Forced Marriage
Infanticide
Dowry
Male Child Preference
Blood Feuds
Honour Killings
Acid Attacks
Child Marriages
Domestic Abuse
Female Genital Mutilation

Arranged, Forced & False Marriage

- **What is the difference between an Arranged marriage and a Forced marriage?**

- **An *arranged* marriage: is a valuable, long established tradition based on compatibility, consent and retaining choice.**

- **A forced marriage is: one where one or both parties are coerced into a marriage against their will and under duress. It is an abuse of human rights and cannot be justified on any religious or cultural basis.**

- **A *false* marriage is: the marriage is based on the deception of one or both parties. The deception is related to the age, educational qualifications, wealth, habits, disabilities, drug addiction and other characteristics.**

Prevalence of Honour Based Violence

?

BREAK

The Concept of Honour

Consists of a learnt complex set of rules that a woman/man has to follow in order to protect the family 'name' and maintain the family position

It has more impact on the woman's life than the man's – it affects how she dresses, behaves inside and outside the house, who she can talk to and have as friends

3

'With every bad word a reputation can die'

'The worth of an Asian girl is defined by how she conducts herself'

'It is the daughter's duty to carry the family honour.'

Question – If you had to choose between 'Izzat' and your daughter which would you choose?
Members of the two older generations said 'Izzat every time'

I had one guy who said to me, 'a man is like a gold coin, a woman is like a piece of white silk'. He then said, 'if gold gets dirty you can just wipe it clean, but if a piece of silk gets dirty, it's stained forever – you might as well just throw it away'.
That's a 21-year old speaking.

Nazir Afzal, the lead on Honour Based Violence
Crown Prosecution Service

Ways in Which Honour Can be Destroyed

- HBV is a reaction to what is perceived as immoral behaviour that brings shame which breaks izzat/namous/sharaf on the family or community.
- Ideological differences between parents and children
- Westernisation
- Refusing arranged marriage
- Relationships outside marriage or approved group
- 'Inappropriate' make up, dress or behaviour
- Loss of virginity
- Pregnancy outside the marriage or unapproved
- Homosexuality
- Reporting/fleeing domestic violence
- Girls who 'allow themselves to be raped'

Motives

- Maintain the family's honour and pride in the eyes of the community
- Strengthen family ties with the community or extended family; sometimes in order to improve the family's financial stability
- Comply with the traditional norms of one's family or community
- Preserve and maintain the family's wealth, which is often in the family's native country
- Prevent relationships with individuals from outside one's ethnic, cultural, religious group or caste
- Assist relatives immigrating to the UK
- Fulfil long-standing family commitments and promise
- Maintain the order of marriage within siblings
- Believe that it is the only choice available to them

4

Tactics Used

- Emotional blackmail
- Psychological pressure
- Withdrawing from school/college
- Isolation
- Imprisonment
- Violence
- Rape
- Forced suicide
- Murder

Consequences

- Ostracised by family and community
- Fear in the community
- Isolation
- Constantly moving
- Economic damage
- Loss of self-esteem
- Mental Health problems
- Disfigurement/injury
- Early pregnancy
- Rape
- Suicide
- Death

Honour Based Violence Film

LUNCH

5

Basic Rules for Dealing with HBV

- One Chance Rule
- Believe them
- Victim Centred Approach
- Learn more about the dynamics
- Confidentiality & information sharing

Risk Assessment & Processes

- DASH
- Standard, Medium & High Risk
- Procedures
- TVP HBV Risk Indicator Form
- Children's Risk Assessment
- Procedures for under 18
- Information Sharing

Forced Marriage Protection Orders

- Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 – came into force Nov 2008
- Aimed at protecting victims and potential victims of forced marriage
- Discretion in the type of injunction to respond effectively to individual cases
- Power of arrest can be attached
- Enable people to apply for an injunction at County Court rather than just High Court
- Enable 3rd parties to apply for an injunction on behalf of someone else
- Can only be applied for at specific courts
- Notification of family
- www.hmcourts-service.gov.uk
-

What We Should Do

- See them immediately & on their own
- Explain options
- Perform a risk assessment
- Contact a trained specialist on HBV/FM
- If under 18 refer them to a designated person
- If over 18 with support services
- Reassure them about confidentiality
- Establish a way of contacting them discreetly/password
- Obtain full details to pass onto a specialist
- Consider the need for immediate protection
- Advise to re-direct mail
- Caution when using Facebook, emails etc
- Relevant agency to restrict access to databases & who sharing information with

6

Should Not Do

- Send them away
- Approach family or community leaders/members unless they expressly ask you
- Share information without their consent
- Breach confidentiality, unless info sharing will ensure the safety of the person
- Attempt to be a mediator
- Avoid using local translators and family members
- Do not give unrealistic expectations of what will happen

BREAK

Specialist Support Services

- FMU – www.fco.gov.uk/forcedmarriage   020 7008 0151
- Karma Nirvana – www.karmanirvana.org.uk   0800 5999 247
- IKWRO – www.ikwro.org.uk   020 7920 6460
- Mix Together – www.mixtogether.org
- Positive East – www.gaymenswellbeing.com
- Childline – www.childline.org.uk   0800 1111
- Honour Network – 0800 5999 247

Case Study

7
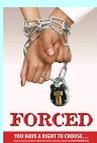
Appendix C – TSO Safeguarding Procedure

FORCED MARRIAGE – January 2008

Procedures

'Forced' marriage (as distinct from a consensual 'arranged' marriage) is defined as one conducted without the valid consent of at least one of the parties and where duress is a factor. Duress cannot be justified on religious or cultural grounds.

Honour Based Violence can be a feature of forced marriage.

There is no 'typical case'; Honour Killings are a-typical they fall under the "umbrella" of honour crimes and Honour Based Violence (HBV). There are many different forms of HBV and many of these behaviours are interlinked. HBV exists across all cultures and many communities like, Turkish, Kurdish, Afghani, South Asian, African, Middle Eastern and South & East European.

1. What is included?

1.1 Dowry, forced repatriation, female genital mutilation, acid attacks, blood feuds, honour killings, abduction and homicide.

1.2 Many of these acts are committed against children and fall within the definition of domestic abuse.

1.3 Forced marriages of children may involve non-consensual and/or underage sex, emotional and possibly physical abuse and should be regarded as a child protection issue and referred to children's social care.

1.4 Forced marriage is primarily, but not exclusively, an issue of violence against girls and young women: 'Most cases involve young women aged between 13 and 30, although there is evidence to suggest that as many as 15% of victims are male' (Young People & Vulnerable Adults Facing Forced Marriage: Practice Guidance for Social Workers).

1.4 Whilst the majority of cases encountered in the UK involve South Asian families, partly reflecting the composition of the UK population, there have been cases involving families from East Asia, the Middle East, Europe, Norway and Africa. Some forced marriages take place in the UK with no overseas element, whilst others involve a partner coming from overseas or a British citizen being sent abroad.

2. Legal Aspects

2.1 The forced marriages of children (and vulnerable adults) may involve one or more criminal offences e.g. common assault, cruelty to persons under 16, child abduction, rape, kidnapping, false imprisonment and even murder.

2.2 <u>The Forced Marriage Act (2007)</u> was brought in to protect those forced into marriage, whether children, teenagers or adults - and irrespective of background, gender, race or religion. The Act gives the courts a wide discretion to deal flexibly and sensitively with the

circumstances of each individual case, employing civil remedies that will offer protection to victims without criminalising members of their family.

2.3 Under the Act, the court can order those forcing another into marriage to stop; or impose requirements upon them. If a person fails to comply with the court order they could be sent to prison for contempt of court.

2.4 Not all victims will be able to apply personally to the courts for protection. Some might not want to take court action against members of their own family. Where this happens the intention is that other people or organisations can step in on their behalf.

2.5 It is important that the Act gives victims the power to get Forced Marriage Protection Orders from the courts in whatever circumstances they find themselves.

2.6 The Forced Marriage Act sends out a strong message that this practice is totally unacceptable.

2.7 The Act supports the work of the joint Home Office and Foreign Office's Forced Marriage Unit and the many voluntary and charitable organisations that provide support.

3. Recognition

3.1 Victims of existing or prospective forced marriages may be fearful of discussing their worries with friends and teachers, but may come to the attention of professionals for various behaviours or circumstances consistent with distress. These may include:

- A family history of siblings being forced to marry or to marry early

- A sibling who suddenly disappeared or went abroad

- Frequent authorised absences or truancy from school / lessons

- Social isolation

- A sudden decline in education performance, aspirations or motivation

- Unreasonable restrictions on the child's liberty e.g. accompanied to / from school, not allowed to attend extra-curricular activities

- Depression, self harming behaviour, eating disorders

- Lethargy and inability to concentrate

- Physical and domestic abuse

- Running away from home

- Reports of having left the country suddenly or being on an extended family holiday

4. Response

4.1 Staff should not make assumptions that a child is or is not at risk and try to establish the full facts from the child at the earliest opportunity.

4.2 The child must be provided with the opportunity to speak on her/his own, in a private place. S/he may face significant harm if her/his family learn that s/he has sought help or advice. Mediation should not be attempted.

4.3 The needs of victims of forced marriage vary. They may need help to avoid a threatened forced marriage or dealing with the consequences of a forced marriage that has already taken place.

4.4 The Forced Marriage Unit should also be consulted. This is based at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office www.fco.gov.uk 020 7008 0152. They produce useful information leaflets. http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/2855621/what-is-forced-marriage

4.5 Where there is information of an existing or prospective forced marriage of a child aged less than 18 years, child protection issues should be addressed by referral to Children's Social Care, without prior discussion with the family or community.

4.6 There should be a clear record of decisions made, including any decision not to consult or not to refer to Children's Social Care.

Refer to Section 3 for additional procedures that apply following referral to Children's Social Care.

5. Further guidance & advice

5.1 Professionals working in this field should be familiar with:

- Dealing With Cases of Forced Marriage: Guidance for Police Officers Home Office 2005 (www.acpo.police.uk/asp/policies/Data/Interactive_Forced_Marriage 2005.pdf)

- Young people & vulnerable adults facing forced marriage: practice guidance for social workers, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, March 2004 (www.adss.org.uk/publications/guidance/marriage.pdf)

- Young people & vulnerable adults facing forced marriage: Guidance for Education Professionals, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, January 2005 (publications.teachernet.gov.uk/eOrderingDownload/FCO%2075263.pdf)

- The Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) is Government's central unit dealing with forced marriage casework, policy and projects. The FMU provides confidential information and assistance to potential victims and concerned professionals *(contact details)*.

5.2 FMU staff can offer advice and assistance to individuals who:

- Fear they will be forced into a marriage (in UK or overseas)
- Fear for a friend or relative who may be forced into a marriage (in the UK or overseas)
- Have been forced into a marriage and do not want to support their spouse's visa application

Appendix D – UK Government Child Safeguarding Course, Definition of

FM

Appendix E – Multiagency Statutory Guidance, Definition of FM

Chapter 1 - Background

There is a clear distinction between a forced marriage and an arranged marriage. In arranged marriages, the families of both spouses take a leading role in arranging the marriage, but the choice of whether or not to accept the arrangement still remains with the prospective spouses. However, in forced marriage, one or both spouses do not consent to the marriage but are coerced into it. Duress can include physical, psychological, financial, sexual and emotional pressure. In the cases of some vulnerable adults who lack the capacity to consent, coercion is not required for a marriage to be forced.

All Chief Executives, Directors and Senior Managers providing services to victims of forced marriage and honour-based violence need to be aware of the "one chance" rule. That is, their staff may only have one chance to speak to a potential victim and thus their staff may only have one chance to save a life. This means that all professionals working within statutory agencies need to be aware of their responsibilities and obligations when they come across forced marriage cases. If the victim is allowed to walk out of the door without support being offered, that one chance might be wasted.

The UK Government regards forced marriage as an abuse of human rights and a form of domestic abuse, and where it affects children and young people, child abuse. It is a criminal offence.

It can happen to both women and men, although many of the reported cases involve young women and girls aged between 16 and 25. There is no "typical" victim of forced marriage. Some may be over or under 18 years of age, some may have a disability, some may have young children and some may also be spouses from overseas.

To address the increasing scale and extent of forced marriage, the UK Government established the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) in 2005. The FMU is a joint Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office Unit – the role of the FMU is to provide direct assistance, through information and support, to victims, as well as undertaking a full and comprehensive programme of outreach activity, raising awareness and providing advice to professionals and communities.

This approach aims to ensure that people working with victims are fully informed of how to approach these cases. The FMU, in collaboration with a number of partners across government and other agencies, has also revised existing practice guidelines to reflect the new forced marriage offence, for police officers, health professionals, children and adult social workers, and education professionals.

In 2013, the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) received calls in relation to a possible or actual forced marriage in over 1300 cases, involving 74 different countries. A number of other cases also come to the attention of the police, children and adult social care services, health, education and voluntary organisations. While the majority of cases reported to the FMU to date have involved South Asian countries, this is in part reflective of the largely established South Asian diaspora in the UK.

Appendix F – Multiagency Practice Guidance Definition of FM

For the purpose of this guidance, the following definitions are used:

Adult

'Adult' is defined as a person aged 18 years or over.

Child, children and young people

As defined in the Children Acts 1989 and 2004, child means a person who has not reached their 18th birthday. This includes young people aged 16 and 17 who are living independently; their status and entitlement to services and protection under the Children Act 1989 is not altered by the fact that they are living independently.

Child in need

Children who are defined as being "in need" under s.17 Children Act 1989, are those whose vulnerability is such that they are unlikely to reach or maintain a satisfactory level of health or development, or their health or development will be significantly impaired, without the provision of services (s.17 (10) Children Act 1989), plus those who are disabled. Local authorities have a duty to safeguard and promote the welfare of children in need.

Domestic violence and abuse

The cross-government definition of domestic violence and abuse is: any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass, but is not limited to:

- psychological;
- physical;

- sexual;

- financial;

- emotional.

Forced marriage

A forced marriage is a marriage in which one or both spouses do not consent to the marriage but are coerced into it. Duress can include physical, psychological, financial, sexual and emotional pressure. In cases of vulnerable adults who lack the capacity to consent to marriage, coercion is not required for a marriage to be forced.

Honour-based violence

The terms "honour crime" or "honour-based violence" or "izzat" embrace a variety of crimes of violence (mainly but not exclusively against women), including assault, imprisonment and murder where the person is being punished by their family or their community. They are being punished for actually, or allegedly, undermining what the family or community believes to be the correct code of behaviour.

In transgressing this correct code of behaviour, the person shows that they have not been properly controlled to conform by their family and this is to the "shame" or "dishonour" of the family.

Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014

2014 CHAPTER 12

PART 10

FORCED MARRIAGE

121   Offence of forced marriage: England and Wales

(1) A person commits an offence under the law of England and Wales if he or she—
   (a)   uses violence, threats or any other form of coercion for the purpose of causing another person to enter into a marriage, and
   (b)   believes, or ought reasonably to believe, that the conduct may cause the other person to enter into the marriage without free and full consent.

(2) In relation to a victim who lacks capacity to consent to marriage, the offence under subsection (1) is capable of being committed by any conduct carried out for the purpose of causing the victim to enter into a marriage (whether or not the conduct amounts to violence, threats or any other form coercion).

(3) A person commits an offence under the law of England and Wales if he or she—
   (a)   practises any form of deception with the intention of causing another person to leave the United Kingdom, and
   (b)   intends the other person to be subjected to conduct outside the United Kingdom that is an offence under subsection (1) or would be an offence under that subsection if the victim were in England or Wales.

(4) "Marriage" means any religious or civil ceremony of marriage (whether or not legally binding).

(5) "Lacks capacity" means lacks capacity within the meaning of the Mental Capacity Act 2005.

(6) It is irrelevant whether the conduct mentioned in paragraph (a) of subsection (1) is directed at the victim of the offence under that subsection or another person.

(7) A person commits an offence under subsection (1) or (3) only if, at the time of the conduct or deception—

 (a) the person or the victim or both of them are in England or Wales,

 (b) neither the person nor the victim is in England or Wales but at least one of them is habitually resident in England and Wales, or

 (c) neither the person nor the victim is in the United Kingdom but at least one of them is a UK national.

(8) "UK national" means an individual who is—

 (a) a British citizen, a British overseas territories citizen, a British National (Overseas) or a British Overseas citizen;

 (b) a person who under the British Nationality Act 1981 is a British subject; or

 (c) a British protected person within the meaning of that Act.

(9) A person guilty of an offence under this section is liable—

 (a) on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 12 months or to a fine or both;

 (b) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 7 years.

(10) In relation to an offence committed before the commencement of section 154(1) of the Criminal Justice Act 2003, the reference to 12 months in subsection (9)(a) is to be read as a reference to six months.

HBA1

Appendix 7

This section is only to be completed if there is a risk of forced marriage

THREAT OF FORCED MARRIAGE	
How do you know about the marriage?	
Who is pressuring you to marry?	
What is the date of the proposed wedding?	
What is the exact location of the proposed wedding?	
Who is the intended spouse?	
Have travel arrangements been made? If yes provide details:	☐Y ☐N
If you are taken abroad will you have access to mobile, facebook etc?	☐Y ☐N
Is there a Forced Marriage Protection Order (FMPO) in place? Date issued: Place issued: Expiry date: Conditions of the order if known:	☐Y ☐N
Copy of order gained for police purposes by OIC?	☐Y ☐N

What is Domestic Violence?

Domestic violence involves the misuse of power and is based on a range of control mechanisms.

This can result in physical, sexual, psychological, social or economic abuse. These forms of abuse can come from a partner, ex-partner, carer or one or more family members in an existing or previous relationship.

Domestic violence occurs, regardless of age, gender, sexual orientation, religious, cultural or political beliefs, ethnicity, disability, class or location.

There are many forms of abuse, e.g.
- Emotional & Psychological Abuse
- Physical Abuse
- Harassment or Stalking
- Financial Abuse
- Forced marriage
- Intimidation and/or Threats of Violence
- Humiliation
- Sexual abuse
- Isolation from family & friends.

CONTACT DETAILS

Telephone: 01⬤ ⬤777

e-mail address:

Telephone: (⬤ 461 ⬤
         0797 ⬤ 822—mobile

e-mail address:
farzana. — @btconnect.com

The IDVA Service is an Independent, professional and confidential service, hosted by:

Registered Charity no: ⬤), company no: 03' ⬤

&

Registered Charity no: ⬤), company no: ⬤)

IDVA

(Independent Domestic Violence Advice)

SERVICE

Hosted by:

Appendix J – Safeguarding Policy for TSO, Definition of Vulnerable

Background

1 ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ is committed to providing a safe and secure environment for all ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ and individual visitors who access its facilities and services.

2 ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ acknowledges its particular responsibility to safeguard the wellbeing of under-18's and adults at risk engaged in the range ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ activities. This is achieved by ensuring that there are appropriate arrangements in place to enable it to discharge its duty to provide a safe and secure environment, and to deal with issues concerned with suspected or reported abuse of under-18's or adults at risk.

3 ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ recognises that it has a duty to help employees and ▮▮▮▮▮ understand their responsibilities (through guidance, support and training), to minimize risk, and to avoid situations (when possible) where abuse or neglect might arise or be alleged.

4 If you are unsure about any aspect of this policy you should contact the Principal Safeguarding Officer immediately (see Appendix 1 for contact details).

Definitions

5 This policy adheres to and is driven by external policy and legislation.

6 The definition of 'a child' in child protection guidance is: - a child is anyone who has not yet reached their 18th birthday. Throughout this document 16-17 year old ▮▮▮▮▮▮ referred to as 'under-18's'.

7 The definition of an 'Adult at Risk' is: - an adult who needs community care services because of mental or other disability, age or illness and who is, or may be, unable to take care of themselves against significant harm or exploitation. The term replaces 'vulnerable adult'.

8 Employees should note that this policy only applies to those who fall into either of the above categories, and does not apply to those who may require welfare support, but do not fall into these categories.

Scope

9 This policy is intended to give a framework for employees in the unlikely event that a safeguarding issue arises.

10 ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ has a responsibility to safeguard and promote the welfare of under-18s and adults at risk who participate in organised activities or services. These include registered ▮▮▮▮▮▮ who are under 18 or an adult at risk, and under-18's or adults at risk who come onto ▮▮▮▮▮▮ premises as part of organised activities such as visits or summer schools. This responsibility extends to ▮▮▮▮▮▮ employees working off campus (e.g. professional placements, widening participation and recruitment activities in local schools or FE Colleges). ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ must ensure that reasonable steps to promote and safeguard the welfare of under-18's or adults at risk are taken, and that the policy and procedures

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Appendix K – Example of Recruitment Letter

Dear {NAME}

I am contacting your {ORGANISATION} on behalf of the University of Southampton with regards to recruitment for a research project exploring the management of forced marriage (FM) within the United Kingdom. The research project is part of a study for my qualification of doctorate from the University of Southampton.

The aim of the project is to explore the current management models used by various organisations tasked with managing FM. I am contacting {ORGANISATION} because of its expertise and experience with FM management and the invaluable organisational understanding {ORGANISATION} may be able to provide.

The research process would involve participants undertaking one short telephone or face to face interview lasting (approximately 30 minutes) to discuss their experiences of FM management at an organisational level and to highlight current issues surrounding its management.

I would be really grateful if you could confirm whether member(s) of {ORGANISATION} would be interested in taking part in this research study.

If this research project is of interest to {ORGANISATION}, prior to the recruitment of participants, written consent on behalf of {ORGANISATION} is required (and will be included as an appendix to the thesis).

The ethics committee at the University of Southampton has approved the research project and I would be grateful if you could please advise if ethical clearance is required by {ORGANISATION} prior to the research commencing.

Thank you for your time, I look forward to hearing from you,

Kind Regards,

Tom Courtenay.

Appendix L – Example of Participant Information Sheet (Police)

Sociology, Social Policy & Criminology
Social Sciences
Faculty of Social, Human and Mathematical Sciences
University of Southampton
Southampton
SO171BJ

Date as sent

<div align="center">

Information Sheet (Police)

Managing Extreme Cultural Behaviour

</div>

Dear NAME

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Your participation in the project is entirely voluntary. Before you decide to participate it is important that you understand why the research is being undertaken and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with your colleagues if you wish. If there is anything that is not clear, or you would like to know more about, please contact me (using the details provided at the end of this sheet). Thank you for reading this information.

What is the research about?
This research project is part of the qualification for a Doctorate from the Sociology, Social Policy, and Criminology Department, University of Southampton. The purpose of the research is to explore the management of Extreme Cultural Behaviour (in the form of Forced Marriage (FM)) by police services within the United Kingdom. The specific aim of the research is to explore the evidence that has been used to inform legislation and guidance to manage FM, and how this guidance and legislation is implemented in practice.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen to take part because your role within the organisation impacts the management of FM. We are interested in your experiences of managing FM, and your role in upholding the applicable criminal law.

What will happen to me if I take part?
If you decide to take part, I will contact you to arrange a time for you to take part in either a telephone interview or an interview face to face. The interview will take between 30 and 45 minutes and it will be audio-recorded. The interview will take place in an agreed location such as professional setting e.g. a place of work, or in a public location e.g. a coffee shop or café. The interview can also be conducted at a participant's home if expressly stated by the participant.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

The information from this study will provide an insight into FM management in the UK, and highlight effective practice measures.

Are there any risks involved?
FM is a sensitive topic and research participants may well have first hand experience. Although the purpose of the research is to explore organisational output it is acknowledged that the topic may well be personal. The research will be conducted with respect, sensitivity and consideration of this, and the option to terminate, pause, rearrange or withdraw from the study is provided.

Will my participation be confidential?
The interview data will be anonymous and your personal details will be stored separately from the interview transcript. All information collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and secured against unauthorised access. Personal data is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998).

What happens if I change my mind?
It is up to you whether or not to take part in this research. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. If you wish to withdraw from the study after the interview has taken place this can be accorded for and the data can be removed from the study up to one month after the interview has occurred.

What happens if something goes wrong?
If you have a complaint about the way you have been dealt with during the study or any possible harm you might suffer, you should speak to the Research Governance Manager (Telephone: 02380 595058 or email: rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk) and this will be dealt with by the University of Southampton.

Where can I get more information?
If you have any questions regarding this study please contact me, using the telephone number or email provided at the bottom of this sheet.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Yours Sincerely,

Tom Courtenay

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Tel: 07803297987
Email: tc3g14@soton.ac.uk

Appendix M – Example of Consent Form

CONSENT FORM (*Version 2*)

Study title: Managing Extreme Cultural Behaviour

Researcher name: Tom Courtenay
Ethics reference: 23334

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (9th August 2016 /version no.2) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be recorded and used for the purpose of this study

I understand that my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research

I consent to the interview being audio recorded

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected. I understand that I may withdraw my data from the study up to one month after the interview has taken place.

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Name of participant (print name)………………………………………………

Signature of participant………………………………………………………..

Date……………………………………………………………………………

Appendix N- Ethics Application Form

This version updated December 2013

SSEGM ETHICS SUB-COMMITTEE APPLICATION FORM

Please note:

- *You must not begin data collection for your study until ethical approval has been obtained.*
- *It is your responsibility to follow the University of Southampton's Ethics Policy and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data.*
- *It is also your responsibility to provide <u>full and accurate information</u> in completing this form.*

1. **Name(s):**   Tom Courtenay

2. **Current Position** Student

3. **Contact Details:**
   Division/School: Sociology, Social Policy & Criminology
   Email tc3g14@soton.ac.uk
   Phone 07803297987

4. **Is your study being conducted as part of an education qualification?**
   Yes

5. **If Yes, please give the name of your supervisor**
    Professor Derek McGhee, Dr Toby Miles-Johnson

6. **Title of your project:**
   Managing Extreme Cultural Behaviour

7. **Briefly describe the rationale, study aims and the relevant research questions of your study**

Study Aim:
To explore the evidence that has been used to inform legislation and guidance to manage forced marriage (FM), and how this guidance and legislation is implemented in practice.

Objectives:
To understand**:**
   1) The work of third sector organisations (TSO's) and the evidence they use to inform FM management guidance
   2) How the police implement guidance, within a legal framework, to manage FM

3) How FM management legislation was developed, and how legal measures are implemented

Rationale:

Forced marriage is defined as a marriage conducted without the valid consent of one or both parties and where duress is a factor (Crown Prosecution Service 2014). FM was established as a specific criminal offence in 2014 (Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014), with criminalisation justified as providing a significant deterrent upon perpetrators and greater protection to victims (Proudman 2014; Amen 2014).

The official statistics for FM indicate that despite an increased awareness of FM and the establishment of management strategy, there has been minimal statistical change in its frequency with 1,220 reported cases in 2015, (Foreign & Common Wealth and Home Office 2016). Furthermore, the available statistics are deemed to significantly underestimate the scale of the problem, and do not provide an accurate reflection of the current situation (Gatestone institute 2013; Halo project 2013).

There is a lack of evidence and guidance with regards to effective strategies designed to manage FM (HMIC 2015). Current police practice models are informed by criminal legislation and official guidelines, alongside TSO training courses. TSO's provide support to FM victims, offer statutory service training, and inform FM management guidelines, however, TSO guidance appears to vary (e.g. opposing approaches to criminalisation, diverse training models, varied remits, and differing campaigns)(Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation 2016; Karma Nirvana 2016; Southall Black Sisters (SBS) 2016; Halo Project 2016; Freedom Project 2016). A review of police practice indicates concerns that current police service FM management models lack consistency and centralisation, which subsequently fails to manage the complexities of FM (HMIC 2015).

These concerns draw parallel with the wider literature exploring the policing of minority cultural groups, which implies that a failure to interpret FM appropriately, due to a potential lack of understanding towards cultural intricacies, consequently risks police legitimacy (Tyler, T and Huo, Y 2002; Bradford 2012; Jonathan-Zamir and Weisburd 2011; Lafree and Ackerman 2009), due to victims interpreting police intervention as culturally inappropriate (Goldstein; 1969; Bowling and Phillips 2010; Skogan 1977; IPCC 2008;) or founded upon an insufficient knowledge base (Biles, D and Braithwaite, J. 1979; Bowles et al 2009; Hart and Colavito 2011). Such concerns have been highlighted in case studies where police action has been directly attributed as jeopardising victim safety (IPCC 2008).

Furthermore, recent criminalisation of FM, praised by some as an effective deterrent (Proudman 2014; Amen 2014), has been met with critique (SBS 2016; Julios 2015). The measures granted by the legislation enable the enactment of protection orders, the imposition of lengthy prison tariffs, and the granting of extra territorial jurisdiction to prevent marriage abroad (Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014). These measures have been criticised for deterring the reporting of crime due to unwanted familial criminalisation (SBS 2016; Julios 2015), and for failing to holistically consider the culture elements of such crimes, thus portraying the law as a potentially illegitimate recourse to justice for FM victims.

No research has explored the extent to which TSO's have influenced FM legislation or, the evidence these organisations use to inform guidance to manage FM. Additionally, no research has explored how legislation and guidance is implemented in practice by police services when managing FM. Furthermore, no research has been undertaken into how the consultation process prior to criminalisation was undertaken or the difficulties that may arise in deploying the current measures. This research therefore, has been designed to explore these issues.

Key research question:

What evidence has been used to inform legislation and guidance to manage forced marriage (FM), and how is this guidance and legislation implemented in practice.

8.   Describe the design of your study

Methodology

The research will adopt a qualitative methodology. A qualitative methodology has been selected in order to develop a detailed understanding of the topic. Furthermore, a qualitative methodology will be sensitive to the complexities and variations of context.

Methods
Data collection
Data collection methods will include semi-structured interviews and documentary evidence.

Semi-structured interview
Semi-structured interviews (interview schedules will be informed by the literature), will be used to explore the views and experiences of key stakeholders working within TSO's (n=10), police services (n=10) and those involved in the formation of policy and enactment of legal measures (n=10).

Documentary evidence
Documents (including FM management/policy guidelines, training curricula, FM training material, and documentation describing the development of legal measures) referred to in interviews by participants will also be collected. These documents will be used as evidence to support interview data.

9.   Who are the research participants?

The sample will include key individuals from TSO's (n=10), police services (n=10) and, policy and legislative stakeholders (n=10). The participant sample will total n=30 interviews.

1) TSO's

Key individuals working in all UK TSO's involved in the support of FM victims, training and education for FM management, and the development of policy and practice guidelines (n=10-12) will be contacted by telephone or email (contact details are available on organisation websites). Those contacted will be informed about the research, and invited to participate in an interview. All interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken.

2) Police Services

FM occurs predominantly in high-density, heterogeneous urban areas (Foreign & Commonwealth Office and Home Office 2016), and although not specifically associated with Muslim groups, this group are deemed as the predominant perpetrators of honour motivated crimes, including FM, due to a perceived adherence to cultural patriarchal values (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015). The demographics from the recent xxxxx report (2015) indicate that the highest frequency of FM reporting occurs xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. The xxxxxxxxxx Police Service, working within xxxxxxxxxx will therefore be contacted. The specific town of xxxxxxxxx, has the highest Muslim population xxxxxxxxxx), and therefore applicable community liaison officers, FM police specialists, and safer neighbourhood teams (i.e. all those responsible for managing FM) will be contacted via email or telephone (n=~42)(the contact details for whom are available on the xxxxxxxxxx Police Service website) and invited to participate. As with TSO's, all interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, they will also be provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken. Consecutive sampling will be used i.e recruitment will continue until the first 10 individuals consent to take part.

3) Policy and legislative stakeholders

Key stakeholders involved in the criminalisation process and the development and enactment of FM legislation and measures will be contacted. It is anticipated that contact with this sample will arise through contact with TSO's and police services, as both TSO's and the police services were included during the Home Office (HO) consultation process prior to criminalisation of FM (HO 2012). In order to ensure recruitment of sufficient interviewee numbers, contact will be made with a) the FMU, the division of the HO that initiated the criminalisation process and b) Key figures involved in the formation/deployment of legal measures (i.e. barristers and solicitors) who will be contacted for research due to their input in the enactment of criminal measures for FM management. All interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken. Recruitment of participants will continue until a sample of 10 has been achieved.

10. If you are going to analyse secondary data, from where are you obtaining it?

n/a

11. If you are collecting primary data, how will you identify and approach the participants to recruit them to your study?

Please see attached document titled " Gatekeeper recruitment email"

TSO's

Key individuals working in all UK TSO's involved in the support of FM victims, training and education for FM management, and the development of policy and practice guidelines (n=**1**0-12) will be contacted by telephone or email (contact details are available on organisation websites). Those contacted will be informed about the research, and invited to participate in an interview. All interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken.

Police Services

FM occurs predominantly in high-density, heterogeneous urban areas (Foreign & Commonwealth Office and Home Office 2016), and although not specifically associated with Muslim groups, this group are deemed as the predominant perpetrators of honour motivated crimes, including FM, due to a perceived adherence to cultural patriarchal values (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015). The demographics from the recent xxxxxxxx report (2015) indicate that the highest frequency of FM reporting occurs xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. The police Service, working within xxxxxxxxxx will therefore be contacted. The specific town of xxxxxxxxxxxxxx, has the highest Muslim population in xxxxxxxxxxxx, and therefore applicable community liaison officers, FM police specialists, and safer neighbourhood teams (i.e. all those responsible for managing FM) will be contacted via email or telephone (n=~42)(the contact details for whom are available on the xxxxxxxxxxxx Police Service website) and invited to participate. As with TSO's, all interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, they will also be provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken. Consecutive sampling will be used i.e recruitment will continue until the first 10 individuals consent to take part.

Policy and legislative stakeholders

Key stakeholders involved in the criminalisation process and the development and enactment of FM legislation and measures will be contacted. It is anticipated that contact with this sample will arise through contact with TSO's and police services, as both TSO's and the police services were included during the Home Office (HO) consultation process prior to criminalisation of FM (HO 2012). In order to ensure recruitment of sufficient interviewee numbers, contact will be made with a) the FMU, the division of the HO that initiated the criminalisation process and b) Key figures involved in the formation/deployment of legal measures (i.e. barristers and solicitors) who will be contacted for research due to their input in the enactment of criminal measures for FM management. All interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken. Recruitment of participants will continue until a sample of 10 has been achieved.

12.   Will participants be taking part in your study without their knowledge and consent at the time (e.g. covert observation of people)? If yes, please explain why this is necessary.

no

13.   If you answered 'no' to question 13, how will you obtain the consent of participants?
Please upload a copy of the consent form if you are using one – or if you are not using one please explain why.

A Participant Information Sheet (PIS) will be sent to potential participants once initial contact has been made with key individuals in each organisation, and they have indicated they are keen to participate in the research. Participants will be given a minimum of 48 hours to consider the information in the PIS and also, during this period, they will be provided with the opportunity to ask the researcher any questions they might have. Once all queries have been addressed, participants will be invited to sign the consent form. When the researcher has received the consent form, the interview will take place.

14.   Is there any reason to believe participants may not be able to give full informed consent? If yes, what steps do you propose to take to safeguard their interests?

Only participants who are able to provide full and informed consent will be included in the study

15.   If participants are under the responsibility or care of others (such as parents/carers, teachers or medical staff) what plans do you have to obtain permission to approach the participants to take part in the study?

n/a

16.   Describe what participation in your study will involve for study participants. Please attach copies of any questionnaires and/or interview schedules and/or observation topic list to be used

Participants will undergo one semi-structured interview, either face to face or over the telephone. The interview will take approximately 30-40 minutes and will be audio recorded. If the interview is conducted in person it is anticipated the interview will be conducted either at the participants place of work, at their home or in a public setting such as a coffee shop or café.

17.   How will you make it clear to participants that they may withdraw consent to participate at any point during the research without penalty?

This is stated in the PIS sheet, and will also be reiterated prior to the interview commencing.

18.   Detail any possible distress, discomfort, inconvenience or other adverse effects the participants may experience, including after the study, and you will deal with this.

It is acknowledged that FM is a controversial and sensitive topic. A number of participants may well have first hand experience and also work directly with victims of FM. The research does not aim to gather an insight into personal experience but rather seeks to gather an organisational level insight regarding the practice management of FM and the role organisations have in this remit. By focusing on an organisational approach the research will aim to avoid any unwanted divergence into personal experience.
All research data will be anonymised and participant's views will be respected. The option to withdraw, suspend or rearrange any interview will be accorded for. It will be stated that the research intentions are to explore the organisational input upon FM management. Participants will be able to withdraw interview data if requested after the interview process.

19.   How will you maintain participant anonymity and confidentiality in collecting, analysing and writing up your data?

All Interviews (n=30) will be recorded and transcribed. Transcripts will be entirely anonymised. Each participant will be identifiable by a code assigned during the coding/ thematic analysis process. When quotations are used in the thesis the participant will be identifiable only by the allocated coding name (e.g. Participant 1, Participant 2). There will be no reference made to the participant's job title, department of work, or location in the final output of the research.

Off record remarks
During the interview process participants can, at any stage, indicate that a remark should be treated as off the record, and that particular material will not be used.

Storage
Other than the use of attributed quotes from the interview in writing up the project, the interview data will only be available to myself, and will be stored in a password protected area on my computer.   All had copies of the data will be stored in a locked drawer.

20. **How will you store your data securely during and after the study?**

All data will be securely stored on a research computer in an encrypted/password protected folder in line with the University's data protection policy. All had copies of the data will be stored in a locked drawer.

21. **Describe any plans you have for feeding back the findings of the study to participants.**

Upon completion of the study a summary sheet of the findings will be written for participants and sent to those who would like a copy.

22. **What are the main ethical issues raised by your research and how do you intend to manage these?**

It is acknowledged that FM is a controversial and sensitive topic. A number of participants may well have first hand experience and also work directly with victims of FM. The research does not aim to gather an insight into personal experience but rather seeks to gather an organisational level insight regarding the practice management of FM and the role organisations have in this remit. By focusing on an organisational approach the research will aim to avoid any unwanted divergence into personal experience.

The option to withdraw, suspend or rearrange any interview will be accorded for. It will be stated that the research intentions are to explore the organisational input upon FM management.

23. **Please outline any other information you feel may be relevant to this submission.**

n/a

Appendix O – Example of Interview Schedule Template

Interview Schedule (Police Services)

Managing Extreme Cultural Behaviour

Researcher: Tom Courtenay   **Ethics number**: 23334

Introduce self/project if not already done so. Recap ethical issues – confidentiality, anonymity, obtain consent and signed consent form.

Role
Prompts:
- Overview of role
- Time in role
- Motive for work
- Output measures (i.e. liaising with community members, enforcing protection orders, preventative measures)

Sources of management
Prompts:
- Sources used for training/ sources used to inform practice measures
- Effectiveness of current measures
- Views on training material/ provision of training

Perceptions of FM
Prompts:
- Perceptions of FM and role police play (i.e. motives, human rights concerns)
- Interpretations of FM, causal factors (cultural association, generational)
- Understandings of FM/ education undertaken (cultural nuances, role of honour based systems)
- Support for criminalisation, victim aftercare? (deterrent effect/ recourse to public funds?/ interagency working)
- Applicability of measures to associated communities, issues of cultural relativism (conflict clash, liberal v patriarchal)

Deploying FM management measures
Prompts:
- Processes of forming/implementing training material
- Consultation process, community liaising (Sources used for creation/enactment/reliability)

- Sources of knowledge to inform the formation of measures (genders, age, generation)
- Identification of contributory/causal factors to FM, crime prevention and detection (known factors)
- Holistic consideration of cultural nuances (i.e. caste systems, Izzatt, honour codes)
- Support legal amendment? (Cultural relativism/ deterrent upon reporting)

Inhibitors to role / evaluation of role

Prompts:
- Inhibitors to effective practice (decreasing statistics/ greater reporting/ reliability of measures?)
- Recurrent experiences (i.e. offender type, situational factors, interagency working)
- Community responses (supportive/ dismissive/ applicability of measures)
- Identifying good practice (increased reporting/reduced reporting?)
- Main sources of knowledge (victims perspective, bias in research?)
- Reception by statutory services?

Overall perceptions of role

Prompts:
- Recurrent experiences (i.e. offender type, situational factors)
- Typical scenarios?
- Ideal practice model?
- Additional comments

Appendix P - Risk Assessment Form

Researcher's name: Tom Courtenay

Part 1 – Dissertation/project activities

What do you intend to do? (Please provide a brief description of your project and details of your proposed methods.)

Project Aim:
To explore the evidence that has been used to inform legislation and guidance to manage forced marriage (FM), and how this guidance and legislation is implemented in practice.

Project Objectives:
To understand**:**
4) The work of third sector organisations (TSO's) and the evidence they use to inform FM management guidance
5) How the police implement guidance, within a legal framework, to manage FM
6) How FM management legislation was developed, and how legal measures are implemented

Methodology
The research will adopt a qualitative methodology. A qualitative methodology has been selected in order to develop a detailed understanding of the topic. Furthermore, a qualitative methodology will be sensitive to the complexities and variations of context.

Methods

Data collection
Data collection methods will include semi-structured interviews and documentary evidence.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews (interview schedules will be informed by the literature), will be used to explore the views and experiences of key stakeholders working within TSO's (n=10), police services (n=10) and those involved in the formation of policy and enactment of legal measures (n=10).

Documentary evidence

Documents (including FM management/policy guidelines, training curricula, FM training material, and documentation describing the development of legal measures) referred to in interviews by participants will also be collected. These documents will be used as evidence to support interview data.

Sample:

The sample will include key individuals from Third Sector Organisations (TSO's) (n=10), police services (n=10) and, policy and legislative stakeholders (n=10). The participant sample will total n=30 interviews.

4) TSO's

Key individuals working in all UK TSO's involved in the support of FM victims, training and education for FM management, and the development of policy and practice guidelines (n=**1**0-12) will be contacted by telephone or email (contact details are available on organisation websites). Those contacted will be informed about the research, and invited to participate in an interview. All interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken.

5) Police Services

FM occurs predominantly in high-density, heterogeneous urban areas (Foreign & Commonwealth Office and Home Office 2016), and although not specifically associated with Muslim groups, this group are deemed as the predominant perpetrators of honour motivated crimes, including FM, due to a perceived adherence to cultural patriarchal values (Begikhani et al 2010; Sanches 2014; Nabir 2006; Chantler 2009; Dugan 2015). The demographics from the recent FMU report (2015) indicate that the highest frequency of FM reporting occurs within London. The xxxxxxxx Police Service, working within one London borough will therefore be contacted. The specific town of xxxxxxxx, has the highest Muslim population in xxxxxxxxxxxx, and therefore applicable community liaison officers, FM police specialists, and safer neighbourhood teams (i.e. all those responsible for managing FM) will be contacted via email or telephone (n=~42)(the contact details for whom are available on the xxxxx Police Service website) and invited to participate. As with TSO's, all interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, they will also be provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken. Consecutive sampling will be used i.e recruitment will continue until the first 10 individuals consent to take part.

6) Policy and legislative stakeholders

Key stakeholders involved in the criminalisation process and the development and enactment of FM legislation and measures will be contacted. It is anticipated that contact with this sample will arise through contact with TSO's and police services, as both TSO's and the police services were included during the Home Office (HO) consultation process prior to criminalisation of FM (HO 2012). In order to ensure recruitment of sufficient interviewee numbers, contact will be made with a) the FMU, the division of the HO that initiated the criminalisation process and b) Key figures involved in the formation/deployment of legal measures (i.e. barristers and solicitors) who will be contacted for research due to their input in the enactment of criminal measures for FM management. All interested individuals will be provided with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a consent form, provided with the opportunity to ask any questions, and given a minimum of 48hrs to consider whether they want to take part. Once the consent form has been completed and returned, the interview (face-to-face or telephone) will be undertaken. Recruitment of participants will continue until a sample of 10 has been achieved.

Will this involve collection of information from other people? (In the case of projects involving fieldwork, please provide a description of your proposed sample/case study site.) No	
If relevant, what location/s is/are involved? Interviews will be conducted either face to face or via the telephone. Face to face interviews will take place either in a professional setting such as the participants place of work, or in a public place such as a coffee shop or café. Only if the participant requests will the interview take place at their home.	
Will you be working alone or with others? Alone	

Part 2 – Potential safety issues / risk assessment.

Potential safety issues arising from proposed activity? It is anticipated that there is minimal risk to the researcher. It is acknowledged that FM is a controversial and sensitive topic. A number of participants may well have first hand experience and also work directly with victims of FM. The research does not aim to gather an insight into personal experience but rather seeks to gather an organisational level insight regarding the practice management of FM and the role organisations have in this remit. By focusing on an organisational approach the research will aim to avoid any unwanted divergence into personal experience.
Person/s likely to be affected? TSO workers, police services.
Likelihood of risk? Low, due to the research focus upon organisational roles and not personal experience.

Part 3 – Precautions / risk reduction

Existing precautions:

Interviews will be conducted either face to face or via the telephone. Face to face interviews will take place either in a professional setting such as the participants place of work, or in a public place such as a coffee shop or café. Only if the participant requests will the interview take place at their home. It is anticipated that this will provide a low risk setting to the interviewer.

Each destination will be reached via public transport, taxi or by the interviewers own vehicle. Journeys will be planned and accorded for well in advance of the interview dates, and significant time will be incorporated to cover any unanticipated transport issues. In the case of public transport issues a taxi will be used if necessary.

It is anticipated that all interviews will be conducted within daylight hours, during weekdays or weekends.

As a lone researcher, contact will be made with a trusted individual upon arrival and departure of the interview venue by text message or email. This person will know the interviewers whereabouts and if contact is not made within a reasonable time period the matter will be escalated to the interviewers immediate family.

A fully charged mobile phone will be taken with the interviewer to each interview to make contact during emergencies. The tracking function on the interviewers mobile phone will be enabled to provide detailed whereabouts in case of an emergency.

Proposed risk reduction strategies if existing precautions are not adequate:

n/a

CONTINUED BELOW …

Part 4 – International Travel

If your activity involves international travel you must meet the Faculty's requirements for Business Travel which are intended to:

1. Inform managers/supervisors of the travel plans of staff and students and identify whether risk assessment is required.
2. Provide contact information to staff and students whilst travelling (insurance contact details, University contact in case of emergency etc.)

Full details are provided in the Faculty H&S Handbook in the **Business Travel** section. Selecting **Business Travel** from the Contents list will take you straight to the relevant section.

Risk Assessment Form for International Travel attached	**NO**	**(Delete as applicable)**

Guidance Notes for completing the risk assessment form

The purpose of assessing risks is to ensure everyone works safely. To carry out a Risk Assessment, ask yourself:
- How can the activity cause harm?
- Is it safe to carry out this activity without additional protection/support?
- If someone else is going to do the work, can they do it safely?

Activity
Give a brief outline of the activity/project including the methods to be used and the people to be involved
- Think about everything you are going to do, from start to finish.
- Ensure that you complete the assessment before you commence any work. If you are unsure if your proposed work carries any risk, go ahead and complete the form as the process could highlight some issues which otherwise may not have been aware of.

Potential Safety Issues
- Only list those hazards that you could reasonably expect to cause significant harm or injury.
- Talk to people who have experience of the activity.
- Will the activity involve lone working or potential exposure to violence? For more guidance see the Social Research Association website at www.the-sra.org.uk under Staying Safe.
- Are there any significant hazards due to where the work is to be done?

Who might be affected?
- List anyone who might be affected by the hazards.
- Remember to include yourself, co-workers, your participants and others working in or passing through the area of activity.
- Those more vulnerable or less experienced should be highlighted as they will be more at risk (e.g. children, disabled people or those with medical conditions, people unfamiliar with the area of activity).

Precautions/Risk Reduction
- List the control measures already in place for each of the significant hazards.
- Is the hazard dealt with by the School Health & Safety Policy, or a generic safety method statement?.
- Appropriate training is a control measure and should be listed.
- Is the risk a low as is reasonably practical?
- List any additional control measures/risk reduction strategies for each significant hazard (e.g. practical measures, training, improved supervision).

Risk Evaluation

- With all the existing control measures in place do any of the significant hazards still have a potential to cause significant harm? Rank as Low, Medium or High.

Remember
- Risk Assessments need to be suitable and sufficient, not perfect.
- Are the precautions reasonable?
- Is there something to show that a proper check was made?

This information is based on "An Introduction to Risk Assessment" produced by the Safety Office and the Training & Development Unit of the University of Southampton.

Appendix Q – Police FM statistics

Select Date Period: Rolling 12 Months · Custom Dates · Year to Date 12/01/2016 10/01/2017 **Latest data:** 10-Jan-17

Crimes or Incidents: All   LPA: Wycombe

This table will contain duplicate offences where more that one hate crime indicator has been selected for an occurrence.

Hate Type	Last Year	This Year	Difference	% Change
Racial Indicator	156	195	37	23%
Disablist Indicator	11	16	5	45%
Homophobic Indicator	12	21	9	75%
Transphobic Indicator	2	2	0	0%
Faith Indicator	10	7	-3	-30%
Total Hate Incidents	187	233	46	25%
Honour Based Violence	30	35	5	17%
FGM		3	3	-%
Forced Marriage	2	2	0	0%
Total inc HBV & FGM	217	270	53	24%

This table excludes Honour Based Violence, FGM and Forced Marriage offences, only including hate crime offences.

Offence Type of Hate Offences	Last Year	This Year	Difference	% Change
Incidents	96	120	24	25%
Public Order Crimes	46	55	9	20%
Violence Without Injury Crimes	21	33	12	57%
Violence With Injury Crimes	12	7	-5	-42%
Criminal Damage Crimes	2	5	3	150%
All other crimes	12	12	0	0%
Total Offences	189	232	43	23%

Ethnicity	Last Year	This Year	% Change
A1. Asian - Indian	8	4	-50%
A2. Asian - Pakistani	40	34	-15%
A3. Asian - Bangladeshi	4		-100%
A9. Any other Asian background	1	6	500%
Asian Total	53	44	-17%
B1. Black Caribbean	5	8	60%
B2. Black African	4	3	-25%
B9. Any other Black background	1	5	400%
Black Total	10	16	60%
M1. White & Black Caribbean	2	2	0%
M2. White & Black African	1		-100%
M3. White & Asian			
M9. Any other mixed background	2	6	200%
Mixed background Total	5	8	60%
W1. White British	32	21	-34%
W2. White Irish		1	
W9. Any other white background	14	17	21%
White Total	46	39	-15%
O1. Chinese	1	1	0%
O9. Any other ethnic group	1	3	200%
NS. Not stated / Blank	46	77	67%

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