

**SERVICE PROVIDERS CHALLENGING ORIENTALISM AND SUPPORTING HRVO
VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS**

by

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Abstract

Violence against racialized women that is known as “honour”-killing or “honour”-related violence and oppression (HRVO) is typically depicted in dominant media discourses as being the result of the cultures of the victims and perpetrators. Culture is framed as causing HRVO because dominant media discourses in the Western world tend to depict racialized communities through an Orientalist lens. Orientalist discourses are problematic because they contribute to the oppression of racialized communities by framing them as homogeneously dangerous, uncivilized, and barbaric. Most literature on HRVO takes a discursive approach, analyzing and critiquing how Orientalist narratives are advanced in government reports and policies as well as the mainstream media. While this research has important implications in identifying Orientalism and suggesting alternative perspectives, this dissertation investigates the perspectives service providers use to understand and deal with HRVO and what role these perspectives play in challenging Orientalism. The conceptual framework for this study is the theory of Orientalism combined with the heterogeneity of culture, the migration context, and intersectionality perspectives. In addition, critical realism is used to guide the methodology, particularly data analysis. In this dissertation, 13 service providers in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario—from settings such as ethnocultural organizations, shelters, law enforcement, education, and mental health—were interviewed, while an additional 10 service providers participated in group interviews. The study found that the most effective perspectives for service providers to use to challenge Orientalism were two-fold: (a) the heterogeneity of cultural approach, which recognizes internal differentiations within cultures; and (b) the migration context approach, which focuses on social forces that may shape and influence attitudes that support HRVO. Further, critical realism reveals several non-discursive factors—namely, embodiment

(experiences of the body), materiality (physical nature of the world), and power (institutions and how through policy and force they control access to resources)—that service providers encounter and must manage to effectively counsel and support victims of HRVO. Recommendations are identified regarding education and risk assessment tools that can assist service providers to advance the heterogeneity of culture and migration context approaches as well as manage non-discursive factors.

Lay Summary

When violence against women occurs in racialized communities, the dominant popular media tend to frame this oppression as being caused by culture and /or race, and religion. This type of framing typically takes place when the violence is deemed to be motivated by concepts of honour such as “honour”-killings, and it is problematic because it can adversely impact victims and communities associated with the crimes. Firstly, it can hinder victims from seeking help due to their concerns that disclosing abuse may be used to stigmatize their communities. Secondly, governments may implement policies that racially profile and discriminate against members of communities associated with “honour”-related violence such as the “Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act”. In my study, I bring together various concepts into a theoretical framework that avoids cultural stereotypes regarding “honour”-related violence and illuminates practitioners’ understanding of, and responses to, this complex and multifaceted issue.

Preface

This dissertation is an original, independent, and unpublished work written by Keith Dormond.

The individual and group interviews along with participant observation reported throughout this dissertation were approved by the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Certificate Number H18-01627).

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to all those who have been victimized and oppressed by “honour”-related violence and those who are working to support them and challenge Orientalism. I also dedicate this dissertation to members of Black communities that have lost their lives at the hands of the police.

Chapter 1: Introduction: Outlining My Anti-Orientalist Stance

While working as a police officer for the last 22 years, on occasion I have observed two processes: culturalization and universalism take place when an incident of violence against a woman involved individuals and families from South Asian and Middle Eastern cultures. The culturalization that I observed consisted of the cultures of the parties involved being perceived as a major source of the violence, with little consideration of the heterogeneity of these cultures. For instance, I recall a case of sexual violence that involved a male of Middle Eastern background carrying out many sadistic acts on an ex-girlfriend, whom he believed had slept with one of his friends. Because the male was originally from the Middle East, there was some talk in the office that this was a case of “honour”-related violence, and it was said to be typical of cultures from the Middle East in terms of how they view and oppressively treat women.

I listened to my colleagues discuss the case in this culturalized fashion and expressed the view that although the violence was severe and extremely degrading, it seemed to be no different than some of the sexual assaults committed by White offenders that our sex crimes unit investigates. Following this line of reasoning, I also argued that Middle Eastern culture and family honour may have played little if any, role in the violence, as the male immigrated from the Middle East with his family at an early age. Additionally, I argued that his actions may have been motivated by jealousy and revenge as opposed to a need to restore family honour. My colleagues did not share my point of view, and after a short period of silence, they returned to talking about how the incident was brutal, sadistic, “honour”-related, and possibly tied to Middle Eastern culture.

Through the process of writing this dissertation, I have come to realize that my colleagues were likely stuck in their view of violence against women in racialized communities

because of Orientalist discourses. Sensoy (2016) sums up these discourses by such phrases as the “Angry Muslim Man” and “Oppressed/Victimized Muslim Woman.”¹ The “Angry Muslim Man” discourse repeatedly represents Muslim men as raging, evil, cruel, or dangerous to the point that these depictions seem true and common. Similarly, the “Oppressed/Victimized Muslim Women” discourse continually characterizes Muslim women as oppressed by the backward Arab/Muslim male and “primitive” practices such as veiling (Sensoy, 2016, p. 6).

According to Sensoy (2016), the discourse of the angry Muslim man gains parts of its signifying power from the discourse of the oppressed/victimized Muslim woman because his rage and backwardness explain her oppression (p. 5). Separately and combined, both discourses tend to contribute to the oppression of Muslim and other eastern communities because they are connected to *Orientalism* (Sensoy, 2016). *Orientalism* is a term popularized by Edward W. Said that describes a process in which western societies oppress colonized “othered” eastern societies through discourses that depicts these societies as homogenously dangerous, mysterious, uncivilized, barbaric, simplistic, and fixed (Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016). Orientalism also involves western societies using discourses to depict themselves as superior in relation to the colonized “other,” which helps to rationalize public policies that keep racialized minorities subverted (McLennan, 2003 as cited in Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016, p. 359).

In contrast to culturalization, at times I also observed colleagues engage in universalism or ignorance of how culture may play a role in violence when incidents of violence involved

¹ Social theorists such as Michel Foucault see discourse as emerging out of and connected to relations of social power because those in control of institutions like the media, politics, law, medicine and education control the creation and dissemination of discourses (Braham, 2013; Cole, 2019). In addition, when these discourses are repeated, they are considered truthful, normal and right.

South Asian and Muslim individuals and families. For example, I was consulted on a case involving a teenage girl from a Middle Eastern family who reported that her father had assaulted and threatened to kill her because she was not following his rules about curfews and not dating boys. The police members who initially investigated the incident thought that it might have been a case of parent/teenager conflict as they did not observe any injuries on the victim and her story seemed farfetched. Hence, the police members were considering returning the victim to her home and attempting to mediate between the victim and her parents and close the case as a report file. Upon reviewing the case, I believed that we should investigate a bit further by checking out the background of the family through our police information system, attending the victim's home, and speaking with her parents. We subsequently undertook this follow-up investigation and learned some information about family violence and culture that led us to charge the father with assault and threats. The cultural dynamics involved the family's perception of the victim bringing them shame and tarnishing their honour through her behaviours. I lost contact with the family after the arrest, so I was unable to determine if the violence and oppression stopped or if the victim just never contacted the police again out of fear of violence or ostracism by her family.

The difference of the approach that I used in comparison to the initial investigating officers was that I considered culture by exploring if there could be cultural elements at play, such as honour and shame, that might be motivating the family to harm the victim. Once I saw that these factors could be at play through my observations at the victim's home, her statement, and injuries, I determined that an arrest and criminal charges were more appropriate to protect the victim as opposed to mediation. While I acknowledge that culture is at play in cases of "honour"-related violence in Muslim and South Asian communities, I argue in my dissertation

that these cultural groups are not homogeneous or monolithic. Like cultural groups that originate from North America and Europe, Muslim and South Asian cultural groups are heterogeneous; they consist of conflicting components, where one aspect may be patriarchal and misogynistic and the other struggling for gender equality (Mojab & Hassanpour, 2002). Consequently, all individuals in these cultural groups do not hold the same views on honour or act in the same manner in terms of carrying out “honour”-related violence.

1.1 Problem Statement and Statement of Purpose

Due to my observations of colleagues viewing incidents of “honour”-related violence against women through the lens of Orientalism and/or universalism, I decided to explore these frameworks and how to challenge them in a Ph.D. dissertation. In my dissertation, I utilized the term “honour”-related violence and oppression or HRVO to describe violence against women and men that is motivated by notions of honour and shame. HRVO is a term that originates out of Swedish research and is defined as:

A form of violence against women, although with special characteristics. The violence and oppression is often carried out by several people together and the perpetrators need not be a current or previous partner. They may instead be parents, siblings, relatives or other members of the family’s community. The main purpose is to control the sexuality of women. The violence arises when a girl or woman acts or tries to act in a manner that violates the family’s traditions and rules for how women should act. This may for example, involve socializing with the wrong people, having sex before marriage, wearing the wrong clothes or having a sexual orientation that the family does not accept.... As punishment, she can be subjected to various kinds of violence, such as threats, exclusion, harassment or physical abuse. In the most serious cases, the woman may be killed....

The violence is meant to give the family back its reputation or the “honour” that was perceived to have been lost. As part of the violence and oppression, the girl is stringently controlled and has limited freedom of action.... Boys, men, and homo-/bi-/transsexual individuals can also be victims of “honour”-related violence and oppression. (Kvinnofridslinjen, 2020)

I chose the term *HRVO* because I believe that it fully captures the fact that this type of violence against women includes both physical violence and oppression, including emotional abuse, forced marriage as well as strict scrutiny and surveillance from family members. Moreover, the term captures “honour”-related oppression that may be less obvious, such as “honour”-related restrictions and deprivations of freedom parents may impose on their daughters. For instance, Norberg and Torsen (2012) found that 53 Swedish school principals that participated in their study on *HRVO* regularly dealt with “honour”-related dilemmas in their daily practice. The dilemmas included some parents from cultural groups with strong notions of honour requesting that their daughters be excused from swimming instruction or participation in physical activities, as these activities involved some aspect of interaction with members of the other sex and partial nudity. Norberg and Torsen also found that some parents forbade their daughters to associate with boys or have boyfriends and in these families, the brothers functioned as guardians monitoring the movements of their sisters and reporting back to their parents.

In Chapter 4, “Learning How Service Providers Define *HRVO*,” I explore and analyze two critiques that service providers whom I interviewed had concerning my adopted definition of *HRVO* (Kvinnofridslinjen, 2020). The first critique included concerns that the definition was not inclusive enough and did not adequately capture men’s victimization. The second critique was that by highlighting the oppression of women based on gender and control of their sexuality,

the definition failed to highlight other intersecting forms of oppression based on economic status, race, and class.

In talking to colleagues and reviewing the literature in the area of HRVO, I discovered that there is a dearth of research that directly examines the perspectives that threat assessment professionals or service providers (such as the police, educators, and counsellors) employ in their practice to understand and respond to HRVO (Gruber, 2011; Norberg & Torsen, 2013). I will use the terms *service providers* and *threat assessment professionals* interchangeably throughout this dissertation to represent professionals who are experienced in assessing risk for HRVO and supporting victims. Most research provides a discursive analysis of how HRVO is depicted in government reports and policies as well as the mainstream media and critiques Orientalist narratives that culturalize Muslim and South Asian communities (Olwan, 2013; Montoya & Agustin, 2013; Mojab, 2012; Gill & Brah, 2014; Korteweg, 2014; Sen, 2005). While discursive research has implications in terms of identifying problems such as Orientalism and suggesting alternative perspectives that examine HRVO, it does not directly highlight and challenge HRVO at the level of practice among service providers. Hence, the aim of my research specifically was how service providers understand and deal with HRVO in its various forms, including physical violence, emotional abuse as well as “honour”-related restrictions and deprivations of freedom, to name a few. To be specific, the objectives of my research included:

- Challenging the Orientalist framing of HRVO by highlighting its complexities in terms of the heterogeneity of cultures and the influence of migration context;
- Identifying and bringing attention to indicators of HRVO to improve the practice of threat assessment professionals through early detection, prevention and management and;

- Facilitating a discussion that leads to the development of education and training programs on HRVO that helps improve the understanding and practice of threat assessment professionals about this issue.

1.2 Research Questions

The central question that was addressed by my study was “How do threat assessment professionals or service providers— including the police, counsellors, settlement workers, and mental health professionals—understand and respond to incidents of HRVO?” I also explored three interrelated questions including:

- What types of perspectives (culturalization, universalism, etc.) do threat assessment professionals use to understand HRVO, what are the implications of these perspectives for their practice and organizational policies and how can they acknowledge aspects of culture in cases of HRVO, such as connections between honour, shame, and violence without resorting to culturalization?
- What indicators are threat assessment professionals aware of that connect specifically to HRVO?
- What educational programs and risk assessment tools if any, do threat assessment professionals use to understand and address HRVO, and what are the implications of these programs and tools?

1.3 Significance of Study and Overview of Data Sources

My study was designed to (a) bring together various concepts into a theoretical framework that avoids an Orientalist stance toward HRVO, (b) illuminate practitioners’ understanding of, and responses to, this complex and multifaceted issue, and (c) clarify the

challenges associated with the education and training for service providers, articulating an informed engagement with HRVO. Presently, there is a dearth of research in this area, and I believe that my study makes a significant contribution to knowledge around practice. I employed qualitative methods of individual and group interviews as well as participant observation with threat assessment professionals. My sample was composed of 23 service providers of whom I individually interviewed 13 throughout British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario. Also, I conducted two single-session group interviews in Alberta with a group of 7 and 3 service providers, respectively, and carried out participant observation with approximately 80 service providers in Ontario in November 2019 at a Threat Assessment Training program. I recruited research participants into my study based on purposive and snowball sampling methods. The qualitative methods that I used for my dissertation are outlined and discussed in Chapter 3: “Methodology.”

1.4 Positionality

I was motivated to undertake a dissertation on HRVO after I recognized the similarities between discourses of the “Jamaican Criminal”—to which I have been and continue to be subjected—and the discourses of the “Angry Muslim Man” and “Oppressed/Victimized Muslim Woman.” Growing up in Toronto as a Black male, I was always conscious of the image in the dominant popular media of members of Black communities being depicted and treated as part of a culture that is inherently dangerous, barbaric, foreign, violent, and importing crime into White Canadian society. Like the discourse of the Angry Muslim Man and Oppressed/Victimized Muslim Woman, the discourse of the Jamaican Criminal serves the purpose of dominating, exploiting, and controlling communities that have been deemed to be inferior by the dominant White social group. Some of the ways that the discourse of the Jamaican Criminal has played

out in my life include situations where I have been viewed suspiciously by White personnel in stores and banks or extensively questioned about my identification. Additionally, during high school, I was turned away by police from entering an event where several of my White friends were in attendance because they deemed me to be a potential trouble maker and advised me that I would be arrested if I did not leave the premises.

At the time of writing this dissertation, “Black Lives Matters” protests have emerged internationally in response to the killing of a Black man, George Floyd, by several police officers in Minneapolis. The murder, which was captured on video and widely distributed, resonated with many as an injustice because it showed George Floyd, laying on the ground, handcuffed pleading that he could not breathe, while a White officer kneeled on his neck. The murder of George Floyd was preceded by an equally disturbing murder of a Black man named Ahmaud Arbery by several White armed residents in a South Georgia neighbourhood while he was out jogging. The disturbing nature of this video was accompanied by troubling actions of the police and prosecutors, who first investigated the murder and were reluctant to pursue charges.

As a Black male who works as a police officer, I experience multiple positionalities regarding the murders of Black men by the police. I experience some privilege with my formal position, uniform, and badge, but there are times when I leave my home and fear that I might be mistaken for someone engaging in criminal behaviour based solely on my blackness and stopped, questioned, and/or arrested. Further, I feel a sense of anxiety and sadness that my three children will encounter similar types of oppression based on their blackness. My two sons, for example, have talked about instances of being followed in stores by staff and discouraged from obtaining expensive medications due to a belief that they did not have adequate insurance coverage. Also, my daughter was called the “N” word by a White European student at her elementary school

during a disagreement. While carrying out my dissertation, I also experienced different positions along a continuum of privilege and oppression, depending on the specific context. In the dissertation, I explore various dimensions of my researcher positionality and how these shaped my data generation and analysis.

During the interview phase of my dissertation, I interviewed service providers who were predominantly female and of varying racial, cultural, professional, and class backgrounds that were similar to and different from myself. At times based on similarities of social identities, I experienced a shared positionality with interviewees and aspects of insiderness in terms of them seeing me as someone whom they believed could relate to their worldview. At other times, however, such as when discussing the specific oppressive experiences of some women in South Asian or Muslim communities, I was viewed as an outsider or someone whom they saw as lacking knowledge of their worldview. These shifting positionalities influenced my interactions with the interviewees and the kind of information that I generated. This situation of ever-changing positionality is highlighted by Best 2003 (cited in Buford-May, 2014, p.123), who argues that it is often the case that researchers are at once insiders and outsiders. It is the view of Buford-May that researchers of varying backgrounds can have insider moments that are not predicated on presumed shared connections stemming from one's racial identity but the convergence of participants' experiences.

In my study, I worked to facilitate insider moments by using aspects of Finlay's (2012) five lenses of reflexivity to continuously examine how positionalities may be influencing the kinds of information produced. Finlay's five lenses include strategic reflexivity that examines methodological/epistemological aspects; contextual-discursive reflexivity that looks at situational and sociocultural elements; embodied reflexivity that focuses on researcher's

embodied felt senses in the interview process; relational reflexivity that examines intersubjectivity and the interpersonal realm; and ethical reflexivity that monitors processual aspects and power dynamics. In my study, I primarily engaged in ethical, embodied, and strategic reflexivity. In Chapter 3, “Methodology,” and Chapter 4, “Learning How Service Providers Define HRVO and View Dominant Discourses,” I will describe my positionality in further detail and how I used ethical, embodied, and strategic reflexivity to promote insider moments.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical lens that I brought to my study was the concept of *Orientalism* and frameworks including the heterogeneity of culture, migration context approach, and intersectionality. As I outlined earlier, *Orientalism* is a term popularized by Edward Said that describes a process in which western societies uphold their power through discourses that position societies from the “East” as backward, barbaric, and uncivilized in relation to a modern civilized Christian “West” (Sensoy, 2016). This positioning upholds Western power because discourses that depict the “West” as superior relative to a colonized “other” from the “East” helps to justify and rationalize public policies that keep minorities subverted (McLennan, 2003 as cited in Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016, p. 359). In my dissertation, I used the concept of Orientalism to identify and examine discourses that marginalize racialized communities impacted by HRVO. In addition, the concept assisted me to highlight how service providers view the dominant discourse of HRVO, which is Orientalist (see Chapter 4), and how they challenge this Orientalism in Chapter 5.

1.5.1 Heterogeneity of Culture and Migration Context Approach

The heterogeneity of culture framework and migration context approach complement the concept of Orientalism. The heterogeneity of culture framework is based on sociological work that defines culture as a set of complex rule-like structures that constitute techniques or a “tool kit” of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views that people may use in various ways to solve different kinds of problems (Swidler, 1986; DiMaggio, 1997). More specifically, this perspective of culture depicts it as a dynamic process of meaning-making in which individuals select various symbols, stories, rituals, and worldviews and engage in varying strategies of action to obtain their goals. In contrast, the traditional view of culture characterizes it as a monolithic, static, homogeneous, and deterministic entity that shapes the attitudes and behaviors of individuals in society (Lopez & Guarnaccia, 2000; DiMaggio, 1997). The major limitation of the traditional view of culture is that it fails to adequately explain differences in the attitudes and actions of individuals in society; it depicts them, and their actions as being determined by their culture with little room for agency. For instance, cultural explanations of HRVO—which I will discuss in Chapter 2, “Literature Review and Beyond”—frame HRVO through an Orientalist lens as homogeneous cultural practices that flow from patriarchal and misogynistic norms and values that migrants have imported from their home country (Withaekx, 2011).

Unlike the traditional view of culture, the heterogeneity of culture framework’s focus on culture as a tool kit of strategies helps to explain how individuals within a culture—who are exposed to the same symbols, rituals, and world-views—may adopt different courses of action, such as participating or not participating in HRVO. I have, therefore, chosen to use the heterogeneity of culture framework because it can challenge cultural frameworks based in Orientalism that adversely impact communities defined as the “other.” It can challenge these

types of cultural frameworks because it conceptualizes culture as a dynamic process of meaning-making in which the individual has some degree of agency. Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) highlight this type of heterogeneity, arguing that when it comes to the honour and shame complex, men are not homogeneously dominant over subordinate and passive women, whose only value is thought to be their virginity.

According to Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994), in practice, individual men and women express a plurality of gendered identities and do not necessarily behave by following the dominant gender ideology: “There is considerable discrepancy between, on the one hand, men’s and women’s public agreement with the dominant ideology of gender and, on the other, the great range of their actions” (p. 86). The plurality of gender identities that Cornwall and Lindisfarne are referring to are internal differentiations within cultures that are shaped by intersecting social identities based on gender but also class, race, caste, lineage, religion, and language among others. In the phenomenon of HRVO, it is these internal differentiations in social identities that contribute to individuals within a culture attributing multiple meanings to culture concepts such as honour and shame, and constructing a line of action such as engaging in or not engaging in oppressive actions like HRVO. Gill and Brah (2014) comment on internal differentiation in South Asian families:

....in some South Asian families women’s participation in professional and/or academic pursuits contribute to the family honour: in others, a sister or daughter who works outside the home is a source of shame.... This is because South Asian communities are heterogeneous, though they are rarely recognized as such by non-Western societies: in fact, they are differentiated according to class, caste, lineage, religion, language and region Moreover, in the South Asian sub-continent issues related to

izzat (honour) are not confined to Pakistan or to Muslims, instead being prevalent throughout the region, including among Hindus and Sikhs. Furthermore, while some members of the many social groups that value the notion of honour engage in acts of violence, many more do not... (p.74)

The heterogeneity of culture framework was useful for my study because it assisted me to identify and disrupt Orientalist frameworks that service providers may identify as contributing to HRVO. Additionally, it assisted me to identify and attempt to facilitate heterogeneous notions of culture that service providers may use to understand and respond to HRVO.

1.5.2 Migration Context Approach

Unlike the cultural view of HRVO that problematizes the characteristics of immigrants and racialized peoples, the migration context approach considers the institutional and political situations of the host country. This context includes factors such as racism, discrimination, and socioeconomic deprivation that may influence and shape acts of violence such as HRVO (Kortweg, 2014; Withaekx, 2011). According to the migration context approach, racial oppression and socioeconomic deprivation can contribute to HRVO because they may stimulate and reinforce misogynistic interpretations of culture among migrants and racialized people who may feel that their identity, culture, family, and communities are under attack (Withaekx, 2011). For instance, some members of Muslim and South Asian communities may respond to racial and socioeconomic oppression by becoming more radical in their beliefs or more controlling and violent toward their family members, who may be taking on western values, as a way of protecting their culture and family (Baobaid & Hamed, 2010).

In Canada, racism, discrimination, and socioeconomic deprivation that may stimulate and reinforce patriarchal and misogynist interpretations of culture among migrants are tied to

colonialism or the “white settler society.” Razack (2002) describes the white settler society as being “established by Europeans on non-European soil and its origins lie in the dispossession and near extermination of Indigenous populations by the conquering Europeans” (p. 1). Razack also asserts that the white settler society sustains a racial hierarchy through, “national mythologies that suggest that White peoples came first, and it is that they who principally developed the land, while Aboriginal peoples are presumed dead or assimilated.” (p. 2). Further, in this mythology peoples of colour are depicted as arriving in Canada after it was developed by White settlers. These types of national mythologies sustain and perpetuate a racial hierarchy where Whites have access to the most resources and privileges in Canadian society because it depicts them as the original inhabitants of Canada and the “group most entitled to the fruits of citizenship” (Razack, 2002, p. 2). Additionally, the discourse denies the conquest and genocide of Indigenous peoples as well as slavery and the exploitation of the labour of peoples of colour in Canada (Razack, 2002). I used the migration context approach in my dissertation along with the heterogeneity of culture framework because they assisted me to challenge Orientalism by highlighting structural and institutional forces that may give rise to attitudes that increase the likelihood of individuals engaging in HRVO.

1.5.3 Intersectionality Framework

Because the heterogeneity of culture and migration context approach touch on differentiation within cultural and racial groups based on race, class, gender, and education among others, I also used the intersectionality framework. Thiara and Gill (2010, p. 37) argue that there is debate about what intersectionality means, but feminist scholars generally agree upon its principal tenants. Intersectionality’s principal tenants, according to Thiara and Gill, are: Firstly, it is a theory that argues that social categories such as race, gender, class, and sexuality to

name a few are socially and historically defined. Secondly, the social categories of race, class, and so on form a matrix of intersecting hierarchies of oppression and create a unique set of experiences that reflect a multiplicativity of these intersecting oppressions. For instance, a person can be multiplicatively oppressed by social categories including race (Black), gender (girl/woman), sexuality (gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer), ability (disabled) among others. Thirdly and fourthly, intersecting forms of discrimination create both oppression and opportunity, and, as a result, a person may be simultaneously advantaged by certain identities and disadvantaged by others. A Black male, for instance, may experience privilege because of his maleness, but be marginalized because of his race and sexuality. Fifth and finally, these hierarchies intersect at all levels of social life in individual social interactions and institutional structures, such as popular media, criminal justice, education, and government to name a few (Yuval-Davis, 2006). The intersectionality perspective was useful for my study as its principal tenets allowed me to critique homogeneous notions of culture and identify, understand, and advance heterogeneous notions of culture. Additionally, its focus on multiple intersecting forms of oppression was useful in assisting me to critically analyze the influence of the migration context on instances of HRVO.

1.6 Structure of My Dissertation

This dissertation is composed of an introductory chapter (Chapter 1), six subsequent chapters, and a conclusion. In Chapter 2, I review the literature in the area of HRVO and discuss and analyze debates about the terminology, definitions, and explanations of HRVO. The focus of Chapter 3 is the methodology that I used in my dissertation, including my research questions and philosophical and methodological approaches that I took to answer these questions. The

philosophical and methodological approach that guided my research was critical realism² and qualitative methods, which included individual and group interviews as well as participant observation. In Chapter 4, I explore how service providers define HRVO and view the dominant discourses of this phenomenon. In Chapter 5, I examine some perspectives of HRVO that guide the practice of service providers and the implications that flow from these viewpoints. The two perspectives that I identify include the cultural perspective and the heterogeneity of culture perspective along with the migration context approach. I also analyze how non-discursive factors³ contribute to service providers using these perspectives. I conclude by summarizing the culturally integrative approach and showing how it is an ideal approach for addressing HRVO without marginalizing communities. In Chapter 6, I identify and discuss the non-discursive elements that service providers encounter and manage while counselling and supporting victims of HRVO. Some of these non-discursive elements include feelings of embodiment, such as anger, anxiety, and fear; issues of power and cultural differences; silence and inflexibility of mainstream service providers, close-knit communities, and organizational policies.

In Chapter 7, I focus on identifying several causes and warning signs of HRVO as well as two risk assessment tools for HRVO, the PATRIARCH,⁴ and the FAST,⁵ and the educational program for the PATRIARCH. I also discuss research participants' views of the PATRIARCH tool and training and review a lecture-style educational program delivered by a service provider

² A full definition of critical realism and my rationale for using this approach is outlined in Chapter 3, "Methodology."

³ In Chapter 3, I define and outline discursive and non-discursive factors.

⁴ The PATRIARCH is a name for a risk assessment tool on HRVO that was developed in Sweden. In Chapter 7, I discuss how the name came about as well as my critique of the name.

⁵ FAST stands for Four Aspects Screening Tool. The tool was developed by Dr. Baobaid who was a participant in my study who wished to be identified. The FAST screens for risk assessment related to HRVO and other forms of family violence in collectivist communities.

and the types of perspectives that she encounters among students and must manage. Lastly, I summarize my experience observing and encountering service providers' perspectives on HRVO during participant observation that I carried out in November 2019 at a forum on HRVO.

In chapter 8, I return to my research question of how service providers understand and respond to HRVO and argue that the definition that I developed with research participants can help service providers better understand and detect this form of violence. Moreover, I stress that the heterogeneity of culture perspective, along with the migration context approach and culturally integrative family safety response model⁶, are the most effective perspectives for service providers to use because they can assist them to acknowledge aspects of culture without resorting to culturalization or racism. Lastly, I conclude by drawing attention to the limitations and strengths of two risk assessment tools for HRVO, the PATRIARCH and FAST, and outline a set of recommendations to improve the practice of service providers in relation to HRVO.

⁶ The Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response Model is described at length in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2: The Literature on HRVO: Beyond Orientalism

To gain a better understanding of the causes of “honour”-related violence and oppression (HRVO) and how service providers comprehend and respond to the issue, I first looked to the literature. I conducted online searches of peer-reviewed journals and books on the subject through the UBC Library. I used the Summon search engine, which provides access to six million volumes of the UBC library collections, including books, eBooks, journals and articles, newspapers, dissertations, theses, and more. The keywords that I used for my searches included terms such as “honour” killing, “honour” crimes, “honour”-based violence, “honour”-related violence, and “honour”-based assault, among others. My searches yielded hundreds of articles with the previously mentioned terminology. Because my overarching research question focuses on how service providers/threat assessment professionals in Canada understand and respond to HRVO, the geographical area for my searches consisted of Canada and countries such as the United Kingdom and Sweden that have produced substantial literature about HRVO. I focused on the United Kingdom and Sweden in my review because I have interacted with service providers from these countries and learned about risk assessment tools, training, and research that I found relevant as a police officer. What I found relevant about these tools, education, and research was their emphasis on practice or intervention and action that can assist service providers to better understand and support victims and perpetrators of HRVO.

The timeframe for my search was the late 1990s to the present. I chose this timeframe as there was a sharp increase in published scholarly literature and policy about HRVO in Canada, the United Kingdom, and Sweden during this time because of incidents of HRVO drawing a great deal of media and political attention. The media and political attention regarding HRVO

were heightened by the terrorist events of September 11th, 2001, which amplified Orientalist narratives of immigrant communities (Shier & Shor, 2016; Abu-Lughod, 2006; Razack, 2008).

As I worked my way through the literature, I discerned four major debates regarding: (a) the terminology and definitions of HRVO, including whether to define the violence and oppression as honour as well as whether it is only a form of violence against women, (b) lack of accurate statistics on HRVO, (c) theories of honour such as cultural, sociopsychological, collectivist and individualistic, and (d) explanations of HRVO, including the cultural, particularistic/ individualistic, universal and heterogeneity of culture and migration context. In this chapter, entitled, “The Literature on HRVO: Beyond Orientalism” I will outline each of the four debates, grounding each in the scholarship of key authors. I will locate myself in these debates, highlighting why I believe it is critical to name violence and oppression motivated by honour as HRVO. Further, I will draw on sociopsychological and theories that focus on and examine how honour and shame operate in collectivist and individualistic societies to challenge Orientalism by highlighting the presence of HRVO in non-racialized cultures and communities.

Next, I will argue that the heterogeneity of culture perspective (introduced in Chapter 1) is the most appropriate approach for service providers to use to understand and effectively respond to HRVO. This perspective has this potential as it conceptualizes culture as flexible and fluid and individual actors as having some degree of agency to choose to engage or not engage in HRVO based on their specific interpretations of cultural concepts such as honour and shame. When I refer to individual actors having some degree of agency, I argue that their agency may be restricted by systems of patriarchy, religion, and community code sets, but they do have some power to choose to challenge this form of violence. For example, several research participants in my study disclosed being the victims of HRVO and exercising agency by removing themselves

from the abuse and oppression. In addition, many men and women who are raised in patriarchal family structures with strong community notions of honour and shame do not engage in HRVO. I will conclude by indicating how my research will address gaps in the literature and dearth of studies, particularly focused on practice and practitioners.

2.1 There is No Honour in Violence and Oppression: Terminology and Definitions

Debates relating to the definitions of HRVO revolve around what terms should be used to describe it and how broadly or specifically it should be defined. HRVO is often referred to in the literature by interchangeable terms such as “honour” killings, “honour” crimes, “honour”-based violence, and “honour”-related violence and oppression among others. The use of these terms can be controversial as some women’s organizations in communities affected by HRVO are strongly opposed to their use, fearing they will feed into racism by tying it to exotic foreign cultures (Gedah, 2013). The Canadian Council for Muslim Women, for instance, strongly opposes the use of these terms, arguing that it is inappropriate to designate a crime by the justification used by perpetrators (Hogben, 2012). Hogben argues that the term “femicide” is more appropriate as it highlights the fact that these murders are no different than ones occurring in mainstream communities. Other feminists, such as Mojab (2012); Macintosh and Shapiro (2012); and Papp (2010), reject Hogben’s positioning, suggesting that what is not named cannot be changed. They argue that “honour”-based violence shares several features with other forms of violence against women but has many distinct characteristics and refusing to acknowledge these distinctions would be a strategic error. Mojab (2012) captures this point best: “.... treating the crime (“honour”-based violence) as domestic violence will make it difficult to prevent, whereas seeing it as a premeditated, collectively planned and a perpetuated crime enables us to detect some early warning signs and save the lives of victims” (p. 121). Some of the key

differences between domestic violence and “honour”-related violence is the former tends to be carried out by an adult male spouse against his female partner, without the complicity of other family or community members (Baobaid & Hamed, 2010). In addition, the abuser typically does not make any claim of family honour, and they tend to be viewed by the family, community, and general public as mentally ill or evil.

Because of the distinct differences between domestic violence and “honour”-related violence, I agree with the positioning of Mojab (2012) and Macintosh and Shapiro (2012); and Papp (2010) about the significance of using the terminology “honour” crime or “honour”-related violence and oppression. During the 22 years that I have worked as a police officer, I have seen how naming and identifying the distinct features of various forms of violence—such as stalking, domestic violence, and “honour”-based violence—have enhanced my ability to investigate and manage these types of violence.

There is little agreement within the literature of a universally recognized definition of HRVO (Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014; Geadah, 2013). The definitions range from narrow and highly specific ones that identify a precise set of crimes, victims, and perpetrators to broader definitions that encompass a wider range of crime types, victims, and perpetrators. Narrow definitions, like that of Welchman and Hossain (2005), define it exclusively as a form of violence against women that includes “honour” killings, assault, confinement or imprisonment, and interference with choice in marriage. Roberts et al. (2014) and Aplin (2019) argue that narrow definitions direct attention to one type of perpetrator and victim and tend to ignore other types of perpetrators and victims, such as male victims and female perpetrators. Roberts et al. (2014) and Aplin (2019) argue for broad definitions of HRVO that are non-gender specific and encompass much more behavior. For instance, Roberts et al. adopted the U.K. Association of

Chief Police Officers' (ACPO) definition of "honour"-based violence as: "a crime or incident, which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or community" (ACPO, 2010a, cited in Roberts et al., 2014, p2). Similarly, Aplin (2019) adopted the UK National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) definition of "honour"- based abuse as:

An incident or crime involving violence, threats of violence, intimidation, coercion or abuse (including psychological, physical, sexual, financial, or emotional abuse), which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of an individual, family, and or community for alleged or perceived breaches of the family and/or community's code of behaviour. (2015, p. 5)

2.1.1 My Positioning in the Debate

I believe in taking the middle ground when it comes to definitions of HRVO. I chose not to use the NPCC or ACPO definitions because I believe that it is important to acknowledge that HRVO is highly gendered as females overwhelmingly tend to be the victims (Welchman & Hossain, 2005). I outlined the definition (Kvinnofridslinjen, 2020) that I selected for my dissertation in Chapter 1 and it does consider male victimization and female perpetrators. I chose this definition because it broadly highlights the fact that HRVO includes both oppressions, in the form of threats and harassment, and violence, in the form of physical assaults and murder. Additionally, it indicates that HRVO can be premeditated and collectively planned.

While the definition that I adopted does consider male victimization and female perpetrators, it has its limitations. The limitations of the definition include the fact that it tends not to fully capture the extent of male victimization as it stresses that the main purpose of HRVO is to control the sexuality of women. In cases of HRVO, where men are victimized, however, control of male sexuality can also be the primary purpose for the violence, and it may take the

form of emotional abuse, physical violence, forced marriage, and, in some extreme cases, murder (Jaspal, 2014; Jaspal & Siraj, 2011). In their research on gay British Muslim men, Jaspal and Siraj (2011) found that the presence of heteronormativity and heterosexuality⁷ within Islamic societies contributed to gay British Muslim men who were “coming out” experiencing shame and fear of violence from their families and community. The reason for the shame and potential violence is that same-sex sexual orientation is typically perceived by the men’s families and community to threaten the family’s izzat (honour) as it contravenes cultural and religious norms concerning sexuality (Jaspal, 2014). For other gay men, they can be forced into heterosexual marriages by their families to restore and maintain family honour and avoid sharam (shame) (Jaspal, 2014). In a report on a Forced Marriage Unit Statistics for 2016 in the United Kingdom, for instance, 20% of the victims that the unit gave advice or support to regarding possible forced marriages were men (Home Office, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2017).

Like in Western and European societies, the heteronormativity and heterosexuality that exist in Islamic societies may be the result of what Butler (1990) refers to as the heterosexual matrix. Butler defines her use of the term as being:

to designate that grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders, and desires are naturalized. I am drawing from Monique Wittig’s notion of the “heterosexual contract” and, to a lesser extent, on Adrienne Rich’s notion of “compulsory heterosexuality” to characterize a discursive epistemic model of gender intelligibility that

⁷ In using the term heteronormativity, I am drawing on Jeppesen’s (2016) definition of the concept as the western social norm or assumption that majority of sexual relationships in society are heterosexual. Later in the chapter when I discuss homophobic violence, I will define heterosexuality and illustrate how it is tied to heteronormativity and the heterosexual matrix.

assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense there must be stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality. (1990, p. 208)

Butler's concept of the heterosexual matrix suggests that heterosexuality is discursively constructed as the norm involving stable gender roles of masculine and feminine needing to be expressed and paired. Since the pairing of oppositional male and female gender roles is constructed as the norm, non-conforming gender roles and same-sex sexuality are perceived to be taboo and deviant. Hence, in the case of HRVO, families who subscribe to the heterosexual matrix may engage in HRVO against both their male and female children, whom they perceive to have contravened the heterosexual matrix. The purpose of the HRVO may, therefore, be an attempt by perpetrators to suppress, change, or destroy the sexuality of their children, both male and female, that contravenes the heterosexual matrix.

The HRVO that some men experience from their families and communities is not only shaped by concerns and questions about their sexual orientation and the enforcement of heteronormativity and heterosexism. Men may experience HRVO such as forced marriage for reasons including being involved with a woman from a different culture, caste, or religion, taking part in an unsuitable heterosexual relationship, or having shamed a woman by dating and marrying her (Samad, 2010; Dryzb, 2016, cited in Idriss, 2020, p. 6). Men may also be subjected to HRVO if they refuse to take part in an arranged or forced marriage or because of their disabilities and view from their families that the best way to support them in the long term is through a forced marriage (Samad, 2010, cited in Idriss, 2020, p. 6).

I would argue that service providers should not have to choose sides in the debate on the definition of HRVO and select a narrow, moderate definition like I have selected, or broad non-gendered definitions. It would be beneficial and best practice for them to be aware of both the gendered and non-gendered definitions that I have outlined. I believe that this knowledge—along with an understanding of how patriarchy, the heterosexual matrix, and heteronormativity operate in HRVO and contribute to different experiences of oppression for male and female victims⁸—will enhance service providers’ ability to effectively detect, investigate, and manage cases of HRVO.

2.1.2 Lack of Accurate Statistics on HRVO

An area where there is little debate in the literature on HRVO is the lack of accuracy regarding statistics that indicate the scope of the problem throughout the world. The most common figure on “honour” killings that is quoted originates from the United Nations Population Fund (2000) and indicates that 5,000 women are murdered annually worldwide. Additionally, in the same report, Asma Jahangir, the United Nations special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, and arbitrary executions is quoted as saying that “honour” killings are on the rise worldwide. Abu-Lughod (2011) argues that there is very little explanation of how this figure of 5,000 “honour” killings, and claims that it is on the rise, were derived. The United Populations Fund report, for instance, stated that “Throughout the world, perhaps as many as 5,000 women and girls a year are murdered by members of their own families, many of them for the ‘dishonour’ of having been raped...” (UNPF, 2000, p. 29). The wording (“perhaps as many

⁸ By different experiences of oppression, I am suggesting that women may face restrictions, violence and oppression from the day they are born, which is very different from men and women who may “come out” later in life and may face “honour”-related oppression.

as 5,000”) suggests that this figure is an estimate, and at no time in the report is there mention made of how this figure was determined. Abu-Lughod also argues that most reports repeat the fact that statistics on “honour” crimes are unreliable because many cases go unreported.

Gedah (2013) takes the same position as Abu-Lughod (2011) and argues that there are no reliable statistics on “honour” crime because it is a hidden phenomenon that is often ignored by authorities. According to Gedah (2013) ignorance on the part of authorities can involve murders in the name of honour not being reported as such and/or “honour” crimes being disguised as accidents, suicides, or disappearances by the families of the victims.

I would agree in part with Gedah that many “honour” crimes go unreported for the reasons mentioned; however, the situation also exists where Orientalist frameworks contribute to overreporting happening, such as many spousal murders within immigrant communities being labeled as “honour”-related crimes (Shier & Shor, 2016). Moreover, these “honour” crimes, particularly “honour” killings, receive the most attention in the popular media and political system because they are the most visible form of HRVO, and they are used by the dominant culture to depict Muslim and South Asian cultures as barbaric and less civilized in comparison to Western cultures. Hence, even though “honour” killings are far less common than spousal homicides in western cultures and homicides of Aboriginal women in Canada, they receive the most attention in the popular media (Olwan, 2013). In Canada, for example, according to Aujla and Gill (2014, p. 153), recent media and policy reports estimate that twelve “honour” killings have occurred since 2002. This is a small number in comparison to a Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (2011) report of 738 spousal homicides in Canada in the same decade as the 12 “honour” killings, or a report by the RCMP (2014) of 1,017 Aboriginal females being murdered between 1980 and 2012. I would argue that a way to challenge over and underreporting of

HRVO is by using terms and definitions, such as the one that I have adopted, that assist service providers to understand and see that “honour” crimes include a range of abusive and oppressive acts beyond “honour” killings.

2.2 Three Competing Theories of Honour

Like the definition of HRVO, there is no universal agreement on the definition of honour. In the literature, there are three major interpretations of honour and how it operates. The interpretations include cultural theories, social psychology theories, and theories that examine how honour operates in collectivist and individualistic societies⁹.

2.2.1 The Cultural View of Honour

Vandello and Cohen (2003) take a cultural view of honour, arguing that it has two definitions, one that is consistent across cultures and one that is narrowly emphasized only in certain cultures. The first definition is virtuous behavior, good moral character, integrity, and altruism that males and females within a society strive toward achieving and maintaining (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). The second meaning of honour has to do with status, precedence, and reputation and is based on a man’s toughness and ability to protect his family and possessions (Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Vandello and Cohen argue that this second definition is emphasized in “cultures of honour,” including Mediterranean societies such as Greece, Italy, and Spain (Gilmore, 1990 as cited in Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014, p. 18); Latin and South American cultures (Johnson & Lipsett- Riverra, 1998); Middle Eastern and Arab cultures (Gilmore, 1990 as cited in Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014, p. 18) and the southern United States (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

⁹ A full definition of collectivist and individualistic societies is outlined in section 2.2.4 of this chapter.

Roberts, Campbell, and Lloyd (2014) argue in “cultures of honour” distinct norms exist that dictate gender roles involving males having the role of maintaining honour by quickly responding with power and toughness to perceived challenges and insults (pp. 18-19). In contrast, females are expected to maintain honour by being modest and avoiding behaviors, including adultery or sexual immodesty, that might threaten the good name of the family (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). In “honour cultures,” the sexualized behavior of women may threaten the honour of male family members because it points to their inability to control a female and suggests that they may be vulnerable, weak, and easily taken advantage of by others (Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014). Additionally, the entire family bears the brunt of the dishonour and may be deemed to be undesirable and untrustworthy. As a result, they may be excluded from community activities, bear the brunt of mockery and gossip, and have trouble finding marriage partners (Cooney, 2014 p. 409). With these high stakes of maintaining honour, male and female family members may engage in HRVO to prevent and/or punish honour violations as a way of restoring honour and social standing in the community.

2.2.2 Critique of Cultural View

The limitation of Vandello and Cohen’s (2003) view of “honour cultures” is that it depicts a deterministic view that does not explain why there may be distinctions in behaviors and thoughts of individuals within a culture. In a study that they conducted of domestic violence in 2003, for instance, Vandello and Cohen predicted and concluded that domestic violence is explicitly sanctioned and reinforced in Latin American and Southern U.S. “honour cultures.” Nonetheless, they did note in their research that there are variations within “honour cultures” that may be derived from an individual’s temperament and personal experiences as well as social and structural factors such as socioeconomic status and age. However, this aspect is underdeveloped,

and they suggest that future research into the function of honour norms is needed. Additionally, they conclude that some forces for domestic violence reside in the individual abuser, but culture plays a causal role by providing scripts for the ways males and females are to behave (Vandello & Cohen, 2003, p. 1008). A more important limitation of Vandello and Cohen's conceptualization of "honour cultures" is it tends to reproduce Orientalist narratives of a homogeneously, uncivilized, and violent "other."

In Canada, we see examples of Orientalism in the form of newspaper articles on "honour" killings and family murders that perpetuate the notion that individuals of certain cultures, religions, and nationalities are inherently misogynistic and guided by notions of honour and shame that do not apply to members of western societies (Shier & Shor, 2016, p. 1164). We also see examples in the form of government policies, such as the "Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act," that became part of Canadian law in June 2015. Abji, Korteweg, and Williams (2019) argue that the purported aim of this bill was to protect women from acts of violence supposedly perpetrated in the name of culture. Moreover, they stress that the legislation, which was put forth following a public debate on forced marriage and "honour" killing, reproduced gendered racializations of violence as a problem of culturally "backward" immigrant communities (Abji et al. 2019, p. 797). Vandello and Cohen's (2003) work is hampered by the previously mentioned limitations because it is based on a traditional view of culture as monolithic deterministic entity that shapes the attitudes and behaviors of individuals in society and allows them little agency (Korteweg, 2014).

2.2.3 Sociopsychological view of Honour

In contrast to Vandello and Cohen (2003), the work of psychiatrist Gilligan (2003) takes a social and psychological stance and highlights the existence and interrelationships between

pride or honour, shame, guilt, and violence. Gilligan (2003) defines *pride* as self-esteem, self-respect, or self-worth that an individual obtains from oneself and others and *shame* as the lack or deficiency of self-love. Gilligan argues that the basic psychological motivation or cause of violent behaviour is the wish to ward off or eliminate feelings of shame and humiliation and replace it with feelings of pride. More specifically, he theorizes that shame is a necessary condition for the causation of violence, but for shame to produce violence four preconditions must be in place. Firstly, the individual has not developed the capacity for emotions that inhibit violence towards others, namely guilt and remorse. Secondly, the degree of shame and humiliation that a person is experiencing is overwhelming to the point that it threatens to bring about the death of their self or a significant wound to their self-esteem and self-worth. Thirdly, the individual has limited sources of self-esteem in the form of knowledge or skills, standing in the community, or material status to save or restore their self-esteem. Fourthly, individuals have been socialized into patriarchal gender roles that tend to honour male violence and shame male nonviolence. An example that Gilligan uses to support his theory is his research with violent criminals and his finding that their main motivation for resorting to violence was to protect their pride, dignity, and self-esteem that they believed was being challenged by those who disrespected them. Gilligan also showed how his theory was valid at the collective level, pointing out how contemporary terrorists and suicide bombers were typically motivated to violence after experiencing a sense of national and collective humiliation (Stern, 2003, cited in Gilligan 2003: 1152). This humiliation usually involved the terrorist or suicide bomber believing that their religion and culture, which form an integral part of their collective identity, were being depicted as inferior and subjected to insult and contempt from the targets of their attacks.

I believe that Gilligan's universalistic framing of the interrelationship of pride, shame, guilt, and violence can be useful for interpreting cases of HRVO. For instance, the motive of perpetrators of HRVO is to ward off the shame and humiliation that they believe they have experienced based on a female or male family member engaging in dishonourable behaviour. In addition, they are more apt to engage in HRVO if they were socialized into rigid patriarchal gender roles, their self-esteem is primarily derived from their sense of social standing in the community, and they fear that they will lose this social standing. While I see the value in using Gilligan's universalistic theory of shame and violence in my dissertation, I also see the need to incorporate the works of others that address these issues in specific cultures and highlight intersecting forms of oppression based in race, class, gender, education, and sexual orientation, to name a few.

2.2.4 Collectivist Notions of Honour and Shame

Virdi (2013), Mucina (2018), and Toor (2009) focus on the link between patriarchy and other intersecting forms of oppression with honour and shame within South Asian communities. In contrast to Vandello and Cohen (2003) and like Gilligan (2003), Virdi (2013) and Mucina (2018) argue that honour and shame are culturally constructed, defined, and demonstrated in all societies to varying degrees. In the case of South Asian societies, Mucina (2018) states that the concept *izzat* loosely translates as honour and is "embedded within a collectivist notion of one's responsibility to family and community and the preservation of the family 'honour' and reputation" (p. 427). Virdi, Mucina, and Toor also argue that *izzat* is linked with *sharam* and *bizati*, which means bringing shame upon oneself or family and dishonour. Like Vandello and Cohen's (2003) and Gilligan's (2003) view of pride or honour, *izzat* is gendered and shaped by patriarchy as it is used as a tool of power and control, particularly in relation to women's bodies

and their behavior (Viridi, 2013; Toor 2009; Mucina, 2018). *Izzat* serves as a patriarchal tool of power and control as women are the upholders of it and must do everything in their power to ensure that it is preserved and avoid bringing *sharam* or shame on to their families (Johal, 2003: 36 cited in Toor, 2009, p. 243). Additionally, men are expected to control women's behavior since a misstep jeopardizes family status in the community (Viridi, 2013).

Some of the activities that females may engage in which can damage *izzat* include publicly defying parental familial authority; becoming "western" as expressed by clothes, engaging in sex or a relationship before marriage; use of drugs and alcohol; and being an object of gossip (Brandan & Hafez, 2008, p. 6, cited in Toor, 2009). The actions that a family may take to regain *izzat* can include "honour"-based solutions such as forced marriage, physical violence, ostracism or an "honour" killing (Toor, 2009). The conceptualization of *izzat* seems essentialized and comparable to Vandello & Cohen's (2003) cultural determinist view. The main difference is while *izzat* may be a fundamental feature of South Asian communities, it is not culturally homogeneous in its transmission and role (Toor, 2009; Viridi 2013). *Izzat* is fluid, organic, and shaped by differing social locations and identities within South Asian communities, which are based in socioeconomic status, gender, education, employment, geographic location, western socialization and exposure, and cultural and religious affiliation (Toor, 2009, p. 245). Similarly, Viridi (2013) argues that *izzat* is practiced and interpreted differently according to religious group, caste and kinship affiliations.

2.2.5 Collectivist and individualistic societies and honour

Collectivism and individualism are cultural, economic, and political patterns that also tend to influence how *izzat* or honour is interpreted and practiced across cultures and communities. Collectivist societies exist in many parts of the world, including Africa, the

Middle East, Asia, South America, the Pacific as well as in minority communities within individualistic societies in North America and Europe (Boabaid & Ashbourne, 2017, p. 11; Haj-Yahia, 2011). Collectivist societies place a high value on the interdependence of the family, extended family, tribe, cultural/ethnic community, and nationality (Haj-Yahia, 2011). Additionally, in the collective, members see the overall benefit of the collective superseding their benefit or needs, aspirations, goals, and expectations (Haj-Yahia, 2011). In a collective, members are therefore responsible for working together to emphasize values and behaviors that preserve the honour and prestige of the family of origin, extended family, ethnic group, and the nation as well as social and economic commitments (Haj-Yahia, 2011). Consequently, in some communities that originate from collectivist societies such as South Asians, a family and communities' adherence to collectivist principles will be closely linked to how prominent *izzat* is in their lives. Moreover, if patriarchal relations are prominent in the collective, *izzat* will follow the rigid gender pattern of females upholding honour by preserving their sexuality and not engaging in activities that indicate that male family members cannot control them. In addition, male family members, and other members of the collective, such as mothers, aunts, uncles, will be deemed to be responsible for controlling and correcting female behavior to restore the family honour. It is not my intention to suggest that communities from South Asia and the Middle East, among, others are solely collectivist or individualistic. I agree with Baobaid and Asbourne (2017) that most people and communities fall somewhere on the continuum between collectivism and individualism. The point that I wish to make is that the degree to which members of a collectivist society ascribe to collectivist principles will impact the value that they place on *izzat* or honour.

Honour which resembles *izzat* is also present in individualistic communities in North American, European, and Western cultures and can contribute to violence and oppression against women and men. In individualistic societies, honour tends to be more individualized and involves the male intimate partner assuming the power and control over the behavior of female family members that the extended family held in collectivist societies (Araji, 2000). The conditions that give rise to this shift are patriarchal relations, individualism, a focus on the nuclear family, and privacy (Araji, 2000). According to Araji, at the individual level, the honour system involves men believing that they are entitled to dominance over women, and if they cannot control females, then this brings them personal shame. The remedy that a male may see as the answer to alleviating their shame is to punish the “deviant” female through threats and acts of violence for not being submissive (Araji, 2000).

Some of the honour codes that females may violate, which are only understood by their male intimates, may include being beaten if dinner is late, refusing sex, wearing the wrong clothing, and suspicions of infidelity, among others (Araji, 2000). The personalization of honour, shame, and violence that Araji highlights is typically defined as domestic violence and framed as being distinct from HRVO. While domestic violence may be distinct from HRVO as it is typically not collectively planned and carried out by multiple perpetrators—issues of honour still play out, at an individualistic level and sometimes collective level. For instance, in cases of domestic violence that involve threats and physical abuse, family and community members may be aware of the violence and support the male abuser complicity or overtly. In their research on domestic violence and Christian faith communities in Memphis, Tennessee, Knickmeyer, Levitt, and Horne (2010) found that the domestic abuse of 10 Christian women was denied or ignored by their church community. The reasons for this denial and ignorance was their Christian

church's patriarchal teachings about male leadership and female submission within marriage. An additional reason was the church community's desire to uphold the sacred marriage bond and preserve the image of the perfect Christian couple or family (Knickmeyer, Levitt & Horne, 2010). This denial and ignorance served to shame and silence abused women and made it difficult for them to leave abusive relationships.

Araji (2000, p. 8) argues that in western societies, concepts of shame and honour have been replaced by terms like embarrassment, loss of reputation or face, or an assault on self-respect, self-esteem, and identity. Araji also suggests that with this transition, references to the honour system and shame have been lost or become less visible. Araji does not explain the cause of this transition, but I would argue that it is likely the result of Orientalism and western societies wanting to move away from notions of honour and shame that are perceived to be attached to less advanced collectivist societies.

2.2.6 Homophobic Oppression and Violence as HRVO

Homophobic oppression and violence and forced marriages are an additional phenomenon involving collective and personal conceptions of honour and shame that can take place in individualistic societies. Homophobia and heterosexism are two concepts that are closely linked and tend to be used interchangeably in the literature (Morrison & Dinkel, 2012). Scott, Pringle, and Lumsdaine (2004) define *homophobia* as an individual's irrational fear and dislike of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered (LGBT) people that may lead to discrimination or violence. *Heterosexism* is the sociopolitical process that arises from homophobia and oppresses LGBT communities by codifying into laws, policies, processes, and traditions the notion of the superiority of heterosexuality (Feigennaum, 2007; Pharr, 1997; Spaulding, 1999, cited in Morrison & Dinkel, 2012). Homophobic violence and oppression and

forced marriages in individualistic societies such as Canada mirror some aspects of HRVO in South Asian and Muslim communities that are typically perceived to be associated with this phenomenon. For instance, multiple perpetrators within a family and community may be involved in attempting to control the gay-, bi-, and trans-sexuality of male and female family members to avoid shame and restore the honour of the family. An example of this type of HRVO is the practice of conversion therapy, which many countries are now in the process of banning, and the high-profile suicide of a 17-year-old transgendered American girl, Leelah Alcorn, who had undergone this type of therapy.

Conversion therapy refers to interventions for LGBT and/or gender nonconforming young people that aim to change their sexual orientation or gender identity to fit heterosexual and cisnormative societal norms through a combination of counselling, aversion therapy (pairing homoerotic stimuli with unpleasant experiences – electroshock, anxiety, nausea) and prayer (Prieto, 2008). The following account of the Leelah Alcorn case is taken from her suicide note that she posted on Tumblr (Alcorn, 2014). Leelah was born as a boy but felt like a girl trapped in a boy's body. When she turned 14, she learned what transgendered meant and felt happy that she was no longer confused and wished to transition to a girl. Leelah shared her discovery with her parents, who were affiliated with the Churches of Christ, and they reacted negatively by telling her that she would never be a girl because God does not make mistakes. Her mother also took her to Christian conversion therapists who told her that she was selfish and wrong about wanting to be a girl and should look to God for help. When Leelah turned 16, she “came out” as gay and “trans” at school as a protest to her parents who would not provide their consent for her transitioning treatment.

Many of Leelah's friends and classmates were supportive, but her parents claimed that she was an embarrassment to them and their image in the community and church. Her parents' response was to control her behavior through confinement and isolation, which involved withdrawing her from school, taking away her laptop and phone, and forbidding her to associate with friends on social media or in person. After five months, Leelah's parents returned her phone and allowed her back on social media, but the stress of thinking about saving money to move out, keeping her grades up, attending the church where people disapproved of her sexuality, and never transitioning successfully, contributed to her feeling distressed and suicidal. Leelah subsequently wrote a suicide note that was posted on a Tumblr blog and committed suicide by walking into traffic on a highway in Ohio. Even in death, her parents would not acknowledge her female identity as they posted a message on Facebook claiming that her suicide was an accident and referring to her as their son Joshua.

The aspects of HRVO that are observable in the case of Leelah include multiple perpetrators in the form of her parents, members of her parents' church, and conversion therapists seeking to control her sexuality and behaviour to protect the honour of the family, which they tied to Christian religious principles. Further, the family engaged in emotional violence, confinement, physical violence, and a symbolic attempt at "honour" killing to avoid shame and restore the honour of the family. Leelah was emotionally abused by her parents, church members, and conversion therapists when they told her that she was selfish and wrong for wanting to transition to a girl. She also was confined by her parents when they withdrew her from school, took away her phone and computer, and forbade her from associating with friends online or in person.

It is not known if Leelah was subjected to aversion therapy as part of her treatments, but if she was, the pairing of electric shocks and feelings of anxiety and nausea with thoughts of homoerotic stimuli is physical abuse. Lastly, the process of conversion therapy could be considered a form of symbolic “honour” killing as its goal is to change or eliminate the nonconforming aspect of an individual’s sexual orientation or gender identity. Moreover, exposure to conversion therapy is associated with mental distress, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts (Turban, Beckwith, Reisner & Keuroghilian, 2018). In the end, Leelah, who was overcome by shame, guilt, and depression, took her life and her parents symbolically killed her by continuing to refer to her as their son Joshua. By denying Leelah’s female identity and suicide, her family sought to maintain their honour within their religious community. Many people on social media were critical of Leelah’s parents for their actions, but their main source of support was likely members of their religious community, who tended to support their beliefs and actions.

2.2.7 HRVO Is Not Exclusive to Racialized Communities: Drawing Links

There is a dearth of research that draws links to HRVO and violence and abuse outside of racialized, collectivists communities. Rogers’ (2017) work on trans people’s experiences of “trans domestic abuse” is one of the few research projects to draw these links. Rogers (2017) conducted narrative interviews with fifteen trans people who experienced domestic violence and abuse and found that like HRVO, a family’s perceptions of shame and stigma were motivations for the violence and abuse. Some of the common types of abuse included families excommunicating and threatening their trans children with death to protect the gender normative status of the family (Rogers, 2017). A limitation of Rogers’ work is that her analysis does not flesh out some of the key aspects of HRVO, such as the involvement of multiple perpetrators and

community notions of honour. I believe that my analysis of homophobic violence in the previous section of this chapter builds on Rogers' work by addressing these areas. I hope that others can build on my dissertation and challenge Orientalism by identifying "honour" related forms of oppression, such as transphobic "honour"-based abuse and other forms of abuse, that take place across cultures.

Like homophobic violence and oppression, forced marriages that transpire within non-racialized communities in individualistic societies can be understood as HRVO. For instance, forced marriages tend to involve multiple family members attempting to control the sexuality of their male and female children to protect family honour (Rogers, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014; Bendriss, 2008). A forced marriage occurs under duress without the full and free informed consent of one or both individuals (Sapoznik, 2015; Anis, Konanur & Mattoo, 2013).¹⁰ Sapoznik (2015) argues that "contrary to racialized and anti-immigrant stereotyping, forced marriage in Canada cannot be reduced to an international, Aboriginal, immigrant or Muslim 'problem'" (p. ii). Sapoznik (2015) challenges Orientalist stereotyping of forced marriage in her work by documenting Canadian cases of this practice that transpired from 1948 to 2008 across religious and culture groups.

An example of forced marriage in a non-racialized community is a case described by Sapoznik (2015) of a woman whom she interviewed and gave the synonym Melanie. Melanie was born to Canadian parents in Paraguay and at the age of eight moved to Canada, where she was raised in a tight-knit Mennonite family and community. At a young age, Melanie was taught by her parents that she was obligated to marry someone in the community. When she turned 18,

¹⁰ In Chapter 4, the distinctions between arranged and forced marriages will be discussed in detail.

her family and community learned that she was pregnant. Melanie was coerced by her family and community to marry the father of her unborn baby. She did not wish to get married but was forced to do so under duress out a sense of obligation, duty, and shame that was impressed upon her by her parents and community. Melanie did not have a happy marriage as her husband was abusive, often threatening suicide, behaving irrationally, and limiting her access to the finances. After several years, she went through a difficult divorce and is raising her children on her own. In this case example, several key elements of HRVO are present, such as multiple perpetrators in the form of Melanie's parents and community using emotional violence and threats to force her into a marriage. Further, the main purpose of the violence and oppression was to control her sexuality and give the family back its honour as a result of her breaching the family/community religious traditions of no sex before marriage. The case example of Melanie did not reveal if she received support from her parents in the process or after her divorce from her abusive husband. The case concludes that Melanie is working fulltime and attending university while she is raising her children. Melanie was likely excommunicated by her parents and church for contravening their notions of honour and shame through her pregnancy out of wedlock and not upholding the sacred marriage bond.

Forced marriages within non-racialized communities, like the case of Melanie, tend to be less visible because of the existence of racialized and anti-immigrant stereotyping around this practice in Canadian society (Sapoznik, 2015). The racialized and anti-immigrant stereotyping follows Orientalist narratives and tends to highlight the practice of forced marriages in South Asian and Muslim communities that have been "othered" and renders it invisible in non-racialized religious communities. This process of Orientalism tends to contribute to service providers, educators, and government officials investigating, detecting, and responding to forced

marriages in “othered communities,” while they tend to ignore it in non-racialized communities. I believe that the most effective way for service providers and educators to be able to avoid Orientalist stereotypes and investigate, detect and respond to forced marriages across cultures and religions in Canada is through education and training. To be effective, the focus of this education and training must be on the dynamics of forced marriages and other forms of HRVO within collectivist and individualist cultures. Through my research, I aim to provide service providers with a framework that provides them with the tools to assess all cases of violence against women and men within collectivist and individualistic communities for notions of honour and shame.

2.3 Explanations of HRVO and their Implications

A major debate in the literature on HRVO has to do with theories of its causes. Dogan (2014) argues that there are three different interpretations of HRVO in the literature, namely the cultural, particularistic/individualistic, and the universalist. The cultural perspective focuses on “honour cultures” motivating HRVO, while the particularistic/individualistic and universalist problematize the psychology of offenders and the universal patriarchal oppression of women respectively. It is my view that these three interpretations are problematic because their focus on culture, the mindset of offenders, and the universalism of violence against women, adversely impacts the social visibility of Muslim and South Asian communities deemed to be associated with HRVO. Brighenti (2007) defines *social visibility* as recognition that relates to individuals and communities being allowed to participate fully in society on par with other members, in which case they are socially visible, or being excluded from this type of participation, in which case they are socially invisible. According to Brighenti visibility operates on a threshold where those below the level of “fair visibility” for full economic, political, and social participation in

society, such as illegal migrants, are unseen and socially excluded. In contrast, those pushed over the upper threshold of “fair visibility” are placed into a zone of super-visibility where every action that they take is magnified and seen as stereotypically linked to group cultural or racial identity.

Brighenti argues that “media representations of migrants as criminals are supra-visible, as are many other forms of moral panic selectively focused onto actors deemed to be representative of moral minorities” (p. 330). The discourse that pushes migrants and racialized peoples into the zone of the supra-visible is Orientalism. According to Jiwani (2004), “the discursive regime of Orientalism overlaps with and is derived from discourses of colonialism and imperialism” (p. 226). Due to the overlap of Orientalism and colonialism, racialized, and Indigenous female victims of violence experience similar and different levels of social visibility. In the case of Indigenous women, “their visibility stems from their race, class, and gender, which become the signifiers of their deviance. Police surveillance underpinned by racist and colonial stereotypes results in ceaseless interrogation and criminalization of these women”—and hence their supra-visibility (Jiwani & Young, 2006, p. 899). Indigenous women, however, as England (2004, cited in Jiwani & Young, 2006, p. 899) argues are also “rendered invisible, which is most apparent in the inaction and lack of attention paid to their concerns by the police or other state authorities and in the erasure of their histories as colonized others.”

Like colonialism, which pushes Indigenous women into the zone of supra-visibility, Orientalism pushes racialized women in general into a similar zone of social visibility. The implications of enhanced visibility or invisibility for racialized and Indigenous women is oppression in the form of racial profiling and over-policing or under policing and little action and attention paid to their concerns by the police and other state agencies. In my dissertation, I

focus on how Orientalist discourses adversely impact racialized Muslim and South Asian communities perceived to be associated with HRVO. In the next section, I will outline how the three explanations of HRVO impact the social visibility of Muslim and South Asian communities. Further, I will combine this analysis with Fraser's (2000, 2008) notions of injustice to highlight how these explanations adversely impact racialized communities.

2.3.1 The Cultural Explanation of HRVO and Implications

The cultural interpretation of HRVO focuses on Vandello and Cohen's (2003) concept of "honour cultures" originating in the Middle East, Mediterranean, and Arab regions, among others, that are characterized by women holding family honour and men protecting this honour. Cultural interpretations of HRVO adversely impact the social visibility of Muslim and South Asian communities, who are viewed as being associated to HRVO, because this interpretive category produces and reproduces three forms of injustice that Fraser (2000, 2008) refers to as misrecognition, maldistribution, and misrepresentation. *Misrecognition* involves social subordination--in the sense of being excluded from participating as a full member of society on par with other members (Fraser, 2000). Misrecognition, according to Fraser, is perpetuated through institutionalized patterns or the working of social institutions that regulate interaction according to cultural norms. Some examples of misrecognition provided by Fraser include marriage laws that exclude same-sex partnerships as illegitimate and perverse; social welfare policies that stigmatize single mothers as sexually irresponsible scroungers; and policing practices such as "racial profiling" that associate racialized persons with criminality. An example of misrecognition in the Canadian context was the Stephen Harper-led Conservative government's creation and passing in 2015 of the "Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act" in response to several "honour" killing cases. This Act contributes to

misrecognition by framing HRVO as “barbaric cultural practices” that have been imported to Canada by immigrants from areas such as South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

Additionally, the Act seeks to exclude and deport immigrants from Canada who are believed to be engaged in “barbaric cultural practices” such as polygamy, forced marriage, and “honour”-killings.

Maldistribution is characterized by economic structures, property regimes, or labour markets depriving actors of the resources needed for full participation in society (Fraser, 2000). Fraser argues that maldistribution is an economic form of subordination and frequently intersects with misrecognition to prevent some members of society from participating as peers in social interaction. An example of maldistribution in Canada—also related to the “Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act”—is the ability of immigration officers to remove or deny immigrants from entering Canada if they believe that they are practicing polygamy or forced marriage. The Act is still in place under the current Liberal government, and some immigrants from Muslim and South Asian communities have likely been denied entry to Canada by immigration officers who believed that they were engaged in barbaric cultural practices.

In contrast to maldistribution, *misrepresentation* occurs when political boundaries and/or decision rules function to deny some people the possibility of participating equally with others in political, cultural, and economic arenas (Fraser, 2000). Fraser argues that *misframing* is a part of misrepresentation, and it involves community boundaries being demarcated in such a way that some people are wrongly excluded from the opportunity to participate in authorized contests over justice. More specifically, misframing prevents many poor, despised, and oppressed individuals, who have been deemed non-members through misrecognition, from challenging the forces that oppress them. An example of misframing is the inability of members of cultural

communities, who have been excluded from Canada by immigration officers based on the belief that they were engaged in barbaric cultural practices, from voicing their opposition to aspects of the Act or successfully challenging their exclusion from Canada. For instance, at this time there does not appear to be any information in the popular media, government, or education research reports about the experiences of immigrants who have been excluded from Canada under the Act. Moreover, community leaders who protested the Act were unsuccessful in stopping it from passing, and it remains law, even though the Conservatives under Harper lost power in 2015.

2.3.2 Particularistic/Individualistic Explanation and Implications

In the particularistic/ individualistic interpretation of HRVO, there is an attempt to explain the behavior through the lens of psychology as opposed to culture. More specifically, this interpretation focuses on the mental health of the offender/s, and acts of HRVO such as “honour” killings are explained in psychological terms, including “temporary insanity,” or the “murderer was crazy” or the killing was committed in the “heat of passion” (Dogan, 2014). At times this view is voiced by community leaders in Muslim and South Asian communities, who are seeking to protect their cultures from Orientalized frameworks that adversely impact their culture in the form of super-visibility and the three forms of injustice mentioned earlier. Additionally, this view is sometimes voiced by politicians and others who are consciously trying to avoid stigmatizing a culture. Anecdotally, I can recall a few community leaders and politicians in Canada making similar types of individualistic comments when members of the Shaffia family were arrested, charged, and convicted for the murders of 4 female family members. While the psychological focus of the particularistic/individualistic interpretation may not adversely impact the social visibility of communities associated with HRVO in the same manner as the cultural approach, it still adversely impacts these communities by failing to

identify and challenge the contextual and cultural factors that contribute to HRVO. For example, as outlined early in the definition of HRVO, its contextual and cultural characteristics include being premediated, collectively planned, and meant to give the family back its honour for an incident that they perceive has brought them shame or dishonor. Ignoring these contextual and cultural characteristics by focusing on the psychology of offenders is problematic as it makes it very difficult to detect the early warning signs of HRVO and potentially save lives (Mojab, 2012).

2.3.3 The Universalistic Interpretation of HRVO and Implications

Like the individualistic/particularistic interpretation, the universalist interpretation attempts to avoid adversely impacting the social visibility of communities associated with HRVO by dismissing culture as an explanation for HRVO. The universalist interpretation seeks to do this by conceptualizing HRVO as just another form of the universal patriarchal oppression of women by men (Withaecx, 2011; Dogan, 2014). As mentioned earlier, this approach is advanced by Hogben (2012), in her call for the term “honour” killing to not be used and for all murders/killings of women to be identified as femicide. In addition, Sev’er and Yurdakul (2001) argue that “honour” killings in Turkey are related to patriarchal patterns of violence against women rather than a religious belief system and should not be called “honour” killings.

The limitation of the universalist interpretation is its focus on universal patriarchal oppression of women; like the particularistic/individualistic interpretation, it ignores contextual and culturally specific factors related to HRVO. Additionally, it homogenizes the experience of violence against women and ignores the experiences that girls and women of specific cultures and religions live with from the day that they are born and never or rarely escape without resisting predetermined patriarchal traditions (H. Gill, personal communication, January 4,

2018). While the goal of the universalist interpretation of HRVO is to challenge cultural interpretations of HRVO to avoid stigmatizing communities, it still contributes to injustice in the form of misrecognition, maldistribution, and misrepresentation. It still contributes to these forms of injustice because universal or deculturalized narratives rarely have enough impact and traction to displace Orientalist fantasies that are widely believed in mainstream communities (Razack 2003, cited in Volpp, 2003, p. 398).

2.3.4 The Heterogeneity of Culture Perspective of HRVO and Implications

The heterogeneity of culture and migration context frameworks are additional interpretations of HRVO in the literature that are not identified by Dogan (2014). These frameworks appear to be less common in the literature, as many research articles in North America and Europe tend to remain at the level of discourse, critiquing Orientalist views of HRVO without providing a fully developed alternative. The heterogeneity of culture and migration context frameworks are frameworks that have the potential to avoid impacting the social visibility of communities associated with HRVO, which, as I have argued, the three dominant interpretations of HRVO have done. These frameworks have this potential because, as mentioned earlier, they focus on contextual and culturally specific factors related to HRVO in a manner that takes into consideration internal differentiations within cultures based on a plurality of intersecting social identities (Lindisfarne, 1994; Mojab & Hassanpour, 2002; Withaecx, 2011; Korteweg, 2014). Additionally, they view culture as a dynamic process of meaning-making in which individuals may be exposed to the same cultural concepts, but they may interpret these concepts in different ways and engage in varying courses of action.

2.4 A Dearth of Research on HRVO and Practice or Intervention and Action in Canada: Emerging Scholarship

In Canada and the United Kingdom, a few studies have emerged in the last 5 years in response to the dearth of research on how professionals in various social institutions understand and take measures against HRVO. For instance, Abji, Korteweg, and Williams (2019) examined how activists in the violence against women sector, working explicitly with South Asian communities, responded to “cultural talk.” Additionally, Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen (2016) studied service delivery considerations for victims of HRVO in Manitoba.

2.4.1 Service Providers Managing “Cultural Talk”

Abji, et al.’s (2019) research involved them exploring the phenomenon of cultural talk and three interlinked discursive strategies that service providers used to manage this phenomenon. *Cultural talk* is defined by Mamdani (2007, cited in Abji, et al. 2019)

as an attempt to politicize culture in the interests of Western imperialism. Culture talk reinforces the idea that certain cultures are barbaric and in need of Western intervention, thus acting as the direct opposite of cultural relativism in its rendering of Western culture as superior to others. (pp.799-800)

The three discursive strategies identified by Abji, et al. as being used by service providers include “violence against women as a universal practice,” “structural forces and interlocking systems of oppression,” and, “violence as a community issue.” The first discursive strategy is very much like the universal interpretation of HRVO mentioned earlier that seeks to avoid Orientalizing cultural explanations by arguing that violence against women is a universal problem, affecting all women regardless of ethnicity or culture. The second strategy seeks to challenge the way the universal practice stance homogenizes the experiences of South Asian

women by identifying structural violence that women in these communities may face via immigration policies and racism (Abji, et al., 2019). The third discursive strategy frames violence against women in South Asian communities as a community issue rather than a cultural one to talk about the cultural specifics of violence without using the term culture itself.

Abji, et al. (2019) argued that the service providers do not use the discursive strategies in isolation, but these approaches are intertwined when they negotiate cultural talk. For instance, if service providers find that one strategy does not adequately explain violence against women, they will incorporate other strategies at the same time to offer fuller explanations. I will use Abji, et al.'s (2019) framework of discursive strategies in my dissertation to help answer my research question of “how do service providers understand and respond to HRVO?” The framework will assist me to identify if the service providers in my sample also negotiate culture talk with the three previously mentioned as well as other strategies.

I would argue that there is a fourth discursive strategy or framework, the heterogeneity of culture and migration context, that I have adopted for my dissertation and practice that Abji, et al. do not discuss. In this discursive strategy, the terminology HRVO (or similar terms) is used to increase the chances of the practice being identified and detected. In addition, culture is discussed as being related to the violence and oppression but in the context of a dynamic process of meaning-making in which individuals have some degree of agency. The migration context approach, like the “structural forces and interlocking systems of oppression,” is also used to critically analyze how institutional and political factors such as racism, discrimination, and socioeconomic deprivation contribute to HRVO. Moreover, the intersectionality framework is used to draw attention to how HRVO plays out in both collectivist and individualist societies,

particularly individualistic societies in the form of trans/homophobic violence and forced marriages.

2.4.2 Service Delivery Considerations for Victims of HRVO

Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen's (2016) study is one of the most comprehensive on HRVO as it examines this issue from the standpoint of young Canadian women in Manitoba who have experienced HRVO as well as service providers who have encountered this issue. Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen interviewed 2 women affected by HRVO and 34 service providers from social service, settlement, health, education, and law enforcement sectors in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Blum, et al. found that young women from immigrant backgrounds experience HRVO in the form of emotional abuse, financial abuse, physical violence, and forced marriage. They also found that perceived violations of family honour—along with intergenerational conflict, patriarchal norms, settlement stressors, and the precarious mental health of parents and guardians (Post Traumatic Stress from trauma abroad)—contributed to HRVO. Many of these factors identified by Blum, et al. would fall under the migration context framework that I identified earlier.

Some of the personal barriers that Blum, et al. identified that victims of HRVO face when seeking help included girls' unclear expectations or ambivalence about reporting incidents to authorities and girls' loyalty to their families. Structural barriers that victims face when seeking help, according to Blum, et al., include a lack of shelter spaces, a lack of culturally sensitive and age-appropriate services in existing shelters, and a lack of awareness of HRVO among service providers. Recommendations advanced by Blum, et al. include establishing shelters that are age-appropriate and culturally sensitive to victims of HRVO and creating awareness and training opportunities for services providers to detect and effectively respond to HRVO. An additional

recommendation involves gaining the support of service providers and leaders in ethnocultural communities to deliver education workshops on HRVO in the first language of communities. It is my goal to add to the limited Canadian literature that examines how professionals understand and respond to HRVO by examining the experiences of service providers in Vancouver and other parts of Canada. It is also my goal to respond to the lack of training programs on HRVO identified by Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen (2016) by using my research to help develop a training program for threat assessment professionals that assists them to detect and effectively respond to incidents of HRVO.

2.5 Emerging Scholarship on HRVO and Intervention and Action in the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, many of the studies that have been conducted in the last 5 years focus on how police officers and criminal justice officials specifically understand and take measures against HRVO. Some of these studies include Mulvihill, Gangoli, Gill, and Hester's (2019) exploration of the experiences of interactional justice for victims of "honour"-based violence and abuse in England and Wales; Aplin's (2019) study of police decision-making and behaviors when investigating "honour"-based abuse; Alpin's (2017) exploration of the role of mothers in "honour"-based abuse and the impact on police response; and Roberts, Campbell and Lloyd's (2014) book on "honour"-based violence and policing.

2.5.1 Interactional Justice for Victims of HRVO

Mulvihill, Gangoli, Gill, and Hester's (2019) exploration of interactional justice for victims of HBV examines how victims feel respected by justice officials (interpersonal justice) and informed about the progress of their case and justice process overall (informational justice). Mulvihill, et al. interviewed 36 victims of "honour"-based violence and abuse (HBVA) across England and found that 20 of the 36 were happy with the initial police response, while 9 were

happy with their reporting experience overall. The main factors that increased the satisfaction of participants were empathy of the responding officers, including a quick police response; sensitivity including interviewing the victims away from the perpetrators, using a “cover story” if they were attending due to a tip by a neighbour; and recognition and validation based on knowing the dynamics of HBVA. Intersectionality, in terms of the gender and ethnicity of the police officers, was another factor. This involved female victims feeling more comfortable having access to female police officers, whereas in some cases ethnic matching between a victim and responding officers was both positive and negative. For instance, some victims felt uncomfortable and more at risk due to common identities and community ties with officers, while some were relieved that the officers could draw on shared cultural knowledge. Informational justice—or police-initiated contact after the initial report of HRVO and an explanation of justice options—was another factor that increased victim satisfaction. Mulvihill, et al. argue that focusing on HBVA victims’ interaction with justice officials is important as it helps justice officials and policymakers to understand and hence improve the experiences and satisfaction of victims with the justice system overall. While I have not interviewed victims directly in my dissertation, I have drawn on Mulvihill, et al.’s work to explore how service providers in my sample interact with victims and perpetrators of HRVO to respond to their needs and concerns. This knowledge will assist service providers in a variety of sectors to better understand the experiences of victims and increase their safety and overall satisfaction with social and justice systems.

2.5.2 Police Decision Making and Behaviours Investigating HRVO

In her study on police decision-making and behaviors regarding investigations of “honour”-based abuse (HBA) in the United Kingdom, Aplin (2019) analyzed 679 police reports

of HBA over 4 years (2011-2014) and interviewed 15 detective specialist police officers with experience in HBA investigations. Aplin found that there was a poor HBA incident to crime conversion rate, amounting to 90% of filed incidents over 3 years (2011-2013) not being further investigated by the police. Aplin argues that HBA appears to be a “poor relation” or subordinate to traditional domestic abuse as its average crime conversion rate of 10% is significantly less than the national average of 50% for domestic abuse. Aplin also argues that a low incident to crime conversion rate or failing to designate and investigate an incident as a crime when it fits this criterion has adverse ramifications for victims and justice itself. For instance, underreporting masks the true extent of HBA, and governments will not allocate funds to manage a crime that does not exist. Additionally, there are few deterrents for perpetrators who are rarely arrested, and victims remain unprotected and at risk.

The main factor that Aplin identifies as contributing to the low incident to crime conversion rates is the pragmatism of officers to reduce their workload. Aplin comments, “...the most salient trait reverberating across empirical findings is the pragmatism of professionals in their preoccupation with ‘personal’ workload reduction, often at the expense of the ‘external’ needs of the victim” (p. 301). Drawing from my experience as a police officer, I do agree with Aplin that some officers may write off incidents of HBA as no crime to reduce their workload. However, I believe that other forces may be at play that affects officer decision making, such as intersecting forms of oppression based on race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and religion, to name a few. Hence, it may not just be a case of officers wanting to reduce their workloads; it may be the case where some officers don’t want to deal with HBA perpetrators and victims based on personal and institutional racism and other forms of oppression. Also, some officers may not feel comfortable and/or qualified to deal with these types of cases that may be shaped by

issues of race, gender, religion, and sexuality so they find ways to eliminate them from their caseloads.

2.5.3 The Role of Mothers in HRVO

Like her study of police decision making in cases of HBA, Aplin (2017) reviewed police records and interviewed officers with experience investigating HBA incidents in her research on the role of mothers in “honour”-based abuse perpetration. Specifically, she reviewed 100 HBA investigations (2012-2014) and interviewed 15 specialist police officers in one UK police force. Aplin found that contrary to the stereotypical notion that women are victims of HBA, and men are perpetrators, mothers play a fundamental and massive role in HBA. This role may include perpetrating HBA against daughters, inflicting psychological abuse, and condoning the violence inflicted by other male relatives, mainly sons. Aplin offers contradictory explanations for the violence of mothers in cases of HBA. On the one hand, she stresses that it is too simplistic to suggest that the attitudes and behaviors of female perpetrators are independent rational choices separate from patriarchy (Aplin, 2019, p. 9). On the other hand, she asserts that mothers may be acting violently to protect themselves or “save their own skin,” as they may be held accountable for the shameful behaviour of their daughters (Aplin, 2019, p. 9). In a sense, Aplin is suggesting that patriarchy as well as a desire to “save their own skins” could motivate mothers to engage in HBA as opposed to a sense of duty and cultural obligation. I partially agree with Aplin that these two factors are likely related to mothers engaging in HBA. However, I argue that more forces are at play, particularly the interplay between the notion of culture as meaning-making that I outlined earlier, and intersecting forms of oppression based in gender, sexual orientation, class, education, race, culture, region, language and age to name a few.

An additional finding in Aplin's (2017) study was that many police officers overlook or are unable to recognize and accept female perpetration of HBA because they are influenced by gender role expectations involving a stereotypical view of mothers as non-criminal, nurturing, and supportive. The failure of officers to recognize female perpetration of HBA is concerning, as it may result in them returning or leaving children in high-risk predicaments, with female perpetrators who may continue to abuse and oppress their children (Aplin, 2017). Aplin recommends that professionals in the safeguarding arena (police, child welfare, health and, education) can improve the safety of victims of HBA by reconsidering the role that mothers may play in HBA, rather than assume that they are secondary victims who automatically protect their children. Aplin does not fully develop what is required for officers to carry out this type of reconsideration. Early in this chapter, I touched on what this reconsideration may encompass by discussing how my adopted definition could be expanded to better capture HRVO that was not exclusively tied to the sexuality of women including male victimization.

2.5.4 HRVO: Policing and Prevention

In their book on "honour"-based violence and policing, Roberts, Campbell, and Lloyd (2014) provide a comprehensive overview of crime types associated to "honour"-based violence, such as sex-selection abortion, child abuse and neglect, female genital mutilation, dowry, bride price, forced marriage, "honour" killing, acid attacks, blood feuds, rape, and self-harm. Roberts, et al. (2014) review different explanations of "honour"-based violence, including cultural and psychological theories as well as effective investigative strategies and risk management. Roberts, et al.'s work is an excellent textbook for police officers and service providers who deal with cases of HRVO. They layout the investigative information and steps that officers should take in cases of HRVO, and this may assist many officers to conduct investigations that reduce

the suffering caused by HRVO and save lives. One limitation of Roberts, et al.'s book is their attempt to bring together cultural, psychological, and other explanations of HRVO into a multifactor model that they describe as the theory of planned behaviour (TPB).

The theory of planned behaviour suggests that human behaviour is guided by behavioural beliefs, normative beliefs, and control beliefs. According to Roberts, et al. (2014), behavioural beliefs involve an individual's attitude to or evaluation of a behaviour; normative beliefs are an individual's beliefs about the expectations of others, and control beliefs are the extent to which an individual believes their behaviour is within their control to perform. In the case of HRVO, TBP suggests that it becomes possible when individuals have internalized "honour"-related cultural norms that lead them to see HRVO as positive behaviour (behavioural beliefs). In addition, if the individual is part of an "honour" culture, they are more likely to believe that others in the culture would support their engagement in HRVO (normative belief). Lastly, if there are few sanctions against HRVO in the community, individuals with behavioural and normative beliefs that support the practice are more likely to engage in HRVO. Roberts, et al.'s (2014) description of TBP and HRVO is simplistic as they take a cultural approach talking about "honour" cultures and fail to examine other factors related to HRVO including collectivism, the heterogeneity of culture, migration context, and intersecting forms of oppression that have been mentioned earlier. Nonetheless, the rest of their book provides valuable information for police officers and service providers to investigate cases of HRVO.

In Canada, unlike the UK, there is no peer-reviewed literature on policing and HRVO. During the recruitment of participants for my study in 2018, I learned that a Ph.D. student, Wendy Aujla at the University of Alberta, is carrying out her dissertation on Alberta Law Enforcement perspectives on "honour"-based crimes and forced marriage. I have been in touch

with Wendy, and we had planned to collaborate on a forum at the Canadian Association of Threat Assessment Professionals Conference in November 2019, but she was unable to attend. One of the first questions that Wendy asked me was since I am a police officer, why would I not conduct my research on police officers exclusively? My response to Wendy was that in my dissertation I chose to explore the understandings of a variety of service providers, including the police because I see the value in learning from others in multidisciplinary relationships. My interest in multidisciplinary relationships originates from my experiences working in partnership with counsellors and mental health nurses, on cases of domestic violence and mental illness throughout my career. I found these multidisciplinary relationships to be highly effective for supporting victims and offenders as well as holding offenders accountable. I intend to develop knowledge about HRVO that highlights the importance of multidisciplinary relationships and adds to the literature regarding the practice of service providers.

2.6 Summary

When I looked at the literature to explore the causes of HRVO, I became aware of several debates regarding the terminology and definitions of HRVO, theories of honour, and explanations of HRVO. Debates about the terminology and definitions of HRVO revolve around whether to use the term honour in relation to killings, violence, and abuse. On the one hand, there is a fear that using this type of terminology plays into dominant Orientalist or racist ideologies that depict racialized South Asian, Muslim and African communities as homogeneously dangerous, barbaric, and backward (Hogben, 2012). On the other hand, however, there is a fear that not naming HRVO is a strategic error that would make it harder to help victims because HRVO has many features that distinguish it from other forms of violence against women, such as being premediated and collectively planned (Mojab, 2012; Macintosh &

Shapiro, 2012; Papp, 2012). In my study, I decided to use the terminology HRVO, as I have seen in my practice as a police officer how naming the violence assists with assessing and managing the risk of violence.

The debates regarding the definitions of HRVO center around narrow definitions that label it as a specific form of violence against women and broad non-gendered definitions. Welchman and Hossain (2005) define HRVO in narrow terms as a form of violence against women that includes “honour” killings, assault, confinement or imprisonment, and interference with choice in marriage. In contrast, Roberts, Campbell, and Lloyd (2014) and Aplin (2019) have adopted broad definitions like that of the U.K. Association of Chief Police Officers, which defines HRVO as “a crime or incident, which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or community” (ACPO, 2010a). The argument for narrow definitions is that it captures the predominance of violence against women, while those who support broad definitions argue that it captures male victimization and female perpetration. I have adopted a middle stance in this debate, using a definition that identifies the control of female sexuality as the main cause of HRVO. My adopted definition, however, also refers to male victims and female perpetrators and indicates that men may be victimized mainly in non-heteronormative situations if they are gay, bisexual, or transsexual. Nonetheless, it is my view that service providers should not have to choose which type of definition to adopt but should be aware of both gendered and non-gendered definitions. I believe that this knowledge—along with an understanding of how patriarchy, the heterosexual matrix, and heteronormativity operate in HRVO—will enhance the ability of service providers to effectively detect, investigate, and manage cases of HRVO with male, female and non-binary victims.

In the literature, there are three major interpretations of honour and how it operates, namely “cultures of honour”, social and psychological theory, and theories that examine how honour operates within some collectivist and individualistic societies. “Culture of honour” explanations define honour as something endemic to specific cultures in the Middle East and the Mediterranean among others that is characterized by women upholding honour through their sexuality and men protecting this honour with violence and force (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Social and psychological theory, like that of Gilligan (2003), highlights the existence and interrelationships between pride or honour, shame, guilt, and violence. According to Gilligan (2003), the basic psychological motivation or cause of violent behaviour is the wish to ward off or eliminate feelings of shame and humiliation and replace them with feelings of pride. While I see the value in using Gilligan’s universalistic theory of shame and violence in my dissertation, I also see the need to incorporate the works of others that address these issues in specific cultures and highlight intersecting forms of oppression based in race, class, gender, education, and sexual orientation to name a few. Viridi (2013), Mucina (2018), and Toor (2009) focus on the link between patriarchy and other intersecting forms of oppression with izzat (honour) and sharam (shame) within collectivist oriented South Asian communities.

Collectivism and individualism also play a role in how honour operates in communities. In collectivist communities, where there is an emphasis on group goals at the expense of individuals’ needs, the notion of family honour and upholding it at all expense may be more common and prominent. In contrast, in individualist societies, honour may be more individualized, like in the cases of some men who resort to domestic violence due to the perception that they have been personally dishonored by their spouse or partner. In my research, I have found that honour may contribute to HRVO in both individualistic and collectivist

communities. For instance, homophobic violence, trans domestic abuse, and forced marriages occur in individualistic North American communities, and they share many commonalities with HRVO in racialized South Asian and Muslim communities. In the literature on HRVO, there is a dearth of research that draws these kinds of links to HRVO. Most research focuses on HRVO within racialized, collectivists communities.

Rogers' (2017) work on trans people's experiences of "trans domestic abuse" is one of the few research projects to draw these links. I intend to build on Rogers' work and challenge Orientalism by highlighting how homophobic violence, trans domestic abuse, and forced marriage take place across cultures and races. In making these connections, I do not wish to essentialize the experiences of male and female victims of HRVO which may be shaped by heteronormativity and heterosexism. I realize that the experiences of HRVO for people of all genders may be very different. For instance, women may experience this form of violence and oppression from the day that they are born, while a man who "comes out" may have a very different experience of oppression. My goal involves highlighting how HRVO takes place across cultures and races, and I have worked in this dissertation to acknowledge the different experiences of victims of HRVO based on their social and personal identities.

Like the theories of honour, three major explanations of HRVO are present in the literature. The explanations include cultural interpretations that focus on Vandello and Cohen's (2003) concept of "honour cultures", the particularistic/individualistic interpretation that concentrates on the psychology of offenders, and universal interpretations that concentrate on the universal nature of violence against women. These three interpretations are problematic as they produce and reproduce three forms of injustice that Fraser (2000, 2008) refers to as misrecognition, maldistributions, and misrepresentation. A fourth less common interpretation of

HRVO, the heterogeneity of culture and migration context framework, is emerging in the literature that has the potential to challenge Orientalism and the three forms of injustice. The heterogeneity of culture and migration context frameworks have this potential as they view culture as a process of meaning-making in which individuals are influenced by intersecting forms of oppression and privileges, but they have some degree of agency. In addition, the migration context framework focuses on structural forces—such as racism, sexism, and classism to name a few—that may contribute to individuals and families experiencing pressures that may lead to forms of violence and oppression including HRVO.

I have adopted the heterogeneity of culture and migration context frameworks for my dissertation and plan to add to the literature in this area. Also, I intend to add to the dearth of research related to the practice of service providers who work with victims and offenders of HRVO. As stated earlier much of the research takes a discursive stance challenging Orientalism, and a small number of studies have emerged in Canada and the United Kingdom in the last 5 years that examine how service providers understand and respond to HRVO.

Chapter 3: Methodology

When I was accepted into the doctoral program in Educational Studies at UBC in 2012, my goal involved engaging in a research project where I went out into the community and interviewed service providers about their knowledge and experiences dealing with incidents of HRVO. My interest in this subject originated in my work as a detective with the Domestic Violence and Criminal Harassment Unit of the Vancouver Police Department. During my time in the unit, I had many conversations with colleagues where issues of race and culture were debated as being the cause of violence and oppression against women in South Asian and Muslim communities. I looked to the scholarly literature for answers to some of these issues about race and culture, but I discovered a dearth of research that directly examined the practice and perspectives of service providers who deal with cases of HRVO. As part of my dissertation research, I was able to go out into the community and interview service providers about HRVO. I believe that my findings, which are the words and stories of the interviewees as well as my analysis and interpretations, will provide knowledge that starts to address this gap in the research in the area of HRVO.

In this chapter, I will describe how my study was designed and what procedures I used to produce, analyze, and present the data. In the first part of this chapter, I will describe the purpose of my dissertation and then explain my methodological approach to the research questions that I sought to answer. I will then describe and define my overall methodological approach, which consisted of critical realism and qualitative data collection methods such as interviewing, group interviewing, and participant observation. Further, I will discuss how I generated my samples; how I sought to protect interviewees from risks associated with participating in my research; and how power based in social differences regarding race, ethnicity,

and gender among others may have played out in interviews. Next, I will explain how I engaged in thematic analysis with the aid of NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software program. Finally, I will outline how I used Wolcott's (1994) concepts of description, analysis, and interpretation to write up my findings and how I used member checking to improve the quality of my findings as well as lessen some of the power imbalances between myself and interviewees.

3.1 Methodological Approach

The purpose of my dissertation involved contributing knowledge to the area of HRVO that begins to address the dearth of research that directly examines the perspectives that service providers (such as the police, educators, and counsellors) bring to their practice to understand and respond to this phenomenon. What I aimed to research specifically is how service providers understand and deal with HRVO in its various forms, including physical violence, emotional abuse as well as "honour"-related restrictions and deprivations of freedom to name a few. To be specific, the objectives of my research included:

- Challenging the Orientalist framing of HRVO by highlighting its complexities in terms of the heterogeneity of cultures and the influence of migration context;
- Identifying and bringing attention to indicators of HRVO to improve the practice of threat assessment professionals through early detection, prevention and management and;
- Facilitating a discussion that leads to the development or improvement of education and training programs on HRVO that helps improve the understanding and practice of threat assessment professionals concerning this issue.

3.1.1 Research Questions

The central research question that I investigated in my dissertation was “How do threat assessment professionals or service providers — including the police, counsellors, settlement workers, and mental health professionals—understand and respond to incidents of HRVO?”

Further, I explored three interrelated questions including:

- What types of perspectives (culturalization, universalism, etc.) do threat assessment professionals employ to understand HRVO?
- What are the implications of these perspectives for their practice and organizational policies, and how can they acknowledge aspects of culture in cases of HRVO such as connections between honour, shame, and violence without resorting to culturalization?
- What indicators are threat assessment professionals aware of that connect specifically to HRVO?
- What educational programs and risk assessment tools, if any, do threat assessment professionals use to understand and address HRVO, and what are the implications of these programs and tools?

The research methodology that I adopted to answer my research questions included the critical realism philosophical and methodological framework as well as qualitative methods such as individual and group interviews and participant observation. During individual and group interviews, I also used documents, including an outline of my adopted definition of HRVO that was discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, I presented one newspaper article describing a case of HRVO and another article that recounted a family murder-suicide. My rationale for the presentation of these documents was to elicit responses and knowledge from research

participants regarding how they comprehend HRVO and how they view dominant media discourses in this area. A full explanation of my rationale for selecting and presenting these documents in individual and group interviews is outlined in Chapter 4.

3.1.2 Critical Realism

Critical realism as a framework examines how human agency in the form of an individual's choices, understanding, and motivations interacts with the enabling and constraining effects of social structures such as social rules, norms, and laws (Houston, 2010, p. 75). A key tenet of critical realism is the notion that there are three stratified levels of reality, namely: 1) the empirical consisting of experienced and observed events; 2) the actual level, comprising all events whether experienced, observed or unobserved, that are activated by generative mechanisms (Bergin, Wells & Owen, 2008; DeForge & Shaw, 2012; McEvoy & Richards, 2006 cited in Lennox & Jurdi-Hage, 2017, p. 32); and lastly, (3) the real or causal level consisting of unseen mechanisms that generate observable events at the empirical and actual levels (Houston, 2010, p. 75; McEvoy & Richards, 2006 cited in Lennox & Jurdi-Hage, 2017, p. 32).

Danermark, Jakobsen, and Karlsson (2002) stress the crucial task for critical realist researchers is to move beyond identifying and explaining phenomena at the empirical level of what is observed and identify causal mechanisms at the level of the real. More specifically, the goal for the critical realist is to identify causal mechanisms—which are both discursive and non-discursive—at the real level (Bunt, 2018). I selected critical realism as a part of my methodology based on its goal of identifying deep discursive and non-discursive causal mechanisms that may not be initially observable. Moreover, I chose it because it uses tools of inquiry such as abduction that are designed to reveal causal mechanisms. I will discuss abduction in detail in the next section.

Discursive causal mechanisms are composed of discourses that shape social realities and social structures, while non-discursive mechanisms are material structures that exist independently of our understanding of them (Sims-Schouten, Riley & Willig, 2007). Non-discursive mechanisms include the influences of embodied factors, materiality, and the power of institutions (Sims-Schouten, Riley & Willig, 2007). *Embodiment* refers to the experiences of the human body such as pleasure, pain, hunger, missing limbs, and personal-social histories (Cromby, 1999). *Materiality* is the physical nature of the world in which we are embedded or its “thingness” that we sense such as, “the wetness of water, the coldness of ice...the weight of lead and the lightness of feathers” (Cromby, 1999, p.12). *Power* refers to the ability of governments, multinational corporations, and social institutions through policy and force—via armies and the police among others—to control access to resources (Cromby, 1999; Sims-Schouten, Riley & Willig, 2007). In addition to the three stratified levels of social reality, Houston (2010) proposes that the social world is composed of five interlocking and mutually dependent domains of social life that each have their generative mechanisms.

The five domains that Houston conceptualized are the person, situated activity, social settings, culture, and polity/economy (Houston, 2010, p. 79). According to Houston, the *domain of the person* deals with the embodied person comprising physical, psychological, genetic, existential, and anthropological generative mechanisms along with human agency. An example of a mechanism operating at the psychological level may include defense mechanisms within the personality such as transference (unconscious redirecting of feelings from one person to another) and projection (attributing a feeling in oneself to others) among others (Houston, 2010). Houston suggests that an existential mechanism may include the nature of being in terms of the need to be social with others and the insecurities that develop if sociality is disrupted, while

genetic mechanisms may include temperament (e.g. shyness or irritability) that shapes a person's behavior.

For Houston, the *domain of situated activity* refers to the sphere of face to face interaction where social actions occur, meanings are made, and responses initiated according to these meanings. The generative mechanisms identified by Houston at play in this level are social mechanisms such as shared expectations about social roles, language and, behaviours that are designed to maintain the social order. For instance, in the situation of a police officer issuing a ticket to a driver for speeding, the shared expectation about roles, language, and behaviour consists of the officer issuing the ticket to the speeding driver while the driver receives the ticket and possibly disputes it later in traffic Court. The social order in this interaction would break down if either party violated role expectations such as the driver assaulting the officer and leaving the scene or the officer assaulting the driver. According to Houston the *domain of social settings* is the institutional sphere that comprises informal group settings, such as family life, as well as the formal sphere of organizations. The generative mechanisms working in the domain of the social setting are processes that reproduce social relations, positions, and practices. An example of generative mechanisms in the domain of social settings that are likely present in families where HRVO is practiced would be the centralized authority with the father as the head of the household. Also, it would include rigid rules imposed for female family members about dress, dating, and household responsibilities. Further, it may include the family's need to maintain honour in the community overshadowing the individual needs of family members to participate fully in Canadian society (westernization in clothing and behaviors, etc.).

The *domain of culture* refers to the belief systems, norms, rituals, and social practices along with generative mechanisms that sustain meaning and social cohesion or serve to divide

and oppress (Houston, 2010). Examples of generative mechanisms in the cultural domain include forms of oppression such as sexism, racism, patriarchy, and forces of resistance and struggle against these forms of oppression. In the final domain, the *domain of polity/economy*, political and economic “system” imperatives are predominant and have great influence over the preceding domains (Houston, 2010, p. 79). The main political and economic system present in the modern world is capitalism, and generative mechanisms at work in this system are the relentless drive for profit through the consumption of goods and the exploitation of the labour of workers. The result of these generative mechanisms is unequal access to different types of resources such as material (money), dominative (power and authority to control others), and culture (technical and practical know-how) that are based on social categories including gender, race, and class among others (Layder, 1997, cited in Houston, 2010, p. 82).

Abduction is the central mode of inference in critical realism that assists researchers to identify structures and mechanisms that are not observable in the empirical domain and originate from the real level (Lennox & Jurdi-Hage, 2016). Abduction is known as theoretical re-description or recontextualization, and it involves empirical data being re-described using different theoretical concepts to provide deeper, potentially causal knowledge about a phenomenon (Fletcher, 2017). Fletcher (2017) provides an example of abduction in her work on Canadian farm women’s experiences with agricultural policy. In her research, Fletcher found that women identified choice as being the primary motivation for their need to work outside the farm, and this seemed to be indicative of a causal mechanism at the real level of reality. However, when she recontextualized the issue through the frame of Feminist Political Economic theory, she was able to look beyond choice and identify other casual mechanisms such as loss of control. More specifically, by recontextualizing women’s motivation for off-farm work as a

choice through the lens of feminist political theory (which focuses on political and economic conditions that structure work in gendered ways), she was able to see that their choice was motivated by a sense of loss of control over their family farms. Moreover, when she examined the social conditions responsible for this loss of control, she was able to identify rigid gender ideology that positioned women's farm work as peripheral and corporatization which contributed to farmers losing control over their conditions of production (Fletcher, 2017). Fletcher (2017) explained, "women's off-farm work remains an agential response to a highly masculinized farm context...As farmers, in general, lose control over the conditions of production, women seek opportunities to fulfill their goals elsewhere" (p.191).

Once I completed and transcribed all my interviews, I carried out an analysis in two parts and engaged in abduction in the final stage of analysis. In the first phase, I uploaded the transcripts of interviews to the NVivo software program. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis program designed for qualitative researchers that assists with deep levels of analysis of data by allowing users to store, organize, categorize, analyze and visualize data ("QSR International," n.d.). After the transcripts were uploaded, I reviewed each of them and developed and named themes that I observed related to my research questions including:

- service providers must continually challenge the Orientalist framing of HRVO through alternative perspectives but some support Orientalist narratives,
- service providers' work with clients of HRVO is more demanding mentally, emotionally and physically than other work with other types of clients and
- a current risk assessment training for HRVO called the PATRIARCH is limited as a tool for ethnocultural organizations as many of them do not work with perpetrators

and they believe their in-house tools better capture this violence and facilitates a more appropriate response.

Next, I conducted abduction through the lens of critical realism by recontextualizing aspects of my themes such as why some service providers may support Orientalist narratives while others may not. More specifically, in this process of recontextualization, I considered non-discursive factors such as embodiment, materiality, and institutional power that may be informing the perspectives and practice of service providers.

3.1.3 Qualitative Interviews

The qualitative methods I used in my research included individual and group interviews as well as participant observation. Qualitative interviewing is a “professional interaction” with an interviewee that “goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views” between two persons in a conversation “and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge” (Kvale, 2007, p. 9). The knowledge that qualitative interviewing aims to obtain is a document of people’s experience, self-understanding, and working models of the world that they live in, concerning some phenomenon that they experience (Josselson, 2013). Qualitative interviewing was an ideal research method for my study because the aims of this research technique match with my goal of examining the understandings and experiences of threat assessment professionals in relation to the phenomenon of HRVO. The form of qualitative interviewing that I used in my study was phenomenological interviewing. The purpose of this kind of interview is to generate detailed and in-depth descriptions of human experiences or participants’ responses to the phenomenon under investigation (Roulston, 2010). Phenomenological interviewing can achieve this purpose through a semi-structured interviewing approach that consists of the researchers examining the

experiences of interviewees in three domains: contextualization, apprehending the phenomenon and clarifying the phenomenon (Bevan, 2014). Bevan describes “contextualization” as the process in which a researcher examines a person’s experience by considering the context and biography from which the experience gains meaning through descriptive/narrative context questions. In my study, some of the descriptive/narrative questions that I used for contextualization were questions such as, “Can you tell me how you came to learn about and understand HRVO?” and “Tell me about how you started to deal with cases of HRVO?”

According to Bevan (2014), apprehending the phenomenon involves researchers exploring many aspects of an experience in detail by using descriptive questions that aim to get interviewees to describe experiences in detail and structural questions that aim to show how individuals structure their experiences. Some of the descriptive and structural questions that I asked to apprehend the phenomenon included, “Tell me about what it’s like to deal with cases of HRVO?” and “Tell me what you do to ensure the safety of a victim in a case of HRVO?”

Clarifying the phenomenon involves taking the interviewee through an imaginative variation of their lifeworld experience by asking variation questions that the researcher generates during the interview from active listening and reflective thought (Bevan, 2014). An example of variation questions that I used for clarifying the phenomenon were “Describe how the response to HRVO would be different if there were fewer barriers for victims to access services?” or “If more threat assessment professionals were educated about HRVO and more services were available for victims, how would your experience be different working with victims of HRVO?”

I conducted thirteen individual interviews with service providers for my dissertation. I used an interview guide with many open-ended questions during all the interviews, and after research participants answered questions, I followed up with probes seeking further detail and description

(Roulston, 2010). I have previous experience using this type of interviewing structure in educational (master's level independent inquiry project) and work-related projects (risk assessment bylaw officers and maintenance workers) and found it to be effective for gathering rich data. I also found it helpful to take notes during the interview to facilitate active listening and the development of probe questions. I also recorded the interview with a tape recorder so the full interview could later be transcribed and analyzed. A copy of the interview guide is attached in Appendix A.

The research participants whom I initially intended to select for interviews were threat assessment professionals such as police officers, counsellors, psychologists, settlement workers, and social workers who were associated with CATAP or the Canadian Association of Threat Assessment Professionals and had experience dealing with cases of HRVO. CATAP is an organization that organizes and distributes training, education, and information in threat assessment to service providers throughout Canada. In the fall of 2018, as part of my participant recruitment, I attended a CATAP conference and gave a brief presentation on my research and the need for interviewees to approximately 150 service providers in attendance. Several months later, a trainer associated with CATAP also talked about my research and handed out my recruitment brochure to his class of 25 threat assessment professionals. The focus of his class was training on a risk assessment tool for HRVO. The response from these recruitment initiatives was limited as only four threat assessment professionals directly related to CATAP contacted me and ended up participating in my study. I addressed this recruitment problem by expanding my selection criteria to include service providers who had experience dealing with cases of HRVO and had taken some type of risk assessment training.

I sought out these types of research participants because I wanted the focus to be on their expertise dealing with cases of HRVO. My concern was if I recruited service providers with limited risk assessment experience involving HRVO, I may have had to assume an educational role and my findings would have been less focused on their expertise. Also, as a racialized person, I frequently find myself in a position of having to educate mainstream service providers about issues of race (which is demanding and tiring) and I did not want to put myself in a similar position. Since my sample included service providers who were members of CATAP and trained in specific threat assessment tools and those who were not and may have developed their own tools, I use the terms *service providers* and *threat assessment professionals* interchangeably. The modification of my initial selection criteria made it easier to recruit participants, and the size of my sample from individual interviews ended up being 13. This size provided an adequate amount of data for developing cross-case generalities while preventing me from getting bogged down in the data.

Research participants were recruited into my study based on purposive and snowball sampling methods. *Purposive sampling* is a nonrandom way of ensuring that certain categories of individuals that have a unique, different, or important perspective on a phenomenon being studied are part of the sample (Robinson, 2014). *Snowball sampling* involves developing a referral chain with research participants by asking them for recommendations of acquaintances who would have the interest and suitability to participate in a research study (Robinson, 2014). My first attempt to develop my sample through purposive and snowball sampling had limited success. I had high hopes that some service providers with whom I had worked on a steering committee for HRVO, would participate in my study and refer me to others whom I could interview. I emailed my research brochure to these service providers, but I had limited success

in obtaining their assistance to build my sample. For instance, a senior manager for the organization responded to my email and participated in an interview. However, she did not refer me to other service providers who I had worked with on the steering committee or others inside or outside of her organization. After the interview, the manager stated that she would give some thought to identifying other people whom I could interview and get back to me. I emailed the manager several times but never heard back about potential research participants. I can only speculate about why I did not receive a response, but my sense was we did not have the greatest interview, and the manager felt that her comments would be the same as other service providers inside her organization.

The interview with the manager was my first interview and it did not flow as well as I would have liked, and it seemed like we were both emotionally drained at the end. The duration of the interview was 2 hours, and I felt drained because I was not actively directing the conversation but taking a more passive listening role. I took this type of approach as I was feeling concerned that I did not want to bias the interview data by interrupting, cutting off, or redirecting the speaker. However, based on the manager's slouched body language near the end of the interview as well as her comments that she had talked too much, she also seemed drained. Further, she commented that she felt that she had given me plenty of material for my study. I took this comment to mean that in her view there was no need for me to speak to her colleagues because she has provided me with enough material, and it is also her role to speak for the organization.

I was eventually successful in constructing a snowball sample. I contacted a member of CATAP who had delivered training on HRVO to a group of service providers in Alberta, and she sent an introduction email on my behalf to a service provider in Alberta who had helped to

organize the training. Once I connected with this service provider, I sent her my email research brochure and asked her if she would participate in my study. I also asked her if she would refer me to other potential research participants. This service provider was very interested in my research, and she agreed to be interviewed. Further, she sent out my electronic brochure to her network of service providers in Alberta. I received a great response from these emails, and I developed a sample of 14 research participants from Alberta alone. Four of the research participants participated in individual interviews, while ten participated in group interviews. Through purposive and snowball sampling, I ended up with a total sample of 23 service providers overall. I conducted individual interviews with 13 service providers and two single-session group interviews with a total of 10 service providers. When I contacted the research participants to set up an interview, they chose whether to do an individual interview or bring their colleagues together in a group interview. In two instances, research participants who I had planned to interview individually were enthusiastic about partaking in my study and suggested that I could obtain more information and insight by talking with their colleagues in a group setting at the same time. The breakdown of the fields and locations of the 13 interviewees was as follows: 5 service providers from the Ethnocultural sector, 4 from law enforcement/psychology, and 1 from a shelter organization, child welfare, education, and counselling areas, respectively. The regions where these service providers were located included 6 from British Columbia, 4 from Alberta, and 3 from Ontario. The overall number of interviewees who were female was 18, while 5 were male. The racialized breakdown of my sample of 23 was 14 were racialized and 9 were non-racialized (see Table 1 and 2 for a summary).

Table 1 Summary of Research Participants and their Fields

Research Participants: Field and Province

Field	Law Enforcement/Psychology	Ethnocultural	Shelter	Child Welfare	Sexual Assault	Education	Counselling
N#23	4	5	8	1	3	1	1
Prov 14AB 3ONT 6BC	3 BC, 1 ONT	1AB, 2 ONT 2 BC	8 AB	1 AB	3 AB	1 BC	1 AB
Focus Group #10 participants			7 AB		3 AB		
Interview #13 participants	3 BC 1 ONT	2 ONT 2 BC 1 AB	1 AB	1 AB		1 BC	1 AB

In August 2018, my BREB application was approved to carry out my research. In my application, I outlined the objectives of my research, research methods, and how I would protect the identities of research participants as well as protect them from the risk of harm. I have followed the guidelines of my approved BREB application and worked to protect research participants from harm. For instance, I obtained the informed consent of all research participants before they participating in my study by providing them with a document (that they signed voluntarily) that informed them of the overall purpose of my study, the research methods for my study as well as any possible risks and benefits from participating in my project (see Appendix B). One of the risks present in my study was that research participants might experience repercussions from their employer or colleagues if they were critical of their organizations.

Another risk was a research participant might experience emotional discomfort about discussing the details of a difficult case of HRVO. I worked to reduce these risks through measures to ensure confidentiality, which involved not reporting information that identified research participants or organizations directly and allowing research participants the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

I also suggested that any research participant who experienced emotional discomfort because of the research process should seek counselling support, and I would follow up with them at an appropriate time. None of the research participants experienced emotional discomfort to the point of requiring counselling, and although I used pseudonyms for them to protect their identity, two of them—Dr. Mohammed Boabaid and Dr. Stephen Hart—stated that they wanted to be identified by their names in my dissertation. I had anticipated this possibility, and the choice was made available during the consent process and in the letter of consent that participants signed. I also worked to protect the identity of research participants by securing the data from interviews in my computer, which is password-protected and having transcribers sign a confidentiality agreement.

3.1.4 Participant Observation and Group Interviewing

In addition to qualitative interviewing, I used participant observation and group interviewing as methods of data collection. Participant observation is a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by ethnographers who observe and/or take part in the activities of the people being studied (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2011, p. 13). This research method also involves researchers recording information gained from participation and observation in field notes that serve as the primary data for analysis (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2011). I believed that I could generate rich data on how threat assessment professionals understand HRVO by attending several education/training

sessions on this topic. I anticipated that the data from these training sessions would be rich as threat assessment professionals would be present and engaged in the process of learning and sharing their experiences about dealing with issues of HRVO.

In November 2018, I attempted to attend a 2-day workshop for the PATRIARCH Risk Assessment on HRVO that was hosted by McMaster University to conduct participant observation. The trainers for the workshop introduced me to the organizers at McMaster University through email and asked if I could attend the event as part of my research. They also sent a copy of my research brochure to the organizations that outlined my research, risks, benefits, and compensation. The organizers, who were attached to campus security as opposed to a faculty, quickly responded that they were not interested in me attending for research purposes and did not elaborate. I never received an explanation of why they did not want me to attend, but I later learned that there were some concerns at the university originating from the Equity and Inclusion Office about whether the training would reinforce Orientalist views of HRVO. Moreover, I surmised that since the subject is controversial, there may have been a concern about participants not feeling comfortable expressing themselves and asking questions if someone was present watching them and recording their comments. Through the instructors, I was able to follow up with the organizers, and they allowed the instructors to hand out and review my electronic brochure with attendees and direct them to contact me if they were willing to participate in my study. Two attendees contacted me, and I was able to carry out an interview in Ontario with one of them.

I was subsequently able to engage in participant observation of a training event on HRVO in November 2019 at the annual CATAP Conference. I submitted a workshop proposal with two research participants from my study, Dr. Stephen Hart and Dr. Mohammed Boabaid, and a Ph.D.

Candidate, Wendy Aujla, from the University of Alberta, who is also writing her dissertation on HRVO. The proposal was accepted, and Drs. Hart, Boabaid, and I were able to lead a forum on HRVO for approximately 70 to 80 threat assessment professionals. Unfortunately, Wendy was not able to attend. Dr. Hart moderated the forum, while I presented some of my initial research findings, and Dr. Boabaid discussed the culturally integrative framework of responding to HRVO, a screening tool for HRVO, and reviewed a case example. I was overt with participants that I was conducting research and that I might incorporate their feedback, comments, and reactions into my dissertation. I did not canvass each participant for consent, but they were aware that they were free to leave at any time, and some of them did leave in the final hour when we encountered technical difficulties.

I knew that I would not be able to deliver a workshop and conduct participant observation at the same time, so I had a colleague, who was present, make observations and take notes. At the beginning of the session, I spoke with my colleague and provided some guidelines such as making note of questions, comments, and reactions from the participants as well as interactions among participants and between participants and the speakers. I also advised her not to identify anyone by name or personal descriptors to protect the identities of participants. The duration of the forum was approximately 2 hours. My colleague who took notes primarily focused on my 1-hour session and did not make any notes about Dr. Boabaid or Dr. Hart's presentations. Dr. Hart moderated the session and spent approximately 10 to 15 minutes introducing the topic and summarizing some themes from my presentation. There were no questions or comments during Dr. Hart's moderation of the session. Additionally, participants did not ask questions or comment during Dr. Boabaid's presentation because he encountered technical difficulties that contributed to time expiring before he could deliver all his material. The technical difficulties

lasted for 10 to 15 minutes, and some participants became restless and ended up leaving the session. Things did, however, go much more smoothly during my presentation, and my colleague made two pages of field notes regarding questions and reactions from the participants. I will discuss my participant observation of the CATAP session in Chapter 7: “Risk Assessment, Learning and Responding.”

3.1.5 Group Interviews

Group interviewing was an additional qualitative method that I carried out to gather data for my dissertation. The group interviewing technique consists of several participants in a social context being interviewed simultaneously by a researcher (Frey & Fontana, 1991). According to Frey and Fontana, this technique is not meant to replace the individual interview, but group interviewing can provide data for the researcher on group interaction, on realities as defined in a group context, and on the interpretation of events that reflect group input (p. 175). Like individual interviews that I carried out, I took notes during group interviewing to facilitate active listening and the development of probe questions and recorded the interview with a tape recorder so the full interview could later be transcribed and analyzed. I conducted two single-session group interviews in Alberta in November 2018 with a total of 10 service providers. The breakdown of the sample was 7 from the shelter sector and 3 from the sexual assault area. Two of the interviewees were male, while 8 were female; 5 were racialized and 5 were non-racialized.

Table 2 Gender and Racialized Breakdown of all Research Participants

Gender and Racialized Status of Research Participants

Gender	18 Women	5 Men
Racialized Status	12 Racialized, 6 Non-Racialized	2 Racialized, 3 Non-Racialized

With the group of 7 interviewees, I was initially concerned that the size of the group might not be manageable. However, only 4 of the 7 interviewees actively participated, and I occasionally checked in with the other three to get their point of view and response. In addition, to avoid any crosstalk or interruptions, I asked the interviewees to take turns talking by holding a picture of a talking stick when they wanted to comment. This worked for a while and then speakers stopped picking up the picture of the talking stick and began to identify themselves by their pseudonym. I did not reinstitute the rule with the talking stick because the conversation flowed without it and there was no crosstalk. However, the picture and idea of the talking stick seemed to heighten the interviewees' awareness of the need to take turns talking and avoid cross-talks and interruptions.

Like the individual interviewing process, I obtained the informed consent of research participants regarding group interviewing before they participated in my study. For instance, I provided them with a short-written document that they signed voluntarily that informed them of the overall purpose of my study, the research methods used as well as any possible risks and benefits. I also practiced confidentiality by not identifying research participants or organizations directly and advised research participants to engage in the same level of confidentiality regarding other group members/research participants. Additionally, for the risk of emotional harm, like in

individual interviews, I suggested that any research participant who experienced emotional discomfort because of the research process seek counselling support, and I would follow up with them at an appropriate time. No participants in the group interviews appeared to experience emotional discomfort that required counselling support.

3.1.6 Positionality

There were social differences and similarities between me, and the research participants based on race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, and other social identities during individual and group interviews. I am a black heterosexual male, middle-aged and middle-classed, university educated, Canadian of Jamaica background, who works as a police officer and is researching service providers who are predominately female. In addition, I was researching a topic that brings up issues of sexism, violence against women, and racism. At times based on similarities of social identities such as professional and educational backgrounds, I shared positionality with interviewees and experienced some insiderism as they likely saw me as someone whom they believed could relate to their worldview. At other times, however, due to differences in ethnicity and gender, I experienced outsiderism as interviewees perceived me as someone who lacked knowledge of their worldview. This situation of shifting positionality is discussed by Best (2003, cited in Buford-May, 2014, p.123), who argues that it is often the case that researchers are at once insiders and outsiders. It is the view of Buford-May (2014) that researchers of varying backgrounds can have insider moments that are not predicated on presumed shared connections stemming from one's racial identity but the convergence of participants' experiences.

In my study, I worked to facilitate such insider moments by being reflexive about power relations in the interview which were shaped by similarities and differences based on gender,

age, race, and professional background among others between myself and the interviewees. Vahasantanen and Saarinen (2012, p. 494) describe power in the interview relationship as activities of interview participants that are directed toward reciprocally controlling the situation and influencing the other parties' actions and conversations. One strategy that Vahasantanen and Saarinen (2012) discuss for overcoming differences and power inequalities is the process of self-disclosure that involves a researcher sharing experiences, knowledge, and feelings with interviewees. In each individual and group interview, I used this strategy by disclosing my interest in studying HRVO at the outset of the interview. I explained that my interest originated from my knowledge and experience of racism as a Black Jamaican-Canadian male. In addition, I discussed commonalities regarding how the dominant discourse depicts South Asian and Muslim communities as sexist and importing "barbaric practices" such as HRVO to Canada and how it portrays the Jamaican community as violent and crime prone. Further, I identified my goal of developing knowledge to improve the practice of service providers who deal with cases of HRVO and challenge the Orientalist framing of HRVO.

My self-disclosure was well received, particularly by racialized service providers. In many cases, they commented that they appreciated that I was revealing where I was coming from regarding the issue and taking a stance that would challenge culturalized and racialized framings of HRVO. In addition, they commented that they too were frustrated with how HRVO was framed, and they had been working to challenge this framing. In interviews with non-racialized service providers such as law enforcement officers and psychologists, I also self-disclosed my experience and views at the beginning of the interview, but I was not as comfortable. This was due to my interpretation that I shared a similar professional background, but different racial and ethnic background, and I did not want them to view me as vulnerable and/or radical. While I

may have not created insider moments with this self-disclosure with non-racialized service providers, other disclosures concerning our shared professional backgrounds created insider moments. This included sharing experiences where some of our colleagues were oblivious to incidents of HRVO and/or tended to see the issue through the lens of Orientalism.

The self-disclosure technique was not always helpful in overcoming power inequalities in an interview. In my first interview, which I discussed earlier, I was a passive actor while the interviewee exercised control throughout the interview. Some of the ways the interviewee controlled the interview included the interview setting, the seating arrangement, and her directing the conversation by providing expansive and extremely long answers. For instance, the interview took place in the interviewee's workspace, and we were seated at a small table face to face, a few feet apart, and it felt unnatural to avoid eye contact. Further, this was my first interview, and I was uncertain about whether to strictly follow the interview guide or be more flexible and explore areas that were not covered by my questions. Because I was still getting accustomed to the interview guide, I chose to use it in a more structured fashion by ensuring that all questions were asked in sequence. I also did not interrupt or redirect the interviewee when she was providing extremely long answers and asked a few follow-up probes because I was concerned about running out of time before I got through the questions. We did get through all the questions and overall, the data from the interview was good, but I was frustrated with myself for not taking a more active role.

I believe that I experienced both insider and outsider moments in the interview but probably more outsiderism based on the interviewee exercising a greater degree of power. During the interview, the interviewee, who is a racialized woman, said that she was thrilled that as a male of colour and police officer, I was doing the hard work of investigating HRVO. She

also stated that she was thrilled that I was challenging racism associated with HRVO because too often this responsibility falls to women from ethnic communities that have been negatively labelled. These comments indicated the social difference between us based on gender may have contributed to her perceiving me as an outsider in terms of lacking knowledge of the experience of female victims of HRVO and needing to be educated. Hence, her exercise of power in the interview may have been motivated by her desire to ensure that she provided me with knowledge of her worldview and experience of HRVO. She also noted that she saw me as a “male ally” in women’s work and wanted to thank me for my interest and work in the area of HRVO. This statement suggests that there were some elements of insiderness between us on the dimension of being an ally in challenging HRVO and the racism that adversely impacts communities deemed to be associated with this practice. This may be the reason why she took the time to participate in my study and attempted to provide me with a great deal of her knowledge and experience.

I learned a great deal from this interview about being more active in interviews and balancing out power by being less rigid with the interview guide, posing follow up probes, redirecting the interviewee if they were not answering questions, and engaging in a greater degree of self-disclosure. I incorporated these learnings into later individual and group interviews, and power tended to shift back and forth between myself and the interviewees. In the next interview, for instance, the interviewee and I shared some similarities in terms of our educational background and research work on HRVO. However, there were differences in social attributes based on gender, ethnicity, and professional field. At the beginning of the interview, while I was setting the stage for the interview it seemed that our sameness may have contributed to the interviewee exercising power. The interviewee has a doctorate, and she had completed a large community-based research project on HRVO a few years prior. As I was giving my

opening talk, she reminded me by pointing to my tape recorder and making a hand sign that I needed to state on tape that she had read and signed the consent form. Moreover, halfway through the interview, when I asked her view about a risk assessment training on HRVO that she had helped to organize, she tested me. The test involved her asking me to review a document from the training of a case scenario and identify something that stood out like a “sore thumb.” I reviewed the case and was not able to identify what she was referring to, and she subsequently stated that it was a small detail that would not be found by someone who did not understand it and was not looking out for it. The small detail was the names of the individuals in the case example did not match their described ethnic and religious backgrounds, and this made the scenario unrealistic for people in the training who know and are sensitive to cultural and ethnic markers such as names.¹¹

I worked to balance power after this test by empathizing with the interviewee by questioning the degree to which the trainers involved ethnocultural service providers during the development of the training cases. I also commented that it was insulting for the trainers to go into ethnocultural communities and engage in training without having had members of these communities participate in the development of the curriculum. This seemed to balance out the power as the interviewee stated that she was sorry if her example was a distraction for the interview. Further, she reverted to listening to my questions and providing answers and did not

¹¹ During member-checking, the research participant in question informed me that I had misinterpreted her actions. She communicated that she gestured to the tape recorder prior to my review of the informed consent because she did not want to speak out of turn. She also said that she was not testing me with the case example associated to the PATRIARCH training but was communicating her frustration with the trainers for not responding to her concerns. After talking out the situation with the research participant through email, she stated that based on her post doc and field work experiences encountering power preening from informants and the emotional labour of research, she could understand how I may have seen her actions as instructing and quizzing.

attempt to stir the conversation again toward something that she could use to illustrate that she knew more or was in greater control. I told her that her example was not a distraction, and we continued with the interview.

In one of the interviews that I conducted, there were times where I was the one who exercised too much power. This interview was with a female police officer from a non-racialized background, and elements of insiderness and outsidership contributed to me experiencing enthusiasm and familiarity, which in turn led me to exercise too much power. I was enthusiastic that this was my first interview with a police officer, as the other interviewees came from fields including ethnocultural organizations, shelters, child welfare, and sexual assault among others. In addition, I was enthusiastic that I was familiar with the policing context in which the interviewee worked based on my experience as a police officer. Further, I was confident that I would have little difficulty relating to her knowledge and experiences regarding HRVO in the context of policing. I exercised too much power in parts of this interview through unnecessary self-disclosures, lecturing, and instruction. For instance, while discussing risk assessment and the PATRIARCH tool, I self-disclosed learning about other risk assessment tools for HRVO that are used in ethnocultural organizations such as the Danger Assessment for immigrant women and Four Aspects Screening Tool (FAST). I also gave a brief overview of these tools and talked about how they could be used by mainstream service providers. Further, I described a case of HRVO that I had dealt with and talked about how the case might have gone differently had I been aware of Dr. Boabaid, whom I had interviewed a few days earlier, and his organization, the Muslim Resource Centre for Support and Integration. At the end of my disclosure, I did have an awareness that I had temporarily monopolized the conversation as I stated, "I am not sure why I went with that?" Both the interviewee and I laughed, and I worked

toward ensuring that the power in the interview relationship was more balanced by making fewer disclosures.

My reflexivity on issues of power and positionality did not end after interviewing. I continued to consider issues of power during the data analysis and presentation of findings stage of my dissertation. I sought to balance the power between myself and interviewees during these two stages by seeking their participation through member checking. In the next section, I will outline how I analyzed the data from the individual and group interviews and then define and explain how I engaged in member checking.

3.1.7 Method of Analysis

The method of analysis that I used to process data from the 13 interviews and 2 group interviews consisted of a thematic analysis of transcripts from each individual and group interview. Thematic analysis involves identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns or themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 79). More specifically, in thematic analysis codes are applied to qualitative data to define conceptual categories that are classified, sorted, clustered into thematic groupings, and transformed into a written account that is descriptive, analytical, and/or interpretative (Roulston, 2010; Walcott, 1994). I carried out my thematic analysis with the assistance of NVivo software program. My thematic analysis was conducted as follows: I uploaded the transcribed copy of each interview to the NVivo software program and printed a copy, which I then read through and marked up for analysis. The first level of my analysis involved reading through each interview transcript and identifying concepts and themes (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Rubin and Rubin (1995), define a concept as a term that is representative of an idea important to one's research problem and themes as summary statements and explanations of what is transpiring.

Once I identified a series of concepts and themes, I coded them with a label I created within NVivo, looked for patterns and connections between these codes, and then sorted the different codes into a series of major and sub-themes. Each of the themes that I developed was linked back to answering my research questions. For instance, I identified a series of concepts and themes in various interviews that I coded as “intersectionality of abuse” and “economics and greed.” Further, after reviewing the interview data several times, I integrated these themes as sub-themes under the major theme, “definition of HRVO.” I subsequently developed six major themes related to my research questions. I named these six themes as follows: *context and culture; definitions of hrvo; education in hrvo; practice and policies; reflexivity and ethics; and risk assessment and the patriarch tool.*

After developing these six themes, I analyzed and wrote-up my findings in the three ways that Walcott (1994) refers to as description, analysis, and interpretation. *Description* involves rendering an account of the data that stays close to the data as it was originally recorded (Walcott, 1994). Walcott asserts that the underlying assumption of this approach is that the data such as field notes or interviewee’s statements “speak for themselves” (p.10). *Analysis*, according to Walcott, entails identifying keys themes and relationships between them through a careful and systematic way to explain how things work. For Walcott (1994), *interpretation* transcends factual data and cautious analyses as it involves researchers probing the question, “What is to be made of it all?” Interpretation probes this question through understandings or explanations that may not be as certain as those associated with analysis. An example of my engagement in this process of description, analysis, and interpretation was with my concept of perspectives of HRVO and practice implications. I described this data by presenting short quotes from research participants as well as paraphrasing some of their comments that illustrated

aspects of the cultural and heterogeneity of culture perspectives that inform and shape their practice. Moreover, I used the intersectionality theory to analyze the implications of these perspectives for practice. For instance, through the intersectionality framework, I was able to draw links between internal differentiations of members (heterogeneity) within cultures based on social identities of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation among others. Moreover, I was able to identify structural forces of oppression relating to the migration context of immigrants, such as socioeconomic inequality and racism that may play a role in reinforcing attitudes that support HRVO. Lastly, I analyzed and interpreted the finding that most research participants work from the heterogeneity of culture perspective, while one supported the cultural perspective by considering how non-discursive factors of embodiment, materiality, and institutional power may be responsible for this difference. Once I completed my write up of the findings, I then performed *member validation* or *member checking*. The aim was to ensure the accuracy and quality of my findings as well as provide a degree of control over the data to the interviewees in my study.

Member validation involves checking the accuracy of research findings with participants in several ways, including providing them with a copy of an interview transcript for them to check and/or add to; discussing preliminary findings with them in a follow-up interview and recording their feedback; and/or providing them with a copy of the report and inviting them to comment (Roulston, 2010, p. 85). Member validation can enhance the quality of a study by demonstrating that research accounts have been checked and are accurate (Seale, 1999). Additionally, the process of including research participants in research design decisions and the interpretation of data can also enhance quality by allowing researchers and participants to collaboratively identify the underlying causes of problems and possible projects for change

(Roulston, 2010). I engaged in member validation by emailing all the research participants a copy of the PowerPoint presentation that I used for the CATAP conference in November 2019. The presentation summarized some of my preliminary findings related to the definition of HRVO, problem with cultural frameworks of HRVO, warning signs, and risk assessment tools for HRVO. Four of the 23 research participants responded to my email, and two of them provided specific feedback. The other two did not provide feedback but attempted to arrange a meeting where I could present my preliminary findings to some members of the group in Alberta that I had interviewed. Due to busy work schedules and Covid restrictions, this follow-up meeting and presentation did not take place. However, I continued to provide the opportunity for research participants to provide their feedback by sending them a copy of my dissertation before my dissertation defense. In addition, I intend to make a copy of my dissertation available to all interviewees once it is completed and accepted by UBC.

3.2 Summary

In this chapter, I have explained how I used critical realism as a methodological approach as well as qualitative methods including interviews, group interviews, and participant observation to answer my research questions regarding how service providers understand and respond to HRVO. I also outlined how I used purposive and snowball sampling techniques to build a sample of 23 service providers (13 individual interviews and 10 group interviews) and how I worked to protect interviewees from any harm associated with my study through informed consent, safeguarding of interview data and concealment of participants' identities. Further, I discussed how I carried out individual and group interviews with an interview guide and described some of the aspects of insiderism and outsiderism that I experienced. Lastly, I outlined how I engaged in thematic analysis with the NVivo software program and how I wrote

up my findings considering Walcott's (1994) notions of description, analysis, and interpretation.

I also outlined how I used member checking to improve quality and reduce issues of power

between myself and interviewees.

Chapter 4: Learning How Service Providers Define HRVO and View

Dominant Discourses

A common response that I get from colleagues, friends, and acquaintances when they ask about my dissertation topic is a look of puzzlement when I tell them it is about HRVO. When I observe this look, I realize that I need to explain what HRVO is and what it involves. A definition of HRVO that I frequently draw upon to explain what it encompasses is the one that I have adopted for my dissertation which I outlined in Chapter 2, “Literature Review Beyond Orientalism.” When I chose this definition, I felt that it was complete as it captures the fact that HRVO occurs on a spectrum and includes both oppression in the form of threats and harassment and violence in the form of physical assaults and murder. Additionally, the definition indicates that HRVO can be premeditated and collectively planned and considers male victimization and female perpetrators. When I paraphrase aspects of this definition back to those who appeared puzzled, they frequently indicate that they now understand what I was talking about and they can recall hearing about some of these cases in the media.

In this chapter, I will discuss how research participants viewed my adopted definition of HRVO in terms of how they conceptualize this phenomenon. I will also outline the two critiques that they had regarding the definition, including concerns that it was not inclusive enough in capturing men’s victimization, and it failed to capture other forms of oppression related to HRVO such as dowry and caste systems, racism, and age. Next, I will describe and discuss the research participants’ critique of the media discourses advanced in two news articles about two different family murders that occurred in Canada. The first article describes the murder as an “honour”-killing, while the second portrays the murders as a “mercy killing.” My intention in

presenting these articles to research participants was to learn about how they perceived media discourses. I felt that this type of inquiry was important as I have found that people who have a limited understanding of HRVO, including some service providers, learn about HRVO in the popular media, which tends to Orientalize the phenomenon. I will conclude this chapter by summarizing the research participants' critique of the two articles and the practice implications. My overarching purpose is to further clarify how best to conceptualize HRVO so that it can, ultimately, inform and guide practice in inclusive, non-Orientalist ways.

4.1 Defining HRVO

Before the data generation phase of my dissertation, I engaged in what Finlay (2012) refers to as *strategic reflexivity* regarding reflecting critically about my research aims, research methods, and how to approach research. The specific area of reflexivity that I was considering was how to go about gaining information about the definitions of HRVO that inform service providers' understanding of this phenomenon. Through this reflexive process, I decided that I could learn how service providers conceptualize HRVO by having them evaluate the definition that I was drawing upon to understand and explain this social problem. Further, I realized that to receive an honest critique from the research participants, I needed to create an environment in which they felt that I would not be defensive. The way that I worked to create this atmosphere was by being transparent with research participants by stating that I had found a definition that I thought was complete, but I wanted them to evaluate it based on their knowledge and experience. This evaluation aimed to develop a conceptualization of HRVO that fully captures this phenomenon and can assist service providers to better detect and respond to this issue.

4.1.1 Critiques of Adopted Definition of HRVO

All the research participants appeared to feel comfortable providing feedback on the definition, and some suggested that they found it complete, while many others commented that they agreed with about 80% of it and had some critiques. The first critique was the definition was not inclusive enough because it did not recognize the extent of HRVO against men. The second critique was the definition tended to focus on a single factor of oppression, namely the sexuality of women, and failed to highlight other intersecting forms of oppression based on economic status, class, age, and ethnicity among others. Further, some research participants argued that these intersecting forms of oppression played out in the form of “false” HRVO claims motivated by greed as well as caste and dowry systems.

4.1.2 The First Critique of the Definition

A statement from a research participant, Nadia, best reflected a critique that the definition was not inclusive enough. She commented:

I think I agree mostly with the definition the only thing that I would add is it's not just limited to women. so just like I was mentioning like homosexuality or transgender also play a role in it as well. And that could affect other genders, not just women. ... I would want to add to the definition the fact that it's not just to control a woman's sexuality. Its overall control based on a sense of patriarchy or an ideology about how that person should be or how they would like for their family to be portrayed...

Nadia's critique suggests that she has a broader understanding of HRVO that goes beyond perceiving the issues to be exclusively associated with the sexuality of females. I agree with this argument because in cases of HRVO, where men are victimized, control of their sexuality can

also be the primary purpose for the violence, and it may take the form of emotional abuse, physical violence, forced marriage, and, in some extreme cases, murder (Jaspal, 2014; Jaspal & Siraj, 2010). A group interview research participant, Ariella provided a practice example of supporting a gay man in this type of situation who had immigrated to Canada from another country and feared HRVO if he lived according to his own sexual identity. Ariella was contacted by the man on a 24-hour crisis support line and counselled him to help address his feelings of isolation, shame, and fear. As I have argued in the literature review chapter, heteronormativity and heterosexism across cultures and communities contribute to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer boys, girls, men, and women experiencing HRVO due to their sexualities and social identities.

4.1.3 The Second Critique of the Definition

The second critique of the definition was best reflected in the comments of Nadia and Novi regarding how *economic status and gender in relation to property, dowry demands, and caste* may contribute to HRVO. In addition, Mohammed identified how *social oppression* may play a role in HRVO, and Stephen and Nadia highlighted aspects of age that tend not to be addressed, such as the victimization of infant girls and senior women. Nadia stated the following about economic status and the caste system:

Now, the violence arises when a girl or a woman ...acts in a manner that violates a family's tradition and rules for how women should act....Sometimes that is used... as a pretext for covering up simple greed...if in a property dispute, say, the woman stands to inherit property in a rural community, this whole notion of, you know, she's guilty of witchcraft. She's guilty of being a loose woman can just be used to just eliminate her from the picture thereby opening the property to another claimant.... If one is seeking to

take a culturally competent approach, you must look at variables like caste and ethnicity and how they play out in this kind of violence. The concept of caste in South Asian culture... it's also in Japan, Indonesia and other places – how it plays out in this kind of violence and how caste links to patriarchy. If people don't understand that, they won't understand how the violence might play out. Simple example: in India, if a high caste man gets with a low caste girl, there is less risk than the other way around.... It's called hypergamy versus hypogamy, right...without understanding these little details...when one reduces it to honour and culture, one ends up with a nonsense explanation.

As Nadia points out, there may be other intertwined economic variables present, including greed, caste, and ethnic differences, as well as dowry demands that may contribute to HRVO. Khan (2006) identifies several incidents that have taken place in Pakistan involving men motivated by greed who concocted allegations of HRVO against women and men. These incidents were described to Khan (2006) by local representatives of social organizations. In one instance, near the district of Naseerbad in Balochistan, a brother accused his young sister of engaging in immoral conduct with one of their cousins. He then blackmailed his cousin and used the money to travel abroad for employment. In another instance, in the Jacobabad district in Sindh, a villager obtained land by murdering his sister and concocting a story that a wealthy landowner had been involved in an inappropriate relationship that led to her death. The villager was subsequently compensated for his sister's death and her dishonour with land from the man in question. These are extreme examples of "false" accusations of HRVO being used for financial

gain and to further oppress women.¹² There is a dearth of research in this area, which makes it difficult to determine the extent of this practice in countries such as Canada. At the same time, I agree with Nadia that it is important for service providers to be attuned to economic variables intertwined with the control of women's sexuality that may contribute to HRVO.

Nadia also described economic variables—including caste--and ethnicity that are shaped by patriarchy playing out in HRVO in India in the context of marriage. Goli, Singh, and Sekher (2013) and Narzary and Ladusingh (2019) argue that societal gains have been made in India regarding discrimination based on the caste system, but marriage across castes is not the norm. For instance, some families work to maintain and increase their honour by marrying their daughters off to a male partner of the same or higher caste through arranged marriages. Although arranged marriages vary, many involve parents selecting a mate for their children of the appropriate caste and ethnicity and allowing their children to have full, free, and informed consent to marry (Anis, Konaur & Matto, 2013). If one or both parties in the arrangement do not have full, free, and informed consent and are coerced into the marriage under duress, this would constitute a forced marriage (Anis, Konaur & Matto, 2013). In some instances, a marriage may start as an arranged marriage but shift to forced marriage if one or both parties are coerced into proceeding with the marriage against their wishes.

When a marriage takes place between a male and female of the same caste, this is known as marriage endogamy and is considered the ideal as it is seen to maintain the purity of the caste

¹² While the accusations may be false, they are still incidents of HRVO that negatively impact the lives of women and men. The allegations tend to set in motion the same or greater levels of violence and oppression whether the victims have or have not been involved in behaviours that are perceived to be dishonourable. Hence, the focus should be on supporting victims of HRVO because the violence and oppression can be the same even if the allegation has been concocted for simple greed.

(Narzary & Ladusingh, 2019). However, if an upper-caste male marries a lower caste female, this is known as hypergamy, and it can also be ideal because the female marries up in caste since her husband's caste becomes her caste (Nasrin, 2011). An upper-caste female, nonetheless, is strongly discouraged and restricted from marrying a lower caste man, which is known as hypogamy, because she is seen as polluting her entire family and caste and bringing them shame through marriage and moving them all down in caste (Gangopadhyay, 2019). According to a 2013 National Council of Women study in India, of 560 "honour"-killings, intermarriage of a higher caste woman to a lower caste man had occurred in 89% of the cases in which people were killed or threatened (Ahuja & Ostermann, 2015). These statistics support Nadia's point that service providers need to understand hypogamy and hypergamy to arrive at accurate and relevant explanations of HRVO.

Novi stated the following about dowry demands:

I mean dowry or bride burning was big in India. And accidents that would happen... there are stories of that happening here in British Columbia too... and the dowry piece is interesting because it's still happening. The economic connection to marriage is still underlying a lot of our practices. Because dowry has been banned in India, it's been less of an overtly described piece that people are navigating but more subliminal and in the Canadian context, we don't participate in dowry here, but we do in different ways. So, gift-giving becomes really big here.

The practice of dowry¹³ is closely tied to arranged marriages and hypergamy and can also

¹³ Dowry has been prohibited in India since 1960 and in Bangladesh since the 1980s. Nasrin (2011) and Kaushik (2003) assert that dowry is condoned and continues to be practiced by some sections of Indian society as a prerequisite for marriage.

contribute to HRVO. Dowry refers to cash, goods, valuable items, or property that the bride's family gives to the groom's family on marriage (Nasrin, 2011, p. 29). *Hypergamy* involves some parents seeking to arrange for their daughters to marry educated men with urban jobs, high status, and a certain level of income to increase the family's class status and social prestige (honour) (Nasrin, 2011). Dowry amounts can be very high, driving the bride's family into debt, as the groom's family may expect a large dowry as a ticket to providing the bride's family with access to a higher social status and wealth (Nasrin, 2011; Kaushik, 2003). Additionally, the bride's family may be pressured by the social value; that is, the greater amount of dowry that they provide, the better their reputation will be in the community (Fahn, 1990, 116, cited in Kaushik, 2003).

Nadia also commented about dowry demands, stating that they tend to be extortion coloured by notions of honour because families may be pressured to continue giving to keep the marriage from collapsing, thus avoiding shame. If dowry demands are not met, wives may also be verbally and physically abused or even killed in a practice called "bride burning" (being doused with kerosene and burned alive) (Kaushik, 2003). In some instances, women may commit suicide due to the harassment and violence from their in-laws as well as the perception that they have behaved dishonourably by leaving their husband's household (Menon, 1999, cited in Kaushik, 2003, p. 82). Novi stated in the Canadian context, we don't participate in dowry directly, but we do in different ways, such as subliminal expectations that the daughter's family must gift things in the newlywed's home. The "we" to whom Novi refers are Canadians of South Asian descent who may still feel pressured to participate in dowry to maintain or enhance honour. The gifting practice that she describes can also contribute to HRVO if gifting is compulsory and expected over several years in the manner that Nadia indicated can resemble

extortion.

The thread that ties dowry, caste, marriage, and potentially HRVO together is patriarchy and the organization of some South Asian families, according to patrilocal and patrilineal relationships. While this type of patriarchal organization may contribute to HRVO, there are internal differentiations within South Asian families in terms of their structure and engagement in practices and behaviours such as dowry, caste, hypergamy. These internal differentiations are influenced by factors such as socioeconomic status, gender, education, geographic location, western socialization, and religion among others (Withaecx, 2011; Toor, 2009). If families subscribed to patrilocal and patrilineal relationships, however, this can play a role in HRVO because they may experience pressure to pay large dowries to the groom's family to gain access to the male's social status, lineage, and family honour. Further, if the dowry demands are not met and the groom's family is dissatisfied, the bride is in a vulnerable position because she is living with in-laws, who may take out their anger on her physically and/or verbally. Moreover, if she returns to her parents' home, her parents may encourage her to return to the abusive groom's family to avoid the dishonour of leaving the marriage (Nangia, 1997:649; Fahn 1990:113 cited in Kaushik, 2003, p. 82).

Like Nadia and Novi, Mohammed had a critique of my initial definition that suggested that HRVO was not confined to the sexuality of women. Mohammed identified social oppression as other factors and stated the following:

...maybe the one piece that I think is missing is when you think of a part of violence and oppression is also thinking about social oppression...in countries like Canada or Europe ...social oppressions and inequalities that position immigrants, refugees, people of diverse or maybe of the Muslim faith or different faith and cultural backgrounds

differently within society so that there are forms of marginality....I think that is part of the context of [HRVO], and I think sometimes our definitions have contained it to the cultural realm...

Mohammed's point about my adopted definition of HRVO not addressing how it can be grounded in the context of the social oppression and marginality of immigrants, refugees and people of diverse backgrounds such as the Muslim faith is a valid and important observation. Research conducted by Mohammed himself such as Boabaid and Hamed (2010), identifies the intertwined nature of migration experiences, social oppression, cultural and religious values, and how they may play out in HRVO. For instance, Boabaid and Hamed (2010) described how some Muslim families who have immigrated to Canada become ensnared in a vicious cycle that contributes to family breakdown and violence. This cycle involves the family, who tend to ascribe to collectivist values, being immersed in mainstream Canadian culture that espouses individualistic values. Further, some family members, such as young children, particularly females, who are seen to represent family honour, may begin to integrate into Canadian society and engage in independent activities that parents perceive as a threat to traditional Muslim values. These activities may include children becoming more westernized in clothing and sexual attitudes, disconnecting from family and cultural heritage, and disobeying their parents. In addition, the family may be experiencing a change in their socio-economic status due to racism, discrimination, and underemployment and feel under attack by the dominant western culture that portrays their culture and religion in an Orientalist manner.

According to Boabaid and Hamed (2010), Muslim parents in this situation may use controlling and violent behavior against family members whom they perceive to be integrating too quickly, based on a belief that they are protecting their families and their religious and

cultural values from western cultures. Moreover, in many cases, female family members, who are seen to represent family honour, are victimized, and mothers are blamed and victimized for not controlling the behavior of their children (Baobaid & Hamed, 2010). Baobaid and Hamed assert that for some Muslim family members, they may understand their violence and oppression as a necessary response to western values that are entering their homes and threatening their culture and values. At first glance, Baobaid and Hamed's description of the cycle of violence that Muslim families may experience seems like they are attempting to excuse family violence within these communities. However, this is not the case; their goal is to provide information that humanizes Muslim families and communities by outlining factors including racism, discrimination, and migration that may stimulate and reinforce violent and misogynistic values and behaviors among some Muslim men and their families. This type of humanization of Muslim families makes it possible for service providers to hold the perpetrators accountable for their actions, as well as support them and their families.

Within the second critique of the adopted definition of HRVO, Nadia and Stephen highlighted how the social category of age is not addressed. Nadia argued that the definition does not account for senior women as victims of HRVO. She explained:

So senior women...most of the focus is on women who are in the reproductive years or young women and girls. The older demographic is almost never looked at...they are the sufferers of intimate partner violence and well as violence from children and children-in-laws... they are of a demographic that finds it even more important to hold their tongues ...because that's how they are socialized...there's this conjunction of "honour"-related shame and "honour"-related silence with the violence, combined with the isolation from mainstream society and supports because a lot of supports are geared towards...women in

the reproductive years, women with children. And when...the senior demographic has violence in their lives, it is seen as elder abuse, not as this kind of violence... They are isolated in a way that they are utterly invisible.

I agree with Nadia's argument that as victims of HRVO, senior women are invisible due to several structural and personal factors that contribute to their isolation. Some of the structural forces identified by Nadia include supports for victims of HRVO being geared toward women in their reproductive years and children. Moreover, ageism and discrimination within the Canadian job market make it difficult for senior women who may have limited English language skills to access resources such as employment, housing, and a driver's license and vehicle if they are looking to escape HRVO. Some of the personal barriers that senior women may experience are a strong belief in notions of honour and shame based on their socialization, which may have been traditional and patriarchal. In some cases, as Nadia suggested, this may result in "honour"-related silence on the part of senior women who may fear bringing dishonour to their families.

The invisibility of senior women as victims of HRVO is reflected in the literature. For instance, when I conducted my review of the literature on HRVO, there was a dearth of research that focused on senior women as victims of HRVO as well as services for them. As Nadia asserted, violence such as HRVO in the lives of senior women may be seen and treated as elder abuse. It is my view that responding to incidents of HRVO against senior women as elder abuse may help identify and respond to some of the factors that are contributing to violence such as issues of power and control, finances, and mental health to name a few. However, to render senior women and their needs fully visible, service providers must also identify and address factors that contribute to their "honour"-related shame and silence.

Like Nadia, Stephen argued that most conceptualizations of HRVO focus on victims who are dating age or adult women. Moreover, he argued that this focus contributes to HRVO that takes place outside of this age group being invisible. In contrast to Nadia, however, the age group that Stephen identified was infant girls who are subjected to female genital mutilation. Stephen explained:

The ones who are victims of “honour”-based violence are not just... dating age or adult women. ...Female genital mutilation. To me, that’s “honour”-based violence. ...So, the victims may be infant girls. So the services that we provide, they are going to be delivered by different people at different places, and we may need to help people working in...hospitals or wherever to kind of see that and then help them figure out how to respond to it in a way that’s not making the situation worse.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is also referred to as female genital cutting, female circumcision, or female initiation (Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014).¹⁴ FGM is a form of HRVO as it is carried out to preserve the virginity or chastity of girls, which in some cultural and religious groups is tied to family honour (Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014). The majority of FGM takes place when girls are between the ages of 5 and 8, but it is also carried out shortly after birth, during childhood or adolescence, before marriage, or during the first pregnancy (Roberts, et. al, 2014). As Stephen suggests, FGM is occurring in Canada, and there needs to be help for service providers in hospitals and other agencies to detect and respond to this practice.

¹⁴ The World Health Organization (2012, cited in Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2014, p. 4) classify 4 different ways that the genitalia of females are removed or altered for non-medical purposes to control the sexuality of females. It is estimated that 140 million women and girls worldwide have undergone FGM (Roberts, et al., 2014)

A research participant, Debbie, confirmed that FGM continues to occur in Canada, stating that she has talked to women service providers who told her that it happened to them, and they want to stop it from happening to their children. Further, Debbie commented that these women told her that people were being flown in from certain countries to Canada to do the procedure on girls at the ages of 4, 12, and 16, or the girls would be taken to a country on vacation so the procedure could be conducted. Debbie stressed that it is important for those with knowledge of FGM to work with service providers in schools as well as law enforcement who may encounter victims of FGM to identify and understand some of the indicators of this practice. Some of the indicators of FGM outlined by Roberts, Campbell, and Lloyd (2014, pp. 93-94) include:

- Any girl born to a mother who has been subjected to FGM or who has a sibling who has been subjected to FGM.
- Any girl who has been withdrawn from personal, social, or health education as her family may not want girls to be aware of their body and rights.
- Unexplained absences from school and following school holidays when the child has been taken abroad which may be an attempt to allow healing time from FGM.
- The girl confiding to others about the procedure or the girl may alert a teacher or adult if she is aware of what is coming.
- The girl's parents stating that she will be taken out of the country for a prolonged period.

Other indicators that were not included in Roberts, et al.'s (2014) list may involve victims having problems sitting or standing or displaying health-related problems such as bladder, urination, and menstruation issues. Roberts, et al. (2014) outline how to respond to FGM from a

law enforcement perspective and suggest that a specialist trained officer skilled in interviewing children should interview the victim. Furthermore, they stress that corroborative evidence should be sought through a medical examination by a qualified pediatrician, and if the child refuses to be interviewed or undergo a medical examination, the officer should consider seeking assistance from partner agencies. I would argue that partner agencies should always be involved in these types of investigations, and they should follow a culturally integrative approach, which I discuss at length in Chapter 5. This corroborative approach would increase the chances of the cultural, social, and personal contexts that are contributing to FGM and other forms of HRVO being understood and addressed by service providers. Hence, recognizing and responding to these contexts would result in more successful investigations that protect victims and hold the offenders accountable.

4.2 Critique of Dominant Media Discourse

When I talk to some colleagues, friends, and acquaintances about my research topic, they frequently mention that they have heard about these cases in the media and believe that they are driven by culture and religion. When I encounter this type of viewpoint, I often correct people who are advancing it by outlining what HRVO involves and how it takes place across cultures and religions, including Western Christian culture. It is my experience working as a police officer for 22 years and conducting research in the area of HRVO, many people, including some service providers who have a limited understanding of HRVO, first learn about it in the popular media. Since the popular media is their main source of knowledge, the people in question tend to understand it according to Orientalist narratives that are being perpetrated in different popular media formats such as newspapers, television, and radio. For the service providers who may be in this situation, the consequences of them informing their practice with an Orientalist

perspective can adversely impact clients in the form of racial profiling and other forms of oppression and discrimination.

In my dissertation, one of my goals involved having the research participants critique media discourses surrounding incidents of HRVO, particularly Orientalist ones. What I wanted to learn from this type of inquiry was some of the reasons why service providers may see these discourses as problematic. I went about generating this data by asking research participants to review two news articles describing two tragic cases of murder in Canada and to provide a critique of how the articles depicted and explained the violence. The two cases of murder caught my attention based on the sensationalized popular media coverage that was surrounding them and the noticeable differences of tone in their depiction. In the case involving racialized perpetrators and victims, for instance, many popular media articles and television coverage advanced Orientalist themes. In contrast, in the incident involving non-racialized perpetrators and victims, the tone of news articles was sympathetic and focused on the psychology of the offender.

I selected the two articles by conducting an online search of newspaper articles of the two murders and selecting one article describing each murder that was representative of how the popular media frames these occurrences. The first article, entitled “Standing up for Aqsa and Canada in honour killing case” (“Standing Up,” 2010) recaps the events of Aqsa Parvez being murdered by her father and her brother in December 2007 for transgressing their rules of dress (not wearing a hijab) and behavior (running away, hanging out with friends outside of their culture). The Aqsa article advances an Orientalist view of South Asian families and communities by asserting that Aqsa’s only crime was wanting to be a part of western culture and that her father and brother killed her to preserve their own “barbaric, tribal notions of patriarchal honour”

(“Standing Up,” 2010). Moreover, the article stresses that “those who wish to immigrate to Canada from cultures where HRVO occurs must adopt Canadian ways of thinking about the roles of women and must agree to live by them.”

The second article, “Rest in peace my little family” (Sinoski, Crawford & Carman, 2015, p. A10) describes events that led a father to murder his daughter, wife, sister, and himself in August 2016 because he believed that he was releasing his daughter from the pain of chronic migraine headaches. In addition, he believed he was relieving his wife and sister as well as himself from the shame of killing his daughter. After the murder, the perpetrator posted a series of messages on Facebook explaining his actions. In contrast to the first article, this article had a sympathetic individualistic focus on the perpetrator’s violence, quoting many of his Facebook statements such as the fact that “he was remorseful for his actions and he was happy that his family was in heaven pain-free” (Sinoski, Crawford & Carman, 2015, p. A10).

4.2.1 Critique of the Standing up for Aqsa and Canada article

Critiques of this article are best reflected by comments from two group interview participants, Niki and Glen, and statements from an interview participant, Mohammed. Niki and Glen talked about the article not recognizing the heterogeneity of culture, while Mohammed identified how Orientalism can adversely impact victims of HRVO.

Niki explained:

There are I think extremes when you're thinking about anything. There's like the middle ground. Then there's the extremist and then there's the opposite. And I think sometimes like when you are talking about, say ... a show that was on W5 [a Canadian current affairs and documentary TV show] about a father hiring somebody to kill his daughter

because she was in love with this man and married this other man and it wasn't who he wanted her to marry. I think that would be on the side of the extremist. So, it doesn't mean that everybody from that culture is going to do it. But there are extremists...I mean even Christianity if you want to think about that too, different religions, there are extremists and then there is the middle ground and then on the other side.

Glen commented that there may be a belief among the average Canadian that HRVO is a Muslim thing or culture thing, but these acts are not supported by entire countries, cultures, and communities, and in many cases, they are illegal throughout the world. Glen also commented, "if we were to take a hard-enough look, we would realize that the average good old Alberta boy could be just as narrow-minded in terms of their views of women and all that type of stuff as some Muslim and South Asian men."

Niki and Glen's response to the article reflects aspects of the heterogeneity of culture discursive strategy that I discussed at length in the literature review chapter. For example, Niki highlights the need to recognize internal differentiations within cultures by asserting that when an act of HRVO transpires, it is an extremist type of behaviour as opposed to the norm. Hence, she is reinforcing the notion that within cultures, there may be individuals who have extremist interpretations of cultural and religious concepts, while others may have more moderate views. According to Withaekx (2011, p. 5), migration context--which includes racism, discrimination, and socioeconomic deprivation--are factors that may stimulate and reinforce internal differentiations such as violent and misogynistic interpretations of culture. At the same time, however, Withaekx (2011) argues that because individuals have some degree of agency in terms of how they interpret culture and religious concepts, they may reject violence and oppression.

In contrast to Niki and Glen, who talked about the heterogeneity of cultures, Mohammed discussed how Orientalism in the Aqsa article could adversely affect victims of HRVO.

Mohammed explained:

There is no justification, but I think the media reports...I think it creates a false...us/them in terms of othering, and I think it also...for young women who are experiencing those forms of violence...it really takes away their agency...I think we see young women as victims that need to be rescued, and the only option is moving them from their families, moving them from their cultures...It's really putting them in more danger...the target is Islam and your culture...So if you are a woman who is struggling with this abuse, you would not be encouraged and go ask for help because then you would be seen as someone who is pretty aligned with the enemy...

Mohammed suggests that the Orientalist framing in terms of us versus them in the Aqsa article can negatively impact victims of HRVO by taking away their agency as it portrays them as needing to be saved from their cultures and communities. The agency that victims may lose can include service providers feeling that they need to make decisions for them, such as permanently removing them from their home, and/or trying to get them to relinquish their cultural and religious values and adopt western values. Also, as stated by Mohammed, the Orientalist narratives in the article can contribute to victims being less likely to reach out for help as they fear that they may be viewed to be associating with people and agencies that are stereotyping and discriminating against their communities.

It is integral that service providers challenge Orientalism that is reflected in the Aqsa article, popular media in general, and other social institutions to help facilitate agency among

victims of HRVO. One way that Mohammed's organization challenged Orientalist narratives was through a program called "Reclaiming Honour." This program involved young Muslim women and men taking ownership of the narrative on HRVO through a communication campaign consisting of community workshops and online communications. The goal of the campaign was to reclaim the word *honour* by engaging community members, faith leaders, and service providers in discussions of HRVO that highlighted the positive aspects of the term *honour* and distinguished it from violence and oppression in racialized communities. In addition, workshops were held for service providers to better equip them with the resources and knowledge to serve victims of gender and "honour"-based violence. According to Mohammed, the program received a lot of positive media and community attention and many participants went on to work at other community initiatives that challenge gender-based violence and Islamophobia.

4.2.2 Critique of the "Rest in peace my little family" article

In contrast to their critique of the first article, the research participants universally commented that the portrayal of the father who murdered his daughter and other female family members in the "Rest in peace" article was very sympathetic towards him. Many of them stressed that it was like night and day how the father was depicted in this article versus how the father and brother and their culture were negatively represented in the "Standing up for Aqsa" article. Narvinder, for example, stated, "here it comes off as this loving father making a selfless decision." Similarly, Kristen commented, "So much sympathy to the father...it's a different spin on the story...It's heartfelt... someone reading that [might] have some compassion for him even though he's done a horrible thing." Gloria also highlighted the fact that the culture of the family was not mentioned in the article in question. Gloria explained, "It says nothing about how he

grew up...it's crazy to think that in one [article], they pinpoint exactly where they are from and condemn people and talk about immigration...But this one is just focused on how he didn't want his daughter to live with pain anymore and very fluffy..."

The reason why the "Rest in peace" article is more sympathetic and humanizing of the perpetrator in comparison to the perpetrators in the "Standing up for Aqsa" article ("Standing Up", 2010) is because he as a White European male who is representative of the dominant class and culture in Canada. The dominant culture in Canada is composed of those who are privileged due to forms of oppression such as racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia among others. Based on these forms of oppression, the dominant culture is composed of and primarily serves those who of White European descent, male, upper class, and heterosexual. One of the ways that the dominant class and culture maintain their position is through discursive Orientalist narratives like those present in the first article that depict racialized communities as homogeneously dangerous and uncivilized (Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2016). Because the father in the second article is not a racialized person, these narratives are not applied to his actions, and there is no identification of his culture or race. In addition, there is very little, if any, analysis of how cultural and structural factors, such as patriarchal relations, may have played a role in the violence. These factors are not considered as the popular media tend to cover violence against women in ways that support patriarchal institutions (Bullock, 2007). According to Bullock (2007), the popular or mass media helps to support patriarchal relations because it typically covers violence against women in ways that obscures questions about male and female power imbalances. In the article in question, its humanizing tone and focus on Facebook communications from the father about his motives for the murders and his remorse obscure questions about male and female power imbalances. Moreover, the inference that the perpetrator

was undergoing a mental health crisis and was not fully sane obscures questions about patriarchal relations.

Many of the research participants suggested that they could see how people might be sympathetic toward the father in the second incident because of the articles humanizing tone and inference that murder might have been a mercy killing. In addition, a research participant, Teresa, commented that the father appeared to be delusional and was probably insane. She also stated that when honour killings happened in the 1970s in British Columbia in South Asian communities, many community members did not view the violence as part of their cultures and asserted that the killers were insane. In my experience as a police officer, I have seen how issues of mental health can play a role in violence against women, but usually, this issue is accompanied by other factors such as patriarchal relations. As mentioned earlier, the popular media explanation of incidents of violence against women through individualistic and mental illness focused frameworks obscure patriarchal relations (Jiwani, 2006). While the perpetrator who killed his daughter and other family members may have been undergoing some psychological disorder, his actions, like those of the perpetrators in the first incident, reflect oppression based on patriarchal relations.

The “Rest in peace” and “Standing up for Aqsa” articles describe two acts of murder in drastically different ways, but they were both cultural. For example, the perpetrators in both incidents were exposed to certain beliefs, attitudes, and practices and decided to engage in violence to obtain their goals. The common belief that they held was shame; as the perpetrators in the first murder were motivated by anger at the victim for shaming them through her transgression of their rules. Also, they murdered her to show others that they were in charge and to achieve their goal of removing shame and restoring their honour. In the second murders, the

father felt shame that he could not protect his daughter from the pain of her migraine headaches. Moreover, he killed the rest of his family because he experienced shame from killing his daughter and feared that they would experience shame from his crimes. Glen stated, “this is almost like--he’s the one that brought the dishonour and therefore I am going to kill everybody else and kill myself.” A common thread that Nadia highlighted in both murders was that the perpetrators exhibited a sense of godlike patriarchal control that they were the arbiter of the fates of women in their families. I agree with Nadia’s argument as both sets of male perpetrators believed that they had the right to end the lives of their female family members to satisfy their beliefs about honour and shame.

4.3 Summary of critiques.

In their critique of “Standing up for Aqsa,” the research participants highlighted the problematic aspects of the discourse present in this article as it homogenizes the cultures of victims of HRVO as inherently dangerous and patriarchal. As Mohammed argued, this type of framing of culture can increase the risk of violence for victims of HRVO as they may be more reluctant to seek help based on a fear that they may be seen as choosing to align with the same mainstream culture that is discriminating against their communities. As I have argued in the literature review and practice chapters, the most effective way for service providers to understand and respond to HRVO is through the heterogeneity of culture perspective, which was reflected in comments by Niki and Glen. This perspective enables service providers to see all violence and oppression as cultural and work to support victims and perpetrators by comprehending how their attitudes and behaviours are shaped by their interpretations of cultural concepts such as honour, shame, and sexuality. Further, the perspective helps service providers recognize social forces, including pre-migration trauma (torture, political violence) and post-

migration stressors (discrimination, change in socioeconomic status) that may be shaping incidents of HRVO.

In the “Rest in Peace” article, research participants such as Nadia highlighted how the individualistic mental illness focus obscures patriarchal relations, which played out in the perpetrator choosing to kill all his female family members and himself. As Nadia, argued a patriarchal sense of god-like control was present in both sets of murders, and this reflects the fact that all violence involves culture as individuals in society are exposed to certain beliefs, attitudes, and practices and decided to engage in violence to obtain their goals. If service providers use the heterogeneity of cultural perspective to understand and respond to HRVO, they will be in a better position to look beyond Orientalist narratives as well as individualistic mental illness-focused explanations and uncover some of the previously mentioned personal and structural forces that are contributing to violence and oppression.

4.4 Summary

The goal of this chapter involved learning about how service providers conceptualize HRVO as well as view dominant media discourse about the phenomenon. To achieve this goal, I asked research participants to evaluate my adopted definition of HRVO as well as news articles that described two different family murders. The critiques that research participants had regarding the definition that I presented included concerns that it was not inclusive enough in capturing men’s victimization, and it failed to capture other forms of oppression related to HRVO, such as dowry and caste systems, racism, and age. I agreed with these criticisms and believe that they will assist me to develop a definition that more fully captures HRVO and can assist service providers to better detect and respond to this issue. In the case of the discourses advanced in the news articles, most research participants highlighted the fact that the

heterogeneity of cultures or internal differentiation of individuals within cultures was not recognized due to Orientalist framing. In addition, one research participant, Mohammed, discussed how Orientalist narratives can present barriers for victims of HRVO to disclose abuse and seek help. Lastly, several research participants emphasized how the mental illness-focused discourse in the second article humanized the perpetrator, but his actions mirrored those of the murders in the first case in terms of a sense of patriarchal god-like control. This similarity reflects the fact that all violence is cultural in terms of being carried out by individuals who decide to engage in violence to achieve their goals such as maintaining honour and reducing shame. I argue that if service providers use a heterogeneity of culture perspective to understand and respond to HRVO, they will be in a better position to look beyond Orientalist narratives as well as individualistic mental illness-focused explanations and uncover personal, cultural, and structural factors that are shaping the specific decision-making processes of victims and perpetrators.

Chapter 5: Perspectives of Practice: Challenging “Cultural Talk” and Orientalism

In their study of 15 service providers working in the violence against women sector with South Asian communities in Toronto, Abji, Korteweg, and Williams (2019), found that the interviewees cycled through three discursive strategies to manage cultural talk or Orientalism while explaining violence against women in their communities. As discussed in Chapter 2, the three discursive strategies include *violence against women as a universal practice, structural forces, and interlocking systems of oppression and violence as a community issue*. In my study, I found many research participants used some of these strategies to challenge Orientalism, but they also used a fourth discursive strategy, the heterogeneity of culture perspective. In addition, I found that most research participants drew heavily upon the heterogeneity of culture perspective to inform their practice with victims and perpetrators of HRVO. As outlined in the literature review chapter, in the section “Heterogeneity of Culture Perspective of HRVO and Practice Implications” this perspective enables service providers to see all violence and oppression as cultural and work to support victims and perpetrators by comprehending how their attitudes and behaviours are shaped by their interpretations of cultural concepts such as honour, shame, and sexuality.

In my study, I found that one research participant supported the Orientalising cultural view of HRVO, and it informed her practice. In the first half of this chapter, I will outline the cultural and heterogeneity of culture perspectives and their practice implications. Further, I will use critical realism to highlight non-discursive factors of embodiment, materiality, and institutional power that may be responsible for the one service provider subscribing to the

cultural perspective while many others support the heterogeneity of culture perspective. In my analysis with critical realism, I will draw on Sims-Schouten and Riley's (2019, p.2) notion of discourses as culturally available repertoires that structure what people say, think, feel and do and refer to the cultural and heterogeneity of culture perspectives as discourses. After this, I will discuss how service providers can acknowledge aspects of culture in cases of HRVO without resorting to culturalization and racism through approaches such as the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response model and cultural translators or facilitators.

5.1 Cultural Perspective of HRVO and Practice Implications

While, as stated above, the heterogeneity of culture perspective was the predominant one used by most service providers I interviewed, the cultural perspective was used by some. One research participant, Barb, viewed, and responded to HRVO by following the cultural perspective. I learned that Barb had a culturalized understanding of HRVO based on her response to the article that I reviewed with all the research participants entitled, "Standing up for Aqsa and Canada in honour killing case." ("Standing Up", 2010). Barb commented that she agreed with arguments made in the article and saw a need to educate immigrants about Canadian laws and human rights.

During our discussion, Barb also mentioned that she found a presentation by Aruna Papp very helpful in terms of assisting her to understand HRVO. Papp (2010) takes a cultural stance toward HRVO, arguing that it is culturally driven, and that South Asian culture is inherently patriarchal and violent towards its women. The implications of this cultural understanding for Barb are aspects of her practice seemed to homogenize and stereotype victims and perpetrators of HRVO. For example, Barb noted that when it came to conducting file reviews, she would look deeper into files for "honour"-based components if the names associated with the file were

South Asian. After making this statement, Barb sensed that it might be problematic and explained her rationale. She stated the following: “I hope it’s not bad that I said that. I’d rather just be sure and read the file. The reason I do it is because not all the members may have an understanding or a full appreciation of it. I just want to make sure that they are doing everything and understanding the dynamics as well.” I reassured Barb that there was nothing wrong with her looking for issues of honour in files involving members of South Asian communities, but she should be looking for these issues in all files and communities. Barb’s practice of only looking for honour in cases of South Asian families is a form of profiling. While it may result in these files receiving attention and resources that may help to address issues that are contributing to HRVO, it may also lead her agency to view and treat all members of South Asian communities as patriarchal and violent. In addition, the overinvestment of resources toward South Asian communities may contribute to her organization not detecting and responding to issues of HRVO in other communities.

Another element of Barb’s practice that reinforced Orientalist narratives was the training that she conducted with immigration services. Barb stated the following about the training:

We also work closely with immigration services here and have done presentations at the immigration office regarding talking about Canadian laws and what their rights are and touching on “honour”-based violence. Again, it’s hard. Just even sometimes the language barriers and trying to find a common language to say these are your rights when it’s a belief system for them. To have someone coming in and saying, “Your belief system is wrong.” Not all wrong but here are your rights, kind of thing.

The training that Barb described reinforces some of the same Orientalist narratives that were present in the “Standing up for Aqsa and Canada” article that I discussed earlier as she suggested

that the goal of the training is to educate immigrants about Canadian laws and what rights they have in the country. In addition, she asserted that for many of the immigrants these laws and rights may go against their belief systems. This characterization proposes that Canadian laws and individual rights are not part of the belief system of some immigrants and that they bring belief systems to Canada that, as Barb remarked, are “wrong.” Further, this characterization is based on the notion that White European-descended Canadians who are educated in Canadian law and individual rights do not engage in acts of violence against women.

I would argue that education programs that assist immigrants to understand Canadian laws and their rights are important for their integration into Canadian society. However, to avoid perpetuating Orientalism and racism, the programs should be informed by a perspective that culture is heterogeneous, and individuals interpret cultural concepts in different ways based on structural forces such as collectivism and individualism, and social identities based on race, gender, and class among others. Moreover, there should be an effort for the trainers to engage in a dialogic process where they learn from the immigrant participants. Some of the things that they could learn are the similarities and differences between the laws and individual rights that the immigrants experienced in their home countries versus what they experience in Canada. Further, trainers could learn about the migration experience of immigrants, issues, and barriers that they are experiencing in Canada, and supports that may assist them to integrate. One of the ways that trainers could gain this understanding is by including immigrants in the development of the curriculum as well as the delivery of the course.

As outlined above the discourse that is structuring Barb’s beliefs and practice in the area of HRVO is a cultural perspective that advances Orientalist narratives. Examining Barb’s situation through the lens of critical realism there may be several non-discursive elements of

embodiment and materiality that may be informing her use of a cultural discourse. For instance, in the context of embodiment, she is of White European descent and has had limited personal experience dealing with cases of HRVO in culturally diverse communities. In addition, she mentioned first learning about HRVO from Aruna Papp¹⁵ (2012) who draws upon her experience as a victim of HRVO to perpetuate cultural explanations of the violence and abuse. In the context of materiality, there are few ethnocultural organizations and colleagues from diverse cultural backgrounds in the area in which Barb is working. Hence, she has limited experience engaging in a process of interaction and collaboration with organizations and individuals that may assist her to learn alternatives discourses that challenge Orientalism. Moreover, she discussed wanting to make connections with Mosques and other religious organizations in her community but not knowing how to go about developing these relationships. My suggestion to Barb was she should learn more about the culturally collaborative approach and consider bringing aspects of it to her community. Barb stated that she was interested to learn more about this approach and if it seemed helpful for her community, she would consider applying for a grant or other funding to bring it to her area. I will discuss the culturally integrative approach at length later in this chapter.

5.2 Heterogeneity of Culture Perspective and Practice Implications

In contrast to Barb, all the other research participants understood HRVO through the perspective of the heterogeneity of culture discursive strategy. As discussed in a previous

¹⁵ Aruna Papp is an educator and advocate of human rights. She has worked as a counsellor/therapist in Canada for over 30 years with families and individuals dealing with domestic violence. She is a survivor of domestic and HRVO and has published articles and books about her experiences. She frames violence in South Asian communities as being culturally driven, and the Conservative government has used her views to support orientalist and racist policies such as the “Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act.”

chapter, this discursive strategy draws on sociological perspectives that assert culture has a flexible and fluid nature, and cultural concepts are given multiple meanings by individual actors. The implication of service providers having the heterogeneity of culture understanding in their practice focuses on seeking to discover the specific meaning-making activities of individuals concerning cultural concepts such as honour and shame. Moreover, in their practice, they highlight the importance of responding to HRVO by recognizing internal differentiation in attitudes, values, and behaviours within families and communities. Lastly, some service providers integrate cultural perspectives into their practice that acknowledges the heterogeneity of culture such as a culturally integrative approach, or cultural translators. I will provide examples of these three practice implications later in this chapter.

5.2.1 Non-discursive Factors and Use of Heterogeneity of Culture Perspective

Like in the case of Barb, critical realism analysis helps to shed light on several non-discursive factors of materiality, embodiment, and institutional power that are likely responsible for the situation in which most service providers in my study structure their thoughts and practice following the heterogeneity of culture perspective. At the material level, the sampling strategies that I carried out contributed to an overrepresentation of service providers with these characteristics in my study. As outlined in the “methodology” chapter, the sampling methods that I used were purposive and snowball techniques which are non-random ways of ensuring that a specific category of individuals was in my sample. Through purposive strategies, I ended up with a sample primarily composed of those who use the heterogeneity of culture perspective to understand HRVO because they were the ones that I targeted. I had worked with many of these service providers on a committee or encountered them through training and knew that they had knowledge and experience dealing with cases of HRVO. I also made a point of seeking out

service providers who I knew did not view HRVO as being caused by culture and/or religion and were working to challenge the Orientalist framing of the issue.

I sought out these types of service providers as I was motivated to study HRVO due to feeling frustrated with how colleagues and many mainstream service providers depicted it in Orientalist ways. Hence, I was not interested in regularly encountering Orientalist perspectives in interviews with research participants and having to educate or challenge them about their approach. In addition, I believed that I could make a greater contribution to knowledge in the area of HRVO and practice by interacting and learning from service providers who are knowledgeable and skilled in this area.

Snowballing strategies also strongly shaped my sample as one influential service provider referred me to numerous service providers within her network who had participated in a provincial project on HRVO that she had led. The project provided an opportunity for the service providers to learn and share knowledge about HRVO and this made them enthusiastic about participating in my study and sharing their knowledge. Many of these service providers worked in ethnocultural and mainstream social service organizations and were from culturally and racially diverse backgrounds. I found that due to these shared experiences many of these service providers tended to conceptualize HRVO by following the heterogeneity of culture perspective and this was reflected in my study.

Some of the aspects of embodiment linked to many service providers in my study using the heterogeneity of discourse to understand and respond to HRVO are personal-social histories of HRVO and/or extensive experience working with its victims and perpetrators. For instance, many of the service providers commented that their personal experiences of HRVO or witnessing it in their families and/or communities shaped how they viewed its causes. More

specifically, they stated that these experiences caused them to recognize that HRVO was not caused by culture of religion but by individuals interpreting cultural concepts such as honour and shame in specific ways. Moreover, they argued that their personal-social histories and social locations as a female and/or member of a racialized community made them more aware of social forces such as premigration trauma (torture, witness political violence) and post-migration stressors (racism, change in socioeconomic status) that contribute to some individuals engaging in HRVO. Not all the service providers, however, who used the heterogeneity of culture perspective were members of racialized communities or had a personal-social history of HRVO. For many of these non-racialized service providers, the aspects of embodiment that shaped their view of HRVO were personal experiences dealing with a diverse range of cases of HRVO. In addition, in many instances, I learned from these service providers that they had a relationship with ethnocultural organizations or colleagues that assisted them to recognize the heterogeneous nature of HRVO.

At the institutional level, many service providers in my study who use the heterogeneity of culture discourse lead organizations that have policies and programs regarding HRVO that seek to challenge Orientalism by conceptualizing it through the lens of the heterogeneity of culture. In some cases, service providers have been instrumental in creating these policies and programs. In the case of one research participant, Dr. Mohammed Boabaid who wished to be identified in my dissertation, he has been instrumental in creating an organization that serves Muslim communities in London, Ontario. This organization has developed education and support programs for these communities in response to HRVO and other forms of violence as well as challenged Orientalising government policies through education and advocacy. Dr. Boabaid, who I will also refer to as Mohammed also developed the “culturally integrative family

safety response model” to collaborate with mainstream social service organizations to address the unique cultural needs of Muslim communities. Later in this chapter, I will outline this model and how it is associated with the heterogeneity of culture discourse. In the next section, I will outline examples from service providers who structure their understanding and practice regarding HRVO by following the heterogeneity of culture perspective.

5.2.2 Recognizing the Heterogeneity of Culture by Understanding the Meaning-Making Process

A service provider, Novi, described how she works to understand the meaning-making process of clients regarding their situation as well as their level of agency. Novi commented:

I think first and foremost I always went to the place they were at, so whether that was a place of grief or anger or sadness or disappointment. I would go there with them without question and without judgement.... Your telling them, “I’m there with you. I’m beside you” ...And then...I spend a lot of time unpacking how invested they are in...going through with what they are contemplating. Whether it’s leaving a situation of violence...pushing back against a forced marriage...coming out about an inter-racial relationship or same-sex relationship, really spending a lot of time unpacking what that looks like, how committed they are to that. Is this the best time to come out? What are the potential scenarios that could happen? Who are the allies in the family? What stages are they at in their own level of agency and empowerment...

When Novi described going to the place that victims are at in terms of grief, sadness, or disappointment, this is an example of her accepting and seeking to understand how victims are making sense of their experiences. Novi did not outline how she can detect and understand the experiences of victims early on in the intervention relationship, but it is likely that she would

have asked them questions about the acts of oppression and violence that they have experienced and how this has impacted their agency. Once she had this information, she could use it to connect with clients by communicating that she understood how they were feeling. An example of Novi seeking to understand the meaning-making activity of victims regarding their agency was when she talked about unpacking or investigating how invested they are in engaging in actions such as pushing back against forced marriage or “coming out.” As part of this investigation, Novi mentioned running through potential scenarios of what could happen, who might be allies in the family, and what stage victims are at in their level of agency and empowerment. Novi stated that she spends a lot of time in this process with victims because it is, “probably the most dangerous place to be in because you don’t know the impact that this will have on the family.” I agree with Novi that this can be a very dangerous situation for victims because some of their family members may view their act of agency as a contravention of the norms and rules of the family and community. Moreover, these family members may engage in oppressive behaviours against victims such as forced marriages, ex-communication, and physical assault to punish them for the contraventions or control their behaviour.

Novi commented that another area that she explores with victims when they are contemplating exercising their agency is tangible economic and social resources, that they have in place. Novi explained:

I’ve had many women speak to me about their inter-racial relationships or if they are coming out as gay, lesbian in their community and they don’t know how to start, and one of the first things that I say to them is, “Make sure that you have the capacity to go on your own if things don’t work the way that you want them to” because otherwise, it’s ripe

for “honour”-related violence. It’s ripe for women to be forced into marriages in India.

It’s ripe for women to be locked up in their house for days, weeks, or until they give in...

Novi was reflecting on her own experience of being ex-communicated by her family for being in an interracial relationship during our discussion of agency. Some of the tangible economic and social resources that she highlighted as helping her to make her own choices were access to education, a driver’s license and vehicle, accommodation away from her family, a job, and a network of friends outside of her family and community. Novi commented that she helps victims develop these types of resources first before they exercise their agency as it provides them with the capacity to survive on their own, away from their families and communities if things don’t work out.

Novi stressed that her approach is not popular in the domestic violence field as the more common view in this field is women should leave first and build their resources and agency later. In Novi’s experience, however, she has found that women are more likely to return to abusive homes if they do not have an adequate level of resources because it may be hard to live as a single person or mother and navigate trauma when all the control has been in their partner’s or families hands. While I agree with Novi’s approach, I am unsure if it would be ideal for all victims because other factors may be at play such as the imminent risk of violence. Another service provider, Teresa talked about how the characteristic of determination is a critical factor for women to have before they exercise agency. In addition, she suggested that women leaving and developing the resources to exercise agency can occur simultaneously or after.

Teresa commented:

...my interventions really were giving knowledge...giving them a sense that this is not normal...education...and hope...there’s services. Yeah, we can move you into another

home. You don't have to pay a lot of money, subsidized housing...But that intervention...all the support I can give only is effective depending on how determined the woman is...when a woman from a cultural background – when they are done, they are done...Like and I think it's because once the shame is dealt with and the honour...they are not going back...when they are ready to move forward, all the intervention I gave them was significant and they ate it up and created change.

In critical realism, a victim's access to the resources that Novi and Teresa identified are considered non-discursive elements of materiality that can shape and influence an individual's actions and understandings (Sims-Schouten, Riley & Willig, 2007). In Novi's scenario, she is suggesting that access to material resources such as a vehicle, employment, and housing is the key for victims to be successful in exercising their agency. In contrast, Teresa is stressing that embodiment in the form of victims dealing with the stress and trauma of the shame associated with their actions is the key for them moving forward and creating change with resources. More specifically, Teresa argued that once the victim's secret was out in the community, they were able to experience issues of honour and shame and move forward. According to Teresa, this process was difficult for the women, but once they dealt with it, they had more strength to leave because there were no longer secrets that they were struggling to protect. I would argue that Novi's and Teresa's approaches could be used interchangeably as each victim's situation is unique and material resources and an embodied experience of determination are both critical for victims to exercise their agency.

Debbie discussed a similar process as Novi regarding connecting with a client by working to understand their meaning-making process of honour. In Debbie's cases, however,

she described her interaction with a perpetrator who felt dishonoured and threatened to kill his wife and children and then escape to India because he believed that she was having an affair.

Debbie explained:

And with families, I think I was able to sit in on one children services family consultation and talk with the so-called perpetrator again and hear his story, and he was suspecting his wife of having an affair, and he was stating that he was going to kill her and the kids and go to India. I was able to strike a conversation with him not as you know, “you are a bad man,” but to say I understand...because honestly I feel sorry that our culture has told you that this is what a man should do and you are responsible if your wife sleeps around. And [we had] a conversation about honour and in this case, she wasn’t actually even doing that, but I said, “Even if she was doing this, your true honour as a husband is to understand why she is doing that”...and then he opened up to me and cried...I think it’s just meeting whoever where they are and trying to have an understanding of what the situation looks like for them...

In her example, Debbie connected with the perpetrator by listening to how he made sense of his situation and being nonjudgmental. Through the conversation, Debbie learned that the husband suspected his wife of having an affair, and he felt that social structures such as his culture were telling him that he needed to kill his wife and family to regain his honour. Debbie subsequently had a conversation with the husband about honour and tried to redefine it for him from a collective type of community concept, where he felt he had to maintain it through force, to a more personal conceptualization in which seeking to understand his wife’s actions would be honourable. One statement that I found problematic in Debbie’s example was her comment to the husband that their culture, which was South Asian culture, had told him what he needed to do

as a man. While I agree that some components of South Asian culture would suggest that men need to protect their honour through violence, I know other components suggest otherwise. Debbie's comment about culture made it seem like the husband was being told what to do by his culture in a deterministic fashion and had very little agency. However, when she explored honour with him, she touched on his agency by suggesting that it was more personal and loving and would involve him seeking to understand his wife's situation.

Like Debbie, Mohammed discussed connecting with perpetrators by showing empathy and seeking to understand their meaning-making process regarding honour. An example of this type of intervention described by Mohammed was his work with a family who engaged in HRVO against their children. Some motivations for the violence was the parents fear that their children were dishonouring them by becoming too westernized and behaving badly in the community. Mohammed stated the following:

We have empathy toward the victim which is important, but also if we can show empathy toward the perpetrator and the family, that would make a big difference...you really send a clear message that you don't agree with the action but also the same time you respect this man or this family. So, you really understand their pain. If they feel they are victims of the system, if they feel, for example, because they are here in Canada now, they are losing their kids. If they feel you can listen to that and you share that kind of feeling towards them. I think that would really open up (sic) for you...then you can say, "You are good people; I understand this is a tragedy for you. You came here as a family. You want to raise your kids. Now your child is not with you...maybe you think the child will become westernized, do bad things...we try to work together to minimize the damage...but also...my role is to help you understand how the system works."

Considering Mohammad's account of his empathetic counselling intervention process through the lens of critical realism and its notion of non-discursive factors, he is working through several aspects of embodiment, materiality, and institutional power. For instance, his suggestion that you listen to the family's plight so that you can communicate to them that you do not see them as bad people and understand their pain is an aspect of embodiment. It would be embodiment for the family who is having the experience of stress and trauma as well as the service provider who is empathetically putting themselves in the family's situation. The aspect of materiality and institutional power in the situation would be the children being removed by child welfare due to HRVO from their parents. According to Mohammed another way to connect with the family would be helping them understand how the system works. In this case, he was referring to the child welfare system and police, which exercise institutional power and he would educate the family about the type of behaviors that they would need to engage in to increase the chances of their children being returned.

Mohammed also highlighted connecting with families experiencing HRVO by recognizing internal differentiations such as members who hold different beliefs and values. Mohammed explained:

I think I would like to disrupt some of our notions that all of the family is on board with whatever form of violence is being carried out because I think in working with families, there is also disagreement within families, but I think it gets caught up in hierarchical relationships...but to assume that everyone in a situation where a young woman or young man is experiencing "honour"-related violence, that the whole family, the extended family and the community is condoning, in this case, killing as a solution and the best solution is not true. And yet we assume that. I think people are speaking out against it.

But I think even within a family situation you can often find there will be people who will struggle against it...

The internal differentiation in cultures and families that Mohammed discussed is very important for service providers to recognize. Mohammed asserts that when these internal differentiations are ignored, families affected by HRVO tend to be perceived as a unit of perpetrators.

According to Mohammed, this negative perception of the family can contribute to service providers missing opportunities to connect with and support victims as well as family members who disagree with HRVO. The support of the victim and family members who disagree with the violence and oppression can be impactful as it may assist family members to be a stronger advocate for the victim and the victim to be a stronger advocate for themselves. Moreover, with counselling, financial support, and other sources of support, the victim and their family members may be less vulnerable and susceptible to future incidents of HRVO.

Teressa provided an example of a situation where not perceiving the family as a unit of perpetrators was helpful for assessing risk. She described a case with a Lebanese woman who had been severely physically assaulted by her husband and fled to Canada with her children. Teressa was counselling the woman and learned that she was in contact with her abusive husband and he was pressuring her to return Saudi Arabia, but her parents were discouraging her from returning. Teressa stated the following about the situation:

And we had this case that was horrific. It was a lady from Lebanon. And she was a Muslim lady with two children and she just landed in Edmonton. ...she landed with tons of broken bones and one of my colleagues...picked her up at the airport and then brought her to our shelter. As she got healthier, there was so much pressure for her to go back. But the...interesting thing was her parents were discouraging her to go back. ...she

stayed with us for a long time and then maybe [after] a year and a half, she went back to him. But the protective factor was he was in Saudi Arabia. He moved and stayed with her parents for a while for the parents to do some assessment...so there was an opportunity for change, and she kept in touch with her parents. And eventually they felt that it was safe enough for her to go back to him under their roof to make sure she's okay.

Teressa's example illustrates that internal differentiation of cultural values and beliefs within families of HRVO can contribute to some family members being a source of support for the victims as well as protection. For instance, the victim's parents did not support the behaviours and values of her husband, and they took him into their home so they could assess his behavior and level of risk. In addition, they communicated their concerns to their daughter who in turn communicated this information to the services providers that she was working with so they could also assess risk and help her make a more informed decision.

As Teressa mentioned, eventually the victim returned to her husband and they initially lived with her parents so they could continue to assess him for risk and determine when it would be safe for her to leave their home with him. Teressa inferred that there was an opportunity for change during the time the perpetrator lived with the victim's parents as they may have challenged some of his attitudes that contributed to him assaulting their daughter. Teressa commented that when the victim left Canada, she lost touch with her and she continues to wonder if she is safe. While we may never know what happened to the woman and her husband, the central role that her family played as a protective factor is very encouraging. If the perpetrator continued to engage in violence against the victim, her family would likely continue to be involved and assume the protective role.

Nadia also discussed identifying and acknowledging family members of victims of HRVO as a source of support. Nadia explained:

We almost never have women coming in on their own. They come in with someone, usually a sister or a mother, someone else. It's never that individualized seeking of service that one associates with most service provision...in that situation, it helps when the service provider does not, for example, say, "Okay, I'm only going to talk to you if everyone else beats it"...You can say, "I'd like to just talk to her a little while" and then you have to bring it back to the group. Because she is going to bring them in with her next time as well. So, taking a family-centred approach rather than an individual-to-individual approach might help because those people that she brings with her are part of what she needs to feel safe and supported as well. So, separating her from them to provide individualized service can make her feel less comfortable than when she came in.

Nadia's example describes the protective aspects of collectivist cultures for victims of violence.

As mentioned in the literature review chapter, in comparison to "individualistic societies that place a high value on autonomy and individuation from one's family of origin, collectivist societies place greater emphasis on interdependence, an obligation to the group, and social reputation" (Baobaid & Ashbourne, 2017, p. 11). As I have argued earlier and demonstrated with examples from service providers such as Mohammed, Debbie, and Novi, there is internal differentiation of individuals within cultures, and when HRVO occurs there may be disagreements among family members about the behaviour. Hence, some family members may side with the perpetrators, while others side with and support the victim.

For the family members who support the victim, they would place an emphasis on interdependence and obligation to her. Therefore, when some victims attend counselling

intervention sessions, they may feel more comfortable in the presence of other family members who support them. For some mainstream service providers, however, who are more familiar with the traditional North American individualistic view of counselling and not knowledgeable about aspects of a collectivist culture, they may, as Nadia suggests want to tell the other family members to leave the room. As Nadia points out, this individualized approach would be determinantal for some victims as it may contribute to them feeling isolated and uncomfortable. Moreover, the approach may increase the risk of violence for victims as members who have been asked to leave the room may be suspicious of what their family members who have remained in the room are being told to do by the service provider. Isolation, discomfort and suspicion are not ideal as it would make it more difficult for service providers to empathetically connect with victims and assist them to regain or develop their agency. Hence, as suggested by Mohammed, the family of victims of HRVO should not be perceived as a unit of perpetrators, or service providers will miss opportunities to connect and support them.

Another service provider, Rose, also commented on the impact of family support for victims of HRVO. Rose stated the following:

...when the woman, the victim has the support of somebody in the family, sometimes, for example, the mother. I find...it's powerful. So, if the mother says no. You go with the divorce, then she feels empowered. And now if they have the support of the brother also. ...the father could say no, but the other ones...[if] they support the woman, then she feels more empowered to move forward.

In her description of the victim's family support system, Rose noted that the support of a mother is powerful, but if a brother is on board, the victim can feel even more empowered. The support of a mother and brother may be a powerful combination because if the family has a very

patriarchal structure, the mother may have a significant role in the family, but the gender of the brother may carry more status. For instance, I know of a situation where a young woman of South Asian descent made a point of seeking the support of her brother-in-law to tell her parents that she did not want to go through with an arranged marriage. The parents of the young woman were pressuring her to accept the marriage by highlighting the status of the potential groom's family, his professional background, and how they would be dishonoured if she refused the arrangement. The young woman had the support of her sisters but made a point to seek the support of the brother-in-law who had a great deal of status and influence as he was of the oldest male siblings in the family. She was able to get the support of her brother-in-law, and he approached her parents and they eventually relented. Without the support of her male brother-in-law, the young woman's parents may have continued to pressure her, and she may have been forced into the marriage. Further, she may have had to temporarily or permanently remove herself from her family or they may have excommunicated her. I agree that the status of a male who supports the victim is important within patriarchal family structures, but I have also heard of cases where female family members standing up to male perpetrators in families was an effective source of support for the victim.

5.2.3 Culturally Integrative Approach

One of my research questions is "How can service providers acknowledge aspects of culture in cases of HRVO without resorting to culturalization and racism?" Mohammed provided the most extensive answer to this question by outlining an approach that he developed in collaboration with several mainstream service organizations in London, Ontario. The approach is called the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response Model (CIFSR). The CIFSR model, "is a strength-based response to family violence in collectivist immigrant families that engages

all members of the family, including the extended family and broader collective.” (Boabaid & Ashbourne, 2017, p. 8). The CIFSR model goes beyond cultural sensitivity, which tends to only educate service providers about cultural differences or providing language translation or outreach services (Boabaid & Ashbourne, 2017). The CIFSR model is culturally integrative as it “promotes dialogue between the minority collectivist community and the various agencies involved in the anti-violence work in the broader community, while also integrating established best practices for serving families from more marginalized communities” (Boabaid & Ashbourne, 2017, p. 8). Some of the services delivered through the model include education, interpretation, and outreach. Further, a cultural broker works with mainstream services providers to assist them to understand the unique aspects of each family’s situation and coordinate prevention and intervention strategies (Baobaid & Ashbourne, 2017).

Mohammed developed and implemented the CIFRS model in 2009, in the form of the Muslim Resource Centre for Social Support and Integration in London, Ontario. He developed this model, after noticing that mainstream agencies such as schools, social services, and women’s services were not addressing cultural factors related to family violence in collectivist communities. The cultural factors that were not being addressed included many young women in Arab and Muslim families feeling trapped between their family’s collectivist traditions and the individualistic Canadian context that they encountered through their school experiences and the media. Mohammed argued that by failing to recognize these cultural factors, established service providers were not effectively responding to the “trapped” status¹⁶ of the young women and

¹⁶ By trapped status, Boabaid and Ashbourne (2017) are referring to girls being conflicted between family traditions and being part of Canadian culture and its mainstream socialization that takes place through school and the popular Canadian media.

family violence (Boabaid & Ashbourne, 2017). The “trapped” status of young women was not the only cultural factor that Mohammed noticed mainstream service providers were missing. He also observed that they were not acknowledging key issues related to family violence in some newcomer families such as pre-migration trauma (witnessing or experiencing torture, war, and political violence), post-migration stressors (shifts in socioeconomic status and difficulties integrating), culture and religion. Mohammed commented on the importance of service providers, accounting for these factors in their work with newcomer families in the following passage:

I realized that mainstream anti-violence agencies would not ask the right questions to understand what are really the main factors...but basically they would build their risk assessment on their assumptions...I didn't actually see any single question about pre-migration experience of any families involved with any of these mandated services, whether the police, shelters, child welfare, probation...There are three major factors that we need to really consider when we assess risk or maybe when we have an intervention plan...You need to look at the migration experiences, whether it's pre and post-migration. That tells you a lot about the intimate relations, the family relations, but even the violence that could happen. The second factor is cultural differences...the cultural difference will help you understand how far this person is from Canadian culture. So, this will give you a sense of what this man is struggling with. The third is religion. The role of religion is important. So, I found people really simplify the cultural aspect by blaming the other culture or maybe the other religion, and they don't really consider religion because it is a sensitive issue. Nobody wants to go there [laughs].

Mohammed stated that he has frequently observed mainstream anti-violence agencies failing to ask the right questions regarding family violence in newcomer communities and building their assessments on their assumptions. The assumptions of these organizations that he is alluding to are cultural assumptions that blame family violence on the culture and religion of newcomers. Mohammed mentioned that he challenges these types of assumptions and assists mainstream agencies to recognize the complex needs of newcomer families by collaborating with them as part of the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response. The complex needs of newcomers identified by Mohammed include migration experiences, cultural differences, and the role of religion. Mohammed asserted that it is integral that these three areas are addressed in risk assessments or intervention plans with newcomer families because exploring migration experiences provides information about how pre-migration trauma and post-migration stressors may be influencing intimate and family relations as well as violence. In addition, inquiring about cultural differences provides a sense of how far members of the family have integrated into Canadian culture and what external forces such as discrimination, language barriers, and shifts in socioeconomic status among others may be hindering their integration. Lastly, exploring the role of religion helps to explain the significance of religious practices and beliefs in the lives of individuals and how they may be related to HRVO and other forms of violence.

Mohammed indicated that some service providers are reluctant to explore religion with individuals because it is a sensitive issue. However, as he infers, this is an important issue to explore as it can provide information on how individuals apply their meaning-making activity regarding religion to their experience. For instance, if an individual holds strong religious views that suggest women should not engage in sex before marriage and he finds out that his daughter is sexually active, he may perceive this to be an act that violates his religion and family honour.

Consequently, he may engage in HRVO against his daughter in the form of ex-communication, forced marriage, or physical violence to punish her for the violation or coerce her to behave in ways that will restore religious and family honour. In this example, I am not arguing that the religion of the individual is determining their behaviour; rather, I am asserting that the individual's behaviour is shaped by their interpretations of religious and cultural norms, values, and laws.

In the CIFSR model, religious and cultural views that support HRVO may be challenged through religious leaders such as Imams and a process that Mohammed characterized as negotiating with the perpetrator. In cases, where perpetrators rely on their interpretations of religious scriptures to justify their violence, Mohammed stated that Imams have been used to challenge these views. According to Mohammed, incorporating Imams into intervention plans with families has been effective, and many religious and community leaders are supportive of his organization and work. While this type of intervention has been effective, a colleague of Mohammed, Parm, who was also a research participant for my dissertation, stated that some mainstream service providers are in disbelief that Imams would preach against and challenge violence against women. This disbelief is likely the result of these mainstream service providers viewing HRVO through the cultural perspective and communities associated with it as homogeneous patriarchal, dangerous and violent. Mohammed and I did not discuss what may motivate religious leaders to become involved in the CIFSR model, but I would argue that they likely want to protect members of their communities by reducing the problem of violence against women. Moreover, they may want to play a role in challenging the Orientalist framing of their community from the dominant media and political system by illustrating internal differentiations such as the fact that not everyone supports HRVO.

The process that Mohammed described as negotiating with the perpetrator may take place with religious leaders or be conducted by Mohammed himself. The negotiation process resembles cognitive behavioural therapy in that Mohammed is attempting to help the perpetrator identify and change inaccurate and problematic thinking, beliefs, and behaviours. Mohammed provided an example of how this process is carried out with a Muslim father, whose wife had been arrested for hitting their daughter after she found out her daughter was sexually active. The mother was arrested for the assault, but Mohammed had concerns that the father could be more dangerous based on his beliefs and comments. Mohammed negotiated with the father by getting him to create a list of things that he could tolerate, things he could negotiate, and things that he could not tolerate. Some of the things that the father listed as being able to tolerate and negotiate were his daughter taking off the hijab and witnessing his daughter playing sports with boys, smoking, yelling, and making noise in the street. The things that the father could not tolerate were his daughter using drugs and alcohol and engaging in sex. Mohammed indicated that the creation of this type of list allows individuals to reflect on and start to deal with some of their thoughts and feelings of anger, anxiety, and uncertainty. Another piece of Mohammed's negotiation with perpetrators involves him attempting to help them get in touch with a new reality. He helped the father reach a new reality by advising him of the consequences of hitting his child in Canada, such as the authorities taking his child into care if he and his wife don't change their behaviour. In addition, he negotiated on the family's behalf with child welfare to ensure that their child, who had been taken into care, was placed with a Muslim family. Lastly, the family agreed to attend counselling at his agency, and he worked with them to understand how their migration experiences as well as cultural and religious interpretations were shaping their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours towards their daughter.

The CIFSR model does not just involve intervention with families in crisis it also includes developing and sustaining relationships with members of cultural communities such as religious leaders and community leaders. The relationships and ongoing interactions established in the CIFSR approach are important and significant as they provide opportunities for early intervention, awareness, and support (Baobaid & Ashbourne, 2017). According to Mohammed, his organization is the only one in Canada and possibly the world that uses a culturally integrative approach. I was surprised that this may be the case as the approach sounds like it has been extremely successful in London, Ontario, and it could assist other communities as well as mainstream and ethnocultural organizations throughout Canada. I did not ask Mohammed why the program has not expanded past his area, but it could be due to a lack of interest among some mainstream service agencies to relinquish power or funding by working collaboratively with ethnocultural organizations.

5.2.4 “Othering” through Overreliance on Referrals

Unlike Mohammed, Kristen, who works in a mainstream social service agency, has adopted a referral model rather than a culturally collaborative approach when working with perpetrators of HRVO. Moreover, in contrast to Mohammed, she believes that the belief system of these perpetrators is fixed and will not change. Kristen commented:

...the ones that I had and there's only been two where the honour thing was--it was a psychologically counselling thing. ...I really don't think--I think the belief system to the core...didn't really change. ...my experience working with offenders in general, violent offenders, is that they all have some element of denial, minimization, and rationalisation about what they did. But some of them you can work with changing those cognitive beliefs...I don't think with this population – I am making a generalization based on a

couple of cases and the training I've taken. I just don't see the belief system changing. I think the one carrot and stick is they don't want to go back to jail.

The counselling that Kristen described is very similar to the cognitive-based therapy described by Mohammed. In contrast to Mohammed, Kristen commented that in her experience she has not found this type of counselling to be effective with perpetrators of HRVO, and she attributes this to their fixed attitudes. Kristen's counselling experiences with HRVO perpetrators may be different from Mohammed's because she seeks to address their cultural needs and values by referring them to culturally-based agencies. Her rationale for these referrals is she believes that her status as a White Canadian woman makes it difficult for her to effectively connect with clients who are male and of different cultural or racial backgrounds. Kristen commented, "I think the best thing is to refer them to a culturally based program...I think as a White woman...from a different place...you are not going to get the level of connection and respect from the older men." I agree with Kristen that differences in social power locations regarding gender, ethnicity, and race can make it more difficult to connect with the types of clients she is describing, but this is where a collaborative approach like Mohammed discussed would be ideal. The problem with her practice of referring culturally diverse clients to ethnocultural organizations is they may not end up receiving services and have no chance to alter their beliefs and learn new behaviours. For instance, another service provider, Narvinder, who has worked in a similar agency as Kristen, stated that referrals to culturally-based agencies tend not to be helpful for the clients because many of these programs have long waitlists and clients end up receiving no or limited counselling. An additional problem with Kristen's practice of referring out culturally diverse clients for counselling is she is less likely to develop knowledge regarding

the cultural context of these clients and be able to recognize and support any interventions that were conducted by the ethnocultural organizations.

I agree that referrals to culturally-based agencies can be helpful for clients to receive the support of service providers who understand their unique cultural experiences. However, the Orientalist belief that acts of violence against women such as HRVO are a South Asian or Muslim problem may prompt some mainstream service providers to over-rely on referrals to ethnocultural organizations when they have clients from these cultural backgrounds. In Kristen's case, it appeared that she felt clients who were of a different gender and culture than her would receive more appropriate support from a culturally-based agency. However, a service provider, Narvinder, argued that the practice of referring clients who are culturally different than mainstream service providers to ethnic-based programs is a type of "othering." For instance, he pointed out that he is South Asian, but it would be more appropriate to place him in a mainstream program rather than a Punjabi-based program as he is not fluent in Punjabi. The collaborative relationship described by Mohammed would be of great benefit to many of the culturally diverse clients that are served by Kristen's agency. Her agency appears to have collaborative relationships for programming with Indigenous clients, which suggests there could be future possibilities for similar programming for other culturally diverse clients. In her comments about cognitive-based therapy programs at her agency, Kristen stressed that she has never observed these programs change the attitudes of clients and maybe the only thing that works is them not wanting to return to jail which is the "carrot and stick" approach. What I interpret her to be arguing is perpetrators may never change their attitudes, but they may change some of their behaviours because they don't want to go back to jail. A counselling goal of changing behaviour and not attitudes can be an effective outcome if it results in perpetrators refraining from engaging

in HRVO. Stephen talked about how this type of behavioural change can be a worthwhile counselling goal in the following passage:

...we can actually change their behaviour even if they never acknowledge they did.

Because not acknowledging it is like a public thing... You must publicly admit that you were wrong. Well first, if somebody is really that into the concept of honour, what's the likelihood that you're going to get the person to roll over completely and say, "You know what? I was wrong. I had all the wrong attitudes and the wrong beliefs. Everything I thought in my life was a lie up until this moment". It's pretty hard for people to do that... He may always say he made a bad decision and it's a stain on her character and all that kind of stuff. But can you get them to say, "Yeah, but it's probably just not worth killing somebody over that." That's really all you care about.

I agree with Stephen's argument about changing behaviours sometimes being a more realistic goal than changing attitudes. Ideally, one would strive to work with perpetrators and support them in changing both their attitudes and behaviours, but this may not always be possible as Stephen suggests because it would be a major shift in their worldview or the social construction of reality.

Several years ago, I presented a case of HRVO that I had worked on while I was a patrol officer with the Vancouver Police to an Educational Studies class. The case involved a Muslim family and the father had assaulted and threatened to kill his daughter after he found out that she was dating a boy and sexually active. The victim was terrified of her father and stated that he would follow through with his threats because he was very religious and concerned that her actions had tarnished the family's honour. We arrested and charged the father and the victim subsequently returned to her home. The father was eventually found guilty of a lesser charge

that would not result in him having a criminal record, and there were no new police calls to their home. I did not have any further contact with the victim after her father was arrested, but it appeared that he may have changed some of his violent and threatening behaviour toward her as there were no new police contacts. It is also possible that the abuse continued, and the victim did not contact the police again, but we will never know for certain. After I presented this case, a female student commented that I did not achieve anything with the arrest because the father likely never changed his attitudes. At the time, I was a bit stumped about how to respond, but I realized after the class that as a police officer, I would hope that I could help change both the attitudes and behaviours of the father. However, if he had deep-seated beliefs about honour and shame a more realistic goal, as Stephen's suggested, would be changing his behavior through the deterrence of police arrests and criminal charges. Since there were no further police contacts after the father was arrested, possibly we were able to change his violent behaviour towards his daughter.

5.2.5 Cultural Translators or Facilitators

Like Mohammed, Stephen talked about integrating cultural perspectives into his practice in the form of cultural translators and facilitators. Stephen commented:

...And having a cultural translator or facilitator or admitting your own ignorance...if you can't get a translator, you just got to talk to people about it and say, "Help me understand."...Help me understand, your spiritual beliefs or let me understand your concept of what it means to be a man or woman or whatever...so you talk to people about things, but having translators or people who are local experts, that's extremely important. Like I did a transgender assessment. How am I supposed to do that? I've never lived as a transgender person or in a transgender community. Well, I'll talk to somebody who

knows someone and see if there's something that they can help me understand. ...Or if it was possible, I'd have somebody in the room and could maybe talk to me afterward and help me understand and make sure I'm not missing something or misunderstanding.

Stephen's description of using cultural translators has some similarities with Mohammed's approach as he is integrating features of collaboration and dialogue into his practice by consulting with service providers from culturally diverse communities. For instance, he mentioned conducting an assessment on a transgender person and a member of this community acted as a cultural translator who assisted him to understand the experience of the individual and ensure that he was not misinterpreting or missing any pertinent information. The concept of a cultural translator or facilitator that Stephen discussed is a good alternative for service providers if they are not able to develop a full culturally collaborative approach like Mohammed. However, I would suggest that if mainstream service providers bring in cultural facilitators, they should not just use them for information, they should allow them to have some degree of influence over any final opinions and/or recommendations regarding clients.

5.3 Summary

The service providers in my study illustrated two perspectives of understanding HRVO, namely the cultural perspective and the heterogeneity of culture perspective. The practice implications of the first perspective are service providers may tend to homogenize and stereotype the experiences of victims and perpetrators of HRVO as well as reinforce Orientalist narratives. In contrast, service providers working from the second perspective recognize the internal differentiation of attitudes and beliefs among individuals, communities, and families. Furthermore, they seek to understand these differentiations by investigating the specific meaning-making activities and agency of victims and perpetrators of HRVO in relation to

cultural concepts such as honour and shame. Lastly, service providers working following the heterogeneity of culture perspective have learned to acknowledge aspects of culture in cases of HRVO without resorting to culturalization and racism through models such as the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response model and use of cultural translators or facilitators. In my study, most of the service providers used the heterogeneity of culture perspective to understand and respond to HRVO. Some of the non-discursive factors responsible for the overrepresentation of service providers with these characteristics in my study included sampling and many of them having a personal-social history of experiencing or witnessing HRVO in their families or communities. In addition, many of them were leading organizations that had policies and programs regarding HRVO that seek to challenge Orientalism by conceptualizing it through the lens of the heterogeneity of culture. The examples of service providers who have adopted the heterogeneity of culture perspective and recognize culture and religion without marginalizing communities provide proof that this is the most appropriate perspective to comprehend and respond to HRVO.

Chapter 6: Drawing on Discourses to Counsel and Support HRVO

Victims

When the young women in the tragic Shaffia “honour”-killing case¹⁷ reached out for help from service providers before their murders on June 30, 2009, in Kingston Ontario, many warning signs were missed. For instance, the girls’ injuries from assaults, statements, and recantations of abuse, fear of their father and brother, and behaviour such as running away from home and suicide attempts were not enough for the police to lay charges or for child welfare workers to remove the girls from the home. After the girls’ murders and subsequent prosecution of the perpetrators, social workers, and child welfare workers who had counselled the girls admitted to not understanding the warning signs in the context of honour and shame. The girls’ murders illustrate the importance of service providers understanding what HRVO is and how to respond to it as victims are likely to stop reaching out for help if they are not believed and the honour and shame context of their abuse is not recognized.

Many of the service providers whom I interviewed argued that dealing with cases of HRVO is more complex and demanding than responding to other types of violence. Some of the reasons why they suggested these cases are more difficult than others are; they involve sensitive issues of culture, religion, sexuality, honour, and shame. Also, they frequently include multiple perpetrators, and as the Shaffia case illustrates, the risk for violence can be extremely high due to

¹⁷ In the Shafia family murders, three daughters of Mohammed Shafia—Zainab, Sahar, and Geeti—and his former wife, Rona Omar, were found dead inside a car that was discovered underwater in the Kingston Mills Lock of the Rideau Canal. After a police investigation, Mohammed, his wife, and son were charged with, and subsequently convicted of, the murders. The motive for the murders was the murderers’ perception that their family members had dishonoured them with their sexualized behavior and inability to have children, in the case Mohammed’s former wife, Rona.

deeply rooted notions of honour and shame amongst individuals, families, and communities. In my study, I came across other elements that contribute to HRVO cases being more demanding for service providers such as non-discursive factors of embodiment, materiality, and institutional power. These non-discursive influences appear throughout the counselling process and service providers manage them by engaging in self-care, creating resources for clients, and drawing on the heterogeneity of culture and other discourses to structure their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours.

The framework that I used to identify the non-discursive factors was Houston's (2010) reworking of critical realist, Roy Bhaskar's notion of the stratified nature of social life and Laydner's rendition of the four domains of social life (1997, cited in Houston, 2010, p.78). I have outlined Houston's (2010, p. 79) five domains in the methodology chapter but will briefly describe them again. The five domains of social life include the domain of the person (embodied person), the domain of situated activity (face to face interaction), the domain of social setting (institutional sphere, family, organizations), the domain of culture (beliefs system, norms, rituals, social practices) and domain of polity/economy (political and economic sphere). In lay terms these domains characterize aspects of social life at the level of the individual regarding bodily experiences and interaction with others, organizational level such as families and other informal groups, community level regarding beliefs values, and social practices, and institutional level in terms of political and economic systems. While I used the framework of the five domains to structure my questions and conduct my analysis, I will refer to the domains in lay terms such as *individual, organizational, community, and institutional* level for clarity.

Some components of embodiment that I found service providers face at the *individual level* include feelings of outrage, grief, fear, frustration, anxiety, and vicarious trauma. In

addition, within this same domain service providers experience aspects of individual and institutional power regarding issues of positionality between themselves and their clients. At the *organizational level*, the components of materiality and institutional power that service providers encounter consist of issues regarding mainstream service providers who lack awareness and understanding of HRVO and are silent and unresponsive when incidents occur. At the *cultural level*, service providers experience aspects of embodiment, materiality, and institutional power within the context of communities that are related to a lack of anonymity, close-knit communities, social reputation, and power relations. Lastly, within the *institutional level* service providers encounter components of institutional power and materiality in relation to organizational and government policies such shelter criteria, forms that fail to capture HRVO, waitlists, and immigration policy.

I believe that my identification and discussion of the non-discursive aspects that service providers face is important as it offers a picture of factors that make it more difficult for them to effectively counsel and support clients of HRVO. In addition, by identifying these non-discursive influences, the potential exists for them to be addressed through organizational and government policies, so service providers are in a better position to help victims and perpetrators of HRVO. In the first section of this chapter, I will discuss and analyze the counselling relationship that service providers establish with their clients, touching on the embodied aspects of their feelings and emotions. Following this analysis, I will identify and examine issues of materiality and institutional power regarding the positionality of service providers in relation to their clients. Next, I will examine issues of materiality in terms of mainstream service providers lacking awareness and understanding of HRVO and remaining silent or failing to respond when incidents of HRVO occur. After this, I will illustrate how factors such as lack of anonymity and

social reputation within communities have qualities of embodiment, materiality, and institutional power. Lastly, I will outline and examine organizational policies that service providers experience that contain aspects of institutional power and materiality. Throughout each section, I will identify and discuss some of the discourses and material resources that service providers draw on in response to each of the non-discursive elements they encounter.

6.1 The Anxiety that Our Bodies Go Through

While supporting clients of HRVO service providers experience aspects of embodiment such as feelings of outrage, grief, fear, frustration, and vicarious trauma. These experiences of embodiment are best reflected by comments from Nadia, Gloria, and Danika. Nadia stated:

...I can only say what I feel whenever I hear anyone trotting out the “honour”-related language in front of me. I have to walk away to control my rage. I feel outraged and enraged...I can’t engage in dialogue at that point...It upsets me too much because I have experienced it myself at a personal level. I’ve seen women suffering from it. I’ve seen cis and trans people suffering the consequences of this kind of violence. ...I feel extreme grief and pain...If I am helping someone who is in that situation, I cannot afford to feel those emotions, or it clouds my judgment and thinking. ...At my agency, I have often had crisis calls, and sometimes I was the only one in the office to get those calls. So, I sought out training to help me handle those calls because I was so overwhelmed. The best thing to do is refer to my training...I access that in my head...when you are dealing with survivors, you’ve got to quell your emotions.

Nadia mentioned feeling extremely upset and outraged when she hears people engaging in “honour”-related language in her presence. The type of language that she is referring to is Orientalist characterizations of HRVO that frame it as a cultural and religious practice associated

with racialized communities such as South Asian and Muslim communities. Nadia explained that she has this strong reaction to this “honour”-related language because she has a personal history of it, and she has observed many women, cis, and trans people suffering the consequences of this kind of violence. In addition, her personal-social history of HRVO contributes to her experiencing grief, pain, and feeling overwhelmed when intervening with victims. Some of the ways that Nadia described managing these feelings such as walking away from conversations that upset her and drawing on her training involve aspects of materiality and discursive resources. For instance, physically removing herself from “honour”-related conversations is the result of her embodied experience of feeling rage and anger at the nature of the conversation which may be advancing Orientalist narratives as well as a form of materiality in terms of gaining some space. In addition, later in our interview she identified engaging in physically-oriented self-care such as sporting activities. Moreover, by referring to her training when she feels overwhelmed, she is falling back on discourses or theories and strategies of crisis intervention and counselling that provide a cognitive-based as opposed to an emotional based framework to structure her thinking, feelings, and behaviours.

The features of embodiment that Gloria mentioned facing while she has worked with victims of HRVO include fear and frustration. Gloria commented:

I think for me it was--there was just so many graphic details and so many stories of what she was going through that it was just scary to think that someone living in Canada is experiencing this and nothing is being done about it...It was quite frustrating at times dealing with the police because they would often say it's a domestic issue. ...It's a child custody thing. You have to take it to court. Where I think the problem was getting them

to understand that it is much deeper than that. It's not just, "Oh, I want more time with the children." It was his way of breaking her down and making her obsolete so that was one of the challenges we faced...Other times I felt very afraid for her, sometimes for myself as well because I was going into her home where this person made very strong threats and knows where she lives and has people watching her...So it's very hard to get support for things like that because there is not a lot of understanding around it.

The case that Gloria described involved a victim of Asian descent who was being threatened by her ex-husband because she had pursued a divorce due to years of physical, emotional, and financial abuse. They had children in the marriage, and her ex-husband wanted her to sign away her rights to the children and had people watching and threatening her. Further, he had people in their home country watching and threatening her parents and other family members. The honour and shame aspects of the situation was the divorce was a source of shame for the victim's ex-husband, and to reduce this feeling, he wanted her to sever all ties with him and his family, including having no rights to their children. For the victim, she was viewed by her ex-husband, his family, and some members of her community as a dishonourable woman for initiating the divorce and involving the authorities. The way that the victim sought to remove this shame was by remarrying very quickly so she had a patriarchal male head of the household to represent her interests. However, her new partner pressured her to sign away her rights to her children to avoid any problems with her ex-husband and his family.

What made this case more concerning than others for Gloria was the nature of the threats as they were graphic, specific, detailed and the perpetrator had other parties who were assisting him to carry them out. Gloria was also frustrated that the police tended to view the matter as a

child custody or family court issue instead of HRVO and would suggest that she pursue the matter through family court. Gloria stated that the strategy that she used to get the police to respond was explaining the situation to different officers and criminal justice personnel until someone understood and took it seriously. I can empathize with Gloria's frustration as I know with complex incidents such as HRVO, there is no standardized training on the subject, so officers have different levels of understanding of the issue. In British Columbia, there is mandatory training on risk-focused domestic violence investigations that all officers must take, but there is minimal content on HRVO. While some officers may be able to recognize incidents of HRVO based on this training and their policing experience, others may not as they are more familiar with domestic violence. This points to a need for standardized training on HRVO for police officers throughout Canada. I will discuss this training issue at length in the "Recommendation" chapter of this dissertation.

Like Gloria, when asked about what she is thinking and feeling when counselling clients of HRVO, Danika talked about experiencing fear and anxiety. However, the anxiety that she outlined was from being worried about how the case would be depicted in the media and hearing cases of violence and oppression over and over. Danika commented:

So, what's coming to me is confusion. ...sort of the desperate need to understand why...this happened. I'm also worried...from my position as to how the media is going to turn this into a racialized divide between us. I'm also thinking of the message this is giving to other girls...is it going to eventually end up in an empowering situation or is it going to further oppress girls?... I am also thinking about the community, the specific ethnic community, and how the community could face more racism...I am also thinking of the discourse within the community like on ethnic media and how that gets covered

and how it gets talked about and discussed...sometimes what happens is there's further divide...because you can have those sorts of voices where there's a backlash on a women. Saying, "Oh, it's because Canadian culture is so liberated." ... And then you know. As a woman of colour, I always get that knife through my heart...because I can relate to it as a woman. And I have my daughter so you can't help to personalize it...you can't help but have that anxiety that our bodies go through...It wouldn't be a stretch if I called it post-traumatic stress...when you hear these stories over and over ..it's vicarious trauma.

Danika's experience of embodiment regarding incidents of HRVO is tied to her positionality as a woman of colour and mother as well as her role as a senior manager. For instance, she suggested that as a woman of colour and mother of a young girl, she can personally relate to victims of HRVO. Danika's empathy for victims of HRVO is so strong that she described it as feeling like she was getting a knife through her heart. Danika also commented that she feels anxiety akin to post-traumatic stress disorder and vicarious trauma when she hears stories of HRVO over and over.

I would suggest that the anxiety and other feelings that Danika described would be a component of vicarious trauma rather than post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). PTSD involves feelings of extreme fear, helplessness, or horror as well as extreme distress or emotional numbing that stem from a person being exposed to the serious threat of injury or death (Keane & Marx, Sloan, 2009). In contrast, *vicarious trauma* is defined as, "the transformation in the inner experience of the therapist that comes about as a result of empathic engagement with clients' trauma material" (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995, p. 31, cited in Bishop & Schmidt, 2011, p. 65). The inner transformation that therapists may undergo includes cognitive changes or alterations in

their beliefs such as feeling less safe, being more aware of issues of power and control, and having lasting feelings of grief, anxiety, or sadness (Bishop & Schmidt, 2011; GoodTherapy, 2016). For Danika, she did not indicate that she was exposed to a serious threat of injury or death from HRVO but that she felt anxiety and pain from hearing stories of HRVO repeatedly. Hence, it is more likely that she was referring to experiencing vicarious trauma rather than PTSD. Danika and I discussed how she deals with these emotions so they don't impact her work or emotional health, and she stated that she has access to a support system consisting of colleagues, peers, and friends in the sector to whom she can talk and even cry with in some instances. Like in the case of Nadia, the support system of friends and peers identified by Danika is an element of materiality and embodiment that she can access to positively influence her mental and emotional health.

Another concern that Danika identified was worrying about how the media coverage might create a racial divide and contribute to racism against members of certain ethnic communities as well as empower or disempower young women in the ethnic communities where the incident occurred. As discussed in the previous chapter, "Perspectives of HRVO and Practice Implications," the popular media's coverage of incidents of HRVO tends to communicate Orientalist narratives and this message can disempower victims as it contributes to them being more reluctant to report abuse and seek out help. Danika mentioned that she frequently challenges this Orientalism through her support system as they also help her think about how to message things out to the media, provide support to the police, or coordinate committees, and public education campaigns. Some of the messaging that Danika described for the media and public education campaigns on HRVO was framing the violence as being universal, not supported by an entire culture, and the act of a few individuals within a culture and

community. This type of messaging could be characterized as Danika using the discursive strategy of *violence against women as universal practice* identified by Abji, Korteweg, and Williams's (2019) and aspects of the heterogeneity of culture discursive strategy to challenge Orientalism.

A further concern that Danika discussed was a divide that sometimes occurs within communities after high profile incidents of HRVO. The divide consists of some conservative voices suggesting that women are to blame for the violence as they are wanting to be more liberated like their Canadian counterparts. In opposition to these conservative voices are progressive ones that seek to frame the violence within the context of patriarchy, violence against women, and the migration context. I did not ask Danika what she does to help reduce this type of divide but based on her strategies of self-care such as accessing her support system, it is likely that she would work with them to come up with a counter-message or creative solutions.

The service providers who I interviewed described features of embodiment including emotional responses of outrage, sadness, anxiety, fear, and vicarious trauma while dealing with incidents of HRVO. Self-care was something that they all stressed as critical to avoid burnout or other forms of emotional distress that could impact their mental health and emotional well-being. The most common form of self-care that service providers engaged in was peer support, which allowed them to debrief as well as problem-solve in a team environment. Other forms of self-care that they discussed were more personal and included activities such as exercising, setting boundaries with clients, and knowing their limits. A few service providers said that they empathize so much with victims that sometimes they want to take them home. However, they stressed that while they may have this strong feeling of empathy, they know that they must set boundaries with clients to protect themselves from vicarious trauma and assist clients to develop

agency. In the next section, I will discuss another form of a boundary in terms of service providers being aware of their positionality with clients.

6.2 Service Providers Working Hard to Eliminate Power and Cultural Differences

Wendy stated the following about positionality, “It’s hard for me to walk into a house as a female police officer and take control when I am directly in contradiction to their belief system and I represent, in some cases, that westernized culture that they are trying to stay away from. And I know that, and so I work very hard to eliminate that as much as I can.” Wendy explained that the way she tries to eliminate the issues of cultural difference and power in the situation that she described is by being reflexive about power dynamics. The power dynamics that Wendy is referring to is her capacity to influence the actions, beliefs, and behaviour of individuals as a police officer. For instance, she stated that she has an awareness that as a uniformed female police officer, who is carrying a firearm and only speaking English, she can exercise a great deal of power or influence over individuals who may be new to Canada, are not proficient in English and have limited knowledge of Canadian laws. Further, she has an awareness that individuals may experience anxiety because they might be attuned to the power dynamics and may associate the police uniform with traumas that they experienced during or before their migration.

Wendy discussed a case example where cultural differences were present and by being aware of her positionality and that of the family, she sought to lessen power imbalances. The case involved a group of long-term residents of Canada and a Syrian family who had recently arrived in Canada and moved into the area. The conflict began to occur between the two groups when the long-term residents noticed property missing from their backyards and observed members of the Syrian family taking the items. The residents became upset and took out their frustrations by continually calling the Syrian family derogatory names from a distance. In

addition, they reported the thefts to the police and inferred that something was amiss with the family because the children were only allowed to leave their house for school. Wendy attended the home of the Syrian family with a male colleague who spoke Arabic and attempted to reduce some of the power dynamics by inquiring about the family's migration experiences abroad and in Canada. After inquiring with the family, Wendy learned that they had lived in a refugee camp for an extended period and in that facility, if you left something outside your tent, it was available for anyone to take. Upon learning this, Wendy determined that the incident was a misunderstanding and explained to the family that in Canada your personal property extends beyond your physical structure. Moreover, she followed up with the neighbours and clarified that it was a misunderstanding due to cultural differences.

Wendy commented that she felt that her intervention was positive for the family because they may have had fears of police, but they were able to see her resolve the situation without arresting, threatening, or assaulting any of their family members. Further, the neighbours were able to learn that the family were not criminals but were behaving by following some of their previous experiences. In this example, the cultural differences that Wendy was referring to include the different world views or belief systems of the Syrian family, the neighbours, and herself. For instance, the migration experiences of the Syrian family seemed to shape their views toward property and the police while Orientalist views of immigrants and North American concepts of ownership may have influenced the beliefs of the neighbours. In addition, Wendy's belief system was that she would be entering the home of the Syrian family as a police officer representative of western culture that they were seeking to avoid. The way that Wendy went about addressing the power and cultural difference between herself and the family was through

aspects of critical consciousness¹⁸ such as critically reflecting on her identities, positionality, standpoints, and taking a “one-down” position (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). For instance, she had an awareness of her social identity as a uniformed police officer carrying a firearm and what impact that may have on the family regarding their experiences and feelings of oppression about authorities. She also reflected on her gender as a female and how it may have been a new experience for the family to see her as a White female, directing her Middle Eastern male colleague who was interpreting for her and the family. Furthermore, she worked to recognize power differentials with the family by taking a “one-down” position or becoming a naïve investigator which involved her suspending her judgments and listening to how the family described their situation (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005).

By engaging in this type of critical consciousness, Wendy was able to gain some understanding of the meaning-making process of the family which was shaped by their migration experiences. One aspect of critical consciousness that Wendy and I did not discuss which is a central feature of this form of consciousness is the process of critically reflecting on one’s biases, assumptions, and worldviews. I believe that Wendy was likely able to get past any biases and prejudices that she may have held by taking the one-down position and listening to the family’s experiences. I assert that critical reflection upon one’s biases, assumptions, and prejudices is integral for service providers to practice as it assists them to support victims and perpetrators of HRVO in ways that challenge and are less likely to reproduce intersecting forms of oppression. Many of the service providers in my study demonstrated their critical consciousness when they

¹⁸ A great deal has been written about the concept of critical consciousness which was originally developed by educational theorist Paulo Freire. In my discussion, I use Pitner and Sakamoto’s (2005) definition as the process of continuously reflecting upon and examining how our own biases, assumptions and cultural worldviews affect the ways we perceive difference and power dynamics.

discussed reflecting upon their social histories, roles, positionality, and social identities while working with victims and perpetrators of HRVO. They also discussed seeking to understand the meaning-making process of individuals who they were working to support which involves taking a one-down position by suspending preformed judgments and becoming a naïve investigator. In the conclusion chapter, I will discuss critical consciousness as a recommendation for service providers working in the area of HRVO and suggest ways that it can be developed. In the next section, I will discuss situations where service providers do not acknowledge their social identities, positionalities as well as standpoints and may be silent and unresponsive when faced with cases of HRVO.

6.3 Silence, Inflexibility and Unresponsiveness amongst some Service Providers

In the case of service providers who do not work to understand the power imbued in their social location and view cultures as homogeneous, they may be silent, inflexible, or unresponsive when faced with incidents of HRVO. According to many of the service providers whom I interviewed, HRVO training in Canada has been haphazard, and many mainstream service providers lack awareness and understanding of the phenomenon. This lack of awareness and understanding can have negative consequences at the material, institutional, and embodied levels as it may contribute to mainstream service providers being inflexible with their interventions or silent and unresponsive. Further, this inflexibility and silence may produce barriers that restrict victims and perpetrators from gaining access to resources (financial, counselling, housing) that might be necessary to help address their experience.

Mohammed provided a case example where lack of understanding of HRVO and inflexibility of mainstream service providers prevented him from gaining information that he could have used to negotiate with the perpetrators and reduce the risk of violence. The case that

Mohammed described involved a Muslim family composed of a mother, father, and their two daughters who had recently arrived in Canada. Religion and honour were central in the life of the mother and father, and they imposed rules on their daughters to uphold their honour. Some of the rules involved the girls always having to wear a religious head covering in public, not being able to have boyfriends or interact with boys while alone, and not participating in any extracurricular activities. One of the girls rebelled against her parents by secretly having a boyfriend, being sexually active, and smoking marijuana. One day while cleaning her daughter's room, the mother discovered drug paraphernalia and pictures of her daughter with a boy. The mother became enraged and assaulted and threatened to kill her daughter for engaging in behaviours that would bring dishonour to their family. The mother was subsequently arrested and charged after the young women went to a friend's house and told them what had transpired. Also, the victim and her older sister were taken into the care of child welfare.

The police, child welfare, probation, and Mohammed's organization were all involved in the case, and Mohammed was seeking to gain information from the mainstream agencies to negotiate with the mother and father and reduce the risk of future violence. Mohammed stated that he understood that the agencies have mandates and policies and he was not looking for information that would compromise their investigations or their mandates. He commented that he was looking to ease the anxiety, anger, and risk of violence from the parents by answering some of their questions and concerns such as are the children with a family of the same faith, what steps do they need to take to see their children, and would they be able to see their children with supervised visitation? According to Mohammed, the mainstream organizations rigidly interpreted their institutional mandates and policies and would not furnish him with information that would support his interventions with the parents and victims. Mohammed attributed this

inflexibility to the service providers' lack of understanding and familiarity of HRVO as well as their fear that the parents were a unit of perpetrators who would commit an "honour" killing.

Mohammed asserted that it is not always the case that mainstream service providers lack an understanding of HRVO that creates barriers; some workers understand and are flexible or open to learning. For instance, Mohammed described an incident with a Syrian family where the police were open and followed his suggestion of remaining in their vehicle out of sight. The family consisted of mother and father and several children who had recently arrived in Canada. The family had undergone premigration stressors such as the father witnessing his brother and other son being murdered in front of him in Iraq. Mohammed and a child welfare worker attended the home of the family in response to a report of the husband assaulting his wife. The husband, his wife, and several children were at the house, and Mohammed sensed that the situation was escalating with the male, so he called the police for assistance. Mohammed had negotiated with the husband to allow his wife and children to leave the home, and he was fearful that the man could be triggered by the police uniform, so he asked them to remain in their vehicle. Mohammed stated that he was relieved when the officers agreed, as it helped reduce the chances of the situation escalating. Further, it allowed him to support the family as the mother and children were able to leave without any violence, and he brought the father to the city and paid for a hotel so he could receive counselling. In this example, the understanding and openness of the police, which reflected their discretion in exercising institutional mandates and policies--such as the mandate to always speak to a potential offender at the scene--assisted Mohammed to address some of the material conditions of the family. For instance, he arranged for temporary housing for the mother and her children to ensure their safety. Moreover, his organization paid for a hotel for the father so he could access counselling to help address aspects

of his embodiment, such as the trauma and personal history of witnessing war, conflict, and murder.

Novi also discussed the situation where a lack of awareness and understanding of HRVO on the part of mainstream service providers may contribute to them being silent or unresponsive when they are faced with this type of incident. The example that Novi highlighted was the Shafia murders that I discussed earlier in this chapter. One of the biggest learnings that Novi stated she got from reviewing court transcripts of the case was that the girls had talked to social workers, counsellors and child protection workers and the girls predicted that they would be killed by their parents. According to Novi, one of the social workers testified that she was afraid for the girls and did not understand what they were going through, so she just stayed silent and did not pursue any actions to protect them. Novi commented that this silence was a form of racism and violence as it led to inaction on the part of the social workers, which exposed the girls to further violence, oppression and ultimately murder. Considering the situation through the lens of critical realism, the social workers' inaction and silence had this effect as it resulted in them failing to provide resources to address the material context of isolation and oppression that the girls were experiencing. The resources could have included taking the girls into care to ensure their safety, advocating for the parents to be criminally charged and arrested, and collaborating with ethnocultural cultural organizations to provide counselling and support to the entire family. The social workers' inaction also created a barrier for the girls to seek help because they learned that it was unlikely that workers would understand the complexities of their situation and act. Hence, they stopped asking for help and were subsequently killed by their family members.

During my research, I have encountered silence in relation to service providers not wanting to acknowledge or search for incidents of HRVO to avoid appearing to be racist. For

instance, when I approached some police members and asked if they had knowledge of any police officers or counsellors coming across cases of HRVO in the history of their unit, they commented that cases of this nature have never occurred. In addition, when I asked if we could search through some of the cases that the unit dealt with over the years for HRVO, they suggested that this type of inquiry would be racist since it would profile victims and perpetrators by focusing on their cultures and races. This type of silence reinforces and perpetuates racism as it is based on the Orientalist notion that HRVO only takes place in certain communities such as Muslim and South Asian societies. In the case of my colleagues, for example, their argument infers that they view HRVO as only occurring in certain cultures and religions, so they believe that it is best to avoid being racist by not searching out these incidents. However, as I have argued HRVO takes place across cultures and religions, and service providers should be assessing all their cases for elements of honour and shame, collectivism, and multiple perpetrators.

The silence of my colleagues also perpetuates racism as their view that HRVO is nonexistent and confined to certain communities tends to contribute to them failing to provide resources to address the material and embodied context of victims and perpetrators. For instance, when they are reviewing cases of violence and looking to assign resources, such as a team consisting of a police officer and victim support worker, they apply institutional power in the form of a mandate that dictates that the incident must involve intimate partners. Hence, if the violence involves siblings or parents and children, they will not assign resources since it does not fit the mandate of the unit.

I acknowledge that encountering and dealing effectively with cases of HRVO is not an easy task as it involves issues of race, religion, sexuality, and culture among others. Further, if

service providers handle cases incorrectly they may reinforce Orientalism as well as put the victims lives at risk. Service providers may also reinforce Orientalism and racism if they remain silent and fail to take any action as a result of the fear of not getting it right or being labelled as a racist. In the conclusion chapter in the recommendations section, I will explore how the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response can address the fears and uncertainty that some service providers experience dealing with cases of HRVO.

6.4 Everyone Knows Everyone: Managing Aspects of Close-Knit Communities

In the second half of this chapter, I will outline and discuss the non-discursive components that service providers face at the community level such as lack of anonymity, closeness, social reputation, and power relations. I will also describe and analyze non-discursive components at the institutional level including waitlists, marginalizing shelter criteria, and immigration barriers.

6.4.1 Lack of anonymity

Lack of anonymity, notions of honour and shame and reputation are elements within communities that service providers must address while working with victims and perpetrators of HRVO. A lack of anonymity involves everybody knowing everybody else as well as having a familiarity with their personal and family life (Swan & Hobbs, 2017). Moreover, it includes a lack of privacy or the absence of people keeping information learned about others in confidence (Swan & Hobbs, 2017). In this type of community context, all members are visible to one another and know each other's "business." In addition, community members tend to observe each other's dress, interactions, and behaviours and will report any pertinent information such as "honour"-related violations to the families of the violators. A lack of anonymity and familiarity serves as a form of social control as it contributes to community members refraining from

violating family and community honour rules because they know that they are always being watched. Moreover, the lack of anonymity gives rise to an underlying sense of anxiety and stress for community members as it is a constant reminder of the consequences of honour violations in the form of HRVO.

The material aspects of a lack of anonymity involve the experience of always being watched and having limited privacy, while embodiment would include feelings of stress and anxiety that serve as a form of social control. The institutional context of a lack of anonymity is the acts of HRVO that are carried out by family members to punish or control the behaviors of victims. Like the lack of anonymity, honour, reputation, and shame are associated with experiences of embodiment, materiality, and institutional power. For instance, honour and reputation are things that each individual and family holds almost like an entity, and this entity can be removed and replaced with shame if an individual contravenes rules of honour. In addition, honour, reputation, and shame serve as forms of social control as community members know they are always being watched and will be punished for any violations of honour rules. Hence, like the lack of anonymity, the constant reminder of honour rules and the consequences of violations contributes to community members experiencing an underlying sense of anxiety and stress.

Nadia, Mohammed, and Kristen talked about the material conditions of the community context of victims and perpetrators of HRVO such as the lack of anonymity, while Danika highlighted power relationships within communities experiencing HRVO. Nadia stated the following:

Everyone knows everyone. ...Because of the location of immigrant servicing agencies, and most of them are located in the very communities where the violence takes place.

Most of the service providers. They're familiar. They are known faces. They are at community events. They – someone knows someone, knows someone. It automatically creates a challenge. It can be a good thing because it creates a sense of trust and familiarity...People can speak the same language, understand the dynamics of the situation. There's a challenge as well. ...in very many cases women at risk prefer not to go-to service providers of the same community because they see it as a real threat to confidentiality.

Nadia highlights how a lack of anonymity and familiarity is like a double-edged sword. On the one hand, they can contribute to service providers who speak the same language as clients and understand the dynamics of their situation, which makes it easier to connect with them. On the other hand, however, the lack of anonymity caused by the physical location of immigration serving agencies in the same communities in which the violence is occurring presents a barrier for victims. The barrier involves victims fearing that they will have little privacy and confidentiality if they seek out help as they are highly visible in the community due to the lack of anonymity. As Nadia mentioned some victims chose to go to service providers in a different community to reduce their visibility and risk of violence.

Nadia and I did not discuss if the practice of some victims choosing to go to service providers in a different community was an effective strategy in terms of the dynamics of their situation being understood and addressed. However, as I have argued in the previous Chapter, “Perspective of Practice: Challenging Cultural Talk and Orientalism” some mainstream social service organizations do not always understand the unique needs of the victims and perpetrators of HRVO and their families. In addition, as Gloria pointed out, there are times where she must explain a client's situation of HRVO to different police officers and criminal justice personnel

until someone understands. Since some victims are seeking help and support outside of their communities with service providers of different backgrounds, more agencies must engage in culturally integrative practices (i.e., collaborate with ethnocultural organizations). The cultural integrative perspective was outlined fully in the previous chapter. Moreover, to ensure anonymity, several different ethnocultural organizations could collaborate with mainstream organizations, and in some cases, ethnocultural organizations could consult without interacting with the victim and perpetrator directly.

6.4.2 Close-knit Communities

Kristen also commented on how the close-knit aspects of some communities present a barrier for victims in terms of them seeking out help. Kristen stated:

I think it's hard for people to intervene because I think the family and community are so close-knit that it's hard. But the police are on the frontline of this. ...if a girl ever had the courage to call the police, and the police went and then it was missed, there'd never be another call again. Like you've got one shot at it, right? So that's the trouble with educating the police and knowing what the complainant's rights are but also being hip to the fact that you could be dealing with something that is much bigger, and also the schools to be aware and the school counsellors to be aware. I think it is very hard for girls and women going through this to disclose.

In communities that Kristen is describing, which tend to adhere to collectivist principles, there is an emphasis on interdependence, an obligation to the group, and social reputation.

Consequently, families in this context typically view the overall benefit for their family superseding the personal benefit of individual family members (Baobaid & Ashbourne, 2017, p. 11). This focus on the needs of the family over those of the individual can create a barrier for

victims of HRVO as they may refrain from reporting abuse and oppression because they are worried that this will threaten the reputations of their families and expose themselves to further violence. In addition, as outlined earlier, the lack of anonymity and familiarity in the context of collectivist cultures is an additional layer that presents a barrier regarding victims seeking help outside of their families. In some circumstances, as Nadia mentioned, victims may seek help from service providers of a different culture to reduce their visibility and risk of violence. Hence, as Kristen argued, it is integral that these service providers, such as the police and school counsellors, be educated about HRVO. Education about HRVO is important for these mainstream service providers because victims who develop the courage to disclose abuse are not likely to do so again if their claims are not understood and dismissed.

The spatial concentration of families in close-knit communities under the same roof or nearby which is a component of materiality can also adversely impact the safety of victims of HRVO. In some close-knit communities with collectivists tendencies, extended family groups may live under the same roof or nearby. This living arrangement can present a barrier to victims seeking help because they may fear that other family members may not support them, and they may have to leave their homes and communities. Additionally, if the perpetrator is ordered by the courts to have no contact with the victim and live with another family member at a different location, the proximity of the extended family may contribute to contact with the victim being inevitable.

This type of situation likely played out in the case that I described in the Introduction Chapter, where we arrested a father after the victim disclosed that he had assaulted and threatened to kill her due to his discovery that she had a boyfriend and was dating. In this case, the victim returned to her home and her father had to leave and have no contact with his daughter

based on a court order. In my report, I made a note to the prosecutor that the victim should not immediately return to her family home and temporarily live with a friend or someone else to help avoid any anger she might experience from family members for reporting her father to the police. In the end, the prosecutor went with the standard condition that the perpetrator, the father leave the home and I always wondered if the victim experienced anger and pressure from her family to try to get the charges dropped. I also thought that it would have been difficult for her father, who was the main income earner in the family to be barred from his home and have no contact with his daughter because he would likely be staying with friends or family who were nearby and/or interacting in the same social circles. The father did end up pleading guilty to a lesser charge and having to abide by conditions such as regularly reporting to a probation officer, keeping the peace and being of good behaviour, and attending counselling. There were no police calls to the home after these events so I hope that the abuse stopped but as I have mentioned in the introduction chapter, the victim may have decided to stop calling the police based on the previously mentioned barriers from close-knit communities. Later in the chapter, I will discuss how shelter criteria create barriers for victims to access safe housing spaces.

The close-knit features of communities and families that adhere to collectivist principles can also have protective characteristics for victims of HRVO. For instance, the interrelationships of family members may sometimes contribute to various members supporting the victims like in the case that Teresa described in the previous chapter. The case that I am referring to is the one in which the parents of a victim of HRVO advised her not to return to her abusive husband and had him live with them so they could conduct a risk assessment. Narvinder also stated the following about protective factors in the collectivist context: “Often it’s women who have family members close by that often experience the least amount of violence because their family

members care about them and are aware, and even sometimes abusive men are aware...”

Mohammed made a similar point when he stressed that families of victims of HRVO should not be viewed as a unit of perpetrators because there are likely family members who disagree with the actions of the perpetrators. Narvinder asserted that we don't hear much about the protective aspects of collectivist cultures regarding violence against women because they are overshadowed by horrible and tragic events that took place within collectivist communities. The reason why these horrific and tragic events overshadow the protective features of collectivist societies is the pervasiveness of the dominant culture's communication of Orientalist narratives which conceptualize collectivist communities as backward, patriarchal, and inherently violent.

6.4.3 Social reputation

Social reputation within families who subscribe to components of collectivism presents a further barrier for victims and perpetrators of HRVO. Mohammed discussed the issue of social reputation in the following passage:

One of the key factors is the reputation of the family. People are really very keen that other people don't know about their situation. So, if you can understand that and you are sensitive to that, they will open up because the reputation is everything, their name. And when it comes to women and girls. That's huge. So, we work on that. And sometimes it's challenging for us because we are from the same community. But because they trust us maybe they say...at least we can understand each other and with confidentiality [they know we will do the best ensure their privacy] so they [decide] to come to us...

Mohammed explained that his biggest challenge working with victims and perpetrators of HRVO is the reputation of the family, which is typically tied to the sexual behaviour of women and girls. In this context, the reputation of the family has a material-like quality because young

women and families metaphorically carry it with them in the community, and it precedes them. Further, honour is metaphorically reduced and replaced with shame if a family member is deemed to be engaging in behaviour that violates honour rules. Mohammed mentioned that because he is from the same community as some families who he counsels, they are fearful that their reputation will be negatively impacted if they attend his agency and receive services. However, at the same time, he commented that they take the risk to work with him because they know that there is a greater chance that he will understand their context, experiences, and needs. Mohammed stressed he places high importance on confidentiality to ensure that the family's reputation is not negatively impacted.

6.4.4 Power Relations within Communities

Danika highlighted a different issue that she must deal with regarding the community context namely power relations. She stated:

...when an incident happens the community sometimes goes into defensive mode and the media sort of portrays it...I think two things happen: one is the community becomes defensive and wants to prove that not all men are violent and this is wrong...it's not only about our community. But the other thing that happens, which is probably not so great...is that conservative voices start to emerge and sometimes you get a backlash against women within those communities...As women advocates within our ethnic communities, sometimes we – I don't want to say we get threats. I've never had threats...we become labelled as troublemakers...we get called names...so there are the defensive plays. ...people don't want to believe that it's really happening. ...they want the problem to be minimum like it's not really the issue, and then you have advocates

who are saying...we need to look into it more carefully...there are many women who are not coming out about their experiences....

A major trigger for the community conflict that Danika described is the dominant mainstream media framing incidents of HRVO through an Orientalist lens. While their views may be different, the opposing voices in Danika's community are seeking to challenge these Orientalist frameworks to protect the community from racism and other forms of discrimination and oppression. Danika's description of the opposing positions reflects the heterogeneity within cultures regarding internal differentiation and conflicting components. For instance, she identified two contrasting stances, one that seeks to defend the community by advancing the argument that violence against women occurs across communities and cultures and is wrong, and the other that asserts that the problem is minimal and anyone who suggests otherwise is a troublemaker. Danika supports the first position and stated that in her role as an advocate, she has been labelled as "a troublemaker" and called derogatory names by those who take the second more conservative position. Danika referred to the situation as "backlash," and I would argue that it reflects both features of embodiment and power in that those who want to defend the community by stressing that the problems are minimal are attempting to silence her and other advocates through naming calling and negative labels. Danika clarified that she does not feel that she was ever been threatened, however, the purpose of labelling and name-calling is to exert power over her by making her feel intimidated and fearful about voicing her view. In addition, name-calling and the denial that a problem of violence against women exists in the community creates an additional barrier for victims to report abuse as they may fear that they may face the same treatment or worse.

6.5 Summary of non-discursive Elements and Service Providers Responses

As I have argued in this section, service providers face a series of non-discursive aspects at the community level that are tied to a lack of anonymity, closeness, social reputation, and power relations. Some of the ways that service providers respond to these non-discursive components involve supporting victims to access resources outside of their communities and advancing discourses that challenge Orientalism. For instance, a service provider Nadia acknowledged that for some victims it is more feasible for them to access resources outside of their communities to make themselves less visible to their families and communities and reduce the chances of continued HRVO. In addition, since victims may be going outside of their communities for assistance to mainstream organizations, some service providers highlighted the need for these organizations to be educated about HRVO and how to effectively respond. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, the type of education that these organizations should receive to challenge Orientalism is the heterogeneity of culture perspective. In the case of clients of HRVO who are fearful of damaging their social reputation by seeking help from a service provider, Mohammed provided an example of how he uses confidentiality and builds on similarities in social locations between himself and clients (language, culture, ethnicity). Lastly, a research participant Danika described how she advances discursive strategies such as the violence against women as universal practice in response to power relations within her community. In the next section, I will move from the analysis of non-discursive influences in the community context to a discussion and examination of these influences at the institutional level.

6.6 Organizational Policies that Fail to Address HRVO

Service providers encounter several non-discursive influences at the institutional level including shelter criteria that exclude extended family, government documents that fail to

recognize aspects of HRVO, waitlists that do not lead to services, and immigration policies.

Nadia stated the following about women's shelter criteria:

So, shelters, for example, will not take extended family even if they are at risk. So, if, for example, suppose a woman has a grandmother, a vulnerable senior relative staying with her, ...if she leaves for the shelter, she can't take her with her. Because of the way the shelters...are set up it's for one person to enter...suppose she has an older male child who is also at risk, where will he go?

Applying critical realism to Nadia's description of women's shelter criteria, we can see how institutional conditions contribute to some members of victims' families being denied access to the material resources of shelter and having an embodied experience of further stress and trauma. For instance, as stated by Nadia, the shelters will only allow access to the victims of HRVO as they have a mandate to only provide services to the direct or immediate victim. Hence, if the victims have other family members who may also be victims of HRVO, they will not receive shelter services and must find alternative housing. I assert that this exclusion and separation would exacerbate the stress and trauma that victims of HRVO are experiencing. The victim's stress and trauma may be intensified by anxiety about their family members finding housing as well as a fear that these family members may have to return to their abusive homes. Further, they may experience the stress of being separated from family members who were their source of support. In some instances, I would argue that the separation may be too much, and victims may return to abusive homes.

A further problem with shelter spaces for victims of HRVO that Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen (2016) highlight, is a shortage of funding and available spaces. According to Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen (2016) at the time of their research, women's shelters in Winnipeg were

giving priority to victims of intimate partner abuse, and sometimes victims of HRVO were turned away and referred to homeless shelters. The problem with this referral is that while homeless shelters may provide critical services to people who are homeless, they are not necessarily culturally appropriate or safe for victims of HRVO (Blum, Braiden & Heinonen, 2016). Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen (2016), for instance, refer to a service provider describing a situation where a victim of HRVO stayed in a homeless shelter, sleeping on a mattress between people who were mentally ill, drug-addicted, and intoxicated. The experience was so traumatizing for this victim that she left and told the service provider who conducted the referral that she would rather take her chances at home with the family members who had abused her. While some victims of HRVO may access shelters, there is no guarantee that they will receive culturally appropriate services that will respond to their needs. Blum, Braiden, and Heinonen (2016) found that service providers in their study noted that there was a lot of information available to them on intimate partner violence but next to nothing on helping victims of HRVO. This points to a gap in services that must be filled to address the material, embodied, and institutional context of victims and HRVO.

Teresa stated she would rarely hear victims of HRVO use the term “honour”-based violence, but she comes from an Indian culture and when she heard language suggesting multiple family members were involved in violence, she knew that it was likely “honour” related. However, Teresa commented that when it came to government documents, there was no consideration of multiple perpetrators. Teresa stated the following:

...in my world you only have one perpetrator. So, when you fill out forms, you're always identifying who is the primary perpetrator. So, all our forms were geared towards non-honour based [violence]; it was more a husband beating up his wife...none of the

government forms ever asked about extended [family]...it was just one primary perpetrator...you know I put on the secondary thing. But very few times is the secondary even filled out. So, I would say we missed out on a lot of those conversations...the form and what the government is looking for...because we have to give a semi-annual report or a monthly report, so our forms were based on questions the government was asking.

The only cultural stuff we asked was.... how long have you been in Canada? [laugh]

Teresa mentioned that information gathered from the forms that she filled out with victims of HRVO were compiled into monthly and semi-annual reports for the government. The purpose of these reports was likely to satisfy government criteria for funding and highlight a need for any new services and additional funding. Because these forms were geared toward intimate partner violence, as stated by Teresa, multiple perpetrators would not have been recorded and HRVO would not have been acknowledged. Teresa mentioned that she addressed this omission by sometimes outlining secondary information on the form regarding multiple perpetrators, but this section was rarely filled out by others. The omission of this information could impact victims of HRVO as the government was unlikely to provide much-needed funding and services to victims since the problem was not captured in government-related documents. If we consider Teresa's description of the form through the framework of critical realism, at the institutional level the document's focus on intimate partner violence contributes to a lack of culturally appropriate programming at the material level such as trained staff and organizational policies among others. In addition, this lack of programming at the material level results in the embodied experiences of victims in terms of stress and trauma not being fully addressed.

During our interview, Teresa shared a form with me that she created with several colleagues as a pilot tool to address the shortcomings of the previously mentioned form. The

form is entitled, “Assessing Risk for Women Leaving Abuse (Extended/Conjugal family violence)” and it includes questions that would prompt service providers to inquire about secondary and multiple perpetrators. For instance, questions on the form include: Does his extended family hurt you? Do his siblings or other relatives hurt you? Do his friends or acquaintances scare, threaten or hurt you? Do your parents support you? and Has he threatened your family? Moreover, there are questions regarding family members in and outside of the family who might be potential sources of support. Teresa and another research participant Nadia mentioned that many service providers are using this form. However, the form does not appear to have officially replaced the government form that does not capture HRVO, so it is unclear if the aspects of HRVO captured in the pilot form are being communicated to government funders. In addition, another issue with the form is it assumes that the perpetrator is always male. While the organizations where the form is being used may predominantly deal with female victims of HRVO as I have argued in the Chapter, “Service Providers Defining HRVO” several service providers stated men can also be involved as victims and women as perpetrators.

In some instances, services may be available to support victims and perpetrators of HRVO, but they may be subjected at the institutional level to waitlists. These waitlists may present a barrier to victims and perpetrators gaining access to programs (material) that may help address their needs at the level of embodiment such as stress, trauma, and personal-social history of patriarchal relations. Narvinder stated the following about the problem of waitlists:

... Our system will basically say, “well dad, you as the perpetrator can go through probation services and do this group program that has waitlists. Mom, you go through victim services.” If kids need service, they go can go through the Ministry of Children and Families or school-based counselling. They all have waitlists; they all have different

criteria for service. ...If you are considered low risk, you're not even going to get any service. I have victims that wanted their partners to learn how to manage their anger, learn how to have better communication and healthier relationships and they were on wait lists...and their partners didn't even get that cause they didn't meet this...frankly arbitrary eligibility criteria that says we're only going to deal with ...the highest risk rather than provide a service to everyone we think could benefit.

In contrast to the culturally integrative services outlined by Mohammed in the previous chapter that bring mainstream and ethnocultural organizations together to collaboratively respond to the needs of victims and perpetrators of HRVO, the system that Narvinder described sounds very haphazardly and piecemeal. For instance, members of the same family may be sent to different service organizations, and they frequently will not gain access to any services as they do not fit organizational criteria.

A lack of funding that limits the number of spaces for clients is likely the reason why criteria for these programs may favor high-risk clients over those who are deemed to be lower risk. Narvinder commented that a lack of government funding can also lead some organizations to build up their waitlists to attempt to obtain more government funding. Narvinder, for instance, stated he has knowledge of a women's organization in his area that has a two-year waitlist for counselling services. While service organizations may be 'playing the game' of building up waitlists to obtain government funding, the root of the problem originates at the institutional level with how government funding is limited. This limitation contributes to the government and organizations allocated resources based on criteria such as only the highest risk receiving access to services. Narvinder has responded to this problem at the material and institutional level by developing an organization that uses newer graduates of counselling and social work programs,

interns, and practicum students and clinical counsellors to provide low-cost support services to families experiencing violence. There are no waitlists for any of the services, and the organization is funded by private donations, which allows it to provide services to all those who need it rather than those that government criteria dictate should have access.

Gloria did not talk about a specific organizational policy that she must manage while working with clients but identified immigration policies at the institutional level that present a major barrier to the material and embodied conditions of clients. Gloria summed up the barriers that immigration policy creates for clients in the following passage:

...immigration, what do I do now...This is the person that is sponsoring me and now I am stuck and don't know what to do. I can't go back. I can't stay it seems...immigration is not something that moves very fast. So, it can be very hard, and I mean if you are having issues with your status, you can't work...

The immigration experience that Gloria is describing can be life or death for victims of HRVO as they may be left without status in Canada and face deportation once their sponsors--who may be the perpetrators of the violence and oppression--are arrested. Victims may also fear losing access to their children if their status is in question and they are usually not able to meet their material needs by obtaining employment. A major part of Gloria's intervention with clients in this situation would be advocating for them to ensure that their status remains intact, their children are not taken into care and their financial and emotional needs are addressed.

6.7 Summary

For the service providers who participated in my study, most indicated that working with victims and perpetrators of HRVO was more challenging and taxing than counselling and supporting clients who experienced other types of violence. Some of the feelings that service

providers identified undergoing while they intervened in or discussed cases of HRVO included outrage, sadness, anxiety, and fear. Drawing upon critical realism, I illustrated that the identified feelings of service providers are factors of embodiment that they must manage to connect and effectively intervene with victims and perpetrators of HRVO. Some of the ways that service providers managed these aspects of embodiment involved referring to discourses in the form of their training and accessing self-care resources with physical and emotional components such as peer support, debriefing with colleagues, setting boundaries, and exercising.

In addition to these elements of embodiment, I found that some service providers face components of materiality and institutional power in relation to their positionality as well as other service providers who lack an understanding and awareness of HRVO.

Several service providers address positionality by being reflexive about their social locations and inquiring about the meaning-making activities of individuals. In the case of mainstream service providers' lacking an understanding and awareness of HRVO, many research participants highlighted the need for standardized training in this area following the heterogeneity of culture perspective. Lastly, I learned that some service providers encounter components of materiality and institutional power such as lack of anonymity and reputation that are linked to the community context of victims and perpetrators. Further, at the institutional level, they face organizational policies such as shelter criteria, waitlists, and forms that fail to capture HRVO and immigration. Some service providers manage a lack of anonymity and reputation by ensuring a client's confidentiality or supporting the practice of them seeking help from service providers who are culturally different. Moreover, two service providers responded to the problems of waitlists and forms that fail to capture HRVO by developing material

resources such as an agency to deliver low-cost counselling services and by creating a form that captures HRVO, respectively.

Chapter 7: HRVO Risk Assessment: Learning and Responding

In the spring of 2020, I was asked by the Sergeant of the Diversity Inclusion and Indigenous Relations Unit of the Vancouver Police Department to present some of the preliminary findings from my dissertation to members of her unit. I subsequently met with the group, which consisted of a mix of police officers from the section and counsellors from Victim Services and gave a presentation. I was scheduled to speak for 20 minutes, but the group was very engaged and communicative, and we ended up talking and exchanging ideas for over one hour. One question that I was asked that stuck with me was “What do you think causes HRVO?” I was conflicted thinking of a response to this question as I felt the easy and expected answer was to say that it is caused by culture and religion. This is an easy answer since it leads to an easy solution in terms of seeing the need to change the problematic cultures and religions of the victims and perpetrators through education. I chose not to reply in this fashion as I knew that it would perpetuate orientalist narratives of HRVO. What I ended up saying is the answer is complicated as the causes of violence are complex. Further, I said that some risk assessment tools for HRVO highlight characteristics related to this phenomenon, and they may include deeply entrenched notions of honour and shame, rigid patriarchal family relations, families who are experiencing difficulties with cultural integration due to socioeconomic oppression, and perceptions that a family member has violated honour codes. My intention in answering the questions in this manner was to reinforce the fact that HRVO is not caused by cultures but by individual and structural factors that shape the decision-making process of perpetrators.

When I left the meeting, however, I felt that I could have done a better job answering the question. In addition, I thought that it was an important question to continue to reflect on as the answer may provide valuable information for service providers about the factors that contribute

to individuals engaging in HRVO. In this Chapter, “HRVO Risk Assessment: Learning and Responding,” I will first present and discuss my answer to the question of what causes HRVO, drawing on the works of Gilligan (2003), Dogan (2020), and Korteweg (2014). After this, I will outline and discuss some of the warning signs of HRVO that research participants identified. Next, I will discuss and analyze the risk assessment educational programs that service providers use to understand and evaluate various factors that influence decision making concerning individuals engaging in HRVO. I will examine two risk assessment tools, the PATRIARCH and the Four Aspects Screening Tool (FAST), and a lecture-style educational program developed by a service provider, Mary, whom I was able to interview. In my analysis of the risk assessment tools, I will outline my findings regarding the PATRIARCH and then conduct an analysis of the tool informed by critical realism that illustrates how it differs from the FAST regarding discursive and non-discursive factors. I engage in this type of analysis to identify factors that may influence service providers’ decision-making about risk management strategies. In the final part of this chapter, I will describe the educational program developed by Mary and my findings regarding her program. I will also discuss participant observation that I conducted at a training program for service providers at the 2019 Canadian Association of Threat Assessment Professionals Conference.

7.1 Answering What Causes HRVO

Through the process of writing this dissertation and reflecting on the question, “What Causes HRVO?” I developed an answer based on the work of Gilligan (2003), Dogan (2020), and Korteweg (2014). For instance, I assert like Gilligan (2003, p. 1154) that the basic psychological motive for violence, including HRVO, is the desire to ward off or eliminate the feeling of shame or humiliation and replace it with a feeling of pride or honour. Honour is a

feeling that individuals strive to achieve as it involves a sense of respect from others that is related to self-esteem and a positive evaluation of the self. In contrast, individuals work to avoid shame as it consists of a lack of self-love or self-esteem that can contribute to the death of the self. The death of self involves individuals having a low sense of self-worth or self-love, feeling empty and dead inside, and being unable to feel love, fear, or remorse (Gilligan, 2003).

In the case of “honour” killings, Dogan (2020) argues that many individuals who carried out “honour”-killings did so after experiencing a loss of honour and social death. Kralova (2015, cited in Dogan, 2019, p. 131) characterizes social death as an individual ceasing to exist in the eyes of others as well as themselves, which is related to them losing their social identity, role, network, and connections. Dogan’s (2020) social death argument is based on 39 interviews that he conducted with inmates in Turkish prisons who were serving sentences for “honour”-killings. Dogan (2020) found that most of the inmates indicated that they felt they had no choice but to engage in violence after a perceived loss of honour contributed to them experiencing social death, which involved community and extended family members disassociating from them, denying their existence and withdrawing any type of community support.

Dogan (2020) suggests that it would be implausible for him to claim that in all “honour”-killings in Turkey or other countries, perpetrators are motivated by the same dynamics of social death. However, he asserted that his findings contribute to the literature on HRVO in the explanatory capacity. I agree with Dogan’s caveat as the concept of social death, like Gilligan’s (2003) concept of “death of the self,” does help to explain why some individuals may choose to engage in violence to restore their honour or feelings of self-worth. Nonetheless, this claim cannot be applied to all perpetrators and their communities because, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, there are internal differentiations within cultures regarding how members

interpret cultural concepts such as honour and shame. Hence, in some instances, all community members would not engage in acts that produce the social death of dishonoured persons such as disassociation, denial of their existence, and withdrawal of community support. After the Shafia murders, for example, the Islamic Supreme Council of Canada issued a Fatwa (legal opinion, decree) signed by 34 Imams throughout Canada and the United States condemning honour killings, misogyny, and domestic violence.

Applying Gilligan's (2003) framework of shame and violence to HRVO¹⁹, the four preconditions would be:

- 1) Individuals have not developed the capacity for emotions that inhibit violence and oppression such as guilt and remorse due to deeply entrenched notions of honour and shame,
- 2) The shame and humiliation are so overwhelming that to the point that the individual experiences death of their self and social death,
- 3) The individual believes that they do not have enough resources to save or restore self-esteem because they believe that they have lost their social standing in the community and
- 4) Individuals have been socialized into a patriarchal culture that perpetuates rigid gender roles and masculinity that support violence to maintain and restore honour.

An additional factor related to HRVO identified by Korteweg (2014) that could be the fifth precondition is stressors to family life that increase the risk of violence, such as cultural,

¹⁹ Gilligan's theory of shame and violence and 4 preconditions for violence were outlined and discussed at length in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.

political, and economic transformations. Some examples of cultural and political transformations that placed stressors on families and contributed to HRVO include an increase of this type of violence in Kurdish regions of Turkey and Iraq during civil unrest and war (Korteweg 2014, p. 192). In the case of cultural and economic transformations, Korteweg (2014) asserts that immigration generates social change for immigrants and places stressors on their families that can contribute to HRVO. For instance, some immigrant women gain a measure of financial autonomy and immigrant men lose access to status as their credentials may not be recognized. Korteweg also argues that racialized young men may be streamed in high school and negatively labelled, which can result in them feeling marginalized and resorting to surveilling and watching over their sisters to exercise their sense of power and control. I believe that the cultural, political, and economic transformations identified by Korteweg (2014)—along with Gilligan’s four preconditions for shame producing violence—helps to answer the question of what causes HRVO. Put differently, I would argue that HRVO is caused by the desire to eliminate or ward off shame, and the five preconditions that I outlined are required for it to produce violence. I also assert that knowing the causes of HRVO, in combination with the warning signs, enhances the abilities of service providers to detect, assess, and respond to this form of violence. In the next section, I will discuss the warnings signs of HRVO that were identified by research participants.

7.2 Warning Signs of HRVO

When I asked service providers to provide examples of risk factors and warning signs of HRVO they listed several that cause them to gather further information and conduct a risk assessment. Some of the warning signs regarding families include:

- Rigid gender expectations and norms, including fathers talking for everyone in the home, parents controlling what daughters wear and cutting up of clothing if they are deemed unacceptable and questioning school officials about how much daughters will be involved with boys in classes;
- Confinement, control and surveillance of girls, such as them being chaperoned everywhere, and restrictions on children, particularly girls, dating and promotion of marriage within culture and race;
- Talk of travel back home as a solution to issues of honour and shame;
- Children being isolated and made to feel that they don't belong to the family through silence.

Warning signs in relation to victims include:

- Bodily harm and bruising as well as sudden changes in mood;
- Behaviours such as missing school, sneaking out and running away;
- Changing into different outfits before and after school;
- Leaving personal cell phone with friends and anxiety if they don't answer a call from home right away; and
- Asking school administrators to create a mock timetable to have some freedom.

The most visible warning signs identified by the research participants are patriarchal relationships and control. For instance, many activities—such as fathers talking for everyone and controlling their daughter's dress, promotion of marriages within culture, restrictions on dating and confinement, and surveillance—are examples of patriarchal relations. In addition, physical injuries on victims are visible signs of male-controlled relations and control.

Furthermore, behavioral warning signs such as victims running away, changing into different

outfits before and after school, and asking school administrators to create a mock timetable are their attempts to escape from patriarchy in their homes and communities. The service providers who discussed the warning signs of HRVO were careful to say that they do not prove that HRVO is occurring, but their presence suggests a need for further investigation and risk assessment. In the next section, I will discuss some of the risk assessment tools for HRVO and their strengths and limitations.

7.3 Helping Service Providers Appreciate Culture in Risk Assessment

In this section, I will outline my findings regarding the PATRIARCH and then conduct an analysis of the tool informed by critical realism that illustrates how it differs from the FAST in relation to discursive and non-discursive factors. After this, I will analyze an educational program on HRVO developed for service providers by a research participant that I interviewed and gave the pseudonym Mary.

The risk assessment tool that is used in many mainstream social services, law enforcement, and education organizations throughout Canada is the Assessment of Risk for “Honour”–Based Violence (HBV) also known as the PATRIARCH. This tool was created by risk assessment professionals from Sweden and Canada and the name was designated in Sweden.²⁰ The PATRIARCH is a set of Structured Professional Judgment (SPJ) guidelines for the assessment and management of risk for HRVO (Kropp, Belfrage & Hart, 2013). The SPJ guidelines are discursive in that they structure service providers’ thinking and judgments about HRVO by outlining a set of core risk factors and plausible scenarios of violence (repeat, escalation, unexpected) that should be considered based on scientific and professional literature.

²⁰ I will discuss the naming of the tool later in the chapter and the implications of this naming.

SPJ guidelines are also non-discursive as they provide a framework for service providers to develop and implement risk management strategies such as monitoring, supervising, and treating perpetrators that reflect aspects of materiality and institutional power. Further, they suggest strategies that reflect elements of materiality and embodiment such as enhancing the physical and emotional safety of victims.

There are fifteen core risk factors considered in the PATRIARCH that are categorized into three domains: Nature of HBV, Perpetrator Risk Factors, and Victim Vulnerability Factors. The five risk factors within the nature of HBV reflect the pattern of HBV and include violent attitudes or thoughts; violent threats or plans; violent acts or attempts; escalation; and persistence (Kropp, Belfrage & Hart, 2013). The five perpetrator risk factors refer to the psychosocial adjustment and background of perpetrators and consist of: problems with cultural integration; perceived transgressions of norms or values; family relationship problems; mental health or substance use problems; and antisocial attitudes and behavior (Kropp, Belfrage & Hart, 2013). Lastly, the five victim vulnerability factors reflect the psychosocial adjustment and background of victims and include inconsistent attitudes and behaviors; extreme fear; inadequate support or resources; unsafe living situation; and mental health or substance use problems (Kropp, Belfrage & Hart, 2013).

One of the research participants whom I interviewed for my dissertation was Dr. Stephen Hart. He is one of the developers and trainers of PATRIARCH. Dr. Hart wished to be identified by name. He and I engaged in many informal conversations about the PATRIARCH before our interview, and one of the main points that I communicated to him in the interview was that the name of the tool, PATRIARCH, is problematic. My argument was the names of most violence risk assessment tools that he and other psychologists, such as Dr. Belfrage, have created reflect

the phenomenon that they are seeking to assess and manage, but the name of the PATRIARCH suggests a link between racialized cultures, honour and violence. For instance, they have created violence risk assessment tools, including the RSVP (Risk for Sexual Violence Protocol), SARA (Spousal Assault Risk Assessment Guide), and SAM (Stalking Assessment and Management Guidelines). In addition, a tool that they developed, the HCR-20, does not specifically refer to the phenomenon of concern but historical, clinical, and risk management factors related to violence.

In contrast to their other tools, the name PATRIARCH suggests that patriarchal relations associated with “honour”-based violence will be assessed and managed. Further, since some risk factors outlined in the tool are of a cultural nature, an assessor may inadvertently engage in stereotypical generalizations about the cultures of perpetrators and victims of “honour”-based violence. For instance, an early version of the tool had a risk factor that asked assessors to determine if the victim and perpetrators originated from an area with subcultural values that support “honour”-based violence. This risk factor was omitted in a later version of the tool, but risk factors are still present—including problems with cultural integration—that suggest issues of “honour”-based violence are attributable to an immigrant’s inability to integrate.

Dr. Hart’s responded to my view of the PATRIARCH name by providing background; he stated that the tool was developed in Sweden by a colleague, Dr. Henrik Belfrage, during a time when the country was undergoing a great deal of immigration from the Middle East and Africa and just beginning to learn about HRVO. Because the issue was new and perceived to be associated with the cultures of immigrants, according to Dr. Hart, many risk factors in early versions of the tool were cultural. Dr. Hart indicated that he and others determined that some of the risk factors were stereotypic of cultures such as “origin from an area with subcultural values

that support ‘honour’-based violence,” and they were omitted in later versions. The risk factors in the current version of the PATRIARCH are less culturally focused, but the risk factor “problems with cultural integration” remain as well as the name, PATRIARCH.

During our interview for my dissertation, I asked Dr. Hart a series of questions about the PATRIARCH tool and training, including What are some of the best practices he shares with participants around the assessment of the management of HRVO? What are some of the typical questions and comments that come up during training? Why do the cases used for the training tend to all be “honour”-killings?

7.3.1 Best Practice

For best practice, Dr. Hart stressed that his goal during training is to provide threat assessment professionals with a general framework that enables them to understand the individualized decision-making process that people might go through if they are going to engage in HRVO. The framework that Dr. Hart is referring to is the decision-making theory that views violence as a choice or purposive behavior that is intended to achieve one or more goals (Hart & Logan, 2011). According to Hart and Logan (2011), before people engage in violence, they progress through the following four-step thought process. Firstly, the possibility of acting violently enters their consciousness, and they do not dismiss it or push it out of their mind. Secondly, they evaluate the possible positive consequences of violence and perceive that violence may pay off in terms of a reward or benefit. Thirdly, they evaluate the possible negative consequences of violence and determine that the costs such as time, energy, guilt, anxiety, or distress are acceptable. Lastly, they evaluate the options for committing violence and determine that it is feasible in terms of overcoming barriers, including locating the victim, getting away, and avoiding detection and capture.

Hart and Logan (2011) argue that the task of risk assessment is to understand how and why people make decisions to engage in violence and what factors influence their decision making. Risk factors are things that influence decision-making, and they can have several casual roles in terms of motivating, disinhibiting, and destabilizing decisions (Hart & Logan, 2011). According to Hart and Logan, *motivators* are risk factors that increase the perceived rewards or benefits of violence, while *disinhibitors* decrease the perceived costs or negative consequences of violence. *Destabilizers* are risk factors that mess up or disturb a person's ability to monitor and control their decision making. Hart (2006) has indicated that motivators may include: self-defense/ protection, justice/honour; gain/profit; control/change; status/esteem; release expression; arousal activity; and proximity/affiliation. In the case of HRVO, for instance, motivators may involve perpetrators choosing to engage in violence against victims to obtain the payoff of protecting or restoring family honour that they believe victims have reduced through shameful behaviors. In addition, motivators may include perpetrators attempting to control/change the behaviour of victims through violence to maintain and restore family honour, release pent up anger against the victim for their breach of family honour codes, and keeping the victims from leaving the family.

Disinhibitors are things such as negative attitudes; negative self-concept; alienation; nihilism; lack of guilt; lack of anxiety; lack of insight; and lack of empathy (Hart, 2006). Disinhibitors in incidents of HRVO may involve perpetrators having rigid patriarchal attitudes that contribute to them feeling justified in oppressively controlling the behaviours of female family members. Further, these negative patriarchal attitudes may increase the likelihood that they experience a lack of guilt or empathy for their oppressive actions as they believe that they are justified and normal. According to Hart (2006), destabilizers include things such as:

disturbed attention; disturbed perception; impaired intellect; impaired memory; impulsive behaviour; and inflexible behaviour. Destabilizers may play out in HRVO in terms of perpetrators being so fixated with their negative patriarchal attitudes and quest to restore or maintain honour that their behavior is inflexible, and their perception is disturbed or impaired.

The PATRIARCH risk assessment tool, in combination with a solid comprehension of decision-making theory, is the general framework that Dr. Hart talks about providing to threat assessment professionals. Dr. Hart explained that he wants this framework to be general in the sense that it can be applied to everyone but also flexible, so threat assessment professionals can understand the diversity of behaviours and thoughts. In the words of Dr. Hart, “We’ve got to get people a general enough framework that it applies to everybody, but then allow you to take that framework and use it to understand diversity.... It’s helping people gather [a] framework to recognize that it’s not your religion or your culture or whatever. It’s you as an individual and how you see things, how you interpret things.” A notion that is integral to the framework described by Dr. Hart is the conceptualization of culture as a process of meaning-making as opposed to a homogeneous or static entity that determines an individual’s behaviors and thoughts (Korteweg, 2014). Dr. Hart described this view of culture:

...culture is actually what we collectively make...culture has a direct impact on everybody because it comes out of the people that make it up...Culture changes over time because we change...I help people understand the complexities of that... And then, help them understand that everybody understands or perceives or interprets that culture in a different way...what it means is people may be exposed to certain kinds of attitudes, beliefs, practices and so forth...Whether they soak it up...Whether or not they internalize it and accept it. That's up to them.

Sociological work on culture defines it in the same manner as Dr. Hart, as a dynamic process of meaning-making in which individuals select various symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views and engage in varying strategies of actions to obtain their goals (Swidler, 1986; DiMaggio, 1997). The traditional perspective of culture, by contrast, defines it as values and beliefs embodied in everyday practices pertaining to a given ethnocultural group which are acquired by individual group members through socialization (Lopez & Guarnaccia, 2000; DiMaggio, 1997). In this traditional view, culture is, therefore, thought of as a monolithic, static, homogeneous, and deterministic entity, that is passed on through socialization and determines the thoughts and behaviors of individuals. This view of culture would severely limit the framework identified by Dr. Hart because it fails to adequately explain differences in the attitudes and actions of individuals in society. In contrast, the meaning-making view of culture helps to explain why individuals within a culture—who are exposed to the same symbols, rituals, and world-views—may adopt different courses of action, such as participating or not participating in HRVO. As stated by Dr. Hart, he works to help threat assessment professionals understand the complex and diverse nature of culture in terms of people perceiving and interpreting it in different ways. This perspective, along with the decision-making theory, is an important framework for threat assessment professionals to adopt because it prompts them to recognize and investigate the individual decision-making process of victims and perpetrators of HRVO. In addition, the information gained from the investigation enhances the ability of threat assessment professionals to identify effective strategies to discourage perpetrators from deciding to continue to engage in HRVO.

While he is attempting to help people understand individual diversity within culture, Dr. Hart stated that he sometimes finds that law enforcement officers do not want to deal with or acknowledge culture. Dr. Hart commented:

You know what I find sometimes with law enforcement, what you got to do is help them appreciate culture because some officers, the way that they deal with it is instead of trying to deal with all the diversity, they just treat everybody the same. Which on the one hand, is it kind of seems fair because you are treating everybody the same, right? [Officers will say] “I don’t fucking care about culture” (laughs)... “This is the law.” But then in some ways, it’s just as unhelpful because then you’re again being blind to individual diversity.

As suggested by Dr. Hart, the practice of some law enforcement officers failing to acknowledge culture is problematic because it results in them being oblivious to individual diversity or how an individual’s thoughts and behaviours are influenced and shaped by their cultural interpretations. Moreover, this type of obliviousness is problematic because it may contribute to officers acting inappropriately, oppressively, or both. For instance, I know of situations where officers, who were following the treat-everyone-the-same framework, failed to acknowledge and consider the self-identified gender of a transgendered person or mistreated the sacred medicine pouch of an Indigenous person. In many of these situations, complaints were made, and new policies, procedures, and training initiatives were developed to direct officers to acknowledge and consider cultural diversity. I have also observed situations where an officer’s culture-disregarding approach may have exposed a victim of HRVO to undo risk. For example, I was involved in an incident where a member had missed some indicators of risk related to honour and shame and was in the process of closing the file due to his approach of treating everyone the

same. However, the member consulted with me, and I was able to assist him to identify some risk factors related to HRVO and help him take the appropriate course of action.

A strategy that Dr. Hart suggested threat assessment professionals can take to understand diverse cultures is to ask a member of the culture in question for help in understanding the culture and the individual's cultural interpretations. Dr. Hart talked about using this type of cultural translation with cases involving members of deaf communities, Muslim communities, various religious communities, and transgender communities. I examined the issues of cultural translation and cultural integrative models in detail in Chapter 5, "Perspectives of Practice: Challenging Cultural Talk and Orientalism."

7.3.2 Typical Questions and Comments

Some of the typical questions and comments that Dr. Hart stated he is asked during training reflect the orientalist framing of HRVO. For instance, he stated that he is regularly asked about HRVO being associated only with certain cultures and races. Dr. Hart suggested that he does not view this as a bad thing as he feels that it is important to provide people with the opportunity to ask questions about culture and religion; otherwise, it would be stuck in their minds. Dr. Hart commented that he sets the stage for people to ask these questions by showing some of the famous Canadian cases of HRVO that tend to involve people of colour who are Muslim. Moreover, once the questions about culture and religion arise, he talks about other cases of HRVO that involve White people, multi-generational Canadians or Christians to show that it is not about religion or skin colour. Dr. Hart explained:

I always use the example of Albanian clans because they have a very strong family, extended family...And you're like family to each other, extended family. And so, you've got this village versus that village, and they've had clan warfare going on for hundreds of

years. And they take that throughout Europe. And there are people killing each other because “your family stole my family’s goats” 400 years ago. So, what does that have to do with anything? It’s not a Muslim thing. It’s not a people of colour thing. It’s just a culture thing.... It’s that old goat herder culture...which is when you have that strong clan, you’re all watching out for each other’s things because you can’t let animals get taken by somebody else, so you get very possessive about it...

I have recently started to model Dr. Hart’s approach of challenging cultural and racial myths around HRVO by presenting cases involving members of non-racialized communities. I decided to try this approach after I conducted a presentation where I discussed a case involving a Muslim family and received questions and comments that suggested I may have reinforced some cultural and racial myths. This presentation occurred in March 2019 as part of my Public Scholar Initiative Award. At the end of my talk, an audience member commented that it was inappropriate for police officers and educators to work together to address HRVO because the police are “oppressors.” In addition, he asked if HRVO happened much, which I interpreted as his belief that I was stigmatizing certain communities perceived to be associated with HRVO by exaggerating the incidence of HRVO in Canada. My response was that police, educators and other professionals need to avoid working in silos and, instead, collaborate to help victims and families affected by HRVO. I did not reply directly to his question about whether HRVO happens much, but I later felt that by only referring to a case with a Middle Eastern family of Muslim background, I was not providing the audience with an opportunity to see that HRVO does not occur exclusively in South Asian and Muslim communities. Four months later, I was provided with a second opportunity to deliver the same talk, and I presented two cases, one involving a Middle Eastern girl and her family and the second involving a European Canadian

girl and her family who were members of the Mennonite community. My presentation was not taped in front of an audience, but I feel that this new approach presented a fuller picture of HRVO.

7.3.3 Evaluation of PATRIARCH Tool

During our interview, Dr. Hart talked about the effectiveness of the PATRIARCH tool in Sweden. Dr. Hart explained:

...the Swedish National Council on Crime Prevention...did research on the PATRIARCH and found that when police used the PATRIARCH, the conviction rate went up from like 30% to 60%, because the police collected more information about motive, and it helped them get convictions more often. It helped prosecutors, you know, make arguments and all that kind of stuff...So we may be able to have a benefit to arrest charge, charge approval all the way up to conviction stage if we start to help law enforcement think better about “honour”-based violence. But even in terms of sentencing and, you know, risk management and all that kind of stuff...

In the research that Dr. Hart mentioned the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (2012) conducted a study of 117 cases of HRVO handled by the Swedish Police in 2009 and made a comparison of cases where the PATRIARCH tool was and was not used. The Council found that the police did more comprehensive investigations when they used the PATRIARCH and the victims received significantly more protective measures. In addition, in the cases where the PATRIARCH was used, 25% of the cases were judicially solved, compared with just 8% when it was not used. Unlike Sweden, where the use of the PATRIARCH tool is widespread among the Swedish Police, the tool is used haphazardly in Canada in law enforcement and other sectors. This may be the result of the first training in the tool occurring in 2012, the focus on

“honour”-killings, and the small number of these types of incidents in Canada. Because the PATRIARCH tool is not widely used by law enforcement in Canada and other sectors, there has been no research to date to support its usefulness in Canada. In the next section, I will attempt to shed some light on this subject by outlining some of the research participants’ views of what they found useful and problematic with the tool.

7.4 Research Participants’ Views of PATRIARCH Training

During interviews, I asked 22 research participants questions about the PATRIARCH, such as their familiarity with the tool and their assessment of its usefulness. (I did not ask the 23rd research participant questions about the PATRIARCH because the focus of our interview was on an education program for HRVO that she delivers to service providers.) The breakdown of research participants who had training in the PATRIARCH versus those who had no training but were familiar with the tool or had no training and limited knowledge of the tool is outlined in Table #3. The breakdown is as follows: 7 research participants, 4 in law enforcement and psychology (LE/PSY), 2 in shelters (SH), and 1 in child welfare (CW) had training in the tool; 3 in ethnocultural organizations (EC) were familiar but not trained in the tool; and 12 in sexual assault (SA), shelters (SH), education (ED) and ethnocultural (EC) had no training in the tool. For the research participants who had no training in the PATRIARCH, they all had training and access to in-house risk assessment tools that they found satisfactory for assessing and managing HRVO.

Table 3 Breakdown of Service Providers Training in PATRIARCH Tool

Training in Tool	No Training but Familiar with tool (in-house tools)	No Training, limited knowledge of tool (in-house tools)
N=7 (4 LE/PSY, 2 SH, 1 CW)	N= 3 (EC)	N=12 (3 SA, 6 SH, 2 EC, 1ED)

In the case of the 7 research participants who had training in the PATRIARCH, 5 indicated that they found the tool helpful in their practice. Some things that they found helpful included the risk factors and scenario planning, reinforcement of the need to reach out to cultural communities, and its distinction between domestic violence and HRVO. Wendy (LE/PSY) commented on the aspects of risk factors, scenario planning, and reaching out to cultural communities, stating:

...with the PATRIARCH it really came down to everything that you gather, all the evidence, your intuition, your education or training and experience, and you really had to put it together and say, I've got these risk factors...And this is how I see things playing out and these are things that I need to think of down the road...we talked about sometimes it does mean reaching out to the cultural center or the Mosque or the temple or finding the faith leader to say, what do we need to know? But it also comes down to knowing your community.

Gloria (CW) spoke to how the PATRIARCH training helped highlight the distinctiveness of HRVO, commenting:

...I've always had a bit of information, but I think where I got the most training was last year when I took the PATRIARCH and SAM training....it was a bit more specific in

talking about the signs and...what separates it from domestic disharmony and family violence and how it looks different and how you can spot it and ways to address it...so yeah I think that is where I got the most training.

While Gloria found the training helpful, she indicated that she does not use the PATRIARCH because her agency has other risk assessment tools and she feels that PATRIARCH just scratches the surface of family dynamics related to HRVO. Gloria stated that she uses her agency's risk assessment tools with families at intake, and the tools help facilitate an in-depth discussion about the cycle of violence, power and control, and overall risk. Another research participant, Teresa (SH), who was trained in the PATRIARCH, had a similar view as Gloria, stating that her agency has good tools already that are simple and quick, and she finds tools like the PATRIARCH can be too "heady." An agency risk assessment tool that Gloria and Teresa are referring to is a two-page questionnaire on markers of risk. The questionnaire is a modification of Messing, Amanor-Boadu, Cavanaugh, Glass and Campbell's (2013) adapting of the Danger Assessment for immigrant women. The questionnaire is a pilot tool and includes several questions that indicate risk concerning immigration, honour, and shame, and individual or multiple family and/or community members. The questionnaire is attached in Appendix C.

Some other concerns that research participants familiar with the PATRIARCH had included that they are unable to gather information about perpetrator risk factors because they only work with the sufferers of violence, not the offenders. Furthermore, they found that the PATRIARCH training tended to stereotype members of Muslim communities. Nadia (EC) raised both concerns, stating:

We have no content of the offender. So, there's a bunch of things ...we actually have no way to establish through a conversation with [the] offender which a police person would

be able to do...The problem with the training...it totally alienated the people from the Islamic agencies who came to the table because all the cases were Islam...they were Islamic families. And when you keep beating that particular horse after a while it looks like Islamophobia. There are so very many examples across the globe to choose from, even without taking any names or cultural markers....

7.5 PATRIARCH Training: This has Nothing to do with Culture

As mentioned earlier, the target audience for the PATRIARCH is criminal justice, victim services, child protection, security, education, and mental health professionals. From personal experience, I am aware that in the first years the tool was introduced in Canada, the audience tended to be predominantly criminal justice. In later years, the audience for the training has become more diverse as training sessions have been hosted and well attended by those from the education sector. The 7 research participants who were trained in the PATRIARCH are predominately from the Law enforcement and psychology sectors. A feature of this sector that contributes to the tool being more relevant than other sectors, such as victim services, is access to both the victims and perpetrators of HRVO. This access makes it possible for information and risk factors related to the perpetrators and victims to be identified, assessed, and managed with the tool. Hence, it is not surprising that all the research participants from the law enforcement/psychology sector found the PATRIARCH tool to be useful in their practice. It is also not surprising that many research participants in the ethnocultural, shelter, and child welfare sectors have developed their own tools, such as the modified Danger Assessment and FAST to respond to HRVO and other types of violence. I have not used the modified Danger Assessment

or the FAST as a police officer.²¹ After reviewing both instruments, I believe that the Danger Assessment could be useful for assisting police officers to quickly identify the risk related to HRVO. However, a limitation of the tool is it does not address risk management such as victim safety planning, monitoring, and treatment of perpetrators.

As a law enforcement officer, myself, like Wendy (LE/PSY), I found the PATRIARCH tool to be useful for helping me to identify risk factors and potential scenarios of concern in cases of HRVO and develop strategies to manage the risks. At the time I completed the training, there was little emphasis on reaching out to members of cultural communities for assistance in interpreting some aspects of victims' and perpetrators' behavior. Hence, I am glad to hear from research participants, including Wendy (LE/PSY), that this is now a central part of the training. Even so, as mentioned by Nadia (EC), many of the cases used in the training tend to involve Muslim families and “honour”-killings, and this has alienated people from Islamic agencies. Although the training seeks to frame the issue as not being directly related to culture and religion, the consistent presentation of “honour”-killings involving Muslim families would tend to reinforce the notion that it is a Muslim problem. Hence, it would not be difficult for members of Muslim community organizations to feel alienated based on the cases presented as well as the dominant media framing of HRVO, which tends to be of a cultural nature.

I recall sitting in a PATRIARCH Training in 2012, and the trainers opened the session by commenting that HRVO has nothing to do with culture or religion. Following these comments, however, they presented a series of glossy photos and newspaper articles of “honour”-killing victims, who were predominately Muslim and South Asian, and described the “honour”-related

²¹ Please see Appendix C for copy of modified Danger Assessment.

aspects of each murder in detail. I remember having a strong reaction viewing the photos of internal outrage questioning the culture of the “honour”-killing victims and perpetrators. It was difficult to shake this feeling even later in the day when we worked through each of the risk factors and practice case examples. Abu-Lughod (2011) discusses this type of presentation of incidents of “honour”-killings, arguing that it can promote white group solidarity around the notion that Muslim women need to be saved and dangerous Muslim men need to be kept in line. As mentioned earlier, I discussed the focus on “honour”-killings cases with Dr. Hart, and he responded that more recently they work to bring in cases of HRVO from community groups other than Muslim communities. Dr. Hart also pointed out that the practice case that they have in the PATRIARCH manual is of a Korean family and incident of HRVO. While this may be the case, it still seems that there is a focus on incidents involving members of Muslim communities, and not enough attention is being paid to how HRVO plays out in non-racialized communities in the form of child/forced marriages or homophobic violence.

7.6 The PATRIARCH and the FAST-Implications of Discursive and Non-discursive factors

The Four Aspects Screening Tool or the FAST is another tool that can be used to assess risk and support victims and perpetrators of HRVO. The FAST was developed by Dr. Baobaid, who was also a research participant in my study. Dr. Baobaid developed the FAST in response to mainstream social service organizations failing to understand the cultural, religious, and migration context of Muslim immigrant families. When I asked Dr. Baobaid about the PATRIARCH tool, he indicated that he provided some feedback to its developers when it was first being developed for Canada. However, he does not recall what feedback he provided, and his agency does not use the tool. Dr. Baobaid explained that the FAST focuses on four aspects,

namely ethnocultural aspects, migration experience, religiosity and faith, and universal aspects. *Ethnocultural aspects* include a family's customs and traditions, *migration experience* examines a family's pre and post-migration experience in terms of trauma and success or failure to integrate, *religiosity and faith* look at the role of religion and faith in a family and how it may or may not shape gender and family relations, and *universal aspects* concentrates on general information about a family, including composition and structure.

Like the PATRIARCH the FAST is discursive as it structures service providers' thinking and judgments regarding HRVO by outlining a set of core risk factors that should be considered. In addition, it is non-discursive because when it is paired with the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response Model (CIFSR), which I have described at length in Chapter 5, "Perspectives of Practice: Challenging Cultural Talk and Orientalism," it assists service providers to collaboratively support victims and perpetrators of HRVO through counselling, advocacy, and financial support. As argued earlier, resources delivered by service providers such as counselling, advocacy, and financial support address aspects of embodiment, institutional power and materiality. While the PATRIARCH and FAST operate at discursive and non-discursive levels, when used by service providers there are differences in the type of discourses that they produce. Some of the language of the PATRIARCH, for instance, reproduces aspects of orientalism and colonialism by constructing a representation of individuals and families based on western concepts that highlight problems and deficiencies. In contrast, language in the FAST, tends to challenge orientalism and colonialism by privileging the unique experiences of individuals and families by focusing on their risks and resources. Examples of language in the PATRIARCH include phrasing such as *violent attitudes and thoughts, violent threats or plans, violent acts or attempts, escalation, persistence, problems with cultural integration, perceived*

transgressions of norms, family relationship problems, mental health and substance abuse problems, and anti-social attitudes and behavior (please see Appendix D for complete list of risk factors).

In contrast, language in the FAST consists of questions and phrases such as *family safety concerns, emotional and mental health stressors, education and educational barriers, difference in job status from country of origin, income supports/stressors, premigration experience and post migrations stressors, cultural identity, family dynamics, level of connection to ethnocultural community, role and impact of religion in daily life and support belonging to religious community* (please see Appendix E for a diagram of four factors).²² If we briefly look at a case of HRVO that Dr. Baobaid described in Chapter 5 involving a mother who had been arrested for threatening and assaulting her daughter, the stark differences between the language of the PATRIARCH and FAST become evident. To briefly recap, the family was of Muslim background, held strong religious beliefs, and prohibited their daughters from dating. In addition, they had been in Canada for a few years and were experiencing difficulties adjusting to their new lives due to a change in their economic status and exposure to new cultures. The family experienced a crisis one day when the mother assaulted and threatened to kill her daughter after learning that she was sexually active and using marijuana. The father was not arrested, but Dr. Baobaid had concerns that he was more dangerous than his wife, based on some of his comments about how his daughter was dishonouring their family.

²² According to the developer of the FAST, Dr. Boabaid, the length of the tool is currently very long. Dr. Boabaid is in the process of creating shorter versions. I did not include a detailed outline of the FAST categories in the appendix because it would have required a great deal of space. Please see Boabaid and Ashbourne (2017), for a full description of the FAST.

Conducting a quick review of the case with the PATRIARCH, the parents would be depicted as having *problems with cultural integration and family relationships, perceiving a transgression of their norms and values of honour, demonstrating violent attitudes and thoughts, and engaging in violent threats and acts that are escalating*. While the language in the PATRIARCH is important for service providers to comprehend and communicate the risk of HRVO, there is a danger that it may contribute to them primarily focusing on the shortcomings of perpetrators and victims. Moreover, the language of the risk factor *Problems with cultural integration* may result in service providers attributing these shortcomings to the cultures of victims and perpetrators in an orientalist manner. The risk factor *Problems with cultural integration* indicates that some immigrants may not accept legal and human rights issues involved with HRVO because they are from “honour”-based cultures. Further, this risk factor suggests that immigrants who have lived in an adopted country for a long time may engage in HRVO because they have remained isolated and are unaware of the laws and traditions of their new society. This type of framing is problematic as it places the onus of integration on immigrants and fails to consider how socioeconomic inequality and other forms of oppression in the host country may create barriers for integration. In addition, the framing of the risk factor requires service providers to generalize if the subjects of the assessment are from “honour”-based cultures. Lastly, the risk factor does not encourage service providers to investigate how various forms of oppression in the host country may stimulate and reinforce attitudes among migrants that support HRVO.

Since risk factors in the PATRIARCH such as *Problems with cultural integration* may reinforce orientalism, service providers may believe that there is a need to save victims from their cultures and overreact. For instance, when considering management strategies, service

providers might be more inclined to recommended high-level ones, such as ensuring that the mother who was arrested remained in custody and, if released, would have no contact with her daughter. Also, the father might be arrested for any threats that he has made in the past, and to save the victim from her culture, she might be permanently removed from her family and placed with a family or organization that represented western culture and values. In contrast, a review of the situation with the FAST would describe the presenting issue as safety concerns for the daughter due to her parents' belief that she had engaged in dishonourable behaviours. Further, the FAST would characterize the family's organization as patriarchal, highlight the parent's religious faith as the driving force behind the violence and note that the parents were experiencing stressors, such as shifts in their socioeconomic status, educational barriers, and a lack of community involvement and support in the Canadian context.

When service providers were considering management strategies with the FAST, like the PATRIARCH they would likely recommend high-level ones, such as removal of the victim and no contact between her and her mother for a period. However, since the tool assists service providers to understand that the parents are using faith to justify the violence and the family is experiencing several stressors, service providers would also consider strategies to address these issues. For instance, faith leaders from the family's community who have an awareness of violence against women and do not support it might be brought in to challenge the parent's religious justifications. In addition, service providers would consider strategies, such as advocacy and counselling, to respond to the socio-economic, educational, and community integration stressors that the family is experiencing.

According to Dr. Baobaid, the FAST is only used in London, Ontario by his organization in collaboration with several mainstream organizations as part of the CIFSR model. However,

he said that he has plans to make the tool accessible to service providers throughout Canada by making it more concise and conducting training. I believe that the FAST, along with the CIFSR model, could assist service providers to develop a critical anti-orientalist consciousness that reflects some aspects of decolonization described by Maitra and Guo (2019). The aspects of decolonization that I am referring to include: 1) “planning and designing learning curricula and institutionalized pedagogy based on non-western knowledge systems and epistemic diversity and 2) decolonizing our minds as practitioners to challenge the passivity, colonization, and marginalization of learners both in classrooms and workplaces” (p. 5).²³

The FAST can contribute to service providers developing an anti-orientalist consciousness because it guides the assessor to construct a discourse of victims and perpetrators that privileges non-western knowledge. This non-western knowledge includes the pre- and post-migration experiences and beliefs of perpetrators, victims, and their families regarding their religion, culture, and community. In the case of the CIFSR model, the collaboration and partnerships between ethnocultural and mainstream service providers afford opportunities for them to critically reflect upon and discuss the unique aspects of each family’s situation. Further, the collaboration and partnerships enable service providers to identify, critically reflect upon and challenge internalized colonialism and institutional rules that may be unwittingly reproducing racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression. Since the FAST and CIFSR model have the potential to play a role in assisting service providers to develop a critical anti-orientalist

²³ While I am using Maitra and Guo’s (2019) framework of decolonization of lifelong learning, the theoretical and methodological area of decolonial studies is vast. It is outside the scope of my dissertation to fully engage with concepts and frameworks of decolonization regarding how service providers understand and respond to HRVO. This is an area where I would like to extend my work after my dissertation.

consciousness, I fully support Mohammed's efforts to make these tools and approaches available to service providers throughout Canada. In the next section, I will outline an educational program on HRVO that seeks to aid service providers in developing a critical anti-orientalist consciousness by providing them with knowledge that challenges orientalist views of the phenomenon.

7.7 Educational Program

As stated earlier, I interviewed a research participant, Mary (EC) about an educational program on HRVO that she developed. Mary is a registered clinical counsellor and has been delivering the program for over 2 years to service providers. I attempted to attend one of her workshops in 2019, but I was not permitted to register because I was not part of a professional organization that was organizing the conference. Mary wanted to contribute to my dissertation, so she agreed to be interviewed on her personal time. Mary stated that her workshops run a half to a full day, and she covers the following topics:

- Violence and abuse across cultural communities,
- The history of HBV dating back to the Roman empire,
- Collectivist communities and how patriarchy may be very rigid in social, religious and cultural norms that are attached to the sexuality of women and family honour,
- The immigration journey and mental health issues that come with systemic oppression,
- Case studies of HBV and some statistics,
- A successfully managed case of HBV, and
- The process of case consultation on HBV that she makes available to service providers.

Mary seeks to provide a safe environment in her workshops by advising service providers that they are free to ask any question even if they are insensitive. Mary has been asked insensitive questions, but she can turn it into a teaching moment by addressing it and getting the participants to think. Some of the insensitive questions that she has been asked include: why are all Indian men abusive? Is it hard for a brown woman like you to live in this country? Why do these people bring their culture here? Mary (EC) explained:

I ...encourage people.... We need to understand that we are frightening Caucasian service providers way too much. I would get feedback like, "Oh, this is so good that the presenter said that this is a safe space to ask any question." ...I do get insensitive questions, but I address it then, and there in a good way so that it gets them thinking.

Mary commented that she responds to insensitive questions by explaining how the issues may be related to structural forces and arguing that because we are all Canadians when an issue like HRVO occurs, it is a problem for all Canadians to solve. For instance, when asked "why Indian men are abusive," Mary might outline the journey of immigrants that may be characterized by witnessing political violence or torture. In addition, she might discuss how domestic violence and mental health issues among racialized communities may be shaped by systemic oppression.

Mary described the perspectives that service providers in her sessions have about understanding HRVO as falling within three categories. The first category consists of 25% of the people, who are "super racist" who will not change their views no matter what she does in the training. The second group constitutes 25%, and they understand that violence and abuse may be happening within a certain community, but they do not attribute it to race. The third group, composed of 50% of the people, are ignorant and have not had much opportunity to understand the issue due to negative and stereotypical media coverage. This last group tends to ask more of

the insensitive questions that Mary indicated that she uses as a teaching moment. The most challenging group of learners in Mary's workshops have been from law enforcement. Mary commented that she has found that some members of law enforcement want her to say that HRVO is caused by her culture (South Asian) and religion (Muslim, Hindu). According to Mary, some of the feedback that she has received from law enforcement officers of this nature was, "she is in denial of her culture and she is the problem." Mary attributed these racial stereotypes to the work of law enforcement members, leading them to only encounter certain communities when they are engaging in violence. According to Mary, she got better working with law enforcement members by understanding how they may talk to her and being more assertive getting her points across. Mary, however, indicated that a lot of law enforcement officers who deal directly with cases of HRVO get frustrated about how to effectively deal with them; they are appreciative of her workshops and indicate that the content should be taught in police training programs.

Another challenging group for Mary is some ethnocultural and faith leaders who accuse her of suggesting that they should let their children do what White children are doing in terms of sanctioned dating and other activities. Mary's response to these community and faith leaders is she is not promoting activities, such as dating before marriage, but instead suggesting that there should be zero tolerance for abuse and violence of children. Moreover, she is suggesting that community members should teach their culture to their children in a way that they embrace it and not force it on them, or they may end up pushing their children away. Mary stated that sometimes her view is not well received by faith and community leaders, and they question whether she is an honourable woman. For instance, they ask if she is married or divorced and whether she has children. Because she is married, has children, and is an immigrant parent,

however, they are not able to portray her easily as dishonourable or ignorant about her culture. An additional group of people that challenges Mary are some service providers from the South Asian community who were born and raised in Canada and have no knowledge and experience living by the honour code. Mary stated that she has had interactions with privileged service providers of colour where they tell her that HRVO does not exist and is something that White people have created. Mary described an interaction:

...and so we ended up speaking and she was presenting on Islamophobia, a very real issue, and the moment she heard my title, she was like, “Oh my God, I am so worried about you and the work you do” and “Don’t you understand that you are working for white supremacists?” ...So, I had to ask her, “When did you come to Canada?” ... and that is when she shut up...if you have lived by the honour code, you know it’s real.

Mary has also been told by some people of colour that her work is polarizing and will increase racism. Mary’s response to this comment has been that HRVO needs to be named and identified for it to be addressed. In addition, she argues that the point that she is trying to convey in her workshops is that it is not the religion and cultures of collectivist societies that contribute to HRVO but how people practice or interpret their religion and culture. Mary explained:

....it goes back to one’s personal culture and one’s own perspective on things. One’s own life experience, one’s understanding of gender and social roles and one’s in-depth understanding of what culture is. ...For example, if we look at Islam, I don’t see anywhere where it says the Prophet Muhammad said, “oppress women.” It’s just people have misinterpreted all the different things he said and used it to sustain patriarchy.

Mary indicated that although she has been faced with community members who have attempted to shut her down and with difficult groups, she will continue to teach and play a role in challenging HRVO.

While working in communities and delivering her educational workshop, Mary has been faced with a diverse range of perspectives from service providers and community members concerning their understanding of HRVO. For instance, she indicated that about 25% of the people understand that HRVO may be happening within a certain community, but they don't attribute that to race or culture. Mary stated that this group sees HRVO for what it is, and by that, she means they understand that religion and culture are not the cause of HRVO, but it is how people interpret their religion and culture. This perspective resembles the heterogeneity of culture framework that informs my dissertation, and it is the one that Mary is seeking to develop and strengthen among service providers. As stated earlier, the heterogeneity of culture framework recognizes that cultures and social identities are flexible and fluid concepts that are given multiple meanings by individual actors as opposed to homogeneous entities determining an individual's behaviors (Korteweg, 2014; Withaeckx, 2011; Lindisfarne, 1994). This perspective is important for service providers to understand because it can assist them to disrupt orientalist frameworks of HRVO and respond to the phenomena in a way that reduces the chances of communities being stigmatized and marginalized.

The other perspectives of HRVO held by service providers that Mary encounters are not as helpful because they tend to produce and reproduce three forms of injustice that Fraser (2000, 2008) refers to as *misrecognition*, *maldistribution*, and *misrepresentation*. These perspectives include the cultural, universalist, and possibly individualistic perspectives. A description of these three perspectives and how they contribute to injustice was discussed at length in the

literature review chapter of this dissertation. Based on Mary's descriptions, approximately 75% of the people in her training would hold the cultural perspective of HRVO that views it as a reflection of cruel patriarchal norms and values that immigrants have imported from their home countries (Hellgren & Hobson, 2008; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009). Mary, for instance, indicated that 25% of people in her training are "super racist," who will never change their thinking, while 50% are ignorant and do not have much understanding beyond negative cultural media depictions. While Mary may never be able to shift the perspectives of the "super racist" to the heterogeneity of culture perspective, she may be able to shift some of the 50% by providing them with knowledge contrary to what they have learned in the media. Some of the members of law enforcement that Mary found challenging to teach would likely fall within this 75% group.

Based on my 21 years of policing experience, I agree with Mary that some officers can develop racist stereotypes about certain community groups as a result of consistently encountering people from these communities engaging in violence. Policing is also a male-centric environment, and I could see how some male officers may have been challenging toward Mary based on her gender, ethnicity, and fact that her workshop is dealing with controversial issues such as race, gender, religion, and culture to name a few. What I have seen help officers shift their views is multidisciplinary working relationships with service providers of diverse backgrounds. For instance, officers in the domestic violence unit in which I worked are paired with community counsellors, and this helps both parties develop an understanding of each other's perspectives. In addition, patrol officers are encouraged to contact the domestic violence unit to receive consultation on their files from domestic violence teams consisting of an officer and their community counsellor partner. Mary did state that she provides consultation to officers, and they are very appreciative of what they learn from her. This type of approach is like

what Dr. Hart stresses in terms of service providers contacting and working with cultural agencies and communities to better assess and manage cases of HRVO.

Some of the faith and community leaders who challenge Mary about the existence of HRVO likely view the issue through the universalistic and particularistic/individualist perspectives. The universalistic perspective dismisses culture as an explanation of HRVO and conceptualizes it as a form of universal patriarchal oppression of women by men (Withaekx, 2011; Dogan, 2014). The particularistic/individualistic interpretation also avoids framing culture as an explanation of HRVO and frames the behavior through the lens of the psychology or mental health of offenders (Dogan, 2014). Mary described some faith and community leaders as well as some privileged people of colour telling her that her work and positionality as a racialized woman are polarizing and will increase racism against their communities. Put differently, these leaders and community members fear that Mary's positionality and educational program will highlight issues of race and culture and bring legitimacy to orientalist views of their communities. As stated earlier, Mary is seeking to challenge racism in her work by providing participants with an understanding of the issues in terms of heterogeneous notions of culture. Hence, the community members who challenge her may not have a full understanding of the content and objectives of her workshops. Moreover, they may be of the mindset that the best way to challenge racism against their communities is by strategically framing the issues as universal violence against women and/or violence related to the mental health of offenders.

In the time that I have been working on my dissertation, I have encountered a variety of perspectives from service providers like Mary. Some service providers share a perspective like mine in terms of framing HRVO in the context of the heterogeneity of cultures, while others have told me that HRVO rarely happens and is a "niche issue." These encounters prompted me

to work with three service providers to develop and deliver a forum on HRVO at the annual Canadian Association of Threat Assessment Professionals Conference (CATAP) in November 2019. The goal of the forum was to assist service providers to identify and detect HRVO by adopting a culturally integrative framework. The cultural integrative frameworks include conceptualizing the issues in the context of the heterogeneity of cultures as well as service providers working in multidisciplinary relationships with ethnocultural agencies. In the next section, I will discuss participant observation that I carried out while delivering the forum at the CATAP Conference.

7.8 Participant Observation: Service Providers in Training

One of the research goals for my dissertation involved attending several education and training programs on HRVO and carrying out participant observation to generate data on how service providers comprehend and respond to this issue. I made efforts to attend two educational programs, such as a PATRIARCH Training and educational workshop delivered by Mary but was not permitted into either program. With the PATRIARCH Training (as mentioned in the “Methodology” Chapter), I was told that there was no interest in me attending to conduct research, while for Mary’s program, I did not meet the qualifications of being a member of a teaching organization. In both instances, I made a case to attend, highlighting the purpose of my research in terms of challenging orientalism as well as my credentials as a police officer and Ph.D. student in Educational Studies, but this was not enough to overturn the decisions. I was disappointed with being restricted from these programs and felt naïve for failing to recognize beforehand that these organizations may have been reluctant to discuss sensitive issues relating to HRVO in front of an outsider. I was likely seen as an outsider because in the PATRIARCH Training, although I am a police officer, I had presented myself as a researcher, and with Mary’s

training, although I am a student in the Department of Educational Studies, I do not have a teacher's certificate and I am not a member of a teachers' organization.

I was subsequently able to get around restrictions from attending HRVO educational programs by submitting a proposal to conduct a forum on this topic at the 2019 Annual Canadian Association of Threat Assessment Professionals Conference in Niagara on the Lake. The proposal was accepted, and two other service providers, Dr. Mohammed Baobaid and Dr. Stephen Hart, and I delivered a two-hour program. The overall goal of the forum involved assisting threat assessment professionals to identify risk factors for HRVO and adopt a culturally integrative framework to manage the risk of violence. Dr. Hart was the moderator for the forum, while I discussed some of the preliminary findings of my research regarding the *definition of HRVO, the continuum of HRVO, PATRIARCH risk assessment tool and critique of the tool, risk factors and warning signs of HRVO, problems with cultural conceptions of HRVO* and *Challenging HRVO without marginalizing communities*. Dr. Baobaid discussed the *Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response Model* and *Four Aspects Screening Tool*. Since I was presenting, my ability to conduct participant observation was limited. However, a colleague who was at the session volunteered to take notes, and I asked her to record questions and reactions from the audience during my presentation. A copy of my colleague's notes is attached in Appendix F.

During the writing of my dissertation, I found that some police officers exhibited a lack of enthusiasm about discussing and/or learning about HRVO because it involves sensitive issues of culture, religion, and race. Moreover, some police officers and social workers have suggested to me that HRVO is a niche issue because they and their colleagues never come across it in their practice. Due to encountering this lack of enthusiasm and underplaying of HRVO, I anticipated

that I and the other presenters at the CATAP forum might encounter resistance from law enforcement officers and others in attendance. Weeks before the forum, I discussed my concerns with the other presenters, and they commented that they had experienced similar dynamics with some police officers and settlement/social service workers. The other presenters and I strategized about how we would attempt to make the forum interesting and non-threatening by declaring at the beginning that HRVO was an important topic for all our practice and we were open to any questions and comments. We also incorporated several case examples into our presentations as well as opportunities for the attendees to participate.

7.8.1 Delivering the Forum: Where did Everyone Go?

The setting for the forum was a large conference room in a hotel that could seat more than 200 to 300 people. There were approximately 80 people in attendance, and the participants were seated in rows. The first observation that I had was there were about 120 people in attendance at the conference, but only 80 people showed up for our session. The conference location was in a remote part of Niagara Falls and no other sessions were occurring, so approximately 30 to 40 participants chose not to attend. This may be the result of the situation that I discussed earlier in terms of some participants perceiving HRVO as a niche issue that they will never have to deal with or a complex one with issues of race, gender, culture that they would rather avoid. We started the forum by introducing ourselves, our topic, and the content that we would cover. In addition, Dr. Hart spoke as the moderator and advised participants that the forum was an opportunity for them to ask any question and provide comments about HRVO so we could learn from each other. I was the first presenter, followed by Dr. Hart who highlighted issues from my presentation. I spoke for approximately one hour and Dr. Boabaid spoke for one hour after Dr. Hart.

Overall, there was good participation from the attendees during my session and approximately 1/3 of them made comments and asked questions. One comment that was made at the start of my session when I introduced a slide from a magazine article showing a picture of the female victims in the Shafia “honour”-killing case and the handcuffed offenders walking into Court was, “it’s just plain murder.” This comment was whispered, and I did not hear it, so I was not able to follow up and learn why the attendee did not want to refer to the murders as “honour”-killings. I would speculate that their positioning might be like that of a representative of The Canadian Council for Muslim Women, Hogben (2012), who asserts that crimes should not be designated by justifications used by the perpetrators. Hogben (2012) also argues that the label of “honour”-killing makes the murders seem exotic and foreign to western culture, which is deemed to be free of patriarchy. As I have argued in my review of the literature (Chapter 2), labelling violence and oppression as “honour”-related highlights the specific dynamics and risk factors so that they can be detected and managed by service providers. However, I have also heard from many service providers that the term “honour”-based or related violence carries so much orientalist baggage. For instance, a service provider, Nadia, commented that she stopped antagonizing half of the room who were mad at her for using the phrase “honour” in relation to murders and violence by replacing it with the term *extended family violence*. In the “Recommendations” Chapter, I will discuss alternative terminology such as “shame-based violence” that will capture the dynamics of HRVO and avoid orientalism.

7.8.2 This Doesn’t Say Anything About Culture

At the beginning of my session, I reviewed the definition of HRVO that I had adopted for my dissertation (see Chapter 1) and asked the participants for their feedback. Two significant comments were made about the definition. The first was culture should be added to it because

HRVO is linked to a cultural belief system and the second was dowry in some African countries was not problematic. I responded to the first comment by working to highlight factors related to HRVO such as the heterogeneity and culture. For instance, I pointed out to the group that although there are ethnic, religious, racial, and gender differences among us, many of us would be considered part of the same Canadian culture. I then asked them if they thought that our cultural similarities meant that we would all believe the same things, have the same opinions, and behave in the same manner. The answer from the group was “no of course not, we have some degree of individuality and agency in how we think and behave.” This response allowed me to stress the sociological definition of culture that I discussed earlier that presents it as a dynamic process of meaning-making in which individuals select various symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views and engage in varying strategies of actions to obtain their goals (Swidler, 1986; DiMaggio, 1997). In addition, I was able to highlight that HRVO is not committed by all members of a community because individuals engage in different meaning-making processes or interpretations of honour and shame as well as varying strategies of action to maintain their honour. I was not challenged when I discussed how the heterogeneity of culture relates to HRVO, and no reactions were recorded in the notes of the colleague who was observing on my behalf. Hence, it was possible using Mary’s descriptions of learners in her HRVO program falling into three categories—namely “super-racist,” “ignorant” and “those who don’t attribute it to race or culture”—that I was speaking to members of the second and third group. My comments on culture would have, therefore, solidified the views of those who see HRVO as not being attributed to culture and race and potentially shifted the views of those who were ignorant.

A similar comment about the connection between culture and violence against women was raised by another participant when I was reviewing the newspaper article, “Standing Up for

Aqsa and Canada in “Honour”-Killing case that I discussed in the Chapter, “Perspectives of Practice: Challenging ‘Cultural Talk’ and Orientalism.” The participant commented that as a police officer responding to a domestic call, they have encountered situations where perpetrators have said, “In my culture, I am allowed to beat my wife.” and they responded by saying, “Well Sir, this is Canada.” I agreed with the participant that it is unacceptable that someone would use their culture as a justification to abuse their partner and reiterated my point that cultures are heterogeneous in that all members of the perpetrator’s culture would not think and behave in the same manner. Moreover, I emphasized that it is important for service providers to conceptualize cultures and individuals as heterogeneous to avoid stereotyping and marginalizing communities.

7.8.3 Lobola (Dowry) in Africa: How is this Positive?

The second comment from a participant about dowry being a normal part of the marriage life for some Black Africans was made in response to my discussion of the practice in countries such as India, where it is associated with acts of HRVO such as “bride burnings.” The participant stated that in some parts of Africa the term “Lobola” describes the practice where cattle in rural areas and money in cities are transferred from the relative of the bridegroom to those of the bride to legitimize the marriage. Furthermore, he commented that Lobola provides financial support to the bride if something were to go wrong, and the groom’s family will negotiate a price with the bride’s family and hand over the cattle or money at a marriage party. When the participant was explaining “Lobola,” another attendee made scoffing sounds and whispered, “how is this positive?” “Wow, like you’re selling a cow. Are you kidding?” I only became aware of this response after I was reviewing the observation notes completed by my colleague, so I was unable to explore this issue in the training. However, I did explore the issue

for myself through an email exchange with the participant who was explaining Lobola and a review of a few articles that he provided.

A few days after the conference, the participant sent me two articles, one on the practice of Lobola and the other a pamphlet on Ukuthwala, which is abduction and forced marriage. In the article on Lobola, Parker (2015) explored the attitudes of 541 Grade-12 learners in the new South Africa toward the practice. Parker (2015) found that most male and female learners had a positive attitude toward Lobola and saw a place for it in South Africa. However, she also found that some learners felt strongly that Lobola led to the disrespect and disempowerment of women. Despite the negative aspects of Lobola, she argued that it should be seen in a positive light as acknowledging the value and worth of women and helping to build their self-esteem.

In contrast, Ukuthwala was described less favorably as Lobola in the brochure because it involves the abduction and rape of a girl or young woman by a man and his peers, friends, or family members to compel her family to endorse marriage negotiations (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2010).

7.8.4 Risk Factors of HRVO: We See This Thing Quite a Bit

The final commentaries from forum members that I will discuss are concerning the warning signs of HRVO, which I discussed earlier in this chapter. After I presented the warning signs, two attendees made remarks about the relevance of the list. The first participant stated, “I feel like [I] saw everything that you listed there. Especially the fake timetable.” The second participant commented, “personally, there’s a colleague in our office...she sees this thing quite a bit at secondary school. In one case a girl was rebelling and did not want to wear headgear and an uncle would come and take the girl away to have these discussions. But the counsellor felt her hands were tied because he was allowed to take the girl.” When these comments were made,

I was focused on listening to see if they validated the warning signs that I had outlined so I did not ask any follow-up questions for clarification. I am disappointed with myself for not exploring both comments because they could have provided “teachable moments” regarding practice in the area of HRVO. For instance, it would have been helpful to know how the service provider responded in situations with possible victims of HRVO when he observed many of the same warning signs that we were discussing. Furthermore, some important information about practice could have been gained by considering questions about the service provider and young women that she was struggling to help such as what did the service provider think was happening when the girl was taken away by her uncle? What would the service provider like to have done to assist the girl? and Why did the service provider feel that her hands were tied to do anything?

It is my view that the service provider who indicated that he had come across the warning signs of HRVO, especially requests for mock timetables, has likely experienced uncertainty, which may have resulted in him not responding to the warning signs. I base this view on the fact that he did not offer any examples of how he handled the situation when he encountered the warning signs. Similarly, for the service provider who described her colleague as feeling that her hands were tied, this suggests that her colleague was uncertain and unresponsive when the girl was being taken away by her uncle. I hoped that the forum presentation that followed mine, by Dr. Boabaid on the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response (discussed earlier), would provide the opportunity for attendees to discuss these kinds of scenarios and learn how to respond. Dr. Boabaid, however, had some technical difficulties throughout his presentation, and there was insufficient time for any questions. Due to these technical difficulties, I also ceased conducting participant observation after my session, and my colleague stopped recording reactions and comments.

7.9 Summary of Participant Observation

My goal in conducting participant observation at the forum was to generate data on how service providers comprehend and respond to this issue. What I learned from my session was some service providers comprehend HRVO as related to culture. This was reflected in one service provider commenting that they always saw it as being related to a cultural belief system and another stating that they encounter some men at domestic violence calls who tell them that their culture allows them to beat their wives. The fact that some service providers attribute HRVO to certain cultures and races was not a surprise based on my experience encountering this perspective while working in law enforcement. It was also not surprising because, as pointed out by Mary whom I discussed earlier, many learners in her educational programs such as service providers are ignorant and have not had much opportunity to understand the issue due to negative and stereotypical media coverage. When it came to data on how service providers respond to HRVO, I learned that some of them are aware of the warning signs but may be uncertain how to respond, which results in their inaction. In the “Recommendations” Chapter, I will discuss training for service providers that will assist them to comprehend HRVO and respond with confidence and competence.

7.10 Summary: Learning about and Responding to HRVO

The focus of this chapter was on learning about and responding to HRVO. In the first part of this chapter, I discussed my answer to the question of what causes HRVO as well as the warning signs of this type of violence. I argued that HRVO is caused by a desire to ward off shame, and five preconditions are required for shame to lead to violence. It is my view that when service providers know what causes HRVO as well as its warning signs, they are in a better position to detect, assess, and respond to this type of violence.

In the second part of this chapter, I outlined and discussed two risk assessment tools, the PATRIARCH and the Four Aspects Screening Tool (FAST). The PATRIARCH, which was developed in Sweden, was identified as the primary training program and risk assessment tool used in Canada. The FAST risk assessment tool was also discussed and compared with the PATRIARCH regarding discursive and non-discursive factors. It was my finding that the loaded language in the PATRIARCH tool tends to produce Orientalist discourses that focus on the deficiencies of victims and perpetrators and increase the chances of service providers overreacting. In contrast, the language of the FAST challenges orientalism by producing a discourse that highlights the nature of the violence as well as the risks and resources of victims, perpetrators, and their families. Furthermore, it facilitates strategies to support victims and perpetrators that draw on the resources of families and communities. In the final part of this chapter, I discussed a lecture-style educational program developed by a service provider, Mary, whom I was able to interview, and participant observation that I conducted as part of a forum on HRVO. Mary characterized learners in her programs as falling into the three categories: people who are “super racist;” people who understand that violence and abuse may be happening within a certain community, but they do not attribute it to race; and people that are ignorant and have not had much opportunity to understand the issue beyond negative and stereotypical media coverage. In my participant observation, I likely encountered members of the second and third groups based on some of the reactions and questions from the audience. When it came to generating data on how service providers respond to HRVO at my forum, I learned that some of them are aware of the warning signs but may be uncertain how to respond, which results in their inaction.

Chapter 8: Conclusion: Summary of Findings and Recommendations

I can still remember the scene 8 years later, just as vividly as when it was happening. As mentioned in section 7.5, I was sitting in a training session for HRVO on the PATRIARCH risk assessment tool, and the first words uttered by the presenter were, “This has nothing to do with culture.” After this utterance, the presenters showed a series of slides containing pictures and headlines from news stories of high profile “honour”-killing cases, where the victims and perpetrators were all dark-skinned and racialized. In the process of observing the pictures and hearing about the violent characteristics of each of the murders, I felt a sense of anger, sadness, and frustration and wondered what role culture played in the murders. I also thought that the presenter’s proclamation that HRVO had nothing to do with culture was undercut by their sensationalized focus on each of the murders and lack of analysis of how culture may or may not have played a role in the murders. Based on this educational experience as well as hearing colleagues advance orientalist notions of violence against women in Middle Eastern and South Asian communities, I decided to conduct a study on HRVO. In this chapter, I will present a summary of my study consisting of a brief overview of the purpose, main research questions, methodology, and conclusions drawn from the findings discussed in Chapters 4 through 7. I will also suggest recommendations for each conclusion as well as for further research in the area of HRVO.

The primary purpose of my dissertation involved filling the gap in the literature on practice or interventions and actions that service providers can engage in to support victims and perpetrators of HRVO in ways that challenge Orientalism. The main research question that I explored was what definitions and perspectives service providers use to understand and respond to HRVO. I also investigated interrelated questions such as how service providers can

acknowledge aspects of culture, such as connections between honour, shame, and violence without marginalizing cultures. Other interrelated research questions included bringing to light warning signs or indicators of HRVO that service providers are aware of and what educational programs service providers participate in to better understand and respond to HRVO. After interviewing 23 service providers in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario, I determined that most definitions of HRVO—including the one that I adopted for my dissertation—do not fully capture what it is, how it operates, and who it impacts. Service providers, for instance, indicated that my adopted definition was not inclusive enough to capture the extent of men’s victimization or intersecting forms of oppression based on economic status, race, and class.

To capture the full extent of male and female victimization, I believe that HRVO definitions used by service providers should note that the main purpose of the violence is to control the sexuality of women, primarily regarding chastity and heteronormativity, but also that of men. Further, the definition should note that intertwined social forces, such as patriarchy and the heterosexual matrix, contribute to women and men being victims and having different experiences of HRVO related to their positionalities, sexuality, and other factors such as disability and the enforcement of caste, racial and ethnic systems.

8.1 HRVO to Shame-Based Violence and Oppression

In my exploration and expansion of the definition of HRVO, I seek to challenge Orientalism by drawing links to homophobic violence and forced marriages in non-racialized, individualistic North American communities that closely mirrors HRVO in racialized communities. Conversion Therapy, which I argue has elements of HRVO, is currently receiving a great deal of media attention regarding its harmful emotional and physical effects on victims and the government’s attempts to ban the practice. The characteristics of conversion therapy that

are related to HRVO include multiple perpetrators carrying out acts of oppression (emotionally abusive counselling, aversion therapy) against victims as a result of issues of family honour and shame. The central factor that ties acts of HRVO in racialized community with non-racialized communities is the notion of shame described by Gilligan (2005) along with the five preconditions for violence that I outlined in Chapter 7, “Risk Assessment, Learning and Responding.”

Since warding off shame and maintaining or restoring honour tends to be the main motivation for HRVO in racialized and non-racialized communities, I would suggest that different terminology be used to reflect this fact and help to reduce some of the orientalist baggage attached to the terminology HRVO or “honour”-killings or “honour”-based violence. I recommend that the motive of warding off shame be reflected in crimes, violence, and murders that are currently labelled as “honour” related by referring to them as shame-based violence and oppression. In January 2020, I had the opportunity to present some of my preliminary findings to a group of mainstream service providers within the Vancouver Police Department. Some of the feedback that I received was their consciousness was raised about HRVO occurring across cultures, races, and religions. However, they felt the stigmatizing baggage attached to the terminology HRVO contributes to service providers being defensive and resistant to learning how to understand and respond to this problem. It is my view that the new terminology that I am proposing would provide an opening to assist both mainstream and ethnocultural service providers to better understand, detect and respond to shame-based violence and oppression across cultures and races.

8.2 Perspectives on HRVO and Critical Consciousness

The predominant perspective that service providers in my study use to understand HRVO is the heterogeneity of culture framework along with the migration context approach. My sample was primarily composed of service providers who hold these perspectives because I sought them out for their knowledge and experience. Some of the non-discursive forces of embodiment that I found contributed to service providers having these perspectives were personal-social histories of HRVO and/or extensive experience working with victims and perpetrators. In addition, some argued that their social identities and locations as a female and/or member of a racialized community made them more aware of structural forces that contribute to HRVO. For many non-racialized service providers, the aspects of embodiment that shaped their view of HRVO were personal experiences dealing with a diverse range of cases of HRVO. Further, in many instances, I learned from these service providers that they had a relationship with ethnocultural organizations or colleagues who assisted them to recognize the heterogeneous nature of HRVO.

In my research, I found that collaboration between ethnocultural and mainstream organizations in the form of the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response model (CIFSR)²⁴ can assist service providers to acknowledge aspects of culture without marginalizing communities. A risk assessment tool that is used to guide service providers working following the CIFSR model is the FAST. The FAST was discussed in Chapter 7, “Risk Assessment: Learning and Responding,” and it can aid service providers in the identification of risk factors

²⁴ The CIFSR model was discussed at length in Chapter 5, “Perspectives of Practice: Challenging “Cultural Talk” and Orientalism.

and resources within a family and community related to HRVO. In contrast to the PATRIARCH risk assessment tool which I also outlined in Chapter 7 and which I assert tends to focus on the deficiencies of individuals and families, the FAST enables service providers to perform an environmental scan of families regarding the nature of violence, risks, and resources.

I assert that the CIFSR model and FAST would make a significant contribution to knowledge and practice in the area of HRVO because they increase the likelihood of service providers collaboratively working toward developing an anti-orientalist critical consciousness. The CIFSR model and FAST can have this outcome as they facilitate a process where service providers seek to understand the unique aspects of each family's situation. Service providers, therefore, privilege non-western knowledge by treating families and communities as heterogeneous and taking into consideration structural forces that may be related to HRVO, such as pre-migration trauma and post-migration stressors. Presently, the CIFSR model and FAST are only being used in London, Ontario. It is my recommendation that provincial and federal governments commit to supporting service providers in ethnocultural and mainstream organizations throughout Canada to receive mandatory training on the CIFSR model and FAST. If government support is not provided, I recommend that ethnocultural and mainstream organizations take it upon themselves to learn about the CIFSR model and FAST. In the case of mainstream service providers who do not have access to an ethnocultural organization, I would suggest that they seek out service providers from ethnocultural backgrounds with whom they can collaborate and partner on HRVO cases.

Through collaboration and partnerships facilitated by the CIFSR model, service providers in ethnocultural and mainstream organizations can also critically reflect upon their biases, assumptions, worldviews, identities, positionalities, standpoints, and take a "one-down

position”²⁵ with clients to understand how they interpret their situations. Through this critical consciousness, service providers in both types of organizations can unlearn white privilege (if they are from a racial background that has access to this privilege), biases, and practices such as othering that reside within power. The collaborative nature of the CIFSR model can also provide opportunities for self-care for service providers as working relationships can facilitate opportunities for them to obtain emotional support through debriefing, strategizing, and training. Lastly, the CIFSR model can help mainstream service providers overcome any fear and uncertainty that they may have to deal with cases of HRVO. For instance, mainstream service providers are less likely to experience fear and uncertainty that renders them silent and/or unresponsive if they are collaboratively sharing information, responding, and supporting victims and perpetrators of HRVO with service providers from ethnocultural organizations.

8.3 Risk Assessment Tools, Education, and Recommendations

In my dissertation, I focused on two risk assessment tools,²⁶ the PATRIARCH and FAST that are being used in Canada. Some of the feedback from research participants on the training session for the PATRIARCH tool was they felt that it helped them develop a good understanding of risk factors related to HRVO. They also commented that the training assisted them to understand the distinctions between domestic violence and HRVO and the need to reach out and work with cultural communities. One limitation identified by research participants for the tool itself was they did not find it relevant for their practice because they did not work with

²⁵One-down position was outlined in Chapter 6 as part of critical consciousness drawing on Sakamoto and Pitner (2005).

²⁶ Some organizations have created in-house tools to assess and management HRVO. Reviewing all of these tools was outside of the scope of my dissertation.

perpetrators and could not gather information about them. Another limitation of the tool that I discussed in Chapter 7 was the name of the tool PATRIARCH and some of the risk factors tend to reinforce orientalism.

It is my recommendation that the name of the tool be changed to reflect the phenomenon that it is aiding service providers to assess and manage. An alternative name for the PATRIARCH could be Shame-Based Violence and Oppression Assessment (SBVO) to capture the primary motivation for the violence and to avoid orientalism.²⁷ Also, to avoid highlighting the deficiencies of individuals and families, a section should be added to the tool that captures the strengths and resources of perpetrators and victims. Further, the risk factor “Problems with Cultural Integration,” which suggests that the perpetrator is solely responsible for not integrating into Canadian culture, should be changed to something like the “Existence of Shame or Honour-related Attitudes.” In addition, a risk factor “Problems with Discrimination and Oppression” should be added to highlight how structural forces may contribute to attitudes that support HRVO.

8.4 Strength of the Critical Realist Approach

Critical Realism is a methodology that I used in my dissertation to guide my analysis of data. The strength of this methodology in comparison to discursive approaches that exclusively examine and analyze discourse is its consideration of both non-discursive and discursive factors

²⁷ I acknowledge that replacing the concept honour with shame has its limitations. Like the concept “honour”-related violence and oppression, orientalism could attach discursive baggage to the concept of shame-based violence and oppression that suggests its dehumanizing effects on male and female victims is the result of racialized and collectivist cultures. However, I believe that highlighting James Gilligan’s (2003) notion of how shame is connected to violence in general may provide an opening to help service providers draw links to shame-based violence and oppression in racialized and non-racialized communities, as well as collectivist and individualistic communities.

that shape human behaviour. Considering the non-discursive and discursive together, enabled me to identify aspects of embodiment, materiality, and power that contributed to most service providers in my study holding the heterogeneity of culture and migration context discursive approaches. Further, this type of analysis allowed me to bring to light non-discursive factors that service providers face and must manage while supporting victims and perpetrators of HRVO. These non-discursive factors include aspects of embodiment such as feelings of anger and fear, issues of power and cultural differences, as well as the materiality of close-knit communities and organizational policies. Knowledge of these non-discursive elements is helpful as it highlights factors that can assist service providers in general to adopt perspectives, such as the heterogeneity of culture and migration context approach that challenge Orientalism. For instance, a factor that I have found assisted service providers, particularly from the mainstream, to adopt these perspectives is collaborative relationships between them and service providers from ethnocultural organizations. Hence, I would recommend that more service providers learn about and practice collaboration such as the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response model. Knowledge of these non-discursive factors is also useful because it points to a need for self-care resources for service providers to address their experiences of embodiment. Lastly, this knowledge highlights the need for training that enables service providers to challenge Orientalism and develop strategies to address organizational policies that present barriers to victims.

8.5 “Dos” and “Don’ts” for Training in HRVO

During interviews, some research participants highlighted problems with training for risk assessment tools, such as the PATRIARCH, in terms of most cases focusing on racialized victims and perpetrators. This practice is one that I would recommend not to be done in training

because it perpetuates Orientalism. A second “don’t” for training, which also perpetuates Orientalism, involves proclamations that HRVO has nothing to do with culture. This claim reinforces Orientalism because it discourages a nuanced analysis of how cultures are heterogeneous as well as how attitudes that support HRVO may be shaped by the migration context, which includes structural forms of oppression. One “do” that I recommend is for service providers who develop and deliver training courses, is to do so in collaboration with racialized communities and service providers, who have a non-Orientalist understanding of HRVO. This will help ensure that education and training programs do not reinforce Orientalism. A second “do” involves responding to anxieties that service providers may have about dealing with issues of race, gender, culture, and religion while working with victims and perpetrators of HRVO. Some ways that these anxieties could be addressed in training include informing service providers that its important and okay to ask questions, reach out for help, and collaborate with service providers and agencies, who are experienced in dealing with these issues.

8.6 Re-Appropriating the Concept of Honour

As stated earlier, most service providers in my study challenge Orientalism by understanding and responding to HRVO by following the heterogeneity of culture and migration context approach. In my 22 years of practice as a police officer, I have found that the more common approach to HRVO among many of my colleagues is one informed by orientalism that consists of discourses such as the “Angry Muslim Man” and “Victimized Muslim Woman.” Both discourses attribute the violence and oppression that Muslim women experience to their cultures—which are viewed as being backward, primitive and barbaric—in relation to western culture, which is represented as being advanced, modern, and civilized. I have found that many of my colleagues hold these orientalist views because they have limited experience with

incidents of HRVO, and their main source of information comes from popular news media coverage, which tends to be permeated with orientalism (Jiwani, 2004; Razack, 2003; Sensoy, 2016). The impact of the popular media's perpetuating of orientalism is far-reaching beyond shaping the attitudes of many of my colleagues toward HRVO. As Kelly (2011) argues:

in-depth news coverage of issues and events can be considered public policy pedagogy in that the text and images represented in the news media teach powerful lessons about what societal conditions get transformed into "problems," how certain "problems" get framed within policy proposals, who becomes seen as legitimate policy actors, and what range of solutions get brought forward for consideration. (p.186)

An example of in-depth news coverage of HRVO as public pedagogy is the Conservative government's passing of the Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act in 2015. During the lead up to and after the passing of the Act, HRVO was framed in the popular media and political arena as a "problem" that immigrants imported to Canada. In addition, service providers, such as Aruna Papp who advanced the perspective that HRVO was culturally driven, were accepted as legitimate policy actors for the government, while others with non-orientalist perspectives were seen as less legitimate (Abji, Korteweg & Williams, 2019). Moreover, the solutions proposed in the Act involved educating immigrants about Canadian values and arming immigration officers with the power to deny entry or deport those believed to be engaged in barbaric practices, such as forced marriage, polygamy, and "honour"-killings. In 2017, the Liberal government passed a bill to remove the phrasing "Barbaric Cultural Practices" from the Conservative government 2015 Act, but the Act itself and its orientalist-based solutions remain.

One strategy for disrupting and contesting dominant colonial narratives, such as Orientalism, in the popular media is re-appropriation. Jiwani (2011) describes this strategy as

“appropriating the language, forms, and images previously taken by the colonizers and imbuing them with meanings that resonate with the colonized” (p. 336). The “Reclaiming Honour” project that I discussed in Chapter 4, “Learning How Service Providers Define HRVO and View the Dominant Discourses,” is an example of re-appropriation. To briefly recap, this project involved young Muslim women and men taking ownership of the narrative on HRVO through a communication campaign consisting of community workshops and online communications. Further, the goal of the campaign was to reclaim the word *honour* by engaging community members, faith leaders, and service providers in discussions of HRVO that highlighted the positive aspects of the term, distinguishing it from violence and oppression in racialized communities. Based on an evaluation report, the Reclaim Honour project received significant media coverage that described the program’s primary goal. In addition, mainstream service providers who had received training on HRVO through the project reported feeling better prepared to recognize this phenomenon and support victims.

I recommend that ethnocultural and mainstream organizations throughout Canada follow the model of the Reclaim Honour project and set up similar community education and outreach programs to challenge orientalist public policy pedagogy through re-appropriation. I also recommend that federal and provincial funding be made available for these initiatives and the projects be communicated in multiple publics – including the popular dominant media as well as community and alternative media. Communication of the project in multiple publics would involve challenging and re-appropriating the concept of “honour” in the popular media and strengthening the voices of subordinate groups, who may have been using alternative media sources to challenge orientalism.

8.7 Limitations and Future Research

In my study, I interviewed service providers from diverse settings, including law enforcement, settlement, shelters, mental health, and ethnocultural organizations. I also specifically targeted service providers who were experienced and knowledgeable about HRVO as well as challenging orientalism. With this sample, I was able to generate new knowledge about HRVO and make a significant theoretical contribution regarding perspectives and frameworks that service providers can use to respond to this problem without marginalizing communities. Some of these frameworks include the heterogeneity of culture, migration context, and the Culturally Integrative Family Safety Response model. Further, I highlighted theoretical links to forms of HRVO in racialized and non-racialized communities that may assist service providers to detect and address these forms of oppression and violence.

While my sampling was a strength, it is also a limitation because there was a predominance of one perspective among research participants. Moreover, I couldn't generalize about how service providers from specific sectors such as education, social services, and mental health may understand and respond to HRVO because I interviewed a small number of research participants from a wide number of sectors. I recommend that future research use random samples of service providers to attract a range of perspectives on HRVO. I also recommend that future studies focus on service providers in one sector at a time, such as law enforcement or ethnocultural organizations, to generate knowledge about research participants and their setting that may be more generalizable. In addition, I recommend that more research be carried out that builds on Rogers' (2017) work and my study regarding challenging orientalism by highlighting how HRVO may take place in different manifestations across cultures and races in the form of homophobic violence, trans domestic abuse, and forced marriage. Lastly, I recommend that

more research be conducted regarding the development of critical anti-orientalist consciousness among service providers that incorporates and builds on Maitra and Guo's (2019) framework of decolonization. This research can provide knowledge that assists service providers to develop a consciousness that enables them to support victims and perpetrators of HRVO without reproducing orientalism. Further, this consciousness can enhance their ability to identify and challenge orientalism at individual, cultural and institutional levels.

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Appendices

Appendix A Interview Guide

Introduction/ Definition of HRVO/Case Examples

Demographics:

1. What is the general area in which you work: policing, social work, settlement, education, mental health?
2. How long have you worked in the field?
3. Can you describe your educational background?
4. What are some of the key trainings, courses that you have completed on honour related violence and oppression?

Warm Up Questions:

1. Have you seen any media coverage related to HRVO in the last five years?
2. How do you feel the popular media treats cases of honour related violence and honour killings?

Main Questions:

1. Can you tell me how you came to learn about and understand HRVO?
2. What types of cases have you dealt with and what is your understanding of HRVO in terms of its causes?
3. Could you tell me how you started to deal with cases of HRVO?

CR - Domain of the Person

1. I'd like you to tell me what it is like to deal with a case of HRVO in terms of what you are thinking and feeling?
2. Is the experience always the same for you?
3. Could you tell me what you did to deal with any stress, frustration, worries and so forth?

CR- Domain of Situated Activity

1. Can you describe the intervention relationship that you have with victims, offenders and family members in cases of HRVO?
2. What factors impact the effectiveness of this relationship?
3. Can you give me an example of risk factors and warning signs associated to HRVO?
4. What frameworks, risk assessment tools assist you with your interventions? How?
5. What is your view of risk assessment tools such as the PATRIARCH for assisting with your interventions?

CR- Domain of Social Settings

1. Could you give me an example of how sexism and notions of honour in a family affected your interventions with a victim and offender of HRVO?
2. What other factors in a family and community have affected your interventions?
3. Can you tell me what factors with victims and in a family tend to help your interventions?
4. Can you give me an example of how organizational rules and policies affected your interventions with a victim and offender of HRVO?
5. What does your organization need to do to support you in your work on HRVO?
6. How do you think your interventions would change if there were more organizational and government supports for victims such as shelters, staff who are knowledgeable of issues if HRVO?

CR- Domain of Culture

1. What do you think is the best way to challenge HRVO without marginalizing communities associated to the phenomenon?
2. How does your organization view HRVO in terms of its causes and solutions?

3. What would you like to do differently in dealing with cases of HRVO?

CR- Domain of Polity/Economy

1. What role do you think issues of migration and trauma (torture, violence) may play in HRVO?
2. What economic, political and social factors do you think may contribute to HRVO?
3. Can you tell me how issues of racism, sexism and other forms of oppression may contribute to HRVO?

Is there anything that you would like to add or comment on in conclusion?

Is there anything that you would like to ask me?

Appendix B Informed Consent Form

Invitation to Participate and Consent Form

Study: Understanding Honour Related Violence and Oppression (HRVO) in Ways that are Helpful for Victims, their Communities, and Canadian Society

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Deirdre Kelly, Professor
University of British Columbia

Co-Investigator:

Keith Dormond, PhD Candidate
University of British Columbia

Purpose of the Study:

The goal of my research is to examine service providers including the police, settlement workers, social workers, and educators among others understand and respond to incidents of honour related violence and oppression (HRVO). HRVO is defined as violence against women that encompasses one of a range of violent and abusive acts committed in the name of 'honour,' including emotional, physical and sexual abuse and other controlling and coercive behaviors, such as forced marriage and female genital mutilation, which can end, in some extreme cases, in suicide or murder (Siddiqui, 2005, p.263). My study is interested in asking the following interrelated questions:

- What types of perspectives do service providers employ to understand HRVO? What are the implications of these perspectives for their practice and organizational policies and how can these perspectives acknowledge aspects of culture in cases of HRVO such as connections between honour, shame and violence without stereotyping and discriminating against cultures?
- What indicators are service providers aware of that connect specifically to HRVO? and
- What educational programs and risk assessment tools if any do service providers use to understand and address HRVO and what are the implications of these programs and tools?

Description of Participation:

You will be asked to partake in an individual interview or participant observation in combination with a group interview. Participant observation and a group interviews will consist of you allowing me to observe you and other learners in a violence risk assessment training session on HRVO. Further, it will involve you partaking in a group interview at the outset of the training along with other participants from the training. Individual and group interviews will last approximately 90 minutes to two hours each. With your permission, the audio of the interviews will be recorded, and I will use this for transcription and analysis. You will also be asked to provide feedback on my analysis and conclusions prior to completion of the study. One to two group or individual feedback sessions will be organized for this purpose, and they will be one to two hours in duration each. The duration of participant observation will be four to six hours. During participant observation, I will take field notes of my observations of learners' and instructors' comments, questions, interactions with each other, curriculum, and so forth.

Compensation:

Participants will receive a \$35 Star Bucks Gift Card for their time participating in the study. Additionally, snacks and drinks may be provided during group interviews for participants.

Confidentiality:

You will not be identified by your real name in the interview transcripts but rather referred to by pseudonyms that I will develop. However, I will identify your name and organization in the interview transcripts, field and interview notes as well as the final report if you request to be identified. At any time during the research process if information arises in relation to a threat to someone's safety or a serious crime, I will have a duty to report the incident to the appropriate authority. All documents or recordings, including consent forms, both electronic and hard copy, will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a UBC Educational Studies graduate student office that has been assigned to me. Additionally, electronic files will be kept on a password-protected and encrypted hard drive. The study outcomes will include a PhD dissertation which will be shared with participants. With group interviews, I will encourage all participants to refrain from disclosing the contents of the discussions outside of the group, however, I cannot control what other participants do with the information discussed.

Potential Benefits and Risks:

A benefit that participants will experience is an opportunity for you to reflect on your practice individually and in collaboration with other professionals in the field. You will also play a role in helping to develop or modify training and education programs on HRVO to improve the practice of service providers who deal with cases of HRVO. The project will also help to acknowledge and validate your work dealing with cases of HRVO and help to challenge culturalized and racialized framings of HRVO that adversely impact Muslim, South Asian and African communities in Canada.

There is minimal risk with my study. The one potential risk is emotional discomfort and stress that you may experience from recalling difficult cases of HRVO that you or others have dealt with. During interviews, you are free not to answer any question and/or to stop participation as you see fit. I can also provide you with a list of counsellors or other community resources as necessary.

Study Contact Information:

If you have any questions about this study, feel free to contact Professor Deirdre Kelly. If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics or, if long distance, e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free at 1-877-822-8598.

Appendix C Pilot Modified Danger Assessment Tool

Pilot Tool: Assessing Risk for Women Leaving Abuse (Extended/Conjugal family violence)

Name (Surname, First Name): _____

Date of birth: _____

Preferred Language: _____

Date: _____

Children Yes No

(If yes) No. of children, Age(s), Genders: _____

Who is/are the main abuser(s)?

(Check as applicable)

- Parents of the woman
- Husband
- Mother in law/father in law
- Uncle/Aunt
- Children
- Siblings of woman
- Siblings of spouse
- Other *(Note details of 'other' and probe if community members unrelated to the natal or conjugal family are involved)*

Notes

If applicable who is/are the secondary abusers?

(Check as applicable)

- Parents of the woman
- Husband
- Mother in law/father in law
- Uncle/Aunt
- Children
- Siblings of woman
- Siblings of spouse
- Other *(Note details of 'other' and probe if community members unrelated to the natal or conjugal family are involved)*

Survivor's status in Canada:

- Citizen
- Permanent Resident
- Visitor Visa
- Temporary resident
- Student
- Undocumented

(If Children) Children's status in Canada

- Citizen
- Permanent Resident
- Visitor Visa
- Temporary resident
- Student
- Undocumented

Who is helping you with your situation? *(Collect details of sources of current and potential support in and outside family)*

Pilot Tool: Assessing Risk for Women Leaving Abuse (Extended/Conjugal family violence)

Checklist: Markers of risk

Q	Yes	No	Mark Yes or No for each of the following
1.			Are you currently living with the person who is hurting you?
2.			If no, does the person know where you live?
3.			Does he take drugs? Does he have a problem with alcohol?
4.			Do you have any children living with you?
5.			Does your partner/spouse have access or parenting rights to the children?
6.			Does he say he is going to kill you?
7.			Has he ever forced you to have sex with him?
8.			Does he have a job?
9.			Does he stop you from finding a job or going to school?
10.			Is he violently and regularly jealous of you?
11.			Does his extended family (mother in law/father in law) hurt you? —
12.			Do his siblings or other relatives hurt you? —
13.			Do any of his friends or acquaintances scare, threaten or hurt you? —
14.			Do your parents support you? —
15.			Do you hide the truth from others? <i>Probe:</i> because you want to protect your husband and don't want to bring shame to the family?
16.			Does he threaten to report you to immigration or other authorities?
17.			Has he threatened your family (eg parents and others back in home country)? —
18.			Who has your government documents? ie landing papers/passport/PR card
What Types of abuse have you been experiencing in your relationship by your spouse and/or extended family?			
Physical	Hitting, choking, pulling hair, kicking		
Emotional	Name calling, yelling, making you think you are crazy, putting you down, telling you are stupid, unwanted, unattractive		
Financial	Selling your items, putting all bills in your name, not giving you money, not putting you on the benefit plan, taking all your items (e.g jewelry), making dowry demands.		
Sexual	Forced intercourse, sexual name calling, affairs, STD's, making you do sexual things you are not comfortable with.		
Property	Threatening or destroying property, harming pets, destroying clothes		
Stalking	Following you, monitoring your whereabouts		
Using Male Privilege	Treating you like a servant, not allowed to make big decisions, acting like the 'master'		
Using Children	Making you feel guilty about the children, using them to give messages, using visitation as a way to harass you, denying your right to see the children		
Isolation	Controlling what you do, what you see, where you go, denying access to phone/friends/family/kids		

Additional Notes/Recommendations/Next Steps:

Appendix D PATRIARCH Risk Factors

Table 1

Factors in the Assessment of Risk for Honour Based Violence (HBV) or PATRIARCH

<i>Nature of HBV Factors</i>	<i>Perpetrator Risk Factors</i>	<i>Victim Vulnerability Factors</i>
N1 Violent attitudes or thoughts	P1. Problems with cultural integration	V1. Inconsistent attitudes and behaviours
N2 Violent threats or plans	P2. Perceived transgression of norms or values	V2. Extreme fear
N3 Violent acts or attempts	P3. Family relationship problems	V3. Inadequate support or resources
N4 Escalation	P4. Mental health or substance use problems	V4. Unsafe living situation
N5 Persistence	P5. Antisocial attitudes and behaviour	V5. Mental health or substance use problems

Appendix E FAST Risk Assessment Tool

46 *Early Intervention*

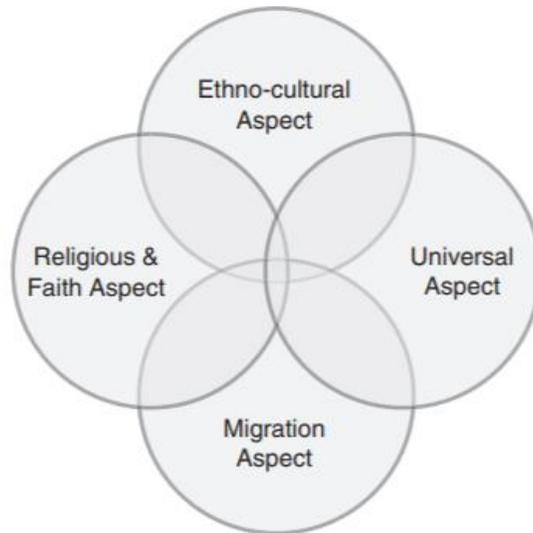


Figure 4.3 Four Aspects Screening Tool (FAST)

Appendix F Participant Observation Notes

Notes from the Forum – November 2019

Culturally Integrative Threat Assessment and Risk Management in the Context of HRVO & FM

Questions & Reactions from audience:

- Whispered comments at Shafia case (slide 6): it's just plain murder
- Prompt: how do you feel about the definition?
 - Probably too much specificity on the gender
 - Doesn't say anything about culture, it's kind of generic. I support that, but it doesn't say anything about culture being involved necessarily. I'm fine with this definition.
 - Nothing about motivation. I don't motivation is in the first definition. – Contravention of family rules could be more pumped up?
 - For me to add the culture, it would be very important, how do we know that it's different from really twisted family development? How do you know if it's not part of a system of beliefs? – what honour violence is, I always saw it as being something that is linked to a cultural system
- Aqsa response:
 - I'm uncomfortable with the "barbaric tribal" comments in it
 - Why?
 - It's painted a community with a broad paintbrush. It doesn't talk about the problematic individuals within a community
 - At the very end there, it says the bit about new immigrants – I don't like how it was phrased. It's phrased like they can't bring any part of their culture with them
 - I think that's often what you see in those communities, it's a real clash of cultures as they're trying to adapt to Canadian values. – Is it captured there? – Well it's written negatively because it's Kenney
 - Very negative tone. But as a police officer responding to a domestic calls, the misunderstanding that says in my culture, I'm allowed to beat my wife. How do you respond to that? Well sir this is Canada.
- Janzen response:
 - Terrible. – how come? – cast the villain in a sympathetic light.
 - It makes it look he was doing them a favour for what he did
 - Well, because she had the headaches
 - He wants to save everybody from the pain of what he's doing
 - It's so selfish
 - A lot of justification versus no blame for what he did
 - I don't know where the article states anything about honour or oppression related violence
 - Most people who read this article won't draw a comparison to honour related violence
 - But he killed all those women – he killed to protect them

- Warning signs of HRVO- victims
 - I feel like you saw everything that you listed there. Especially the fake timetable – works in postsecondary
 - Just a comment on that personally, there’s a colleague in our office, works at our secondary school – she sees this kind of thing quite a bit at secondary school
 - One case where the girl was rebelling, didn’t want to wear the head gear and an uncle would come and take the girl away to have these discussions
 - But the counsellor felt her hands were tied because she was allowed to take the girl
- South African dowries
 - It’s basically a dowry system call “lobota(sp?)” – Parents and uncles will go and negotiate a price – bride’s family will have a party and then hand her over – (whispers from crowd: how is this positive?? Scoffing and disbelief noises) → people can make the negotiations difficulty—our family educated this young lady, your family gets the benefits of what you’re paying for (whispers: wowww, like you’re selling a cow. Are you kidding? More scoffs) More for bride for her security, should something go wrong
 - There’s another interesting phenomenon, I don’t know what to call it. A customary practice, that happens in the rural part of South Africa—it’s called Kutwala (spelling) – literally translated “we are going to hang you there.” Because it’s in a rural area, 14/15 year old girls, they’re walking around and doing their thing, but sort of be abducted and be married off. Sometimes the families wouldn’t even know that they had been taken away—but because it’s normative, you know, you got kutwala-ed. It would be interesting, back home – if you do a study, how rife it is in South Africa, I don’t know... we do have the muslim and Indian communities, where marrying into the right family is a very big thing. It would be interested to see in our society what HRV looks like and whether it’s to the same extent