

**Written evidence from Professor Aisha K. Gill, University of Bristol and Professor Sundari Anitha, University of Lincoln [HBA0034]**

**What forms of violence against women and girls are motivated by so-called honour? Are these different forms understood by the Government, police and other agencies**

The forms of violence against women and girls that are motivated by so-called honour can include forced marriage (FM), female genital mutilation (FGM) and honour-based violence/abuse (HBV/A)—all of which can involve specific harms such as harassment, assault, false imprisonment, threats to kill, rape, and murder. The term ‘honour killing’ is often used interchangeably with ‘honour crimes’ and ‘honour-based violence’. Tripathi and Yadav define honour killing as “an ancient practice in which men kill female relatives in the name of family ‘honour’” (2004: 64). HBV/A is prosecuted according to the laws that regulate the specific offence committed.

In recent years, violence against women and girls committed in the name of ‘honour’ has attracted increasing attention across the globe. Unfortunately, most media accounts and policy discourses concerning HBV/A and ‘honour killings’ have principally viewed the problem through the lens of cultural essentialism, *which significantly limits understanding of HBV and its causes*. This evidence submission seeks to identify and interrogate the structures and ideologies that underpin HBV/A as a form of gender-based violence (GBV). Furthermore, it will avoid the common trap of simplistically viewing culture, ethnicity, religion or nationality as the sole causal factor behind this complex phenomenon. It discusses current understandings of the motivating factors behind HBV/A and the impediments to effective responses—legal, political measures, economic and social—as well as offering measures aimed at addressing this form of violence.

Honour is defined as a virtue or character trait associated with integrity, good moral character and altruism (Vandello and Cohen, 2004). As a general concept, honour is considered to comprise three facets: ‘a sentiment, a manifestation of this sentiment in conduct, and the evaluation of this conduct in others’ (Pitt-Rivers, 1971: 21). It encompasses not only a person’s estimation of their own worth but also their acknowledgement and respect of that estimation. Thus, honour has multiple connotations and overlapping meanings related to pride, esteem, dignity, reputation and virtue.

Since honour is a symbolic and rhetorical construct, its meaning is constantly contested—it carries different connotations in different cultural and linguistic groups (Sen, 2005). However, subtleties of meaning are often lost in the attempt to understand these differences; the translations of the various terms that encompass honour rarely convey the totality of their culturally specific interpretations, thus distorting them (Terman, 2010). For instance, the Urdu word *izzat*, translated into English as ‘honour’, refers to a wide spectrum of socio-cultural relationships and ties that bind family and community groups together (Gill and Brah, 2014).

In defining honour, many theorists emphasise the power of the parallel concept of ‘shame’. Wikan (2008) contends that individuals in communities that value honour are not only motivated by a desire to obtain and maintain honour but are equally concerned with avoiding shame. Honour and shame are dynamically interrelated in that honour ‘has to be continually

reaffirmed in practice, reinforced in action, defended against challenge and re-won and advanced in competition' (Mandelbaum, 1988: 23). Honour relates to expected behaviour, while shame is associated with transgressions against these expectations. Shame is easier to measure as it involves an action(s), while honour is a broad category that defies classification (Gill, 2014).

Although the word 'honour' has many positive connotations, it is commonly invoked to justify violence, abuse and even murder. The specific acts deemed to increase or erode honour are subject to constant contestation and change. Moreover, honour and shame have distinct practical implications: men are expected to uphold their family and social group's honour by ensuring that 'their' women do not bring shame upon the family. Although their own conduct is subject to moral judgement, it is often considered secondary to the scrutiny focused on females. In societies with honour-based value systems, honour is typically equated with the regulation of women's sexuality as well as their conformity with social norms and traditions. The oppression that women face as a result of these imposed honour systems takes different forms depending on their location, their regional culture and their family's socio-economic status. For example, in some South Asian families, participation in professional/academic pursuits contributes to the family's honour; in others, working outside the home is a source of shame (Gill, 2014; 2020).

The role of honour in motivating and legitimising violence against women and girls needs to be better understood if such crimes are to be effectively challenged. While there is a tendency in the West to see 'honour' killings as related to specific cultural traditions, these crimes are not confined to a particular religion, culture, society or social stratum. Bourdieu (1977) argues that honour is not an aspect of cultural practice but rather emerges from a constellation of interpersonal exchanges; thus, even though honour crimes are found in many different societies, each unique cultural context should be individually evaluated to determine how and why these practices have arisen.

The use of the term 'honour crime' is vexed. First, the application of this and similar terms to forms of violence that almost exclusively afflict women lends support to the idea that 'honour' is intricately tied to women's behaviour. Second, the use of the word 'honour' renders crimes so described as susceptible to 'exoticisation'. Understandings of HBV/A that prioritise cultural explanations, especially those that consider HBV/A something that happens to 'othered' women from 'othered' communities, diverts attention from the role of gender and to the fact that violence against women affects women across the cultural and ethnic spectrum. While human rights defenders need to be responsive to the diversity of women's lives both within and across national contexts, they should also be wary of painting a picture of cultural differences that reinforces cultural essentialism. Conceptualising HBV/A as a specific type of violence against women and girls legitimised by patriarchal honour codes avoids these pitfalls while also recognising the critical role that gender plays in this kind of violence.

Furthermore, to understand the place of honour crimes within the continuum of forms of gendered violence (i.e., child/early/forced marriage [FM]; female genital mutilation [FGM]), one must gaze inwards instead of only upon the 'other' to enable a critical self-positioning that recognises and challenges violence predicated on 'honour' wherever it happens (Sen, 2005). However, violence against females also exists in the cultures that criticise the 'other', so these societies' cultural practices cannot always offer safety to women. Tackling 'honour' killings and 'honour'-based violence thus requires a shift in thinking. Instead of simplistically

conceptualising these crimes as arising from cultural traditions common to a range of ‘backward’ (and, thus, ‘othered’) societies, the issue needs to be (re-)considered in the context of violence against women and girls (i.e., GBV) and the patriarchal value systems found, in varying degrees, in all societies.

A simplistic association of HBV/A with particular communities or perpetrators based on their ethnicity can result in misrecognition of violence. For example, a Mail Online report described the murder of white 17-year-old Laura Wilson by her 18-year-old boyfriend, Ashtiaq Ashgar, as Britain’s “first white honour killing” (Brennen, 2016). After Laura’s death, it was revealed that social workers were aware she had been exploited by groups of men since she was 11. It is not clear if her partner was involved in her exploitation, but to ascribe the name ‘honour killing’ to a crime that bore all the hallmarks of a domestic homicide at the hands of an intimate partner draws upon tropes about South Asian men and HBV/A to misrecognise domestic violence.

### **How prevalent is honour-based abuse? What do we know about the background or characteristics of victims and perpetrators?**

#### *Prevalence of HBV/A*

As academics working in this area and in the wider field of GBV, we recognise that the definitions of HBV/A are contested, and yet they carry resonance for victims and perpetrators of this form of abuse. We also acknowledge the importance of devising an operational definition for the purpose of carrying out research. The Crown Prosecution Service definition of HBV/A is useful in terms of being able to assess the effectiveness of current police responses:

*Honour based violence (HBV) can be described as a collection of practices, which are used to control behaviour within families or other social groups to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and/or honour. Such violence can occur when perpetrators perceive that a relative has shamed the family and/or community by breaking their honour code.*

(CPS, nd)

While HBV/A’s hidden nature means that its true scale in the UK is unknown, estimates suggest that UK police recorded around 11,000 HBV/A cases between 2010 and 2014 (IKWRO, 2015). Under-reporting and mis-recording of HBV/A cases are also likely to affect this low estimate. While HBV/A is clearly a form of broader GBV, it involves specific acts that require a specific response. HBV/A is not a specific statutory offence but an umbrella term that encompasses ‘a collection of practices, which are used to control behaviour within families or other social groups to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and/or honour’ (Crown Prosecution Service 2017). These practices can include FM, FGM, harassment, assault, false imprisonment, threats to kill, rape, and murder; HBV/A is prosecuted according to the laws that regulate the specific offence committed.

While HBV/A ‘is increasingly recognized as a form of violence against women and girls’, it is ‘neither fully conceptualized nor integrated into risk management strategies . . . used to address gender-based violence in Europe and Anglophone states’. The work in which we and our colleagues have been involved addresses this gap and responds to recent calls for UK service commissioners to ‘identify practical steps’ to ensure that local learning ‘on the detection/prosecution’ of HBV/A is ‘maximised and put into practice’.

Our work also highlights immediate challenges in the local recording of HBV/A. It became clear during the research conducted with Hertfordshire Police (2017) that not all incidences of HBV/A had been recorded as such, with an unknown proportion noted as more general domestic abuse cases. At the same time, some incidences of HBV/A had not been additionally flagged as domestic abuse when they perhaps ought to have been (Gill, Cox, Weir, 2018). This discrepancy is significant because it meant that only a proportion of recorded HBV/A cases were routinely referred to local multi-agency risk assessment conferences (MARACs); a vital first move towards early intervention may, therefore, have been missed.

### ***Who are the victims and perpetrators?***

The vast majority of HBV/A victims are women, and their perpetrators are most often the victim's male relatives. While older women may play a part in the perpetration of HBV/A, it is usually men who carry out the violence or delegate the responsibility of enacting the violence, abuse and surveillance upon victims to women in the family. Where women perpetrate such violence and abuse, their own status within the family and the community may depend on their conformity to these gendered norms. Consequently, the perpetration of HBV/A can be considered a public display of patriarchal power. As Bourdieu (1977) claims, honour is always lived out openly, in front of other people.

In countries where 'honour' killings occur regularly, many believe that killing for the sake of individual or collective honour is heroic. Likewise, men commonly claim that their actions are impulsive, prompted by rage over the supposed violation of the prevailing honour code. Both types of response locate the propensity for violence not in men *per se* but in culturally constituted ways of 'being a man' that link masculinity with authorised acts of aggression (Hearn, 2004). Despite claims about such violence being a product of a momentary 'lack of control', similar to domestic homicide by intimate partners, such violence is almost always a part of a pattern of ongoing violence and abuse and is often well planned.

Unlike other forms of domestic violence and abuse, such as those perpetrated by a partner or ex-partner, different forms of HBV/A—including FM and FGM—are carried out by multiple perpetrators. While FM, FGM and HBV/A are predominantly perpetrated by natal family members, particularly the victim's parents, our ongoing research on FMPOs shows that other key actors include brothers, uncles and aunts and other extended family members (e.g., cousins). Once married, a woman's affinal family can also become perpetrators of HBV/A and can collude with her natal family to control her and to prevent her from disclosing the abuse or attempting to leave.

In both this research (2017) and ongoing research being conducted on Forced Marriage Protection Orders by Aisha K. Gill and Sundari Anitha, it is evident that the ethnicity of alleged perpetrators and victims was unevenly, and often inaccurately, recorded. All these factors make it difficult for the police and other practitioners to identify and locate potential priority victims and to identify any shifts in patterns of victimisation—the first step towards meeting their wider needs. Notably, local data support the need to separate the specific incidence of HBV/A from the wider incidence of domestic abuse.

### **What is known about abuse practised under the pretext of upholding cultural norms? Is there available data and/or research on the prevalence of these practices?**

The forms of abuse practised under the pretext of upholding cultural norms are diverse, the victims may also be diverse in terms of their backgrounds and characteristics, and the abuse

can take different forms in particular contexts and may change over time. We are learning more about particular aspects of abuse practised under the pretext of upholding cultural norms as research in this area grows, but we offer some pertinent examples below.

In Anitha's research on transnational marriage abandonment (2018), one third of the 57 interviewed women in transnational marriages indicated that their husbands may have been subjected to coercive pressures to marry. However, where emotional pressure had resulted in men being forced into a transnational marriage to a woman from their home country, the men's subsequent experiences were unlike what we know about women's experience of FM and HBV/A. Though the context of the marriage was men's ongoing (heterosexual or same-sex) relationships that their families deemed dishonourable, once they had undertaken a marriage that was deemed acceptable by the wider community, they managed to negotiate the space to live their life largely on their own terms. Conversely, their wives were relegated to providing unpaid domestic care for the men's family and were often subjected to violence and abuse by the husband and in-laws. If they resisted the abuse, the women were taken deceptively to their home country and abandoned there. While the men were originally victims of FM here, they also became perpetrators by colluding in and actively participating in the abuse and abandonment of their wives.

Anitha and Gill's ongoing research on FMPOs draws upon police case files to document the routes into forced marriages and the abuse that include HBV/A, FM and, in some cases, FGM. There was significant overlap between the different forms of abuse. The immediate context for the majority of FM threats was the parents' suspicions about their daughter's presumed or actual relationship with someone deemed inappropriate by the family. Both HBV/A and FM were co-present in these cases.

In relation to transnational cases of FM and HBV/A, for example, one distinct pattern that we observed in our data was the use of psychiatric institutions or 'cultural rehabilitation centres' in Somalia or Somaliland. In several cases, Somali men and boys and women and girls were taken to their home country and incarcerated in these institutions to break down their resistance. This was often to punish women for violating sexual norms, while both genders were also punished for leading 'Westernised' lives and to secure their compliance in relation to a FM. The family was the primary perpetrator here, but they were supported by a wider network of relatives and able to draw upon institutional resources to implement their violence and control.

In one case, the rape of a young woman was perceived by her parents as a threat to their family honour—she was subsequently pressurised into a FM with a man her family had selected in order to recover their honour. Notions of honour prevented her from receiving the support she needed to recover from the sexual violence she had experienced and exposed her to risk of further violence and harm. In communities where such notions of honour prevail, they may also prevent victims of sexual violence from making disclosures and seeking help.

We are improving our understanding of new and less known dimensions of HBV/A through our ongoing research; the next step must be to apply this knowledge to improve service delivery and policing responses.

### **What are the challenges or barriers faced by victims of honour-based abuse in seeking support or protection?**

As 'honour' covers a broad variety of concepts and behaviours (Gill, 2009), the violations that may trigger violence are also wide-ranging, with 'honour' killings most commonly committed against a woman for actual or alleged behaviours that are considered immoral

according to the dominant social norms (Jiwani & Hoodfar, 2012; Gill and Brah, 2014) and that involve intimate relations with a man, whether in the form of adultery, sex outside marriage or simply close companionship. As even accusations alone of immoral behaviour can lead to loss of honour, the truth is often irrelevant and proof is rarely required. Indeed, rumours and gossip are the community's greatest weapons for instilling shame in men who cannot "preserve the purity and chastity" of their female relatives (Shalhoub-Kevorkian & Daher-Nashef, 2013). As it is seen to be the responsibility of male family members to preserve the whole family's honour, 'misbehaviour' on the part of female relatives tarnishes not only their own honour but that of the entire family, especially the men. This puts women accused of 'misbehaving' in an invidious position whereby they feel they cannot speak out. Is it also worth noting that the nature of the tight-knit communities these women may be part of also prevent the likelihood of their seeking support or knowing where to go to ask for help. Trust in the criminal justice system also a factor.

For white women in many Western contexts, shame tends to have a more personal character and is not seen to tarnish other family members or the wider community—but minoritised victims living in cultures and communities centred on notions of honour and shame often see themselves as responsible for damaging their loved ones through real or perceived actions that lead to loss of honour (Feldman, 2010; Gill and Day, 2020).

This further complicates the issue of speaking out and/or seeking help. For those who are part of honour-based communities, ideas about honour prevent women from speaking to outsiders about family affairs and norms dictate that women should smooth over difficulties through self-sacrifice and repressing their own desires and feelings. These norms play a role in the low reporting rate of HBV/A and other forms of VAWG by minoritised victims. These strong ideas of responsibility for upholding family honour can make it very difficult for victims to seek support, and where they do manage to seek support, to benefit from this support. We have documented this in our (Anitha and Gill) ongoing research on FMPOs, whereby such concerns and pressures from the family strongly inform victim retraction and impede ongoing engagement with support services.

However, just as negative family and community responses encourage victims to remain silent about abuse, positive responses are integral to enabling them to discuss their experiences of violence (Gill, 2014). Thus, policies and practices geared towards providing support and justice for victims must take account of the specialised needs of minoritised victims if those victims are to have equal access to help and redress.

### **How would you assess the police response to honour-based abuse? How could it be improved?**

Effective police response and enforcement relies heavily on the training and awareness of police and other frontline practitioners. Research suggests that within mainstream support services in the UK, an understanding of HBV/A's complexities and the broader intersectional needs of Black and minoritised victims/survivors remains low (Gill, Cox, Weir, 2018). For example, the 2015 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) inspection into police responses to HBV/A, FM and FGM identified "a wide variation between and within forces in understanding HBV/A and the associated risks and issues" (HMIC, 2015: 12). This variation is in part linked to levels of culturally specific training within individual organisations: those receiving specialised HBV/A training demonstrating a greater level of awareness than those without (HMIC, 2015; Mulvihill, Gangoli, Gill., Hester, 2018).

Guidelines for the police in relation to FM and FGM are in place—but in relation to policing HBA, challenges that current guidelines do not address (see: Gill, Cox, Weir, 2018; Hester et

al. 2015; Mulvihill et al. 2018) because of the lack of clarity regarding what constitutes HBA and its intersections with other forms of GBV. In the most positive instances of victim-police contact identified in our sample, the victim received exceptional aftercare, maintaining long-term occasional contact with, and at the professional discretion of, her dedicated officers. This might best be described as ‘open-ended safeguarding’ and would seem to have a key part to play in service development for these priority victims (see: Gill, Cox, Weir, 2018; Mulvihill *et al.* 2018).

In relation to policing of HBV/A and FM, our recent research (Anitha and Gill) documents cases where FMPOs are treated as an end in itself with little ongoing evidence of support. In some cases, though the FMPO may indeed have prevented the FM from being carried out, there may have been an ongoing risk of HBV/A precisely because the victim reached out for support. In other cases, we also documented a positive and proactive culture of safeguarding which continued despite victim retraction and lack of ongoing engagement and eventually led to further contact with police and exit from the abusive family home.

Underreporting and victim retraction is a common aspect of all forms of VAWG, but there are additional elements for victims of HBV. The existence of multiple perpetrators, the sense of shame and honour, and a reluctance on the part of a young person to break ties with their entire family may place them under tremendous pressure. Where these complex contexts in which victim retraction occurs were understood and proactive steps taken to enhance victim confidence in police support, victims were empowered and eventually perceived a range of potential options and felt able to act upon them.

Culturalised conceptualisations of violence further influences how frontline practitioners understand and respond to HBV/A and other culturalised forms of violence against women. While Black and minoritised women’s experiences are shaped by “the complex interplay of major social divisions and systems of domination” (Gill, 2010: 47), reducing VAW against minority women to essentialist notions of culture perpetuates the idea that HBV/A is causatively attributed to systemic cultural pathology emerging from deeply entrenched ‘backwards’ traditions (Walker, 2018).

Inadequate police responses to reports of all forms of VAWG in Black and racially minoritised victims/survivors have far-reaching impacts: when victims/survivors lack confidence in the criminal justice system, they do not report their abuse nor receive the support and justice they deserve (EVAW 2021; Victims Commissioner 2021). Most crucially, a belief that their cases have been poorly managed can lead individuals who have reported abuse to deter other victims/survivors in those communities from disclosing, consequently allowing perpetrators to continue their abuse, confident in the knowledge that they will not be held culpable. The problem here is not about introducing new law; we need to address and remedy systemic failures in implementation of existing legislation. Failure to communicate with victims/survivors after they report these kinds of crimes may affect victims/survivors’ perceptions of case management and contribute to their feeling uncertain and isolated, which can worsen the distress caused by the crime itself and harm the public interest in terms of procedural justice. Harrison and Gill (2017) attribute such failures to a lack of adequate police training. They conclude that as long as culturally specific training falls short of acceptable standards, victims/survivors are and will continue to be left vulnerable.

### **Is the current law in relation to honour-based abuse adequate to protect victims? If not, what should change?**

While criminalisation has been the preferred response to these ‘culturalised’ forms of violence, they are also increasingly dealt with through the introduction of draconian

immigration initiatives—for example, the primary purpose rule, the one- and two-year immigration rule, the raising of the minimum age of marital sponsorship from 18 to 21 and the No Recourse to Public Funds rule (NRPF). Yet irrespective of how these initiatives are politically framed (either as necessary to prevent false marriage claims for the purpose of immigration or to protect vulnerable HBV/A victims), by creating a “discursive spill over” between VAWG and immigration policy fields (Rolandsen Agustín, 2013: 144), they each have a hugely detrimental impact on (im)migrant women suffering violence and abuse (Anitha, et al. 2018).

The NRPF rule remains one of the most controversial by-products of anti-immigration rhetoric for minoritised victims/survivors of VAWG in the UK. Introduced as part of the Immigration and Asylum Act (1999), it was intended to restrict the amount of public funds available to recently arrived immigrants under the premise that these individuals should be self-sufficient rather than relying upon the state benefits to which British citizens are entitled (Home Office; n.d.). However, a side effect of this rule is that many women on temporary work permits, student visas or spousal visas who are also being subjected to abuse are unable to claim the public funds necessary to access support such as refuge accommodation (Carline and Easteal, 2014) in the face of various forms of VAW, including HBV/A. Without these vital funds, victims/survivors must risk either staying with their perpetrators, and thus prolonging their abuse, or making themselves homeless (Carline and Easteal, 2014). The existing law thus needs reforming to extend protection to migrant victims of different forms of violence, including HBV/A.

### **What are the challenges for services supporting victims of honour-based abuse? How could those challenges be mitigated or overcome?**

We are in favour of protecting and developing distinctive services for victims of HBV/A, FM and FGM on the grounds that victims of these crimes share distinctive needs despite their different cultural and/or class backgrounds. It supports the view expressed in more detail elsewhere (Gangoli *et al.* 2018; Mulvihill *et al.* 2018) that this distinctiveness is attributable to the fact that such victims face unique challenges in disclosing their abuse—challenges that often have complex intranational or international dimensions. Further, victims of HBV/A are likely to require a range of support options that stretch beyond the detection/prosecution and refuge nexus to include protection orders, safeguarding and ongoing discretion-driven care, especially when children are, or may be, involved as secondary victims.

Identifying and responding to priority victims, according to the VCOP’s definition, depends on consistent recording, mapping and sensitive sharing of core case data, including victims’ ethnic heritage where appropriate, and the clear flagging of HBV/A as a distinct form of broader domestic or GBV. Without such information and information-sharing, the local scale and distribution of HBV/A will remain concealed, its victims will remain hidden and their needs will remain unmet.

Finally, it is important to highlight the crucial role played by specialist ‘by and for’ domestic violence and abuse services in addressing HBV/A—this represents both a challenge and an opportunity for mitigation. These organisations are staffed by and cater to victims from particular communities and have extensive experience of addressing HBV/A, FM and FGM alongside long-established practices to safeguard victims and provide them with advocacy and support (Gill and Anitha 2022). However, over the last decade, these ‘by and for’ domestic violence and abuse services have shrunk across the UK, as tendering processes favour large generic providers. While the crucial role played by these often smaller, independent services is beginning to be recognised by service funders and commissioners and



the office of the DA Commissioner, there are also ongoing steps to dilute the definition of these services. Some proposals currently considering a recognition of organizations with between 60% to 80% specialist staff and trustees as ‘by and for’ when historically these organizations have had 100% of their trustees and staff from the relevant community. This represents a new challenge to the existence of this sector and the historic expertise in HBV/A that they hold.

## Selected References

- Anitha, S., Roy, A., & Yalamarty, H. (2018). Gender, Migration, and Exclusionary Citizenship Regimes: Conceptualizing Transnational Abandonment of Wives as a Form of Violence Against Women. *Violence Against Women*, 24(7), 747–774. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801217720693>
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- CPS (2017) Crown Prosecution Service - Honour Based Violence and Forced Marriage [http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/h\\_to\\_k/honour\\_based\\_violence\\_and\\_forced\\_marriage/](http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/h_to_k/honour_based_violence_and_forced_marriage/).
- Gill, A., Brah, A. (2014) ‘Interrogating Cultural Narratives about “Honour”-Based Violence’, *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 21(1), 79-93.
- Gill, A.K. (2014) “All they think about is honour”: The Murder of Shafiea Ahmed, in Gill, A., Roberts, K., Strange, C. (eds) *‘Honour’ Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gill, A., Strange, C., Roberts, K. (2014) *‘Honour’ Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice*, London: Palgrave Macmillan <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Honour-Killing-Violence-Aisha-Gill/dp/1137289554>
- Gill, A.K., Cox, P., and Weir, R. (2018) “Honour”- based violence/abuse, forced marriage and female genital mutilation. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 57 (4), 576–595.
- Gill, A. K., Day, A. S. (2020) Moral panic in the media: Scapegoating South Asian men in cases of sexual exploitation and grooming. In: Ramon, S., Lloyd, M., Penhale, B. (eds). *Gendered domestic violence and abuse in Popular Culture*, Emerald: Bingley.
- Harrison, K., Gill, A. K. (2017) Breaking down barriers: increasing sexual abuse reporting rates in British South Asian communities, *British Journal of Criminology*, 58 (2): 273–290. <https://academic.oup.com/bjc/article-abstract/58/2/273/3748273>
- Gill, A.K. and Harrison, K. (2019) “I am talking about it because I want to stop it”: An exploration of child sexual abuse and sexual violence against women in Britain’s South Asian communities. *British Journal of Criminology*, 59 (3), 511–529.
- Gill, A. K. (2020) Feminist responses to policing sexual abuse in South Asian Communities. In: Monk, H, Atkinson, K., Barr, U., Tucker, K. (eds). *Feminist Responses to Injustices of the State and its Institutions: Politics, Intervention, Resistance*, Bristol: Bristol University Press.
- Gill, A. and Anitha, S. (2022) The nature of domestic violence experienced by Black and minoritised women and specialist service provision during the Covid-19 pandemic: Practitioner perspectives in England & Wales. *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*. Online First: <https://doi.org/10.1332/239868021X16661761362132>
- Hearn, J. (2004) ‘From Hegemonic Masculinity to the Hegemony of Men’, *Feminist Theory*, 5(1), 49–72.

HMIC (2015) *Depths of dishonour: Hidden Voices and Shameful Crimes*, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), London: UK.

IKWRO (2015) Iranian Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO) (2015) Nearly 3000 Cases of 'Honour' Violence Every Year in the UK, <http://ikwro.org.uk/2011/12/nearly-3000-cases-of-honour-violence-every-year-in-the-uk/>

Mulvihill, N., Gangoli, G., Gill, A.K., Hester, M., (2018). The experience of interactional justice for victims of 'honour'-based violence reporting to the police in England and Wales, *Policing and Society*, 29(6), pp.640-656, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2018.1427745>

Sen, P. (2005) 'Crimes of Honour: Value and Meaning', in Welchman, L. and Hossain, S. (eds) *Honour: Crimes, Paradigms and Violence Against Women* (London: Zed Books).

Terman, R. (2010) 'To Specify or Single Out: Should We Use the Term "Honour Killing"?', *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights*, 7 (2), 1.

Vandello, J., Cohen, D. (2004) 'When Believing is Seeing: Sustaining Norms of Violence in Cultures of Honor', in Schaller, M. and Crandall, C. (eds.) *The Psychological Foundations of Culture* (Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates), 281–304.

This response has been prepared by, Professor Aisha K. Gill and Professor Sundari Anitha.

**Aisha K. Gill, Ph.D., CBE** is Professor of Criminology at University of Bristol, UK. Her main areas of interest and research are health and criminal justice responses to violence against Black, minority ethnic and refugee women in the UK, Afghanistan, Georgia, Jordan, Libya, Iraqi Kurdistan, India, Pakistan and Yemen. She has been involved in addressing the problem of violence against women and girls, 'honour' crimes and forced marriage at the grassroots level for the past 23 years. Her recent publications include articles on crimes related to the murder of women/femicide, 'honour' killings, coercion and forced marriage, child sexual exploitation and sexual abuse in Black and racially minoritised communities, female genital mutilation, sex selective abortions, intersectionality and women who kill. In 2019, she was appointed Co-Chair of End Violence Against Women Coalition.

**Sundari Anitha** is Professor of Gender, Violence and Work at the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lincoln, UK. Her research interests lie in two areas: the problem of violence against women and girls (VAWG); and gender, race and ethnicity in employment relations. She has published widely in both areas. She has previously managed a Women's Aid shelter and is a trustee of Asha (a specialist refuge for South Asian women who have experienced domestic violence), and has been active in activism and policy-making on VAWG for over two decades.

**December 2022**