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An Exploration of the Experiences of British South Asian Women

Ramanjit Chhina

Portfolio Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Professional
Doctorate in Counselling Psychology (DPsych)

City, University of London

Department of Psychology

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Declaration

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Section A: Preface

This doctoral portfolio consists of three sections of written work produced whilst training as a counselling psychologist. The overall theme that connects each component of this portfolio is the *exploration of the experiences of South Asian women in Britain*.

Section B of this portfolio consists of an original piece of qualitative research exploring the experiences of six South Asian women who challenge Izzat (family honour and South Asian cultural law). Section C is a client study documenting my therapeutic work with a South Asian woman experiencing auditory hallucinations and Section D is a publishable journal article that explores one of the superordinate themes from the doctoral research presented in section B. Each piece of work aims to demonstrate my skills and competence as a counselling psychologist.

The Health and Care Professional Council (HCPC, 2015) highlighted the need to understand the impact of culture on one's psychological practice. They also stipulated the importance for a psychological practitioner to understand the impact of ethnicity and culture on the psychological wellbeing and/or behaviour of service users. In addition, the HCPC (2015) documented the necessity for psychological practitioners to "understand the requirement to adapt practice to meet the needs of different groups and individuals" (p. 8). As a result, the theme for this portfolio was selected as I wanted to further develop counselling psychology's understanding of the experiences of South Asian women living in Britain.

This preface will now provide an overview of each section.

Section B: Doctoral Research

This section contains an original piece of doctoral research, which explores the experiences of six South Asian women living in Britain who have challenged Izzat. Izzat has often been described as a cultural law and a code of conduct which stipulates the appropriate behavioural norms for the South Asian community (Peart, 2012). Izzat also represents a

family's honour (Wellock, 2010) and social standing within South Asian society and an individual who fails to adhere to such practices is said to not only negatively impact their own reputation, but also that of their family (Brandon & Hafez, 2008). Much of the literature on Izzat has explored and documented the negative consequences of women challenging Izzat, particularly those who have experienced abuse. However, few studies have explored the act of challenging Izzat itself. The aim of this research, therefore, was to understand and enquire about this phenomenon and explore the experiences of challenging Izzat for six South Asian women.

As a South Asian woman, my interest in exploring the phenomenon of challenging Izzat arose from a childhood curiosity. As a child I regularly heard the term Izzat being used by the elders of the South Asian community, who also expressed their concern that such a valuable commodity might be tarnished by their daughters, nieces and sisters. As I grew older, I noticed that the women who challenged Izzat were regularly judged for their actions and were frequently the object of gossip within the South Asian Community. Some of these women had also experienced severe consequences for their actions, including social ostracism, physical violence and forced marriages, and I often wondered about these women and how they understood their experiences.

In order to explore the experiences of six South Asian women challenging Izzat, this study utilised a qualitative approach and conducted six semi-structured interviews. The data generated from these interviews were analysed with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. Three superordinate themes emerged from the analysis and represented the shared experiences of the six South Asian women who had challenged Izzat. The findings of each superordinate theme have been discussed in relation to existing literature and the implications of the research findings for future research as well as clinical practice within counselling psychology have also been highlighted.

Section C: Client Study

The client study presented in this section of the portfolio details the use of cognitive behavioural therapy in addressing the experiences of auditory hallucinations for Aafsa, a South Asian woman diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia. The aim of our collaborative

therapeutic sessions was to reduce Aafsa's negative emotional reactions to her auditory hallucinations and to discover coping strategies that might alleviate her distress. This client study discusses the influential role of a positive therapeutic relationship within cognitive behavioural therapy, the importance of repetition and pace when working with particular patients and the role Aafsa's Pakistani South Asian culture played throughout our sessions.

I decided to present this client study within this portfolio as the sessions with Aafsa have helped inform my future practice as a counselling psychologist. These sessions also allowed an exploration of Aafsa's (a British South Asian woman) experiences of auditory hallucinations, tying this piece of work to the overall theme of this portfolio.

Section D: Publishable Journal Article

The last section of this portfolio contains a journal article intended to be submitted for publication to the journal of Mental Health, Religion and Culture. This journal article presents one superordinate theme, 'The Lasting Legacy', from the qualitative research presented in section B of this portfolio. This theme was selected as the in-depth understanding acquired from it appears to be absent from existing literature, and therefore it provides a greater understanding of the phenomenon of South Asian women challenging Izzat. This theme was also chosen as it offered further phenomenological insight into understanding the distressing experiences of British South Asian women, and because it presents an alternative narrative and unique understanding of challenging Izzat by suggesting that long-term positive experiences and changes can come from a woman's challenge to South Asian cultural law. These findings may allow the possibility of a more balanced discussion to take place within Izzat-related research.

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Portfolio Abbreviations

Portfolio Section	Abbreviations	Words
Section B: Doctoral Research	SA	South Asian
	UK	United Kingdom
	SAC	South Asian Community
	SACs	South Asian Communities
	SAW	South Asian Women
	HBA	Honour Based Abuse
	HK	Honour Killings
	IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
Section C: Client Study	SA	South Asian
	CBT	Cognitive Behavioural Therapy
	AH	Auditory Hallucinations
	NATS	Negative Automatic Thoughts
	TR	Therapeutic Relationship
	CSE	Coping Strategy Enhancement

Section B: Doctoral Research

An exploration of the experiences of challenging Izzat among six South Asian women

Abstract:

Within the South Asian community, the cultural law and behavioural code of conduct followed in order to preserve the perceived family honour is known as Izzat. Much of the literature on Izzat has explored and documented the negative consequences of women challenging Izzat, particularly those who have experienced abuse. The existing literature, however, has rarely explored the act of challenging Izzat itself. This qualitative study used Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to explore the experiences of six South Asian women who have challenged Izzat. Taking a phenomenological stance, it focused particularly on (a) the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat and (b) how they made sense of and gave meaning to their experiences. Six one-to-one semi-structured interviews were conducted with women aged between 25 and 30 who identified themselves as British South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, or Bangladeshi). Three superordinate themes emerged from the data: 'The Resistance', 'The Sense of Peril' and 'The Lasting Legacy'. The findings of this study have supported the existing literature and have provided a number of unique insights into the experiences of challenging Izzat. This study found the experience of challenging Izzat to be a complex process, whereby the participants' encountered both distressing and positive experiences for their actions, and sought, as well as acquired, change and control within their hybrid British South Asian 'life worlds'. It is hoped that the findings may aid practitioners in developing their understanding of the phenomenon of challenging Izzat and translate the insight gained into therapeutic practice. The implications of the research findings for clinical practice and recommendations for future research have also been discussed.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on introducing and appraising the relevant existing literature concerning the area of South Asian Izzat (honour) and the consequences faced by South Asian women (SAW) who challenge it. Alongside this literature review, gaps in the current knowledge base will be identified. The rationale for the need for research in the field of challenging Izzat and the potential applications it may provide for counselling psychology will also be discussed.

1.2 Background Literature Review

1.2.1 Migration from South Asia

The ethnic category of South Asian (SA) in the United Kingdom (UK) context, comprises individuals with familial and cultural backgrounds belonging to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999) and includes various religions, languages and traditions (Anand & Cochrane, 2005). According to the 2011 Census of England and Wales, individuals from a SA country of origin tend to account for 7.5% of the total population (Office of National Statistics, 2012).

Since the early 1950s, SA migrants from Muslim, Hindu and Sikh communities have emigrated to the UK (Peach, 2006). Peach (2006) highlighted the partition of India at the end of the British Raj in 1947, and the division of Pakistan and Bangladesh in 1971, as the catalyst for emigration across the Indian subcontinent. Approximately 17.5 million people were impacted by these partitions and the need for migration (Peach, 2006).

1.2.2 Acculturation

Phinney (1996) identified acculturation as “the extent to which individuals have maintained their culture of origin or adapted to the larger society” (p. 921). The theory of acculturation identifies that when entering a new host country, ethnic minorities can respond to their new culture in four ways: Assimilation, Marginalisation, Separation or Integration (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989).

To assimilate, individuals must drop their previous culture and adopt the new host culture as their own (Berry et al., 1989). If they sever ties with both the new and previous societies by limiting association with other people, it will be classed as marginalisation (Berry, 1997). Alternatively, people may integrate, whereby both cultures are maintained (Berry, 1997). The final option is for individuals to reject their host country's values, whilst maintaining and identifying with their original ethnic culture, in order to separate (Berry, 1997).

As many SA groups have kept their cultural practices and concern for marriage and Izzat (Peach, 2006) and the first-generation SA population tends to recreate its culture in its new host country (Dasgupta, 1998; Peach, 2006), the SA population could be described as adopting a separation stance with regard to acculturation.

1.2.3 The Acculturation Gap and Wellbeing

There seems to be an ‘acculturation gap’ between first-generation and subsequent generation SAs, whereby children are able to adapt to the dominant culture with more ease than their first-generation parents (Farver, Naran, & Bhadha, 2002). This ‘acculturation gap’ is linked with familial dysfunction and reduced psychological wellbeing for second-generation youths (Farver et al., 2002).

Studies indicate that compared to other ethnic minority groups, SA migrant families experience a greater level of family dysfunction (Farver et al., 2002) and this could be described by the theory of ‘culture clash’ (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999). Culture clash occurs

when South Asian communities (SACs) in the UK strive to preserve their original cultural norms and values (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999) and remain detached from values that are perceived as British (Babiker & Arnold, 1997). This separation occurs in contrast to the younger members of the family, who wish to adopt certain 'Western' practices that require reduced involvement and control from the family, which inevitably allows them to make decisions about certain life choices such as marriage and social activities (Patel, Power, & Bhavnagri, 1996). This, according to Dwyer (1999), has led many young individuals to be stuck between two cultures.

Acculturation can be an anxiety provoking experience (Thomas, 1995) and this process can impact one's psychological wellbeing (Farver et al., 2002). Sam and Berry (1995) found that the integration of two cultures led to better psychological adaptation and fewer problems, including low self-esteem and depression, in comparison to the other options of acculturation. One's acculturation choices also have an impact on other family members, as a first-generation parent's level of acculturation and choice to separate from the host country have also been linked to psychological problems for their adolescent children (Farver et al., 2002).

Psychological research has identified 'culture clash' within British SA culture as a potential factor for the increase of self-harming behaviour amongst SAW (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999). Ahmed, Mohan and Bhugra (2007) conducted a literature review on the cultural factors that may be linked to self-harming behaviour in SAW and they identified cultural conflict, level of acculturation, social isolation and inability to speak English as important factors.

According to Toor (2009), there has become a need for ethnic minority individuals to establish an affiliation with British society particularly among second- and third-generation migrants. However, there appears to be conflict within the South Asian community (SAC) where first-generation migrants seek to maintain a separate SA identity within British culture. This culture clash appears to have a detrimental impact on the wellbeing of the subsequent generations of the family and this highlights the importance of understanding how one juggles two distinct identities such as being SA and British. These difficulties are experienced particularly by SAW in Britain, as they are judged by the expectations of two cultures (Toor,

2009) and are seen to symbolise 'cultural integrity' through their ability to practise traditional SA values and behaviour (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, as cited in Dwyer, 2000).

It is important to note that acculturation issues, such as the acculturation gap and culture clash, are not unique to the SAC (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Research has demonstrated that many second-generation migrants within the UK (including SA Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, African Christians and Muslims, Caribbean Christians and Arab-Turkey Muslims) display a stronger identification with the dominant British culture than first-generation migrants and that this identification becomes increasingly stronger throughout the subsequent generations (Nandi & Platt, 2013; Platt, 2014). Yuen's (2008) study further supports the existence of acculturation tensions in other migrant communities, as it documents the culture clash between a Chinese migrant mother and her children and the mother's difficulties and tensions in managing her children's increased rate of assimilation to British culture.

Further literature has focused on the cross-cultural tensions of 80 male and 94 female Somali participants (aged between 16 and 22) living in London (Morison, Dirir, Elmi, Warsame, & Dirir, 2004). This study explored the participants' attitudes to and experiences of female circumcision. Morison et al. (2004) concluded that individuals who had moved to Britain at a younger age demonstrated higher levels of assimilation to the British culture (with regard to their appearance and social preferences) and were less likely to continue the practice of female circumcision, which is seen to be part of traditional Somali culture (Morison et al., 2004). In addition, the women in this study expressed their disagreement with the view that uncircumcised women were more promiscuous, thereby questioning a fundamental belief that supports and underpins the continuation of this traditional cultural practice (Morison et al., 2004). Furthermore, the majority of both the male and female participants in this study expressed a tension and disparity in attitudes with regard to marriage compared to their parents. Here the participants expressed a desire to find their own partner, contrary to their parents' cultural wishes and expectations, and believed that they had alternative preferences of what may be required in an ideal marriage partner.

Moreover, research has documented the cultural tensions and struggles Northern Irish Christian women may experience when wanting an abortion (Naughton, 2013). Anti-abortion

sentiment in Northern Ireland has been described as a 'cultural matter' (O'Rourke, 2016) as Christianity is important to the cultural identity of this country (Boyle & McEvoy, 1998). Boyle and McEvoy (1998) alluded to the moral judgments of Northern Irish Christian culture and highlighted how this cultural view has defined, and been imposed upon, Northern Irish Christian women's personal views, attitudes and experiences of abortion in England. Finally, Butler (2001) reported the cross cultural-tensions experienced by second-generation Turkish-Cypriot women and their struggles in navigating and managing two cultures. Here Butler (2001) explained that second-generation Turkish-Cypriot women are held accountable to the norms of the Turkish-Cypriot culture whilst living in Britain. The expectation that they will follow the rules of their parent's original culture (to hold a separation stance to acculturation) is said to have created cultural tensions between parents and their daughters, as the second-generation attempt to integrate, rather than reject, their British cultural values and identities. This, therefore, demonstrates the cross-cultural tensions that may arise when women experience a clash of two cultures. Although it is vital to acknowledge that women from other cultures and religions also share the experience of cross-cultural tensions and acculturation issues within Britain, this project will focus on the SA female population only.

1.2.4 Izzat

In cultures derived from the Indian sub-continent (both in South Asia and those in other parts of the world with a SA population), honour is represented by the term Izzat, which has no single definition (Gilbert, Gilbert, & Sanghera, 2004). It has, however, been described as family honour, respect (Wellock, 2010) and familial pride (Hand, 1999). Izzat is determined by many factors in Britain, where socio-economic status, education, employment, religion, class and integration into Western culture can all inform the experiences of Izzat for SA individuals (Toor, 2009).

The concept of familial honour can be viewed in other cultures outside the Indian sub-continent and is not restricted to one type of society, religion, class or ethnicity (Idriss, 2011; Ortner 1978). This current study focuses solely on the SAC who reside in the UK. Izzat is perceived by Peart (2012) as being 'multigenerational', as it becomes embedded in the experiences and understanding of both first- and second-generation SA migrants. Izzat is a

highly valued commodity (Gill, 2008) that is inflexible and places great demands on an individual as it must be obeyed at all times in every behavioural act (Jafri, 2009).

Consequently, Peart (2012) describes Izzat as the “locus of SA cultural practice and behaviour” (p. 55) which stipulates the appropriate method of conduct across all ages and genders (Jafri, 2009). This code of conduct is taught and absorbed from childhood (Hand, 1999) and children are raised to meet the expectations of good behaviour and high academic standards (Patel et al., 1996). These demands are there as clear markers of how one can bring honour to one’s family and culture (Segal, 1991) and all members of a family are expected to make sacrifices to ensure the familial unit is prioritised, safeguarded and thriving (Farver et al., 2002). This must occur regardless of what it may cost an individual and whether the individual’s needs are met (Das & Kemp, 1997).

1.2.4.1 The Expectations of Izzat

Sen (2005) argued that Izzat creates gender roles and expectations of honourable behaviour for both men and women and this will now be examined further.

Patriarchal Authority and Submission

The term patriarchy in the general sense embodies the notion of gender hierarchies, where men are seen as dominant, powerful figures within a society and females are seen as subordinate members to be dominated (Hunnicutt, 2009). Izzat adopts the notions of patriarchy, where men within a family utilise beliefs about gender identities to determine what behaviour can be classed as either respectable or dishonourable for one’s family (Toor, 2009). It is the man’s duty to defend the familial Izzat within the SAC (Gill, 2008) and as Izzat is dependent on the perceptions of others, protecting Izzat simultaneously protects one’s family name and social value (Jafri, 2009). Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999) stated that male honour is highly reliant on the observed behaviour of women and so Izzat is utilised to enforce and validate control.

Gill (2008) stated that Izzat is symbolic of patriarchy as the bodies of SAW are controlled and ‘owned’ by men through the insistence on adhering to clear behavioural expectations (Sen,

2005). These strict gender expectations optimise patriarchal control (Sen, 2005) as many SAW are taught to be submissive and subservient to their families and to protect the familial Izzat without fail (Hand, 1999). Here women are viewed as vulnerable and men are perceived as dominant and authoritative (Gill, 2008).

The financial security, liberty, marriage partners and behaviour of SAW are determined and controlled by men, who are deemed as more honourable in patriarchal SA society (Idriss, 2011). This is achieved by creating an emotional dependency of women on men and children on their parents, even as adults (Farver et al., 2002). SAW are subservient to the control of their fathers and subsequently to their husbands and in-laws post marriage (Sen, 2005).

Patriarchal SA societies are openly hierarchical (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007) and according to Payton (2011) unity amongst women is prevented to ensure the dominant status of men is maintained. In addition to being dominated by men, there is also a divide amongst SAW whereby younger females are subordinate to the demands of older women (Gill, 2011). As women age, there is a shift in authority and elderly women find themselves in control of the younger females (especially daughters-in-law) within the family (Kandiyoti, 1988). It has been suggested that the long and arduous wait to acquire such authority causes elderly women to have a vested interest in the patriarchal system and the maintenance of it (Kandiyoti, 1988; Meeto & Mirza, 2007). Women are also required to educate and enforce the behavioural and moral codes of Izzat in the next generation (Peart, 2012), to enforce male authority and to ensure the patriarchal system is upheld for another generation (Sen, 2005).

1.2.4.2 Appropriate Conduct for SAW

Izzat is seen as a code of conduct particularly for women (Wellock, 2010) and SAW are measured against expectations of appropriate female behaviour (Brandon & Hafez, 2008). In the UK, it is recognised that men can also come under pressure to uphold their responsibilities in protecting Izzat; however, as it is to a lesser degree than women (Johri, as cited in Thapar-Björkert, 2011), this research project focuses on SAW only.

The inflexible gender roles assigned to SAW place great pressure upon them to remain submissive and adhere to the clear stipulations of honourable conduct (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999).

Avoidance of Non-SA Cultures

Meetoo and Mirza (2007) identified a need for SACs to replicate their cultural values and behaviour in their new host culture, as they fear they may lose their SA identity. Here women are discouraged from mixing with individuals from other ethnicities, to ensure that their SA identity is not diluted in any way (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). Gill (2008) also argued that SACs seek to govern themselves separately from the wider UK society and women in these communities are persecuted for adopting customs and behaviours that are valued by British culture. These communities tend to remain separate and do not fully integrate with the wider British society, to prevent the realisation that there are alternative belief systems available (Brandon & Hafez, 2008). This then normalises and educates SAW to the concepts of Izzat, and in turn, hinders SAW from acquiring and adopting customs from the British host society (Brandon & Hafez, 2008).

Female Attire and Sexual Conduct

Female virginity and modesty is crucial to Izzat (Sen, 2005) and this has been used as a reason to monitor and control the attire of SAW (Dwyer, 2000), as well as their social interactions and sexual behaviour (Ortner, 1978). Izzat can be tarnished by a SA woman's perceived sexual misconduct (Brandon & Hafez, 2008), even if it remains a rumour (Jafri, 2009). Therefore, to preserve their virginity, SAW's social contact with men is limited to just immediate family (Sen, 2005) and their behaviour is monitored (Bano, 2011).

Dwyer (1999) stated that SAW have also found their attire to be scrutinised by the notions of Izzat, where wearing 'Western' garments instead of typical SA attire can cause others in the SAC to perceive them as rebellious or unchaste. Here one's attire may indicate a potential risk to one's sexual chastity and therefore clothing is placed under close examination (Dwyer, 2000).

The expectations of Izzat regarding women's clothing can be clearly demonstrated by Claire Dwyer's (2000) study where she explored how 49 SAW negotiated identity in Britain. Many of the young women that participated in the study spoke of their behaviour and attire being monitored by their families and the SAC, including men of their peer age group (Dwyer, 2000). This examination occurred throughout the women's experiences, but was particularly rife in public places where other people could easily observe them (Dwyer, 2000).

1.2.4.3 Shame

The SA values of Izzat and shame (Sharam) are closely intertwined. This study uses the word shame instead of Sharam as it is easily translated into English without losing the essence of its meaning. Shame can be described as a 'painful' emotion related to negative appraisals of one's characteristics and behaviour (Gilbert, 2000) due to unmet moral and social standards (Hampton & Sharp, 2014). Gilbert et al. (2007) discussed three types of shame: where individuals can experience internal shame from a negative view of themselves such as seeing the self as bad or flawed; external shame arising from how they believe other people may negatively view them; and reflective shame, where one's actions can cause feelings of shame for others such as family members. Gilbert et al. (2004) highlighted that cultural values and ideologies can define what is considered shameful and unacceptable and so this can vary throughout cultures. Therefore, it is understood that social groups define what behaviour is considered shameful and stigmatising (Leeming & Boyle, 2004).

For Schneider (1971), both honour and shame are vital to the notion of family in various cultures. Through their conduct, SAW are able to increase and discredit the Izzat of their family as well as evoke shame through their misdemeanours (Bano, 2011). Shame can have a negative impact on the individual, the family and the family's position in the SAC (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999) as the family would be judged as failing in their responsibility to exert their patriarchal authority and demands (Bano, 2011).

Izzat and Shame as Regulators of Behaviour

Shame can also play a pivotal role in the adherence to Izzat, as it is used by the SAC to reduce an individual's desire to challenge it (Gill, 2008). Leeming and Boyle (2004) noted

that feelings of shame can be induced by others due to its perceived benefit of avoiding conflict, maintaining hierarchies and assigning all blame for the wrongful act to the individual.

As the SAC controls what behaviour can lead to the loss or gain of Izzat, an individual is mindful of these behavioural expectations and this impacts and informs how the individual behaves (Gill, 2008). According to Allan and Gilbert (1997) the fear of losing one's social status (Izzat) and perceiving oneself as inferior to others may result in submissive behaviours and shame. Unlike Izzat, which is to be followed at all times, shame is to be avoided and is directly linked to the failure to adhere to Izzat (Gill, 2011). Shame therefore acts as a constant warning and mediator of behaviour, as SAW are made aware that misdemeanours will lead to a loss of Izzat and therefore bring shame upon themselves and others (Gill, 2008) and disapproval from the SAC (Gill, 2011).

Izzat and shame both place a 'moral regulation' upon SAW, who are required to refrain from behaviour that may be regarded as going against Izzat (Toor, 2009). Women therefore tend to monitor and restrict their own behaviour (Peart, 2012) as well as being controlled by others (Toor, 2009).

1.2.4.4 Summary of Izzat

SAW may have different experiences of Izzat from their peers and as a result, each woman is impacted by Izzat and shame to a different degree (Latif, 2011). This 'cultural law' requires individuals to behave in a manner which does not bring shame to themselves, their family and the SAC (Peart, 2012). As reported above, SAW are expected to remain submissive to men, whilst refraining from wearing attire and behaving in a way that may suggest that they are sexually available and not chaste. They are also discouraged from expanding their horizons beyond the SA culture by limiting their ability to engage with those who are not from the SAC. The use of Izzat and the fear of shame negotiate and enforce these expectations upon women and this provides an insight into the important role of Izzat and how entrenched it may be in the daily experiences of SAW.

1.2.4.5 Izzat and Wellbeing

Complying with Izzat can offer benefits for SAW, including gains in economic benefits and social status (Gill, 2008). Adhering to Izzat may also provide women with a sense of belonging and stability, as well as a sense of supremacy over those who do not share the same moral code, as stated by Brandon and Hafez (2008). Retaining a positive image can also have benefits for one's children with regard to marriage prospects and creating links with other community members (Brandon & Hafez, 2008), indicating positive experiences not only for the SAW themselves but also their families. Many SAW also use the position of the family as a means to define their own social status and self-worth, as the collective family identity engulfs the identity of the individual female (Gill, 2008).

As well as positives, facets of Izzat appear to have a detrimental impact on wellbeing, such as the expectation of female submission which is integral to the concepts of Izzat and shame (Gilbert et al., 2004). When summarising existing literature that did not explore the phenomenon of Izzat, Allan and Gilbert (1997) concluded that subordination, negative social comparisons, a lack of assertiveness, low self-esteem and internal inhibitive behaviour have been associated with experiences of depression.

Additionally, Gilbert and Allan (1994) found that shame was associated with inferiority, helplessness and a fear of a negative social evaluation. Shame also appears to be pertinent in a variety of psychological difficulties and therapeutic work (Leeming & Boyle, 2004) and feelings of inferiority have been linked to shame, depression and social anxiety in Gilbert's (2000) study. Furthermore, Gilbert, Allan and Goss's (1996) study of UK female university students found that interpersonal and psychopathology problems were linked to those who demonstrated submissive behaviour and shame, and believed themselves to be inferior in the social rank of the family.

When exploring suicidal behaviour in India, Gehlot and Nathawat (1983) found that many suicidal acts were said to have occurred due to the individual's failure to achieve the expectations placed upon them by the SAC. Feelings of shame as well as concern for the negative impact their perceived misdemeanours may have had on their family Izzat and community were also said to have impacted their decision to harm themselves (Gehlot & Nathawat, 1983). When compared to other ethnic groups in the UK, SAW have been found to have higher rates of attempted suicide (Ahmed et al., 2007). Soni Raleigh and Balarajan

(1992) argue that the many inflexible standards and rules within SA culture, culture clash and being submissive to men and elders, as well as mental conflict, can be considered the cause of these attempted suicides. Other such factors that may impact suicide and self-harm within the SA female population include family conflicts, domestic violence from male family members, strict behavioural expectations for each gender, and conflict caused by women having liberal views that do not match their traditional patriarchal surroundings (Bhugra & Desai, 2002).

Overall it appears that the expectations of Izzat and its many dimensions can play a vital role in the experiences of SAW. The positive and negative impact of these factors demonstrate the importance of Izzat and its ability to promote or reduce one's wellbeing. Therefore, the research above indicates the importance of studying the concept of Izzat and the experiences of SAW who live with it.

1.2.5 Challenging Izzat

Some SAW may adhere to Izzat as expected by the SAC, whilst others may attempt to challenge it with their behaviour.

Acts that Challenge Izzat

There are many examples of behaviours that can result in the loss of Izzat and gain of shame for a SA woman. Any behaviour that defies the expectations of appropriate female conduct (discussed in section 1.2.4.2) and/or opposes any of the rules stipulated by parental figures (Khan, 2007) would be deemed as dishonourable and a challenge to Izzat. Gill (2008) reported that women must adhere to Izzat in both the public and private domain and ensure that they do not behave in a manner that may be considered dishonourable.

Examples of dishonourable behaviour include engaging in premarital sex (Idriss, 2011), committing adultery (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007), becoming too 'Western' in one's choice of clothing and actions (Idriss, 2011), and wanting to choose one's own partner to marry or wanting to leave an unhappy relationship (Khan, 2007; Sen, 2005). Talking to men who are

not blood relatives (Khan, 2007) as well as choosing to attend further education and working without the consent of the family would also be considered a challenge to Izzat (Sen, 2005).

1.2.5.1 Consequences of Challenging Izzat

There are many consequences of challenging Izzat for a SAW and these will be discussed below.

Shame and Social Standing

The extent to which a SAW is able to conform to and comply with Izzat can influence how she is perceived by both her family and the SAC (Gill, 2008) as they can also be shamed and dishonoured by her actions (Kandiyoti, 1988). As women are used to uphold SA moral values, a woman's dishonourable actions can result in her becoming ostracised and marginalised from the community and her family (Toor, 2009).

According to Brandon and Hafez (2008), the perceptions of other people of one's family is all important, therefore acts are defined as dishonourable only if the misdemeanour is public knowledge. As a result, there is less concern for the misdemeanour itself and more regarding the community's awareness of the behaviour (Brandon & Hafez, 2008). By making her challenging acts public knowledge, a SAW is then the object of gossip, which negatively impacts the family's social position (Brandon & Hafez, 2008) and brings shame on the SA men in her family who have failed to enforce their authority (Baker et al., 1999).

As challenging Izzat can damage the family's reputation and position in society, the function of Izzat, and therefore shame, is to ensure that SAW abide by the expectations of acceptable conduct and that any failures will result in negative repercussions (Toor, 2009).

Abuse

Khan (2007) reports that Izzat has been used by many SA families in the UK to enforce subordination from SAW and violence has often been utilised to reinforce submission and to

punish SAW for their failure to adhere to Izzat (Siddiqui, 2005). Misdemeanours that have been hidden from those outside the immediate family may not be punished by violence (Brandon & Hafez, 2008), but actions that have alerted the wider community must be punished to restore the family reputation (Payton, 2011). This violence is predominantly committed by men (Gill, 2008) and ensures that other women are aware of the consequences of challenging Izzat, so that they too obey the demands and regulations imposed by their families and the SAC (Khan, 2007).

This violence involves a wide variety of harmful behaviours (Gill, 2008) including emotional blackmail, intimidation, forced marriages and imprisonment, as well as enforced isolation and withdrawal from academia (Brandon & Hafez, 2008). It also includes control and domination (Gill, 2008), in addition to social ostracism, harassment and physical violence (Siddiqui, 2005). This research project labels these acts as 'Honour Based Abuse' (HBA) to encapsulate the various facets of 'emotional, physical and sexual abuse' that occur in the name of Izzat (Siddiqui, 2005) and to avoid focusing on just physical violence.

Brandon and Hafez (2008) highlighted that HBA serves as a consequence of an individual's misdemeanours and takes a reciprocal approach whereby one is harmed as a result of harming the familial Izzat. Research has shown that the experiences of HBA can cause SAW to develop low self-esteem, depression, anxiety, psychosis and self-harming and suicidal behaviour (Brandon & Hafez, 2008).

Gill (2008) identifies HBA as a separate form of violence against women, as this violence is based on the community's belief that men and elders have the right to control the choices of women and these violent acts are conducted to restore damaged Izzat (Brandon & Hafez, 2008). This violence is seen as both a necessary and justified response by the SAC to enforce and protect the community's values and Izzat (Gill, 2008). HBA can also be experienced by men where they too have been subjected to forced marriages and pressure from older family members (Welchman & Hossain, 2005). However, as women have been described as the majority of victims (Idriss, 2011), this study focuses on SAW only.

Idriss (2011) stated that ethnic minorities may have brought HBA to the UK, as first-generation migrants resort to violence when responding to the second-generation's struggles in adhering to Izzat and causing shame with their misdemeanours (Idriss, 2011). This is reflected in the 11,744 cases of 'honour crimes' recorded by UK police forces between 2010-2014 (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2015).

Although HBA is present across the globe, incidents in the Western world gain greater attention and it is only then that the need for change is advocated (Idriss, 2011). This may be due to the media's interest in HBA committed in the UK, USA, Canada, Germany and Sweden, as it is only these cases that capture the attention of the Western world (Khan, 2007). The lack of attention to this phenomenon is further discussed by Gill (2008) who believes there is insufficient empirical research in the UK regarding HBA.

Honour Killings

Honour killings (HK) are murders that have been conducted with Izzat in mind (Gill, 2008; Siddiqui, 2005), as an extreme consequence for women who have been seen to breach Izzat (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). The term HK, however, is not used in South Asia and is instead utilised by the Western world to signify this act (Jafri, 2009). Gill (2008) explained that murdering a female who has challenged the notions of Izzat is seen as restoring the family's tarnished image, where a failure to ensure a punishment following the misdemeanour can have further detrimental impact on the familial Izzat (Brandon & Hafez, 2008).

Many members of the SAC view HK as a wrongful act of murder (Jafri, 2009) which warrants social disapproval (Siddiqui, 2005); however, some deem it to be a dutiful act and the only means to restore Izzat for the family and community (Jafri, 2009).

The Continuum of Violence

Mucina (2015) constructed a theoretical understanding of 'honour related violence', which she believed range on a continuum. To construct this, she drew on the experiences of her Canadian participants (this study is discussed further in section 1.3), the literature in the field of Izzat and her experiences in working with gender-based violence as a social worker in

Canada. Mucina (2015) suggested that this continuum could be used by practitioners to aid discussions of Izzat and shame. Here she postulated that SAW are governed by “a triangulation of power, control, and regulation of their gender and sexuality” (p. 224), where Izzat and shame are utilised in order to regulate the behaviour of SAW and this entire process is enveloped by the principles of patriarchy.

Mucina (2015) also hypothesised from her narrative inquiry study that these women had been “navigating heteropatriarchy, racism, islamaphobia, xenophobia, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, colonialism and classism in society on a daily basis” (p. 227). As Mucina’s (2015) discussion on the sociological backdrop of Izzat is not the focal point of this study, the examples of how individuals navigate these socially constructed ideologies have been omitted from the description of this theoretical model (see Mucina, 2015 for further information regarding these processes). Instead, this continuum will be utilised by this study to demonstrate the many examples of HBA and the range of behaviours that can be encapsulated under this umbrella term.

Mucina (2015) identified many consequences of HBA that serve to control the behaviour of SAW. Here she included restrictions to one’s social circle, finances, social activities and education as HBA and regarded forced marriages and HK as extreme acts of violence. She also suggested that threats made by family members to harm themselves and others also serve as a form of HBA. What was particularly interesting about Mucina’s (2015) continuum was that she highlighted the identification of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and the experiences of shame and guilt in connection with one’s ‘body’ as forms of emotional violence. Here it is observed that the expectations of appropriate female behaviour and the consequences of shame are central to the concept of Izzat, suggesting that any experiences of Izzat may place a SA woman on this continuum.

Mucina (2015) clearly defines the variety of behaviours that may fall under HBA and this tool provides a succinct understanding of the consequences experienced by SAW who have failed to adhere to Izzat. However, by describing the identification of acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour as violence, Mucina (2015) disregards the positive benefits of Izzat and judges the entire concept of Izzat as a form of violence, which appears quite reductionist. She seems to discount the experiences of SAW who may not observe their lives

as being marred by violence and who regularly live their lives as they please. Within Mucina's (2015) description, all cultures would be classed as embodying emotional violence because cultures by their very nature stipulate acceptable and unacceptable conduct, values and customs. Another major criticism is that Mucina (2015) identified 'forced arranged marriages' as a form of violence; however, arranged marriages by definition cannot be forced (Bano, 2011). An arranged marriage occurs with the complete agreement of both individuals and a forced marriage involves "any coercion, physical or psychological, used against either spouses in order to force them to consent." (Brandon & Hafez, 2008, p. 9).

1.2.5.2 Summary

It appears that many behaviours in the daily lives of SAW can challenge Izzat, and these have resulted in various types of punishments. These can range from social consequences such as experiencing shame, social ostracism and gossip to extreme acts of violence and murder. The perceived misdemeanours appear to demonstrate SAW making decisions and behaviours without the agreement of their families and may involve acts that are considered too Western. The above research focuses on the consequences of defying Izzat but it lacks the in-depth and subjective account of the experiences of challenging Izzat itself. Much of the research conducted in this field occurs from the perspective of reporting and demonstrating HBA, rather than researching challenges to Izzat in their own right and providing information about what it means to actually challenge Izzat for the individual. Challenging Izzat appears to not share the same spotlight and instead is reported as a secondary outcome of research, which focuses on Izzat and/or HBA alone.

1.2.6 Feminism and the Feminist Identity

Kandiyoti (1988) regarded SA culture to be an example of 'classic patriarchy', in which the functioning of the male's extended family perpetuates and enforces subordination, oppression and control and the man is deemed the head of the household. This is supported by Gill (2008) who classed Izzat as a "a smokescreen, a nod to an extrinsic value system that masks the fact that judgments about honour are made according to internally defined, gendered criteria" (p. 245).

The patriarchal perspective theorises the hierarchical power differences between the dominant male and the submissive female in a society (Ahmed, Riaz, Barata, & Stewart,

2004) and feminists have developed many notions of patriarchy depending on their political stances (Beechey, 1979). (See Beechey's 1979 feminist review of patriarchy for more information). Regardless of the specific political viewpoint, Hunnicutt (2009) identified agreement across all feminist schools of thought that patriarchy is a major social cause for the oppression and unequal status of women (Beechey, 1979).

Feminists such as Downing and Roush (1985) believe women undergo a series of stages in identifying and resolving their subordinate and discriminative experiences of being women and this may be of some use when exploring the experiences of SAW who have challenged Izzat. Their theoretical model stipulates that women undergo five developmental stages to acquire a feminist identity: Passive Acceptance; Revelation; Embeddedness-Emanation; Synthesis; and Active Commitment. These stages are dependent not only on the women's skills and preparedness, but also their surroundings and interpersonal experiences with other people (Downing & Roush, 1985).

During the Passive Acceptance stage women accept and value the traditional gender roles and expectations where they believe men to be superior to themselves. Here women are described as being ignorant or in denial of their disadvantaged status, which is perpetuated by individuals and the wider culture. Downing and Roush (1985) specify that a woman nears the end of this stage by becoming more receptive to alternative values and ideologies of the world.

The Revelation stage is acquired gradually for most women, although it can occur suddenly for some, following a 'crisis' (Downing & Roush, 1985). This stage occurs when women can no longer deny their unfavourable position in society, which causes intense feelings of anger and guilt for their lack of awareness and their involvement in their own subordination. Women also develop split perspectives, whereby they observe most males in an unfavourable light and females as encouraging and positive.

Throughout the Embeddedness-Emanation developmental stage, women are said to form close and supportive relationships with other women who allow them to process their anger, develop a new feminist identity and resolve their split perspective of men. During this stage Downing and Roush (1985) highlighted the ability of some women to regress back to

previous stages as a way to manage the conflict between their new identity and continual experiences of control and subordination.

In the Synthesis stage of development, the feminist identity solidifies and enables women to produce greater efficacy in decision making, to develop a greater awareness of their values and to not feel the need to conform to gender roles stipulated by a patriarchal society. Here women do not identify female subordination as the only cause of their problems and demonstrate a positive self-regard.

Active Commitment, the final stage, where women direct their attention to creating changes in society, is only achieved by some women according to Downing and Roush (1985).

These five stages are seen as cyclical rather than linear, where difficulty experienced in one stage may require women to retreat to previous stages until they feel equipped and skilled to manage the new struggles that arise from each progressive stage.

1.2.7 Age-Related Life Experiences and Tensions

Adult women may navigate many different experiences and tensions during the developmental stages of life. The ages between 18 and 35 are defined as 'early adulthood' and during this developmental time period women may have many responsibilities and tensions that shape their current and future experiences (Schuiling & Low, 2013). Such demands and tensions may include managing and creating meaningful relationships with others, navigating one's career and financial status as well as getting married or cohabiting and deciding whether to have children (Martin, Carlson, & Buskist, 2007; Schuiling & Low, 2013). These experiences and tensions influence the lives of many women, although not all women will experience the same tensions (Martin et al., 2007; Schuiling & Low, 2013).

The terms 'middle adulthood' or 'midlife' are used to describe the years between 35 and 65 (Schuiling, & Low, 2013). At this stage of life, women may attempt to achieve the goals that were delayed due to the demands of early adulthood, and some women may be raising young children and/or adapting to their grown-up children's own developmental transitions

(Martin et al., 2007; Schuiling & Low, 2013). The latter part of this developmental stage (ages 50-65) is influenced by the menopause (Schuiling & Low, 2013) and the biological demands and physical changes this transitional biological process creates, such as exhaustion and irritability (Martin et al., 2007).

Those aged 65 or above are within the developmental stage of 'late adulthood' (Bailey, Henry, & Von Hippel, 2008). Women at this stage of life may experience different life tensions than at the previous developmental stages. These experiences and tensions may include the responsibility of providing care to sick elderly partners, the requirement to retire from one's career, a reduction in social engagements and the experience of bereavement which may arise from the passing of many family and friends (Bailey et al., 2008; Martin et al., 2007; Schuiling & Low, 2013).

When exploring the lives of SAW, these general developmental stages of life may be impacted by the experiences of Izzat in different ways (Gilbert et al., 2004). Within the life stage of 'early adulthood', SAW may experience many tensions with regard to their developmental life choices, as Izzat places strict demands and expectations on women (Jafri, 2009). For example, the desire of young women to individuate from their parents may be met with heavy criticism and disapproval. Izzat dictates the appropriate conduct that women must abide by in order to meet the needs of the entire family, and so it therefore rejects the notion of distinguishing oneself from one's family and meeting individualistic needs, wants and desires (Farver et al., 2002). Furthermore, following the principles of Izzat, male family members dictate whether women are granted permission to develop their careers (Sen, 2005), and family members choose the appropriate marriage partner and friendship groups for many SAW (Khan, 2007; Meetoo & Mirza, 2007; Sen, 2005). Therefore, the life stage of 'early adulthood' may be an extremely difficult one to navigate, as much of one's life decisions and experiences within this age are influenced by the notions of Izzat, and are shaped, decided upon and restricted by familial authority and expectations (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999).

SAW experiencing 'middle adulthood' have the added pressure and tension of enforcing Izzat amongst the subsequent generation, as they must ensure that the notions of Izzat are taught to their own children (Gill, 2011). This duty becomes increasingly important as their

daughters learn to navigate their own experiences of 'early adulthood' (Gill, 2011) in order to protect the longevity of this cultural law throughout future generations (Peart, 2012). Additionally, alongside the existing Izzat-bound expectations placed upon women to be subservient to their families from childhood, women within this age group must also manage the tensions that may arise from the Izzat-bound expectations of their husbands and in-laws, whereby they are expected to be dutiful, subservient wives and daughters-in-laws (Latif, 2011; Sen, 2005). Here SAW are placed in the paradoxical position of both enforcing Izzat upon younger family members, whilst at the same time being dominated and policed by others (Gill, 2011).

'Late adulthood' creates further tensions for SAW experiencing Izzat, as women must now manage the experience of being subordinate not only to men of a similar or older age group, but also to men who may be substantially younger than them. As it is a SA male's duty to enforce Izzat and men are seen as dominant figures who outrank SAW (Gill, 2008), many older SAW must learn to become subservient to the younger men within their families who have now become their authority figures (Hunnicut, 2009). Moreover, as the need for retirement, the experience of spouse bereavement and the development of ailing physical health may place SAW in a position of dependency on younger members of the family, women experiencing 'late adulthood' must further adapt to the increased Izzat-related servitude (Sen, 2005) that may arise within this stage of their lives.

Reflecting on the above, the developmental stages of life appear to play a significant role in the experiential world of many women. SAW's experiences, however, appear to be exacerbated by the demands and expectations of Izzat, which remain present throughout the entirety of their lives (Jafri, 2009) creating various age-related tensions and struggles.

1.3 Literature Review

The Izzat related literature discussed in the previous sections of this chapter have explored Izzat through criminological, cultural and psychological studies. Much of the research advocates social and legal change to prevent the abuse of SAW. The quantitative research involved in this area has predominantly focused on self-harm and suicide rates of SAW, in which Izzat appears to play an important role. Additionally the many studies exploring the role of identity and acculturation for SAW have provided further information about Izzat and its societal value.

This section will now discuss and evaluate studies that provide an understanding of Izzat and the challenges to it. It will focus on qualitative studies, as they appear to provide greater depth of understanding of the phenomenon of Izzat and challenging Izzat and due to the limited availability of quantitative research within this field. As there is little research on the phenomenon of challenging Izzat, a number of doctoral theses and published UK studies will be reviewed. These predominantly belong within the field of psychology, with the exception of Latif (2011), Mucina (2015) and Soni (2012) who appear to take a sociological perspective.

Latif (2011) produced an ethnographic study in 2005 of five Pakistani women living in Birmingham, UK. These first-generation SAW were aged between 45-60 and had all suffered physical, emotional, financial and psychological abuse. The participants were living in their abusive households when interviewed and reported no intention to leave. This study aimed to better understand the experiences of domestic violence and found that these women (and their Pakistani community) upheld the notions of Izzat. In this study, SAW were considered the defenders of Izzat and the hierarchical nature of Izzat was used by their abusers to subject them to violence and subordination. Latif (2011) also found that religious texts were manipulated to reinforce control and that the SAW were aware of the gendered expectations upon them to grow long hair, to lower their head in the presence of elders and men, as well as to speak softly.

Latif (2011) was able to demonstrate the experiences of Izzat for these SAW and the extent to which it may have impacted their day-to-day lives. She, however, focused solely on women of Pakistani birth who had migrated to the UK to join their spouses. This may have

caused a power imbalance between the genders that may not necessarily be present for women who have status to live in the UK of their own accord. In addition, Latif's (2011) aim was to explore the experiences of domestic violence, where Izzat was a by-product of the discussion rather than its focus, which inevitably acquired findings that involved abuse. This study has, however, provided information regarding women who live with their SA families, offering further knowledge about the experiences of the women who remain within their Izzat-bound restrictions, as do many in the UK. What cannot be obtained from Latif's (2011) study is the subjective experience of SAW challenging Izzat, as her participants reported no experience of this phenomenon.

Chew-Graham, Bashir, Chantler, Burman and Batsleer (2002) conducted a qualitative study in Manchester, Salford and Telford to increase the understanding of the factors that may lead SAW to self-harm or attempt suicide, as well as identify good practice for services. Four group discussions were held with SAW who had attempted suicide or self-harmed and SAW who belonged to pre-existing women's groups, in order to gain a community perspective. These groups consisted of women aged 17-50 who were mainly Muslim Pakistani and Bangladeshi, though one participant was Indian and Sikh. This study found that the SAW spoke of both their culture and experiences when providing their view of distress, self-harm and suicide and they highlighted the need for health practitioners to understand their culture.

Izzat, 'the community grapevine', as well as the sexism and racism experienced from non-community members (which all contributed to distress and self-harm) were the main themes that emerged from these group discussions. The women here described the exploitation of Izzat to enforce approved female gender roles and unrealistic standards of behaviour. The women stated that failure to meet these standards led to increased restrictions upon their lives and the inability to vocalise their problems to others. The participants also spoke of the 'community grapevine' that led to further control, as families competed for social status and the women's ability to conform to acceptable behaviour was used as a marker of familial respectability. This grapevine produced much gossip and removed the women's privacy, whilst preventing them from accessing support from others. This impacted the participants' ability to trust SAW in health services, as they believed their confidentiality would be breached. Similarly, the women also highlighted their concern that health providers were mainly Caucasian and that they would judge their experiences with racist assumptions and would not appreciate the true complexity of their circumstances.

Chew-Graham et al. (2002) explicitly stated in their 'ground rules' that they wished to seek the opinions rather than the experiences of their participants, which may have limited the understanding of their day to day experiences. This decision prevents one from acquiring information and understanding the participants' subjective life world. The participants discussed the restrictions that may be imposed on them should they not meet the expectations of Izzat although little information is provided about this. One is left questioning whether the participants' Izzat-related 'failures' were intentional and a direct challenge to Izzat or events outside of their control, or whether these restrictions were entirely hypothetical as the participants were merely expressing their opinions of what may happen as a result of challenging Izzat. This lack of clarity and access to the participants' personal experiences prevents one from understanding the subjective experience of not only Izzat, but also challenging Izzat and what it is truly like to live with such phenomena. Additionally, this study focused on mental distress such as suicide and self-harm, rather than general mental wellbeing, which inevitably casts a negative light on the experiences of Izzat for these women. This study's focus was not on Izzat, however like Latif's (2011) study, the subject of Izzat appeared to be pivotal in understanding these women's discussions.

In contrast, Gilbert et al. (2004) produced a UK study in which they wanted to explore the roles that shame, Izzat and subordination can play in SAW's lives and how this may impact their help-seeking behaviour. Using three focus groups varying in age from 16-25, 26-40 and 41+, four scenarios were presented to women who were selected from Karma Nirvana women's project. Here the SAW defined Izzat as rules that must be followed in order to protect the family honour and to keep one's position in the SAC. Moreover, Gilbert et al. (2004) found that the participant's understanding of Izzat was linked to the fear of bringing shame upon others and the maintenance of one's reputation and social status. Here the younger group of women spoke of the concern their families had that they would bring shame to the family if their behaviour was not controlled and monitored. The middle age group also felt that they were incorrectly controlled and the oldest group identified with the need to control younger females to ensure they do not bring shame upon their family and tarnish Izzat. Here it seems appropriate to summarise that Izzat and control are intertwined in the experiences of these women, whether or not they advocate or reject its usefulness.

Losing Izzat due to one's own actions or through the actions of others was described as being shameful, having a negative impact on social status and something that may lead to the individual being ostracised by their family and community. Personal shame was also

discussed in terms of failing to adhere to one's social roles as well as in connection with the concept of 'reflected shame' (Gilbert et al., 2004). This study found that the importance of preserving Izzat and avoiding shame shaped the behaviour of these women, including the decision to stay in difficult relationships and to avoid engagement with mental health services. With regard to help-seeking behaviour, the researchers identified the following themes as reasons that may hinder access to treatment: Izzat; the fear that others would be made aware of the participants' help-seeking; lack of confidentiality from service providers; being misunderstood or blamed; cultural biases; and a lack of knowledge of available services (Gilbert et al., 2004).

Gilbert et al.'s (2004) study provided valuable recognition that not all SAW experience and understand Izzat in the same way. This study, however, chose not to ask the participants about their specific experiences and instead used four scenarios to tap into the perceptions of these women. The decision to avoid asking the participants about their direct experiences may be seen to clash with the phenomenological perspective it claims to adopt. Phenomenology is interested in the internal 'lifeworld' of the individual (Eatough, 2012), whereas scenarios require the participants to remain somewhat detached from their own experiences. Although creative, using scenarios on their own prevent the participants from drawing from their experiences, limiting understanding of an individual's life.

As the participants vocalised their perceptions whilst being prompted by scenarios, it is unclear whether the participants had experienced shame as a result of not meeting the standards of Izzat, or if, similar to Chew-Graham et al.'s (2002) study, the participants were expressing expectations of potential repercussions. In addition, it appears that much had been discussed regarding the consequences of not meeting Izzat, particularly shame, but nothing was discussed in terms of the intricacies of breaking the code of Izzat itself. For example, had the participants considered some circumstances in which challenging Izzat could be tolerated and not induce shame? Were there experiences in which they had challenged Izzat regardless of the consequences? Furthermore, what exactly the participants regarded as 'losing Izzat' is not entirely clear and what this would have meant to them is absent from the findings. Importantly, descriptions were provided of what the participants did to avoid shame and of the power and influence shame had in governing the participants' decisions. However, little is known about the emotions that may have occurred when shame

was experienced and what this meant to the participants. It could be argued that by utilising the methodology of IPA and acquiring the subjective experience of the participants, a more intricate and complete description and understanding of Izzat, as well as the experience of shame as a consequence of not adhering to Izzat, could be accessed.

Another criticism of this study is that it recruited from the charity Karma Nirvana, founded by Jaswinder Sanghera. Therefore, the participants who had been able to access support from her charity and were interviewed by her directly may have provided her with answers they believed she desired.

Both Gilbert et al. (2004) and Chew-Graham et al. (2002) conducted some of their group discussions in Punjabi and English; Chew-Graham et al. (2002) also held conversations in Urdu. This can be seen as a strength of both studies, as they were able to acquire information from women who may have typically been marginalised from research due to language barriers. The use of non-English-speaking participants, however, brings into question how both studies were able to discuss Western psychological concepts in Eastern languages and interpret English, Punjabi and Urdu effectively.

Most of the studies above utilised focus groups in order to generate data. Although focus groups have been shown to produce rich data about the jointly constructed meanings of a particular phenomenon (Willig, 2008), they do not allow for an in-depth focus on each group member and their individual experiences. In addition, focus groups have not been deemed suitable for all topics of research, for example sensitive and intimate discussions have been recommended to be discussed via one-to-one interviews (Willig, 2008). It seems appropriate to conclude that the topic of Izzat may be deemed sensitive and that a one-to-one interview may be more suitable to discuss such notions, as the attendance of other participants may not result in increased disclosure (Willig, 2008). Furthermore, the presence of others may create social desirability effects, as the very nature of Izzat enforces individuals to observe their social standing and remain concerned about how one's behaviour is viewed by others (Baker et al., 1999).

For her doctoral thesis, Gunasinge (2015) explored how Izzat impacted the lives of six second-generation SA Muslim women and their ability to utilise 'help-seeking strategies' to

manage distress. Gunasinge's (2015) IPA study employed one-to-one semi-structured interviews and found that the participants' described Izzat as respect, which they believed they acquired from the teachings of their families (especially older females). The women identified religious, cultural and familial values to have influenced both their understanding of Izzat and views of appropriate expectations of conduct. The participants also vocalised the requirement to adhere to expectations of behaviour which they believed to be high. The failure to meet these expectations was associated with emotional distress, tainted social positions, and criticisms from others, as well as negative impact on future prospects such as marriage.

These women identified tolerating emotional distress and self-harm or suicidal behaviour as potential strategies to manage distress when unable to access support from older SA members. The participants also vocalised the negative repercussions that complaining about mistreatment (including domestic violence) had upon their Izzat, thus acquiring the understanding that one's distress must remain silent. This therefore affected the participants' ability to access external agencies for their emotional distress, as it was regarded to negatively impact their Izzat and cause experiences of shame. Last of all, Gunasinge (2015) highlighted that the participants recognised the potential for dilemmas (such as placing Izzat before their own needs) to occur when attempting to identify what strategies can be used to manage emotional distress. Interestingly, support from family members, using Islamic teachings to stand up for their rights and personal strength, were described as supportive factors that may help women place their needs first and access support.

This study demonstrates the experiences of Izzat for six SAW. However, it does not provide in-depth knowledge about what may occur should these women defy Izzat and what this subjective experience would signify for the individual. This study, through the use of IPA, provides an understanding of how the participants managed distress and developed help-seeking strategies, yet very little is known about the participants' failures in meeting the expectations of Izzat. The participants vocalised their fear of being criticised by others or losing social status as a consequence of not adhering to Izzat, yet nothing is known about the actual experience of being criticised or losing status as a result of one's actions. It appears that although the participants' experiences were directly accessed by the choice of methodology, the experiences of challenging Izzat (rather than the potential idea of challenging Izzat) and what that meant to the participants was not. As a result, this study

provides thorough understanding of Izzat in relation to distress and help-seeking behaviour, but little in terms of how SAW may experience challenging Izzat and apply meaning to such experiences.

Similar to other studies, this project focuses on women who have identified themselves as experiencing distress or maltreatment, once again placing the spotlight on SAW experiences of distress, rather than just Izzat and general wellbeing. It is difficult, therefore, to acquire an understanding of the experiences of SAW who are not experiencing maltreatment, but who experience Izzat as an integral influence within daily life. In this study, importance is placed on the Islamic religion of these women, where it has been selected as a research criterion. However, the extent of the women's religiosity has not been discussed, bringing into question why other women with different religious beliefs (which also dominate the Indian sub-continent) have been excluded. Nonetheless, by utilising individual semi-structured interviews, this study is able to demonstrate the important individual impact of Izzat on the experiences of these SAW.

Soni (2012) used thematic analysis to analyse 25 interviews with SA male and female community workers in the UK, discussing the impact shame and Izzat have had upon their lives. The participants of this study highlighted Izzat as the respect, pride and trustworthiness of individuals to fulfil their obligations and as a phenomenon that was quintessentially SA. They vocalised the many ways in which Izzat could be maintained and increased, which included conformity to the expectations of acceptable behaviour, choice of a spouse (that met religious, cultural and race expectations), as well as demonstrating religiosity and modesty. Izzat could also be increased through one's educational and work achievement, and by acting as a role model through appropriate and approved behaviour.

Shame was described by the participants as being caused by unacceptable behaviour, which negatively impacts one's Izzat. The participants highlighted shame as a phenomenon to be avoided and reported that bad manners towards elders, lack of modest clothing, sexual activity out of wedlock and defying the 'norm' with lifestyle choices (drinking, smoking, clubbing, staying out late) can all cause shame to occur. Participants also highlighted the gender differences regarding shame, whereby female transgressions were often greeted with heavier consequences than those of men. Soni (2012) highlighted shame as serving a

function in restricting the behaviour of the participants, as they aimed to avoid bringing shame upon themselves and reflected shame upon their families.

The participants were said to have engaged in a process whereby decisions were made as to what shame-inducing actions were to be avoided or acted upon and to what extent, which was influenced by their context (such as other people and their location). Soni (2012) also expressed that participants appeared to demonstrate a conscious understanding of the potential loss of Izzat and gain of shame for their actions. Lastly, Soni (2012) highlighted that many of the participants' misdemeanours were conducted in secret from their families and community, as the participants were aware of the potential consequences of shame. Out of six participants whose transgressions became known to their families, the consequences included shame, restrictions, guilt, emotional blackmail and the possibility of being socially ostracised.

Soni's (2012) study provides rich data regarding the impact and importance of shame and Izzat on the experiences of both male and female community workers. Although she highlights that some of the participants encountered consequences due to their transgressions and failure to meet expectations, she does not provide a deep analysis of these experiences (other than shame) and how these experiences were understood by the participants. Instead, a description was provided about the events that had occurred, but nothing of what these situations meant to the participants and how the participants viewed these circumstances. Perhaps if Soni (2012) had utilised an alternative methodology, further information concerning the participants' emotional experiences and consequential beliefs regarding their failures to conform to Izzat could have been accessed. The participants' discussions were also taken at 'face value' and so it would be interesting to explore whether the understanding of this study would alter if Soni (2012) had adopted a more interpretive stance with the data.

Soni (2012) also alludes to certain 'decision making processes' that may have led to individuals choosing to not adhere to Izzat, and it may be important to gain further detail of what these processes may involve. Also, this leaves one questioning whether other considerations (other than avoiding shame) are linked to the decision to adhere to or to defy Izzat. It is not clear whether these misdemeanours were an intentional act to challenge Izzat,

and this in-depth information and subjective understanding of the experiences of transgressing Izzat appears to be lacking throughout psychological research in this area.

Mucina (2015) explored the stories of five second-generation Canadian Punjabi women with interviews that were examined with narrative inquiry. These women had all encountered 'exile' and violence from their immediate families and/or SACs due to their wish to marry individuals who did not belong to the SAC, or their engagement in homosexual relationships. The participants spoke of the impact Izzat had had on their lives, as well as the importance of safeguarding their sexuality from misdemeanours, the need to adhere to the 'moral codes' of Izzat and the use of shame and guilt to ensure Izzat was followed. They also expressed within their stories the use of secrets to engage in acts that would be defined as disobeying Izzat in order to avoid the constant gaze of the wider SAC and their families.

These participants had experienced various consequences for their actions which ranged from increased control to physical abuse. The awareness of their disapproved relationships had led to the women encountering rejection from their family, loss of power and control, as well as difficult emotional experiences such as shame, guilt, rejection, depression, anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms. In this study Mucina (2015) also spoke of the participants' grieving and healing processes from the trauma of their experiences.

This study provides many insights into the experiences of women who have defied the expectations of Izzat and identifies many facets of their experience. Mucina's (2015) study also appears to be the only in-depth research that examines the experiences of women who have challenged Izzat. However, like much of the literature, this study focuses on SAW who have identified themselves as survivors of HBA in order to provide further insight into the experiences of HBA and trauma. Therefore, what is not thoroughly explored is the subjective understanding of what it means to challenge Izzat for SAW who do not identify themselves as survivors of an abusive environment.

Mucina's (2015) analytical focus is on the stories generated by the participants, where she provides a description of the participants' experiences including their emotional responses and reactions. What does not seem apparent from this study is the participants' 'felt

experience' and how the participants viewed and experienced their internal life world. This study clearly describes what the participants did to challenge Izzat, and what role other people had played in these experiences, but what these events meant to the participants and how the participants reflected and thought about their challenges to Izzat is still lacking from existing research. The researcher also limits the understanding to those who have challenged Izzat with forbidden romantic relationships, although there are many behaviours that have been identified as challenging Izzat which may or may not generate different consequential experiences. Additionally, this study was based in Canada and therefore prevents further understanding about the experiences of British SAW.

All things considered, the studies above have provided further understanding about the importance placed on Izzat and the expectations to adhere to strict codes of appropriate female behaviour for SAW. The subordination required to adhere to Izzat has been demonstrated to be linked to psychological distress and difficulty. Moreover, each study recognises and identifies that a woman may face negative repercussions due to her failure to meet the expectations of Izzat.

However, the researchers have not placed a focus on the experiences of those who challenge Izzat and much of the literature exists as a means to identify and understand further HBA, or to provide further insights into the notions of Izzat and shame. Therefore, although valuable knowledge can be gained from the existing research, it appears to lack the depth of information required for a better understanding of the experiences of those who challenge Izzat and how these experiences are understood by the individuals themselves. Although Mucina (2015) does place a direct gaze upon experiences of challenging Izzat, she does not provide insight into the experiences of SAW in Britain and those who also challenge Izzat without engaging in forbidden relationships, further demonstrating the need for more research on this phenomenon.

1.4 Women Challenging Other Religious and Cultural Rules

The literature review of existing research has demonstrated that there is little information regarding the subjective experience of SAW challenging Izzat and, to the researcher's knowledge, none that explores how these experiences may be understood by those who have challenged the SA cultural law.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat, the researcher sought to look to other cultural and religious backgrounds. The aim of researching women who have challenged cultural or religious values outside of the SAC was to explore whether these experiences could shed understanding or insight upon the experiences of SAW and their challenges to Izzat.

An extensive search of the literature identified two studies that may provide insight into the understanding of the experience of women challenging cultural rules. These studies were both conducted by Naomi Weiner-Levy and focused on the Druze community.

The Druze community resides in villages within the mountains of Syria, Lebanon and Israel and is seen as culturally and religiously distinct from the general Arab population of these regions (Weiner-Levy, 2013). Druze women are expected to be subservient to men and are required to dress modestly, act as homemakers and avoid social interactions with strangers (Weiner-Levy, 2006).

Weiner-Levy (2006), an educational anthropologist, conducted an ethnographic study between 1998 and 2002. She interviewed 34 women belonging to the Druze community who had attended university and obtained a qualification in Israel. The interviews were analysed using Giorgi's phenomenological analysis. Although this study focused on the role of highly educated Druze women as facilitators of change in their communities, it also discussed the struggles of these women in being the first in their community to engage in higher education. The participants of this study had continued their education due to the encouragement of their fathers or husbands; however, their actions have been considered a challenge to cultural rules by the wider Druze community, which regards the woman's rightful domain to

be within the home (Weiner-Levy, 2006). Other Druze women (and their families) had been known to become ostracised from their communities due to women entering higher education (Weiner-Levy, 2006), as the act of leaving the village unchaperoned and studying in the presence of men was seen as a transgression against social norms (Weiner-Levy, 2013).

The Druze participants within this study described the need to adhere to other Druze cultural expectations and norms whilst attending university in order to ensure that their status within the community remained intact. The participants therefore continued to wear the traditional attire approved by their culture and avoided all social interaction outside of the village and after sunset.

The participants also spoke of their attendance at university as having the function of 'paving the way for others'. They acknowledged the responsibility they had to not engage in any further behavioural acts that may challenge their culture which could potentially have negative repercussions for their reputation and for other women who may have wished to enter higher education. This responsibility was viewed with pride, but caused distress for the participants as they were unable to act on their inner feelings and desires and as the participants regularly engaged in 'constant self-constraint', self-criticism and questioning of their actions. The participants also discussed their difficulty in being aware of western practices whilst at university and yet having to remain faithful to the existing traditions of the Druze life. This led the women to feel fear, frustration, pain, and loneliness, which Weiner-Levy (2006) described as the participants' 'personal cost'.

This study provides valuable information about the experiences of women who challenge their cultural rules by entering higher education and the choice of phenomenological methodology provides a deeper insight and focus on the experiences of the female participants, particularly their emotional distress. However, as identified by Weiner-Levy (2006) herself, the difficulties faced by the women for challenging their cultural law was 'beyond the scope' of the study. Instead, this study focused on the role of educated women as facilitators of change and the insight regarding the actions that challenged cultural values was a secondary outcome of this study. As a result, the ability to acquire an understanding

of the subjective experience of women challenging cultural and religious rules from this study is limited.

A few years later, Weiner-Levy (2013) continued to analyse the findings of this study but did so with the goal of highlighting and understanding the participants' 'evolving identity', which were influenced by their experiences of obtaining higher education and returning to their cultural village. Weiner-Levy (2013) found that the participants considered themselves 'hybrids' when returning to their villages after obtaining a university education. Here they viewed themselves as an amalgam of both eastern and western cultures, which caused them to live "between two worlds" (Weiner-Levy, 2013, p.229).

Weiner-Levy (2013) then went on to describe the participants' identities as being divided into three facets: the overt identity; the covert identity; and the duality and inner conflict.

The overt identity was seen to be influenced by Druze culture in that these women behaved in a manner that abided by the cultural laws of the Druze community. This was done by ensuring that they wore appropriate attire and engaged in approved social etiquette and interactions only.

The covert identity was identified as being influenced by western culture/ education and embodied the need for self expression, independence and individualistic desires. The female participants kept their covert identities suppressed and hidden in order to abide by the values and expectations of their Druze culture. This brought feelings of anxiety, pain, difficulty, frustration and internal tension.

Weiner-Levy (2013) identified the third facet of identity as 'duality and inner conflicts'. Here she observed the influence of both western culture and eastern Druze culture upon the inner covert identity of the participants. The western ideals of the non-Druze community appeared to influence the cognitive components of the participants' covert identity. The need to act on the values of the Druze community, on the other hand, was influenced by their emotions. As a result, the participants described the internal conflict which inevitably occurred when

attempting to display loyalty to two distinct (and at times opposing) cultural values and influences.

This additional study provides a greater insight into the internal experiences of the participants and what they experienced as a result of attending higher education, an act that has been described as a challenge to traditional Druze cultural law (Weiner-Levy, 2006). However, it must be acknowledged that the act of studying itself is not considered a challenge to the Druze culture, but instead the practicalities of engaging in such a task (leaving the village and interacting with men) are. Although one behaviour cannot be separated from the other, Weiner-Levy's (2006; 2013) studies focus on the act of being educated itself and do not provide detailed information regarding the participants commute to university or male interactions, which directly challenge the Druze values and way of life. Therefore, the understanding acquired from Weiner-Levy's (2006; 2013) studies and her anthropological and educational perspectives limit the quality of the psychological information that can be obtained regarding the actions of women challenging cultural laws. Instead, her studies provide a comprehensive understanding of the processes that occur when women from traditional cultures attend higher education, an understanding which is not pursued by the researcher of this current research project.

In addition, the participants of these studies had the full support and encouragement of their husbands and/or fathers when attending university. The Druze community identifies the male of the household as the ultimate decision maker and authority (Weiner-Levy, 2006) and so one could argue that by attending university on the recommendation of authoritative male figures, the women's actions could be seen as less challenging of their cultural law than those who would do so without family consent. This could have, as a result, influenced the women's experiences and prevented certain behaviours and repercussions from their families and the wider Druze community. Furthermore, Weiner-Levy (2006; 2013) acknowledged that the participants took special care in ensuring that other cultural rules were not challenged whilst studying at university. This further limits the understanding that can be obtained from her studies regarding the act of women challenging cultural and religious rules, as much of the discussions involved the participants' efforts to abide by Druze values and norms.

Another criticism of the studies is that Weiner-Levy (2006; 2013) interviewed these women in their homes after which she would often sleep overnight. This would also involve her interacting with other members of the family. This could have negatively impacted the quality and reliability of the data obtained about the experiences of these women, as the participants may have felt uncomfortable speaking truthfully about their experiences with someone they had come to know socially. Additionally, the participants' participation was overtly obvious to family members and so discussions may have been influenced by the participants' fear of being overheard or the lack of confidentiality and anonymity.

To the researcher's knowledge, these are the only studies that provide an analysis of the subjective experiences of women challenging their religious or cultural values (outside of the SAC). Instead, similar to Izzat related research, the remaining existing literature focusing on other communities only discusses the cultural and religious rules women are expected to adhere to, such as the avoidance of premarital sex, infidelity and behavioural misconduct (Glick, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Akbaş, Orta, & Ceylan, 2016; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, & Bölük, 2013). These studies also discuss the way in which women may break cultural rules (Kardam, 2007; Kulwicki, 2002; Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013) as well as the violent abuse or murder that has been committed against women for breaking their cultural and religious codes (Glick et al., 2016; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Kulwicki, 2002; Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013).

Although some studies have provided vignettes of particular cases of HBA and HK (Araji & Carlson, 2001; Kardam, 2007; Peratis, 2004; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Van Eck, 2003) or examined court files of such crimes (Hadidi, Kulwicki, & Jahshan, 2001), nothing is mentioned of the subjective experiences of these women challenging their cultural values and how they may have understood their experiences.

These studies have predominantly belonged to Turkish (Glick et al., 2016; Osch et al., 2013; Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013), Middle Eastern (Araji & Carlson, 2001; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Kulwicki, 2002) and North African (Hadidi et al., 2001; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011) samples and have been conducted in order to increase the awareness of the plight of these women and the violence they encounter.

As a result, it appears that not only is there insufficient research available regarding the subjective experiences of SAW challenging Izzat, there also appears to be little understanding and insight into the experiences of women challenging religious and cultural rules in general. This highlights the exploration of the experiences of challenging Izzat among SAW as a unique and much needed phenomenon to explore.

1.5 Cultural Sensitivity in Psychological Services

Psychologists now regard culture to play an important role in individuals' experiences of distress and difficulty (James & Prilleltensky, 2002). Previously, to respect the wishes of ethnic minorities to be free to engage in their cultural beliefs and to avoid being perceived as racist, many practitioners and researchers refrained from creating interventions/research targeted specifically towards minority groups (Dickson, 2014). Viewpoints have now changed, for example James and Prilleltensky (2002) insist that one must explore the culture of mental health service users, where particular attention must be placed on their cultural perceptions of a 'good' life, person and society, as well as their social norms. Whilst doing this, the practitioner should be attuned to the cultural practices that may be prejudicial to certain individuals within the culture, and so attention must be given to those who belong to minority cultures (James & Prilleltensky, 2002).

McKenzie (2008) reported that ethnic minorities were not getting sufficient care from mental health services in the UK due to provisions being geared towards the majority culture. Johnson and Nadirshaw (1993) acknowledged the difficult job of a therapist to identify the relationship between the client's cultural background and presenting problem. However, they discussed the importance of 'transcultural therapy' where "professionals have a duty to increase their understanding of the culture, life history and social circumstances of the people with whom they are working" (Johnson & Nadirshaw, 1993, p. 25).

Chew-Graham et al. (2002) and Gilbert et al. (2004) found SAW feared a breach in confidentiality, being misunderstood, being judged by cultural biases/assumptions and the complexity of their circumstances being undervalued. Similarly, research has found that ethnic minority use of services can be hindered if culture is not taken into consideration (Williams, Turpin, & Hardy, 2006). Fatimilehin and Dye (2003) stated that ethnic minority

experiences of psychological and mental health services consisted of similar concerns and problems. These included practical problems such as language barriers and insufficient information about available services as well as negative past experiences of service use (Fatimilehin & Dye, 2003). In addition, the belief that one's needs and culture would not be understood, as well as the fear of confidentiality being breached, receiving inappropriate interventions and encountering stigma for accessing mental health services all acted as barriers to mental health access for ethnic minorities (Fatimilehin & Dye, 2003). Williams et al. (2006) also identified a fear among ethnic minorities that their cultural and spiritual beliefs would be undermined and come second to those of the mental health practitioner, who may not understand the true complexities of the individual's distress and experiences.

Furthermore, the unmet 'healthcare and communication' needs of ethnic minorities within the health care setting can have a negative impact on the wellbeing of individuals and their experiences of services (d'Ardenne, 2013). Williams et al. (2006) highlighted the importance of understanding the culture of ethnic minority individuals accessing psychological services, as many of the barriers to engaging with therapy arise from inaccurate understandings of minority cultural norms and practices, as well as judging these according to British values. If not addressed, these barriers have a detrimental impact throughout the process of therapy, including assessment, formulation and the psychological intervention itself (Williams et al., 2006). Burr (2002) echoed this sentiment in his study, where he used interviews and focus groups to access the understanding of mental health professionals (including general practitioners, psychiatrists and psychiatric nurses) with regard to their view of the mental health of SA communities. The interviews demonstrated that the professionals' understandings were based on stereotypes and assertions that the British culture was superior. This, Burr (2002) believed, could have a detrimental influence on both the diagnosis and treatment of SA individuals within the mental health care setting.

It appears that current services do not sufficiently cater to ethnic minority individuals. The lack of knowledge of a particular culture and its norms can have a detrimental impact on the ability of practitioners to understand an individuals' distress and experiences, as well as on the course of therapy. Therefore, this project aims to contribute further insight into the experiences of six SAW, where the phenomenon of challenging Izzat is explored.

1.6 Rationale for Study and Implications for Counselling

Psychology

In light of the existing literature, it can be understood that within the UK SAC, a large amount of pressure is placed upon women to protect their family Izzat. The above studies have examined Izzat as a result of their analysis, but appear to lack sufficient exploration of the experiences of challenging Izzat for SAW and how this may impact their daily lives. It appears that literature has focused on the concept of Izzat and the end outcome of the consequences of breaking this cultural law. However, much is yet to be known about the subjective experience of challenging Izzat itself and how this is understood and interpreted by those who have engaged in these actions. Due to the limited research available on this phenomenon, this project can help fill the current knowledge gap and provide a wider understanding of this phenomenological experience and the subjective understanding of the SAW who have challenged Izzat.

Additionally, When searching for existing research that provides further insights into the subjective experiences of women challenging their religious or cultural rules (outside of the SAC), the researcher was unable to find much data. This further highlights the nuanced and unique perspective of this research project, not only within the SAC but also with regard to women across cultures, and reinforces the need for this research project to help fill the current gaps in existing literature by exploring how SAW experience challenging Izzat.

Research focusing on Izzat and 'honour crimes' has also been critiqued for overlooking 'non-fatal violence' which is widespread throughout the experiences of SAW (Gill, 2008). SAW who have not been murdered or identify themselves as being abused as a consequence of challenging Izzat have had their experiences largely omitted from research, indicating a gap within current literature. HK have attracted the media's curiosity and the public's attention (Gill, 2008; Siddiqui, 2005). And yet the women who experience Izzat throughout their daily lives and challenge this notion without suffering the extreme consequence of murder and physical abuse have been largely ignored by existing literature. This project aims to provide further understanding and insight into the experiences of these SAW.

Whilst discussing the consequence of HBA, Dickson (2014) concluded that “It is vital for professionals to understand the role of the family, the community and the concept of ‘honour’ to implement timely, effective, multi-agency support for vulnerable women and children” (p. 32). He also reported that “women from BME [Black and Minority Ethnic] backgrounds need their views to be heard and recognised to a greater extent than they are now” (Dickson, 2014, p. 32). In order to fulfil these needs, this project hopes to provide an in-depth understanding of the experiences of SAW who live with Izzat and the experiences of challenging this system.

According to Chew-Graham et al. (2002) SAW who are in distress require services that can provide them with ‘relevant’ support that is adapted to the specific needs of these women. They expressed that “the time is right to investigate and describe previously unrecognised requirements” (Chew-Graham et al., 2002, p. 340) in order to inform mental health policy and services. In this study, the experiences of SAW who have challenged Izzat have been placed on the viewing platform to shed greater light upon these experiences, in order to help services cater to these women's needs.

Herman et al. (2007) identified counselling psychologists as being able to take an active role in tackling healthcare provisions that are deemed culturally insensitive, by creating and monitoring services to ensure they meet the patients’ expectations and needs (Majumdar, Browne, Roberts, & Carpio, 2004). This research may provide insight for policy makers in order to improve and tailor mental health services for the SA female community, as Izzat impacts many SAW within the UK, leading to poor mental health, as stated above. Many of these SAW can therefore be helped through the highlighting and understanding of the concepts of Izzat and challenging Izzat.

It is very important that these SAW encounter a culturally sensitive approach to their needs from mental health practitioners in order to establish helpful mental health interventions (Gill, 2004). The knowledge acquired from this study could potentially help develop specialised and general services suited to the needs of these women, allowing them to take into account these women’s cultural and personal circumstances whilst conducting assessments, therapy and (when applicable), discharge care plans. This in-depth knowledge may help tackle the experiences of SAW who believe their needs and culture may be misunderstood and the

complexity of their circumstances undervalued by services (Chew-Graham et al., 2002). This study could also provide a reference point for mental health practitioners working with SAW.

1.6.1 Research Question

By studying the experiences of SAW who have challenged Izzat, this study will be providing further understanding about an area of these women's lives which has been largely ignored by research. This study can therefore demonstrate the encompassing nature of Izzat and the potential consequences SAW may experience when refusing to adhere to the rigid rules set out by their peers, family and community. Unlike existing literature, a nuanced and subjective understanding can be gained of what it means for SAW to challenge Izzat. This can then allow counselling psychology to further increase its knowledge and understanding of the SA population living in Britain. Therefore, this study aims to explore the experiences of challenging Izzat among South Asian women by answering the following research question:

How do South Asian Women experience challenging honour (Izzat)?

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This research project aims to explore the following: *How do South Asian women experience challenging honour (Izzat)?* This methodology chapter focuses on the rationale behind the chosen qualitative perspective, discussing the epistemological position and its influence on the choice of methodology, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. A descriptive report of the procedure will be provided, which will include a detailed account of the data analysis, as well as the reflexive and ethical considerations made throughout this project.¹

2.2 Methodological and Philosophical Considerations

2.2.1 Rationale for Selecting a Qualitative Approach

Langdridge and Hagger-Johnson (2013) described qualitative research as focusing on the understanding of a participant's perspective rather than their behaviour, and valuing their 'meanings' as the phenomena under investigation. Qualitative research aims to understand the experiences lived by individuals (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999), as well as how one comprehends the world (Willig, 2013). Qualitative research does not involve itself with causal relationships, focusing instead on the 'quality' of an experience, as well as the examination of 'meaning' through inductive methods (Willig, 2013). In contrast, a quantitative approach that focused on behaviour rather than meaning would not have produced sufficiently rich data to support the aim of this project, which was to gain a thorough understanding of the "lived experience and participant-defined meanings" of SAW who have experiences of challenging Izzat (Willig, 2013, p. 9).

¹ First person narrative will be used when discussing the researcher's own thoughts and personal experiences to demonstrate the researcher's internal processes as separate from the physical events that occurred.

Qualitative methods highlight processes rather than predict outcomes (Langdridge & Hagger-Johnson, 2013) and provide in-depth data which present the detailed perspective of the individual (Howitt, 2013). This is not afforded by quantitative methods which seek to quantify experiences through their deductive nature (Langdridge & Hagger-Johnson, 2013). As the field of challenging Izzat currently has limited research, qualitative methods will allow the researcher to provide further insights, in-depth data and understanding of the experiences of this phenomena amongst SAW.

2.2.2 Epistemological and Ontological Standpoint

This research project sought to gain an understanding of the participants' 'sense making' process regarding their experiences of challenging Izzat and consequently focused on gathering in-depth and detailed information on the meaning of these experiences for the participants, rather than obtaining an objective 'truth' (Willig, 2012a). This relativist ontology therefore discards the notion of identifying a general 'truth' that corresponds to an 'external reality', in favour of ascertaining how a particular experience was for the person (Willig, 2008).

Epistemology explores the relationship between the participant ('knower') and the researcher ('would-be knower') and identifies how knowledge can be sought and studied (Ponterotto, 2005). In terms of epistemological position, this research adopts the notions of phenomenology.

Phenomenology is considered the study of 'conscious experiences' and was first introduced by the philosopher Edmund Husserl, in 1913 (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). Here the focus is on the experiential world of the participant, where the researcher aims to acquire the thoughts, feelings and meanings of the participant, without becoming involved in the accuracy of the participant's claims (Willig, 2012a). Instead, the world is seen as 'experientially diverse' and the aim is to understand one's experience by entering the world of the participant (Willig, 2012a). Phenomenology adopts the viewpoint that there is "more than one world to be studied" (Willig, 2012a, p.12), as each participant will have their own experiences and will consequently construct individual meaning in response to an event (Willig, 2012a). Hence, this research project does not focus on gaining one objective truth about the world, but

instead asks, what the world is like for this participant who has experienced challenging Izzat (Willig, 2012a).

Phenomenology focuses on how the world is perceived through the eyes of the perceiver in particular contexts (Willig, 2008). It focuses on the 'perceptual phenomena' experienced by the perceiver, which cannot be separated from meaning (Willig, 2008), and aims to gather intricate and detailed accounts of the experienced phenomena (Finlay, 2009). Intentionality refers to the 'relationship' between the mental "processes occurring in consciousness and the object of attention for that process" (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009, p.13) which enables objects to be perceived as phenomena (Willig, 2008). To understand one's experience, and therefore reality, the experience must involve 'conscious intentionality', where images and ideas create the meaning of a particular experience (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). Perceptions are experiences which comprise desires, judgements and emotions (intentionality), and therefore, different people may have differing perceptions and experiences of what is considered to be an 'identical situation' (Willig, 2008).

Phenomenology is interested in the individual's experience (Wood, Giles, & Percy, 2012) of social phenomena and places high importance on the perceiver's descriptions of their experience, as reality is located in the eyes of the perceiver (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Consequently, phenomenology regards independent experience and reality as inseparable, with reality being constructed by one's 'conscious experience' (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). Knowledge, therefore, can be obtained by exploring, describing and understanding the meaning of an experience for the individual, in this case, the experiences of challenging Izzat (Eatough, 2012).

The researcher also considered adopting a criticalist viewpoint. Critical-ideology, unlike phenomenology, focuses on a 'constructed lived experience' and how it is influenced by injustice, oppression and hierarchical structures throughout history and within society (Ponterotto, 2005). Criticalists "conceptualize reality and events within power relations" (Ponterotto, 2005 p.130) and utilise research to create positive personal, psychological, political and social change (Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). Morrow (2007) also described the critical-ideological aim as focusing on social change and the eradication of oppression and Ponterotto (2005) reported that the researcher's values are essential to the methods and

aims of the research.

Although hierarchical structures and power dynamics are of great relevance to Izzat and challenging Izzat, the aim of this research is to understand the experiences of the participants who have challenged the status quo of Izzat and not to create political and social change. By adopting a critical-ideological perspective, it could be argued that the researcher would be advocating ideologies and viewpoints of correct social behaviour such as the need to eradicate oppression. Perceptions and viewpoints of 'correct lifestyles' (as reported by existing literature) are already rife in the phenomenon of challenging Izzat and this was something the researcher did not want to continue throughout the research process. In addition, by adopting a critical-ideological stance, this research may feed into the concerns of many SAW (as discussed in the introduction chapter) who may fear their experiences would be judged by cultural biases and assumptions. This research sought to empower the participants by having their experiences captured and understood, as advocated by the phenomenological position (Willig, 2012a). Therefore, the epistemology of phenomenology was adopted as it resonated with the researcher and the aims of this study.

2.3 Overview of Methodology: IPA

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, 1996) was selected as the methodology for data analysis. IPA is a phenomenological approach which explores the participant's experience through the participant's own perceptions (Willig, 2008), whilst examining how one reflects on their experiences of significant life events (Smith et al., 2009). IPA takes an idiographic approach in examining an individual's experience (Smith, 1996), focusing on the individual's specific 'sense making' and understanding of the phenomenon in question (Smith et al., 2009). IPA also uses an inductive approach for data collection and analysis to facilitate in-depth exploration of one's experience and understanding (Smith et al., 2009). IPA's idiographic emphasis allows an exploration of the participant's inner world, focusing on the meaning(s) of a particular experience (Smith & Osborn, 2008) and the participant's "cognitive, linguistic, affective and physical being" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 54).

IPA not only attempts to describe in detail the experiences of the individual, it also aims to interpret the experiences of the explored phenomena (Howitt & Cramer, 2011), acknowledging the impossibility of gaining a first person account of an experience and regarding a phenomenon that has not been interpreted to not exist (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Instead, this approach views the process of exploration as co-constructed by both the participant and the researcher, as the outcome produced through analysis is considered to be the researcher's interpretation of the participant's experience (Willig, 2008). This 'second-order' account allows the researcher to make interpretive and conceptual observations based on the perceptions of the participant (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006) and aims to explain the participant's account in psychological terms (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). This involves dual interpretation, where the researcher interprets the participant's own interpretation, understanding and 'sense making' of their experience(s) (Pringle, Drummond, McLafferty, & Hendry, 2011). Smith (2004), labelled this process the 'double hermeneutic', which highlights the essential and active role that the researcher plays when understanding the participant's experiences (Pringle et al., 2011).

IPA focuses on the specific meanings the participant holds about their 'lived experience' and thoroughly examines just how the person makes sense of their individual and social world (Smith & Osborn, 2008), through looking specifically at the participant's thoughts and emotions (Smith, 2011). Smith (2011) proposes a direct link between experience, the retelling and making sense of that experience and the individual's emotional reaction. Consequently, the IPA researcher must be interpretative, where the participant's interpretation is queried and critically analysed (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). IPA also acknowledges the significance of language and its impact on an individual's sense-making process although IPA does not regard language as the "sole or primary constructor of reality" (Smith & Eatough, 2012, p. 443). IPA emphasises the researcher's role in interpreting language to uncover 'mental and emotional states', as language and cognition have a complex interaction and link (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Therefore, the IPA researcher's aim is to learn how a participant understands and makes sense of their experience by analysing what has been said through language (Smith, 2011) and then situating this language within the wider social, cultural and theoretical context, to speculate what the participants' descriptions mean in their particular situation (Larkin et al., 2006).

2.3.1 Philosophical and Theoretical Roots of IPA

IPA has been influenced by many philosophical approaches - Phenomenology, Hermeneutics and Idiography (Howitt, 2013), where phenomenology and hermeneutics both serve as the epistemological foundations of IPA (Smith & Eatough, 2012).

Phenomenology (as stated above) is interested in the experience of the individual and how one creates an understanding of life events (Smith & Eatough, 2012). It focuses on describing and understanding these experiences to explain their meaning within the subjective 'lifeworld' that we live in (Eatough, 2012).

IPA has also been informed by hermeneutics. Labelled as the 'theory of interpretation' (Smith et al., 2009), hermeneutics regards interpretation to be the only means to acquire understanding and places great emphasis on being perceptive to alternative viewpoints, whilst questioning the understanding being scrutinised (Eatough, 2012). Hermeneutics also highlights the importance of the hermeneutic circle, which identifies the process of interpretation as circular (Smith et al., 2009). One must understand 'the whole' (a sentence) of the text, by referencing it to its individual 'part' (a single word) and 'the part' can only be understood in the context of 'the whole', thus a circular process must occur where both parts are used as reference points for the other (Smith et al., 2009). Due to the interpretative nature of human beings, the hermeneutic approach does not regard psychological research and the researcher as neutral (Eatough, 2012).

Within phenomenology, a debate exists between Husserl's descriptive phenomenology and Heidegger's interpretative/hermeneutic standpoint (Larkin et al., 2006) around the role of interpretation in phenomenological knowledge (Willig, 2012a). Some view these perspectives as two distinct epistemological positions, whilst others regard them as two ends of a continuum where the researcher can engage with interpretations at varying levels (Willig, 2012b). This study chose to adopt an interpretative stance with regards to analysis (see methodological reflexivity section 2.5.9.1 for rationale).

Descriptive phenomenology (which is deep-rooted in Husserl's 'transcendental phenomenology') (Willig, 2013), concerns itself with displaying the 'meaning structures' of a phenomenon (as it appears) (Finlay, 2009; Giorgi, 1992). It does not advocate the processes of interpretation, whereby sources other than the participants themselves, apply explanations or meaning to the participants' account (Willig, 2012a). Data gained from analysis should therefore be free from the assumptions, expectations and understanding of the researcher and exist solely from the account provided by the participant (Willig, 2012a).

Heidegger, however, combines phenomenology with hermeneutics (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Interpretative/hermeneutic phenomenology accepts that a description of an experience cannot be separated from the interpretation of what is being said (Willig, 2013) and that one must aspire to provide in-depth understanding and meaning of a participant's experiences, which may involve going further than the participant's understanding (Willig, 2012a). For Heidegger (1962) "the meaning of phenomenological description as a method lies in interpretation" (p. 37) and unlike descriptive phenomenology, interpretative/hermeneutic phenomenology regards interpretation as an unavoidable activity that cannot be removed, as it is an essential part (Finlay, 2009) of our "being-in-the-world" (Heidegger, 1962, p. 54). Interpretative/hermeneutic phenomenology believes language is unable to simply describe an individual's experience, as the choice of terminology and sentence structure alters one's version of an experience (Willig, 2012b). Here, the choice of words used to construct the sentence incorporate additional meaning, thus interpretation is once again inevitable (Willig, 2012b).

Heidegger regards all experience as an interpretation (Finlay, 2009), as one is 'immersed in the world' and is therefore unable to break away from one's preconceptions (Larkin et al., 2006). It is not possible to disregard subjective influences of the world and subsequent assumptions that arise (Larkin et al., 2006); therefore, pure description of an experience is impossible as all description inevitably involves interpretation (Willig, 2012a). As a result, adopting a phenomenological stance involves regulating one's own assumptions and becoming open to the participant and their context (Larkin et al., 2006).

Willig (2012b) argues that interpretative/hermeneutic phenomenology does not advocate the introduction of a 'particular theoretical framework' within the data, but rather highlights the

inability to penetrate text “without adopting some provisional perspective on it, without posing some initial questions about it and without making some preliminary assumptions about its possible meaning(s)” (p. 36). The aim for interpretative/hermeneutic phenomenology is therefore to expand the participant's meaning, through retaining close proximity to the participant's account when analysing and interpreting the data, ensuring that the researcher's 'theoretical framework' does not hijack the interpretation, and through revisiting the participant's account throughout the interpretation process (Willig, 2012b). As IPA adopts an interpretative phenomenological approach, “Heidegger's explicit ascription of phenomenology as a hermeneutic enterprise is significant” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 28).

IPA is also an ideographic approach which focuses on the 'particular' rather than the general (Smith et al., 2009), emphasising the comprehensive and in-depth analysis of a phenomenon which has been experienced by specific people in a specific context (Smith et al., 2009). Here IPA emphasises the importance of in-depth understanding of the experiences of a small number of people, rather than making wide generalised claims for the wider population, as adopted by the nomothetic approach (Smith et al., 2009).

2.3.2 Rationale for Choice of Methodology (IPA)

IPA was selected as the methodology for this research project, as it is characterised as highly applicable and not subject specific, allowing it to be applied to a wide variety of research topics (Smith, 2011). As it also fits in with the epistemological position of the researcher, it appeared to be an obvious choice. The aim of this research was to explore the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat, hence, the emphasis and value that IPA places on the thorough analysis of a participant's personal account (Smith, 2011) suggested that IPA was the most appropriate methodology to adopt for this study. Implementing the IPA methodology allows the exploration of participants' experiences and meaning-making processes, whilst the idiographic approach provides an 'in-depth' account of participants' experiences (Pringle et al., 2011), all of which were central to the aim of this project.

In addition, Pringle et al. (2011) argued that IPA is particularly useful when researching 'unusual groups', as it allows for a degree of flexibility within the research process to adapt to the needs of the participants'. In light of this, IPA was identified as the most appropriate

method, as it allows one to capture the unique experiences of the SAW within the British population who have challenged Izzat.

In terms of alternatives to IPA, grounded theory could have been an appropriate methodology for this study if the research aims had been to generate a contextualised theory, or to provide an 'explanatory framework' to understand, in this case, SAW who challenge Izzat (Willig, 2013). However, as the aims were to explore and gain insight into the understanding and experiences of SAW who have challenged Izzat, rather than to observe this phenomenon as a set process to generate a theory, IPA was more aligned to the research aims than grounded theory (Langdrige & Hagger-Johnson, 2013).

The researcher also considered the use of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a qualitative approach which highlights the importance of language and its use in society (Coyle, 2012). Potter & Wetherell (1987) regarded analysing discourse material as highly important and classed communication as both written and verbal. Through understanding the way discourse is used, discourse analysis observes how one may create 'social reality' (Langdrige & Hagger-Johnson, 2013). Although a viable methodological approach, IPA was selected for this research project as the main focus is on the experience of the individual, rather than the language used to describe it (Howitt, 2013). This study is concerned with the individual experiences of each participant, as well as the thoughts and feelings involved in their sense-making process. As a result, IPA seems more applicable due to its view that people are 'cognitive and affective' and its interest in exploring how one thinks about their own experience (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

2.3.3 Limitations of IPA

Willig (2008) has critiqued IPA for a number of reasons. One such criticism focuses on the role of language. Willig (2008) argues that IPA research is dependent on the linguistic abilities of the participant to describe their experiences. Therefore, those who are unable to articulate the intricacies of their experience appropriately would be deemed as unsuitable participants for an IPA study. This therefore limits the applicability of this methodology, as detailed descriptions can be difficult to express by those who are not used to doing so (Willig, 2008), as well as those who have speech and language difficulties.

Smith (1996) states that IPA is centred on understanding what a participant 'thinks or believes' about a particular phenomenon and concludes that IPA is concerned with cognition. Willig (2008) asserts that this concern for cognition is unsuited to phenomenological thought, which focuses on immediate 'precognitive' features of experience. Smith et al. (2009), however, acknowledge phenomenology's focus on pre-cognition but state that "phenomenology is also interested in those experiences which register as significant for the participant, those which become 'an experience' of importance rather than remain as just 'experience'" (p. 188) and that IPA focuses on these significant lived experiences and how a person makes sense of them. Smith et al. (2009) went on to refute Willig's (2008) concerns by identifying IPA's focus on sense and meaning making, consciousness, hot cognitions, intuitive reflections and awareness as being part of 'everyday cognitions' that may also appear immediately following an experience.

Finally, IPA has also been criticised for its focus on providing a description of a phenomenon, rather than an explanation for why it occurs, which Willig (2008) believes limits one's understanding. However, to the researcher's knowledge this criticism appears redundant, as IPA does not claim to provide an explanatory understanding of a phenomenon and instead focuses on providing a detailed account of a particular experience through a series of analytical stages. Therefore, a researcher who seeks to provide an explanation for a phenomenon would not be operating within an IPA framework.

2.4 The Perspective of Counselling Psychology

Counselling psychology highlights the importance of understanding the subjective experience of an individual and places this above obtaining one universal objective truth (British Psychological Society Division of Counselling Psychology, 2005). According to Rafalin (2010) "a key defining and differentiating principle of counselling psychology is its concern to engage with people in ways that attend to each individual's unique experiences" (p.45), and this includes their values, beliefs and perceptions (British Psychological Society Division of Counselling Psychology, 2005). Counselling psychology also acknowledges and celebrates the diversity of individuals and seeks to understand these differences via research that utilises qualitative studies based on small samples (Rafalin, 2010). The wide-ranging scope of counselling psychology has often led it to explore and understand the social contexts of a person (British Psychological Society Division of Counselling Psychology, 2005), as well as

“the experiences of ‘hidden’ individuals in often ‘secret’ contexts or communities” (Rafalin, 2010, p.48).

The values of counselling psychology appear to mirror and complement the research question of this study: *How do South Asian women experience challenging honour (Izzat)?* The research question focuses on exploring and understanding the subjective experiences of SAW challenging Izzat who have often been marginalised within psychological research. This research question denotes the ethos of counselling psychology as it is not concerned with gaining access to an object truth, but instead seeks to ‘give voice’ to the ‘hidden’ members of British SA society through qualitative means.

In addition to the above, counselling psychology, phenomenology and the qualitative methodology of IPA all believe that an individual's experience is accessible to some degree, which enables one to understand another's experience. This notion has heavily influenced the research question of this study and this study's objective to acquire an understanding of the participants' challenges to Izzat.

Counselling psychology's focus on exploring subjective experience will allow an increased and unique understanding of challenging Izzat. As many of the existing studies regarding Izzat have predominately focused on Izzat and HBA, adopting a counselling psychology perspective will allow individuals who have experience of the under-researched phenomena of challenging Izzat to be understood further. Those who have experiences of challenging Izzat will have their thoughts, feelings and perceptions delved into to be understood, placing their internal experience at the forefront of the research findings, rather than just the physical acts that challenge Izzat and the consequences that ensue. Challenging Izzat will therefore cease to be a faceless phenomenon, as the internal experiences of the individuals who have had such experiences will be intertwined with the understanding of what it is to challenge Izzat.

2.5 Procedure Outline

2.5.1 Pilot Interviews

A pilot interview was conducted with a SA woman who had experience of challenging Izzat to assess the clarity and usefulness of the interview questions, as well as to identify any possible problems that might have occurred during the interview process. Once the interview had been completed, it provided the opportunity to acquire feedback and to implement changes within the interview protocol.

During the pilot interview, the participant would often forget what question she had been asked. This highlighted the need to explicitly state at the start of each interview that the participant was welcome to request the question to be repeated at any time. Although the participant found each question clear and comprehensible, she reported that she would have felt more relaxed knowing that she could ask for clarification. This prompted the need to introduce another statement at the start of each interview, which informed the participants that they were able to seek clarification.

The pilot interview participant found the interview questions to be appropriate and not insensitive or distressing. She reported that the questions had provided her with “direction” in what to discuss, but she still felt able to express her thoughts and feelings without the need to modify them.

Another pilot interview was conducted where I was the participant. I felt this was necessary as it would provide me with an insight into the experiences of the participants during the interview process and to identify for myself whether the interview questions were indeed clear. Prior to being the participant, I was aware that I too hold an understanding of Izzat and challenging Izzat. This process allowed me to vocalise my own assumptions, experiences and beliefs, which in turn informed my own reflexivity.

2.5.2 Recruitment and Sampling

To gain an insight into a particular experience using IPA, participants must be selected purposefully and be able to discuss their experience and perspective of a particular phenomenon, hence, a homogeneous sample is required (Smith et al., 2009). Homogeneity allows one to examine the convergence and divergence within the sample (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, to ensure uniformity amongst the participants, this study focused on women from the UK, over the age of 18, with fluent English speaking abilities and who identified themselves as SA, specifically Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi. In line with IPA, participants who identified themselves as having experience of challenging Izzat were recruited. Although this may have created a self-selection bias, this was implemented to encourage individuals who were ready to discuss their experiences.

It was important to recruit women who were fluent English speakers, as interpretations of experience are influenced, restricted and facilitated by language (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, it was necessary to ensure the participants were able to voice their experiences and meaning without linguistic difficulty and that translation would be avoided to keep the data as close as possible to the experience articulated by the participants.

As a result of these requirements, the participant inclusion criteria for this research project was as follows: Each participant was required to be over 18, female and live in the UK on a permanent basis. The participants had to identify themselves as SA, specifically Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi and must have had experiences of Izzat and challenging Izzat (in any way) within their lives. All the participants were required to be fluent English speakers and be willing to discuss their experiences at length.

Individuals who did not meet these requirements would not be able to participate in this study. This research project also excluded those whose participation would be deemed too risky or dangerous to do so. This includes any individuals who were in immediate danger of severe risk of harm as a result of participating in this study and those who were unable to participate in secret (from their social circle) even if they wished to do so. This exclusion criteria was assessed by a screening phone call (discussed further in section 2.5.7).

The ideographic nature of IPA and its emphasis on detailed accounts of individual experience requires studies to focus on a sample of three to six participants (Smith et al., 2009). Smith et al. (2009) advise professional doctorate researchers to sample four to ten interviews in order to successfully analyse the data generated. Consequently, six SAW were recruited on a voluntary basis and participated in one-to-one semi-structured interviews.

As the concept of Izzat focuses on how one is perceived by others within the community and is seen as a systemic issue, it did not seem appropriate to target communal SA areas, for example religious buildings. Instead, the recruitment process involved a poster being displayed in a London-based, women's only beauty salon, which treated a large number of SAW (see Appendix 1 for the recruitment poster).

Existing recruitment opportunities were also explored to acquire a snowball sample (Silverman, 2013), where those who were known to the researcher were asked to inform other SAW about this study and provide the researcher's details to any interested individuals. In the interest of ethics, all individuals were asked to only mention the study once to potential participants, to avoid them feeling harassed. It was also made very clear that to maintain confidentiality the individual's participation would not be confirmed or discussed with anyone.

2.5.2.1 Participants

Six SAW over the age of 18 were recruited to participate. Each participant lived in the UK and spoke fluent English and none of the participants identified themselves as living in an abusive environment, as assessed by a screening phone call. The participants were given a pseudonym to keep their identity confidential. (See Appendix 2 for a table of participant numbers, corresponding pseudonyms and demographic information).

2.5.3 Procedure

Once contacted by potential participants via email, a response email was sent providing the individuals with additional information about the project (see Appendix 3) and an attachment of the information document (see Appendix 4). A demographic questionnaire was also

attached (see Appendix 5) to inform the individual what information would be collected if they were still happy to participate. A convenient time was then agreed upon, to discuss the project via the telephone, for participants to ask questions and for the researcher to enquire whether the participant was living in an abusive environment. The demographic questionnaire and consent form (see Appendix 6) were also discussed and the telephone conversation ended with an agreed interview date and time. All the participants who enquired about the study agreed to take part. The demographic questionnaire and consent form were completed in person by the participant, on the day of the interview.

2.5.4 Interviews

Six semi-structured interviews were conducted to facilitate the participants' discussion about their experiences. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was recorded with a digital audio recorder (see Appendix 7 for interview duration table). To create a relaxed atmosphere, participants were provided refreshments upon arrival, as it is considered important to help participants feel at ease when commencing an interview (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Participants were paid £20 for their time, as mentioned on the recruitment poster, information sheet and first response email.

Before the interview began, participants were told that they were able to ask for any question to be repeated and that they were encouraged to ask for clarification (if required). They were also told that no answer was wrong and that the aim of the interview was to hear their experience. At the end of the interview, the participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and were given a debriefing sheet (see Appendix 8 for the debriefing sheet).

One-to-one semi-structured interviews were used as they are compatible with numerous methods of data analysis and are extensively used in qualitative research (Willig, 2008). Semi-structured interviews have been considered by some to be the most desirable way to collect data and it has been a method widely adopted throughout IPA research (Smith & Osborn, 2008). A semi-structured interview is recommended as an appropriate methodology for IPA (Smith & Osborn, 2008) as this method permits participants to provide a detailed account of their experiences whilst allowing the researcher the opportunity to explore areas of interest (Rassool & Nel, 2012).

One-to-one semi-structured interviews were also used, as they yield in-depth information about the participant's experiences, thus fulfilling the aims of this research project. Due to the sensitive nature of challenging Izzat, respecting participant privacy was paramount and the presence of others may have hindered disclosure or created social desirability effects; therefore, it seemed appropriate and necessary to employ one-to-one interviews. This method also reduced the opportunity for the participants to remain silent or be dominated by another participant during discussions, which may have occurred with a focus group method. When exploring participants' experiences and understanding, flexibility is required and so semi-structured interviews were used, as they allowed for the researcher to adapt questions to further explore what had been stated (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

2.5.4.1 Interview Setting

All six Interviews were conducted at City, University of London. Each room was booked in advance and was occupied by only the researcher and participant. In the interest of safety, the researcher sat nearest to the door and a member of university staff was aware of the time, duration and location of the interviews taking place.

2.5.4.2 Interview Schedule

As semi-structured interviews involve a small number of 'open ended questions' (Willig, 2008), the interview schedule for this research project consisted of nine questions (see Appendix 9 for interview schedule). Willig (2008) suggests that one should begin with 'public' questions which progress to more 'personal' subjects, when developing an interview schedule. To ease participants into a discussion, the questions moved from general to more specific topics and this funnelling technique was used as it has been found to be helpful in acquiring general and specific views of an experience (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

This schedule was influenced and developed by the epistemology of phenomenology and aimed to acquire information about the experiences of SAW who had challenged Izzat. These questions focused on the participants' experiences and meanings of Izzat and then moved on to their understanding and experiences of challenging it.

Each interview question had a series of prompts (see Appendix 10) that were only used if the participants struggled to vocalise their experiences, or provided a very short reply (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Prompts were not used after every response, as it is considered good practice not to be too explicit when asking interview questions (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

Further prompts that used the participant's own words were utilised to ensure the participants felt that they were being heard, to keep close to their own meaning of a particular experience and as it is also considered good practice to reiterate the participant's remarks and to integrate them into subsequent questions (Willig, 2008).

The interview schedule was used as a framework for each interview and was not followed in a rigid fashion. It served as a suggestive, rather than dogmatic, structure, to allow the researcher to facilitate the interview and not govern its exact content or dictate the discussion (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The interview schedule also provided a safety net in which sensitive issues and discussion points could be worded appropriately (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

2.5.5 Transcription

Following the recommendations of IPA analysis (Willig, 2008), each interview was transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions demonstrated the interviewer's questions as well as the participant's response and were labelled with line numbers. The transcript extracts were left unedited and presented in the style uttered by the participants to remain as close as possible to their individual lived experience. This included grammatical errors, pauses, laughter, colloquial speech and hesitations to accurately represent the interview within the format of text (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Please see Appendix 11 for a transcription key.

The participants provided verbal consent for their interviews to be transcribed by a transcriber. They were given the option to have the researcher transcribe their interviews if they felt unhappy with it being transcribed by a psychology student. As none of the participants objected, an external transcriber was used due to time constraints. The transcriptions were therefore checked three times against the audio recording, where necessary changes were made if the transcripts did not reflect accuracy in the researcher's

eyes. To 'immerse' oneself within the data, the recording and transcripts were then listened to and read once more at the same time (Smith et al., 2009), resulting in the interview transcriptions being read and the audio interview being listened to, four times prior to analysis.

A third year psychology undergraduate student was employed to transcribe the interviews and was required to sign a confidentiality document (see Appendix 12 for confidentiality document). In this document, the external transcriber was instructed to retain confidentiality, delete all research data within their possession once the transcriptions were completed and to ensure that data was only to be saved on the encrypted USB provided by the researcher. The psychology undergraduate was selected for this task to ensure familiarity with the British Psychological Society (BPS) code of ethics and confidentiality and due to previous experience of working with confidential information about others.

2.5.6 Analytical Strategy

Once the interviews were transcribed verbatim, the data went through a process of analysis consisting of a series of stages which were both flexible and inductive (Smith et al., 2009). The IPA idiographic approach to research analysis emphasises the examination of the experience of one participant in detail, before commencing similar analysis on the next participant. This information is then used to view the 'convergence and divergence' between participants' accounts (Smith et al., 2009). Upon the recommendation of Smith et al. (2009), the most detailed and engaging interview was analysed first.

Reading and Re-Reading

The first stage of analysis involved multiple readings of the interview transcript, where the audio version of the data was played at the same time (Willig, 2008). This was performed twice and occurred in addition to the checking of the transcripts, to 'actively engage' (Smith et al., 2009) and 'immerse' oneself in the data (Smith et al., 2009). An effort was made to imagine the participant's voice when reading the transcripts on subsequent occasions, especially as the analysis developed in complexity (Smith et al., 2009).

Initial Noting

Throughout the process of re-reading, initial thoughts and ideas of the researcher were jotted in the left margin (Willig, 2008), which focused on the participant's descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments (Smith et al., 2009). This performed the second fluid stage of analysis: initial noting. A different colour pen was used for each type of comment made, and the researcher noted anything that seemed significant, underlining whilst progressing through the transcript (Smith et al., 2009).

Descriptive comments ensured the content of the interview was being captured and linguistic comments allowed the researcher to identify how the content and meaning was presented. This occurred by placing greater emphasis on the verbal and non-verbal actions of the participant, such as tone of voice used to express themselves, hesitations of speech and repetition (Smith et al., 2009). Finally, conceptual comments allowed the researcher to start being more interpretative, where the focus turned to the participant's 'overarching understanding' of what was being discussed (Smith et al., 2009).

Transcription notes were handwritten in the left hand margin (see Appendix 13 for an example). Notes for the descriptive comments were written in red, linguistic comments were in green and conceptual comments were written in blue.

Developing Emergent Themes

The next stage highlighted by Smith et al. (2009) was to create concise statements that summarised the various comments made within the transcript. This was the process of creating emergent themes and it involved capturing the 'crucial' essence of the text with phrases that were both particular and abstract. These themes needed to reflect both the participant's words and the researcher's psychological interpretation, thus balancing description and interpretation (Smith et al., 2009). Here the themes were written by hand on the right side of the margin (see Appendix 14 for an example).

Connections Across Emergent Themes

This process involved a 'higher level' of organisation, where connections between emergent themes were created to develop superordinate themes (Smith et al., 2009). In this instance, each emergent theme was placed on a separate paper (in chronological order) and clustered together based on what connections were found. Smith et al. (2009) highlighted many methods to aid this process, such as abstraction, which is the process of gathering similar themes into one, or polarization, which looks at what emergent themes may be opposite to one another, in order to group together and create a superordinate theme.

Following this process, a table was constructed containing the participants' individual superordinate themes, subordinate themes, quotes from the text that supported each theme, with page and line reference numbers (see Appendix 15 for an example). Throughout this stage of analysis, the researcher's sense making was constantly checked against what was said by the participant (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

Moving to Other Transcripts

The stages listed above were repeated for each interview transcript, one at a time. Whilst analysis occurred, the researcher 'bracketed' the ideas emerging from each analysis before beginning the next, in order to comply with IPA's ideographic stance on research (Smith et al., 2009).

Looking for Patterns Across Cases

Within this stage of analysis, the themes across all the participants' transcripts were observed and comparisons were made. Similarities and differences were observed amongst all the participants and patterns were identified across cases (Smith et al., 2009). A table of superordinate themes was then created, illustrating the subordinate themes that were grouped within them and the page and line reference numbers where the extracts of the corresponding quotes from each participant could be found (Willig, 2008) (see Appendix 16).

Throughout this process, each superordinate theme, subordinate theme and quote was refined, re-evaluated and scrutinised to ensure the end result was data-driven (inductive).

The interviews generated copious amounts of rich data which were then reduced through the process of analysis and write-up. Here the data was scrutinised against the research question, and difficult decisions were made to ensure that the themes presented were the most relevant and significant experiences of these particular women.

2.5.7 Ethical Considerations and Data Storage

Ethical considerations were given much thought and were reviewed throughout this research project. The codes of human research ethics proposed by the BPS (2014) and Health and Care Professional Council (HCPC, 2016) were closely adhered to, as well as the ethical considerations set out by City University. This research project and its proposal were granted full approval by the Psychology Departmental Ethics Committee at City, University of London (see Appendix 17 for University ethical approval from).

Signed informed consent was obtained from each participant and individuals were provided with information about the procedure of the project, as well as their right to withdraw from the study (up until the data collection was completed) without the need to provide an explanation (see Appendix 6 for informed consent document). It was also explained to participants that they had the right to omit any questions they did not wish to answer. The concepts of anonymity and confidentiality were explicitly explained and participants were notified of potential publication and warned of the possible risks of distress. Participants were also informed that they would gain debriefing information, which included a list of services that could provide support and the details of the researcher, should they wish to seek contact regarding the study. All information was reiterated verbally and participants were advised that the data would be transcribed, whilst remaining confidential and adhering to the ethical principles of this project. No deception was employed and participants were encouraged to ask any questions or vocalise any concerns they may have had and they were given up to 20 minutes to ask further questions before consent was obtained.

Due to the nature of this project, additional steps were taken to minimise the risk of psychological and physical harm to those who participated. Participants were asked how they would like to be contacted (safe methods and times) to ensure their privacy and participation remained concealed. Within the screening phone call, participants were asked if they lived in an abusive environment, to gauge the potential risk of harm to the individual and

assess whether participating in this project was indeed too dangerous to do. The participants were asked the following questions in the screening phone call: Do you identify yourself as living in a dangerous or abusive environment, which may involve physical, sexual, psychological or emotional abuse? Would you be able to participate in this study whilst maintaining your privacy from those you do not want made aware of your participation? Have you read and understood the information provided in the information document regarding risk of participation? Can you think of anything that has not already been discussed that may place you in severe risk of harm as a result of participating in this study? As none of the participants reported themselves as living in an abusive environment, interviews could proceed. When conducting the interview, the participants' distress levels were monitored throughout and it was decided that if participants were seen to become highly distressed, the interview would be paused or terminated. No interviews were required to be paused or terminated.

Another precaution to address the risk of harm was to use the pre-existing counselling skills of the researcher to manage any distress. Participants were also asked about their experience of the interview process at the end of the interview and potential negative impact was assessed. Following this discussion, all participants were provided with a debriefing sheet, which listed the details of the researcher as well as services that could provide support (see Appendix 8 for debriefing sheet).

Confidentiality was strictly ensured throughout this study. Participants' real names and personal information were substituted with a pseudonym selected by the participant themselves, to ensure no accidental link was made to the individual. Identifying information of the participants and any other persons discussed were changed throughout the transcription document by the researcher. A separate mobile telephone number was used to contact participants who preferred telephone contact and this mobile had no access to the internet and was only used for the purposes of this project. Participants' telephone numbers were saved under their pseudonym and the mobile telephone was locked away and switched off when not in the possession of the researcher. To ensure further confidentiality, the mobile telephone SIM card was also password protected.

Data containing the real names of the participants was kept in a separate locked location to the locked location of their pseudonyms, audio recorded interviews and transcribed versions of the data, at the researcher's home. All digital data (including transcriptions and recordings) were encrypted and all hard copies containing data were locked away in a secure place. All the project-related data will be stored in a locked and secure place for seven years and then destroyed. Audio recordings will be deleted after the viva.

As an external transcriber was used, there were further ethical considerations. To preserve participants' confidentiality, a confidentiality document was used (see Appendix 12 for transcriber confidentiality document). In this document, the external transcriber was instructed to delete all data once the transcriptions were collected by the researcher and to save data on an encrypted USB provided by the researcher. It was explicitly stated that no conversation regarding the project or data could be held with anyone but the researcher and that no hard copies were to be made of the transcripts. Furthermore, the transcriber was informed that no data should be sent or saved via email, or any other means of storage that was not provided by the researcher. The storage device given by the researcher was also instructed to be kept securely and not to be transported elsewhere.

Each participant was paid £20 for their participation and this could have had potential ethical and research implications for the participants and the data obtained from their interviews. It has been recognised by research that paying individuals for their participation can act as an incentive (Head, 2009), yet there is also concern about whether this very incentive could coerce individuals (McKeganey, 2001), especially those from lower income households, to take part in research, removing their ability to provide true informed consent (Goodman, et al., 2004). As a result, Sullivan and Cain (2004) recommend that participants should be paid in cash, where the amount is substantial enough to demonstrate respect, but not enough to coerce individuals into participating. Therefore the researcher selected £20 as the payment amount.

Even if money is not the sole reason for participation (McKeganey, 2001), it can potentially lead individuals to report details they believe the researcher would like to hear, as a way to engage in the recruitment process in the first place (McKeganey, 2001). This would inevitably

skew the sample of participants and the outcome of the analysis, as those who have been recruited may not have experience of the phenomenon under investigation.

In addition, those who are in need of money may be more likely to participate than those from other socioeconomic backgrounds, potentially skewing the results of the research project and decreasing the ability to generalise the study's findings to wider populations. However, as this specific research project is focused on acquiring the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat using IPA, the potential to generalise the findings to wider populations is not a concern.

The participants may also feel obliged to continue with participation and fail to use their right to omit any questions they do not wish to answer or their right to withdrawal from the research process. This has been managed by stipulating (both verbally and in writing) to the women in this study, that as participants of this research project they have the power to exercise these rights.

In addition, as a result of their payment, the participants may feel a sense of pressure to provide information that the researcher would be interested in and to answer each question correctly. In order to decrease the likelihood of this, the researcher stated explicitly to each participant (before the interview) that the object of the interview was to hear their experience and that no answer would be deemed as incorrect.

Many researchers have discussed the positives and advocated the need to provide financial rewards for one's participants (Goodman et al., 2004; McKeganey, 2001). Sullivan and Cain (2004) support the payment of participants and view this as a means to demonstrate the researcher's respect and gratitude for the participants' time and participation. They also believe this to be an adequate way to compensate the individual for their time and the physical and emotional difficulties that come with expressing private experiences and thoughts. Further, McKeganey (2001) highlighted the importance of payment due to the 'culture' within research to provide financial reward for participation. This, he stated, has inevitably influenced the expectations of participants and their view that engaging in research will carry a financial reward.

As a result of the above, £20 was given to the participants as a means to demonstrate respect for the participants' time, costs to attend the interviews, difficulties in expressing their private lives and as a way to engage in ethically sound research (Head, 2009). As suggested by Head (2009) this payment was given before the interviews had started to provide "a clear message that participants are being rewarded for participating, not for what they say" (p.341).

2.5.8 Validity

Many have deemed it inappropriate to assess the quality of qualitative research against the same criteria as quantitative research, due to the varying methods of collecting data (Smith et al., 2009) and the distinct philosophical positions (Powell, Overton, & Simpson, 2014). Yardley (2000) proposes four broad principles to assess the 'quality' of qualitative psychological research: Sensitivity to Context, Commitment and Rigour, Coherence and Transparency, and Impact and Importance. These principles are applicable to various theoretical qualitative approaches and are flexible in nature (Smith et al., 2009). Each principle will now be explained and it will be highlighted how this research project attempted to adhere to these principles.

Sensitivity to Context

Yardley (2000) believed that sensitivity to a particular context demonstrates good quality research. This research sought to achieve this by taking an in-depth approach to reviewing the literature (introduction chapter) and taking time to assess the nature of the context of challenging Izzat within the British SAC. Further safe-guarding measures were taken due to the context of the research, where the participants were asked appropriate times to be contacted and anonymity and confidentiality was ensured. A considerable focus was also placed on minimising participant distress (through researcher empathy and ensuring the participant was comfortable) which may have arisen from discussing one's challenges to Izzat. With regards to raw data and analysis, this project demonstrated sensitivity to context by maintaining continuous attention to the participant's accounts and by utilising verbatim extracts to support the study's findings so the reader is able assess the interpretations that have been made (Smith et al., 2009).

Commitment and Rigour

Yardley (2000) suggested that commitment is demonstrated through in-depth engagement with the research topic and by developing methodological competence. Smith et al. (2009) explained that IPA research could demonstrate this principle throughout the data collection, where the researcher is attentive towards the participant. Commitment was therefore demonstrated through the data collection process, where the participants ease and comfort were regarded as important and the interview was moulded around the participants' descriptions (Smith et al., 2009). This study also aimed to achieve methodological competence by reading IPA literature that document the process of analysis, such as Smith et al. (2009) and Willig (2008).

Yardley's (2000) rigour principle emphasises the importance of being thorough throughout the research process. This project attempted this by recruiting a homogenous group of participants, who took part in semi-structured interviews, which allowed for the researcher to delve deeper and examine further parts of the participants' experiences (Smith et al., 2009). These participants were carefully selected to successfully answer the research question which focused on SAW who had challenged Izzat. The data gathered was then analysed through a series of stages (IPA) that allowed the thorough analysis of each participant's experience, demonstrating the ongoing inductive process of referring to the transcript data, as direct quotes were provided for each participant (Smith et al., 2009). Here the participants' descriptive accounts underwent analysis which generated interpretative data of their experiences. Each decision involved throughout the recruitment and interview process of this project was also carefully considered and rationales for these decisions have been provided throughout the Introduction and methodology chapter. This includes the topic of study, research question, interview process and method of analysis.

Coherence and Transparency

Yardley (2000) regarded transparency as the degree of clarity in which the research process is described within the write-up. This was conveyed throughout this chapter, where the participants, interview and analysis were explored and rationale was provided as to why particular choices were made. Transparency was also conveyed through the researcher's focus on reflexivity. Coherence was achieved as this write-up was redrafted several times and the principles of IPA (Smith et al., 2009) have been followed throughout (Yardley, 2000).

This should allow the reader to identify the write-up as the researcher's interpretation of the participant's experience (Smith et al., 2009).

Impact and Importance

Yardley (2000) postulates that true validity can be measured by the reader, and whether the reader feels something innovative, important or useful has been attained from reading the qualitative report. This research project has attempted to provide further insight into the under-researched area of SAW challenging Izzat and it has attempted to highlight why it is relevant and important within the focus of counselling psychology (see introduction and discussion).

2.5.9 Reflexivity

As it has become the general consensus within qualitative research that it is impossible to conduct research with neutrality, it is important to be aware of one's beliefs, values and assumptions and to reflect on how they may have influenced the research process (Eatough, 2012). Reflexivity involves a researcher becoming self-aware and engaging in "continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself" (Finlay, 2002, p. 532).

Reflexivity of one's assumptions, position and investment in the research is a necessary process that is required in order to conduct IPA, as these elements shape one's understanding of the data (Willig, 2012a). As this research takes an interpretive phenomenological approach, the final outcome of interpretation will be a combination of 'meanings' from both the participant and the researcher (Lopez & Willis, 2004). The reflexive process for this research project will therefore identify what the researcher brings to the interpretation of the participant's account. The hermeneutic approach to phenomenology does not consider 'bracketing' one's assumptions as possible, and instead advocates the importance of identifying one's pre-existing beliefs, to scrutinize them when new information emerges (Halling, Leifer, & Rowe, 2006). An 'intersubjective' dual process occurs, where the researcher impacts the data and the data impacts the researcher (Willig, 2012b). By utilising reflexivity, one can explore how intersubjective and personal processes have influenced the research process, thus demonstrating the 'integrity' of a qualitative study (Finlay, 2002).

2.5.9.1 Epistemology and Methodological Reflexivity

When exploring my epistemological standpoint, I was interested in the experiences of those who had challenged Izzat and not in finding the 'facts' behind these claims. For me, it was important to understand what these experiences meant to these women and how they made sense of what they had experienced. This can be seen through the recruitment criteria, where women who believed they had experience of challenging Izzat were recruited (whether or not evidence supported these claims).

As the descriptive versus interpretative debate persists throughout the phenomenological world, I too struggled with the concept of interpretation. I felt I should be taking a more descriptive approach to the accounts of the participants, to ensure that their voices, experiences and meanings were being heard, as this opportunity was not regularly (if ever) given to these women. This decision, however, would have caused me great difficulty, due to the value I place on interpretation. Training as a counselling psychologist, I regularly observed the importance of interpretation (regardless of the modality used) and found it was necessary to 'read between the lines' throughout my interactions with clients/patients. This process is an invaluable tool and seems appropriate to be applied to counselling psychology research. Therefore, a decision to adopt the interpretative phenomenological approach of analysis was made, as it seemed more congruent to my view of knowledge.

As I had limited experience of conducting IPA and qualitative research, I found myself wanting everything to be 'correct' throughout this project. Here I sought prescriptive 'how to' rules to measure my competence against, as I was aware that I was a 'central figure' who influences the data collection and analysis (Finlay, 2002). I was aware that this was a consequence of engaging in quantitative research throughout my academic life and the flexibility and subjectivity of qualitative research (although needed) caused me discomfort at first. The use of supervision was helpful in resolving this concern and I then saw this project as a means to develop my qualitative research skills and as an opportunity to really explore a phenomenon that was important to me. Consequently, I became free to submerge myself in the process and I was ready to explore the experiences of the participants.

During one interview, I was aware that my training as a counselling psychologist was entering the moment when I found myself formulating the participant's experiences and making links to certain events. I was aware that my researcher role required me to focus on the experiences of these women rather than to create a psychological formulation and so I was required to 'bracket' thoughts and instinctive tendencies as much as I could (Finlay, 2002). To help me with this process, I kept the research question visible to me throughout the interviews to remain focused on the research aims.

After each interview, I found it helpful to spend a few moments reflecting on the experiences of each woman, being reflexive about my role within the interview and to process some of the ideas that entered my mind. This ensured that I spent the interview placing all my attention on the participants, as I was aware that my understanding of the participants' experiences would be acknowledged once the interview was finished.

Throughout the interviews I felt a mixture of emotions and reactions. I was saddened to hear about the dangerous and distressful situations the participants had to experience as a result of their challenges to Izzat. I was also struck by the strength of the participants and what they were willing to risk and endure as a means to act on their own wishes. I observed the participants as strong and resilient and yet I had an urge to protect them, as well as celebrate their victories and acknowledge their struggles. I believe the participants were open in expressing their experiences because they viewed me as someone who could be trusted; and as I was deeply interested in understanding what was being said, I felt connected to these women throughout the interview process. This connection, trust and the empathetic and non-judgemental style I used throughout the interviews, helped the participants vocalise the richness and depth of their experiences. What was very poignant about these interviews was the similarities and differences of the participants' experiences and how in many ways their experiences of challenging Izzat both matched and did not match mine or one another's. This further reflected for me the complexity of Izzat and how SAW all have an individual and subjective experience and understanding of what it means to live with and challenge Izzat.

Reflecting on my experiences of the analysis process, I experienced a few tensions. As I was conducting IPA for the first time, I had to grapple with new information and research

techniques that were unfamiliar to me. I was aware that the end outcome of analysis was to be the product of my understanding of the participants' experiences (Willig, 2008), but engaging in this 'double hermeneutic' process (Pringle et al., 2011) was difficult. I became concerned that my interpretation of the participants' interviews would digress from their sentiments and that I would accidentally impose my biases upon their accounts. As a result, I became too cautious when interpreting the data and this limited my ability to be conceptual. I was aware that I had to walk the tight rope between being descriptive and conceptual and the lack of clear and definitive rules of how this might be achieved was problematic for me. Taking this difficulty to supervision was very helpful and I was able to vocalise and acknowledge my concern. Reminding myself that my aim was not to find a universal and objective 'truth', but instead to "amplify meaning by shedding light on various dimensions of the phenomenon" (Willig, 2012b, p.37) whilst constantly checking my understanding against the participants' accounts (Smith & Osborn, 2008), helped me ease my concerns about my role. Acknowledging that I was there to understand further what the participants had said, instead of trying to identify a 'correct answer', allowed me to make tentative 'second order' observations of the participants understanding (Larkin et al., 2006) and increase my confidence in doing so, as the process continued.

As this research project was to be the first that explores the subjective experiences of SAW challenging Izzat, it was incredibly important for me to represent a clear and in-depth understanding of this phenomenon. Additionally, as the participants had trusted me with their experiences, I felt it was my duty to explore and represent these experiences to the best of my ability. The interviews had generated a wealth of information regarding the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat, and reducing the participants' accounts to concise themes felt like a mammoth and impossible task. Each sentence uttered by the participants became precious and I believed not including certain items would prevent a complete understanding of how SAW experience challenging Izzat. I realised at this moment that I perhaps had become too attached and submerged in the data and I felt it was important to take a break to allow myself some time for reflection and perspective. This break was valuable in allowing me to gain some distance from the data, which enabled me to identify the 'essence' of the participants' phenomenological experience of challenging Izzat and therefore represent this 'crucial essence' within the analysis chapter (Smith et al., 2009).

Whilst analysing the data, I underwent a variety of emotions. At times I felt frustrated and angry at the experiences of the participants and the way their challenges to Izzat were being suppressed and met with opposition. I also felt pride and joy when the participants acknowledged and celebrated their own achievements, or influence over their families' approach to Izzat and challenging Izzat. What did not leave me throughout the entire process, however, was the sense of apprehension and anxiety. I initially thought this was just a reflection of my state of mind and the process of engaging in this doctoral thesis. However, reflecting on these experiences, I realise I felt this way particularly throughout the analysis of the transcripts, writing the analysis chapter as well as whilst conducting the interviews. I also felt apprehensive regardless of what other positive and negative emotions I felt in response to the participants' accounts. With hindsight, I believe I was feeling and experiencing the 'unsaid' apprehensive and fearful emotions that were being projected by the participants when discussing their experiences of challenging Izzat. McGourty, Farrants, Pratt and Cankovic (2010) have advocated the importance of self-care when conducting research in order to prevent burnout. As a result of my new understanding of my emotional experiences, I engaged in many fulfilling self-care activities (such as maintaining an active social life and utilising my support network) to ensure this research process did not encroach on my personal wellbeing (McGourty et al., 2010).

2.5.9.2 Personal Reflexivity

As a British born SA female, I wanted to explore the experiences of challenging Izzat as I have heard many stories and discussions of SAW being told what was acceptable behaviour and clothing, and what they could or could not do. I have listened to many derogatory stories of women who have failed to adhere to Izzat and I often wondered what the experiences may have been for the women themselves. Many questions would enter my mind including: How did these women make sense of their experience? And why was it never spoken of other than as a means to judge or gossip about others? These questions were always left unanswered and as I grew older, I learnt that the women who challenge Izzat were not the dishonourable villains they have been portrayed to be by the SAC and that each woman had her own reasons and understanding for her actions.

I also became aware that the women who challenged Izzat experienced different reactions from their families, where some were treated terribly and ostracised. These women became

a cautionary tale for other SAW including myself and the consequences of their actions were discussed at length. Furthermore, I have been raised with the concept of Izzat and I have my own perceptions of the expectations from my culture, both on myself and others. Many choices I have made throughout my life have been influenced by Izzat, the negative experiences of others challenging Izzat and how my actions may impact my family. I too have challenged Izzat with my choice of attire (such as wearing sleeveless clothing and wearing tights) as well as my challenges to the traditional gender roles assigned to men and women, which is strongly advocated by the concept of Izzat. Therefore, throughout this study, I had to be mindful that the aim was to gain an understanding of the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat, and not those of all SAW, including myself. This was achieved through the pilot interview where I was the participant, as it helped me outline my pre-existing assumptions and beliefs prior to the interview process, in order to bracket them (Asselin, 2003). Additionally, to further help me become more reflexive, I regularly reflected on my own internal processes, ensuring I was able to 'empathetically' contemplate the experiences of the participants and use my initial experience to be intersubjective (Wertz, 2005) with the participants' accounts. This enabled me to explore how I may have impacted the meaning making process (data) of this research (Willig, 2012b).

I was also unclear whether I represented an 'insider' or 'outsider' position within the research (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). An insider researcher is considered to be someone who shares the "characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 55) and an outsider researcher is someone who does not (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). I was aware that decisions based on my positionality would be made by three important types of people: the participant, myself and anyone who reads this project.

I can only assume where the participants placed me on this dichotomy. Although sharing ethnic characteristics with the participants can be beneficial in gaining trust and therefore acquiring more information (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), I was mindful that the participants might be wary of being truthful with another SA woman, as they might believe I was judging them by the same Izzat and expectations that they were discussing. Izzat also focuses on achieving positive judgements from others, to maintain or enhance one's social status, and so my 'insider' qualities could have worked to my disadvantage. I intended to overcome this problem by demonstrating empathy, warmth and non-judgement throughout the interview process, and reminding the participants that the interview would be a place to voice their

experiences without judgement. Reflecting on the interviews I believe the women did feel comfortable as they demonstrated relaxed body language and they were able to discuss highly sensitive information regarding their thoughts and experiences at great length.

I was also mindful of how the reader of this research would situate me. I felt that if I was considered an insider by a reader who did not belong to the SAC, then greater weight might be placed upon the findings of this research as they had been reported by someone who 'should know'. I feared that as a SA woman, my words would be used as a representation about all SAW who challenge Izzat, rather than a study that reflects on the understanding of six participants. I was also mindful of other SA individuals who may read this study and feel as though they could not resonate with the experiences being discussed. I sought to overcome this concern by identifying both throughout this project and in the title of this study, that the findings reported are based on the descriptions of six SAW and my interpretations of their experiences.

I prefer to be placed between the insider and outsider position, where I am part of both dichotomies (Aoki, 1996). I felt I was an insider as I too have adhered to and challenged Izzat and as I am someone who considers herself to be a British SA woman. However, I also adopted an outsider role in the research as I was the one asking the questions and as I had delved into literature which provided a more academic and analytical insight into the phenomena being discussed. In addition, many of my experiences of Izzat differed from those of the participants and so I was required on many occasions to bracket my experiences and understanding, to focus and remain receptive to those of my participants (Asselin, 2003).

2.5.9.3 Research Topic Reflexivity

As described above, I was naturally drawn to the topic of challenging Izzat and how these challenges were understood by the women who had had these experiences. When seeking to identify the gaps within the existing literature, I realised that there was copious information about HBA and how women were suffering due to their decisions to challenge Izzat, but nothing about women who have challenged Izzat and did not identify themselves as survivors of abuse. I felt excited at the prospect of delving into a new area of research and

having the opportunity to explore some of the questions existing literature had not been able to answer. I also felt indebted to myself to explore the questions that I had held about challenging Izzat for most of my life and which I could only assume were also being asked by other women who were both British and SA.

When I began to delve into the field of challenging Izzat, I realised how unanchored I felt within this process and how the existing literature repeatedly pulled me to the notions of HBA. The existing information about challenging Izzat centred around HBA only and it began to feel counter-intuitive to not explore SAW's experiences of abuse within my research project. It almost felt 'risky' to move away from the common consensus and ideas expressed in this already under-researched field. I was to be informed by existing literature about what challenging Izzat involved and yet there was such little information about the experiences of challenging Izzat in the absence of abuse. Had I not been an SA woman myself, I would have believed that HBA was the same phenomenon as challenging Izzat and that the two could not be mutually exclusive. However, my personal observations had shown me this was possible and that many women do challenge Izzat without describing themselves as being abused.

Engaging in such a large research project was new to me and I knew it would determine my future career. This was daunting for me (as I am aware it was for many of my colleagues) and I chose to play it safe and research the field of HBA instead. I felt I could anchor myself within the existing literature on HBA and limit the risk of taking a research project that explored only challenging Izzat in the wrong direction. The lack of research would require me to make sense of very little and base my entire project on minimal foundations and academic understanding and so the absence of literature that explored challenging Izzat played a major role in my choice to select HBA as my initial research topic.

I therefore set out to explore the experiences of HBA for SAW; however, after a year of being unsuccessful in recruiting for this HBA project, I was left questioning whether I had made the right choice. Although HBA was an incredibly important and interesting phenomenon to explore, it had in fact been my second choice and a choice that had been influenced by uncertainty and the need to be supported by existing literature. Due to my struggle in recruiting participants for the HBA project, I had the opportunity to change my decision. I

reminded myself that I was not one to hide from challenges and that I should use this opportunity to explore the experiences of those who have challenged Izzat, regardless of how risky and isolating this research topic may have felt. I was critical of existing literature for not exploring the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat and yet I was avoiding exploring the same phenomenon. I questioned how many researchers before me had felt this same dilemma and chose to explore the phenomenon of HBA instead. And I wondered whether being the first to explore the experience of challenging Izzat was really such a risky thing to do.

Strangely, I felt grateful for this enormous delay in the recruitment process and this gratitude conveyed to me that I was not being true to myself in exploring the phenomenon of HBA and that, instead, I needed to explore the phenomenon of challenging Izzat. Although I had lost a year's worth of work with regard to the HBA project, exploring the phenomenon on challenging Izzat seemed worthwhile and it was at this point that I decided that that was exactly what I would do.

I found it incredibly easy to recruit participants for my current research project and one could speculate that perhaps the absence of having HBA as a recruitment criteria allowed SAW to be more willing to discuss their experiences of challenging Izzat as they felt they were in less danger for doing so. In contrast to the smooth recruitment of my participants, I found creating a rationale of the existing literature a difficult process.

As discussed earlier, much of the research on SAW challenging Izzat focuses on HBA and so it was often difficult to not get 'trapped' in HBA discussions. Although HBA research is linked and provides an additional dimension to understanding challenging Izzat, it still focuses on a separate phenomenon. I needed to explore the literature important to providing an understanding of the phenomenon of SAW challenging Izzat and present this to the reader of my research project within the Introduction chapter. As predicted, I felt unsupported by existing research in gathering an understanding of what it meant for an SA woman to challenge Izzat in the absence of HBA and how my project related to the existing findings. I had to work hard to sieve through the available literature to create this understanding for both myself and the reader. This struggle in creating a coherent understanding of what it is like to challenge Izzat, motivated me throughout this project and highlighted for me the need to

understand and explore the subjective experiences of SAW challenging Izzat within research.

2.6 Summary

This study holds the epistemological position of phenomenology, and has adopted IPA as its methodology to answer the question: *How do South Asian women experience challenging honour (Izzat)?* The procedures followed, the stages of analysis conducted and reflexive reflections of the researcher were discussed throughout. This chapter also identified the ethical considerations made throughout this project as well as the ways in which validity was ensured.

Chapter Three: Analysis

3.1 Introduction

This analysis chapter aims to present the phenomenological analysis of the participants' lived experience of challenging Izzat. The findings in this section are presented as they were interpreted by the researcher and theoretical discussions and links to existing literature are reserved for the following discussion chapter (Smith et al., 2009). The format of this chapter involves the introduction of each superordinate theme, followed by its corresponding subordinate themes. Each subordinate theme is demonstrated with the use of extracts taken from the participants'² interview transcripts, followed by an analytical interpretation from the researcher, as recommended by Smith et al. (2009).

Each verbatim quote is presented in italics. The location of each quotation is given through a three part number system, which indicates the participant pseudonym, the page number(s) and the line number(s) the extract belonged to, for example (Name,7.456-459).

As this analysis section intends to answer the research question *How do South Asian women experience challenging honour (Izzat)?*, the themes presented in this chapter will demonstrate both the general and idiosyncratic experiences of this phenomenon within the participants' accounts.

A variety of quotes have been used from all the participants when possible to prevent bias towards any single person. In order to create a more detailed account, a number of quotes may be used to demonstrate a deeper insight into the theme being discussed. As all the participants' quotes could not be included within the analysis, please see Appendix 16 for a summary table of supporting quote locations for each participant and theme.

² To ensure anonymity, participant pseudonyms are used throughout the analysis and any names or identifiable information have been omitted or changed.

3.2 Overview of Themes

Throughout the interviews, the participants discussed the many ways in which they had challenged Izzat. These experiences included romantic relationships with men before marriage, engaging in social activities that were frowned upon by the SAC and wearing clothes and accessories that were considered unacceptable (please see Appendix 18 for a list of behaviours that were described by the participants as challenging Izzat).

Three superordinate themes emerged from the analysis of the data, each of which consisted of a number of subordinate themes (please see Figure 1 below).

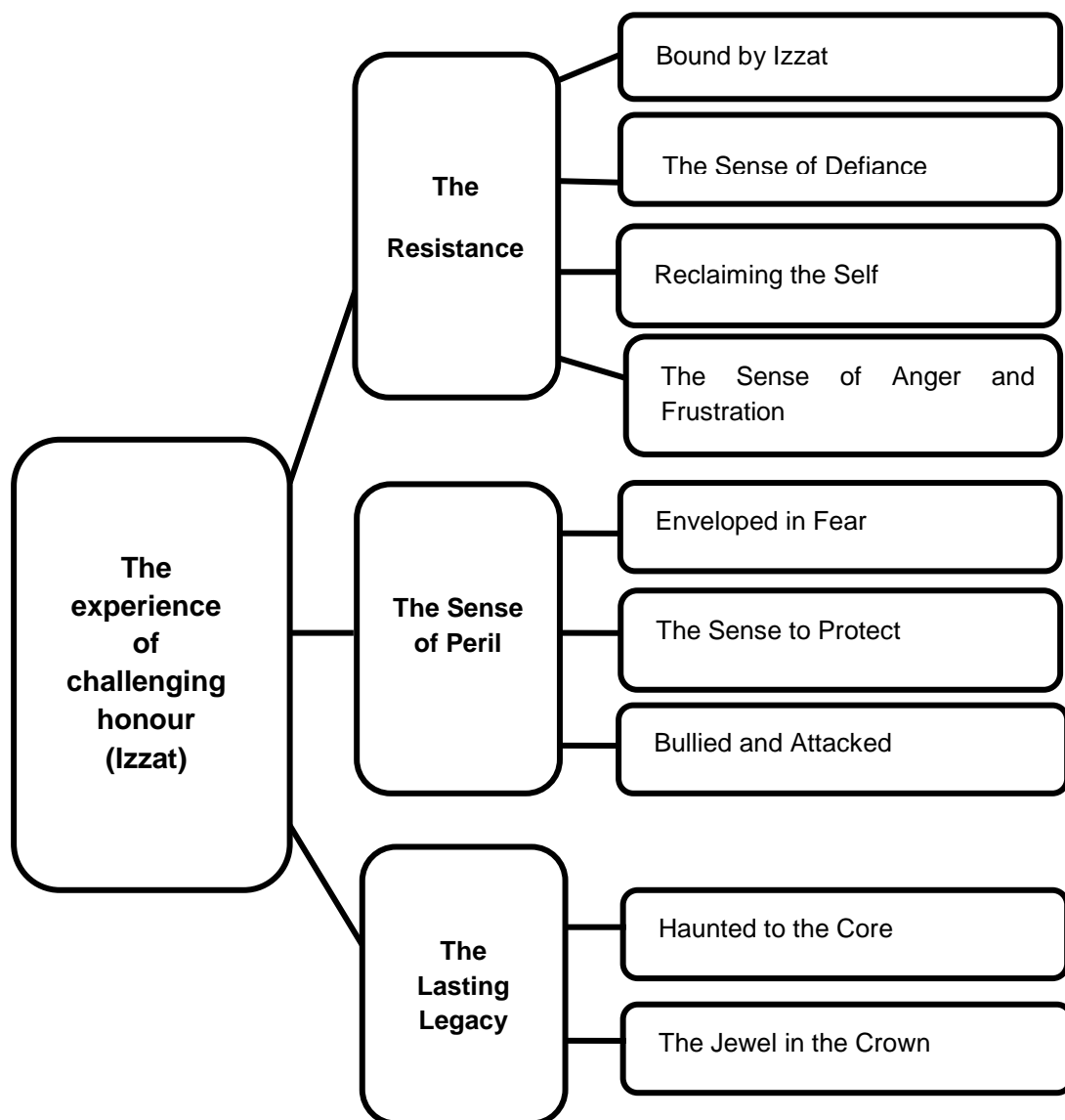


Figure 1: A Diagrammatic Representation of the Superordinate Themes and Corresponding Subordinate Themes.

Each theme is integral to illustrating the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat (please see Appendix 19 for a list of the superordinate and subordinate themes). Although each superordinate theme and the corresponding subordinate themes are presented as distinct categories to ensure clarity for the reader, the participants' experiences appear to overlap across themes in a non-linear fashion. This is because the themes do not demonstrate experiences in chronological order and instead may refer to events and feelings that have occurred either before, during or after the challenge(s) to Izzat. The participants could also negotiate more than one theme at a time, which could either accompany or impact one another. As a result, the themes demonstrate the circular and complex nature of the participants' experiences. See Appendix 20 for the prevalence of each theme across the participants.

3.3 Analysis

3.3.1 Superordinate Theme One: The Resistance

This superordinate theme aims to capture the participants' 'resistance' against their experiences of Izzat as well as their unwillingness to conform to and accept the rules of their SA cultural norms. The participants spoke of their experiences of being controlled by Izzat and their defiance against this subjugation. The women in this study also highlighted their attempts to regain control of their lives and reclaim themselves from others. Throughout the experiences of challenging Izzat, the sense of anger and frustration appeared ever-present as part of the women's 'resistance'. These experiences fell into four categories and will be discussed as separate subordinate themes.

3.3.1.1 *Bound by Izzat*

The women in this study described their experiences of Izzat as being both restrictive and controlling. Here the sense of being 'bound by Izzat' appeared to be present across the experiences of the participants, where the restrictions they encountered and the subjugation they endured metaphorically bound them from being able to express themselves and act on their own wishes.

Below, Sherry discussed her experiences of feeling both controlled and restricted:

"I felt very restricted erm growing up erm not being able socialise with certain people not being able to do erm the things that I had an interest in, for example like music and erm arts and stuff I wasn't really allowed to participate in those things." (Sherry, 7.243-245).

Sherry's account reflected her life as being dictated by others and one which was not lived for herself. Here she was not only held back from pursuing her interest and engaging in certain activities, but she was also "restricted" from developing her inner creativity involving music and art. The restrictions felt by Sherry seemed to both include and transcend her physical acts and appeared to bind her inner abilities and expressive thought. Sherry's frequent use of the word "erm" also highlighted the inner tension and suffocation she might have felt in being bound by restriction and control.

Armani expressed similar experiences of control and restriction:

"It would have been nice if I was permitted to enjoy going out with my friends just to be with them, listen to the music and just be in that social environment. So I've been prohibited and restricted in in in that respect erm so not not really being allowed to engage and socialise in sort of evening [laughs] type activities that, because again that would be deemed as erm unacceptable (Ah hmm) erm by the family." (Amani, 10.348-353).

Amani spoke of her past experiences of being controlled by her family, particularly her mother. The sense of restriction and control permeated throughout Amani's reflections. Her use of the terms "prohibited", "permitted" and "restricted" signified a lack of control over her own life and the subjugation that was imposed on her with great authority and dominance from others, preventing her from enacting on her own desires. It could be argued that Amani's focus on the outside "social environment" demonstrated her feeling of being bound and trapped inside the SAC and Izzat, where she remained a spectator of freedom. Amani's experiences of being 'bound by Izzat' could also be seen to have restricted her sense of happiness and contentment, as she was prevented from enjoying social events and being

able to “*just be*”. Her subjugation and restriction were often justified on the grounds that her acts were unacceptable, but Amani’s use of laughter denoted a lack of agreement towards the control imposed upon her. This once again may suggest that her adherence to the restrictions imposed on her life was not a matter of choice, but a reaction to being controlled by others.

Priya also highlighted her experiences of subjugation and restriction within Izzat and the consuming and binding impact it had throughout her life:

“it was almost like I had an eye on me all the time, like everything I was doing, everything I was, where I was going, er what time like everything my whole behaviour anything that I was doing was really kind of questioned, I was interrogated, I was erm, not followed but it kind of felt you was followed you know like everything that you do was kind of they had to know so there was no sense of privacy, there was no sense of control over my life like I just felt like my parents were running it and it felt yeah I felt very depressed. Like I had [pause] er [sighs] I couldn’t be me I I just erm literally go to school come back and you know I co-my Mum would ring me like 15 times, if I was like 10 minutes late for instance erm [pause] constantly be questioned.” (Priya, 14.527-534).

Priya’s frenzied and fast-paced account of her experiences implied a sense of desperation to escape the subjugation that appears ever-present within her life. Moreover, her repeated use of the words “*everything*” and “*anything*” implied that she felt consumed by control and restriction, and that there appeared to be no escape. Priya’s paranoid reflections could be interpreted as describing a police-state in which she felt overpowered by the ‘regime’ in which she lives, in this case Izzat within the SAC and her family home. Priya regarded the subjugation and restriction placed upon her life as so powerful that she perceived them metaphorically as having a physical form, which was represented by the omniscient “eye”. Priya seemed explicitly aware that her life was not her own to live and that “*my parents were running it*”. This subjugation bound Priya and restricted her to the extent that “*I couldn’t be me*”. One could assume that the inability to govern and be herself created pain and distress for Priya, as suggested by her use of the term “*depressed*” and the interpretation of her pauses and sigh.

3.3.1.2 The Sense of Defiance

The participants of this study conveyed a sense of opposition and defiance to the notions and control of Izzat. The women appeared to celebrate and revere their 'insubordination' and 'rebellion', as well as the explicit message it provided their families.

"Erm just like dressing how you want to dress as well. Like [sighs], within the work, wearing like you know, western clothes. Erm, [pause] doing a certain degree that you want to do. Basically just doing what you want to do and not listening to what you're told to do (Ah hmm) and if you're told to do something, just challenging it." (Sophia, 17.641-645).

Sophia's statement was indicative of an overt and explicit defiance of the rules and restrictions placed on her life by others. Here she made little distinction between what Izzat-bound rules she thought should or should not be followed, indicating a resistance to the general notion of subordination and control of Izzat, rather than her disagreement with specific rules and restrictions within her life. In addition, Sophia expressed the various ways in which she had defied Izzat, perhaps designating these acts to be particularly important to her experience. This understanding is also reinforced with Sophia's non-verbal clues, such as her sigh and pause in speech, suggesting that these experiences were once restricted or forbidden in her life, under the premise of Izzat. Sophia's reference to Western clothing as a means to defy Izzat could be interpreted as demonstrating the tensions she had felt between her British and SA cultural identities. It could be argued that she had recognised the expectation to reject her British self and embrace only her SA culture. However, her decision to wear Western clothing not only represented her need and desire to embrace her British self, but it also conveyed her defiance of the suppression of her British identity, an expectation which had been advocated and enforced by the notions of Izzat.

Sherry also expressed a 'sense of defiance' throughout her experiences of challenging Izzat:

"Erm I felt er rebellious, I did feel rebellious I felt like yeah I'm getting my ears pierced... like quite defiant. I felt good about myself that actually you know what, yeah she's told me no but I can still, I can still do these things." (Sherry, 15.578-581).

The repeated use of the term “*rebellious*” signified Sherry’s explicit understanding that she was resisting the authority of her mother and her rules. This ‘sense of defiance’ was represented physically by her newly pierced ears, which would be observed by others, and also by her acknowledgment that she was able to defy her mother’s wishes. Sherry appeared pleased and proud of her actions, which had seemed to empower her and her ability to resist conforming to Izzat. Sherry’s extract also conveyed a sense of liberty as a result of her defiance, as she “*can still do these things*”, and this consequently may have led her to feel a sense of relief and freedom from the notions and control of Izzat.

Furthermore, Priya also described ‘the sense of defiance’ within her experiences of challenging Izzat:

“I think that, maybe I have rebelled a little bit more, I think that I stand up a little bit more erm against these values that maintain family honour for instance. Erm I do have friends who are guys that I will let my parents know about erm and if they ever were to tell me again you know ‘we don’t want you to see them’ it’s kind of like actually no you need to trust me and this is all it is and I’m not going to stop...it’s, I think I over the years, it’s like having lots of arguments, kind of putting your stand in it and actually saying but if you know, I want to go out like I’ve been going out with, erm for instance like going clubbing with friends...it’s kind of allowing them to see it.” (Priya, 9-10.345-354).

Here Priya recognised the role of defiance within her life and the importance of explicitly demonstrating this defiance to others. When speaking of her ‘rebellious’ behaviour, Priya’s use of the terms “*putting your stand in*” and “*lots of arguments*”, indicated that defiance may have been a difficult process to engage in and one which needed perseverance and strength. This was also mirrored throughout the interview as Priya’s anxiety was evident when discussing her resistance as she repeatedly hesitated, with the use of “*erm*”. This ‘sense of defiance’ however, tended to overrule the difficult experiences and anxiety associated with it, as Priya continued to take a “*stand*” throughout her life whilst demonstrating a greater sense of authority. This sense of defiance seemed integral to Priya’s experiences of challenging Izzat and may continue to be so, as she is “*not going to stop*”.

3.3.1.3 Reclaiming the Self

Within the accounts of nearly all of the participants, there appeared to be a sense of new ownership over one's life and an attempt to reclaim control from others. This included the participants embracing themselves for who they were and placing their own needs as a priority. Here it was interpreted by the researcher that the participants had a desire to take charge, where the 'I' was placed before and above the 'other' of the family.

Amani reflected on her experiences of challenging Izzat with her attire:

"I knew that my mother didn't really in her heart she didn't approve but it comes to a point where you can't be all things to all people your whole life. There comes a point where actually you just have to, you just, and to be yourself and and others have to just accept that and adapt to that. Hmm." (Amani, 14.525-527).

Amani's extract above described a disparity between the viewpoint of her mother and her own desire to wear 'Western' clothing of her choice. It could be understood that Amani had spent her entire life adhering to the needs and wants of others and that she had now reached saturation. Amani appeared ready to take ownership of her life, where she had begun to embrace and accept her general sense of being, in order to exist as her true self. Amani however, also looked to others to create a change in accepting her lifestyle and for them to take ownership of that change, perhaps mirroring her actions of the past where she had adapted to the wishes of others by adhering to Izzat.

Amani's reference to Western clothing also suggested her wish and desire to reclaim her British identity. Not only must other people accept her decisions and choices in life, but they must also accept her dual identity of being a British SA women and the influence these two cultures will have on her choice of clothing. Amani's statement that *"you can't be all things to all people"*, may have also hinted at the tensions Amani had previously experienced when attempting to negotiate the expectations of others from both the opposing British and SA communities.

Within this extract and throughout Amani's interview, there also seemed to be a sense of failed expectations. Amani's use of the word "*hmm*" and her repetition of "*just*" conveyed her belief that she may not be 'good enough' for others and their Izzat-bound expectations. Yet she did not strive to meet these expectations any longer and instead set to "*accept*" herself as being good enough to be accepted by others, therefore embracing her true self and reclaiming her sense of positive identity.

Similar to the other participants, Priya spoke of her experiences of challenging Izzat by extending her curfew:

"I [Laughs] Ideally my curfew is actually being at home by 10 (Ah hmm) but that never happens now, erm, and you know every time I'm leaving the house and I'm saying you know I'm going to be late, my mum will be '10 o'clock' and I will be like 'no that's not even gonna happen' (Ah hmm) if it's the latest it will be 11, 11:30 otherwise I will text you if I'm a lot later. Or I will ring you." (Priya, 10.363-368).

Priya gave the impression of being in complete control of her actions in the extract above. Similar to Amani, Priya recognised the conflict between her own wishes and that of parents' with regards to her social life and curfew. Here Priya demonstrated a position of power and authority as she dismissed her parents' orders both immediately and absolutely. It could be argued that Priya revelled in this new-found position of control as indicated by her laughter and as she continued to exercise her authority by refusing to provide a clear time of her return. This ambiguity further indicates a sense of reclaimed power regarding her life as she refuses to restrict herself within the confines of her parent's expectations, boundaries and control. The use of the words "*never*", "*every time*" and "*not even gonna happen*" also indicated that this new sense of control is permanent and therefore Priya may have reclaimed her life from the grip of others.

Zara also provided the impression of 'reclaiming the self':

"I sort of realised that you know what, this is the age that you get to do stuff before you grow older so if I don't do it now I'm not going to get a chance to do it and it's my life and it's things I want to experience and I don't want to regret not trying anything. So I think that's why I was like I'm not gonna care about what other people say (Ah hmm) and just do whatever I think is right." (Zara, 20.752-757).

When discussing her experiences of challenging Izzat, Zara conveyed the potential for regret in not acting upon her wishes and having certain experiences within her life. There appeared to be a sense of limited time for Zara to act on her desires, as she recognised becoming older as another obstacle. This sense of limited opportunity possibly empowered Zara to take control of her life and to focus on her own needs. Zara rejected the viewpoint and potential judgement of others and instead placed her own needs and opinions as a moral and life guide, as highlighted in the statement *"just do whatever I think is right"*. This focus on the self and the sense of reclaiming ownership of her life can be seen throughout Zara's extract as she repeatedly used the words *"I"*, *"my"* and *"I'm"*. Zara like the other participants observed her life as not belonging to herself due to restriction and subjugation and she now seemed to want to rectify this and reclaim *"my life"* from others.

3.3.1.4 The Sense of Anger and Frustration

There was a shared experience of anger and frustration amongst nearly all of the participants of this study. The women described an intensity of rage and fury due to their experiences of challenging Izzat and the reactions their challenges elicited from others. This anger was often partnered with frustration for the women, as they felt their desire for change and challenges to Izzat was being met with resistance.

Sophia spoke of her anger regarding her family's confrontational reactions to her delay in getting married:

"I was very erm upset and angry. Erm, I would get a lot of headaches, tension headaches as well." (Sophia, 8.281).

Sophia reported the negative impact her experiences had had on her with regard to her psychological distress, therefore perhaps demonstrating the implications of challenging Izzat on one's mental health and wellbeing. Here she classed herself as being both upset and angry as a direct result of her challenges to Izzat. Sophia, however, also manifested this internal psychological anguish within her physical body, as indicated by the headaches she suffered from. It could be assumed that Sophia noticed this link between her psychological frustration and anger, and her physical pain, as she labelled her pain as *"tension headaches"*. Sophia's description of her physical ailments and her use of language that described excess (*"very"* and *"a lot"*) can be seen to mirror the potential intensity and frequency of the anger she encountered throughout her experiences of challenging Izzat.

Meanwhile, Zara vocalised the anger she felt towards her extended family members as they criticised her attire for being inappropriate due to the notions of Izzat:

"I think I felt angry that they said it in front of my parents or that they said anything just because, not that it's not any of their business because they're still family, but it kind of isn't their business about what I wear." (Zara, 12.434-435).

Here Zara made explicit reference to her anger, which seemed to be sparked by the public critique and condemnation of her choice of clothing and decision to challenge Izzat. She suggested a sense of intrusion in her life by those who she believed had no right to criticise her actions. It is possible to assume, however, that Zara was conflicted regarding the role of extended family members and whether they did indeed have the right to challenge her wishes and actions, as advocated by the principals of Izzat. It could also be interpreted that Zara experienced a sense of resentment towards her extended family's response, as their actions had been noticed by her parents.

The presence of intense anger and frustration which manifests itself into deep resentment could be observed within Maya's experience:

“Oh, hated it, hated it, it was constant, it was just ‘why are you being so weak? Why are you being so, like why not just say why you don’t want me to go? Why do you have to bring it back to the, you know, oh this might happen, that might happen’ it’s it’s so, it’s so, because I’m not that kind of person, it’s so dramatised, and it’s just why are you, it don’t, I just didn’t see the need of it. What was the need?...It’s just mainly anger and resentment...I kind of took all of that and thought, you know what this is just stuff to suppress you, honour is this thing to suppress you and it’s just, there to make your life crap, that I just resented, I started to resent everything to do with my culture, everything to do with my family, any time they said anything.” (Maya, 14.527-537).

As Maya recalled her experiences of challenging Izzat (by wanting to engage in social activities outside of her home) she expressed the intensity of her anger and frustration towards her mother’s “constant” reactions. Maya’s anger seemed to reignite when discussing her experience during the interview, as can be seen from her language. Maya used frequent repetition and short statements to convey the intensity of her anger in physical form, which signified a sense of intense rage. Her strong language of “hate” provided a clear and unambiguous expression of her inner feelings. This anger was also reflected in the apparent ‘name-calling’ Maya engaged in, in which she labelled Izzat as “crap” and suppressive. The resentment Maya spoke of within the extract also appeared to consume her life world as she seemed to reject and “resent” her family and culture, the two things integral to the notions of Izzat. It could be argued that this resentment represented Maya’s attempt to separate herself from the SA culture, in order to resolve the tension between her opposing British and SA identities and the subsequent psychological impact this cultural conflict was having upon her.

Maya’s statement could also be viewed as conveying frustration towards the lack of honesty she felt her mother engaged in when attempting to block Maya’s challenges to Izzat. It may be that Maya felt there was an alternative motive to her mother’s actions, such as suppression, and not one which was motivated from concern with Maya’s wellbeing and “what might happen”. This in turn developed further the intensity of Maya’s feelings of anger and frustration.

3.3.1.5 Summary

Within this superordinate theme, the women's 'resistance' against Izzat and its rules was discussed in depth. The participants expressed their feelings of being subjugated and restricted by Izzat, where they felt they had no control over their lives. They also expressed a sense of explicit defiance against their experiences of Izzat, which were used to send a clear message of 'rebellion' to their families. The participant's experiences were also interpreted in a way which suggested that the women sought to reclaim their lives from the control of their families and this involved them developing a sense of self-acceptance, placing their individual needs as a priority and adopting personal control. Finally the women in this study expressed their experiences of intense anger and frustration whilst challenging Izzat and the condemning reactions of their families.

3.3.2 Superordinate Theme Two: The Sense of Peril

The following subordinate themes reflect the sense of danger and threat experienced within the lives of the participants. All of the participant's experiences were shrouded in fear of what may or may not have occurred due to their challenges to Izzat. The women's transcripts were also interpreted as signifying a strong 'sense to protect', in which they wished to guard both themselves and others from the potential harrowing consequences of their challenging behaviour. Nearly all of the participant's accounts were also understood as suggesting a sense of being 'bullied and attacked' by their families. These understandings are discussed in the subordinate themes below:

3.3.2.1 *Enveloped in Fear*

Throughout their interviews, the participants described an overwhelming sense of fear which appeared to surround and consume their experiences of challenging Izzat. This fear was directed at the many possible negative consequences that could have occurred due to their actions and the impact it might have had on both themselves and others. One such example can be understood from Priya's extract:

“Yeah because the consequences would probably be really [Laughs] terrifying. (Ah hmm) Erm I guess I get worried about erm hurting my parents I guess or you know in an extreme version is maybe being disowned I think that’s probably the worst thing I could experience.” (Priya, 11.419-422).

Priya’s unambiguous reflection regarding her fears of challenging Izzat appeared to be represented throughout this extract. Here Priya used the term *“really terrifying”* which reflected the intensity of her concerns. Her account is also accompanied by laughter, which further highlighted her anxiety, tension and fears regarding her challenging behaviour and her potential difficulty in acknowledging this fear within the interview process. Priya’s fears are directed at the emotional pain that might have been experienced by both her parents and herself. Priya, however, seemed to view this fear on a ‘sliding scale’ in which the potential experiences of rejection, abandonment and loss appeared to outweigh her anxiety regarding the emotional impact of her actions on her parents. It could be assumed that Priya was clearly aware of the potential of her actions to hurt others and the power of others to hurt her in the *“worst”* way possible and it is this *“terrifying”* reflection that created the foundation of her fear and anxiety.

Zara reflected on the fear of disappointing her parents:

“Obviously I was just really scared that if someone ever saw me (Ah hmm) it would get passed onto someone else and then, eventually end up in my family and then I didn’t want to do anything to disappoint my parents.” (Zara, 5.157-160).

Similar to Priya, Zara’s fear focused on her parents and the impact her actions would have on their lives and emotions. Zara too used intense language to describe her concerns regarding her challenges to Izzat, involving drinking, smoking and romantic relationships with men, and how this would disappoint her parents. It could be suggested that at the heart of Zara’s fears she dreaded not living up to her parents’ Izzat-bound expectations and her parents’ realisation and disappointment of her ‘failures’. Zara’s trepidation could also be understood as relating to the fear of exposure and gossip and the central role of the SAC to spread this gossip, eventually reaching her parents.

Maya expressed the fears she felt when communicating to her mother her wish to marry her non-SA boyfriend:

“When the community shun you or when it goes wrong, what are you going to do then? I think it was more of erm, conversations of like, ‘look once your honour is gone, once you know you’re Izzat that’s it you can’t get it back’ and I think that’s when I started to realise things as well in terms of, well she is right to a degree. If once, even if it’s right or wrong, whether I’m right or she’s wrong, it still, it is in the community. One person can help to change things but not change it over night and you know if my Izzat was gone, then what? then what would I have done? If I was still with that person, it didn’t work out and I didn’t have my family and I didn’t have, you know, friends or a community, what would I do then?” (Maya, 12.432-438).

Maya’s extract suggested a sense of panic and alarm regarding the potential consequences of her decision to marry her boyfriend. Her fears focused on a variety of concerns, including the fear of exposure, the fear of abandonment and the overwhelming fear of losing her Izzat, all of which focused on the interpersonal consequences of her challenges to Izzat. Interestingly, the fear of abandonment was not restricted to those who might have shunned her due to her challenging Izzat, but also involved the potential future loss of her boyfriend, the reason for her challenging actions. Maya’s reflections also indicated a sense of expected long-term future struggle, where she would be unable to change her circumstances “*over night*” and this too could be viewed as exacerbating her fears. It could be assumed that Maya felt powerless in this experience and that she was aware that she was ‘risking it all’ for love. Maya spoke of the terrifying impact her decision to challenge Izzat would have on her and her future and this anxiety can be observed by her use of desperate, constant and frenzied questions of “*what would I do then?*” Maya perhaps also acknowledged the role of the SAC within her fears and the collective power they had to ensure these fears became reality.

3.3.2.2 The Sense to Protect

Interpreting the participant’s experiences of challenging Izzat, it could be said that the women in this study conveyed a strong urge and necessity to protect both themselves and their

families from the negative consequences of challenging Izzat and the possibility of their fears (discussed in section 3.3.2.1 Enveloped in Fear) becoming a reality.

“That’s something that I’ve had to be very mindful of and if I, when there have been points where I have interacted with a male person it’s always been very hush sort of low key (Ah hmm) erm sort of secret phone calls or [laughs] meeting in in a sort of unknown destination [laughs] about 50 miles from my house (Ah hmm) just to make sure that my family’s dignity and honour is preserved.” (Amani, 8.275-281).

Amani discussed her experiences of challenging Izzat by having a romantic relationship and she highlighted the importance of maintaining her family's dignity and Izzat. She perhaps believed that secrets and hidden behaviour were the best course of action to prevent her dreaded outcome: the family's reputation being tarnished within the SAC. The significance attributed to the protection of her family can be seen by her disclosure that she was “very mindful” and her insistence of travelling miles from her home to avoid being seen. This conveyed how far Amani felt she must travel from her home in order to feel safe, protected and at ease. One could question here, however, if Amani was only seeking to protect her family as she stated, or if her actions could also suggest a strong ‘sense to protect’ herself. Amani’s repeated use of nervous and uncomfortable laughter and her experiences of “secret phone calls” from her family, indicated an anxiety that her family may also become aware of her actions and therefore cause her difficulty. Amani’s family must be protected from the attention of the SAC and she must be protected from both the SAC and her parents.

Similar to all the participants, Sherry also expressed a strong desire to protect:

“I I don’t think I can truly be myself with certain friends erm only because I feel that they would judge me for some of the things that I I like to do, don’t like to do, agree with or or just like thoughts that I have. Erm but because they’re longstanding friends, friends that I’ve had for many many years, erm they’re not somebody that I would want to part ways with (Ah hmm) but equally I don’t feel comfortable sharing everything with them.” (Sherry, 5.173-178).

Sherry brought forward the important wish to protect herself from the expected judgement of others, in this case her valued friends. She assumed there to be a threat of being rejected by her peers and being viewed as unacceptable, should she be open about her preferences. This therefore suggests that Sherry was both aware and fearful of the interpersonal implications of her challenges to Izzat. It could be believed that to manage this tension and to protect herself from these fears Sherry adopted a protective stance where she hid her life behind a veil of secrecy and undisclosed preferences. Sherry seemed certain regarding the necessity of not “truly” being herself in front of others. It could be interpreted that Sherry adopted a protective image which acquired validation from others and kept her away from potential internal distress, by avoiding judgement and rejection from the SAC.

Her ‘sense to protect’ also expanded to her avoiding the turmoil of difficult life choices. In order to keep her cherished friends, Sherry must conceal her true identity, but to be her true self she must risk her friendships. By protecting herself with the use of secrets, Sherry can be both the ‘socially acceptable’ Sherry and the ‘real’ Sherry when circumstances permit, allowing her to keep both valued aspects of her life intact, therefore protecting herself from the extremely difficult and distressing life choice between being her true self or being accepted by friends.

Unlike the other participants, Maya appeared to demonstrate a ‘sense to protect’ by ‘retreating’ to the safety of adhering to Izzat:

“I think you just get to a point ‘am I wrong?’ and then you start challenging yourself and you’re like well everyone can’t be wrong so it must be me. (Hmm) So you do kind of get lonely and you start thinking all these things of like ‘why am I trying to push all these boundaries, (Ah hmm) when I could happily be happy just following the rules’.” (Maya, 19.726-732).

Here Maya provided the impression that she connected her feelings of isolation, internal judgement and distress to her experiences of challenging Izzat. These experiences “get to the point” of intense anguish and so it could be argued that she weighed this against the experiences of adhering to Izzat and came to the conclusion that adhering to Izzat may be a

more pleasant experience. One way to understand this experience could be through the metaphor of a soldier. Maya appeared to have entered no man's land whilst challenging Izzat and the shrapnel of internalised judgement and conflict with "everyone" bombarded Maya, thereby she returned to the safety of the trenches and followed Izzat in order to protect herself. This reflects the intensity of the consequences she experienced as a result of challenging Izzat and her need to protect herself from these distressing and overwhelming events.

3.3.2.3 *Bullied and Attacked*

Most of the participants described experiences in which they felt 'bullied and attacked' by their families' negative comments and repeated judgements. Here the participants felt distressed, belittled and victimised by their families' reactions to their challenges to Izzat, as can be seen from Sophia's extract below:

"Erm, I found that quite hard in the beginning of whereas, where I've had to kind of literally fight with m- with family members saying to them 'no, I don't want to get married' (Ah hmm) every time you know they'd bring up this pressure of getting married, oh look at these girls there're married, look at these they're married, what about you?" (Sophia, 2.53-58).

Sophia's statement indicated her sense of weariness against the coercion of her family and their Izzat-bound desire for her to marry. She alluded to her distress "*in the beginning*" and the force it had taken her to resist and "*fight*" the constant "*pressure*" of marriage and her family. Sophia's use of language also suggested the intensity of her experiences and the feelings of being 'bullied and attacked'. Having to "*literally fight*" conveyed the sense of her survival and resistance against the strong oppressive family members, where she must fight for both perseverance to endure the verbal attacks and judgements and victory. Sophia's descriptions can also be understood as providing a feeling of being 'less than' and 'inferior' to her peers who have gained the approval of her family as they have married and settled down.

Priya discussed the impact of her family's punitive reactions once they had discovered her romantic relationship with a man of a similar age:

"You know I was kind of told that you know I'm going to go to hell. Erm 'If you don't end this then you know you'd bring so much shame to the family and you know we'd just end our lives' blah blah blah. So it can be really extreme er things threats that they would kind of tell me that would really increase my guilt (Hmm) erm and also make me feel really really bad about myself." (Priya, 14.508-513).

Priya seemed to express the intense distress she experienced due to the words of her parents, which had caused her to feel both guilty and *"really really bad about myself"*. This can be observed by her explicit reference to these difficult emotions but also by interpreting her use of *"blah blah blah"*. It could be postulated that these repetitive words not only described her experiences, but that they also demonstrated that the words used by the parents may have been too distressing and excessive to recall. This is further supported by her use of the word *"threats"* where Priya conveyed an understanding that she was to be punished and hurt for her actions and that her parents wished to cause her emotional pain, which she indeed endured. Furthermore, Priya's account suggested a powerful sense of rejection and condemnation from her family which she understood due to their reference to *"hell"* and *"shame"*. Here Priya appeared to internalise this negative judgement placed upon her, thus feeling bullied and tormented by her parents. This internal distress and the impact of these bullying remarks were also visible within the interview process, as Priya repeatedly used *"erm"* and *"er"* throughout her emotional account.

Zara also identified the belittling judgement and disapproval from her family to play a role in her experiences of challenging Izzat:

"Erm family mainly. Erm so I've had some occasions where I've gone to aunts or uncles houses and I think I've worn a sleeveless top and they've just made a comment saying 'why you wearing that? Why are you not covered up? Why are you showing your arms?' And then obviously if my parents over hear that they're like 'oh we told her and she doesn't listen' and 'they're like see everybody thinks that what you're wearing is wrong' and it just kind of

encourages them a little bit more and helps them prove their point (Ah hmm) that what you're doing is wrong." (Zara, 11-12.425-431).

Zara's extract conveyed a sense of being 'bullied and attacked' as she described her immediate and extended family members 'ganging up' against her, to condemn her in unison. Here Zara is literally and metaphorically outweighed by "everybody" opposing her actions and deeming her challenging behaviour as "wrong". Judgement is also made upon Zara's personality where she is ridiculed for her failure to comply with Izzat and her inability to listen to her parents. There appeared to be a sense of 'them verses me', as Zara recounted being bombarded by questions and statements, which also indicated a sense of feeling prodded, victimised and attacked.

3.3.2.4 Summary

In summary, it could be argued that the participants experienced a 'sense of peril' and danger when challenging Izzat. Here they appeared to have endured a deep and overwhelming fear of the potential consequences of challenging Izzat for both themselves and their families. Their concerns involved many things including the fear of rejection, negative judgement and gossip. The women in this study were also understood to be referring to a 'sense to protect' within their reflections, where they intended to safeguard both themselves and their families from the negative consequences they appeared to fear. Finally, the participants described experiences in which they felt 'bullied and attacked' by their family members due to their overt judgements, coercion and verbal condemnation.

3.3.3 Superordinate Theme Three: The Lasting Legacy

The subsequent subordinate themes relate to a sense of everlasting forever. The experiences discussed within these themes appeared to have left a 'lasting legacy' within the participants' lives and overshadowed their overall experience of challenging Izzat. The subordinate theme 'haunted to the core' will be discussed first, followed by 'the jewel in the crown'.

3.3.3.1 Haunted to the Core

Half of the participants spoke of their experiences that signified a sense of overwhelming distress, shock and anguish. These events appeared to have struck the very core of the participants, where there seemed to be an overall sense of foreboding and trauma within their descriptions. These experiences could be viewed as haunting the participants, where the remnants of these experiences will remain in their lives forever, never to be forgotten.

Priya discussed the traumatic experience of her parents becoming aware of her boyfriend and their reactions that followed:

“Er [pause] I dunno it was like torture [Laughs], I don’t know if that’s even a label but (Ah hmm) I kind of felt punished. Erm that’s, that’s how I would label that experience, I felt punished erm I [pause] yeah I think punished is the only word that that comes to mind...you know being at home in an environment where they made nasty remarks at you, made you feel erm [pause] not, well sometimes, they kind of make you feel dirty like they made you feel that disgusted with yourself that it kind of almost felt like there was no point being there, like there there must be no point being there, because kind of just felt this sense of worthlessness in some way.” (Priya, 15.562-575).

Priya described her parents’ reactions as having an intense emotional impact on her, in which she appeared to internalise their judgements and disgust by viewing herself as both “dirty” and worthless. Priya’s repeated use of the word “punished” provided insight into the emotional and psychological turmoil she may have experienced as a result of her parents. This notion is further supported by the simile of “torture” as it suggests her experiences were both deeply painful and scaring, wounding her for years to come. Priya’s repeated pauses throughout her speech, and her laughter when discussing her experiences, implied a sense of intense emotional distress during the interview process. It could be understood that the experiences remain painful for Priya and that she utilised this laughter and pause in speech to regulate and manage the distressing emotions that remain. The depth of Priya’s intolerable despair can also be observed through her questioning the attraction of remaining alive, as death appeared to be a potentially better alternative than her emotional pain and suffering. It could be hypothesised that Priya was traumatised and haunted by both the

emotional “*torture*” caused by her parents and her own sense of low self-worth and “*worthlessness*”, which led her to consider ending her life.

Maya also reflected on her experiences of emotional turmoil when challenging Izzat and her family’s reaction to her non-SA boyfriend:

“Now I’ve gone through it, I just think, ‘oh it’s not worth it and I really wanna tell people it’s not worth it’... don’t get with him. This will happen, I feel like I need to tell other people ‘don’t do it, this is what happened’, because this is what happened to me...I feel the need to tell them, look these are the consequences and look they’re not worth it” (Maya, 17-18.657-664).

Maya’s extract conveyed a warning, to both herself and others, of the harrowing experiences of challenging Izzat. Her frenzied and desperate pleas to others to not engage in challenging Izzat (particularly by having a romantic relationship) indicated a sense of pain that appeared to still haunt her. Her use of the words “*this*” and “*happened*” to describe her experiences, could be interpreted as demonstrating the powerful, distressing and overwhelming experiences she had endured during these encounters. Maya also suggested a sense of regret for her challenges to Izzat. The emotional consequences of her actions, as well as her decision to challenge Izzat as a whole, were repeatedly regarded as “*not worth it*”. These experiences and memories have seemed to have impacted Maya’s views of challenging Izzat, as she now regards adhering to Izzat to be a better choice. It could be argued that these experiences have changed and shaped Maya forever, preventing her from wanting to challenge Izzat, thus impacting her in the foreseeable future.

Sherry also reflected on a traumatic experience with her father after he had discovered contraception in her purse. She described her experiences of being intimidated by her father in his car:

“He goes ‘Oh you’ve been sleeping around, I’ve found these pills in your bag’ and he pulled out a knife and threatened me and said erm you know ‘what have you been doing? Erm why do you have these pills in your purse? You’ve got a boyfriend? You’ve been having sex with

people haven't you? You know why would you have this in your purse?' Erm and at first I tried to deny it because I didn't know how to deal with the situation...But when he pulled out the knife on me I was like okay this is really serious and because he's been violent, I knew he was capable of (Ah hmm) seriously hurting me." (Sherry, 21.810-818).

Sherry then described her father's reaction to her explanation that the contraception was used for acne purposes:

"Erm and he, itst- you know he, then he he sort of started crying and said 'oh I'm so relieved', while he's still holding the knife and trying to hug me." (Sherry, 22.828-829).

Within these extracts, Sherry's experience of shock and terror seemed apparent from her claim that *"I didn't know how to deal with the situation"*. Sherry appeared surprised, overwhelmed and bombarded by the various accusatory questions from her father and the distressing presence of the knife. Here Sherry regarded this intimidation as life threatening as she was aware that her father had *"been violent"* in the past. Interestingly, Sherry described this experience within the interview, in a very matter of fact manner (*"okay this is really serious"*), which seemed inconsistent with the typical reactions one may express when recounting this harrowing and traumatic event. This perhaps conveyed the intensity of the emotional distress felt by Sherry and the impact it still continued to have in overwhelming her inner experiences, as it rendered her externally emotionless. Sherry's confusion and suffering however, was evident through her repeated use of *"erm"* and speech hesitations within both interview extracts, providing a subtle but important insight into her traumatic distress.

Sherry appeared bewildered by her experience within the first extract, which was compounded by her father's actions in the second. The oxymoronic actions of her father's hug and knife wielding intimidation can be seen to have disturbed Sherry in her helpless and powerless situation, causing her intense shock, confusion and terror. Sherry's physical and psychological boundaries had been violated within this traumatic experience and she seemed to understand that her life had been considered dispensable and worthy of loss, due

to her challenges to Izzat. This event, therefore, can be seen to cause Sherry immense distress and trauma, possibly haunting Sherry's experiences of challenging Izzat forever.

3.3.3.2 *The Jewel in the Crown*

Many of the participants disclosed the positive changes that had occurred within their lives due to their challenges to Izzat. These changes transcended the self, as they occurred within the participants' own lives and that of their families. The women in this study disclosed a great sense of pride, joy and achievement for these positive changes and their family's ability to adapt and grow alongside them. These experiences were viewed as having a long lasting influence on the future lives of everybody involved, and appeared to be their most cherished and valued element of the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat.

Sophia discussed the impact of her challenging Izzat and her delay in getting married:

*"I feel quite passionate about it, because it's not only me, I am standing up for my sister (**Ah hmm**) and my brother and like my little cousins as well. So I know it's not just going to impact me, it's going to change the whole (**hmm**) kind of dynamics of the family (**Ah hmm**) which it has actually. Hmm."* (Sophia, 8.299-306).

Sophia acknowledged the importance of her challenging actions and the far reaching ramifications they would have on both herself and her family. Describing herself as passionate, Sophia indicated the strength of her beliefs in being able to make a positive change. Within this extract, Sophia engaged in recognising her achievements with a sense of pride, as can be seen by her jovial and reflective use of the word "*hmm*".

Sherry also spoke of the positive and lasting changes that have occurred due to her challenging Izzat:

“Both my parents erm did not like that some of my friends were not Asian or not like Muslim erm but since then because I’ve challenged it so much, erm there are certain friends in my group who are not Muslim or Bengali and my family know them really really well and they’ve become family friends with us because, because I pushed it and I don’t regret pushing it, erm so yeah.” (Sherry, 18-19.701-704).

Sherry’s sense of pride and achievement can be interpreted from her ability to recognise the changes that have occurred within her social and family life. Sherry observed her frequent challenges to Izzat, by having friends outside of the Muslim and SAC, to have served as a catalyst for this change. Sherry is now able to interact and create friendships with those who are not SA and/ or Muslim with the blessing of her family and her family have appeared to also adjust and adapt to this new change, by embracing these members as their own friends. Here Sherry’s family have seemed to have changed their beliefs and viewpoints and it could be argued that they now demonstrate complete and total acceptance of sherry’s wishes by embodying this lasting change for themselves. Sherry’s pride and satisfaction for her new experiences and family’s behaviour could be read from her declaration of having no regrets and her appreciation of being the direct cause of this change.

Amani reflected on the changes both she and her mother had made:

“You know I often talk to my mother about working abroad and going abroad. Now if I had this conversation 10 years ago erm it would have been a point blank no [laughs] (Ah hmm) but because you know I’ve evolved, I’ve matured my mother’s seen how far I’ve come in my life, how much I have achieved erm she’s willing to, er she would allow me to make those choices because she’s seen actually for me, erm pushing some of those boundaries has helped me to be successful in my life (Ah hmm) and she wishes for me to do well in my life. But like I say not not everybody is as fortunate as I am because my mother has been understanding with age, erm whereas when I was younger she was a lot stricter, so she has changed as well as myself, she’s become a lot less boundaried, she’s become a lot more flexible.” (Amani, 15.551-560).

Amani highlighted the changes within her life and how she attributed this change and success to be caused by her challenges to Izzat. She also regarded herself as “*evolved*” providing connotations of irreversible personal growth, achievement and development. Alongside her own evolution, Amani discussed the changes she observed in her mothers’ life and her increased sense of flexibility and leniency of control. Amani appeared to be attributing her mother’s change to two things, her mother’s own ability to relax the grip of her control as she becomes older and the influential impact Amani’s own challenges to Izzat have had on her mother’s life. It could be understood that this recognition in influencing change in her mother’s actions provided Amani with a sense of personal achievement and joy.

The sense of pride could also be observed from Amani as she felt both “*fortunate*” and proud of her mother’s ability to adapt; conveying recognition towards how difficult this process may have been for her mother. This recognition also ensues self-pride from Amani, as she is aware of her role in this change. Although Amani discussed these experiences in a positive manner, she still appeared to be overwhelmed by joyful emotions and this intense experience of emotion caused Amani to hesitate with the use of “*erm*” and express laughter. It could be hypothesised that Amani’s life experiences had now changed forever, from what they were “*10 years ago*”, due to her challenges to Izzat and the lasting impact this had had on both her and her mother’s behaviour.

3.3.3.3 Summary

The participants’ described the many experiences that had been encountered as a result of their challenges to Izzat, which had elicited different ends of the participants’ emotions. Some of the women had felt intense emotional distress due to their traumatic experiences, whilst various participants also expressed pride and achievement, for the changes both they and their families had made as a result of challenging Izzat. It seemed apparent that these experiences had left a ‘lasting legacy’ within the participants’ lives and may continue to do so for years to come.

3.4 The Interaction Between the Themes

The superordinate and subordinate themes explored above appear to demonstrate the complex nature of the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat. As mentioned at the start of this analysis chapter (in section 3.2 Overview of Themes), the themes encapsulate the experiences of the participants that may have occurred before, during or after the challenge(s) of Izzat. As a result, the themes presented by the researcher convey a variety of different experiences, which at times can be seen to contradict (e.g. 'haunted to the core' and 'the jewel in the crown'), impact (e.g. 'bound by Izzat' and 'the sense of defiance') as well as compliment (e.g. 'enveloped in fear' and 'the sense to protect') one another.

These themes appear to convey the multifaceted and complex nature of the participants' experiences and the women's ability to hold and reflect on more than one aspect of their experience at a time. The participants often reflected on specific poignant experiences of challenging Izzat which may have been conveyed and represented by a particular theme (e.g. 'bullied and attacked') or themes (e.g. 'the sense of defiance' and 'the sense of anger and frustration'). At other moments, the participants may have also reflected on the general emotions they had experienced throughout and across their challenges of Izzat, which enabled them to hold more than one complementary or contradictory experience at a time. Here the participants were expressing what it was like for them to experience challenging Izzat, with hindsight, and so they often held multiple reflections and understandings of their experiences. Therefore it was possible for the participants to feel the contradictory experiences of being 'haunted to the core' alongside the positive reflection of pride and joy (represented by the theme 'the jewel in the crown'), as the women examined the whole of their experience of challenging Izzat (rather than specific parts) and attributed multiple meanings to these events and experiences. According to Smith et al. (2009), it is the existence of these contradictory participant reflections and experiences that demonstrates the true 'richness' of one's IPA research data.

As the themes do not demonstrate the participants' experiences in chronological order and instead convey the multiple past experiences of the participants' challenges to Izzat, the ways in which the themes interact with one another depend on the particular experience of challenging Izzat conveyed by the participants. Each theme may represent an experience in isolation, or accompany other theme(s) to represent a more complex understanding of what it

meant for the participants to challenge SA cultural law. (The participants' experience of holding multiple positions will be discussed further in Chapter Four: Discussion). Therefore, each subordinate theme may represent an aspect of the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat and/or numerous themes may also overlap and accompany one another (Willig, 2008), to demonstrate the multifaceted complexity of the participants' experiences of this phenomenon and their ability to hold several aspects of this experience (even those that appear contradictory) at the same time.

3.5 Overall Summary of Analysis

To summarise the above, the analysis generated findings consisting of three superordinate themes: 'The Resistance', 'The Sense of Peril' and 'The Lasting Legacy'.

The superordinate theme 'The Resistance' captured the participants' defiance of their subjugating experiences of Izzat and the general notions advocated by SA cultural law. The women in this study appeared to reclaim their lives from the control of others when challenging Izzat and they reflected on their feelings of anger and frustration.

The second superordinate theme, 'The Sense of Peril', demonstrated the sense of danger experienced by the participants. The participants expressed their overwhelming fear regarding the potential distressing consequences of their challenging behaviour and they conveyed a strong desire to safeguard themselves and their families from these possible experiences. The participants also expressed a sense of being bullied and attacked by their families as a result of their challenges to Izzat and the displeasure their actions caused others.

The final superordinate theme, 'The Lasting Legacy', detailed the participants' challenges to Izzat, which appeared to overshadow their entire experience. Here both the deeply traumatic and positive experiences of challenging Izzat were discussed by the women in this study and these experiences appeared to have had a lasting impact on the lives of the participants and their families.

Chapter Four: Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This study used IPA to answer the research question: *How do South Asian women experience challenging honour (Izzat)?* In this chapter, the findings of each superordinate theme are discussed in relation to existing literature, followed by a brief exploration of the overarching concepts that appear to be present across the superordinate themes. An evaluation of this study is also included, which involves a consideration of the limitations of this research project and future research possibilities. The implications of the research findings for clinical practice are also highlighted, and this chapter concludes with a final reflexive section.

4.2 Discussion

4.2.1 Theme One: The Resistance

This section aims to discuss the resistance of the participants and their desire to ‘push’ against and defy their Izzat-bound experiences, expectations and subjugation. These experiences will be discussed in accordance with existing literature.

Bound by Izzat

The participants reported a sense of being restrained by Izzat, where they felt their lives were being both controlled and restricted by others. Here the participants felt subjugated by Izzat, as they were unable to act on their own desires, and this led them to believe that they had no agency or authority over their own lives. The experience of being bound by Izzat also appeared to have had distressing implications for the participants’ experiences and wellbeing, as the participants indicated a sense of being dissatisfied and suffocated by their perceived subjugation and restriction.

The findings of this subordinate theme fit well with existing literature. When discussing Izzat, the literature has often spoken of it as being inflexible and something which must be obeyed at all times (Jafri, 2009). Izzat has been described as being a controlling force (Baker et al., 1999) throughout the lives of SAW, where their behaviour is both monitored (Bano, 2011) and dominated by men and older women (Gill, 2011).

Chew-Graham et al. (2002) further discussed the notions of control and subjugation when exploring the factors that may lead SAW to self-harm. The participants of their study identified the role of Izzat in restricting and dictating the lives of SAW. Gilbert et al.'s (2004) study also explored the role of Izzat, subordination and control within the lives of SAW, but did so in further detail. Utilising scenarios to create discussions amongst the participants, Gilbert et al. (2004) observed the important role of control within the participants' understanding of Izzat. Previous Izzat-related research reports the dominating and controlling role of Izzat in the lives of SAW; the present study concurs with the findings of this research.

The existing literature discusses the negative impact of subordination, submission and control on the wellbeing and mental health of women (Allan & Gilbert, 1997; Gilbert, 2000; Gilbert et al., 1996) but does so without exploring the phenomenon of Izzat. These studies have also acquired this understanding by means of quantitative research. Other qualitative studies that do observe the negative role of Izzat-related subjugation on mental health and wellbeing do so without engaging with the actual experiences of their participants or by exploring SAW's challenges to Izzat (Chew-Graham et al., 2002; Gilbert et al., 2004). As a result, it could be suggested that although this current research project supports the existing notion that subjugation can elicit experiences of distress, it also goes beyond the previous research, by providing a more nuanced, detailed and phenomenological understanding of what it is like to experience control and restriction within one's Izzat-bound life world.

The Sense of Defiance

Within this study, the participants explicitly demonstrated to their families their defiance of and non-compliance with the subjugation and notions of Izzat, and celebrated this overt rejection of their subordinate positions.

Interestingly, much of the existing research that explores the phenomena of Izzat refers to SAW as being the subordinates of the SAC (Hunnicut, 2009; Gilbert et al., 2004), where they are often only described as being submissive and subservient to their families controlling and dominating expectations (Hand, 1999). The finding of this study, therefore, challenges this consensus and highlights an alternative insight into the Izzat-bound experiences of SAW and their defiance of cultural law. This is considered an important finding of this study. Although the literature has reported the many behavioural acts that may challenge Izzat (Idriss, 2011; Khan, 2007; Meetoo & Mirza, 2007; Sen, 2005), it has not focused on the phenomenological experience of these challenges and the 'felt sense' of the SAW who may do so. Contrary to previous literature, this study's focus on the phenomenological experience of the participants' challenges to Izzat, has allowed a novel understanding of this phenomenon, and the recognition that the sense of defiance, rather than just blind obedience, may be present within the experiences of SAW.

As previously mentioned, Mucina's (2015) Canadian study seemed to be the only existing research that had examined the experiences of women who have challenged Izzat. These participants had engaged in 'forbidden' romantic relationships and had also identified themselves as survivors of HBA. This insightful study reported the abusive consequences the participants had experienced as a result of their challenges to Izzat, as well as their feelings of guilt, shame and rejection. The sense of defiance, however, was not reported. It could be argued that the new insight regarding the sense of defiance experienced by the participants of this study may have been uncovered as this study focused on the actual and subjective experience of SAW challenging Izzat and not the abusive consequences of their actions in order to provide further understanding of HBA, which was the aim of Mucina's (2015) study. As a consequence of this alternative focus, the finding of this subordinate theme was able to demonstrate further information and insight into the under-researched phenomenon of challenging Izzat.

A further point of interest regarding the participants' sense of defiance was the understanding that this defiance and rejection of Izzat was a source of pride for the participants' and that some of the challenges to Izzat were explicitly demonstrated for their families to observe (This sense of pride will be discussed further in section 4.2.3 Theme Three: The Lasting Legacy). The findings of this theme appear to contradict the highly publicised and advocated

idea that challenging Izzat induces feelings of shame for SAW (Bano, 2011; Gill, 2011; Hampton & Sharp, 2014; Marshall & Yazdani, 1999; Mucina, 2015). Soni (2012) discussed the impact that shame and Izzat had had upon the lives of 25 SA community workers. She concluded that behaviour that challenged Izzat repeatedly led the participants to experience shame for their actions and that the participants regarded shame to be an experience that must be avoided.

In this study, Priya appeared to be the only participant who identified shame as a consequence of her actions. This study, therefore, does not regard shame as having a dominant role in the experiences of five other participants, thus providing an alternative understanding of what it is like for SAW to challenge Izzat. A possible reason for this difference may be that this study did not enquire about shame specifically (unlike Soni's 2012 study), and so it was up to the participants to describe any shame-related experiences they may have had in relation to challenging Izzat, which did not appear to be the case.

Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher and Gramzow's (1992) understanding that shame causes individuals to want to 'hide and disappear' from 'interpersonal situations' that have caused the experience of shame may help shed further light on this finding. As the participants of this study were recruited on a voluntary basis, perhaps those who did not feel shame as a result of their challenges to Izzat felt more comfortable taking part in a study that placed a spotlight and in-depth discussion on their actions. One could speculate that the sole focus of this study to enquire about SAW challenging Izzat may have caused those who experienced shame due to their actions to refrain from engaging in interpersonal discussions regarding their challenges. Therefore, those who celebrated their defiance may have volunteered to take part in this study, thus expressing their sense of defiance throughout their interviews. Regardless of the reasons behind this finding, the participants' experiences suggest that shame is not necessarily integral to one's experience of challenging Izzat, contradicting the notions advocated by the SAC and previous literature.

Reclaiming the Self

Throughout their experiences of challenging Izzat, the women in this study seemed to develop a sense of self acceptance and control, where they placed their needs as a priority

before the needs of others. Here the participants appeared to reclaim themselves from the power and grip of their families whilst demonstrating a sense of agency over their lives.

The current understanding of Izzat suggests that SAW are expected to sacrifice their needs and desires for the sake of their families, in order to ensure that the family is safeguarded and successful (Das & Kemp, 1997; Farver et al., 2002). The literature, however, does not refer to the experiences of SAW reclaiming control from their families when challenging Izzat and/ or choosing to place their own needs as a priority, as did the findings of this study. As a result, this study contradicts the commonly advocated notion that SAW are passive members of their lives who only have experiences of subjugation and submission (Hunnicut, 2009). Once again, as this study focused on the actual experiences of SAW challenging Izzat (rather than just the general experiences of Izzat for women or the consequences women may endure as a result of challenging this SA cultural law) this study was able to acquire an alternative and new understanding of how SAW may experience the phenomenon of challenging Izzat.

The participants' experiences could be interpreted as demonstrating an external locus of evaluation when adhering to Izzat, where the judgements of others were perceived as excessively important (Raskin, 1952) and the need to please others had led to incongruent behaviour (Mearns & Thorne, 2007), for example the participants' curfew or choice of clothing prior to them challenging Izzat. Whilst challenging Izzat, however, it could be argued that the participants rejected the subjugating viewpoint of others within their experiences and instead established a locus of evaluation which was internal, allowing them to focus, trust and value their own judgements and sense of self. An understanding of what may have caused this shift in the participants' locus of evaluation cannot be made, as this exceeds the scope of the present study. However, future qualitative research could utilise grounded theory methodology to provide an explanatory framework/theory to understand how SAW may develop an internal locus of evaluation when challenging Izzat (Willig, 2013). The role of an individual's locus of evaluation could potentially have implications for clinical practice, as SA service users who adhere to Izzat may have an external locus of evaluation and so may seek to impress their therapist and place great importance on their judgements and values. This could also be an area SAW seek to change in therapy, in order to establish a locus of

evaluation which is internal, allowing them to place their needs and judgements before those of others.

Furthermore, Downing and Roush (1985) suggested that women resolve their subordinate experiences through a series of stages. They stated that women move from accepting the traditional subordinate gender roles of society ('passive acceptance stage') to slowly reaching the 'revelation stage' in which they become aware of and dissatisfied with their subordinate positions. They then encounter the 'embeddedness-emanation' developmental stage, which allows the women to process the dissatisfaction felt in previous stages and develop a new feminist identity. The 'synthesis stage' of development states that a women's identity solidifies at this stage, where she is then able to display positive self-regard, focus on her own values and desires and trust her ability to make decisions. Finally, the women who are able to reach the 'active commitment' stage of this identity formation focus on creating a general change in society rather than just in their own lives. It could be argued that the findings presented in the subordinate theme of 'reclaiming the self' seem to match the 'synthesis stage' of development advocated by Downing and Roush (1985), as the women of this study developed a new positive sense of self and a greater sense of control, whilst prioritising their own values and judgements above those of others.

The Sense of Anger and Frustration

The experience of challenging Izzat led to intense feelings of anger and frustration for the participants of this study. This sense of deep anger and frustration was also experienced as a result of their families' reactions and resistance to the participants' challenges to Izzat.

In previous literature, the understanding that SAW may experience feelings of anger and frustration when challenging Izzat appears to be limited. Mucina's (2015) narrative inquiry study reports the presence of anger when SAW have challenged Izzat. However, other research has only suggested that women may experience anger as a result of the influence of Izzat within their lives (Chew-Graham et al., 2002; Soni, 2012). Additionally, whilst the findings have been valuable, none of these studies have utilised phenomenological methodology to capture the 'lived experience' of the SAW who may experience this anger.

As a result, it could be concluded that the phenomenological understanding of anger and frustration by those who challenge Izzat is lacking within existing literature. Furthermore, as Mucina's (2015) study appears to be the only other research to explore SAW challenging Izzat, it could be stated that the present study has offered further subjective understanding of the phenomenon of challenging Izzat and what it is like for SAW to experience this.

Sophia disclosed the physical ramifications of her anger and frustration upon her body. Here she described her experiences of "*tension headaches*" as a result of her intense emotional experiences of anger and frustration. It could be argued that by referencing her physical complaints, Sophia was able to express her psychological difficulties and provide greater insight into her internal distress, specifically anger. Kirmayer (2001) reported that individuals tend to describe somatic symptoms as a means to express psychological distress and that this can occur across cultures. Mallinson and Popay (2007) also stated that somatic metaphors are used by individuals across cultures to express mental difficulties and that they often enrich the ability to describe one's psychological distress. This may have implications for clinical practice, as it may be beneficial to explore and enquire about physical and psychosomatic symptoms throughout therapy and within assessment sessions. This may provide insight into the possible psychological distress the client may be experiencing, as well as aid psychological discussions.

4.2.2 Theme Two: The Sense of Peril

Within this superordinate theme, the participants' discussions were interpreted as conveying a sense of danger and threat with regard to their experiences of challenging Izzat. The findings of this superordinate theme will now be discussed with the existing literature in mind.

Enveloped in Fear

The experience of fear appeared ever present within the lives of the participants. This fear seemed to be both consuming and overwhelming and focused on the negative consequences that may occur due to the women's challenges to Izzat. The way the findings of this theme reflect existing research may highlight the importance of this experience in the lives of SAW.

The fear of harming family members was expressed by the women in this study and this complements Gilbert et al.'s (2004) findings to some extent. Gilbert et al. (2004) identified the presence of fear within their participants' discussion of Izzat and their understanding that challenging Izzat may lead to negative shameful implications for their families. Although the object of fear for Gilbert et al.'s (2004) participants was the potential shame that may occur as a result of one's challenges to Izzat, it could be argued that this fear still expressed a concern for the negative impact one's actions may have on others, and therefore matches the results of this study.

The women in the present study also feared the negative repercussions in their own lives. Gunasinge (2015) reported that her participants expressed a fear of being criticised by others, or losing social status as a consequence of not adhering to Izzat, and this corresponds with the experiences of the participants in this study.

The participants' experience of fear also focused on the prospect of gossip, rejection and negative judgement. These experiences centred on the role of other individuals within the SAC, including family members. The participants seemed to be aware of the ability and power of the external world to harm their reputation and social status, as well as their emotional wellbeing. This sense of fear for one's reputation, and the capacity of the SAC community to tarnish this, is documented throughout Izzat-related research (Brandon & Hafez, 2008; Chew-Graham et al., 2002; Gilbert et al., 2004; Gill, 2008, Gunasinge, 2015).

The Sense to Protect

It has been suggested by the researcher of this study that the participants' discussions demonstrated a strong desire to protect. This need to protect focused on safeguarding their family members, as well as themselves, from the potential negative repercussions of challenging Izzat. Here the participants engaged in secretive behaviour to safeguard themselves and others from judgement and Maya also reverted back to adhering to Izzat in order to protect herself from both the internal and external judgement she suffered.

The use of secrets to engage in desired behaviour among SAW has been documented in recent literature. Both Soni (2012) and Mucina (2015) found that their participants had used secretive behaviour to ensure that their Izzat challenging actions were not known by their parents and SAC, which then prevented them from experiencing negative consequences for their actions. These findings mirror the results of this study in documenting this secretive behaviour and the positive impact it yielded within the women's lives.

The need to protect was also directed towards others, where the participants attempted to guard their families from any negative repercussions of their challenges to Izzat with the use of secrets. It could be suggested that the wish to protect others demonstrates that the participants continued to care for their families, regardless of the conflict and/ or distressing experiences they may have encountered as a result of challenging Izzat. It could be assumed that the participants had a desire to act upon their own wishes, but the potential consequence of harming others was an unwanted and undesired repercussion of their actions. Therefore, the urge to protect others was common among the participants. This finding matches that of Farver et al. (2002), who documented the need for SAC members to protect and safeguard their families, and that of Gilbert et al.'s (2004) study, which found that the protection of one's family name and Izzat was valued and deemed essential across participant discussions.

Interestingly, Maya (unlike any of the other participants) opted to embrace Izzat as a means to protect herself from her distressing experiences of challenging Izzat. Various research has advocated the benefits of adhering to Izzat, such as the gain in social status (Gill, 2008), a sense of moral supremacy over others and the ability for it to create social links throughout the SAC (Brandon & Hafez, 2008), and how this may prompt SAW to adhere to Izzat. It also refers to the protective benefits of Izzat, as adhering to Izzat helps avoid dishonour and shame (Bano, 2011; Gill, 2008; Gill, 2011), and this therefore supports the findings of this study.

Looking at the above, the subordinate theme 'the sense to protect' appears to be an important finding regarding the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat. Although other insightful studies have referred to the use of secretive behaviour and one's ability to adhere

to Izzat, they do so with the aim of describing the existence of these actions only. Unlike the existing literature, this study reflects on the phenomenological meaning of these experiences and what they may have meant to the participants themselves. Due to the absence of phenomenological research exploring challenging Izzat, this finding appears to provide a new and unique insight into understanding the phenomenon of SAW challenging cultural law. As the notion that SAW may wish to protect themselves and others when challenging Izzat appears to be absent in the existing literature, future IPA research could be used to gain more insight into this phenomenon.

Bullied and Attacked

The women in this study expressed the intense distress they felt when challenging Izzat. Here they appeared to discuss their experiences of being bullied, coerced and belittled by their family's judgments and verbal disapproval. This seems to reflect the existing notions of the research discussed below.

Much of the existing literature that focuses on Izzat has reported the occurrence of emotional distress (Chew-Graham et al., 2002; Gilbert et al., 2004; Gunasinge, 2015; Soni, 2012) as a consequence of defying Izzat and the perceived judgement and criticism that comes from others. Moreover, studies have also reflected on the presence of abuse when Izzat has been seen to be challenged, and family members have become aware of these actions (Brandon and Hafez, 2008). These abusive experiences have included intimidation and harassment (Gill, 2008; Siddiqui, 2005) and this reflects the experiences of the participants in this study. Please refer to section 4.2.3 Theme Three: The Lasting Legacy for further information.

Mucina's (2015) qualitative study provides an in-depth examination of the stories of SAW challenging Izzat. Mucina (2015) reported the participants' experience of emotional distress, in which they felt guilt, depression and anxiety, as a result of their families' condemning and rejecting behaviour. She also discussed the various types of distressing events that were experienced by her participants, which included emotional abuse and coercion. Mucina's (2015) study further supports the findings of this current study and the participants' experience of feeling bullied and attacked by their families.

Whilst discussing their experiences of challenging Izzat, the participants also expressed negative self-judgement, guilt and a sense of feeling inferior or worthless due to their families' verbal condemnation and explicit criticism. Gilbert (2009) summarised existing literature and identified abuse, maltreatment and high expressed emotion in families as leading to feelings of self-criticism in individuals, which mirrors the environmental circumstances of the participants. Gill (2011) asserts that SAW internalise Izzat, which causes them to find it difficult to reject the necessity of adhering to the values stipulated by it, leading many women to blame themselves for their physical and emotional abuse and maltreatment. This could be considered to provide a potential understanding of the participants' experiences of guilt and self-criticism throughout their experiences of challenging Izzat, particularly within the subordinate theme of 'bullied and attacked'.

Due to the lack of phenomenological information available on bullying within Izzat-related research, other contexts were investigated. Shaw (2014) explored workplace bullying with her IPA study and discovered that distress appeared ever present within her participants' experiences. This sense of psychological distress caused by the experiences of feeling bullied and attacked was also present within the findings of this study, but in the context of SAW challenging Izzat. This study, therefore, matches existing IPA research which suggests that distress may have a dominant role in one's phenomenological experience of feeling bullied.

4.2.3 Theme Three: The Lasting Legacy

Most of the participants described the consuming and lasting impact their experiences of challenging Izzat had on their lives. This section will discuss these experiences in reference to the existing literature.

Haunted to the Core

Within this theme, the participants' reflections seemed to convey a sense of deep trauma, where their experiences of challenging Izzat had a lasting harrowing impact upon them. The overwhelmingly distressing nature of their experiences seemed to have struck the

participants profoundly as they were unable to forget their experiences and the emotional distress they endured.

Much of the existing literature within the field of challenging Izzat refers to the abuse SAW may suffer due to their inability to adhere to Izzat (Gill, 2008; Payton, 2011; Siddiqui, 2005). According to Mucina (2015), physical abuse and threats made by one's family would be regarded as a form of violence. Physical violence and threats to one's life, or verbal conflict, as well as emotional blackmail and punishment were rife in all of the participants' discussions, excluding Amani. Sherry described her experiences as being "*violent*" and Priya reflected on herself as being "*punished*" and undergoing "*torture*" as a result of her challenges to Izzat. These experiences coincide with the narrative within existing research which states that SAW may encounter abusive situations when challenging Izzat. The way the findings of this study reflect existing research may highlight the importance of these experiences in the lives of SAW.

Psychologically traumatic experiences have been defined as being threatening, emotionally shocking and terrifying for the individual (Reyes, Elhai & Ford, 2008). These experiences may involve a threat of (or actual) death, or a breach of one's boundaries, where the individual will have been powerless to stop this experience (Reyes et al., 2008). Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983) concluded that literature concerning traumatic experiences and victimisation often identified common distressed emotional reactions from those who have endured traumatic experiences and this may include shock, depression, confusion, helplessness, fear and anxiety. This mirrored the emotional experiences of the participants of this study.

Unlike other research, Mucina's (2015) study specifically reported on the traumatic abusive experiences, and subsequent intense emotional distress, of SAW challenging Izzat and this relates to the findings of this current study. Mucina (2015) also reported that this emotional trauma seemed to 'linger' throughout her participants' lives and continued to impact them when sharing their experiences. This, once again, mirrors the findings of this study and the emotional reflections of the participants during the interview process. Dissimilar to Mucina's (2015) study, which used narrative inquiry methodology on a Canadian population, this current study has produced further phenomenological insight into understanding the

experiences of British SAW challenging Izzat and the lasting distress and trauma that may be experienced as a result.

Sherry's account of the threats made by her father in the presence of a knife indicates that she may have become a victim of an Honour killing (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007) had her father not accepted her explanation for carrying contraception. Jafri's (2009) account that HK are seen by some as the only dutiful act that can redeem a family's tarnished Izzat could be applied to this instance. Sherry's father appeared to regard his actions as the only way to restore lost Izzat had Sherry confirmed his belief that she had been sexually active. Sherry's wellbeing was second to that of her familial Izzat, which further reinforces the viewpoint that Izzat must always come first (Farver et al., 2002). This study therefore also demonstrates the extreme measures parents may use to protect their perceived Izzat and punish 'misdemeanours', as reported by existing literature (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007).

Further, the traumatic experiences reported by the participants of this study all centre on the distress, shock and anguish they encountered as a result of challenging Izzat and the reactions that had been expressed by their families, particularly their parents. It could be argued that the inconsistent behaviour of the parents may have contributed to the trauma experienced by the participants, as their families were attempting to care for and protect the participants from losing their Izzat and yet exposing them to extremely harrowing experiences of distress, pain and conflict. Sherry's experiences of being hugged by her father whilst he carried a knife, provides a visual representation of this inconsistent parenting approach.

Research has explored the impact of inconsistent parenting on trauma. Turner et al.'s (2012) quantitative study used a sample of 2,017 children to examine the link between 'family perpetrated victimisation' (including physical abuse and emotional 'maltreatment') and trauma symptoms which involved distressing experiences such as depression, anxiety and anger. Their study found that emotional abuse and inconsistent or hostile parenting appeared to have the 'most powerful' negative impact on a child and subsequently elicited trauma symptoms. Additionally, Goldsmith, Freyd and DePrince (2012) discussed the notion of 'betrayal trauma'. Betrayal trauma has been defined as trauma that is caused by individuals who were particularly close to the traumatised being (Goldsmith et al., 2012). Goldsmith et al.

(2012) stated that betrayal trauma is 'strongly' linked to poor mental and physical health, as well as distress, and that it has been seen to create a greater negative impact on wellbeing compared to other forms of trauma that are low on betrayal (e.g., trauma caused by natural disasters or road accidents). Although Turner et al.'s (2012) study focused on children, it could be argued that both Turner et al.'s (2012) and Goldsmith et al.'s (2012) findings provide further potential understanding of the trauma experienced by the participants of this current study. It is hypothesised by the researcher of this study that the participants' experiences were rife with betrayal trauma due to the inconsistent behaviour expressed by their parents, as a result of the participants' challenges to Izzat. These experiences have been understood by the participants as being extremely distressing and overwhelming for them to endure and this seems to continue to haunt them.

Current literature has also referred to the distressing impact HBA can have on SAW's self-esteem and mental health, potentially causing anxiety, depression, psychosis and self-harming and suicidal behaviour (Brandon & Hafez, 2008; Gehlot & Nathawat, 1983). The studies conducted by Soni Raleigh and Balarajan (1992) as well as Bhugra and Desai (2002), highlight the role of Izzat within SAW's experience of suicide and self-harm. Both studies concurred that the stipulations of Izzat and the mental and familial conflict which occurs as a result of one's inability to adhere to Izzat, may heavily influence self-harming acts. This appears to reflect the experiences of Priya in this study, as the emotional distress she endured as a result of the conflict she encountered for challenging Izzat appeared too distressing, and this resulted in her suicidal ideation. This finding, in addition to existing literature, highlights the major and lasting implications one's challenges to Izzat can have on the mental wellbeing and distress of SAW and the important impact this can have on suicidality. These findings would be relevant to mental health professionals who work with highly distressed and/ or suicidal SA clients and who seek to understand these experiences further.

What was also interesting to discover within the analysis of this study, was the matter of fact manner Sherry discussed her traumatic and life-threatening experiences. In addition to this, all of the participants stated that they had no experience of abuse when volunteering to take part in this study, and yet many discussed the experience of emotional distress (as a result of constant familial conflict and coercion) and expressed a sense of trauma due to their harrowing experiences of challenging Izzat (as discussed in this theme). As the literature

states that SAW are purposefully made aware of the consequences of challenging Izzat experienced by other women, which may include HBA (Khan, 2007), it could be argued that the participants regarded their distressing experiences as being a 'normal' response from their families as a result of their challenges to Izzat. This sense of 'normality' therefore could have prevented the participants from viewing or understanding their experiences as being abusive. This notion is further supported by Gill's (2011) finding that SAW may not recognise their experiences of abuse due to them being "an intrinsic part of their culture" (p. 221). This finding has implications for clinical practice, as James and Prilleltensky (2002) advocated the need for practitioners to be attuned to the cultural practices that may be harmful to certain individuals in a culture and SAW may require therapeutic support in recognising potential abusive experiences in their familial environments.

The Jewel in the Crown

Within this final subordinate theme, the participants expressed a sense of achievement and pride regarding their challenges to Izzat and the major positive implications their challenging actions will have on their foreseeable future. The women discussed the changes they had made in their own lives and those of their families, as well as their families' ability to adapt and transform in unison with them on certain occasions. These various changes, the sense of pride towards themselves and others, as well as the feeling of joy, was interpreted by the researcher of this study as being the 'jewel' in the participants experiences of challenging Izzat. This theme is considered an important finding of this study.

To the researcher's knowledge, no existing Izzat-related literature discusses the positive experiences of challenging Izzat. Instead, much of the literature discusses challenging Izzat as being filled with difficulty, distress and strife (Brandon & Hafez, 2008; Mucina, 2015; Payton, 2011; Siddiqui, 2005; Toor, 2009). In contrast to the previous research, the finding of this theme presents an alternative narrative and unique understanding of the experiences of challenging Izzat, as it suggests that long-term positive experiences and changes can come from one's challenges to SA cultural law, as well as the feeling of pride and personal achievement. This finding is also the 'jewel' within this research study, as it challenges the dominant message advocated within the SAC, which states that challenging Izzat leads only to hardship, shame and dishonour (Brandon & Hafez, 2008; Gill, 2008; Gill, 2011). Contrary to existing beliefs, this study demonstrates that challenging Izzat has led to positivity, pride and positive group change for its SA participants.

Furthermore, these findings contradict the notion that Izzat is inflexible and rigid (Jafri, 2009). The parents of the participants appeared to adapt to the needs of these women and demonstrate their own behavioural change. Although the parents were the main authority figures of Izzat, they also appeared to demonstrate moments that challenged the status quo of Izzat throughout their own behavioural changes and this is also considered to be an important finding. Interestingly, this suggests that although family members are usually seen to enforce Izzat, there are moments where they, too, support the challenge of Izzat and are part of the process of change. Previous research has not explored the involvement of family members in challenging Izzat, which suggests that this research has contributed new insight. Additionally, research by Jafri (2009) stated that Izzat is enforced at all times. The findings of this study suggest that this is too simplistic a view and that people may take on complex, dynamic roles in relation to enforcing and challenging Izzat. This finding provides alternative insights to that of the current literature, which describes SA parents as only teaching and enforcing Izzat (Hand, 1999). Future quantitative research could, therefore, investigate whether other parents of SAW who challenge Izzat have also adapted to their children's behaviour and challenge Izzat themselves. Research could adopt a questionnaire method to capture this information across a larger sample to explore whether this finding could be generalised to the wider population within the SAC.

This new insight regarding the positive experiences of challenging Izzat and the sense of achievement and pride it elicits for the participants may be due to this study's sole focus on understanding the experiences of challenging Izzat and the decision to not limit the recruitment criteria to those who have only experienced HBA, as did Mucina (2015). Perhaps this shift in focus from HBA allowed this study to access experiences that may have otherwise been overlooked. The findings indicate that the consequences of Izzat may range on a continuum from positive to negative, rather than just on a continuum of violence as proposed by Mucina (2015), which only encapsulates the severity of one's possible negative experiences and distress. The experiences of challenging Izzat appear not to be as black and white as existing literature has suggested by only referencing and discussing the distressing and negative experiences of breaking this SA cultural law.

The positive experiences of challenging Izzat is a very important finding of this study, as it not only provides a new insight into the phenomenon of challenging Izzat, but also suggests that the participants and their families gained benefits from a SA woman's defiance of Izzat.

The participants' challenges led to longer-term changes amongst their families, which could potentially impact the experiences of Izzat among subsequent generations. This finding may also impact subsequent literature, as it allows the possibility of a more balanced discussion to take place regarding challenging Izzat, as both the difficult and joyful experiences of challenging Izzat can be referenced within future Izzat-related research.

Additionally, as research has found that positive self-esteem (which can occur as a result of pride and a sense of achievement) has a positive impact on one's mental and physical health, and that low self-esteem is linked to mental health difficulties such as depression, anxiety and self-harm (Mann, Hosman, Schaalma & deVries, 2004), the experience of self-pride when challenging Izzat may have positive implications for the mental health and wellbeing of SAW. This once again provides an alternative viewpoint to the common consensus in the existing literature which states that challenging Izzat causes distress, negative wellbeing and unfavourable self-evaluation (Gehlot & Nathawat, 1983; Mucina, 2015; Soni, 2012).

4.2.4 Overarching Concepts across the Superordinate Themes

There appears to be three particular concepts that transcend the experiences of the participants' challenges to Izzat and these concepts cannot be confined to just one particular superordinate theme.

Whilst reflecting on the findings on this study, distress appeared to be an ever-present experience across the participants' descriptions of challenging Izzat and therefore across the superordinate themes identified in this study. Whether this distress took the form of anger, fear, frustration, trauma or the sense of feeling bullied and attacked, it was considered pivotal to the participants' experiences, as discussed in the previous sections of this discussion chapter.

In addition to the experience of distress throughout the challenges of Izzat, the participants also appeared to reflect on the positive experiences of challenging SA cultural law and the sense of achievement, pride and joy it evoked within them. Reflecting on the themes of this

study in its entirety, it seems apparent that the participants held multiple and at times contradictory positions with regard to their experiences of challenging Izzat.

The ability of individuals to hold more than one perspective (Eagly & Chaiken, 2005) and emotional position regarding an experience, which may also include contradictory reflections, has been documented in existing literature (Hasson, 2014). Emotional ambivalence has been described as the experience of strong contradictory emotions that occur simultaneously in an individual and this may take place in 'emotionally complex situations' (Rees, Rothman, Lehavvy, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013). Emotional ambivalence involves the dual experience of both positive and distressing emotions (Fong, 2006) when reflecting on significant life events and experiences (Rees, Rothman, Lehavvy, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013) such as graduating from university (Larsen, McGraw & Cacioppo, 2001). In addition to significant life events, watching an emotionally charged and complex tragicomedy film about World War II (Larsen et al., 2001) or incurring gambling losses and disappointing wins (Larsen, McGraw, Mellers, & Cacioppo, 2004) have also been found to ignite emotional ambivalence. This emotional ambivalence may lead individuals to process their experiences in multifaceted ways and enable them to hold multiple meanings or understandings of an experience (Fong, 2006).

Within this study, emotional ambivalence appears to reflect the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat, as the women simultaneously held positive positions as well as multiple distressing positions when reflecting on their overall experiences. In addition, it seems appropriate to define challenging Izzat as an emotionally complex experience as it required the participants to navigate their own desires, whilst managing the emotional consequences of their actions on both themselves and others.

Although existing Izzat-related literature has documented the multiple distressing emotions and positions (including guilt, shame, depression and sense of trauma) women may experience as a result of not adhering to Izzat (Mucina, 2015; Soni, 2012), it appears to have omitted the complexity of women simultaneously holding contradictory positive and distressing positions when reflecting on their experience of Izzat and/or challenging Izzat.

The findings of this study, which suggest that the participants attributed contradictory reflections and meanings to their experience of challenging Izzat, may have been discovered as this project set out to explore the actual experience of challenging Izzat for the participants, rather than just the experience of Izzat and HBA. As mentioned previously, this may have then allowed for the discovery of the participants' positive emotions and reflections with regard to their challenges to SA cultural law. As a result of this alternative insight, the participants' simultaneous positive and distressing experiences (and meaning making) of challenging Izzat were able to be reflected and captured within the superordinate and subordinate themes. Therefore, this phenomenological focus on the act of challenging Izzat itself may have allowed for a more detailed understanding of the multifaceted and complex nature of this phenomenon and the contradictory tensions these experiences may also contain. As the experience of holding different and contradictory positions with regard to one's experiences of challenging cultural law appears to be absent within existing Izzat-related literature, further novel and unique insights regarding the nature of challenging Izzat can be obtained from this study.

Finally, what also seemed to transcend the superordinate themes of this study, was the notion of culture within the participants' experiences which seemed to link with the theories of acculturation and culture clash. Berry et al.'s (1989) theory of acculturation highlights the use of Assimilation, Marginalisation, Separation or Integration when responding to two cultures. It could be argued that the SAW in this study attempted to integrate their SA culture with wider British society, in contrast to their parents' wish to remain culturally separate, in order to resolve their position of being stuck between two cultures (Dwyer, 1999) and two opposing worlds (Weiner-Levy, 2013).

Farver et al. (2002) found that a parent's decision to remain separate from the dominant culture's values and norms was not only linked to family conflict but could also cause psychological problems, and this could explain the experiences of the participants in this study. This 'acculturation gap' (Farver et al., 2002) between the participants and their families appeared to have caused a 'culture clash' (Marshall & Yazdani, 1999). Here it could be argued that the participants in this study strived to break away from adhering to just the SA expectations of acceptable conduct and engaged in Izzat challenging activities that were seen as typical in wider British society in order to connect with British culture (Toor, 2009). However, this 'hybrid' identity (Weiner-Levy, 2013) conflicted with their parents' wish to

remain culturally separate and so culture clash may have occurred as a result (Peach, 2006). Culture clash appeared to play an important role in the emotional experiences of the participants, as the presence of negative emotions and experiences arose from their 'failure' to meet the expectations of their SA culture, which was advocated and insisted upon by their families. Culture clash may also be relevant with regard to Priya's suicidal ideation, as much of the existing literature identifies culture clash as a source of self-harming and suicidal behaviour (Ahmed et al., 2007; Marshall & Yazdani, 1999). Soni Raleigh and Balarajan (1992) identified culture clash, mental conflict and the presence of inflexible behavioural expectations to be linked to suicide, whilst Bhugra and Desai (2002) regarded familial conflict to also play an important role, all of which were present in Priya's experiences.

The endurance of constant distress and multiple conflicts as a result of culture clash conveys the strength and resilience of the participants' determination to adapt to their circumstances and to marry their British and SA values. It has been hypothesised by the researcher of this study that the participants challenged the elements of Izzat that did not match their needs and personal values. Once again, the participants appeared to not want to separate from their SA cultural values, but instead integrate these values with their own behaviour and ideals that had been influenced by British culture (Berry, 1997). The participants appeared to acknowledge the continuous role Izzat would play in their lives. However, their challenges to Izzat demonstrated their attempt to experience their lives in the 'best way' that they could, and which felt most fitting to their personal needs. Due to this understanding, therapy could, therefore, focus on empowering SAW by demonstrating their challenges to Izzat as displaying individual growth, resilience and personal strength under difficult culture based circumstances in order to increase their self-confidence, self-esteem and help develop a sense of personal control (Young & Ensing, 1999).

4.2.5 Discussion Summary

Concluding the above, as Izzat and challenging Izzat have been relatively under-researched from the phenomenological perspective, this research study has been able to provide a much needed subjective phenomenological understanding of the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat by utilising IPA methodology.

Additionally, the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat resulted in both distressing experiences that caused them much hardship and pain, as well as positive experiences of pride, joy and a sense of increased control and achievement, as a result of lasting favourable change within their lives and those of their families. What appears most prominent from this study is that the experience of challenging Izzat is a complex process, whereby the participants attempted to seek control and change by making conscious choices to navigate their lives to the best of their abilities, whilst juggling two cultures. The participants' experiences of challenging Izzat suggest a sense of active ownership, control and dominance over their lives, therefore providing an alternative representation of the passive and submissive SA woman frequently discussed within existing Izzat related literature.

4.3 Evaluation of the Research

This study aimed to provide an in-depth phenomenological exploration and understanding of six SAW's experiences of challenging Izzat. By adopting the methodology of IPA and utilising one-to-one interviews with the participants, this study developed an understanding of how the participants understood and created meaning of their experiences of challenging Izzat. Through the combination of the participants' descriptions and the researcher's interpretations, this study's findings have supported existing literature and contributed new insights regarding the phenomenon under investigation.

Chew-Graham et al. (2002) highlighted the need to explore "previously unrecognised requirements" (p. 340) and, to the researcher's knowledge, this is the first study to explore the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat in Britain. The present findings have provided a number of unique insights into the experiences of challenging Izzat, including the sense to protect oneself and others from the difficulties of challenging Izzat, a sense of defiance towards Izzat and the reclaiming of control, as well as the positive experiences of challenging Izzat, which included pride, joy and a sense of achievement for those involved. Dickson (2014) also advocated the need for ethnic minority women to be heard and this study has dedicated a platform to the experiences of six SAW to be explored in depth and understood.

In the methodology chapter, the quality and validity of this study was discussed and defined in accordance with Yardley's (2000) four broad principles.

4.3.1 Limitations of the Research

Although a sample size of six SAW was felt to be sufficient to conduct IPA and to acquire an in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences (Smith et al., 2009), the findings generated from the small sample size utilised by this study cannot be generalised to all SAW challenging Izzat. As a purposeful sample was recruited, where participants identified themselves as challenging Izzat and volunteered to take part in this study, the findings may not be characteristic of all SAW who challenge Izzat. Those who volunteered may have reported less psychological distress than those who may have been recruited from clinical services, or may have generated alternative insights following therapy. This study is also a reflection of the amalgam of both the participants' descriptions and researcher's interpretations (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Therefore, the findings demonstrate one possible interpretation of the participants' accounts.

Qualitative research cannot be conducted with neutrality and so the researcher will have influenced the findings with certain beliefs and assumptions (Eatough, 2012). However, the researcher's assumptions are considered necessary, due to interpretations being an important part of IPA (Willig, 2008) and this study has contained reflexive sections in order to make these assumptions explicit and transparent to the reader.

In addition, Sophia and Priya were the only two participants who were born in South Asia, Sophia arriving in Britain at the age of three and Priya at the age of eight. Although the recruitment criteria focused on SAW who lived in Britain (which all the participants did), it is unclear as to whether the differences in birth place and early cultural socialisation may have created different results to a sample of participants who were all born and raised in Britain.

Another potential limitation of this study concerns the age of the participants. All of the participants who took part in this study were aged between 25 and 30. Although the similarity in ages helped ensure the sample was homogeneous (Smith et al., 2009), this study can be seen to offer insights into the experiences of SAW from a particular age perspective, as women from different ages may have different life experiences. This focused sample

occurred as an unintentional outcome of the recruitment process as recruitment occurred on a voluntary basis.

There is limited research about the male experience of Izzat and challenging Izzat, therefore this study missed an opportunity to provide information about an unrepresented sample, which may have led to different outcomes and insights being uncovered, as men are seen as the enforcers of Izzat. At the same time, it is important to highlight that by having all female participants, this study met the requirements for recruiting a homogeneous sample (Smith et al., 2009).

4.4 Future Research

Although further understanding of the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat has been gained from this study, it is hoped that additional research will be conducted on this under-researched phenomenon. Future IPA research could explore the phenomenological 'felt sense' of distress when challenging Izzat, which appears to be lacking within the existing research. IPA studies could focus specifically on the sense of feeling bound, bullied and attacked, or the experience of lasting trauma.

Further insight could also be obtained by replicating this study with other samples. As Welchman and Hossain (2005) have identified, men experience Izzat-related pressures as well. Therefore, it may be of interest to use IPA methodology to explore the experiences of Izzat and challenging Izzat among the SA male population.

In addition, this study appears to be the only research that identifies the positive experiences of challenging Izzat, including pride, a sense of achievement and positive lasting change, amongst the ample research that discusses the negative consequences of engaging in such activities. This could be considered an important area for future research and qualitative studies that adopt a narrative approach to analysis could seek to obtain these positive 'progressive' stories of SAW challenging Izzat and examine how they 'organise' and make meaning of their positive experiences (Willig, 2008). Quantitative methods could also be used to investigate whether the positive emotional experiences (pride and a sense of

achievement) of challenging Izzat could be generalised across the wider population of the SAC. This might add a more balanced perspective to the existing Izzat-related literature, which only documents the hardship and distress of challenging Izzat. This research may also serve those who seek to empower SAW to challenge the notions of Izzat and create change.

The parents' role in the experiences of the participants' challenges to Izzat appears to be important. Their behaviour ranged from condemning and punishing their children's actions to adopting their own changes and/or adapting to the behaviour of their children. This therefore may be an interesting topic for future IPA research, where the experiences of the parents of SAW who have challenged Izzat could be explored. Research could also adopt a grounded theory approach in order to develop a theoretical model which documents how SA parents' behaviour alters from, enforcing Izzat, to adapting to their children's challenges (Willig, 2008). Furthermore, as the participants of this study expressed anger, defiance, a sense of being bullied and attacked, as well as pride towards their families whilst challenging Izzat, future IPA studies may wish to explore the experience of the interpersonal familial relationship for those who are challenging SA cultural law.

4.5 Implications for Clinical Practice

In addition to the implications suggested throughout the discussion of some of the themes, further implications of the findings for clinical practice will be discussed in this section.

As literature has advocated the need to explore and increase the understanding of the cultural backgrounds of mental health service users (James & Prilleltensky, 2002) in order to develop a 'transcultural' approach to therapy (Johnson & Nadirshaw, 1993), this study has provided further insights into the phenomenon of SAW challenging Izzat. This study offers subjective information for professionals about the nature of Izzat and the role the family play in the challenge of it, as advocated by Dickson (2014).

The literature has found that SAW feel misunderstood by mental health services and that the complexity of their experiences has been largely underestimated (Chew-Graham et al., 2002; Gilbert et al., 2004). This study could therefore be used to inform mental health practitioners

of the nature of a SA woman's experiences of challenging Izzat and the intricacies of this phenomenon.

McKenzie (2008) reported that UK mental health provisions were geared to the majority culture and Herman et al. (2007) identified the role counselling psychologists might adopt to help alter culturally insensitive services. As cultural sensitivity training has been found to have a long-term beneficial impact on the knowledge and attitude of health care providers (Majumdar et al., 2004) and cross-cultural training is essential for practitioners to provide psychological services to ethnic minorities (Bhui, Christie, & Bhugra, 1995), it would be of great use to offer practitioners training to increase their awareness of Izzat and challenging Izzat to ensure service provisions are culturally sensitive. The researcher of this study advocates this cross-cultural awareness to be a necessary part of academic learning within training programmes such as the professional doctorate in counselling psychology (DPsych). This is to ensure all practitioners are adequately informed to provide interventions to individuals from various cultures within a multicultural British society.

By documenting the findings of this study, it is hoped that practitioners will be able to acquire an increased understanding of the phenomenon of challenging Izzat and translate the insight gained into therapeutic practice and policy, possibly limiting the likelihood of SAW encountering inappropriate (Fatimilehin & Dye, 2003) and substandard interventions (Williams et al., 2006). Practitioners could create specific services or adapt mainstream services to the needs of SAW experiencing Izzat and challenging it. There are many ways in which this could occur. For example, the knowledge gained from this study could help mental health professionals manage discussions regarding cultural practices that may be brought into therapy by SAW. This study has demonstrated the importance and impact of both the British and SA culture upon these women's experiences and so practitioners may need to instigate cultural discussions with service users who do not initiate these conversations themselves.

The participants' experiences across the superordinate and subordinate themes highlighted many areas of relevance for a mental health professional, for example SAW may experience physical and emotional abuse, suicidal thoughts, psychological distress, as well as familial and emotional conflicts. Practitioners could be mindful to enquire about and assess for the

presence of these experiences at the assessment stage of intervention to ensure service users are provided with the most appropriate treatment.

It was argued that the participants expressed a sense of intense distress, shock and trauma as a result of their challenges to Izzat and that this continued to haunt them throughout their lives. Within therapy, it would be valuable to enquire about any difficult and distressing experiences a client may be experiencing in connection with particular traumatic events. SAW who may display signs of being victimised due to traumatic experiences, such as shock, confusion, fear and anxiety (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983) may benefit from trauma-related work within therapy. This may include cognitive-behavioural treatment approaches such as prolonged exposure therapy (PE), cognitive processing therapy (CPT) and acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT) (Follette & Ruzek, 2006). (Please see Follette and Ruzek, 2006, for further information regarding these therapeutic interventions).

Due to the experiences of guilt, self-criticism and internalised judgement as a result of the participants' challenges to Izzat, compassion-based therapy may also serve as a useful psychological intervention (Westbrook, Kennerley, & Kirk, 2011). Demonstrating compassion for oneself and reducing self-criticism has been linked to improved life satisfaction (Neff, 2003) and positive psychological wellbeing (Gilbert, 2010). Neff (2003) identified self-compassion as being particularly useful in situations where individuals criticise themselves for failing to meet 'perfect' standards. This therapy may be helpful for women who challenge Izzat, as the participants experienced distress as a result of their inability to meet the demanding standards of Izzat and the condemning conflict that arose from it. As compassion-focused therapy seeks to promote care for wellbeing, distress tolerance, empathy and non-judgement (Gilbert, 2009) in order to replace one's self-criticising tendencies with compassion, this would be helpful in supporting SAW to manage, regulate and tolerate their experiences of distress.

As the experiences of pride, joy and a sense of achievement were also present across the participants' experiences of challenging Izzat, therapy could centre on working with a client's personal strengths and abilities, as advocated by positive psychology (Biswas-Diener, 2010; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). The ability of individuals to challenge Izzat and

demonstrate resilience throughout their experiences, as well as achieving the positive change they aimed to create, could be an important area to focus on within therapy. Using one's positive experiences as examples of an individual's personal strengths could increase wellbeing and lower distress (Biswas-Diener, 2010).

Understanding the dominant role of a service user's social network and structure may also be of use when practitioners are implementing interventions and creating care plans. Although the family can be vital in supporting the emotional needs of SAW (Gunasinge, 2015), they can also be a source of conflict and distress, as demonstrated by this study. Therefore, it may be of interest for clinicians to gauge and adequately document the supportive/conflicting nature of the family (McKenzie, 2008) and whether familial conflict may hinder the therapeutic outcome and care plan strategy. Acquiring information about the nature of a SA service user's family circumstances and acculturation viewpoints may also provide valuable insights into the potential sources of distress for SAW, as culture clash appeared to govern many of the participants' experiences.

As there is limited research available on the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat, the researcher is mindful about how little is known about this phenomenon, and the impact this may have on practitioners' ability to support SAW appropriately. Therefore, services are advised to conduct audits to assess the needs of SA service users and to identify the gaps between their needs and service provisions (Bhui et al., 1995). This could increase the services' ability to provide the necessary support for service users and could help minimise the likelihood that SAW may encounter a negative experience whilst utilising services (d'Ardenne, 2013).

The findings of this study could also be used by non-mental health workers, such as those who provide services tailored to SAW specifically, to gain further understanding about the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat.

4.6 Conclusion

This study sought to answer the research question *How do South Asian women experience challenging honour (Izzat)?* and utilised an IPA methodology in order to acquire an in-depth understanding of the participants' lived experience.

The participants' experiences of challenging Izzat were captured in three superordinate themes: The Resistance, The Sense of Peril and The Lasting Legacy. These themes appeared to demonstrate the participants' experience of challenging Izzat as being complex, whereby the participants' encountered distressing and positive experiences for their actions, and sought, as well as acquired, change and control within their hybrid British SA life worlds.

The findings of this study support existing literature and have provided a number of unique insights into the experiences of challenging Izzat, including the sense to protect, the experience of pride, a sense of achievement and a reclaimed sense of control and authority. A greater phenomenological understanding of the subjective experience of challenging Izzat has also been acquired.

The implications for clinical practice were also discussed in this study, as well as recommendations for future research, and it is hoped that this study has provided a valuable insight into the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat.

4.7 Reflexivity

Reflecting on the findings of this study, I was struck by the way familiar behaviours seen in my SA peers (such as keeping secrets and the expression of distress) appeared to take a new position in my mind. Although I was aware of these behaviours within my community, I was unable to appreciate the subjectivity of these experiences and what they meant to the women themselves. Now, however, I observe these experiences with a different lens and I no longer focus on just the behavioural outcome of those who challenge Izzat. Instead, I feel this research project has opened my eyes and redirected my focus to the subjective,

phenomenological and emotional intricacies of challenging Izzat and the SAW who experience them.

Additionally, gaining insight into the positive experiences of challenging Izzat and being able to demonstrate the participants' experiences as conveying a sense of efficacy and control, provided me with delight. As discussed in the previous reflexivity section, I had only heard about the negative consequences of challenging Izzat when I was growing up. The academic literature has also tended to emphasise the negative experiences of women and represented them as submissive and subservient. Therefore, discovering that these women's struggles with regard to challenging Izzat have had some positive outcomes and that these women have had an active impact on their own lives and that of others, provides a fuller picture of the experiences of SAW challenging Izzat and this fills me with great joy.

Whilst writing my discussion chapter I found it difficult to conceptualise my research findings with existing studies, due to the limited literature available on the phenomenon of challenging Izzat. I believe there is so much yet to explore regarding this phenomenon and I hope that those who read this study may be inspired to contribute further understanding to this important field.

I feel that I have gained much insight into the phenomenon of challenging Izzat and conducting this study has altered my perceptions of my own personal experiences, as this research has forced me to question how I understand Izzat and the challenges to it. I have felt empowered by listening to the experiences of these women and I am pleased that, regardless of my initial reservations, I chose to explore the phenomenon of challenging Izzat. I am also very thankful towards the women who participated in this study and I perceive it to be a great honour and privilege that they allowed me into their (often secret) world.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Recruitment Poster

What are the experiences of challenging honour (Izzat) among South Asian Women?

This project is concerned with the experiences of South Asian women who have lived with the experience of challenging honour (Izzat). It will focus, in particular, on women's experiences of honour (Izzat) and will then explore their experiences of challenging this perceived honour.

Would you like the opportunity to Tell Your Story and Voice Your Experience?

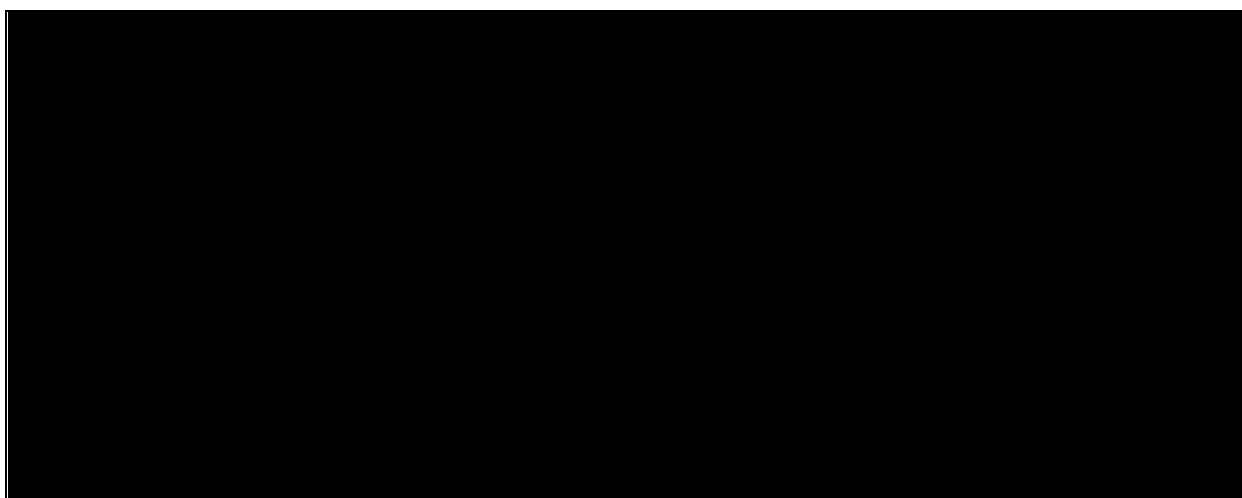
Participation involves a 3 minute questionnaire and an approximate 1 hour interview at the time of your convenience. All information will be kept Anonymous.

You will receive £20 for your time and participation.

This project has been approved by City University London.

If you are a South Asian Woman with fluent English speaking abilities and feel you have lived experiences of challenging honour (in any way) then:

Please contact me on [REDACTED] if you are interested in taking part or would like further information.



Appendix 2: Demographics Table

Participant Number	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Country of Birth	Number of Years Living in the UK	Religion
1	Sophia	Female	26	Kashmir (Pakistan)	23	Muslim
2	Maya	Female	26	UK	26	Sikh
3	Amani	Female	30	UK	30	Muslim
4	Priya	Female	25	India	17	Hindu
5	Sherry	Female	28	UK	28	Muslim
6	Zara	Female	27	UK	27	Muslim

Appendix 3: First Response Email

Thank you for expressing interest in participating in this project.

This project is concerned with the experiences of South Asian women who have lived with the experience of challenging honour (Izzat). It will focus, in particular, on women's experiences of honour (Izzat) and will then explore their experiences of challenging this perceived honour.

This project has been approved by City University London and involves a 3 minute questionnaire and an approximate 1 hour interview. All information will be kept entirely anonymous and you will receive £20 for your time and participation.

The participation criteria for this project:

- You are a South Asian Woman (Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi).
- You have fluent English speaking abilities.
- You feel you have experienced honour (Izzat) within your life.
- You feel you have challenged honour within your life (in any way).
- You are willing to talk about your experiences.

I have attached an information sheet to this email that may answer some of your questions. I am happy to meet in person or speak to you via a different method, to answer any further questions or concerns. This will not be the interview. A demographic questionnaire has also been attached to this email for you to view.

Should you be happy to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete the demographic questionnaire and an interview date will then be arranged at your convenience.

Thank you

Appendix 4: Information Document

Information Sheet

An exploration of the experiences of challenging honour (Izzat) among South Asian Women.

Who is conducting the study?

This research project is being conducted by Ramanjit Chhina at City University London. This project is being supervised by Dr Aylish O'Driscoll and has been approved by the Departmental Ethics Committee.

What is the study about?

This project is concerned with the experiences of South Asian women who have lived with the experience of challenging honour (Izzat). It will focus, in particular, on women's experiences of honour (Izzat) and will then explore their experiences of challenging this perceived honour.

What will I have to do?

You will be asked to provide demographic data about your age, gender, country of birth and the amount of years lived in the U.K; to complete a short questionnaire which will take around 3 minutes. You will also be asked to take part in an audio recorded interview at a time of your convenience at City University London, or another appropriate location. The interview should take around 1 hour to complete

Why should I take part?

Participation is entirely voluntary. This is an opportunity to tell your story, to voice your perceptions and to have your say. Everything will be entirely anonymous and you will not be identifiable from this project. You will be given £20 for your participation. Biscuits, chocolate and beverages will also be provided. (Please notify me of any special dietary requirements).

What are the possible risks?

You may or may not find it distressing to discuss your past experiences, however at the end of the interview; you will be given a list of services that can provide help. The interview will be a non judgemental environment, where the purpose is to hear about your experiences of honour (Izzat) and challenging honour.

I understand that you may feel uncomfortable disclosing family issues, or that you may worry that there would be serious consequences from those involved in your experiences, if they were aware of your participation. This study will keep everything you say anonymous so you

How would confidentiality be broken?

What if I change my mind?

Will people know it is me?

What will happen once the interview is done?

What will happen with the results?

Who can I contact if I have questions?

_____ or _____

If you have any issues, concerns or queries relating to this study, you can contact the Secretary of the university research ethics committee:

Anna Ramberg, Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee, Research Office, E214, City University London, Northampton Square, London, EC1V 0HB. Email: Anna.Ramberg.1@city.ac.uk

Appendix 5: Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire

Create your own participant name		Age	
Date of Birth		Gender	
Country of Birth		Years Living in the U.K	
Is your English speaking ability fluent? (Yes/No)		Do you identify yourself as South Asian? (Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi)	
How did you hear about this study?		Are you currently in an abusive environment?	
Preferences of contact?	<p>Methods of contact I am happy with e.g. Telephone, Voicemail, Email:</p> <p>Times I DO NOT want to be contacted</p> <p>(Please state specific times):</p> <p>Any other important information to consider :</p>		

Appendix 6: Consent Form

An exploration of the experiences of challenging honour (Izzat) among South Asian Women.

This project is concerned with the experiences of South Asian women who have lived with the experience of challenging honour (Izzat). It will focus, in particular, on women's experiences of honour (Izzat) and will then explore their experiences of challenging this perceived honour.

You will be asked to complete a short demographic questionnaire. You will also be asked to take part in an audio recorded interview at a time of your convenience. The interview should take around 1 hour to complete.

It is important to note that:

- Participation is entirely voluntary and that you have the right to withdraw without explanation, up until data collection for this study is completed.
- All answers will be treated with full anonymity. No individuals will be identifiable from the interview transcripts, or any publications arising from it.
- You will be asked how you would like to be contacted (safe methods and times) to ensure your privacy and to keep your participation confidential.
- Following the interview, you will be provided with a list of contact details of services which can provide you further support, should you need this and/or find talking about your experiences distressing.
- If there are any questions you do not wish to answer, you do not have to do so.
- All information will be kept confidential. If you or someone else was felt to be at risk of serious harm, services may need to be contacted. If this was deemed necessary, the researcher would do her best to discuss this with you prior to taking any action.
- If you require contact with the researcher of this study, please send an email to [REDACTED] or [REDACTED]

This project is being conducted by Ramanjit Chhina at City University London, is being supervised by Dr Aylish O'Driscoll, and has been approved by the university ethics committee.

Please detach and keep for your information

Consent Form

Please sign to indicate you have read, understood and agree to the following information:

I agree to participate in this research and have read the information given on the consent sheet provided by Ramanjit Chhina. I give my permission for the audio recording of the interview and the publication of the information that may arise including anonymous quotations. I understand that I will not be identifiable from the research and my anonymity will be kept. I know I am free to withdraw from the study up until data collection for this study is completed. I am aware that I can contact the researcher, research supervisor or the secretary of the research ethics committee should I have any questions or any particular concerns that need addressing.

This consent form will be stored separately from any data you provide to ensure your responses remain anonymous.

_____ Date _____

(Researcher) _____ Date _____

Appendix 7: Interview Duration Table

Participant	Duration of Interview
Sophia	48 mins 15 secs
Maya	63 mins 4 secs
Amani	67 mins 11 secs
Priya	61 mins 8 secs
Sherry	85 mins 0 secs
Zara	60 mins 43 secs

Appendix 8: Debriefing Sheet

An exploration of the experiences of challenging honour (Izzat) among South Asian Women.

Thank you for participating in this study. Please remember that your anonymity will be kept throughout the entire project and any publications.

Once again this project is concerned with the experiences of South Asian Women who have lived with the experience of challenging honour (Izzat). It explores women's experiences of honour (Izzat) within their lives and the experiences of challenging this perceived honour.

Your wellbeing is of utmost importance and so if you have found talking about anything within the interview to be distressing, or you would just like to access services that provide support, please feel free to contact the following services:

- **Ashiana Network:** www.ashiana.org.uk, 0208 539 0427, info@ashiana.org.uk
:Counselling, safe housing, advice and support- **catered to South Asian Women**
- **Newham Asian Women's Project:** www.nawp.org, 0208 472 0528, info@nawp.org
:Counselling, legal advice and advocacy- **catered to South Asian Women**
- **Southall Black Sisters:** www.southallblacksisters.org.uk, 0208 571 0800
:Advice, support, welfare rights, homelessness and advocacy-- **catered to South Asian Women**
- **Eaves Women's Aid:** www.eaves4women.co.uk , 0207 735 2062
: Housing advice and general support
- **Rights of Women:** www.rightsofwomen.org.uk , 0207 251 6577
: Free legal advice
- **Women's Aid:** www.womensaid.org.uk,

Free phone 24 hour National Domestic Violence helpline: 0808 2000 247

- **Samaritans:** www.samaritans.org ,08457 909090, jo@samaritans.org
General support

Finding a therapist:

- **British Psychology Society (BPS):** <http://www.bps.org.uk/bpslegacy/dcp>
- **British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy (BACP):**
<http://www.itsgoodtotalk.org.uk/therapists/>

Please feel free to email any queries to [REDACTED] or
[REDACTED]

Thank you again for taking part in this project

Appendix 9: Interview Schedule

- Topic for discussion: **Honour/ Izzat:**

1. Reflecting on your experiences, how would you describe honour?

(Possible prompts: What is its purpose? Where can it be found?)

2. Where/ from who have you developed this concept of honour?

(Possible prompts: Yourself, Immediate family, Extended family, South Asian society, non South Asian society? Other?)

3. What is your experience of honour?

(Possible prompts: What role (if any) has honour played in your life? Who else was involved?)

4. Has honour impacted your behaviour and the decisions you have made throughout life? If so could you describe how?

(Possible prompts: Personal life, Work, Romantic relationships, What was said, Attire, In what ways? Other? Positive? Negative?)

- Topic for discussion: **Challenging Honour:**

5. In what ways have you done something that would be seen as Challenging honour?

(Possible prompts: How long ago was this, Were you aware this would challenge honour, What thoughts and feelings did you encounter? were there occasions where you chose not to challenge honour?- what and why?)

6. What were your experiences/ consequences of challenging honour?

(Possible prompts: What label do you give your experiences (abuse? Physical? Emotional? Sexual?) What did it involve (threats? hitting? Shouting? Kept indoors?) Who was involved?

7. What were your thoughts and feelings at the time of these experiences?

(Possible prompts: Have your thoughts and feelings changed over time- if so how?, Was anyone else aware of your thoughts and feelings, if so who?)

8. Taking your experiences into account, how do you see yourself? and how do you see others/world?

(Possible prompts: Past, Future, Negative, Positive)

9. Are there any other comments you would like to make about your experiences? If so please do.

Appendix 10: Further Interview Prompts

- Who was involved in your experience of.....?
- Can you tell me about...?
- Do you remember an occasion when.....?
- What were you feeling when.... occurred?
- What were your feelings after... occurred?
- Are there more occasions when that occurred? What happened?
- How did you cope after..... Occurred?
- Did you notice any physical reactions, if so what were they?
- How did you experience that particular event?
- Has your perception of that event changed over time? If so how?
- What part has Izzat played in that moment?
- How was challenging Izzat linked to that event?
- You mentioned you felt.... did you feel that often?
- You find that.....(repeat what was said)?
- You feel that.... (repeat what was said)?
- Would you rather..... or.....?
- Is it correct that....?
- Can you describe what happened?
- Do you have more examples of this?
- Could you give me more detail about...?
- Could you say something more about that?
- What happened?
- Could you elaborate on that further?
- Could you tell me more about that?
- Could you give me an example of when that happened?

Appendix 11: Transcription Key

Actions Within The Interview	Represented By
Pauses within speech, laughter, coughing and other non verbal reactions	Indicated in parentheses: [Pause], [Laughs], [Coughs], or [knocks mic]
Brief hesitations or uncompleted words	Demonstrated with a dash: ‘-’.
The researcher’s comments within the interview	Displayed in bold italics and within brackets: (<i>Ah hmm</i>).

Appendix 12: Transcriber Confidentiality Document

Confidentiality Agreement

I, _____ agree to maintain full confidentiality in regards to all research information (audio files and documents written or electronic) provided to me by Ramanjit Chhina, for her research project on challenging Honour. I understand that the interviewees have agreed to participate on the condition that all data will be kept entirely confidential and that I have responsibility to uphold and respect this confidentiality agreement. I am aware that I am legally responsible for any harm (physical and emotional) that may occur to the participants, should I breach the confidentiality agreement and disclose any identifiable information.

I agree to:

1. Keep all research information confidential and to not share any information about the participant(s) and or audio recordings, with anyone except Ramanjit Chhina.
2. Keep all research information secure while in my possession and not to transport any research data outside of a secure location, unless giving it to Ramanjit Chhina.
3. Not make any copies of the research information, unless requested to do so by Ramanjit Chhina
4. Save the research information on the devices (encrypted USB) provided to me by Ramanjit Chhina.
5. Not to send/ save any research information via email.
6. Not make any hard copies of the research information.
7. Return all research information to Ramanjit Chhina, once the transcription task is complete in a timely manner.
8. Erase or destroy all research information that is not returnable to Ramanjit Chhina (after checking with her first).

Any violation of this and the terms detailed above would constitute a serious breach of ethical standards and I confirm that I will adhere to the agreement in full.

Sign_____

Sign_____

Print Name_____

Print Name_____

Date_____

Date_____

Transcripts have been removed for confidentiality purposes.

**These can be consulted by Psychology researchers on application
at the Library of City, University of London**

Appendix 16: A Summary Table of Supporting Quote Locations

Participant	Quote Page Number(s).Line Number(s)
Superordinate theme 1: The Resistance.	
Subordinate Theme 1: Bound by Izzat.	
Sophia	15.571-573,5.160-161, 6.198-199, 6.218-223, 2.69-72, 14.532-533,3.76-81, 3.83-84, 3.93, 3.103-106, 4.121, 6.192-193, 14.535, 14-15.541-544, 15.567-568,17.660-661,18.683-684,20.747-751,4.117-118, 14.535-536,18.679, 1.34-35,
Maya	1.2, 1.4-6, 1.13-14, , 2.40-41, 2.45-47, 2.66-70, 2.72-74, , 3.96-97, 4.119-122, 4.128, 4.129-131, 4.142-143, 14.522-523, 17.648-649,1.34-35, 1-2.35-36, 2.49-51, 3.78-81, 3.106-110, 4.122-123, 11.406-407,13.496-503, 14.534-537,16.600,
Amani	10.348-353, 10.384-385, 11.412-415, 11.421-423, 6.208-213, 12-13.464-465, 7.234-235, 7.258-259, 7.268-269, 8.294-297, 3.89, 19.721-724, 15.570-571, 1.12-13, 1.21-26, 2.57-59, 4.117-124, 9.335-336, 9.338-339, 16.591-592,12.441-443, 2.51-54, 2.65-70, 4.146-149, 5.160-163, 6.193-194, 6.196-198, 6-7.228-232,
Priya	2.36-44, 9.330-337, 11.388-389, 4.116,7.231, 14-15.539-544, 14.527-536, 15.571-578, 2.63-68,
Sherry	14.532-536, 8.292-296, 4.119-130, 2.68-72, 4.140-141, 4.144-152,16.597-600,27.1037,2.40-46, 8.287-296, 2.47-50, 7.248-250, 14.526-527, 7.240-246, 27.1033-1034, 10.381-385, 4.134-136, 4.148,
Zara	19.739-741, 2.43-44, 7-8.268-273, 12.439-445, 14.509-516, ,1.23-28, 1-2.33-36, 2.38-41, 2.65-73, 3.77-78, 3.93-96, 5.155-156, 5.175-179, 6.221-224, 10.373-374,1.3-4, 14.521-525,2.47-52, 5.153, 6.201-202, 6.218, 7.251-254, 11.390, 11.393, 21.784-786,
Subordinate Theme 2: The Sense of Defiance.	
Sophia	12.462, 10.386, 17.641-645,15.581-583, 16.612-613,1.19-21, 18.673-675, 19.722-726, 14.541-542,16.585, 12.449-450,7.267-268, 16.620, 8.294-295, 2.54,3.87-89, 4.118-121, 4.121-125, 5.165, 7.241, 7.243-

	246, 7-8.269-271, 8.299-301, 13.493, 13.517-518,13.520-521,16.617-618,14.517-518, 14.520-521, 8.270-271, 9.328-329,
Maya	3.96-98, 5.157-159, 5.161-165, 7.237, 8.284, 8.298, 11.406-407,12.443-445, 13.472-477,13.486-490,14.508-509,14.532-533,14.534-537,
Amani	13.498-501, 14.505-509, 14.525-527, 14.511-517, 6-7.228-232, 14.530-535, 14.538-542, 8.278-279, 13.476-478, 14.523-524, 15.547-548, 17-18.662-666, 18.678,19.717-724,
Priya	9-10.345-354, 10.363-368, 10.378-384, 11.394-398, 14.538-539, 11.388-389,
Sherry	8.301-305, 15.559, 15.568-574,15-16.578-585, 16.589-594,18.675-678, 23.883-888,19.723-729,24.919-920,24.921-926,12.431-434,3.100-109, 11.407-408,12.451-461,
Zara	5.165-166, 21.785-786,21.802-803, 5.175-179, 10.378-380,11.391-396,11.404-406,12.434-435,15.560, 16.609-610,19.706-707,19.708-710,19.731-733,20.749-752,6.207-211, 6.213-215, 7.259-260, 8.276, 8.281, 10.374-375,
Subordinate Theme 3: Reclaiming the Self.	
Sophia	3.87-89, 7.246-247, 10.386, 11.411, 14-15.539-544, 15.560-565,18.673-675, 19.714-716,4.118-125, 6.208-211, 17.641-643,19.721-727,
Maya	-----
Amani	14.507-509,14.511-517, 14.525-527, 6-7.228-232, 8.304, 14.538-542, 15.547-548, 15.551-556, 17-18.662-666,
Priya	11.389-394, 15.547-559, 10.383-386, 3.99-102,17.625-629, 17.634-636, 10.354-356, 11.390-391,
Sherry	2-3.74-90, 26-27.1023-1026, 8-9.308-312, 11.407-408,12.455-461, 3-4.105-114, 16.608-617,
Zara	5.165-166, 15.560-562,19.731-733,20.752-757, 8.277-281, 13.485-492,11.395-396,6.207-211,20.764-767,20.770-772,20-21.783-786,

	6.213-215, 10.378-380,
Subordinate Theme 4: The Sense of Anger and Frustration.	
Sophia	7.241, 10.372-373,16.589-591,8.281,1.9,12.440-441,13.472,1.23-25,7.243-244, 7.260-262, 13.517-518,16.603-612,
Maya	2.41-43, 4.122-123, 9.342-343, 11.392-394,14.508-509, 14.532-533,17.648-649,6.214-215, 6.205, 16.585-586,2.59-63, 7.234-235, 7.237, 7.241, 14.522-523,14.527-530,14.534-537,4.119-120, 8.273-274, 20.758-761,
Amani	17.626-631, 19.717-720, 3-4.113-114,6-7.228-232, 7.244-245, 2.44-48, 2-3.71-79, 3.81-82, 7.234-237, 7.247-250,9.322-323, 13.498-501, 9.327-331, 13.476-481, 15.576-583,16.584-587, 16.591-592,
Priya	-----
Sherry	7.253-256, 7.258-261, 7-8.267-277,17.627-637,15.549-557,23.900-902,16.597-606, 25.945-950,
Zara	9.325-326, 12.434-435,3.78-80, 9.331-333, 4.120-121, 9.314-322, 11-12.425-431,
Superordinate theme 2: The Sense of Peril.	
Subordinate Theme 1: Enveloped in Fear.	
Sophia	2.37, 7.236-238, 18.698-703, 6.215-216,7.238-239, 19.707-709, 6.201-208, 20.749-755,
Maya	7. 257-259, 7.261-263, 9.330-335, 9.337-340,7.247-249, 8-9.308-309, 10.353-356,13.465-469,11.416-418,12-13-464-465, 15.558-561,15.566-568, 19.720-721, 6.208, 12.431-438,12.449, 19.709-714, 7.251-253, 12.458-462,18.680-684,4.118-119, 16.591-595,18-19.703-704,8.302-306, 13.496-503,
Amani	2-3.71-77, 3.94-96, 3.112-113, 15.580-583, 20.745-746, 3.104-108, 4.126-132, 4.117-124,8.278-283, 9.323-324, 14.525-

	527,19.732-735, 19.740-741, 20.752-753, 20.758-761,
Priya	11.419-423, 12.447-450,7.261-267, 8.271-282, 8.296-301, 17.655-657, 9.321-325, 12.435-448, 16.592-595, 16.599-603, 5-6.189-195, 11.423-425,6.208-220, 6.223-225,8.287-292, 12.445, 9.325-330, 16.594-597,
Sherry	7.234-238, 13.472-481,4.119-130, 11.413-425, 12.440-442,13.489-503,
Zara	5.157-160, 5.162-163, 5.168-171,8.290-294, 13.475-480,18.676-677,13.492-499, 13.501-502,19.737-739,15.547,16.609-610,18.692-693, ,19.733-735,8.285-288, 8.297-298, ,14.514-518,8.287-288, 8.294-299, 13.493-499,6-7.226-234, 15.567-569,1.25-28, 1.30-31, 5.179-182, 7.231-234, 10.377-378,7.251-253, ,16.603-604, 18.675-678, 3.87-89, 3.96-98, 4.125-128, 19.719-728,
Subordinate Theme 2: The Sense to Protect.	
Sophia	19.741-742, 11.387-388, 11.390-393,4.126-129, 10.382-384,
Maya	4.123-125, 4.127-128, 4.128-132, 5.177-180, 7.254-259, 2.51-52, 4.114, 4.120-121, 13.465-469,14.520-521,20.754-755,19.726-732,6.193-198, 9.342-345, 20.748-752,17.639-645, 17.656-660,17-18.662-665,18.675-678,10.353-360, 11.416-425,9.330-335, 8.283-286, 8.298-300, 5.167-169, 5.173-175, 6.204-210, 7.247-249, 8.276-280, 8.302-306, 9.316-320, 10.350-351,12.431-438,14,504-505,14.515-516, 16.613-620,17.626-632,18.680-684,18.688-693,
Amani	8.275-281, 8-9.308-315, 9.319-320, 9.323-324, 19.735, 19.739-741, 20.752-753, 20.758-761,
Priya	15.547-559, 16.607-609, 7.247-250,9.325-330, 11.412-417, 12.433-445,9.320-325, 11.414-419, 16.612-623, 7.252-256,3.77-89, 9.337-340,14.526-527, 17.633-636, 17.640- 64417.646-65517.655-657

Sherry	5.173-178, 6.210-212, 7.233-238, 13.501-503,14.509-519, 15.568-574,15-16.578-585, 19.723-729,23.871, 17.660-662,18.673-678, 21.791-792,21.813-815, 10.381-385,11.407-409, 11.420-425,14.506-507, 4.114-116,3.100-103, 12.455-461,12-13.464-465, 14.541,15.565-568,27.1025-1026,
Zara	5.168-169, 18.692-699,14.537-541,16.603-604, 16.609-610,13.492-499,19.733-735,18.676-682,10.385-386,5.162-163, 13.501-502, 17.662, 19.719-726, 19-20.743-747, 15.549-551,19.737-741,11.398, 11.407-409,11.422, 12.435-436,19.706-710
Subordinate Theme 3: Bullied and Attacked.	
Sophia	2.53-58, 7.255, 8.281-283, 8.294-296, 10.364, 10.370-376,11.409-411, 16.587,2.50,2.58-61, 13.495-497,5.177-182, 8.286-287, 9.328-329, 9.344,4.114-115, 19.721-727, 13.491-494,6.194-196, 7.253-256, 15.567-568,12.436-437, 6.210-211, 19.741-742,5.169, 11.419-421,12.426-431, 13.470-472,
Maya	6.213-215, 13.496-503,14.508-512,12.428-431,16.585-586,4.130-131, 16.600, 2.40-41, 2.67-70, 15.573-579,
Amani	-----
Priya	14.504-505, 4.143-144, 14.508-513,
Sherry	11.413-425,12.440-442,12.446-448, 13.489-491,16.608-617, 22.836-840,22.843-854,22.860-861,11.397-404,14.514-519,20.751-760,23.878-881, 16.597-600,12.428-431,24.924-925,4.144-152, 7.253-256, 4.120-127, 7.258-261, ,6.216-222, 6.224-230, 4.134-138, 5.173-174, 12.434-440,11.396-406,7.248-256, 2.68-69, 7.240-246, 14.509-519,14.521-525, 15.568-574,15-16.582-585,18.681-682,18.684-694,
Zara	11-12.425-431,3.82-83, 11.398, 9.322, 4.125-128,12.434-436, 14.521-525,9.314-319, 11.406-409, ,10.375-379, 11.399-402,9.325-326, 9.331-333, 9.339-349,9.315-318, 9.319-322,
Superordinate theme 3: The Lasting Legacy.	
Subordinate Theme 1: Haunted to the Core.	

Sophia	-----
Maya	18.675-678,18.680-684,18.688-693,12.458-462, 16.616-620,17.626-632, 19.709-714, ,5.175, 18.701-703,5.170,, 17-18.662-665,19.706-707, ,20.744, 5.172-175, 5.177-180, 5.190-191, 6.201-204, 6.218-221, 12.440, 15.580-582,17.656-660,,7.251-253, 12.431-438,15.551-553, 15.558-562,18-19.701-703, 19.721-723,19.726-732, 19.734-739,19-20.743-744,6.212-213, 6.213-214, 6.224, 6.227-228, 6.230, 10.350-351, 5.180-185, 6.205-208, 6.208-210, 11.416-425,6.215-218, 15.568-571,20.748-752,9.322-324,9.326-327,
Amani	-----
Priya	6.198-202, 4.145-150, 13.482-487, 13.492-495, 14.507-513, 16.617-623,14.526-527, 15.562-565, 15.575-578,14.517-522, 15.571-575, 6.204-208, 5.187-190, 12.449-450, 9.313-316, 13.495-496, 15.568-570, 5.178-182, 5.168, 5.190, 5.164-174,
Sherry	21.799-800,21.803-805, 21.809-818,22.828-829,22.831-832,22.834-835, 22.843-854,22.860-861, 23.891-893,23.900-902,26.1020, 22.838-840,26.984-985,21.790-796,15.556-557,5.158, 13.481-487,19.734-738, 20.762-770, 20.778-781,20-21.783-786, 15.549-556,24.936-937,25.945-952, 3.100-103, 20.771-776, 12.428,16.597-606,20.762-776,20.779-783,7.240-241, 7.243-246, 14.521-525,14.536, 25-26.981-984, 27.1041-1042, 8.300-303,12.444-448,13.489-493, 13.498-501,
Zara	-----
Subordinate Theme 2: The Jewel in the Crown.	
Sophia	16.609-613,8.299-306, 18.690-691, 16.593, 16.596-597,4.121, 5.189-190, 9.329, 9.336-338, 16.599, 17.624-627,17.629, 17.638,
Maya	-----
Amani	9.324-325, 19.720-724, 22.843-851, 23.866, 8.304, 14.511-517, 14.523-524, 15.551-556, 15.558-560, 18.695, 22.854-859, 14.507-509, 14.542-543, 8.300-306, 11.338-339, 15.547-549, 8.294, 7.257, 8.287-288, 9.317-319, 16.618-620, 21.810-814,10.371,5.157-163,7.259-264,8-

	9.308-312, 22.827-828,
Priya	10.363-374, 11.397-403, 12.427-432,
Sherry	17.660-662,18.698-700, 19.708-709,18-19.741-744,18-19.701-704, 19-20.741-745, 24.919-920, 24.921-932,25.955-956,25.962-963, 27-28.1061-1064,18.666-668,23.873-878, 27.1039-1042, 23.867-881, 14.525-529,14.538-543, 14-15.543-547, 15.559-564, 18.673-678, 26.1004-1007, 26.1009-1013, 26.1020-1021, 27.1028-1035,
Zara	-----

Appendix 17: Ethical Approval from City, University of London

Ethics Release Form for Student Research

Projects

All students planning to undertake any research activity in the School of Arts and Social Sciences are required to complete this Ethics Release Form and to submit it to their Research Supervisor, **together with their research proposal clearly stating aims and methodology**, prior to commencing their research work. If you are proposing multiple studies within your research project, you are required to submit a separate ethical release form for each study.

This form should be completed in the context of the following information:

- An understanding of ethical considerations is central to planning and conducting research.
- Approval to carry out research by the Department or the Schools does not exempt you from Ethics Committee approval from institutions within which you may be planning to conduct the research, e.g.: Hospitals, NHS Trusts, HM Prisons Service, etc.
- The published ethical guidelines of the British Psychological Society (2009) [Guidelines for minimum standards of ethical approval in psychological research](#) (BPS: Leicester) should be referred to when planning your research.
- **Students are not permitted to begin their research work until approval has been received and this form has been signed by Research Supervisor and the Department's Ethics Representative.**

Section A: To be completed by the student

Please indicate the degree that the proposed research project pertains to:

BSc ↑ M.Phil ↑ M.Sc ↑ **D.Psych** ↑ n/a ↑

Please answer all of the following questions, circling yes or no where appropriate:

1. Title of project

An exploration of the experiences of challenging honour (Izzat) among South Asian Women *

*This title has been changed to reflect the changes explained throughout this document.

2. Name of student researcher (please include contact address and telephone number)

Ramanjit Chhina. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

3. Name of research supervisor

Dr. Aylish O'Driscoll

4. Is a research proposal appended to this ethics release form? **Yes** No

5. Does the research involve the use of human subjects/participants? Yes No

If yes,

a. Approximately how many are planned to be involved?

8

b. How will you recruit them?

The participants will be recruited on a voluntary basis from charities, shelters and projects catered to the south Asian community, and from the community such as through South Asian societies and beauty salons. Some Charities that are being considered as recruitment sources are: Ashiana, Newham and Asian Women's Project

Snow balling recruitment will also be used, where participants will be requested to pass on the details of the researcher to people who may fit the research criteria or to those who may know others that do. Here it will be stressed that only the researcher's details are to be passed on and that it is potential participant's responsibility to get in contact. This will occur to ensure the privacy of those who do not want to be contacted or known by the researcher. It will be stated that the researcher will not be able to confirm (to the referrer) whether the individual has contacted the researcher or agreed to take part in the study, to ensure once again that confidentiality is maintained*. ***This change has occurred due to the difficulty experienced throughout the recruitment process.**

c. What are your recruitment criteria?

(Please append your recruitment material/advertisement/flyer)

Eight women from London, over the age of 18 who have fluent English speaking abilities and identify themselves as South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, or Bangladeshi) will be used in this study. Participants must see themselves to have lived experiences of challenging honour (izzat))*.

***This change has been made as it has been difficult to access South Asian Women who have experienced honour based abuse, throughout the recruitment process. Instead, South Asian women will be recruited on the basis that they have experienced honour throughout their lives and feel they have challenged honour in any sort of way. Here the topic of honour has been broadened from the experiences of honour based abuse to the experiences of challenging honour. Participants will not be asked about Honour Based Abuse (unless they mention it first and want to discuss it).**

Only South Asian women who feel they have challenged honour will be interviewed and it will not matter in what way this honour was challenged, e.g verbally, through behaviour or internally. *1

***1- This change has occurred to ensure the women have challenged Honour and are ready to discuss their experiences. This also prevents recruiting women who have not challenged honour from being interviewed- ensuring that they do not feel judged by the question schedule.**

d. Will the research involve the participation of minors (under 18 years of age) or vulnerable adults or those unable to give informed consent? Yes **No**

d1. If yes, will signed parental/carers consent be obtained? Yes **No**

d2. If yes, has a CRB check been obtained? Yes **No**

(Please append a copy of your CRB check)

6. What will be required of each subject/participant (e.g. time commitment, task/activity)? (If psychometric instruments are to be employed, please state who will be supervising their use and their relevant qualification)

Each Participant will need to complete a demographic questionnaire taking 3 minutes to complete and have a chat with the researcher so informed consent can be obtained, participant questions can be answered and possible risk can be assessed. This can occur both face to face or via telephone and no time limit will be placed as this depends on the number of questions the participant may ask. On a later date they will be required to travel to this university or charity, where they will be asked to take part in an interview lasting approximately 1 hour

7. Is there any risk of physical or psychological harm to the subjects/participants?

Yes

No

If yes,

a. Please detail the possible harm?

1. Participants may find it distressing/shameful to discuss their experiences
2. Participants may be at risk of serious consequences from their families if they find out that the participants were discussing their experiences
3. Participants may not want to return home after the interview, or may want to take action to deal with their circumstances
4. Participants may be identified as being at serious immediate risk of harm and confidentiality may need to be broken
5. Participants may feel concern that as a South Asian woman, I too will judge them

b. How can this be justified?

c. What precautions are you taking to address the risks posed?

1. This may be unavoidable however the precautions to address this risk will be to use my counselling skills to help with this, and to provide a debriefing sheet at the end of the interview of services that can provide support. The interview will also be paused or terminated if participant becomes highly distressed.
2. All information will be anonymous and the participants will not be identifiable from the research. Participants will also be asked how they would like to be contacted (safe methods and times) to ensure their privacy and participation remains concealed. Participants will be told that this is a potential risk to taking part within the study and they will have the option to withdraw up until data collection for this study is completed*. Those who identify themselves as currently living within an abusive environment on the demographic questionnaire will be asked further information regarding their situation. This will occur in order to the risk of harm to them by others if they take part in this study and disclose information about their experiences. A conversation about the risks of participating will occur with those who are seen to be at high risk, ensuring that they have considered fully the possible implications of taking part in the study and that they are still happy to continue.

***This was changed to protect the project's existence and to ensure the participants' have further clarity regarding their rights.**

3. The debrief sheet contains information of services that provide safe housing, legal advice and general support.
4. If imminent risk of harm was identified, the police and / social services will be called if appropriate. This will be discussed with the participant and consent will be obtained.
5. Within the information sheet participants are told the interview will be a non judgemental environment where the purpose of the interview is to hear their perceptions and experiences of honour and not for me to hold any judgements of right or wrong.

(Please append the information sheet which should be written in terms which are accessible to your subjects/participants and/or their parents/carers)

9. Will any person's treatment/care be in any way be compromised if they choose not to participate in the research?

Yes

No

10. Will all subjects/participants be required to sign a consent form, stating that they fully understand the purpose, procedure and possible risks of the research?

Yes

No

If no, please justify

If yes please append the informed consent form which should be written in terms which are accessible to your subjects/participants and/or their parents/carers)

11. What records will you be keeping of your subjects/participants? (e.g. research notes, computer records, tape/video recordings)?

Audio recordings of the interviews, demographic information (with a pseudonym or number), transcripts and consent forms will be kept.

12. What provision will there be for the safe-keeping of these records?

All recordings will be encrypted and password protective.

Demographic information will not have participants' name on it (instead will have a pseudonym or number to represent them) and will be kept in a locked cabinet.

Consent forms will be kept separate from all other data in a secure location.

13. What will happen to the records at the end of the project?

Locked and kept in a secure place. Deleted/ destroyed after 7 years. Audio files will be deleted after the viva* ***This will occur as there will be written transcripts of the interviews.**

14. How will you protect the anonymity of the subjects/participants?

Participants will be assigned a number or pseudonym and will not be referred to by name. No identifiable information will be mentioned. Consent forms will be kept separately from the rest of the data and once again stored in a secure location.

15. What provision for post research de-brief or psychological support will be available should subjects/participants require?

Participants will be given a debriefing sheet with mine and my supervisor's contact details on it, should they require further assistance. They will also be given information of organisations that could provide further support.

(Please append any de-brief information sheets or resource lists detailing possible support options)

If you have circled an item in **underlined bold** print or wish to provide additional details of the research please provide further explanation here:

NOTE: I have made a decision to broaden the recruitment criteria for this study. I will no longer limit this research to those who have experienced abuse due to honour and instead, I will be recruiting South Asian women who have experienced Honour (Izzat) within their lives and believe that they have experience in challenging this honour (in whatever form this may be). Based on the recruitment process, I found women described the experience of honour within their lives, however not all of them identified with the term honour based abuse or feel they have experienced such events. I have now decided to broaden the scope of this study and interview women who feel they have challenged honour.

The term 'honour based abuse' (HBA) will not be used throughout recruitment and interviews, unless the participants themselves identify and mention this term.

Signature of student researcher ----Ramanjit Chhina----- Date -31/05/2015

CHECKLIST: the following forms should be appended unless justified otherwise

Research Proposal

Recruitment Material

Information Sheet

Consent Form

De-brief Information

Section B: Risks to the Researcher

1. Is there any risk of physical or psychological harm to yourself? Yes **No**

If yes,

a. Please detail possible harm?

The experiences of these women may reflect what they have encountered within their homes, but it may also reflect what they encountered throughout the wider South Asian community. Therefore I must be prepared to hear things that may place my culture in a very unfavourable light.

b. How can this be justified?

The possible negative impact on me is something I feel I can manage with my training and self-reflective and self-care skills, and feels justified due to the importance of qualitative research such as this.

c. What precautions are to be taken to address the risks posed?

This may not occur, however if it does I will be able to attend therapy to discuss and processes any impact that may occur.

I will not conduct more than 2 interviews per day to prevent burn out.

NOTE:

All participants will be informed verbally about the use of an external transcriber, when obtaining consent for participation. Participants will then be given the option to object and they will be asked whether they would prefer the transcriptions to be conducted solely by the researcher. This option will be provided to them again after the interview.

A third year psychology undergraduate student will be employed to transcribe the interviews and will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement document. Within this document, the external transcriber will be instructed to retain confidentiality, delete all research data once the transcriptions are completed and to ensure that data will only be saved on the encrypted USB provided by the researcher. A psychology undergraduate will be selected for this task to ensure familiarity with the BPS code of ethics, confidentiality and due to the previous experience of working with confidential information about others.

As an external transcriber will be used, further ethical considerations have to be made. To preserve participants' confidentiality, a confidentiality agreement document will be used. Within this document, the external transcriber will be instructed to delete all data, once the transcriptions are collected by the researcher, and to save data on an encrypted USB provided by the researcher. It is explicitly stated that no conversation regarding the project or data could be held with anyone but the researcher and that no hard copies are to be made of the transcripts. Furthermore, the transcriber will be informed that no data should be sent or saved via email, or any other means of storage that is not provided by the researcher. The storage device given by the researcher should be kept securely and should not be transported elsewhere.

Section C: To be completed by the research supervisor

(Please pay particular attention to any suggested research activity involving minors or vulnerable adults. Approval requires a currently valid CRB check to be appended to this form. If in any doubt, please refer to the Research Committee.)

Please mark the appropriate box below

Ethical approval granted



Refer to the Department's Research and Ethics Committee

Refer to the School's Research and Ethics Committee

Signature **Aylish O'Driscoll** Date **7th August 2015**

Section D: To be completed by the 2nd Departmental staff member *(Please read this ethics release form fully and pay particular attention to any answers on the form where **underlined bold** items have been circled and any relevant appendices.)*

I agree with the decision of the research supervisor as indicated above

Signature –Jacqui Farrants ----- Date 7/8/15

Appendix 18: A list of the participants' challenges to Izzat

Pseudonym	The acts that challenged Izzat					
Sophia	Refusing to get married	Challenging gender norms	Forbidden social activities (going to the pub)	Choice of university degree	Choice of clothing	Defying parent's wishes
Maya	Challenging gender norms	Choice of clothing and accessories	Forbidden social activities (clubbing and drinking)	Defying parents' wishes	Romantic relationships with men outside of marriage (including non-SA partners)	Going on holiday with friends
Amani	Moving out	Defying parents' wishes	Choice of clothing	Breaking or extending Curfew	Romantic relationships with men outside of marriage	
Priya	Forbidden social activities (clubbing and drinking)	Romantic relationships with men outside of marriage (including non-SA partners)	Friendships with men.	Breaking or extending curfew	Education (e.g. low grades)	Defying parents' wishes
Sherry	Forbidden Social Activities (e.g. drinking)	Choice of clothing or accessories	Refusing to get married	Challenging gender norms	Friendships with men, non-SA individuals, or people with different religious beliefs.	
	Breaking or extending curfew	Choice of university degree	Going on holiday with friends	Defying parents' wishes	Romantic relationships with men outside of marriage (including non-SA partners)	
Zara	Challenging gender norms and focusing on career	Romantic relationships with men outside of marriage.	Sexual activity outside of marriage	Forbidden social activities (e.g. drinking)	Choice of clothing	Defying parents' wishes

Appendix 19: A list of Superordinate and Subordinate Themes

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes
The Resistance	Bound by Izzat
	The Sense of Defiance
	Reclaiming the Self
	The Sense of Anger and Frustration
The Sense of Peril	Enveloped in Fear
	The Sense to Protect
	Bullied and Attacked
The Lasting Legacy	Haunted to the Core
	The Jewel in the Crown

Appendix 20: The prevalence of each theme across the participants

Super-ordinate Themes	Sub-ordinate Themes	Sophia	Maya	Amani	Priya	Sherry	Zara
The Resistance	Bound by Izzat	X	X	X	X	X	X
	The Sense of Defiance	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Reclaiming the Self	X	-	X	X	X	X
	The Sense of Anger and Frustration	X	X	X	-	X	X
The Sense of Peril	Enveloped in Fear	X	X	X	X	X	X
	The Sense to Protect	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Bullied and Attacked	X	X	-	X	X	X
The Lasting Legacy	Haunted to the Core	-	X	-	X	X	-
	The Jewel in the Crown	X	-	X	X	X	-

**The Professional Practice Component of this thesis has been
removed for confidentiality purposes.**

**It can be consulted by Psychology researchers on application at
the Library of City, University of London.**

**The full text of this article has been
removed for copyright reasons**