

# **An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of the experience of Forced Marriage for diasporic south Asian women who have left**

**Written by  
DR TAHIR AZIM**

**PRIMARY SUPERVISOR DR JULIE SCHEINER  
SECONDARY SUPERVISOR CATRIONA MAY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Forced marriage (FM) was criminalised in the UK in 2014 as it was described as little more than slavery by the Prime Minister. The consequences of FM can include physical, emotional, and financial abuse, disruption to education, damage to career opportunities, enforced pregnancy, rape, abortion, abduction, mutilation, and murder. The UK is supplementing the criminalization of FM with interagency protocols to protect women involving healthcare and other professionals as victims of FM may not get another opportunity to tell someone what is happening to them. The “one chance rule” guidelines stress the importance of acting swiftly to secure endangered individual’s safety by removing them from their families. The purpose of this study is to explore the lived experience of eight diasporic south-Asian adult females who experienced FM in the past?

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) analysed interview data from which Six major themes were identified: In theme one participants described how they learnt about their unexpected impending FM and felt disappointed that their dreams of a fairy tale wedding had been shattered. The second theme explored how participants experienced inequality against patriarchy because they felt that the hegemonic system which favoured males was heavily tilted against females. The third theme explored how after participants became aware of patriarchal domination and realised, they were the victims of such subjugation, each participant looked for ways to challenge patriarchal hegemony. In theme four participants expressed a desire for sexual equality from their patriarchs; but were sorely disappointed to learn that the sharing of power was simply not an option open to them; this impasse led to confusion and conflation between arranged marriage (AM) and forced marriage (FM). In theme five participants came to conclude that they would be better off accepting their AM/FM rather than exiting their community/culture. In the final theme Patriarchy was identified as the root cause of FM; participants rejected hegemonic male patriarchy leading to hard-won emancipation. Participants finally felt courageous enough to speak their mind and defend their individual interests over and above that of their family/clan. Since participants confused and conflated arranged marriage with forced marriage, it was concluded the ‘one chance rule’ is a dangerous strategy as it deprives women of choice. A psychotherapeutic framework for counselling clients who presented for FM was devised for clinicians to screen for FM, HBV or DV based on insights gained from this dissertation. Furthermore, the research process showed that the problem of FM was inextricably linked to the historic role of British colonial Empire and subsequent conflict in disputed Kashmir. The phenomenon of

FM turned out to be a complex but relatively rare practice since all participants had conflated AM/FM and the Forced Marriage Unit had only secured three convictions since 2014. Recommendations included withdrawal of ‘one chance rule’, apologising to the south Asian people for Britain’s direct rule of south Asia, resolving the conflict in Kashmir with a power sharing agreement between India and Pakistan and providing Existential counselling on NHS for women who believe they experienced FM.

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## **STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP**

Tahir Azim is the author of this thesis, which has ethical clearance from the New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling and the Psychology Department of Middlesex University. It is submitted as partial fulfilment of the requirements of the New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling and the Psychology Department of Middlesex University for the Degree of Professional Doctorate in Existential Psychotherapy and Counselling. This thesis is the author’s original work except where otherwise stated and has never been submitted before for appraisal with respect to any kind of academic qualification.

## **TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS**

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*Why does man not see things? He is himself standing in the way: he conceals things.*  
(Nietzsche 1881: V, 438)

## **Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION**

The 2018 Nobel Peace Prize was jointly given to Dr Denis Mukwege and Ms Nadia Murad. Nadia a 25-year-old Yazidi woman was kidnapped and held captive by Islamic State militants for three months as a sex slave before managing to escape and tell her story. Since then, Nadia's mission has been to draw attention to and fight back against the use of sexual violence against women, which the committee said she had put her personal security at risk to do. After being kidnapped in northern Iraq, Nadia was gang raped, bought, and sold, before she came out to tell her story. The Nobel Peace Prize committee said Nadia had shown uncommon courage in speaking up on behalf of over 3,000 other women who also went through what she went through, and they said that she had refused to accept the social code that meant she was supposed to be ashamed of what happened and to stay silent. (Caroline Hawley, Diplomatic correspondent, 5/10/2018, BBC news).

According to the Foreign & Commonwealth office (FCO), forced marriage unit (FMU) 2020 (p4) "A forced marriage is one in which one or both spouses do not (or, in the case of some adults with learning or physical disabilities or mental incapacity, cannot) consent to the marriage, and violence, threats, or any other form of coercion is involved. Coercion may include emotional pressure, physical force or the threat of it, and financial pressure. In an arranged marriage, by contrast, both parties have consented to the union but can still refuse to marry if they choose to." In 2014 forced marriage (FM) was criminalised in the UK with a prison sentence of up to 7 years by former prime minister David Cameron who described FM as abhorrent and little more than slavery. Forcing anyone into marriage against their will is wrong and therefore we have taken decisive action to make it illegal (FMU 2016.p4).

According to Oppenheim & Dearden (2019) in 2018, there were three defendants convicted in two separate cases for the specific offence of FM – the first in England. In 2019, the FMU gave advice or support in 1,355 cases related to a possible FM. This figure includes contact made to the FMU through the public helpline or the email in relation to a new case. (FCO. FMU 2019, online. p 2-5).

According to Jenkinson (2012), common reasons for FM include: attempting to strengthen family links and protect perceived religious/cultural ideals, honouring long-standing family commitments, controlling unwanted behaviour particularly that of women and preventing “unsuitable” relationships. The consequences of FM can include physical, emotional, and financial abuse, disruption to education, damage to career opportunities, enforced pregnancy, rape, abortion, abduction, mutilation, and murder (p5-8). Chantler (2012) suggested that in FM cases violence occurs at the time of the marriage as it was against the person’s wishes and subsequent sexual relations within the marriage should be considered as sexual violation as consent was lacking. Kopelman (2016) wrote that the UK is supplementing the criminalization of FM with interagency protocols to protect women involving healthcare professionals, social care agencies and others as victims of FM may not get another opportunity to tell someone what is happening to them. The “one chance rule” guidelines stress the importance of acting swiftly to secure endangered individual’s safety by removing them from their families. By looking out for signs of anxiety, depression, self-harm, substance abuse, unexplained injuries, and emotional withdrawal (p176).

During the twentieth century, the use of forced marriage (FM) became less common in indigenous white British communities due to changes in female and male relationships, as well as parent and offspring relationships (Maruf, 2012). Similarly, the cultural practice of FM in south Asian countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have moved on however these communities in Britain seem to continue the historical cultural practices of their country of origin when forcing their offspring into marriage (Gangoli, 2009). Chantler (2012) sees FM as a cultural problem where professionals in the UK lack knowledge and are fearful of being labelled culturally insensitive if they intervene. Stobaart (2002) on the other hand suggests the rights debate on marriage can include the rights of community members and parents in-order to preserve their identity, hence the conflict between rights of the individuals and their families (p588). This study will look at FM from an existential perspective which does not appear to have been attempted before in the limited number of such studies. In 2019 of the 1,355 cases the FMU dealt with, 1,080 (80%) involved female victims hence this research focuses on FM from a female perspective (FMU 2020 website p3).

My interest in carrying out this research began when I was in private psychotherapeutic practice and the issues which clients who had experienced FM would often present in



therapy. Personally, I believe the issue of FM is extremely complex leaving many women feeling trapped/defeated and therefore unable to freely demonstrate their individual agency which can lead to mental health problems. However, in working with female clients who self-disclosed they had experienced FM, I felt uneasy as their accounts did not appear to reflect a deeply felt emotional connection with their lived experience of an 'ordeal'. It felt as if something were 'missing', but I could not ascertain the nature of this omission. According to Chantler (2017) the impact on survivors of FM included suicidal ideation, self-harm, eating disorders and other mental health problems (p6). FM seems like a custom based on outdated tribal attitudes which may have served a useful purpose historically but is at odds with modern 21<sup>st</sup> century British attitudes and values. Furthermore, it seems as if FM is a gender-based issue largely affecting females where some males condemn females to marry against their will. The practice of FM appears deeply entrenched and government initiatives seem to have little effect on perpetrators as they are hard to reach. I also get the impression that the concept of honour (izzat) and shame (sharam) are significant factors which prevent south Asian women from expressing their experience of violence; and are more likely to stay in the marriage to protect their family's honour. There may also be an Eastern & Western culture clash which feeds the fear of immigrant parents that without force their children may lose their heritage and become too influenced by Western culture.

As I worked extensively with this client group, I became aware of the academic gap of knowledge in this area. British Asian female clients would often talk about how they felt trapped and how they would have been better off dead. According to Pande (2014), the term British south-Asians is used to represent the people of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Being aware of the serious nature and gravity of my client's dissatisfaction, I started searching for alternative ways to conceptualise the issue which would address the clients concerns and help to meet their needs. My search led me to the work of van Deurzen (1988) which suggested that when all other options are barred, suicide can-be-seen as the final affirmation of human freedom. Exploring the concepts of freedom, choice and autonomy further led to a new and exciting way of exploring client's worlds as I made a conscious shift from the medical model approach to existential thinking. My existential journey led me to the point where I wanted to research a topic I was intrinsically interested in and which would help my local community; a deprived inner-city ward in Birmingham situated in the West Midlands region of the UK, where the highest number of FM cases are recorded (Jenkinson, 2012. P 5-8). In 2019 the West Midlands regions reported 173 cases of FM (13%) which was the third highest figures

compared to other areas of the UK (FCO. FMU 2020). According to Merrill & Owens (1986), in Birmingham south-Asian females were three times more likely to attempt suicide and these women's ages were much younger than similar (indigenous) white women in the comparison group sample. Asian born females the majority of whom were married, reported marital problems significantly more often and many of these were due to cultural conflicts over traditional customs and racial prejudice.

A report by Kaas-Menzies, (2017) looked at the effects of and experience with interventions for individuals exposed to FM; the report showed that little or potentially no primary research has been done on the effects of FM. It is therefore anticipated that a frank and open discussion about the struggles and challenges experienced by women who have in the past experienced FM will increase knowledge for improving psychotherapy and counselling services. This research study will also enhance understanding of how individuals create purpose and meaning when faced with a significant life event such as FM. According to the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FMU, 2020), forced marriage (FM) is a form of domestic violence (DV) and a serious abuse of human rights which is illegal in the UK. Anita & Gill (2009, p165) went further to say that FM also contributes to domestic violence after the marriage. The phenomenon of FM will therefore be explored by seeking to understand the deeper existential issues faced by women's past-experience of being forced to marry in relation to Yalom's (1980) existential perspective on DV; and the four dimensions of life model put forward by van Deurzen (1997, p137):

- 1) Physical- Potential loss of security
- 2) Social- Loss of close, longstanding relationships
- 3) Personal- Feelings of Isolation and Loneliness
- 4) Spiritual- Understanding what gives us purpose

## **1.1 Research Overview**

The aim of this research is to investigate, explore and elucidate the ramifications of the age-old custom of forced marriage (FM); from an existential /phenomenological perspective within the scope and context of 21<sup>st</sup> century Britain. The focus of this qualitative research will be on the individual subjective experience of women who have experienced FM which is missing from existing literature. It is also hoped that the study will deliver some interesting correlations between the participant's experiences and

possible questions for future research in this interesting area. The research report begins with a review of existing literature, carried out by searching NSPC Library, Middlesex University Library, Birmingham Central Library, BASE database, Psych info, & Psych Articles. No time span was specified in the search parameter's as including only recent references can result in important past insights being missed (Nelson, 2016). Followed by consideration of the methodology and detailed rationale for deploying interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). Eight participants were interviewed to generate qualitative data which was then subjected to IPA; from this data the emerging and superordinate themes were used to extrapolate results and discussion which formed the basis for conclusion. Methodology section includes information on how participants were selected, the research conducted, as well as strengths and limitations with future recommendations. Findings is the main section made up of an in-depth analysis of the participants accounts in relation to IPA, Yalom's (1980) existential perspective and the four worlds model proposed by van Deurzen (1997). Followed by discussion section which addresses findings from participants accounts in relation to the literature review material. In the penultimate section wider implications of the findings in relation to an emic and political perspective with recommendations will be set out followed by conclusion of the relevance and importance of the findings. Based on literature review the question this study would seek to address is 'the personal views of individuals who had previously experienced FM and subsequently left the marriage, to find out what it was like and what it really means for them'? The specific question being explore is the impact of past FM on adult females to determine how it affects individuals at a personal level. This study will help demystify the phenomenon of FM, illuminate the experience of FM from participant's vantage point, make-a-contribution to fill the academic gap of knowledge which exists and inform the field of psychotherapeutic practice.

**Key words:**

Marriage, arranged marriage, forced marriage, love marriage, south-Asian culture, collectivist culture, Individualistic culture, feminism, patriarchy, Colonialism, British Colonialism in south Asia, Kashmir conflict, profile of UK terrorists, profile of UK grooming gangs, female violence during partition, Bollywood movies, women collude in patriarchy.

## Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I will set out to introduce marriage as a global and traditional custom practised by many cultures. Then a definition of the phenomenon of forced marriage (FM) and the difficulties this entails for ‘victims’ of the crime will be outlined. Followed by a discussion of different parenting styles and the ways it feeds into explaining how the practice of honour-based crimes such as FM emerge; and be-seen-as acceptable under certain circumstances. Attention will then turn to the concepts of honour and shame in collectivist patriarchal south-Asian culture particularly in relation to an historical perspective, followed by a look at ‘the impact of Anglo-Saxon colonialism on females’. According to Martini (1997) in collectivist groups, individuals must learn to inhibit the expression of their own wants and needs to attend to the needs of the others in the group. This is the outcome achieved using more authoritarian parenting practices. Deference to authority is highly valued by more collectivist cultures (Hofstede, 1983).

According to London Feminist Network (2021) patriarchy is the historic unequal power relations between women and men whereby women are systematically disadvantaged and oppressed. Women in minority groups face multiple oppressions in UK society, as race, class and sexuality intersect for example with sexism. According to Thejls & Svantesson (2012) in FM looking at the women’s relationship to their husbands and the demands and expectations from the family shows that women have little or no rights, the men are-seen-as superior to women. This theoretical perspective will then be brought to life and right up to date with a focus on the tension between south-Asian diaspora community’s practice of FM in the UK, and the authorities scrambling to halt this unwanted and little understood ‘custom’ which has been criminalised since 2014. The focus will then shift to the ‘victims’ of FM and how they conceptualise and navigate this traditional cultural custom of a patriarchal culture, within a post-modern democratic society like the UK. The fact that arranged marriage (AM) and love marriage (LM) are acceptable global traditions will then be set out to explain how in south-Asian culture, a problematic continuum exists between LM, AM and FM.

## **2.1 Marriage**

According to Taher (2015. p 47), a marriage contract is usually preceded by an engagement which is an ancient custom found in numerous cultures and traditions through history and across the world in various forms. Engagement is seen as an introduction to a proposal for marriage and a first step into marriage (Taher, 2015. P54). Penn (2011. P 637-650) proposed that in contemporary society two types of marriages can be identified worldwide today: There are love marriages which dominate Western nations such as the USA and those in Europe. Arranged marriages (used by about half the world's population) on the other hand are prevalent in many parts of Asia and Africa (Penn, 2011). Both types of marriages co-exist in countries like the UK as a direct result of migration from developing to developed nations such as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Barot,1998). In the UK, a further distinction is made between arranged marriage (AM) and forced marriage (FM) (Penn, 2011. P 637-650). An arranged marriage is one in which parents and or relatives usually help select potential suitors, but where ultimately the consent to proceed to marriage or not rests with the couple themselves (Taher, 2015. P 12). According to del Rosario (2005. P67-69), an AM can be seen as a mode of matchmaking in which 'a cultural logic of desire' is mediated by the family and the individual where the exercise of choice and agency may be conditioned by several socio-economic factors. According to Charsley & Shaw (2006. P277-278), some British south-Asians describe 'an arranged love marriage' where there is an initial attraction between individuals who then ask their families to 'arrange' the marriage.

## **2.2 Forced Marriage**

According to the UK government, forced marriage (FM) is seen as a violation of women's human rights and as a form of violence against women, where there is no full and free consent and in which duress is used to enact the marriage or gain consent. Duress can involve psychological, financial, sexual, emotional, and physical violence, threats to harm or kill the victim and sexual intercourse within a FM is rape as consent has not been given. (Home Office, Forced Marriage Unit 2013). Taher (2015.p 9-11) agrees that in FM individuals are coerced under duress and against their will; whereas in AM parents and family members help and assist their children by introducing them to potential marriage partners whom they can freely accept or reject. Being forced into an engagement or marriage is unfair to the party that

disapproves of the marriage; compromising the very purpose of marriage which aims to find love/intimacy between the intended spouses (shortly after marriage).

According to Gangoli & Razak (2006), FM is prevalent in all south-Asian communities, and occurs to some extent in other communities (FMU, 2005). Gangoli & Chantler (2009) noted how many cultures prize the sexual purity of girls and women hence marriages in south Asian honour culture are seen as the only legitimate arena for sexual relations and likely to be a contributory factor in FM. Thejls & Svanteson (2012), argued that the distinction between FM, AM, and honour-based violence (HBV) are very vague and that often the terms go hand in hand. Research has indicated complex interplay and differences between FM & AM (Shah, 1991). A study carried out by Chantler (2017) in Scotland utilised a mixed methods approach involving distinct work packages: a survey to understand the level and profile of service use, policy analysis and interviews with protection leads, interviews with professionals (e.g., police, social workers, and voluntary sector workers), as well as interviews with eight survivors of FM to understand how services are responding to FM and to analyse the impact of legal interventions. The selection was based on areas where the non-white minority ethnic population exceeds the Scottish national average of 4%. One professional representative said "... we would define forced marriage more as a process which is rooted in gender-based violence so I would say that forced marriage is a process of grooming where someone is being prepared for a marriage and that over a period of time their ability to consent, or rather withdraw consent, is compromised" Chantler (2017, p19).

According to Chantler & McCarry (2019, p73) based on the (2017) study commissioned by and presented to the Scottish Government in 2019; although there was a clear delineation between AM and FM centred on the presence or absence of consent; the lived experiences of women in the study demonstrated that the demarcation between these categories is more fluid. For example, survivor 4 was engaged at the age of 8 years and taken from the United Kingdom to a south Asian country at the age of 15 years to be married to a stranger. Despite her lack of consent, forced removal to another country and being a child at both the time of the engagement and the marriage ceremony, survivor four describes this as an arranged marriage (AM) rather than a FM. It was argued that FM should be seen as a pattern of behaviour as most of the women were first introduced to their FM as adolescents and endured years of trauma before the marriage took place. Furthermore, for some of the women who managed to evade the ceremony, the trauma of the process of being forced into a marriage was no less profound. It is therefore essential to consider FM as a pattern of behaviour rather

than a discrete event. According to UK government, FM is an abuse of human rights and in the case of children it is considered as child abuse (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2013). Anitha and Gill (2009) argue “that consent and coercion in relation to marriage can be better understood as two ends of a continuum, between which lie degrees of sociocultural expectation, control, persuasion, pressure, threat and force” (p. 165). Similarly, other studies have also suggested that the difference between AM & FM, can sometimes be fuzzy & inchoate (Carrol, 1998). Khanum (2008) noted that the definition of FM should include ‘false marriages’, where ‘someone has been tricked into giving consent through false information for example the existence of previous marriages. Arguably the presence of a learning disability or severe mental illness should be disclosed. Sabbe (2013) argued that in conceptualizing a FM it is difficult to determine if the union was entered into freely. It is clear-cut in the case of physical violence denying a person’s freedom of consent; however, feelings of anxiety and fear can overrule any resistance to a marriage, making the individual vulnerable and unable to refuse.

Chantler, Gangoli & Hester (2009) carried out a multi-modal qualitative study focusing on the impact of increasing the age of sponsorship for marriage from 18 to 21 or 24 years for non-EU citizens; in Birmingham, Tower Hamlets and Manchester as these locations had communities with high levels of FM. Familiarization interviews with thirteen individuals from a range of key government departments included organizations such as the Metropolitan Police, the Forced Marriage Unit and the Immigration and Nationality Directorate. Stakeholder interviews with 45 individuals included women’s aid organizations, community organizations, refugee organizations, mosques, counsellors, college staff, and the police. These were largely face-to-face, semi-structured in-depth interviews; 38 survivors of forced marriage (33 women and 5 men) were identified via stakeholders using the snowballing techniques and it was therefore a purposive sample.

Initial findings showed that the term ‘force’ was not adequate to cover issues of subtle pressure where a young person may not realize what is taking place until it is too late, or they may not themselves identify the marriage as ‘forced’ in the absence of physical violence. The researchers responded by utilising an approach that would tease out the various components of what might constitute a FM i.e., pregnancy outside of marriage, being gay, feeling unable to say no to potential suitors for fear of upsetting family etc. One respondent pointed out that marriage was seen as a ‘cure’ for ‘deviant’ sexual behaviour. Additionally, FM cases often

include community members who would not be seen as family members in the mainstream British sense. If the marriage arrangements are rushed and the young person does not fully understand what is happening, with insufficient time to respond, or with inadequate information, the notion of consent is also questionable. The pressures to remain in forced marriages was deemed like that encountered at the point of entry. In the young Bangladeshi women's focus group, it was believed that FM was more likely if the young woman was misbehaving, i.e., gets caught . . . doing something wrong, like having a boyfriend, smoking, doing drugs, or drinking alcohol. Bangladeshi men who married British Bangladeshi women did so because they believed that it would improve their financial status. Women expressed the view that inability to escape also needed to be conceptualized as a FM, with long term negative impacts on the women.

Whilst it is right that the focus should be on 'consent', the interview material found that consent is sometimes hard to establish. Furthermore, there may be cases where despite refusal, a marriage still take place. The study illustrates why a sole focus on increasing the age of sponsorship or marriage to 21 or 24 years for non-EU marriages may not prevent FM. Issues of poverty, sexuality, gender inequalities, violence, child marriages, and immigration and asylum featured strongly in survivor accounts as conduits into FM. Most survivors interviewed were south Asian (87%) providing support for the argument that FM is an issue within these communities. Chantler (2012) also found routes into FM included being homosexual, previous family abuse, and inappropriate relationships with the opposite sex. In 2019 of the total 1,355 cases the FMU dealt with, 1,080 (80%) involving female victims hence this research will focus on FM from a female perspective (FMU 2020 website p 3). From my personal experience of working with this minority group, the practice of forced marriage seems traumatic, deeply entrenched and government initiatives appear to have little effect on perpetrators as they are hard to reach. However, if FM is a clear violation of women's human rights, then why did it start and more importantly why does it continue? To answer this question, the following sections will look at the socialisation practices of individualist and collectivist cultures and the concept of 'honour' in-order-to understand the practice of FM.



### 2.3 Different Parenting styles

This section explores some of the reasons which may contribute to the social cohesion of in-groups in relation to collectivist groups which appear very different from those of individualistic backgrounds. According to Hofstede (1994), individualism-collectivism dimensions are designed to show the relationship between the individual and the community. In a traditional collectivist society, group interests should be upheld above individual interests; and a personal sense of belonging is based on collective identity where ‘teamwork spirit’ is one of the most important values of the whole community. In a society controlled by individualism, personal interests are put first, and people have freedom to make their own decisions instead of worrying too much about the interests of others or the whole community. Rudy & Grusec (2001), carried out a cross-cultural study in which mothers of children in individualistic (Western European) and collectivist (Indian, Pakistani) backgrounds were investigated to elucidate the meaning of authoritarian parenting. Correlates of authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist cultures and implications for understanding the transmission of values; was carried out using two sets of participants. The first set was made up of 33 Egyptian-Canadian participants, of these 19 were female and 14 males, 26 were parents and 7 non-parents. The second set was made up of 31 Anglo-Canadian participants, of which 24 were female and 7 males, 21 were parents and 10 non-parents. Participants filled out two measures of collectivist thought by completing four vignettes (presented in random order); the Success scale; the Collect scale; the PAT; and a questionnaire that contained the items assessing authoritarianism, warmth, and nurturance. Participants were asked to fill out the questionnaires keeping a 7-year-old child in mind (the sex of the child was randomly assigned) and to imagine that it was their child. The first scale measured collectivism with respect to the nuclear and extended family. The second scale asked questions reflecting collectivist concerns in raising children. The Egyptian Canadian sample was chosen because Arabic cultural groups have been found to score relatively high on measures of collectivism (Hofstede, 1983). As expected, there was a trend for the measure of collectivism regarding family and kin—Collect—to be associated with parental authoritarianism in the Egyptian Canadian sample; this association was not significant in the Anglo-Canadian sample. Also as expected, there was a significant effect of sample on authoritarianism. Egyptian Canadians scored higher than Anglo-Canadians. Using MANOVA statistical analysis it was found that collectivist cultures commonly use higher levels of control over children, emphasize obedience, and are more restraining during play and feeding than individualistic cultures.

Findings showed that the higher levels of authoritarianism that often characterize parents from collectivist cultural groups (e.g., Chao, 1994; Harwood, Schulze, & Gonzalez, 1999) are not necessarily accompanied by overall lower levels of warmth; more negative (dispositional) attributions about children; or more automatic, maladaptive, and inflexible processing of information. The results of this study indicate that higher levels of parental authoritarianism in non-Anglo cultural groups may not necessarily be accompanied by more negative ways of thinking and feeling about children. Thus, the Egyptian Canadian group scored higher than the Anglo-Canadian group on authoritarianism but did not differ in levels of warmth or maladaptive thinking about children in the discipline situation. The implication for the current study is that collectivist, authoritarian south-Asian parents may well have their children's best interests at heart even though they might be forcing them into marriage.

According to Martini (1997) in collectivist groups, individuals must learn to inhibit the expression of their own wants and needs to attend to needs of the others in the group. This is the outcome achieved using more authoritarian parenting practices. Shifflett, (2003), agreed that cultures can be divided into two subsets, individualistic and collectivist. Individualist cultures tend to lean towards valuing independency and collectivist cultures tend to lean toward effects of one's actions on the family and society. In collectivist cultures the aim of socialisation since birth is to integrate the individual into strong cohesive in-groups. (Hofstede, 1991). Within collectivist cultures, relationships and family values play a crucial role in determining social behaviour (Guess, 2004; Konky, 1999). Collectivist attitudes do not appear to value independence in the same way as Individualist's do, but this falls far short of explaining the phenomenon of FM being associated heavily with collectivist cultures.

## **2.4 Honour Crimes**

This section sets out to argue how the practice of endogamy and the notion of honour which is used by diaspora communities in the West to control women's sexuality, also lays the foundations for honour-based crimes against women such as FM and furthermore has parallels with gender-based violence against women in general. According to Sharma (2015) diaspora communities are the groups of people who migrate from one place to another and settle down. There can be issues related to adaptation, adjustment, and integration of diaspora communities within the host society. South Asian diaspora in the United Kingdom (UK) includes migrants from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. According to Morgan (2007), in

many collectivist cultures marriage is seen as a union between more than two individuals. This collectivism can lead to endogamy i.e., to get married within a specific community such as the same clan or tribe, religion, or cast. Kalmijn (1998. p396) concurs endogamy is the tendency of people to marry within the group, “defined on-the-basis-of ascribed characteristics, such as ethnicity, race, or religion”. Endogamy is quite common within diaspora communities in the west, which shows a lack of integration between collectivist and mainstream communities (Morgan *et al* 2007).

According to Chantler (2012) in south Asian communities, marriage ceremonies prioritise consensus at the expense of the western concept of ‘free consent’. Furthermore, a high value is placed on community and family involvement providing a complex and power-laden social situation in which negotiations take place. This re-framing enables us to analyse understandings of motivations, micro-powers, and its navigation rather than questions of choice and consent. Individuals who choose to practice exogamy finding a husband or wife outside one’s own group (Atifa (2013, p. 347)) - within collectivist cultures can experience criticism, social ostracising and even honour crimes within their communities. One such crime is FM which is usually done to practice endogamy, to preserve cultural traditions and to maintain family honour by controlling sexuality (Morgan 2007). Chantler (2012) highlighted three key themes in relation to FM: Many cases are not reported; professionals lack knowledge and are fearful of being labelled culturally insensitive if they did intervene; there is also tension between those that regard FM as a cultural practice and those who see it as gender-based violence. According to Dyer (2015) women’s failure to perform their ‘responsibilities’ to uphold the family honour represents a threat to their personal safety and autonomy. ‘Honour’ is usually seen as central to the social standing and position of families within certain communities. largely believed to be embodied by young women and “is based on absolutely every move that (the woman) makes or every word that she says” (Dyer 2015, p 11). The family ‘honour’ is therefore vested in her behaviour, appearance, and sexuality, and is “there to be guarded by men” (Dyer 2015, p11). Women are taught from birth to follow a set of rules, or ‘honour’ codes, in-order-to avoid bringing ‘dishonour’ to the family. Such codes can vary from family to family but are always based upon the regulation of the woman’s independence and freedom of movement, i.e., whether she is allowed to leave the family home and if so, who with and for how long?

According to campaigner Jasvinder Sanghera, “a woman has to be controlled; she has to be sexually submissive, until it’s time for her to be married” (Dyer 2015, p11). Adherence to these ‘honour’-codes is often guarded and enforced through ‘honour’-based violence (HBV), ranging from emotional and psychological abuse such as threats and intimidation, to sexual and physical abuse including rape, violence and even murder. FM is also a closely associated practice since it is an honour-based form of abuse. HBV is violence arising from attempts to restore damaged ‘honour’ by punishing the individual involved (Coomaraswamy,2005). Honour crimes such as FM receive a lot of support from the victim’s families and communities largely due to the potential for families to be socially ostracised if they allow their daughters to marry the partners of their choice (Rid,2012).

Although honour is hard to define in a linear fashion as it is socially constructed; it can be defined in relation to controlling women’s sexuality, bodily integrity i.e., ability to move freely without being assaulted and retaining the ability to make reproductive choices (Nussbaum,2000); and their choices such as to marry or study. Relationships and family values play a crucial role in determining social behaviours and in these settings notions of collective honour exist in-regards-to morality. (Sen,2005. P 42-63). According to Shah & Davis (2011), honour is achieved and restored collectively between families and communities and is closely associated with controlling women’s sexuality. Since Martini *et al* (1997) showed in collectivist groups, individuals must learn to inhibit the expression of their own wants and needs to attend to the needs of the others in the group. This is the outcome achieved using more authoritarian parenting practices. Deference to authority is highly valued by more collectivist cultures (Hofstede,*et al* 1983).

According to Weedon (1999) feminism is a reaction to traditional assumptions in which the man is the provider for the family and the woman is seen as a passive nurturer or vulnerable sexual partner. A significant concept within radical feminist theory in patriarchy, a social system which attributes privilege and power to men over women (Payne, *et al* 2005). Women are taught from birth to follow a set of rules, or ‘honour’ codes, in-order-to avoid bringing ‘dishonour’ to the family (Dyer *et al* 2015, p11). Honour crimes that are committed to restore patriarchal honour can therefore be supported from victim’s families and communities and hence result in the underreporting of honour crimes such as FM (Shah & Davis *et al*). This scenario can be seen in the context of the tolerance of gender-based violence against women. According to Herbert, Hill & Dickenson, (2009) gender-based violence refers to violence

which disproportionately affects women more than men and is perpetrated against women just because they are women (Kohli, 2015). According to unwoman.org (2019) estimates show 35% of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or sexual violence by a non-partner (not including sexual harassment) at some point in their lives. Some national studies show that up to 70% of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner in their lifetime (p1). Despite the frequency and tremendous impact on women's physical, sexual, reproductive, and mental health, as well as their children's health and development; many women do not report violence or seek help, so it remains hidden (Campbell, 2002. P 22-3 & World Health Organisation 2013). Rose (2021) articulated how recent sexual predators such as Harvey Weinstein and Jimmy Saville's acts of violence had hovered for decades on the periphery of society hidden in plain sight. Therefore the #MeToo movement is not only a challenge to male entitlement but also asks a serious question about the sanity of some men.

According to Mchanty it is assumed in literature that women of south Asian culture for example lack agency judged by Western standards of individualism. Furthermore, cultural differences are viewed as clash of values: the Western 'progressive' values of freedom and choice, against 'their' 'backward' values coupled with 'tradition'. This liberal individualist concept of full and free 'consent' in marriage, is viewed as the norm against which cultural practices are always compared, however the cultural experience of south Asian people suggests a nuanced boundary between forced and arranged with a more processual (like a process than a specific event) characteristic to decision making in relation to marriage (Mchanty 1988). If gender/honour-based violence such as FM has tremendous impact on women's well-being, then why is it tacitly accepted and not explicitly rejected by being reported? This section has looked at honour and shame as important signifiers of collectivist cultures. Next section explores how the concepts of honour and shame can lead to domination and subjugation of women who are-seen-as second-class citizens in the patriarchal system of kinship within south-Asian honour culture more commonly known as 'baradari'.

## **2.5 Honour culture**

Chaudhary (2013) postulated that the birth of a female child in-itself is a matter of shame in south-Asian culture unlike a male child which is a matter of honour (p126). This is clearly reflected through the body language of many fathers who respond with silent shame on the

birth of a female child, but with evident pleasure on the birth of a son (p126). Furthermore, that shame is associated with female sexuality and the female body and the females every action is measured against a scale of honour devised by the men of her family. According to Chaudhary (2013) Women are expected to earn their share of honour in society through conditions such as preservation of sexuality, enduring a marriage (even a violent marriage) and bearing sons (p126-27). Men, however, do not seem to require any specific 'achievements' to claim honour. Furthermore, shame is made synonymous with the female body by associating it with female sexuality. Consequently, the female body becomes the primary site of male control and surveillance and shame becomes a disciplinary tool (Chaudhary 2013. P 126-127).

In south Asian culture the baradari (patrilineage, literally "brotherhood") is a very important social institution. Endogamy is widely practiced, often to a degree that would be considered inappropriate in Western society for instance; the preferred marriage for a man within many Pakistani communities is with his father's brother's daughter, and among many other groups marriages are invariably within the baradari. The lineage elders constitute a council that adjudicates disputes within the lineage (clan/group) and acts on behalf of the lineage with the outside world (Ziring & Burki 2020. p6). According to Schlytter (2004. P 24), honour is recognised as something positive, good, desirable in many cultures and shame is the opposite, giving negative social judgement that exists in all societies. According to Koch, (2008) honour culture did not arise by evil intention; it was created due to rational reasons in societies where welfare is non-existent, suggesting that in the absence of a welfare state system; honour culture is a rational response to solidify family bonds to increase likelihood of family survival. Loyalty is crucial especially between parents and children (p42). Bourdieu (1999) went further to say that honour is a very important symbolic capital and can belong to a whole extended-family, and not just one man, honour can exist in the family name and that way get inherited. Wikan (2008) proposed that men have honour and women have shame. Men's honour therefore fully depends on the woman, and the burden of keeping the honour lies on the shoulders of men (p9-10). If a woman's behaviour is deemed inappropriate by men, the whole family's reputation will be destroyed because of a lack of control over women (Koch,2008, p40). Jia (2003) contends that south Asian women seem to continue being submissive, even against their personal interests, continuing to obey rather than defy...Their submission becomes a habit for many, a way of life, the line of least resistance,

requiring little thought and little mental struggle. Promoted as a virtue, a state of being aspired to, the mark or badge of a dutiful, desirable daughter/wife/daughter-in-law (p.376).

Thejls & Svantesson (2012), proposed that in the family sphere patriarchy is strongly related to the control of women's sexuality in radical feminist theory. According to radical feminism, women's oppression is created by men as they are categorised as an inferior class. Women form a class and men another where the classes are-in-conflict with each other. The class "men" is seen as superior to women, simply because of their gender (Abbott and Wallace, 1993, p 13-14). Due to patriarchy all women have a common interest; since they are oppressed and exploited by men (p253). Radical feminist theory suggests that women are-seen-as sexual objects, domestic servants, and cheap labour (Bryson, 2003, p.165). According to Payne (2005) girls in patriarchal societies are always treated as second-class citizens in their families due to their low status. (p.252). According to Abbott and Wallace (1993, p251-253) Marxist or Socialist feminism focuses concern on the oppression of women, within our social system which is based on class. They argue that the structural inequality is formed within our class and that it is the base for our social system. According to Bourdieu (1999, p56), men's dominant position in society is maintained by using conscious strategies to subordinate women i.e., by treating women as objects men are the rulers over production and reproduction and women are the processed products of that work. The man is seen as the subject and the woman is perceived as the object (Bourdieu 1999, p 56-62). The next section looks further at the intergenerational impact of Anglo-Saxon colonialism on indigenous populations particularly women.

## **2.6 The Impact of Anglo-Saxon Colonialism on Females**

The impact of colonialism is not just measured in terms of financial exploitation and the dehumanisation of the colonised but also has profound implications for the legacy of transgenerational trauma. According to Rose (2021) post-apartheid South Africa for example is a former British colony where all forms of violence- historic, intimate, coalesce and intensify by spreading throughout the social fabric. South African violence is one of the deadliest twentieth century examples of state violence and the steadfast political ambitions that succeeded in ending it. Cecil Rhodes the historic Prime Minister of the cape Colony (south Africa) believed that Anglo-Saxons (British) were the first race with the god given

right to rule the world. Rhodes persuaded the British government that expansion using the instruments of violence i.e., subjugation and exploitation of indigenous people was not only necessary to protect their investment but also a holy duty. Today South Africa has one of the world's worst rates of sexual violence with over a hundred rapes reported daily. Violence against women and girls has been described as the collateral damage of a society in which injustice and inequality have robbed the dreams of freedom, lost to corruption, and plagued by gendered violence.

According to Fanon (2008) a colonial psychiatrist at a psychiatric hospital, all forms of racism are the same since they show the same collapse, i.e., bankruptcy of man/(woman). In fact all such forms of exploitation are identical because all of them are applied against the same object which is man/(woman). When one tries to examine the structure of this or that form of exploitation from an abstract point of view, one overlooks the major, basic problem which is that of restoring man/woman to his/her proper place. In this way colonial racism is no different from any other form of racism. Yes, European civilization and its best representatives are responsible for colonial racism and every citizen of a nation (including its prime minister) is responsible for actions committed in the name of that nation. In practice, therefore, an inferiority complex connected with the colour of the skin is only found among those who form a minority within another group or race. A white man in a colony however has never felt inferior in any respect; he will be deified (worshipped) or devoured but the colonial, even though he is in the minority, does not feel that this makes him inferior. The feeling of inferiority of the colonized is the correlative to the Europeans feeling of superiority. Let us have the courage to say it outright that "it is the [colonial] racist who creates his inferior" (Markmann,1986. p93). The colonised man begins to suffer from not being a white man to the degree that the white man imposes discrimination on an individual, making him a colonised native, robbing him/(her) of all dignity, all individuality, telling them that they are a parasite on the world, that they must bring themselves as quickly as possible into step with the white world. The white man says, "that I am a brute beast, that my people and I are like a walking dung-heap that disgustingly fertilizes sugar cane and cotton fields, that I have no use in the world." (Markmann,1986. p98) Then I will quite simply change by trying to make myself white; that is, I will compel the white man to acknowledge that I am human. The colonised is overwhelmed by the wish to be white, because he lives in a society that makes his inferiority complex possible, in a society that derives its stability from the perpetuation of this complex, in a society that proclaims the superiority of one race; to the



identical degree to which that society creates difficulties for him, he will find himself thrust into a neurotic situation (Markmann,1986. p100).

Malhotra & Carrillo (2016) articulated how the paradoxical relationship between sound and silence is diminished when we assume an equation between voice and agency and the opposite in silence and oppression. In Western traditions, voice is privileged as the goal of and means to achieve empowerment. For an individual who is silenced, to gain power they must activate voice to resist and change the conditions of their oppression. The marginalised classes gaining voice captures the political imagination, shifting the focus onto those in power urging them to listen. Opening space between transnational feminist work on subalternity (the colonial populations) and US third world feminist, calls for women of colour to come to voice. Clark (2020 p376) wrote ‘Silence is... emblematic of powerlessness in our society and it is therefore not surprising that rape survivors often remain silent about their experiences’. The feminist communication studies scholar Campbell (1989) undertook important work focusing on women’s silences and the patriarchal conditions under which they are produced as such silences have been equated with oppression. Rose (2021) articulated how recent global student protests informed the world that the project of equality had not worked and shedding the trauma of colonialism through the process of decolonisation was only just beginning. If South Africa brings such reality of transgenerational trauma into sharp focus it is because the country publicly confronted the legacy of violence through the Truth and Reconciliation commission in 1995; for victims and perpetrators to tell their stories in a bid to lay the past to rest. Going to South Africa taught Rose that violence cannot be severed from the historic legacies of British oppression and never belongs solely in the present (or past) context. Das (2008) went further in that the various Truth and Reconciliation commissions established in countries such as South Africa which have experienced massive state-sponsored violence over a protracted period need a public forum where the atrocities enacted on people can be brought to light outside the strict legal protocols. Researchers discovered that despite the freedom to narrate their experiences of violence, women often spoke on behalf of their kin but were unable to voice their personal experience of sexual violence.

According to Robbins (2011) a focus on indigenous healing, when discussing indigenous knowledge systems and spirituality, is paramount today due to the historic systematic suppression of indigenous cultural expressions during colonization. In Canada, there appears

to be a historical policy shift of attitude towards indigenous traditional healing from one of disfavour to favour but there are continuing challenges to traditional healing. Mainstream perceptions and subsequent policy implementations sometimes still reflect attitudes that were formulated during the decline of traditional healing practice during colonialism.

Consequently, the ability for certain communities to maintain and use their specific understandings of indigenous knowledge continues to encounter obstacles. Indigenous Knowledge systems are living entities and should not be viewed as relics of the past. Today, these knowledge systems are still greatly being applied to help indigenous communities and indigenous people recover from intergenerational pain and suffering endured during the colonization process. Future policy development and implementation should aim to support indigenous peoples and communities when they decide to learn about, maintain, and build upon the knowledge amassed by their ancestors. Healthy healing community revolves around communication where individuals can talk openly and be heard i.e., by the community and governments. Communication within the community and helping each other is important in order to have a healed community.

According to Chatterjee (1989) in south Asia the nationalist resolution of the ‘woman’s question’ was a central issue in some of the most controversial debates over social reform in mid-nineteenth century Bengal. Resulting from Western ideas under colonialism in households with over 100 rupees income; women no longer cooked, cleaned etc themselves but had servants to do that for them, the women read books and played cards. The results were untidiness, poor meals, and weak children. Although the intermingling of men and women does make men acquire some tender and spiritual qualities; but can the loss in women’s character be compensated by acquiring a degree of tenderness in the male? On the premise that in the Arya (Indian) system the woman is a goddess and in the European system she is a companion; Chatterjee proposed a new norm could be made of organising the family. Adjustments would be made in the external world of material activity where men would bear the brunt of this task and women’s life at home would also have to change but the crucial requirement was maintaining indigenous spirituality and in relation to external changes women could not lose their feminine virtue. There would have to be a marked difference in the degree of Westernisation of women from men. This "new patriarchy" distinguished itself from the West and its own people. However, the new politics of nationalism quickly ‘hardened’ against any attempt to alter ‘India’s glorified past’ – nationalism tended to defend

everything traditional fostering a distinctly conservative attitude toward women and modernisation was hence disrupted by nationalist politics.

According to Chaudhary (2013) during the 1940s, the years when Muslims of India were striving for a separate homeland, women were encouraged to step out of their domestic spheres and aid the struggle for independence. “Partition pushed women into fashioning new survival strategies and opened up new avenues of education, training, and employment for them...as boundaries between private and public shifted back and forth to accommodate this reorganisation” (Datta, 2006, p.2229). Historically, Muslim women such as Begum Shahnawaz, and others, held protests and rallies to speed up the creation of Pakistan. As Pakistan came into existence in 1947 however, women were once again forced to remain within the domestic spheres and to avoid public participation. Pakistan’s founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, proposed a democratic and secular set up for the new country. He particularly emphasised the importance of women’s participation in nation building and encouraged their educational and professional development. His approach, however, was soon forgotten after his tragic and sudden death in 1948. Tummala-Narra (2020) agrees the impact of colonialism is staggering since it is largely women whose rights were deeply damaged and changed. Men’s interaction with women also changed in terms of the impact on men, moving to a more subservient role and being subjugated has an impact in terms of a sense of power, agency, a sense of belonging and decision making; since being ruled and overruled, carries with it a deep sense of helplessness and powerlessness. In Western feminism, talk is often of men subjugating women with almost no mention of foreign rule also subjugating women. We can therefore conclude that women suffered an even lower status under British colonial rule than what they had prior to colonization.

Currently it is suggested that in the UK while parents forcing their young people into marriage believe they are upholding the cultural practices from their country of origin in-reality such practices had moved on. FM is therefore seen a product of the diasporic experience and not a ‘traditional practice’ (Home Office 2000, Philip & Dustin 2004). According to Dyer (2015, p10) many women come to the UK to escape violent cultural practises abroad, from female genital mutilation to the threat of ‘honour’ killings, but find they are met with the same brutality and dangers here. Sanchez-Grant (2008) agrees that “the female body as a site of oppression has always been the means by which patriarchy exerts control over women” (p.78). Some British-Asian females are therefore treated like second

class citizens on-the-basis-of gender but do not appear to protest for equality in line with the values and aspirations of their Western counterparts. Western feminist theorists and writers such as, Mary Wollstonecraft (1792), Simone De Beauvoir (1949) and Betty Friedan (1963) were explored and built on by critics and writers such as Susan Bordo (1993), Rosi Braidotti (1994), Elizabeth Grosz (1995) and Judith Butler (1993). These theorists among many others have provided their insights to expand and develop the scholarship on issues relating to the female body, sex, and gender. These discussions emerged to understand, highlight, and explore the importance and position of bodies and sexuality (especially female) within cultural, religious, and philosophical discourses (Chaudhary 2013. P 69). The reasons behind this imbalance and reluctance will form the topic of discussion in the next section.

## **2.7 Male Honour**

This section will outline the social controls deployed by diasporic and insular men in open Western and diasporic patriarchal communities to exploit women. If women do not live up to the high cultural standards expected by males based on honour codes, then this can lead to honour crimes being committed to restore perceived loss of male honour within the community (Rid, 2012). According to Das (2008 p292) The high prevalence of domestic violence (DV), child abuse, and female domestic servant abuse in various societies across class has been analysed to show that the home can be a place of terror for many women who are blamed for not being able to maintain the ‘ideal home’. Male dominion over the home therefore often translates into DV and women who have experienced DV usually cannot anticipate when the blows will come and for what reason. Many women tend to blame themselves for the DV since they have internalized their husbands’ accusations of failing to create the ideal home. Women find it impossible to leave the abusive relationship because all their social networks derive from their positions as wives. Help from state agencies is often hard to obtain because the police tend to treat violence in the home as a private affair between spouses. Since awareness of DV has increased and as it becomes framed as a public health issue, the conceptual issues of defining what constitutes DV, however, has still not been resolved. Women’s failure to perform their ‘responsibilities’ to uphold the family honour represents a threat to their personal safety and autonomy (Dyer,2015). Gender-based violence (GBV) or Domestic Violence (DV) is a global public health and human rights concern. GBV includes any act of coercion, verbal, or physical force, directed at a woman or girl causing physical or psychological harm, humiliation, and which perpetuates female subordination.

GBV/DV arise from unequal power relations between men and women and continue to be reinforced through entrenched patriarchal values. Persistent patriarchy and dominance of Hindu religion and culture has treated women as a second-class citizen. Furthermore, Hindu scripture also suggest that fathers, husbands and even sons should control women (Sanjel 2013. P180). ‘Honour’ based violence is violence arising from attempts to restore damaged ‘honour’ by punishing the individual involved (Coomaraswamy,2005). Honour crimes such as FM receive a lot of support from the victim’s families and communities largely due to the potential for families to be socially ostracised if they allow their daughters to marry the partners of their choice (Rid, *et al*). According to Walby (1990), Western societies have developed from private to public patriarchy over the last 100 years; where women may still be exploited by men through their subordination in public arenas of employment but individual patriarchies within their families may no longer exploit them. In multicultural Western societies both private and public patriarchies co-exist. Women from diaspora communities such as British-Asians can be victims of private patriarchy within their local communities and through access to public arenas they suffer further marginalisation at the public level, based on their gender, race & ethnicity. Physical violence, abduction, deception, and imprisonment are common for victims of FM. (Dasgupta, 2008. P277-278; Shakti,2010).

“The honour of men is not produced through their own chastity, but through association with the chaste bodies of the women in their family” (Badran, 2009, p.171). Women are emblems of honour (Shah-Davis, 2011) and carriers of cultural values (Yuval-Davis,1997); failing to reproduce such socio-cultural expectations can lead to honour crimes. By conducting such honour-based crimes, male perpetrators often gain respect & recognition for preserving the community’s honour (Sen,2005). According to the FCO FMU (2020) The number of FM cases in 2018 represents a 13% increase upon (the previous) average and is the highest number since these statistics were first produced in 2011. According to Kholi (2015) FM has increased in Western countries due to the increase in population of diaspora communities. Since a FM is one in which one or both spouses do not (or, in the case of some adults with learning or physical disabilities or mental incapacity, cannot) consent to the marriage, and violence, threats, or any other form of coercion is involved (FCO FMU, 2020). For some south-Asian women, past experiences of other women such as a sister disowned for refusing to accept a marriage; may convince an individual that withholding consent is pointless as it will lead to intense physical and emotional threats (Anitha & Gill, 2009 p.165-184).

According to Wilson (2010), power relations within family and community contexts can

undermine the notion of individual choice in marriage, thereby rendering it meaningless in practice. Since FM is increasing in Western countries such as the UK due largely to migration from south Asian countries, we need to examine the socio-political background of these nations in-order-to explore the reasons behind such trends.

## **2.8 Historic south-Asian Honour Culture**

Pennebaker (2000), points out how sexual segregation, through veiling and seclusion of women was historically a prevalent south Asian cultural norm with Hindus and Muslims. The word 'purdah'/veiling originally derives from the Persian language and gives the literal meaning of 'a curtain', in the form of clothes; it refers to, 'burqa', with the aim of concealing the female body (Abid, 2009. p1-10). Abid explains that the symbolic meaning of purdah/veiling stands for the 'seclusion' or 'separation' of the sexes. Palkar (1995) went further with the contention that "purdah reduces women to invisibility and silences and thereby deprives her of her separate identity" (p.108). According to Chaudhary (2013) ignorance of sexual matters is associated with modesty read as sharam (shame) which, in turn, is associated with purdah/veiling. Modesty and sharam enjoins the female figures to be silent and obedient especially in matters relating to issues such as (her own) marriage (p, 75).

According to Nylin (2013) India is a culturally diverse country with many geographical differences. Majority of the population is Hindu, followed by Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs. Nonetheless, people from these other groups follow many of the socio-religious beliefs and practices of Hinduism; the practice of arranged marriage (AM) is one of them (Mullatthi 1995). Several sources confirm that AM is the norm and custom among the majority-of the cultural, ethnic, and religious groups in India. However, according to some, love-marriage (LM) as a practice has increased in popularity in Indian society, challenging conventional marital norms (Allendorf 2013; Goli, Singh, Sekher 2013). Love, affection, and romantic relationships before marriage are not encouraged and the wish for a LM often encounters strong disapproval from parents (Grover 2009). Commonly, they are viewed as less ideal, based on personal choice, on ignorance of the parent's judgment and selection. These are characteristics of societies that emphasize individualism, which become contradictory in India, since it is characterized as a collective society (Nylin. 2013, P4). Samad & Eade found young female respondents associated greater risk with LM because, if there were difficulties, family support will not necessarily be forthcoming as in an AM. LM implied leaving the

security of the extended family and this factor was taken-into-account by young, educated women (Samad & Eade 2002. P42).

According to Chaudhary (2013) in her thesis: hiding and seeking identity, Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh women all lived under a similar patriarchal system in the Indian (south-Asian) sub-continent. As we have seen in section 2.5, for Ziring & Burki *et al* the baradari (patrilineage, literally “brotherhood”) is a very important social institution in south-Asian culture where endogamy is widely practiced, often to a degree that would not be considered appropriate in Western society. Kandiyoti (1998) explains how south Asian women’s coping mechanisms within concrete constraints lead to temporally, culturally grounded conceptions of patriarchal systems in comparison to abstract notions of patriarchy in contemporary feminist theory identified as “Patriarchal bargain”. Women are presented with different forms of patriarchy with “distinct rules of the game” (Kandiyoti, p274) requiring different strategies to maximise security in the face of oppression. Patriarchal bargain is defined as the model for women’s strategies to deal with patriarchy within any society in relation to variations within caste, class, and ethnicity. Girls under classic patriarchy are often given away in marriage into households headed by the husband’s father. Once married they are subordinate to all the men and senior women such as their mother-in-law in the household. The new bride enters as a dispossessed individual who can establish herself through physical labour and by producing male offspring. The hardship endured will eventually be rewarded by the authority and control she will have over her own subservient daughter(s) in-law. In classic patriarchy subordination to men is offset by the control older women attain over younger women. Sons are a woman’s most critical resource as security in old age and they have a vested interest in the suppression of romantic love to lay claim on son’s primary allegiance. Women would rather adopt interpersonal strategies to maximise security through manipulation of the affections of their sons and husbands rather than attempt to resist unfavourable labour relations in the household. The next section continues the analysis by focusing on the UK’s role in south Asia.

## **2.9 The UK’s role in south-Asia**

According to Blakemore (2019) from 1858-1947 Britain ruled the Indian sub-continent directly through the British crown (no page no). Shaheed (1991) added that to control and administer large territories under their rule, without deploying large numbers of British, the

British Raj strengthened the feudal and/or tribal system in the rural areas by making land alienable (by transferring to) and granting feudal and tribal leaders' absolute ownership [power]. In turn this increased the over-all hold of the feudal ideology in rural areas, which incorporated the most rigid forms of purdah and the social control of women. (p.152). Newbiggin (2009) went further in exploring changes in the Indian state's habits of governance during the twentieth century. Rather than making the state more accountable to Indian society, political representation reinforced in new ways many of the coercive power relations on which colonial rule had come to depend. Interested in mobilising Indian resources at minimum cost, British officials encouraged local 'men of influence' to use their authority to discipline and order local society. The colonial government turning a blind eye to how this was achieved, so long as it did not interfere with their own interests (p125). The British colonial power reinforced Indian men's authority in terms of the control they were able to exercise over members of their family and kinship group. These patriarchal structures and the power and influence of Hindu law meant that the joint family rested on the exclusion of women. The deeply hierarchical structure of colonial governance gave rise to mounting social tensions which following constitutional reforms in the early-twentieth century, seeped into state legislature. This expansion of the franchise granted influence on Indian men who had over time, come to enjoy greater social influence but who remained subordinate to more powerful patriarchs within the rigid social hierarchies of colonialism (p142).

Based on the Sarda act (1929), Sarda argues, that cutting through the hierarchy of religious law in which a person's rights were circumscribed by their age, religious and caste identity, the act acknowledged the state's responsibility to an individual Indian citizen. Secondly, committing the state to securing and defending the individual rights of its female citizens against male transgressors, the Sarda Act was fundamental in developing nationalist thinking about 'positive discrimination' and, eventually, the formulation of fundamental (female) rights. While agreeing that the passage of the Sarda Act marked a seminal moment in the debate about rights and the evolution of Indian citizenship, Newbiggin argues that the fundamental rights themselves, failed to bring about the changes many expected in gender equality. That, to understand the interwar debates about women's rights, and their post-colonial legacy, we must place them within a wider context of a shift in Indian, and especially Hindu, patriarchy (p124).

Before 1947 religious riots broke out across British India (south Asia) between Hindu majority and Muslim minority populations, leaving tens of thousand's dead, Britain faced



increasing pressure to grant independence and parliament decided to end British rule in 1948 (Blakemore *et al*, no page no). In 1947 however, the Indian subcontinent which had been under the rule of the British Empire was partitioned into two countries India and Pakistan (Bangladesh became the territory of Pakistan). As the British withdrew from the (Indian) subcontinent, this withdrawal which was a political movement (based on previous unrest and subsequent partition) resulted in an atmosphere of chaos and upheaval as Sikhs and Hindu's began migrating to India and the Muslims to (the newly created) Pakistan. Up to ten million people migrated across the border and this re-shuffling of people led to a tremendous amount of violence (Pennebaker 2000, p 1. Didur, 2006). Women became the major victims of sexual violence where around 75,000 women were abducted and raped by men of religions different to their own (Pennebaker 2000.p 1, Urvashi Butalia, 1998).

According to Chaudhary (2013) under patriarchy the powerful social structures and feudal customs, centred on female body and sexuality, restrict women and are difficult to challenge. These customs and tradition are often nurtured, strengthened, and kept alive through violent and unjust actions centred on women. The female body is associated by men with cultural traditions, such as honour, to lay claims to female sexuality. Male domination over female bodies and sexuality results in women remaining bound within male-constructed boundaries of piety and honour whereas men hold the ultimate deciding power (p,96). According to Asif and Imtiaz, (2011) "social construct of shame (in honour cultures) results in making the body of a woman - a battle ground; in this battle the honour of the clan and the family has to be supreme. Shame is regarded as a very important social construct which results in restricting the physical mobility of women, making their rebellion against patriarchy a taboo" (p.1348).

According to Pennebaker (2000) during partition, the abduction and rape of women of the opposing religious community (based on previous feudal ideology nefariously promoted by the British) became the preferred way to inflict the harshest punishment and revenge on the other side. According to Ghosh (2013) during partition, Women of all ages including girls, were victimized, tortured, and raped – some were even stripped naked and paraded down streets to intensify their trauma and humiliation. In many even more tragic cases, fathers, fearing that their daughters would soon be raped, pressured, and coerced the girls to commit suicide lest such an event "taint" their family's "honour" and standing in the community (no page no). After being raped the women's, genitalia were cut out of their bodies and parcelled on trains across the border to declare the victory of men in one community and to shame the other. Women were-seen-as symbolic signifiers of their families, religions, and nations

honour; their protection became the greatest challenge by their men as the British colonial power retreated (Chaudhary, 2013. P 1-2). Kleinman & Das (1996) agree India's partition in 1947 was the most cataclysmic event of the 21<sup>st</sup> century involving large scale civil violence, riots, and the mass movement of people amongst the collapse of local administration. Up to 250,000 people died on both sides with an estimated 50,000 Muslim and 33,000 Hindu or Sikh women abducted by the other side. Instead of joy and expectancy following years of struggle (under colonialism), there was a sense of despondency and gloom on premonitions of further conflict and struggle. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century Western nations such as the UK gained financially by valuing their civilisations at a higher level of development- a view that 'authorised' colonial exploitation. Das (2008 p291) went further in the contention that during India's partition, there was widespread sexual violence, but the discourse of reproductive violence was not in circulation. Instead, a lot of violence marked the women of the other groups as "spoiled," and violence, fantasized and or actual, treated women's bodies as means of humiliating the men of the other community. Mass rape of women, reproductive violence in the form of forcible pregnancies, abduction and FM are different forms in which the complete annihilation of the other community was ethnically cleansed using genocide. Return to normalcy draws heavily upon ideas of honour and shame at both familial and national levels.

According to Sebire (2015) the 'birth of Pakistan' after collapse of the British Empire was a pivotal point in British history, as it brought into question the morality of oppression and occupation. This [lack of morality] is reflected in the postcolonial movement in literature, where writers have attempted to come to terms with the collective 'shame' of the imperial (colonial) past. Partition led to millions of people being forced across the border into their new "homeland", resulting in hostility and violence. This tension and struggle with India, has continued right up to the present day. Violence between India and Pakistan flared up again over the kingdom of Kashmir which brought the crisis to a head. Ali (2020) notes how historically the unified state of Kashmir came into being in 1846 under the Treaty of Amritsar. British colonial government sold Kashmir along with the adjoining areas to the Dogra King Maharaja Gulab Singh (illegally and at a hefty price) without considering the wishes and interests of the local people (p 437).

During partition the then ruler of Kashmir, a Hindu, had refused to concede to either Pakistan or India as part of the partition process. The population of Kashmir was predominantly Muslim, (roughly eighty percent), and therefore Pakistan gave its support to the Pakistani

hill-people in their invasion of Kashmir. India, reacted by promising support to the region's leader, on the understanding that Kashmir should join India. The subsequent fighting lasted until 1949, when the U.N. brokered a ceasefire, which effectively meant that Kashmir became partitioned, at the ceasefire line or line of control. The status of Kashmir became a 'thorn in the side' of Indo-Pakistani relations right up to the present. Blakemore (2019) concurs that in 1947, under the hasty terms of partition many independent states including the largest Kashmir not directly governed by Britain had the option to join either India, Pakistan or stay independent. Since 1947 both India and Pakistan have been locked in a conflict over Kashmir, the roots of which lie in the countries shared (nefarious) colonial past (Blakemore et al, no page no).

Nandy (2010) articulated in relation to India's recovery from British colonialism that both the conquerors and colonists lose in the end and the vanquished victims win. Coincidentally UK's (former) prime minister David Cameron was at the time visiting India seeking further deals from those that now owns Jaguar autos and most of British steelmaking. Ashis Nandy was not keeping score of capital accounts but of moral and spiritual well-being. Taking several measures of "post-colonial consciousness," he finds India mending and Britain still wounded by its old habit of domination. Furthermore, colonialism does not end when the colonists are finally forced out since what others can do to you, you also can do to yourself. That in the deep emotional impact of colonialism, indigenous elites learn to play by the rules of the colonialist's game i.e., development.

In his talk at Adelphi University, the psychoanalyst and writer Dr Kakar (2015) recounted cycles of peace and violence among the world's major religious groups, before introducing his psychological conceptualization of the ongoing conflict between India's Hindus and Muslims. Dr Kakar's nineteen case study interviews of Hindu and Muslim interactions were used as a foundation, to explain religious violence as a clash between group identities, and not necessarily between religious practices or beliefs. Since faith fuels violent passions, religion can be hijacked as moral justification for fanatics; therefore, radicals feel less guilt or shame for their murderous actions. Dr Kakar presented his theory on the psychological development of religious identity, and how inner conflict and "animalistic" impulses bring about stereotyping and can often end in violence. Also described how rumourmongering among Hindus and Muslims can stir up paranoia and group demonization. That faith-based

atrocities have always been carried out by those defending an idealized community from attack, but he reminded his audience that compassion can also be as natural as violence.

According to Kashyap (1980) In India the unique phenomenon of the caste system is of great importance in genetic studies. For isonomic studies (using surname to analyse population structure) one must evaluate critically the assumptions of the model before applying it directly to any caste or structured population. Generally, the simplest structure is a caste in which there are several surnames, equivalent to a simple tribal structure having different clans, or the structure that exists in most Western societies. It occurs in tribal, non-Hindu, and North-Indian communities, and a similar pattern prevails in Kashmir. Provided that there is regular lineal transmission of the name, be it surname or clan name, the application of the isonomic method has few problems. Problems do arise however in the complex ranking system prevalent in majority Indian populations, particularly in the upper ranks of the caste system. Here members of the same gotra (lineage), whatever their surname, cannot marry, whereas individuals whatever their surname belonging to different gotras can.

The Ahmadiyyas are a sect in Kashmir originated from the Sunnis (a Muslim sect) around 1900. The Ahmadiyyas are preferentially endogamous, ideally choosing their spouse from within the community/clan. But they also have a system of patrilineal descending surnames without any caste implication, like Western European societies. The isonomic method has been applied in a study of temporal trends of inbreeding amongst the Ahmadiyyas of Kashmir valley showing that total inbreeding has increased over the past four generations (p220). Kazi (2019) argued that Indian governance regimes in Kashmir were among the principal sources of the conflict where Kashmiri women (such as Ahmadiyyas) faced a brutal and formidable state-led military occupation, predatory and intrusive state security presence, repression, fear, a pervasive climate of violence, a culture of public unaccountability and impunity for sexual crimes committed by state security forces.

According to Feldman (2019) India and Pakistan should be good neighbours, living and trading harmoniously for benefits of the natural economic relationship that is instead half stifled. The two countries are trying to live as independently of each other as possible with damaging results. If India and Pakistan were able to optimise use of their mutual natural channels of trade, the prosperity of each would increase overnight, however this is not possible due to the current Kashmir dispute (p25-32). According to a BBC news report

(2019) an armed revolt has been waged against Indian rule in the Kashmir region for three decades, claiming tens of thousands of lives. (Despite the fact that) Indian-administered Kashmir had held a special position within India historically (since 1947), thanks to article 370 - a clause in the constitution which gave it significant autonomy, including its own constitution, a separate flag, and independence over all matters except foreign affairs, defence, and communications. On 5 August 2019, India revoked that seven-decade-long privileged status (no page no). According to Bhat (2019) it can be stated that New Delhi (Indian conservative BJP government administration) is restricting spaces for non-violent dissent and free speech in Kashmir. The Indian government has carried out mass arrests, detained political leaders, censored media, limited internet access and imposed a ban on leading socio-religious organisations, resulted in the closing of thousands of school and social service institutions that are essential for the welfare of the poor people in the valley of Kashmir – a vindictive move aimed at creating trouble in Kashmir (p84).

Hussain (2021) articulated how Maqbool Butt (1938–84) an [unfortunate] individual who was seen as a traitor by the Indian state and the Pakistani military establishment. Kashmiri Muslims have traversed the line of control for economic, political, and social reasons. Butt and his fellow resistance members openly challenged Pakistan and India by refusing to accept the ceasefire line as a permanent border. Freedom for them did not mean the option to choose India or Pakistan in an (unlikely) plebiscite, but the reunification of the entire historical territory of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and thus the healing of the social, economic, and political wounds caused by the illegitimate ceasefire line. Through the peaceful means of disseminating this dissertation to relevant state leaders, it is the researcher's ardent intention to achieve a unified and united Kashmir; by eradicating the arbitrary, illegal, deadly, and fractious ceasefire line drawn up because of British colonialism.

According to Haq (2018) the Kashmir conflict impacts deeply on all sections of society. The negative impact of violent conflict is experienced by the people, who suffer displacement, loss of home and property, loss or involuntary disappearances of close relatives, broken family, poverty, and disintegration (p3). According to Wani (2011) although exposure to violence leads mainly to physical injuries, it has also potentially important implications for mental health. The high levels of violence confronted by almost the entire Kashmiri population have resulted in high prevalence of mental health problems. A population survey found a lifetime prevalence of traumatic events of 59% among the inhabitants surveyed. Along with increase in psychological disorders there has been an alarming increase in suicide

and suicidal attempters (p11). According to Haq (2018) The multiple roles that women are fulfilling in Kashmiri society render them at greater risk of experiencing mental health problems. Women are associated with being wives, mothers, and carers of others. Women are more likely affected by mental disorders, and most of the disorders found in Kashmiri women are depression and anxiety. Women in Kashmir have been closely associated with political mobilization and continue to be the victims of an ongoing cycle of abuse and violence. They continue to confront and cope with psychological and physical violence, dislocation, and disillusionment of a situation of war (p,6).

Nizami (2015) articulated how Women's and girl's rights activists argue that marriages on young women are imposed for a variety of reasons. In Kashmiri villages for instance, it is considered dishonourable for daughters to date boys and hence some parents (under duress) marry off daughters early to avoid such prospects. The Kashmir conflict, with high risk of kidnapping and rape, pressurises many parents to force their young daughters into marriage with chronic poverty forcing other's daughters into marriage just to avoid the financial burden of caring for them. Men who marry young girls are often much older and wealthier and pay large sums of money to the families of the young brides. According to Shafi (2017) forced marriage (FM) in the UK is associated typically within the diasporic Mirpuri/ Kashmiri community, representing around 85% of the Pakistani population. With over 50% of Pakistani FM cases linked to the diasporic Kashmiri community, it is a shameful form of violence which needs to be addressed in a sensitive way; in UK cities like Birmingham, Bradford, Luton which have large Mirpuri/ Kashmiri diasporic populations.

Anitha (2013. No page no) concurs that the large majority of Pakistani migrants in the UK originate from Mirpur in Kashmir, which has a long history of out-migration. Ballard (1991) estimated that 50 per cent of Pakistanis in Britain are from Azad Kashmir and most of these are from the district of Mirpur (pp. 513-517). Pakistani migrants who came to Britain after the (1947 partition) war (and start of Kashmir conflict) found employment in the textile industries of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Manchester and Bradford, cars and engineering factories in the West Midlands, and Birmingham. Since the Mangla dam was built in 1966 which submerged large parts of the Mirpur district (including the researcher's ancestral farmland), emigration from that area accelerated. Bano *et al* (2011) points out that there is an overrepresentation of FM cases in the UK involving south-Asian families which can be explained by a large south-Asian presence in the UK. According to Merrill & Owens *et al*, in

Birmingham (West Midlands) south-Asian (Kashmiri) females were three times more likely to attempt suicide and these women's ages were much younger than similar white women in the comparison group sample. (South) Asian (Kashmiri) born females the majority of whom were married, reported marital problems significantly more often and many of these were due to cultural conflicts over traditional customs and racial prejudice.

According to Chantler *et al* the impact on survivors of FM (in the UK) included suicidal ideation, self-harm, eating disorders and other mental health problems. This would suggest that the high levels of mental health problems and 'FM' cases experienced by diasporic south-Asian woman in UK can directly be traced back to historic role played by the British colonial empire within the south Asian sub-continent. In response such brutality of sexually abusing children and young women could be being re-enacted today in the UK by the large diasporic south Asian population to inflict maximum humiliation for its past role in the Kashmir conflict and subsequent inaction to resolve it. According to Lee G (2017) (south) Asian men make up 75 per cent of group abusers who carry out child sexual abuse, by targeting children and young women because they are vulnerable. The actual number of group abusers who are (south) Asian is around three times higher than the number of group abusers who are white even though south Asians only make up around 7.5 % of UK population (no page no). Revelations emerging from the independent inquiry into child sexual exploitation in Rotherham (Jay 2014) for example, dealt another blow to the already tense race relations with ethnic minorities, putting Pakistani community at centre stage in this public debates. The inquiry reported trafficking, abduction, rape, violence, and intimidation of over a thousand predominantly white girls by several (mostly) Pakistani men between 1997 and 2013 (Stefano Bonino, 2016).

According to Jacob A and Naqshbandi A of the Hindustan Times (2017) Militancy in Kashmir has claimed a total of 41,000 lives in the past 27 years which means an average of four deaths per day in the state with an additional 1519 casualties every year (no page no). The implication for such horrific figures is that many diasporic arms of extended south Asian clans in the UK mourn such loss on-a-daily basis. These troubling figures could be the key to 'legitimising' another type of revenge attack. According to Drury (2017) one in ten of all Britain's Islamist terrorists come from just five council wards in Birmingham (no page no). Furthermore, the researcher is personally aware of at-least four terrorism convictions perpetrated by diasporic men from Mirpur who live in Birmingham. Since many Mirpuri's

from Kashmir came to settle in Birmingham; the assertion is that there is also a strong link between terrorism in the UK, the conflict in Kashmir and UK's inaction to resolve the issue. Particularly as the UK was implicit in starting Kashmir conflict through its direct rule and subsequent abrupt withdrawal leaving behind a toxic political power vacuum and a state of civil war. It is clear from this section that in the UK context FM, south Asian diaspora and the Kashmir conflict are inextricably linked and therefore should be treated on this basis.

## **2.10 Diaspora Communities**

According to Vanore, Rageb & Seigel (2015) "diasporas are formed by the forcible or voluntary dispersion of people to a number of countries. They constitute a diaspora if they continue to evince a common concern for their 'homeland' (sometimes an imagined homeland) and come to share a common fate with their own people, wherever they happen to be" (no page no). Migrants from south Asian countries face certain unique challenges and difficulties with integration into Western societies such as that in the UK. According to Anitha & Gill (2009) FM as a culturally specific phenomena both informs and is informed by racist and essentialist stereotypes, feeding into anti-immigration agendas. South Asian women's experience of violence within their families cannot be separated from the wider structures of racism in the UK. Experiences of violence in the form of spousal abuse, FM, or honour crimes, cannot be separated from universal forms of violence against women. According to Irin (2013, no page no) hundreds of FM cases involving British nationals are thought to take place annually in Kashmir, particularly around the town of Mirpur. Staff at the UK's Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) said they dealt with 1,485 cases of possible forced marriage in 2012, with 47.1% of these involving Pakistan, and most of these were from Mirpur (in Kashmir). Kashmir has a large diaspora in the UK estimated to be around one million with a large concentration of such communities in cities like Bradford, Glasgow, and London. To preserve their culture and traditions, some families favour sending particularly their daughters back to Kashmir to get married. Khalida Salimi, executive director of the NGO Struggle for Change, said many cases of FM involved young women and as a cultural practice many thousands of victims remain in Kashmir. Families want to marry their daughters to male relatives as they believe they will prove to be good partners and economic factors were also cited either to keep wealth within families or for a husband migrating to the UK for economic reasons.



Ebaugh & Yang (2002) suggested that knowledge of a common language is important to integration and that migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds take a longer time to integrate into the English-speaking host country's culture. Many such migrants tend to live in clusters and form a sub-culture within the host country. Although the collectivist nature of such communities can be beneficial in providing a support network; these groups in the UK also tend to hold on to their ethno-religious identity, using it to help them adjust to the challenges of surviving in a threatening and demanding environment. Socio-cultural practices such as FM may be human rights violations enforced out of fear of losing one's cultural way of life and protecting one's daughter in an alien environment. The situation is further compounded by the fact that various cultural and religious organisations tend to deny the existence of FM; due either to genuine lack of awareness or a desire to avert further marginalisation. This denial of FM serves to further marginalise women who have already experienced abuse within their communities Ebaugh & Yang (2002).

According to Gangoli, Razak & McCarry *et al* (2006. P 32) all but one community leader denied that forced marriage (FM) or domestic violence (DV) was an issue within their communities. However, all leaders stated that FM was contradictory to their faiths and believed it usually involved a partner brought from abroad or taken abroad. In general, most of the leaders expressed strong patriarchal values about controlling women. Shaykh Amer Jamil (2012) A Muslim scholar who launched a ground-breaking campaign against FM in Scotland conveys that "In the Muslim community there's a misconception amongst some people that religion allows (FM), that parents have a right to choose partner of their children, and that they don't have a choice in this," (no page no). The unusual cultural practices of south-Asian migrants to the UK pose real challenges to authorities in relation to human rights violations regardless of the motivations behind such practices. In terms of multiculturalism, it is argued that cultures should be allowed autonomy to conduct their affairs; however, the relationship between gender and culture is often overlooked which means that gender-based violence and inequality is also often overlooked (Chantler, 2001. p589).

## **2.11 UK response to HBV & FM**

The UK is a democratic and open society which values human rights and has been grappling with the issue of honour-based violence (HBV) within its close-knit diasporic communities. According to Gillespie, Hopkins, Burke & Mellett (2011) 'HBV a multiagency approach in

Nottingham', Domestic Violence (DV) can be defined as 'any incident of threatening behaviour, violence, or abuse (physical, sexual, psychological, financial, or emotional) between adults who are or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender/sexuality'. Gill (2004) argued that the plight of many British south-Asian women leaves them 'doubly victimised', first by the violence and then through the lack of support thereafter. According to Pande *et al* (2014), the term British south-Asians is used to represent the people of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Izzat (honour) is a term used throughout south-Asia as a set of rules that are followed to protect the family's 'honour', which in turn is related to sharam (a south Asian term meaning Shame).

HBV often results from situations where (often) a female family member has been seen to have brought shame and stigma on the family by refusing to engage in FM for example. FM can itself be considered as a type of honour crime and can lead to other honour crimes such as marital rape and even 'honour killing' (Reddy, 2008. P305-321 & Siddiqui, 2003). In 2003 the department of health made a direct link between DV and FM; where FM itself is seen as a form of DV, and as contributing to DV after marriage. In the UK one of the approaches to the issue of FM was that of 'exit', in which individuals are seen, as free agents who are free to leave, but for various reasons are not able to realise their personal preferences within their minority cultural community to leave that group. This exit strategy is meaningless for women of culture as it forces them to choose between their culture and their freedom, thereby failing to recognise the connection between culture and identity (Okin & Dustin.2003. p550).

According to the Crown Prosecution Service (2014) Honour Based Violence (HBV) has parallels with DV and FM as it is identified as a crime committed to protect/defend the honour of a family or community. Johnson (2020) ([www.bedfordshire.police.uk](http://www.bedfordshire.police.uk)) argues honour-based violence is a "collection of practices that are used to control the behaviour within families in order to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and/or honour" (no page no). Violence can take place when perpetrators perceive that a relative has brought shame to their family and/or to their community by breaking their 'honour code' which is closely related to their religion. Women are most often the victims of HBV which is usually committed with approval or collusion from family and/or community members. According to Welchman & Hossain (2005), HBV includes specific crimes such as kidnap, imprisonment, FM, harassment, physical/emotional abuse, female genital mutilation, rape, and or murder. HBV is considered different from DV as it involves a wider range of perpetrators including

family elders and community members. This has very significant implications for how agencies detect and respond to HBV, particularly when children are involved, and child protection measures are invoked.

Gill (2009) put forward the argument that the term HBV should be dropped as the notion of honour is a smoke screen and the phenomenon should be defined as a form of violence against women. Baxi, Rai & Ali (2006. P 1239-1253) went further by suggesting that the definition of HBV focuses on emphasizing male honour and overlooks violence, not ending in murder, which is routinely used to control women. The UK Government embraces the terms violence against women and honour-based violence under the umbrella term of ‘domestic abuse’, while the focus is on FM (Home Office,2011). In 2017, UK Government introduced life-long anonymity for victims of FM to encourage more victims of this hidden crime to come forward (FCO FMU 2020). So far, the flavour of discussion has been largely theoretical and academic with little emphasis on the experience of the ‘victims’ of HBV; to address this gap the next two sections will focus on the ‘victims’ and community’s perceptions of HBV.

## **2.12 Perceptions and experiences of HBV**

In patriarchal societies a woman has no say in any aspect of her own life, including her marriage, and once betrothed belongs exclusively to her husband’s family” (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987, p.21). Based on such disappointing and rigid structural constriction of south Asian females it is easy to understand how and why the distinction between AM and FM is blurred as the women do not even have any say in the very important matter of their own marriage! According to Chesler (2016) due to the heavy influence of ‘izzat’ a south Asian term meaning honour and ‘sharam’ a south Asian term meaning shame; academic and professional attempts to understand and address HBV can be superficial if they do not fully understand or take account of these value laden motivations. More worryingly there are however numerous negative outcomes resulting from HBV victimisation, such as depression, self-harm, and suicide-attempts (Brandon & Hafeez,2010). From the available data in the UK, victims are typically young south-Asian women with diasporic origins (FCO FMU 2020). Their families likely to have migrated from patriarchal collectivistic cultures in south-Asia where aggression might be tolerated if used to protect the family’s izzat (honour) from sharam (shame) (Dyer 2015).

According to Roberts (2014) many published HBV studies of UK populations are based on police reports, small group interviews or from women identified as victims. Focusing on such extreme representations of HBV does not provide a full picture of the more routine, indirect but equally damaging perceptions. Such understandings are important as theoretical models show potential perpetrators attitudes in support of HBV link with their subsequent abusive behaviour (Roberts 2014). Existing research shows that males are more likely than females to approve of violence in general. A survey of British-Asians aged 16-34, showed a greater proportion of males (6%) condoned honour killings compared to females (1%) (ComRes, 2012). A British south-Asian community exploratory study carried out by Khan, Saleem & Lowe (2018) using purposive sampling of a convenience sample of 216 males and females in Lancashire, was carried out in which majority of participants were Pakistani, Indian, or Bangladeshi. The purpose of this study was to find out the views of a British south-Asian community in relation to HBV. In this study 216 participants included 71 males and 145 females, of those 13 males and 18 females had experienced HBV but only 3 males and 4 females reported their abuse to the police and most of them found that their experience with the police was negative. Of the 31 victims who reported direct experience of HBV, a third had hidden the injuries that were inflicted on them by their spouses, family, or community to protect their family's honour. Of the 31 victims of HBV, 17 said they felt isolated whilst 22 said they could not confide in anyone about their experience. In relation to mental health out of the 31 victims of HBV, 23 felt depressed, 21 felt anxiety, 10 self-harmed and 4 victims had attempted suicide. On another measure out of the 31 victims, 7 felt scared and 17 felt angry at the perpetrator, whilst 10 had run away from home as-a-result-of HBV victimisation. Of the total 216 participants, 49 said there was no way to prevent HBV and 40 said fear was the main reason preventing victims from getting help (Khan, Saleem & Lowe 2018, p2-9). These findings are in line with previous studies which found izzat (honour) and sharam (shame) were responsible for a lack of engagement with healthcare services in the UK (Gilbert & Sanghara, 2004).

Two, attitudinal themes were revealed in the study: perceptions of FM and perceptions relating to dishonouring the family. When these themes were tested with participants only one difference was revealed that males were more condoning of FM than females and tolerance of HBV was not clearly gendered. One in six of the sample reported experience of HBV victimisation which was far lower than expected. This was explained as there is evidence suggesting the minimisation of HBV across many communities in the UK

regardless of educational or economic status (Brandon & Hafeez, 2010). In relation to diasporic communities within the UK, males are more condoning of FM, HBV was not clearly gendered and is generally minimised within the communities. The findings from this study showed although HBV victimisation was not widely reported in this sample, however where HBV was experienced it caused significant harm. Furthermore, it would be advantageous for future studies on HBV victimisation to collect qualitative data to enhance the understanding of this phenomenon in the participants own words. The aim of this study is to collect such qualitative data but the question we need to ask here is why is this situation tolerated and not challenged?

### **2.13 Community perceptions of FM**

A community perceptions study of FM on the Mirpuri immigrant community was carried out by Samad & Eade (2002) in the UK. A comparative study of Pakistani's in Bradford; and Bangladeshi's in Tower Hamlets, reveal the complexities of FM. Primary data was collected through focus groups as well as one-to-one interviews with gatekeepers. These groups were chosen according to age and gender including 20 gatekeepers (individuals with responsibility for and access to the focus groups) and 48 focus group participants (24 female and 24 males). The focus groups explored the motives for people marrying and then proceeded to discuss AM, love marriage (LM) and FM. It was found some south-Asian families believe that certain levels of emotional coercion are acceptable. According to Samad & Eade (2002), the acceptability of 'emotional coercion' is the result of ignorance. South-Asian diaspora communities believe that "physical force" is unacceptable however "emotional and psychological pressure is not considered to be coercion" (p 2-3). In-a-given hypothetical scenario for example if the child of south Asian parents married into another religion, they would threaten to disown him/her. This combination of pressure and deference to senior relatives leads to children being married without their consent. Furthermore, that elders in south Asian communities argue for religious and cultural factors to be taken-into-account..... young people maintained that only religion is important i.e., marrying outside the ethnic group is acceptable, however marrying outside one's religion is unacceptable.

Sabbe (2013) carried out a study in which she looked at the determinants of child and forced marriage in Morocco. A qualitative study approach was used with participants to generate primary data using semi-structured interviews with 22 professionals from various sectors. It

was found that in practice it can be difficult to determine at which point emotional pressure becomes great enough to implicate genuine force to distinguish FM from AM. The picture is further clouded as according to Chantler & Gangoli (2011), consent is a notion often regarded as a Western concept which assumes the right to individual autonomy and choice. For some minority community's choice is often about the rights of the collective. According to Siddiqui (2003), the binary distinction between AM & FM overlooks the thin line between the two thereby minimising the abusive effects of arranged marriages (AMs). Siddiqui argued that subtle pressure such as emotional coercion and social castigation & disownment; could re-frame many AMs as forced marriages (FMs).

According to Samad & Eade *et al* (2002), duress can range from emotional pressure, exerted by close family members and the extended family, to more extreme cases, which can involve threatening behaviour, abduction, imprisonment, physical violence, rape and in some cases murder. The court of appeal has ruled that the test of duress for these purposes is simply 'whether the mind of the applicant (the victim) has in fact been overborne, howsoever that was caused' (CPS, 2017 no page no). HBV such as FM are one side of the coin and on the flip side; there are codes of honour which form the motive, justification, mitigation, or excuse for violence. HBV therefore aims to control female sexuality and autonomy by using conservative patriarchal interpretations of religious and cultural value systems to justify it. As women are seen as the collective carriers of collective identity and honour. Both punishment and socialisation mean that most women do not leave abusive situations for fear of bringing shame and dis-honour, although it can drive some women to self-harm and suicide Yuval & Davis, 1997. p193-209). This would indicate that British-Asian women would rather suffer abuse in silence than bring shame or dis-honour to their families. This sounds like a difficult position to take and something the next section will endeavour to shed light on.

## **2.14 FM as a Diasporic phenomenon**

As noted in section 2.8 Vanore, Rageb & Seigel (2015) suggest that "Diasporas are formed by the forcible or voluntary dispersion of people to a number of countries. They constitute a diaspora if they continue to evince a common concern for their 'homeland' (sometimes an imagined homeland) and come to share a common fate with their own people, wherever they

happen to be” (no page no). Gunes (2019) went further that the term diaspora also refers to the dispersal of population to other places due to various reasons started in India with the sending of ‘indentured labour’ identified as ‘new slavery’ to the plantation region under the administration of the British Empire (p103). According to Arius C (2017) the south Asian diaspora coincided with the end of the colonial process of British Empire in India and ongoing struggle for independence and then the separation of the country (no page no). Diasporic families in the UK go to great lengths to hold on to traditions and attempt to force them on their children in-order-to maintain a sense of identity. According to Barot (1998), UK families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh generally tend to reproduce their caste and sectarian communities, underpinned by regional and linguistic identities. It is suggested that while parents forcing their young people into marriage believe they are upholding the cultural practices from their country of origin in-reality such practices had moved on. FM is therefore a product of the diasporic experience and not a ‘traditional practice’ (Home Office 2000, Philip & Dustin 2004). Taher (2015), described marriage as an anthropological notion consisting of co-habitation, sexual access, affiliation of children & food sharing. Marriage facilitates the creation of new social relationships between husband and wife, as well as their respective kin groups. In British-south Asian families, FM is based on the practice of endogamy where, marrying within the limits of a local community, tribe or clan is customary, as well as cultural notions of honour and shame.

In-an-attempt-to reproduce cultural values diasporic communities go to great lengths and if that involves subtle pressure to ‘encourage’ their children to marry then this is seen as acceptable. However, this does not take-into-account the effect their actions have on the children who find themselves as unwilling ‘victims’ of FM, who do not complain because they do not want to bring dis-honour and shame to their families. The UK has taken steps to address the prevalence of FM among British citizens in the form of the forced marriage unit (FMU) set up in 2005. By distributing information to those deemed at risk of FM the FMU has helped in 1355 reported cases involving women in 2019, but the total number of forced marriages in the UK could be as high as 8000 per year (Heinonline.p897). According to the UK government not only does FM represent a gross breach of human rights but victims run the risk of being physically and emotionally harmed, imprisoned, or even killed (Foreign & Commonwealth office Website. No page no).

## 2.15 Victims Experience of HBV & FM

In this section we will look at the impact of diasporic families forcing their children to marry. Focusing on south-Asian communities in the NE of England, Gangoli, Razak & McCarry (2006) carried out a study over 18 months using multi-methods. Using semi-structured interviews 37 women between the ages of 24 -72 and 32 men aged between 25-58 who were married, divorced, or separated were interviewed to elicit data about marriage and domestic violence (DV). Participants also included a focus group of young people 9 males and 10 females aged between 10 and 22. Due to sensitivity of the topic access to participants was gained through community, women's & youth organisations. The study identified the importance of the culturally specific concepts of izzat (honour) and sharam (shame) in preventing women from speaking about their experience of violence. Izzat and sharam are also important factors in persuading women that they should marry according to their parent's wishes, and to live within a FM (p11). Some respondents believed that the problem of FM in the UK was the result of a clash of cultures, where immigrant parents would fear that their children would become too 'Westernised' and hence lose their identity (p 13). There is an understanding that FM is framed as a product of the immigrant experience even though the country of origin had 'moved on' from such practices, by respecting the rights and choices of young people (p 12).

Although not all cases of FM resulted in DV situations; in all cases of FM, the woman had experienced DV from her extended family prior to the marriage. This included emotional pressure, coercion, and abduction (p 15). Respondents suggested measures to combat FM included educating key figures, such as religious and community leaders, enhanced relevant services and improved communication between children and parents (p 20). All the young women in this study expected to be married by their mid-twenties, within a specific trajectory of school, college, university, travel and then marriage which would be arranged by their parents. All the women agreed that they would accept their parent's choice of their partner, even if they had to give up a partner that they wanted to marry. All respondents shared the understanding that AMs were a good thing and to be encouraged. All women agreed that people need to be educated if we want to end FM. This can be done in mosques, schools, and wider public information campaigns (p 21). FM appears as an acceptable practice perhaps even as an extension to AM, by the older generation but something completely at odds with AM from the younger generation. Could the controversy around FM simply be the result of



the younger generation being socialised into the Western individualist way of life and therefore becoming increasingly uncomfortable with collectivist ideology?

### **2.16 FM as a cultural clash phenomenon**

FM is an uncommon practice in Western cultures such as the UK and little research has been carried out to examine FM and the subjective experience of those who go through this controversial practice. According to Gill & Anitha (2009), FM is a foreign practice in Western culture and is often viewed as a violation of individual rights and a form of violence against women in ethnic communities. A literature review on FM indicates that it is often written from a Eurocentric perspective outside of the culture, and the rich perspectives of those individuals from inside the community are often not included (Patel & Saddiqui, 2010). There are differing opinions on FM as a form of sexual slavery because both contain elements in which the perpetrator forces an association over the victim and causes deprivation of the victim's liberty. Gong-Gershowitz & Belair (2009) believe FM should be framed under sexual slavery whereas Sellers (2017) argues that FM should be conceptualised as enslavement. O'Sullivan (2011) believes that FM should be recognised as a crime against humanity due to its similarity to slavery. By coercing a person into marrying, the perpetrator is essentially exercising ownership of the victim.

FM is a unique crime because victims are forced into conjugal union with FM husband who is therefore by definition also a perpetrator; and are susceptible to continuous sexual, physical, and mental abuse over a long period of time. Although consent is an absolute essential right in marriage, the level of consent is diminished in both AM & FM; consent still exists in AM for spouses albeit in a reduced capacity. In contrast there is no consent from one or both spouses in FM (Nguyen, 2014). According to Hosain (2006), the main motivation for some south-Asian families to force their children to marry is the protection of "family honour". Hence some British south-Asian families feel justified in using coercive methods to prevent their children from pursuing such "unsuitable" relationships (Taher, 2015); Anitha & Gill (2011, P 138-157) argue that consent might also be given under the influence of gendered norms and power imbalances in the absence of explicit threats. Bredal (2011)

proposes understanding coercion in FM in terms of degree with both direct and indirect constraints.

According to Westland (2012), the dividing line between AM & FM can be fine as individuals who have been brought up to respect and obey their parent's wishes may find it difficult to object to an AM. Even in the absence of threats of violence and emotional pressure. Their cultural beliefs can prevent them from even recognising covert emotional pressure which is a feature of some AMs. The trends in Western Societies, are such that marriage 'protects' people from suicide (Westland 2012). Uddin and Ahmed, (2000: p4), identifies a connection between coercion, entry into marriage, racism, and domestic violence (DV). According to Chantler (2001), in a paper drawing on her previous research study based in Manchester, UK, which explored service responses to minoritized women with experience of DV; south-Asian women did not feel they had anywhere to turn to, anyone to listen to them, love them and see them as individuals outside of Asian women. This provides support for the link between DV and attempted suicide. Papp (2011. P 46-66) examined numerous studies to show highest suicide rate for south-Asian women in UK, especially among newly married women. These studies suggest attempts at suicide and self-harm are a cry for help not complete acts. The main problem is that these women do not have anyone to listen to them.

Rasool (2013), wrote a thesis study to understand the reasons why females attempt and commit suicide in Kurdistan. Based on a mixed methods approach using a simultaneous design employing qualitative and quantitative data analysis. Data collection included a research questionnaire, suicide notes, interviews, and media sources. The research questionnaires and semi-structured interview schedules were translated from English to Kurdish language. The study found the largest percentage of women who attempted suicide was in FM group where they had no freedom of choice. They described their relationship with their husbands as 'unhappy' i.e., a problem situation without a proper solution. This is the primary reason I have chosen to investigate this phenomenon to better inform therapeutic practice on FM through this dissertation by enabling practitioners to be better informed and therefore better prepared to work with this minority client group. It is anticipated that this dissertation will also be particularly useful for British south-Asian women who are contemplating marriage.

## **2.17 Forging new identities**

In multicultural Western societies both private and public patriarchies co-exist. Women from collectivist diaspora communities such as British-Asians can be victims of private patriarchy within their local communities and through access to public arenas they suffer further marginalisation at the public level, based on their gender, race & ethnicity (Dasgupta *et al*, 2008. P277-278). According to Wrench & Madood (2000) in the UK Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Chinese men have the lowest economic activity rates. The differences are wider for women, with more than half of women of working age being in the labour force in all ethnic groups except the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, for whom the percentages economically active decline to 28.3 and 22.2 respectively (p 5). Large sections of Britain's ethnic minority communities, when judged alongside their white peers are still seen to carry the burden of an 'ethnic penalty' (p 1). According to Jones (1989) racial constraints contributed to pushing (south) Asians into self-employment and the types of businesses turned to, reflected this harsh reality. (South) Asians get involved in commercial enterprises requiring little start-up capital with low levels of expertise such as restaurants, retail, and taxi cabs. Bennett (2013) who carried out research analysing a binge drinking night out of eight women aged 25-55, using thematically structured phenomenological analysis utilising structured existential analysis. Bennett found that alcohol is understood either explicitly or implicitly by co-researchers as allowing them the greater confidence needed to be in the environment of the night out crowd. A movement of transcendence to a different state of being and associated with it is a contrariety, a non-identity with the normal world and a sense of specialness or naughtiness (p93). Since many south Asians are employed in restaurants and the transportation business, it is the researcher's contention based on his own experience and that of his (Kashmiri) social circle that they are often racially abused by inebriated Briton's.

According to Manning and Roy (2006) immigration policy (how many immigrants from what countries to allow in) or policy on the assimilation of immigrants once they are in the country e.g., forcing them to learn the language or taking exams in citizenship; such policies to increase cultural assimilation might be thought of as turning up the heat on the 'melting pot'. We already see evidence that governments are moving in this direction and against the policy of 'multiculturalism' that, according to some of its critics, has actively discouraged assimilation by excessive celebration of diversity. For example, the UK government introduced classes in citizenship into the national curriculum for schools in 2002 and since 2005 most immigrants acquiring British citizenship are required to pass a test of knowledge about British history and institutions (that many of the native born might struggle to pass) and

to attend a citizenship ceremony intended to imbue them with a sense of pride in being British (p 2-3). But if collectivist and individualist cultural paradigms are so different then how do young south-Asians navigate their way through simultaneous daily exposure to both?

According to Hiro (1991), young Asians have managed to resolve their problems of ethnic identity conflicts by adopting some aspects of Western Culture and behaviour while retaining many of the traditional values and attitudes. Second generation of British born Asians have developed from their understanding of British-Asian identity as ‘torn between two cultures’; toward conceptualisation of young British-Asians as firmly situated in a minority culture, but also participating in a majority culture to some degree (Kitwood & Borrill, 1980). Ballard (1994) conveyed that many rising generations of British-Asians are acutely aware of how much they differ from both their parents and from the surrounding white majority, so they are strongly committed to ordering their own lives on their own terms. Gardner-Shukur (1994) & Shaw (1994), suggested that young Asian identity has negotiated “traditional Asian customs” with the outcome that religious identity, rather than parental country of origin, has emerged as a defining aspect of Asian identity.

Ghuman (1991) & Sharma-Jones (1997), found that Asian women are conceptualised as “double-bind” of racism and sexism and therefore “doubly-oppressed” and more confused than ever. It is evident that women once again are the victims at numerous levels as they not only have to contend with the patriarchal culture of their parents in which they are ‘carriers’ of their family’s honour but they also have to negotiate the racist and sexist attitudes of men in mainstream society. According to Dasgupta women from diaspora communities such as British-Asians can be victims of private patriarchy within their local communities and through access to public arenas they suffer further marginalisation at the public level, based on their gender, race & ethnicity (Dasgupta *et al*, 2008. P277-278). According to Gabriela (2019) internalized patriarchy exists in all societies as an involuntary belief by girls and women that the lies, stereotypes, and myths about women are true. Women have been told their entire lives that they are weak, passive, manipulative etc. By saying you are feminist women, often labels you as a man-hater. Mistrusting other females (also called “horizontal hostility”) means doubting oneself. This is the way women collude with the perpetuation of sexism and patriarchy. Women having internalized the sexism and are subconsciously perpetuating it, and this is pretty much all women. After all, we have been exposed to lies, stereotypes and myths about women our entire lives. Still to this day the patriarchal

conditioning comes up in all societies and there is no quick fix, easy solution to internalized sexism and patriarchy as women have been conditioned by a patriarchal society their entire lives (no page no). According to Real (2018) a renowned couple's therapist, women can be just as patriarchal as men by holding those same types of values and biases (no page no).

## **2.18 Types of Arranged Marriages**

We will now explore the reasons why Asian women appear so powerless and why they do not appear to challenge the status quo. According to Madood (1997) Asians prefer marriages to be arranged by family within the clan or extended family as love marriages are equated with high levels of divorce. Arranged marriages (AMs) are seen to be less likely to end in divorce because the partners are chosen for their compatibility and suitable family backgrounds. The interests of the extended families are therefore paramount even more than the feelings of the spouses towards one another. If the marriage experiences difficulties the couple would find support from their extended families to prevent the problems escalating into family feuds. It is constantly argued that AMs are more long-lasting than love marriages (LMs) and stable (Madood 1997). Both communities take the oath of marriage seriously and compare AM favourably in comparison to LM. Anwar (1998) carried out a national UK ethnographic research study on relationships between generations in Asian communities in the early 1990's. Anwar designed and supervised the study for the commission of Racial Equality using a comparative study of young white people, young Asians, and Asian parents. Using a meta-synthesis approach involving the analysis of findings of several other studies using qualitative methods, the study found that female respondents expressed a preference for AM because unlike a LM, if there were difficulties then family support will be forthcoming. LM meant leaving the security of the extended family (Anwar, 1998). Gangoli, Razak & McCarry *et al* (2006) also found in general, AMs were viewed as having advantages over love marriages (LMs) in terms of providing safe options for young people to find a partner (p 12). The rates of marriage among Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis were high - 73 per cent 72 per cent and 74 per cent, respectively. Marriage is extremely popular among south Asians. Parents consider it a moral obligation to marry their children and intimate relationships should only develop within this context. Responses were fairly consistent across generation. The governing principle of marital choice in any community is homogamy - the selection of a

partner from a similar social background shaped, for example, by race, class, ethnicity, religion, age, and education. South Asians who do not conform to these norms, in some circumstances, suffer sanctions, ranging from disapproval to ostracism (Samad & Eade, 2002). Young female respondents associated greater risk with LM because, if there were difficulties, family support will not necessarily be forthcoming as in an AM. LM implied leaving the security of the extended family and this factor was considered by young, educated women Samad & Eade (2002.p42).

According to Stopes, Roe & Cochrane (1990), there exists a typology of AM- 'traditional pattern', 'traditional modified' and the 'co-operative traditional variant'. In the 'traditional pattern' the parents and elders select a spouse for their children; in the 'traditional modified' pattern the candidates have the power to decide the outcome from a shortlist prepared by parents/elders. The traditional pattern of AM is on the decline in the UK. Photos of potential partners, chaperoned meetings, use of marriage bureaux's, intermediaries, matrimonial newspaper columns and websites are all examples of the 'co-operative traditional' pattern which is increasingly popular in the UK. There are variations within these patterns such as the 'traditional mode'. Some individuals have complained that they were not consulted or had minimal knowledge of their intended spouses, but still took part in the marriage proceedings. In 'traditional arrangements' pattern, spouses had prior knowledge for example they used to play together as children, or they were close relatives. In the 'co-operative traditional' pattern the intended spouses are-able-to make their selection and the final-outcome is a co-operative matter, but parental consent is essential (Samad & Eades et al 2002). A couple who has been dating secretly can use a matchmaker to officially introduce them to their unwitting parents and get married successfully (Gillespie,1995 & Shaw, 2001). AM seems like a rational logical way to get married but why it is constantly overshadowed by the spectre of FM will form the discussion of the next section.

## **2.19 Generational perspective on FM**

In the Samad & Eades *et al* (2002) study elderly men and women in the focus group claimed that the issue of FM has been blown out of proportion by the media, whose real target in AM. "Parents bring up a child for 15-20 years .... Look after him/her, make sacrifices and take care of them. After doing all that how is it possible that they then marry their child in the wrong place by forcing him/her" (p 65)? For South-Asian elders the problem of FM lies with

the youth who go against parent's wishes. FM is seen as a short-term problem that is ironed out over time as the couple come to terms with the marriage. Elders in the focus group reluctantly conceded that violence is used in a few cases but insisted that generalisations should not be based on a handful of incidents. In this study although young people were against any coercion where emotional and psychological pressure was just as unacceptable as physical force; elders agreed physical force is unacceptable but psychological and emotional pressure is not considered to be coercion (Samad & Eades *et al*,2002). Here lies a part of the problem because British Asian elders see FM 'as a short-term problem that is ironed out over time'; this is in direct conflict with Western democratic values which the younger diasporic south Asian generations may also have imbibed.

## **2.20 AM as an acceptable collective cultural tradition**

AM is a celebrated traditional custom in south Asian culture which has been practised for centuries without showing much cause for concern. According to Shaw & Charsley (2006. P 331-334) the importance of emotions and interpersonal relations should be taken-into-account in relation to AM. 'Rishta' is a south-Asian term meaning 'match' or proposal which highlights the role played by the emotional ties of home and kinship as motivations for AM. Furthermore, a more-subtle process may be at work than a simple reaction of the earlier phase of male dominated labour migration as many AMs are arranged entirely among UK residents; and therefore, cannot be understood as an immigration strategy. Wilson (1978) contends there is evidence that Asian women in Britain 'believe' in the institution of AM, while being critical of some of the expectations that come with it (Bhopal, 2009 & Ahmed 2007). Asian women deploy strategies to negotiate their way through these expectations by adapting AM practices to select a preferred spouse (Jhutti, 1998. Ahmed, 2001. P 137-152).

Pande (2015), deployed a post-colonial feminist study approach to AM to show how the forces of tradition impact on the life choices of Asian women when it comes to choosing a marriage partner. Three vignettes were presented from south-Asian women who had an AM and were living in the NE of England. The data was collected for a doctoral research project using semi-structured interviews during 2007-8. In the vignettes we see a discourse of personal choice as well as aspirations and dreams of a happy marital future in stark contrast to the dominant portrayal of women in AM as disempowered channels for fulfilling kinship and cultural obligations.

Shabnam is a Bangladeshi woman in her early thirties, a practising Muslim married with two children. Shabnam's husband who was born in Britain, had family from the same village as herself in Bangladesh where she lived. Shabnam: We lived in a small village in Bangladesh....my family wasn't modern at all.....but I wanted to be modern.....you know like the city girls...and for me the only way to do that was to get married to someone in Britain....so I had to very cleverly (laughs) let my parents know that I wanted this kind of a match. I could not just ask my parents to do that they would think I had no shame. We don't do things like that; after all parents deserve their izzat (honour). I had to drop hints to my aunt, whose advice my dad never ignores, and she presented the idea to him in such a way that he thought it came from him.

Shabnam was not just a passive actor in her AM but had engaged with and negotiated her way around cultural expectations in her own subtle way to realise her dreams of becoming a modern woman. By working within the framework of a joint family, Shabnam cleverly moulded her parent's choice to fit in with her wishes. Shabnam demonstrated astute observations of her family politics and practices, so instead of telling her mother about who she wished to marry; Shabnam spoke to her paternal aunt, whom she knew commanded respect from her father. Shabnam manoeuvred her father's desire for her marriage and protect her izzat (honour) by carefully orchestrating the arrangements of her marriage in her favour. Shabnam is also aware of the power of becoming modern as she said it is only when you are modern that people take you seriously. Modernity for Shabnam was defined as a progression towards a more westernised mode of being. Shabnam's experience of becoming modern through the 'tradition' of AM highlights the multiplicity and hybridity of modern life.

Kanta described herself as British-Indian, in her mid-twenties originally from London. A middle child of a single parent family and describing herself as being from a Hindu-Punjabi middle-class family. Kanta married Alok, an Indian born orthopaedic surgeon four years ago and works as a chemist in a pharmaceutical company herself. Growing up in an Asian family in London, she 'knew where her boundaries were' particularly in relation to dating. Kanta described how she was fortunate that she "arranged to fall in love" with the right person, a Hindu Punjabi boy, as a marriage will only last if you think with your head and your heart. Kanta's marriage has the hallmarks of an AM: religious, ethnic and with kinship links, although she arranged her own marriage according to her own desire to forge an identity within a specific community.



Kanta: Marriage is not a joke.....it is not something to be taken lightly..... especially in our culture..... it is for life. I wasn't in a hurry to fall in love or get married. When I met Alok I really liked him. It does sound strange, but I did weigh the pros and cons of this arrangement .... See marriage is an arrangement, whether you fall in love or not ..... Isn't it? Especially in these modern times....

Kanta decided to get married based on a reflexive understanding of the value of the practice of marriage. She had a 'plan' about the course her life would take, she wanted to 'play her cards right and not hurry into getting married' as this would have adverse consequences for her. Kanta's marriage decision was the result of careful consideration and planning to move her life in a particular-direction and build a shared sense of self and identity as part of a married couple. Kanta was adamant she used her rational decision to get married and that there was also an element of chance that she had fallen in love with Alok. This way Kanta was able to claim that she had an arranged and love marriage.

Khadija came to England as a baby from Pakistan, she is now in her forty's having spent her life in the NE of England. Working as a secretary at a university Khadija describes herself as a practising Muslim and has been married for 25 years with two grown up daughters. Khadija's parents wanted her to marry her first cousin which she did not approve off and cited medical and personal reasons for not wanting to marry a first cousin.

Khadija: Kids of related couples can be born with congenital diseases ..... cousin marriage is the reason. Also, I did not like my very strict aunt and having her as my mother-in-law was unacceptable ..... I would rather never get married.

A compromise was reached when Khadija's friend suggested that her family was looking for a bride for her brother if her family were interested. She felt lucky to have this choice as not everyone would have the courage or opportunity to defy community norms concerning cousin marriages. When asked about luck she said, 'sometimes you have to make your own luck'.

Khadija: You have to fight ..... drag your heels really ..... It's not easy but nothing worth having in life is easy. I did have faith though ..... that my dad is a reasonable man, and he will listen to me if I can make a good case. After all he knows that I am his daughter and can be as stubborn as him.

Khadija did not just claim she was lucky having been born into a middle-class family with a 'reasonable' father; but also having the courage to defy community norms. Her strong

character (in her own words “stubborn”) was reflected in her agency as she actively intervened in family decisions that affected her. Khadija also described herself as a modern feminist who does not regard men as adversaries. By using soft powers of tact, compromise, and manipulation she demonstrated aspects of the feminist struggle; of negotiation and work in shifting the power balance in her favour.

Shabnam, Kanta and Khadija’s families were important to their understanding of relationships and belonging to a community at large. Their life stories do not fit in with a narrative of victimhood as they were actively involved in their marriage arrangements as it suited their choices and aspirations. All three women described a view of feminism fit for purpose; Shabnam wanted to embrace a vision of modernity; Kanta incorporated the idea of falling in love in an AM setting; Khadija took a stance against cousin marriages. By working with the gender relations within their culture, all three women in the study were successful in extracting favourable ‘bargains with patriarchy’ acceptable to the women themselves and their families.

## **2.21 AM & FM Continuum**

Here we will look at the important conflation aspects of AM with FM. According to Dustin & Moira (2007), there is a continuum between AM & FM in relation to the potential marriage partners degree of choice in the matter. Bhopal (1999) carried out a study to examine the intersection of gender and ethnicity to explore the differences that exist between south-Asian women in East London. The research was carried out using 60 in-depth interviews as well as participant observations as the researcher lived in the community for six months. The women described marriages in which their parents choose their partners as AM and not FM, however the women’s comments did not prove this; ‘if a girl says no, it’s considered a bad thing’; ‘you just have to go along with it.....if you didn’t there would be hell to pay from your parents and relatives’- it is clear that the women saw themselves as having very little power to refuse. In the UK today, there are women who prefer to accept a FM if the alternative is rejection by their family and friends. It is unclear if their choices are restricted by their family and community or the lack of meaningful exit options.

According to Bradby (1999), Punjabi women interviewed in Glasgow were all in or anticipating what they said was an AM. A three-year qualitative study of young women of

south-Asian origin was carried out in the north side of Glasgow. 32 women were randomly selected from a pool of 70 women aged between 20 and 30, registered at a general practice. They were interviewed twice, and all but three interviews were recorded and transcribed. One of these women said, “refusing such a marriage means that you’re literally cutting yourself off from the whole Asian culture”, the pressure to agree is clearly enormous. This indicates that there is no simple correlation between AM with choice and FM without choice. In terms of AM, it can be difficult to draw a line between coercion and volition in ways that leave the ‘victim’ with any degree of autonomy or agency. Narina Anwar, fled her family in Bolton to avoid FM. Narina was asked about the difference between Bolton and her family’s place of origin in Pakistan? She replied ‘in Pakistan they had more liberal views than the community in Bolton. My parents came to Britain in the 60’s and they are stuck in the Pakistan of that time while Pakistan has itself moved on’ (Dustin, 2007).

According to An-Na’im (2014), FM is a union which lies on the continuum of AM which is defined by degrees of consent and coercion. Closer examination of individual cases of AM and FM show that a sharp distinction between the two can be misleading. This classification allows for the contextual and cultural nature of consent and considers its difference from coercion as a matter of perception and degree with persuasion playing a key role in the grey area of the continuum. According to Gangoli (2006), the separation of AM from FM is an obvious attempt to accept diverse cultural practices.

In 2015 the Scottish Government commissioned a team of researchers in partnership with three women’s sector agencies to undertake the first national study on FM in Scotland. Chantler, McCarry *et al* (2018), interviewed eight survivors of FM. The study involved a survey to understand the level and profile of service users; policy analysis and interviews with protection leads; interviews with professionals (e.g. police & social services); and interviews with eight women survivors of FM to understand how services are responding to FM. Interviews with the women were conducted over the telephone as they were worried about being seen taking part by someone hostile. The lived experience of women in this study demonstrated that demarcation between AM and FM is more fluid; where consent and coercion can be “better understood as two ends of a continuum, between which lie degrees of socio-cultural expectations, control, persuasion, pressure, threats and force”.

All the women in this study demonstrated resistance strategies at various stages of their FM. Two women developed eating disorders in-order-to postpone their marriage and subsequently

attempted suicide or went into hiding. One woman postponed her marriage by saying she wanted to complete her undergraduate studies but then went into hiding. After suffering a lot of abuse one woman managed to build a new life for herself and her children after filing for a divorce. These concessions may seem minimal in simply prolonging the inevitable FM, but they gave the women some control in their lives.

## **2.22 The role of coercion in AM & FM**

According to Gangoli, Razak & McCarry *et al* (2006), the nature of coercion in FM and AM can also be the result of social expectations and emotional pressure from family. In this study 23 women who were married, divorced, or engaged were interviewed; of these four participants described their marriage as forced, sixteen as arranged and three as love marriage. Out of the sixteen who had defined their marriage as arranged, eleven cases had an element of force acknowledged during the interview. Slippage and confusion between AM & FM were found to be extremely complex areas, which some respondents discussed at length. One respondent explained how her father sat her down to discuss her marriage, but she could see the pressure he was under and agreed. Upon reflection she said her marriage was forced. Another participant in the study articulated “Girls you get married as the only thing you are working toward is that one day, you will get married and that is it. I suppose I wasn’t forced into marriage ..... but having that ..... that’s what happens in life, you get married”. In many cases of AM, the couples fall in love soon after the marriage is fixed as another participant articulated: “I didn’t have any fears I was excited. Over time it seemed the right thing to do. We have had a happy marriage and I love him a lot so don’t have any regrets” (p 16). One case of FM in the study turned out to be a happy union as the participant articulated. “Our relationship is ..... fantastic, it’s taken a lot of hard work ..... he’s turned out to be a best friend as well as a great husband ..... he’s not controlling, he’s not violent in any way, I couldn’t have chosen a better person for myself ..... he’s absolutely fantastic. I’m certainly not promoting FM ..... I’m saying they do happen but there are choices of what a girl can do, whether a girl is strong enough to make these choices is up to her” .....(p21).

Overall, there was no link between type of marriage and experience of post-marriage DV, and not all cases of FM resulted in DV situations. However, there were concerns expressed about misinterpretation by the mainstream non-minority community who may not understand the difference between AM and FM. One respondent articulated “Lots of mistakes are possible

on interpretations of what FM is ..... my concern is that people who don't know the culture and community shouldn't be in a position to judge ..... whether marriage was forced or not". This research has also shown how the culturally specific concepts of izzat (honour) and sharam (shame) are important in persuading young women that they should marry partners chosen by their parents and continue to live in the FM. One participant articulated how she agreed to the marriage as she respected her parents honour and wishes but confessed that sometimes to keep your parents happy you end up ruining your own life. This research spotlights the slippage between FM, AM and LM (love marriage), showing the need for research on the differences between these forms. This section has shown how there may be an imperfect and limited choice for 'victims' of FM based on how they choose to conceptualise the experience either as an AM or FM.

### **2.23 Mutual benefits of AM in Collectivist Cultures**

In many societies, marriage has an important function where many times it is to strengthen family relationships and preserve group solidarity among families and communities. Also, from an economical aspect marriage can come to play an important role, dowry or other kinds of economic security are of great importance for the marriage and the family (Bhopal, 2011, p. 434). Arranged marriage (AM) means that the two parties may not choose their partner for marriage themselves. A third party may select the spouses, often another family member. However, the intended spouses can choose if they want to give their free and full consent to the marriage. In that way the marriage is more of a collective affair rather than the individuals (Meyersfeld, 2011, p. 646). Ballard (2006) articulated in south-Asian families it is assumed that the social order is holistically rather than individualistically constructed. Membership of the group is grounded in relationship of descent rather than marriage, and this is the main reason why south-Asian marriages are understood as family affairs. Family members- especially junior members- should be prepared to sacrifice their own short-term interests for the greater good of the group; on the understanding that there will be long-term paybacks for doing so. In the context of this more holistic world view, the individual is encompassed by the group with the powerful ideological expectation that the personal interests will always be out trumped by obligation to the group. Conversely the cost imposed on those who remove themselves from the bounds of the kinship network can be high. According to Ballard (2006) the predominantly English surrounding society can appear to offer instant access to liberty

and freedom, however individuals will find themselves facing racial and ethnic exclusionism, regardless of how much of an effort they make to fit in (Ballard, 2006). Furthermore, although liberation from the contradictions which membership of the group had imposed upon them is a relief, at the same time exclusion from its benefits such as mutual support, leave them dreadfully exposed in a hostile and indifferent world.

When we look at the experiential perspective of south-Asian marriages without the distorted lenses of Western assumptions, we are moved into an entirely different conceptual world where personal choice is restricted as a matter of principle and the apparently binary distinction between AM and FM becomes extremely blurred. We can conclude from this that the conceptual assumptions which underpin south-Asian marriages differ sharply from those deployed by Western Societies. Marriage in the south-Asian context is at least as much a locus of DV as it is in any other; in-fact as south-Asians are more family oriented; both the intensity and consequences of DV tends to be particularly severe in their case. DV occurs in south-Asian families as it does in all other kinds of families and the relevant cultural context should always be considered to arrive at an accurate diagnosis of the underlying problem. Inter-personal relationships within south-Asian families can and do break down, and when this happens the consequences can be dire. Badly arranged marriages may indeed be a frequent cause of family strife, but they are by no means the only cause of difficulties as there can be multiple causes (Ballard, 2006).

According to Stobart (2009), honour-based violence (HBV) includes assault, imprisonment, and murder, where the individual (usually female) is being punished by their family or community. By transgressing (allegedly) the communities code of behaviour the individual shows that they have not been properly controlled to conform thereby bringing “shame” or “dis-honour” to the family. Although consent should be essential in all marriages- only the spouses will know if they gave their free consent. If families use violence or emotional pressure to make someone marry, it is FM. In collectivist south Asian cultures parents justify FM as protecting their children, building stronger families, and preserving cultural or religious traditions, parents do not see anything wrong in their actions. According to Gangoli, Razak & McCarry *et al* (2006) all the leaders from Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh religions stated that FM was contradictory to their faith (p32). Many individuals live their entire childhoods with the expectation that they will marry someone their parents selected. So, what happens if the bride-to-be does not explicitly object to the marriage?

## **2.24 Victims frustration with FM**

According to Stobart (2009) parents who force their children to marry often justify their behaviour as protecting their children, building stronger families, and preserving cultural or religious traditions. Parents often do not see anything wrong in their actions and believe that they are upholding the cultural traditions of their home country when in fact, practices, and values there may have changed. Some parents come under significant pressure from their extended families to get their children married. In some instances, an agreement may have been made about marriage when a child is only an infant. Many young people live their entire childhoods with the expectation that they will marry someone their parents select – some may be unaware that they have a fundamental human right to choose their spouse. Some of the key motives that have been identified for getting children married are controlling unwanted behaviour and sexuality (including perceived promiscuity, or being lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender) - particularly the behaviour and sexuality of women (p11). Isolation is the biggest issue facing those trapped in or threatened with FM. They may not feel there is anyone they can trust to keep this secret from their family and have no one to speak to about their situation. FM makes women feel unable to go against their parent's wishes as they may be threatened with disownment. Consequently, they may suffer emotionally often leading to depression, self-harm or even suicide. Female victims of FM find it especially hard to leave their families as they may lose their children and friends. Living away from home with little support can make a person, more isolated, thus making it more likely they will return to the abusive situation. Leaving their family may also be seen as bringing 'shame' on the family/ community; for many this is simply not a price worth paying (Stobart, 2009). The next section explores a radical feminist perspective to reinforce the disadvantages faced by women living in the 'honour' culture.

## **2.25 Feminist Perspective on FM**

Thejls & Svantesson (2012), carried out a study in which the analysis of respondent's experience of FM was interpreted in relation to radical feminist theory within every theme such as men's control over women, in Sweden. A hermeneutical approach was used in this qualitative study using semi-structured interviews to study five women who have had

different experiences and/or knowledge within FM. The study found that parents often force their children into a marriage to control the child's sexual behaviour, to prevent actions that could bring shame upon the family, and to strengthen community, caste, family ties, and to preserve the family's wealth. One respondent said she was forced into a marriage with a man who was fifteen years older than her when she was herself only seventeen. She did not want to get married, but the husband was already chosen for her and she was coerced by her family and not allowed to refuse the marriage. They had three children together but after eight years the husband divorced her for not being able to produce male children. Another respondent spoke about her situation within the marriage as so bad that she would not dare get a divorce, being too afraid of family members, who had threatened to burn her and the children if she divorced her husband. Although the respondent chose her husband in the beginning, she is now forced to stay married to him against her will. The respondent goes on to describe how she does not live a good life or have a good relationship, having very little freedom not even getting to decide how to dress. All respondents agreed there are huge differences in freedom for boys and girls. Restrictions were placed on girl's education and employment opportunities. When asked about their life situation within the marriage all participants agreed that a woman has very low status in a FM with no choice or power to change her situation.

Weedon (1999) proposed Feminism is a reaction to traditional assumptions that the man is the provider for the family and the woman is seen as a passive nurturer or vulnerable sexual partner. Feminism is critical of the prevalent order in society recognising patriarchal structures within society where women are subordinate to men. Feminism hopes to change this order to achieve equality between women and men (Humm, 1995). Feminists believe that seeing the world from women's perspective can contribute to showing the subordination and exploitation of women by men (Abbott & Wallace, 1993). A significant concept within radical feminist theory is patriarchy, a social system which attributes privilege and power to men over women (Payne, 2005).

According to Thejls & Svantesson (2012) in FM women feel trapped and have no prospects to get out or change their life situation. Women are controlled at many different levels such as their sexuality, private and social life. Looking at the women's relationship to their husbands and the demands and expectations from the family shows that women have little or no rights, the men are seen as superior to women (Abbott & Wallace, 1993). The women exposed to FM are seen as the property of the husband. According to radical feminist theory



the women are-seen-as sexual objects, domestic servants, and cheap labour (Bryson, 2003). Getting a divorce does not mean that control over the women ends as her father and brothers take over the control once more. The findings of this study are considered important and the authors believe, deserve further exploration /study to expose the situation of women in FM; in-order-to improve women's wellbeing. It would be interesting to have more interviews with women exposed to FM in-order-to gain further insight. In-line with this and the next section, it is the aim of this current study to further expose the situation of women with past experience of FM to facilitate real change in relation to helping those women who are anticipating FM.

## **2.26 Standing up to FM**

According to Riris (2013), the struggle of south-Asian women against FM is demonstrated by Sanghara (2007) to illuminate how uncomfortable conditions can lead to desperate outcomes. Sanghara's first book 'Shame' described how she escaped a FM which was orchestrated by her family. In her mother's eyes "Sanghara is already dead because she shamed the entire family". In the second book 'Daughters of Shame', victims described how they were forced into marriage which led to DV, brutality and imprisonment in the home. In the books Sanghara used characters based on real women's experiences who had contacted her welfare organisation Karma Nirvana in Derby UK. Robina a character in the book was forced into marriage which did not go well as her husband was physically abusive. Robina realised FM is not a natural marriage and she will never find happiness in a loveless marriage. Robina became depressed because of the violent abuse and took her own life. Shazia another victim of FM found herself in an unhappy marriage and ran away from her husband. Navjeed accepted her FM but realised there was no happiness in her marriage and the only way to escape was to kill herself. She jumped in front of a train with her children in her arms (Sanghara, 2009. P 62). (Kandyoti, 1998).

In 1983 two teenage sisters from Birmingham were taken on a family holiday to Yemen but once they got there, they discovered their father had sold them into a life of slavery. Zana and Nadia Mushen, were forced into a marriage to endure daily abuse, including rape, and enforced pregnancy. Zana recalls how: 'when a girl marries into a Yemini family, she is

expected to share the burden of the work with the other women in the family'. They were breaking us in gradually, curtailing our freedoms bit by bit, and building up our workload. We were like animals who needed to have their spirits broken before they could be properly trained (Brady, 2008. P9).

Tshiab Vang (2013) carried out a phenomenological study of Hmong women's experience with FM, in Hmong culture. A phenomenological approach was used to understand the lived experiences of women through data analysis and interpretation process using qualitative methods to explore and seek meaning of the lived experiences of women through telling of their individual stories. The five adult women who had self-identified as FM victims in this study were interviewed using a structured interview guide. The women said that FM strengthened them as individuals and how they gained independence from it and how it made them resilient. One respondent said her FM led to her discovering who she was in life and described how it made her a better person; being in a loveless, unhappy marriage enabled her to realise what she did not want. Another respondent said FM may not be where she would like it to be but as long as she continues her post-graduate education and maintains her independence, she will not rely on her husband too much, and that has enabled her to cope with the marriage. Another experienced severe physical and emotional abuse in her FM but did not blame her family: "Even though I went through a lot, it's a very good life learning process for me. Having gone through this situation has helped me to be who I am today. It helped me to think differently about how I want to raise my kids and how I view marriage. It was a big learning curve for me" (Vang T. 2013. P 16-52). The participants in this study did not convey ill feelings towards their families despite the hardships that they experienced in their marriage.

Many described how the marriage contributed to the strength that they had acquired and their ability to carry on with life. The marriage became a symbol of strength and perseverance as the participants coped with the hardship by developing their own sense of self and realising their own worth. Overcoming the abuse in the FM gave the women a sense that they can bounce back from other difficulties that come their way. The participants described shame and the value placed on saving face in the culture to be a major contributing factor to the practice of FM. The force the participants felt in getting married was not always physical or carried out by family. The force they felt was tied with shame and saving their family's face. For the participants FM provided a sense of false independence through which they coped with the marriage and the shame that they had experienced. The participants in this study

maintained that they were a better person today having gone through the experience of FM. Those that divorced articulated how they reached a point where it no longer mattered to them what other people thought. Gaining self-confidence provided them with the power and control that they had been longing for in their lives. Power was gained through their experience of FM in which they were unhappy and either verbally, physically, or emotionally abused. This section has demonstrated how women can change the narrative by gaining strength and emancipation through their difficult experience of FM, which seems to give women a more optimistic outlook on life.

### **2.27 Confusion and fluidity between AM & FM**

According to Singer (2005): there is a spectrum of FM, from physical force or fear of injury and death; in their most literal form, through to the undue imposition of emotional pressure which is at the other end of the FM range (Tapp & Jenkinson, 2013). According to Braun (2015), the degree of pressure and manipulation some women experience from relatives, coupled with financial and emotional dependency on their families, make it difficult to clearly assess whether a person consented to the marriage, albeit due to external pressure, or was indeed forced. A FM is one in which consent is lacking either by one or both individuals as described in the introduction; and if the marriage arrangements are very rushed and the person does not fully understand what is happening with inadequate information or is not given time to respond; then the notion of consent is questionable (heinonline. org. p597). According to Bourdieu (1998), in some instances physical force is not necessary as some women have internalized certain societal gender norms and therefore accept the union without questioning the societal and personal beliefs that make FM acceptable.

### **2.28 Summary**

According to Chantler (2006) the dominant UK policy on FM is to encourage victims to 'exit' the abusive situation, however this is problematic as it asks women to make an imperfect choice between individual rights and cultural belonging (Gill & Mitra-Khan 2010). This exit policy suggests women can access safety by abandoning their own culture and by

implication adopting another. However, in no culture are women assured freedom from gender-based violence. The most fitting way to conceptualise marriage in relation to British south-Asian diaspora communities is to view marriage as a continuum with love marriage (LM) at one end and forced marriage (FM) at the opposite end with arranged marriage (AM) in between.

LM-----AM-----FM

We have seen how a love marriage can be presented as an arranged marriage and sometimes even turn into a forced marriage. We have also seen how a forced marriage is often viewed as an arranged marriage and can sometimes turn into a love marriage. A possible explanation could be that the collectivist nature of south Asian diaspora communities means there is less emphasis on individual choice/autonomy. However, this does not explain why some families would go to such extreme lengths as forcing their daughter to marry against her will. It would appear that there are many reasons for FM and the literature review has clearly demonstrated a case to explore the past individual personal lived experience of FM to find out what it feels like and what it means? As there is very little Existential exploration of the issue of forced marriage it promises to be a valuable insight for all those involved in this controversial practice.

## CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

Edmund Husserl (1927-1931) viewed personal experience as first order and science as a second order system. He maintained that a rigorous and extensive phenomenological account of the world would be an essential precursor to any future scientific account. Furthermore, scientific constructs need to be bracketed in phenomenological inquiry as they act as a screen from experience per se. Husserl's phenomenology was further developed first by his former student Heidegger (1927/1962) who was of the opinion that phenomenology as a scientific method risk losing track of the simple fact of "Being" and is now rooted in both philosophy and psychology (van Deurzen, 2010). Phenomenological inquiry for Husserl focuses on the experience in the consciousness of the individual which he termed 'intentionality', to describe the process occurring in consciousness in relation to the object of attention; such that experience, or consciousness is always consciousness of something (Warnock, 1970 p.25). Phenomenology is concerned with an individual's recalled subjective experience and their perceptions of the meaning of that event. Thus, allowing them to identify the essential qualities of that experience which might then illuminate a given experience for others too. Husserl added a second reduction to his phenomenology, the eidetic reduction. This reduction concerned attaining the essence of consciousness: 'the various acts of consciousness must be made accessible in such a way that their essences – their universal and unchangeable structures – can be grasped' (1985 p.636). This reduction involved attempting to grasp the meaning of objects and experiences. Eidetic reduction allows us to look for the very essence of the phenomenon and through which we should focus on each particular thing in its own right, the 'what is it like' (van Deurzen 2010)? Phenomenology's concern with individual experience and how that might allow the essential qualities to illuminate the experience of FM for others; will form the backbone of this current study.

According to Husserl (1927-1931) in order to achieve the phenomenological attitude first we need to step outside our everyday experience or 'natural attitude' and turn our attention from for example, objects in the world, and direct our attention inwards, towards our perception of those objects. We need to 'bracket' or put aside our taken for granted assumptions of the world which would enable us to concentrate on perceptions of the world. According to Finlay (2009; p6) all phenomenological approaches concur about the need for researchers to engage

a ‘phenomenological attitude; in which the researcher strives to be open to the other and to attempt to see the world freshly, in a different way’. According to SFL (2009; p14) This phenomenological reduction of setting aside our assumptions offers a different lens or way of thinking and reasoning about a phenomenon which leads away from the distractions and misunderstandings of personal assumptions and back to the essence of the phenomenon. It enables us to suspend judgements and bracket assumptions (epoche) about the existence of the outside world (Husserl 1927-1931 p13). This bracketing process opens-up the subjective phenomenon of the lived experience thereby enabling a return to “the thing itself” (Husserl 1927-1931 p34). the aim of this current study is to capture the experience of adult females who had previously been subjected to Forced Marriage (FM). Suspending judgements will be a crucial prerequisite for interviewing participants and something I will put a lot of effort into. In this section I will provide a description of my epistemological position, followed by an exploration of the phenomenological approaches for this qualitative study. I will then outline my rationale for using IPA methodology, Yalom’s (1980) existential perspective, and van Deurzen’s (1997) four worlds model approach, followed by an examination of my role as a reflexive researcher before concluding with an in-depth description of how the research was carried out. To begin with we will consider the epistemology of research design in the following section.

### **3.2 Design**

Epistemology is the term used to describe the relationship between the inquirer and what is known. Epistemology can also be seen, as the moral or ethical stance taken by the researcher towards the world (Willig 2008). According to Hughes (1990), one way to look at epistemological questions can be in relation to what counts as facts, in relation to what is considered ‘appropriate knowledge’ about the social world. According to Willig (2008. P12-13) qualitative research outcomes are either descriptions or explanations and these aims can also be determined by the epistemological position. Such positions can range from a realist with an interest in accurate and true accounts; to relativist according to which “there is no such thing as pure experience” (Willig 2008 p16), rather that each point of view has its own truth.

Positivist researchers maintain that knowledge derived from sensory experience is exclusive and claim that such knowledge is objective, tangible and objects in the world have meaning

prior to and independent of, any consciousness of them. The positivist worldview is one of absolute principles and constancies which is in contrast, to the ambiguous and uncertain world which individuals experience (Crotty, 1998. P10). According to Finlay & Evans (2009, p27) the positivist paradigm states that “there is a relatively straight forward relationship between the world (objects/events) and our perception or understanding of it”. Furthermore, that the researcher’s goal is to be a neutral observer whose aim is to produce objective knowledge and results. Denscombe (2002, p14), argues that interpretivism is concerned with understanding the subjective world of human experience and rejects the basic premises of positivism. Furthermore, that the social world is a social construction in the minds of individuals which is reinforced through interaction with others. Proponents of the relativist position argue that ‘pure experience’ does not exist therefore we can only explore how discursive practices are mediated to construct different versions of reality (Bryman, 2001). The relativist position was deemed unsuitable for this current research in its contention that views are relative to differences in perception and consideration; as participants provide information about the experience of their reality and not one based solely on language as it sees truth as always relative to some particular frame such as language (Maxwell, 2005).

The realist position claims that data collected should give information about the world and about how things really are, and appropriate methods are devised for data collection (Willig, 2008). Proponents of a realist approach view reality as independent of the senses (Maxwell, 2005). The realist position was also deemed unsuitable for this current research because although actions occur in reality; they cannot be articulated faithfully by participants due to their subjective experience of reality.

Constructionist-Interpretivists are concerned with how meaning comes into existence and that there is no absolute truth (Crotty, 1998). According to Finlay & Evans (2009), interpretivists argue that experiences are not absolute facts as they are shaped by cultural, historical, and linguistic influences. Moreover, interpretivist researchers do not view themselves as objective observers by recognising how their particular-worldview and identities shape the research process through interpretation. As a student of existential philosophy with a strong bias in not believing in the concept of absolute truth, my epistemological position naturally falls under the interpretivist perspective consistent with the qualitative research project. According to Willig (2008. P9), “the researcher needs to ask three epistemological questions in relation to qualitative research, to determine the most appropriate methodology”:

- 1) What kind of knowledge does this methodology aim to produce?
- 2) What kind of assumptions does the methodology make about the world?
- 3) How does methodology conceptualise the role of the researcher?

Resulting from the interpretivist epistemological position, it is believed individuals view others experience through interpretation and hence such knowledge is shifting and not set or unchanging; even though the experiencer perceives it as real. This phenomenological stance is seen as falling between the realist and relativist positions (Willig, 2008). In relation to assumptions the methodologies make about the world or their 'ontological position'; Crotty (1998) says that "ontology is the study of being". According to Willig (2008, p8) at this point of assessing a methodology, the researcher may ask "what is there to know?" Furthermore, is the methodology relativist and therefore perceives that interpretations can be varied; or a realist ontological position seeing the world determined by cause and effect? Although there is certainly a place for quantitative or positivist studies which are repeatable and verifiable, there is also a strong argument for qualitative research which delivers rich data from personal experience. Having considered these various epistemological positions, the qualitative phenomenological methodology seemed most appropriate as it is interested in the 'how' of the experience. In the current study a qualitative research design IPA; employing semi-structured interviews for data collection will be utilised. I chose qualitative research because it was compatible with the epistemological position but also because the researcher was interested in the others worldview and a desire to give them voice.

Phenomenology is an in-between position taking the view that experience is always the product of participants interpretation of what is real and therefore constructed and not determined (Willig, 2008). Phenomenology views behaviour as determined by the phenomena of experience, rather than by the external objective reality of the positivist position (Cohen, Manion & Morrison. 2000). It is this in-between position of phenomenology that we will now turn our attention to in the next section.

### **3.3 Phenomenological Approach**

According to Finlay (2009. P6) all phenomenological research approaches "concur about the need for researchers" to engage a 'phenomenological attitude' in which the researcher strives to be open to the other and to attempt to see the world freshly in a different way. Moreover,



that phenomenology aims to inquire, “what is this kind of experience like?”; “what does the experience mean?”; “how does the lived world present itself to me or to my participant?” According to Smith et al (2009) phenomenology is the study of the structure of consciousness from a first-person perspective, enabling us to examine things ‘as they appear’, along with the meanings those things have in our experience. According to Willig (2008, p21), Husserl was the father of phenomenology and developed his philosophy at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as he was interested in a “return to the things themselves.” Husserl shunned the positivist stance of studying phenomena as simply objects and expanded his work into how the world or phenomena seemed to people (Langridge, 2007). We cannot separate in phenomenology our experiences from these objects and subjects (Willig, 2008). Husserl described these structures which included perception, thought, imagination, emotion, and desire, embodied and social action and linguistics as ‘intentionality’, or the directedness of these experiences towards things in the world (Husserl 1927-1931 p122). Bryman (2001) contends that phenomenology is concerned with how participants make sense of the world around them and how the researcher should bracket out his prior knowledge of that world. According to Finlay (2008), Husserl maintained that in-order-to investigate a phenomenon, phenomenological researchers need to be open, by withholding our preordained thoughts or presuppositions about an object in-order to understand the meaning of it. This process is called ‘epoche’ or bracketing to which Husserl (1913/1973) categorized three aspects to:

- 1) The epoche of natural science; placing aside established theories and explanations.
- 2) The phenomenological psychological reduction: attention is on subjective appearances and meanings.
- 3) Transcendental phenomenological reduction; taking a “gods eye view” towards the phenomena.

Giorgi (1985) pointed to the founding principle of phenomenology, which is that experience should be examined in the same way in which it occurs and in its own terms. According to van Deurzen (2010), Husserl was interested in how individuals come to know their own experience of a given phenomenon. In the current study the phenomenon under investigation is the female participants own expression of their past experience of FM. Such that in examining the experience of FM in detail, the essential qualities of their experience may be illuminated (Finlay, 2009. P18). The process of epoche will also be paramount in working with clients who present in therapy for FM. According to Smith (2010) the process of shedding light on the past- experience of FM for themselves, individuals may also be doing it

for other women. This phenomenological approach was also taken in a different, more philosophical direction by van Manen (1990) and it is this approach we will explore next.

### **3.4 Hermeneutic Phenomenology**

According to Thompson (1981) hermeneutic phenomenological research places being at the core of philosophy. The key figures exemplifying this are Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricour. Following in their footsteps van Manen (1990) considers phenomenology as the method to exploring phenomena of having pedagogical significance and as a response to one's lived experience and orientation to the world. Furthermore, it can be said that the study of phenomenology is not the study of individuals per se, rather how particular phenomena manifests itself in the world as experienced by human consciousness. The researcher engaged in phenomenological research is required to seek the essence of phenomena as the unit of analysis and not the subject.

Researchers in the moment of lived experience, are required to attune themselves towards the ontological nature of phenomenon and learn to be aware of pre-reflections, pre-conceived ideas, essential understandings, pre-understandings, and prejudices (van Manen, 1990). The challenge of phenomenology is to describe what is given to us in immediate experience without being "obstructed by pre-conceptions and theoretical notions" (van Manen 1990.p184). One cannot truly know the core-essence of phenomena, but one can come to make plausible interpretations of the phenomena, since meaning of it is in constant flux and any interpretation therefore merely becomes fixed at any given point in time. Essential meaning of a phenomenon is the essence being referred to; that which makes a thing what it is. That through good (phenomenological) description the essence of phenomena is revealed to us in a way that the nature and significance of this experience emerges in a before unseen way (van Manen 1990). Van Manen (1990) provides a six-step methodological process to Hermeneutic Phenomenological research, which aims to construct an interpretative description of some aspect of lived experience. It is necessary to be aware that providing a description which aims to explain the phenomena will be more complex than any attempt to provide a definitive descriptive explanation of the phenomena. Crafting this form of research is an active interpretative ongoing process, never intended to capture hard data, observable measures but rather should stand up to the uniqueness of life's phenomena poetic, soulful, sensitive: Commit deeply to phenomenon; investigate the experience as it is lived; reflect on

essential themes; describe phenomena through writing; allow the phenomena to teach you something; think of balancing the research context (parts to whole). Although van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the meaning of a particular experience for a person, however phenomena are described as they appear before they have been interpreted or explained and hence do not result in phenomenological reflection. In the current study phenomenological reflection will be an important part of shedding light on the phenomenon of FM as I am attempting to get to the essence of the FM phenomenon.

Van Manen's phenomenology can be regarded in a broad philosophical sense as a meaning-making method for doing inquiry; as it grasps the world pathically related to empathy and sympathy which involves placing oneself imaginatively in another's shoes, feeling what they feel. Pathically resonates in and on the sense and sensuality of the body, personal presence and other aspects of knowledge that are partly pre-reflective, pre-linguistic. Although van Manen's method describes phenomena as they appear before they have been interpreted/ explained, including a line-by-line reading, thematic analysis, and existential analysis- none of which guarantee to result in phenomenological reflection- is easy but the determination and explication of meaning is difficult. E.g., lived understanding of the meaning of time V self-reflective grasp of the structure of the lived meaning of time. The aim in this current study is to discover how individual participants experienced (which must be interpreted/ explained by researcher to make sense) forced marriage and then looking at all the cases to draw out similarities/ differences in and between cases. Conversely with van Manen the 'how' must be found anew with each study as the researcher is in the position of perpetual beginner and therefore, we need to look across many more cases before we can start finding similarities/differences. Van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology is therefore deemed unsuitable to research the phenomenon of forced marriage (FM). We will now explore existentialism as a mode of enquiry focused on uncovering subjective truth in the following section.

### **3.5 Existentialism**

The notions of truth and subjectivity lie at the heart of existentialism. The meaning given to truth here is not simply the discovery of verifiable facts but also how one relates to those facts in a subjective sense. According to Kierkegaard (1846/1992), it is our individual responsibility to make meaning and live authentically by becoming truthful to oneself.

Nietzsche's (1882) 'will to power' celebrated the idea of individuals striving to reach the highest possible position in life by welcoming and celebrating all our emotions as part of the experience of being alive, rather than leading a more controlled and rational existence. Martin Heidegger (1927) was a student of Husserl but moved away from the transcendental project to hermeneutic and existential phenomenology which he termed 'phenomenology of existence' he did not see himself as an existentialist as the term did not exist until after he wrote *Being and Time*. However, Heidegger did argue that all description is always already interpretation and by seeking 'understanding', phenomenology involved an interpretative stance which was labelled 'hermeneutic circle', used to shed light on understanding as a basic structure. Such that to understand the parts of an experience we need sight of the whole experience and the whole can only be understood through the meaning of the parts (Heidegger, 1927/1962 p128). According to Heidegger (1926/1962. P36) Dasein is an expression which refers to the experience of being that is peculiar to human beings.

Heidegger described ontological givens, the factors of human being that are necessary and without which human existence cannot be; sharply contrasting ontological givens with the ontic, real world concrete experiences by which one lives out her/his ontological reality (van Deurzen 1997, p55) According to Heidegger (1926/1962 p 28-32) ontological structures are the deeper structures of being or existence i.e. the totality of being; where the ontological term is used when the nature or meaningful structure of existence is at issue. Ontic refers to the concrete plain facts of being, or what is physically there as opposed to the nature of that being. According to Heidegger, founder of the hermeneutic circle, described it as "an existential condition of human understanding or an element of the ontological structure of understanding" (Heidegger 1927/1962, p358). According to Schleiermacher (1998) hermeneutics is a philosophical methodology for the interpretation of texts, involving both grammatical and psychological interpretation, which enables "an understanding of the utterer better than he understands himself"; thereby offering the potential for gaining "meaningful insights which exceed and encompass the claims explicated by our participants" (Schleiermacher, 1998. P8-13). Hence a bracketing process is essential so that the researcher can put "to one side the taken for granted world in order to concentrate on our perceptions of the world" (Smith, Flower & Larkin 2009 p26). This process enables a stripping away of potential meanings applied by the researcher, a vital component in assuming the validity of research (Willig, 2001). According to Greene (1952, p266) "what the existentialist admires is not the happiness of a man's life, the goodness of his disposition, or the rightness of his acts

but the authenticity of his existence. [...] the existentialist denies the practical supremacy of reason, he denies the universality of moral values, he asserts the all-importance, ethically, of the historic individual in his unique situation.” Having clarified the terms existentialism and phenomenology separately, we will now attempt to explore the whole subjective notion of existential phenomenology in the next section.

### **3.6 Existential phenomenology**

According to Ibrahim (1984) the main theme of existential philosophy is that it is based on human existence. Existentialism is built on the notion that each-individual sees the world from their unique perspective and constructs reality based on their interaction with the world (Ivey, 1980). Opposed to knowing and understanding human beings, by using the methods of the rational objective approach; existentialism focuses on our attempts to grasp reality at a level which dissolves the object-subject dichotomy. According to May (1979) existentialism can be defined as an attitude or approach to human beings unlike that expressed by a specific group or school. Existential psychotherapy is a dynamic approach to therapy which focuses on the human being’s existence (Yalom, 1980). According to May (1979) the existential approach has a ‘new way of seeing the reality of the client called phenomenology’. Unlike the Western cultural approach of looking at things and events in terms of their causes; phenomenologists argue that experience itself has-to be understood in-its-own-right regardless of causation. According to Ibrahim (1984) this new way has significant implications for cross-cultural psychology as it enables professionals to detach from the cause-and-effect analysis by focusing on the client’s presentation i.e., in this case diasporic south Asian females experience of FM. As an existential psychotherapist and the conductor of this research my stance as an individual and as a researcher is informed by this paradigm which fits the purpose and aims of this project as is shown throughout this dissertation.

Existential philosophy is the result of the application of the phenomenological research method to the study of existence. Existential therapy focuses on the nature of reality and truth instead of illness, cure, or personality; preferring to think in terms of how an individual can meet the challenges of life (van Deurzen, 2002)? According to van Deurzen (2010) existential phenomenology amalgamates existentialism and phenomenology in-order-to understand human existence through description in a way which is free from assumptions. It explains human subjective experience as an expression of intention, emotions, values, and

relationships. This first-person relationship between people and their lived experience, needs to be described rather than explained and that problems should be, seen as limitations to a person's being in the world (van Deurzen, 2010). According to Ibrahim (1984) existentialism focuses on the concerns and experiences of human beings which are considered universal constructs as they transcend culture and even go as far as to help to explain the specific culture. Van Deurzen (1988) went further in believing that it is the intercultural elements of cross fertilization that will be most conducive to the continued evolution of existential therapy. In the following chapter a discussion of IPA as a research method with a presentation of its ontological and epistemological roots will be carried out. Then we will examine FM through the lens of Yalom's existential perspective and van Deurzen's four worlds model approach including the physical, social, personal, and spiritual dimensions. This will be followed by a description of the method of recruitment, data collection and analysis.

### **3.7 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)**

IPA aims to research 'how' participants perceive their lived experience and has been used increasingly to explore emotion (Eatough & Smith 2006). It enables data collection in relation to participants first-hand experience and the interpretational aspects of the approach can also be informed through the existing theoretical constructs as set out in the literature review, thereby facilitating deeper insights (Larkin 2006). IPA is an interpretative endeavour and therefore informed by hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation. Access to the participants experience depends entirely on what the participants tell us about the experience and the researcher needs to interpret this account in-order-to understand each participant's experience. With its ideographic focus, IPA enables the specific and particular aspects of personal experience to be captured. This approach enables the exploration of the 'particular' in each participant's lived experience and their personal meaning of the event ahead of any general statements (Smith, Harre & Langenhove 1995).

Using IPA, the aim of this current study is to explore the experience of forced marriage (FM), by trying to stand in the participants shoes and attempting meaning making of FM through the interpretative process approach in order to find out 'what it is like'; by taking a position of 'not knowing', the researcher extends respect to the meaning making of individuals, whilst accepting the multifaceted response to experience which is the reality of

everyday experience (Smith, Flower & Larkin 2009). Furthermore, that an analysis of such experiences will only be an interpretation (Willig, 2001). This type of interpretation is what Smith & Osbourne (2003 cited in SFL 09), termed 'double hermeneutics' where the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant seeking to make sense of her own world. IPA has its roots in phenomenological philosophy and looks to examine and illuminate subjective experience to discover how participants make sense of their personal experience for instance a major life event or the development of an important relationship such as FM as in this dissertation (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009). Reflecting on the term 'double hermeneutic' allowed me to discover a space for discussion, which enabled me to contemplate a large range of matters concerning the phenomenon of FM and its role in the definition of the Self. A vast and rich concept has emerged in comparison with the consideration of the personal psychological implications and consequences of being forced into marriage.

IPA's theoretical underpinnings were developed mainly from Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenological philosophy concerned with understanding the human experience as well as Sartre, de Beauvoir and Merleau Ponty (Lavery, 2003). Heidegger (1927/1962. P21-28) did not agree with Husserl that the researcher could bracket off his feelings or prior experiences because human beings are 'Dasein's' thrown into the world and therefore cannot be detached from culture or others as they are intertwined with other people. Dasein referring to human beings, means that 'existence' is in the middle of a world with people and other things which means that 'being-in-the-world' is in general the basic state of Dasein (Heidegger 1927/1962 p24). According to Lavery (2003) we are essentially united with the world as we create our meaning from the world, and our idea of the world is created from our worldview and experience (Lavery, 2003). According to Smith, Flowers & Larkin (2009), a key theoretical underpinning of IPA along with phenomenology is the theory of interpretation called 'Hermeneutics'. Gadamer (1975-2006) was influenced by Husserl and Heidegger and expanded hermeneutic phenomenology by describing the 'subjectivity of truth'; that our perception of an event or object is fused with our interpretation of it as humans are not fixed entities and our interpretations therefore cannot be static either (Lavery, 2003).

IPA is concerned with the detailed examination of lived human experience (Smith, 2010). Using the principles of bracketing, IPA attempts to conduct this examination in ways which

allow experience to be expressed in its own terms rather than pre-defined knowledge (Smith, 2004). IPA research focuses on participants experience and perception whilst maintaining that the participants relationship to the world is essentially interpretative (Pringle, 2011). In IPA, thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews, are the most widely used mode of analysis. Identification of themes within the participants account, enable the researcher to gain insight into how the world appears to them (Smith, 2004).

For Heidegger (1927/1962. P95) the term ‘thrownness’ used to describe human’s individual existence as ‘being thrown’ into the world. Individuals are always embedded in lived experience, and hence the context can never be bracketed out. Human beings are ‘thrown into’ a world of objects, relationships, and language (Finlay, 2009); and hence they are always in-relation-to-something (van Deurzen & Adams, 2011). In trying to understand the description of the way interpretative understanding is achieved Heidegger (1927/1962 p153) writes “It is not to be reduced to the level of a vicious circle or even of a circle which is merely tolerated. In the circle is hidden a positive possibility of the most primordial kind of knowing and we genuinely grasp this possibility only when we have understood that our first, last and constant task in interpreting is never to allow our fore-having, fore-sight and fore-conception to be presented to us by fancies and popular conceptions, but rather to make the scientific theme secure by working out these fore-structures in terms of the thing’s themselves”. Heidegger (1927/1962 p247) also uses the collective noun ‘equipment’ to reflect a tool or as an “in-order-to” for Dasein. According to Creswell (2013) priority should be given to the new object under discussion rather than our preconceptions; in-order-to make sense of these fore-structures in terms of the things themselves. My personal interest is focused on the phenomenological approach, rooted in hermeneutics which would engage ‘the interpretative’ element to explicate meanings and assumptions in the participants transcripts and which they might have difficulty articulating (Ajjawi & Higgs, 2007. P612-638). In line with the epistemological position adopted in this study IPA is the most appropriate method of qualitative analysis; as it recognises the central role of the researcher in making sense of the participants personal experience of FM (Smith, 2004. P39-54).

IPA is also based on hermeneutics and as such interested in the way in which phenomenon emerges into the light (Smith, 2010). Following Heidegger, IPA is concerned with examining how a phenomenon appears and the importance of that experience by looking at the things themselves. IPA is also an idiographic approach with a commitment to the particular-which is seen at two levels (Smith, 2004). Firstly, a commitment to the particular-regarding ‘detail’ in



relation to the high level of analysis of a given phenomenon such as the things themselves; secondly a commitment to understanding how a particular-experiential phenomenon has been understood by a specific individual in a specific context. In IPA sampling is purposeful and has the aim of selecting a homogenous group connected by a shared experience rather than just a representative participant group. According to Smith (1999) IPA transcripts should be approached one at a time and analysed fully into a thematic, idiographic form before starting the next. In this current study the specific individuals are adult British-Asian females with south-Asian lineage and the specific context is their past-experience of forced marriage (FM) and living in a FM.

IPA has an inductive component in as much as semi-structured interviews are used to ensure interviews stay relevant to the research area; however, IPA maintains flexibility to allow for unanticipated insights to emerge (Finlay, 2011). In-reality research oscillates between induction which generates new theory from data and deduction which is aimed at testing theory, but induction is prioritised. Participants experience's and their interpretations are dependent on the context. In this current study as well as women's refuges, participants will also be interviewed in their local community by a researcher who, although may not personally know the participants, is identified as a member of the local community.

According to Eatough & Smith (2006) in-order to get to the heart of the participants lived experience it is necessary to move away from preconceived knowledge and towards 'what is there', by going to the source of the experience i.e., the participants verbatim interview transcript. Furthermore, IPA is committed to working with the complex meaning making process, which allows the researcher to move closer to a much better understanding of the experiences 'shared understanding' (Yorke & Dallas 2015). In IPA, the researcher should endeavour to approach each transcript on its own merits and only when all the individual participants data has been analysed that it can be compared and contrasted in order to identify a common set of themes (Smith & Osborn, 2007). The process of exploring participants particular subjective experience starts with a detailed examination of each case before attempting to make more general claims (Smith, 2010). In this current research study on adult women's past-experience of FM, IPA sets out a clear methodological and theoretical framework to explore the experience of a small number of participants. The approach is suitable for my research questions and sets out for me, as a trainee researcher, with a structured process of analysis, as laid out by Smith et al (2009). Being exposed to FM, the cultural, physical and psychological demands experienced by the 'victims' shuts the

psychological window of opportunity for the individual to re-evaluate personal and moral values, social, political and moral assumptions, and to gauge her cultural references. It results in the closing of one's view of the world from multiple perspectives, which in turn stifles the sense of Self. I have chosen IPA because I am interested in the essence and nature of FM and I want to give voice to the experience of the minority of women who have experienced FM. By obtaining a fuller understanding of the quality and texture of individual experience of FM I will look across the entire cluster of cases to obtain a more generalised understanding of FM.

### **3.8 Limitations of IPA**

According to Giorgi (2010 p 2-22) how can IPA research claim sound empirical knowledge if there are no strict protocols or rules? Willig (2008) notes a key limitation of IPA is language and the researcher's ability to articulate what the participant said. Both Willig (2001) and Landridge (2007) proposit IPA as being overly reliant on cognition and perception within its interpretative elements, thereby diluting its status as a phenomenological method because it does not focus directly on consciousness and the objects of direct experience. The interpretative element within IPA is guided by the participants personal descriptions of a phenomenon and how this is understood by the researcher, whose focus is to illuminate the participants personal experience, as a philosophical approach focused on the lifeworld rather than cognitive processing (Landridge, 2007). Pringle (2011) viewed the small samples advocated by IPA as a possible limitation, however Smith et al (2009) countered this by suggesting that the limited sample size enables richer more in-depth analysis. In-order to overcome these objections van Deurzen's four world model will also be incorporated into the design to look at the phenomenon of FM from a physical, social, personal, and spiritual vantage point followed by Yalom's existential perspective. Our ability to articulate participant narrative is expected to be enhanced by analysing the discourse from numerous subjective positions. This approach will strengthen the study's phenomenological status by reducing reliance on cognition alone within its interpretative elements by focusing on ethereal, emotional, physical, and social components. It is anticipated that the four worlds model will provide a richer, fuller, and more comprehensive account of the participants past-experience of FM and it is this approach that we turn our attention to in the next section.

### 3.9 Van Deurzen's Four World Model

Women who have experienced FM are concerned with the choices they make on-a-daily-basis and the potential impact of such choices for other family members. These are existential issues about which there is agreement on some basic values such as the assumption that human difficulties are not symptoms to be fixed or eradicated, but part of the dilemmas and tensions of the human condition that need to be illuminated (Van Deurzen & Adams, 2011). According to Cohn (2002); Spinelli (2007), existential therapists attempt to help their client's in clarifying their worldview, without holding an expert position over their issues; by promoting the client's autonomy and choices. The main principle of existential psychotherapy is that all phenomena emerge through the ground of relatedness; the implication of this principle being that we can only make sense of another through an inter-relational context (Spinelli, 2007). The client's expert position on her experience of FM stands well in relation to the existential approach, especially in the inter-relational context.

According to Merleau-Ponty the body is not a thing but an instrument by which individuals grasp their world and their way of being in it. The body is relational and through it we perceive the world and others as the body is inseparably joined to its surroundings (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p106). The lived body moves and develops meaningfully within the environment as the subject of experience and perception with continual presence. Each of us has an ambiguous relationship with our own bodies as they are both subject and object, passing from one to the other. Under these circumstances the body can experience shame which is connected to the gaze of the other. As Merleau-Ponty (1945-2002) put it "in so far as I have a body, I may be reduced to the status of an object beneath the gaze of another person and no longer count as a person for him". Murray (2008) articulated how experience and therefore meaning are essentially created through a bodily encounter such that being-in-the-world is the effect of a socio-cultural context; with our corporeal (lived-body) histories always already situating us in the world. De Beauvoir (1908-1986) went further to distinguish between male and female embodiment, saying that the very concept of 'woman' was a male concept in which the 'woman is always positioned as the other'. The whole idea of what it means to be a woman is given by men where male is the subject and female is the object. De Beauvoir (1949) in her book '*The second sex*', demonstrated women's battle in relation to the disadvantages of the burdensome female body. Women were-seen-as tied down by nature through their physiological menstruation cycles and pregnancy involving both suffering and risk; and leading to estrangement and objectification. The burden is how a woman translates

these physiological functions which renders them negative or positive. However, as women are objectified, they are seen as obliged to think of their bodies more negatively as they are embedded in a patriarchal society. De Beauvoir's work on embodiment has direct relevance to the phenomenon of FM in the context of collectivist culture and what it means to be a woman at a private personal level under circumstances of FM.

Ludwig Binswanger (1946) was a psychiatrist fascinated by Heidegger's idea of Being-in-the-world, where individuals are always in relationship or connection with other people as well as the world around them. He described significance of the human experience through the existential structures of the "Mitwelt", the social world with others; "Eigenwelt", identity and personhood; and "Umwelt", the physical and biological environment. Rollo May (1983) went further to clarify Binswanger's worldview in that Umwelt was the 'world around', in relation to the environment and the biological world. In other words, Mitwelt is the world we are thrown into and 'thrownness' is Heidegger's term which he used to describe a world over which we have no control, and which existed before us. Not only does this include the relationship to our physical environment but also our impulses, biological drives, senses, and our physical bodily needs. Mitwelt according to May was the 'with world' of being with others. Based on Heidegger's term of 'Being-with'; illuminates the fact that as individuals we are always in relationship with others. Mitwelt also includes other social constructions such as society, culture, and language where we interact with the world of other people either through cooperation or control, regulated by our feelings. Our emotions regulate how we respond to others where communication is the primary way, we express those feelings (van Deurzen, 2010. P139). Eigenwelt represented the world of self or 'own world'. It is about our psychological relationship with the self and with intimate and significant others. Eigenwelt for May included our thoughts, feelings, character traits and a sense of who we are. According to van Deurzen (2010) Eigenwelt is concerned with creating a personal sense of stability, integration, and selfhood, regulated by concepts and images, we create notions about ourselves and our personal worlds. Van Deurzen (2010) added a fourth term Uberwelt or spiritual dimension, seen as our soul to the world of ideas and their importance in relation to daily existence, regulated by intuition our primary preoccupation is with meaning. The outlet for Uberwelt is our connection to a broader network, with a sense of belonging to the scheme of things (Van Deurzen, 2010.p 139-144).

According to the Department of Health, forced marriage is a form of domestic violence and also contributes to domestic violence after the marriage (Anita & Gill.2009. p165-184). Since

there are parallels between FM and domestic violence (DV) this study seeks to understand the deeper existential issues faced by women in their past experience of Forced Marriage (FM), in relation to the four dimensions model of DV put forward by van Deurzen (2010 p.137):

- 1) Physical- Potential loss of security.
- 2) Social- Loss of close longstanding relationships.
- 3) Personal- Feelings of Isolation and loneliness.
- 4) Spiritual- Understanding what gives us purpose.

We all have physical concerns about survival, social concerns about being accepted by others, personal concerns about our identity and spiritual concerns about what life is all about? (Van Deurzen, 2010).

#### THE FOUR SPHERES OF EXISTENCE

	(1) Umwelt	(2) Mitwelt	(3) Eigenwelt	(4) Uberwelt
Physical Survival	Nature	Things	Body	Cosmos
Social Affiliation	Public	Others	Ego	Culture
Personal Identity	Private	Me	Self	Consciousness
Spiritual Meaning	Infinite	Ideas	Spirit	Conscience

Van Deurzen (2010. P143)

According to van Deurzen (2010), all human experience can be mapped on to a world map that contains the above and following four dimensions:

- 1) Umwelt (around world) is the physical, natural, material domain.
- 2) Mitwelt (with world) is the social, public, cultural domain.
- 3) Eigenwelt (own world) is the personal, private, psychological domain.
- 4) Uberwelt (above world) is the spiritual, interpretive, ideological domain.

At the physical dimension Umwelt our body is seen as the point of contact with the environment and the main modes of operating are through our five primary senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. At the Social or Public dimension Mitwelt we are regulated by our feelings in the sense that our emotions indicate how we position ourselves in relation to the space we share with others. At the psychological or private dimension Eigenwelt we are regulated by thinking and mainly concerned with creating the centredness that gives us a sense of stability, selfhood, and integration. At the spiritual dimension Uberwelt we are

regulated by intuition and connected through our soul to the purely abstract world of ideas and their concrete significance in our daily lives. Existential psychotherapy requires a philosophical gaze to become aware of the fullness as well as paradoxical nature of human existence. In-fact it is these paradoxes and contradictions which exist at every level of our existence that are confusing and confounding, but also a vital source of our energy.

#### DIMENSIONS AND TENSIONS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE

	Desires	Fears
Physical	Life, Pleasure	Death, Pain
Social	Love, Belonging	Hate, Isolation
Personal	Identity, Integrity	Freedom, Disintegration
Spiritual	Good, Pleasure	Evil, Futility

Van Deurzen (2010) Fig 13.3 p141

This current research study on FM fits well with van Deurzen’s (2010) four world model as it is anticipated that a frank and open discussion about the struggles and challenges experienced by women previously in their FM will increase knowledge for improving psychotherapy and counselling services by applying the knowledge gained from this research. It will also enhance understanding of how individuals create purpose and meaning when faced with a significant life event such as FM. According to van Deurzen’s Living with conflict and trauma model the following statements are made and it would be interesting to determine how such statements map onto the case of FM as it too is seen to involve conflict and trauma. At the physical level under conditions of conflict and trauma it is advised to seek safety when under threat. To trust and heed sensations of stress and find natural environment that can soothe as well as expand your horizon. At the social level it is advised to communicate your emotions without reproach, resentment, or bitterness. Seek belonging with like-minded allies. Seek to go beyond hateful and destructive relations by isolation and avoidance till reconciliation is possible. At the personal level it is advised to learn to yield as well as to be resolute. Regain a sense of freedom in relation to adversity. To express thoughts and memories and to allow the event to strengthen your character. At the spiritual level it is advised to improve rather than give up values, beliefs, purpose, meaning. Stick with what is true but transcend values. Integrate what has happened in worldview. According to van Deurzen (2010. P 140) each of these four dimensions is infinitely interwoven with the others

and real hardship usually involves destruction or faltering on all dimensions simultaneously. In this research the four dimensions of existence model will be applied to the transcript of individuals who have experienced FM to explore the level of hardship in relation to the outcome based on these predictions. During this research I was looking for the women's overall lived experience of FM. Using the existential/ phenomenological approach, I tried to keep an open mind, so that I would not miss other experiences of FM that were not included in existing theory. I did this in practice by using an existential psychology lens to complete the literature review, during interviewing and analysis I was as open and phenomenological as possible by attempting to bracket, to allow the data to emerge from the participants. I then made sense of the verbatim transcripts through the lens of existential psychology.

### **3.10 Yalom's Existential perspective**

According to the Department of Health, forced marriage (FM) is a form of domestic violence and contributes to domestic violence after the marriage (Anita & Gill.2009. p165-184). Weingourt (1985) postulated that abused women see the world as a dangerous lonely place in which survival depends on finding a protector. Yalom (1980) postulated that the givens of existence are death, freedom, isolation, and meaninglessness. Furthermore, the experience of domestic violence (DV) allows death anxiety to reach such high proportions that it brings about a chronic retreat from life. The goal of the victims is never to be alone, which is strongly tied to the fear of death. This motivation results in a tendency to fuse with another stronger person and allow him to do the living for both. This person has the power of life and death over them and he becomes the "ultimate rescuer". The victim achieves a sense of safety by merging with another and defends against her fear of death by refusing to live. The result of this merger is ultimately destructive as the woman relinquishes the chance to explore and develop her own strengths. Separation from the husband leaves the woman to face life and death alone, without the magical protection of the ultimate rescuer.

Loneliness, isolation, and fear of abandonment are recurring themes for women in abusive relationships as they perceive themselves as worthless and weak and are terrified of being alone. In this research Yalom's Existential perspective will be applied to the transcript of individuals who have experienced FM to explore the level of hardship in relation to the outcome based on these predictions. In the next chapter method used to produce transcripts will be laid out in-order to better understand the scope of this phenomenological inquiry.

### 3.11 Method

A small purposive and homogenous sample was used to carry out this research in accordance with the principles of IPA. Semi-structured interviews enabled data collection, which was then transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were subjected to a multi-layered analysis using the IPA, Yalom's existential framework and van Derurzen's four worlds model approach. The two approaches were amalgamated with IPA focusing on how the past-experience of FM is understood by the individual in a specific context. Yalom's work explored the difficulties in relation to the givens of existence: death, freedom, isolation, and meaninglessness whilst the four worlds model approach deepened the understanding of existential issues in relation to the physical, social, personal, and spiritual dimensions. An idiographic overview of each participant was harvested, and the data moved into thematic clusters, which allowed the identification of superordinate and emergent themes capturing the essence of participants account (Appendix 4). By using IPA and semi-structured interviews, the researcher gave the participants time and space to talk about their life experiences by telling their personal stories. Research aimed to find out what it was like for adult female participants previously forced into marriage using a combination of interpretative and phenomenological analyses. Moustakas (1994.p3) articulated important principles of phenomenological research include epoche, phenomenological reduction, imaginative variation, and synthesis. A person's first-hand experience is what makes phenomenological research valid. Freedom from suppositions is named "Epoche" and things cannot be felt to be known (in advance) without internal reflection and meaning. Only your own perception can point to truth. Following epoche is phenomenological reduction: i.e., describing just what you see, external and internal, the relationship between phenomenon and self. You look and describe again and again, always with reference to textural qualities, descriptions with a context in experiencing.

According to Smith (2011) IPA is concerned with examining personal lived experience of participants, the meaning of such experience and how they make sense of it. IPA enables the researcher to make sense of what the participants experienced while they were working out how to make sense of their situation. The research was also interested in the individual experience of each participant, as they had a unique way of looking at FM. With IPA it is accepted that the researcher's worldview and their relationship with the participants influences the interpretation; hence why it was important to maintain, 'reflexivity' throughout (Willig, 2008). According to Landridge (2007), IPA focuses on findings which can contribute to real and useful social change. The aim of this current study was to gather useful



information from the participants past-experience of FM in-order-to help those women who are currently in or anticipating FM, in-order to identify how best to cope with the challenges faced by this minority group. The participants and selection process, to represent this minority group will form the topic of discussion for the next section.

### **3.12 Participants and Sample**

According to Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009), IPA is an idiographic research method which attempts to provide a detailed focus on the experience of a phenomenon. Furthermore, that IPA analyses the similarities and details of each case at length and in-depth, hence it is suggested that professional doctoral students aim to include between 4 to 10 interviews from participants. Eight participants were recruited in accordance with the small sample size stipulated as suitable for IPA (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). In search for a homogenous sample of participants the researcher began by circulating the approved printed information sheet (Appendix 7) advertising the research study in swimming pools, women's refuges, and libraries. The aim was to search for female participants (between the ages of 18-25 which according to the FMU (2020) is the average age range of adult victims) with south-Asian lineage, who had the experience of forced marriage (FM) when they were over the age of 18; they are no longer in the marriage and not currently living with the person/s who forced them into marriage.

One participant was deemed suitable for the study based on first meeting, and keen to participate in the pilot study interview in the second meeting. The participant introduced an acquaintance who was also keen to take part in the study and the information sheet was forwarded to each before arranging the first meeting. This 'snowball' sampling technique was a genuine, efficient, and speedy method of recruitment, which identified potential participants without the need for the researcher to approach them. Another participant was identified and recruited from a south-Asian women's refuge who introduced two further participants who had in the past also sought refuge. One more participant contacted the researcher directly and introduced another participant who was suitable also introducing the final participant to the research. The participants included: Three stay at home mothers, two NHS staff, two administrators and one teacher. The researcher had two meetings with each participant and followed the same procedure for recruitment selection and interviewing with each. Great care was taken to ensure confidentiality for each participant and any identifying details were

altered or withheld as agreed with each participant. Two participants had requested copies of their research contribution to be emailed to them, one directly and one through a trusted female friend's email account. None of the participants asked to have their contribution altered although one participant was not sure if it was 'her' interview that was transcribed but rang a few weeks later to say she was happy that her interview was in-fact transcribed accurately. Most participants sought reassurance that their identities would be strictly guarded and two that the specific details of their individual case would not be broadcast on media.

### **3.13 Reflexivity**

According to Finlay & Gough (2003) in IPA the qualitative part of the process is an acknowledgement and presentation of the researchers understanding and preconceptions about the research. I will in this section attempt to explore how my ideas, personal interests, and values have shaped this research and implications for clinical practice. Some of the clients in my previous private psychotherapeutic practice were diasporic Asian females who had been subjected to forced marriage (FM); as I worked extensively with this client group, I became aware of the academic gap of knowledge in this area. Clients would often talk about how they felt trapped and how they would have been better off dead. I was aware of the serious nature and gravity of the client's dissatisfaction and started searching for alternative ways to conceptualise the issue which would address the clients concerns and help to meet their needs. My search led me to the work of van Deurzen (1988) which suggested that when all other options are barred, suicide can-be-seen as the final affirmation of human freedom. Exploring the concepts of freedom, choice & autonomy further led to a new and exciting way of exploring client's worlds as I made a conscious shift from the medical model approach to existential thinking.

My interest in researching FM evolved organically whilst working extensively with vulnerable ethnic minority women as I was surprised at the frequency and prevalence of honour based and gender based, violence against females in my south Asian Mirpuri Kashmiri community located within a deprived inner-city ward in Birmingham. It was demoralizing to notice how females were often subjected to violence, intimidation and unfair treatment on-the-basis of their gender and were deemed weak and vulnerable by men in their family such as fathers, uncles, and brothers, in need of protection and therefore subjected to

sexual inequality such as being forced to marry. Additionally, following several high-profile cases including Rukhsana Naz, Jack & Zena Briggs (Gill & Mitra-Khan, 2012 p107-122); it is clear FM can no longer be overlooked or simply brushed under the carpet, whilst maintaining the status-quo-ante for perpetrators of this unwanted and criminal act. I am not personally in favour of FM but there does seem to be a lot of inherent objection based on-the-fact that it is an alien practice to western culture therefore it is automatically demonised particularly in the mass media. Despite the fact it is an illegal practice punishable by law it is also a traditional custom which has been practised for centuries without showing signs of social fragmentation or moral outrage within the specific subcultures and therefore it is ripe for methodological exploration and investigation.

Throughout the research process I regularly updated a research journal to increase self-awareness and reflexivity (Appendix 6). This research felt important to me and I wanted to increase my knowledge about the important topic of FM and how the research can inform therapeutic practice. The interviews were carried out in a quiet room and also in the women's refuge or community centre. Semi-structured interviews were carried out to explore participants past experience of FM. Reflexivity is an important and integral part of the research process and as the researcher I made clear my personal understandings and experience of the phenomenon under investigation. I reflected on my motivation, presuppositions, values, beliefs, and my relationship with the participants; as well as how these will influence my research. For example, around half of participants asked me about my personal views on FM and I replied with the truth by stating that I am neutral on the topic and the purpose of this research is to explore the subjective experience of FM. This process brought together two aspects of reflective practice: accountability for the researcher involved in the research process and the use of the researcher's self as a guide for the methods deployed (Etherington, 2004). Examples of both aspects are emphasised throughout this research, particularly in this section. I made sure I adhered to these principles with each participant and at every stage.

Existential phenomenology and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) are historically Western modalities hence there may be a potential cultural conflict in working with diasporic south Asian (eastern) participants/clients. According to May *et al* (1979) however the existential approach has a 'new way of seeing the reality of the client called phenomenology'. Unlike the Western cultural approach of looking at things and events in

terms of their causes; phenomenologists argue that experience itself has-to be understood in-its-own-right regardless of causation. According to Ibrahim *et al* (1984) this new way has significant implications for cross-cultural psychology as it enables professionals to detach from the cause-and-effect analysis by focusing on the client's presentation i.e., in this case diasporic south Asian females experience of FM. As an existential psychotherapist my stance as an individual and as a researcher is informed by this paradigm which fits the purpose and aims of this project as shown throughout this dissertation.

Women who have experienced FM are concerned with the choices they make on-a-daily-basis and the potential impact of such choices for other family members. These are existential issues about which there is agreement on some basic values such as the assumption that human difficulties are not symptoms to be fixed or eradicated, but part of the dilemmas and tensions of the human condition that need to be illuminated (Van Deurzen & Adams, *et al* 2011). V Deurzen *et al* (1988) believed that it is the intercultural elements of cross fertilization that will be most conducive to the continued evolution of existential therapy. IPA is also used in cultural psychology using Emic (insider) and Etic (outsider) perspectives such as the researcher being a British Asian with south Asian lineage but who has not had the experience of FM and can therefore look at the data from outside with an opportunity to develop higher level insights. These perspectives have already proved demonstrably useful in clinical settings (please see section 3.16 Ethical consideration) with diasporic south Asian female clients complaining of HBV such as FM and will be carried forward similarly.

According to Landridge, the researcher wants to gain first-hand experience of what the phenomena of FM was like, and therefore not have a set hypothesis or personal opinions which could lead to a biased view (Landridge, 2007). Not having an opinion however was not possible due to the double hermeneutic nature of IPA and therefore I tried as much as possible to suspend my own judgements to gain a fuller understanding of the participant's account. I was surprised as none of the participants was literally and physically forced into marriage kicking and screaming as assumed and again which I successfully bracketed. As a diasporic south Asian male during the process of this research I found the unexpected experience of researching the Kashmir conflict emotional, upsetting and anxiety provoking, that led to re-surfacing of some sedimented childhood trauma from the conflict zone which I addressed and worked through. At this stage I decided that the Kashmir issue was extremely important to me and one which I will take up as my personal lifelong project in attempting to

resolve through strictly political/democratic endeavours. During the research process after realising that FM was less prevalent than had been anticipated, it became clear that the Kashmir conflict was a linchpin in much of the discussions and led to numerous other crucial findings relevant particularly to the Kashmiri diaspora. The emic and political perspective with recommendations came about as a direct result of additional insights and I had only reluctantly disclosed my personal experiences of routine racism until I came across identical sentiments from the Chief Executive of the BPS. The Chief Executives experience gave me confidence to tell my story and it felt like a relief knowing that I had contributed something valuable to this important topic and discussion. Another issue which I grappled with was how can I as a diasporic south Asian collectivist male suggest that the phenomenon of FM is conflated by the female participants and claim no conflict of interest? In response I can only say that I truly followed the findings and was led by the research rather than the other way around. Coming face to face with armed Police officers in an underground tube station was a challenging experience for me to relive because at the time I felt out of my comfort zone in the hustle and bustle of London particularly as I was reminded that De Menezes on a tube train was mistakenly shot 16 times in the head by armed Police whilst he too was running. Towards the end of 2020 I became profoundly disillusioned that my otherwise powerful dissertation would somehow lose its newsworthiness in light of the evolving and mutating COVID 19 viral Pandemic.

### **3.14 Interviews**

All Interviews were comprehensively completed within the one-hour time limit and before the first lockdown in March 2020 following the Covid 19 pandemic outbreak. Some participants were emotional as they shared their highly emotive and personal experience of FM, and this elevated anxiety for myself and participants in the room as I had to remind myself to maintain my capacity as a researcher by sticking to the research schedule and sometimes reminding participants to answer the question asked. During the interviews I offered little prompting unless I felt the participant was straying too far from the topic or to gain clarification. I chose IPA because I am interested in the essence and nature of FM and I want to give voice to the experience of the minority of women who had experienced FM. In asking the following questions, I was able to obtain a fuller understanding of the quality and texture of individual experience of FM by looking across the entire cluster of cases to obtain a more generalised understanding of FM.

### **3.15 Research Interview Questions**

- 1) What were your hopes and expectations about marriage before you were forced into marriage?
- 2) Can you describe in your own words what happened when you were forced to marry?
- 3) Who do you feel was responsible for forcing you to marry and what do you think were their reasons?
- 4) Did you feel you were in love or could grow to love your new husband? (Prompt) did you share any values, interests, or aspirations with your husband?
- 5) Has the experience of being forced to marry changed you as a person? (Prompt) If so, how?
- 6) What are your views about Forced Marriage now?

### **3.16 Ethical Considerations**

Woman who has had the experience of FM are considered vulnerable, therefore I used extra care to ensure the preservation of participants dignity and autonomy. I sought to establish an open and trusting relationship with the aim of protecting participant well-being, safety and ensuring they come to no harm. As a male researcher working with south Asian female participants in this study, I used the skills and knowledge gained previously in my private practice working extensively with second and third generation south Asian diasporic females many of whom presented for HBV/FM and vicarious trauma. This was followed by working with numerous young female clients (in an adolescent counselling service) who had experienced sexual trauma and expressed a preference for a female therapist. As a trainee existential counselling psychologist having had over 500 hours of supervised clinical psychotherapeutic practice, over 200 hours of personal therapy, demonstrating an empathic, congruent, non-judgemental, and reflexive attitude I was also able to establish a deeply therapeutic professional relationship with this vulnerable client group. Based on this experience I was able to achieve a similar level of depth of openness in the non-therapeutic context of this research mostly with second and third generation diasporic south Asian females. In my current role as psychological counsellor for a local government, I have

successfully acquired an even broader range of skills working therapeutically within the south Asian diaspora community and particularly with second and third generation diasporic females who presented for FM, HBV, and transgenerational trauma; without any experience of early rupture or client disappointment throughout my clinical career. Additionally, I identify myself as in transitioning from a middleclass socioeconomic bracket to professional status in the anticipation of successfully completing my professional doctorate studies. However, my working-class roots and centre left political affiliations are deeply entrenched and I strongly believed that no amount of social mobility will erode this very basic fact. In working with clients/participants some of whom were either middle-class/ professional and others who might be described as working class, generally I felt comfortable experiencing no contradiction or class divide especially having received (over several years) neutrality and non-judgemental training as an Existential trainee using the principles of epoche/Bracketing. I was able to treat each individual with the dignity and respect they deserved as human beings and not seen simply as vessels for data collection or 'mere females'. My professionalism extended respect to each participant, which was reciprocated with genuine honesty, congruence, openness and will continue to be exercised similarly going forward.

Existing knowledge on the issue of FM in the UK is largely centred on south Asian and Muslim communities however this can be explained by the fact that south Asian communities are the largest ethnic minority group in the UK (Maruf 2012). Although FM is also a cultural practice in south-Asian countries; the culturalist approach to FM has led many to argue that the debate on FM has led to the stigmatization of Islam and Muslim communities as key perpetrators of FM giving rise to an irreconcilable clash between Islam and the west (Gill & Anitha 2011 p138-157). It is for these reasons that I opted to focus the research only on British Asians with south Asian Lineage without reference to their specific religion. For the purposes of clarity south Asian countries have geographically and historically been seen to include Bangladesh, Pakistan both of which are Muslim majority countries and India which is numerically made up of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims respectively (Maruf 2012).

Participants were provided with a debriefing letter with my details and those of my primary supervisor; detailed information about Karma Nirvana a UK based charity working specifically to help victims of FM; and/or other therapeutic organisations offering private low cost or free, personal therapy if required. Time was allocated at the end of the interview to allow adequate de-briefing (Appendix 3). The interviews were recorded on a digital Dictaphone which I transcribed and analysed using headphones ensuring that I strictly protect

the anonymity of co-researchers. The recordings were stored in a secure box protected by two combination locks which only I have access to. I changed the locations and names with participants consent and all interviews were deleted immediately after the research was completed to ensure their anonymity and safety. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the process at any stage including at the final approval stage.

### **3.17 Analysis**

In line with the idiographic stance of IPA, each transcript was repeatedly read to get a general sense of the participant's account, before it was analysed in-depth (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Every time a transcript was read, it revealed more insight into the participant's world. A three-column database was created with the line numbered verbatim transcript in one, descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual colour coded comments in the second and the right-hand column used to make notes on emergent themes (Appendix 5). This was achieved by relating to aspects that had stood out, such as key phrases, interesting points, summaries of content, connections between different aspects of the transcripts and initial interpretations (Smith, 2008). My transcription approach to notation was that I edited the text to reduce it, as the quotes were initially too long. I continued this process until I was confident that all the quotes reflected the client's original transcripts accurately.

### **3.18 Debriefing**

The aim of the debriefing was to ensure that participants left the interview in the same frame of mind, they had when entering the interview. Before the interview, I provided an explanation of research aims and objectives by going through the information sheet (Appendix 1). This offered an opportunity for questions regarding the research and procedure of the interview, most participants wanted verbal reassurance that their interviews would not be shared with others. All participants signed a consent form (Appendix 2). I thanked the participants after each interview, and gave them the space, time, and opportunity to describe and reflect on the experience.

### **3.19 Research Journal Summary**

Initial stages of the research journey gave an accurate picture of the complex and problematic nature of researching the phenomenon of FM. I attempted to press ahead with enthusiasm and vigour only to be reminded by my supervisors and the complexity of the research for the need



to slow down. The research encountered several challenges which would have been insurmountable had I not been intrinsically interested in the topic and fascinated about undertaking such research which could potentially be exquisite and controversial. There were, concerns about safety since FM has implications for honour of the participants and their families. Presentation of the pap viva was the first main objective followed by ethics approval which took several attempts and had to be modified accordingly due to participant safety concerns. I used the time waiting for a response from ethics committee to complete the literature review. Following on from this once the advertisement posters had been placed it was discovered that recruitment was a slow and painstaking process due to issues of trust and the narrow selection criterion. The first participant rang me and was keen to take part in the research. After transcription and analysis of the first interview, findings were presented as a research proposal, the results of which were encouraging. The research proposal was presented at a women's refuge, from which further participants were identified who also met the criterion and agreed to take part. Based on recommendations from supervisors following the first interview, subsequent interviews were modified to include prompts of whether the husband may or may not also have experienced FM? Each participant was met initially to determine suitability, gather initial data, and following consent, interviewed in the second meeting. Time was allocated at the end of the second meeting for a full de-briefing, to answer any questions raised and reflexivity was maintained throughout.

### **3.20 Strengths and Limitations with future recommendations**

This study only had eight participants so it was initially unclear if findings could be reliably extrapolated or generalised. There were no specific selection criteria apart from female participants between the ages of 18-25 (with south-Asian lineage) who were over the age of 18 when they were forced into marriage, have subsequently left that marriage, and are currently not living with the perpetrator/s who forced them into marriage. Following the research proposal, literature review, transcription, and data analysis, the participants stories were brought alive in the following findings chapter. For further research it would be interesting to repeat this study on a larger scale to determine if these findings can be reproduced and/or supported.

## Chapter 4

## Findings

### 4.1 Overview

An interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) carried out with eight participants using semi-structured interviews with adult diasporic British-Asian females, who self-disclosed that they had in the past experienced forced marriage (FM). During the process of analysis, researcher undertook a reflective interpretation of the text, setting personal preconceived ideas to one side using the principles of ‘bracketing’ (SFL 09) and visiting the text anew to gain a fuller and more meaningful understanding. The analysis resulted in the emergence of six super-ordinate themes which were identified by engaging with a double hermeneutic process (SFL 09); this interpretation is therefore subjective however findings have been supported with quotes from participants to provide clarity, structure, and rationale.

<b>Super-ordinate themes</b>	<b>Emergent themes</b>
Major unwanted change	Unexpected Disappointing Shattered dreams
Experienced inequality against patriarchy	Loss of expected self Excessive thinking Unrealistic expectations
Challenged Patriarchy	Females challenged Patriarchy Perceived lack of choice in AM Opposition against AM
AM/FM confusion and conflation	Wanting Equality Conflation between AM/FM Rejection of AM/FM
Rejecting Individualistic Exit strategy	Acceptance of Collectivist ideology Tacit acceptance of FM Colluding with Patriarchy
Equality advocate	Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM Rejecting hegemonic male Patriarchy Hard won Emancipation

A forced marriage is one in which one or both spouses do not (or, in the case of some adults with learning or physical disabilities or mental incapacity, cannot) consent to the marriage, and violence, threats, or any other form of coercion is involved. Coercion may include emotional pressure, physical force or the threat of it, and financial pressure. In an arranged marriage, by contrast, both parties have consented to the union but can still refuse to marry if they choose to (Forced marriage Unit (FMU) *et al* 2020 (p4)). In 2014 Forced Marriage (FM) was criminalised in the UK with a prison sentence of up to 7 years by former prime minister David Cameron who described FM as abhorrent and little more than slavery. Forcing anyone into marriage against their will is wrong and therefore we have taken decisive action to make it illegal (FMU *et al* 2016.p4). Overview of findings shows how participants were largely unaware of any problems until they reached the age of marriage. Diasporic female participants quickly realised the nature and extent of inequality they were facing when they reached the age of marriage and thus became disillusioned at the prospect of having to sacrifice their bodies, ambitions, and desires. Most participants wanted to get a good education followed by a decent career before they felt ready for marriage loosely based on love or arranged marriage; all expressed a desire for marriage based on explicit choice, autonomy, and consent. Clan members were against the idea of choice because their primary objective was to make their clan stronger and fitter than rival clans with choice and autonomy in marriage being counterproductive to such aims. According to (Ballard *et al*,1994. p558) first generation Pakistanis created a competitive environment within which groups competed against neighbouring communities. According to Koch *et al* (2008) honour culture did not arise by evil intention; it was created due to rational reasons in societies where welfare is non-existent, suggesting that in the absence of a welfare state system; honour culture is a rational response to solidify family bonds to increase likelihood of family survival.

In many societies, marriage has an important function where many times it is to strengthen family relationships and preserve group solidarity among families and communities. Also, from an economical aspect marriage can come to play an important role, dowry or other kinds of economic security are of great importance for the marriage and the family (Bhopal *et al* 2011, p. 434). Arranged marriage (AM) means that the two parties may not choose their partner for marriage themselves. A third party may select the spouses, often another family member. According to Ballard *et al* (1994) studies have shown British south-Asian communities use codes designed to solidify power hierarchies, the pooling of resources and controlling wealth in the UK and back to those in the sub-continent (Ballard 1994. Shaw

2000). Clan members offered AM in favour of Love marriage (LM) as the most efficient marriage solution for the benefit of the entire clan, but the British Asian female participants based on the findings of this study, felt coerced and victimised by their male clan members and therefore rejected AM. Once participants had rejected AM, they were not then free to pursue LM as they were situated in a collectivist clan network which would ensure its survival by perpetuating itself through marriage between suitable clan members come what may.

The clan's primary objective was to perpetuate itself by producing and reproducing a greater number of male offspring. According to Chaudhary *et al* (2013) women are expected to earn their share of honour in (south Asian) society through conditions such as preservation of sexuality, enduring a marriage (even a violent marriage) and bearing sons. Based on clan politics, the male offspring would be socialised differently to females as they would eventually be expected to continue the collectivist clan lineage by subjugating subordinate clan females regardless of geographical location and/or surrounding culture. The collectivist clan would maintain its power structure even in an open democratic and equality-based society like the UK by insulating itself from wider society. According to Barot *et al* (1998) diasporic families in the UK go to great lengths to hold on to traditions and attempt to force them on their children in-order-to maintain a sense of identity. UK families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh generally tend to reproduce their caste and sectarian communities, underpinned by regional and linguistic identities. The first of six super-ordinate themes of major unwanted change captures, the women's struggle as they come to terms with the realisation that they were being forced into marriage. Participants described how they learnt about their unexpected impending FM and felt disappointed that their dreams of a fairy tale wedding had been shattered.

#### **4.2 Super-ordinate theme one: Major unwanted change**

The first superordinate theme of major unwanted change had three emergent themes: Unexpected, Disappointing, and Shattered dreams.

Bina was a second generation British Asian in her early forty's born and raised in the UK to diasporic south Asian parents and attended school only up to the age of sixteen to complete her compulsory education. Bina did not enjoy school much, hence after leaving was happy to

stay at home doing housework and watching Bollywood movies. Her father and brother paid attention to other women instead of their wives which Bina resented. In retaliation Bina started developing amorous feelings for a local man mainly just to get back at her father and brother and when they found out, both reacted angrily by forbidding her from leaving the house unaccompanied. Bina responded by calling the police and leaving home but was eventually persuaded to return as she did not want to dishonour her family. Shortly after returning home, she was given the option of marrying one of four suitors all of whom Bina rejected because she had not explicitly agreed to any one of them and therefore concluded that it was a FM. After many attempts of coercion, manipulation, and serious verbal threats, Bina finally agreed to marry one of the suitors because she had tried her utmost to resist the marriage but in vain and therefore accepted the union as divine intervention against which she felt powerless. Once married however Bina experienced more freedoms in the new city with her husband and in-laws as she was permitted to go out for work and leisure activities which she very much enjoyed. Bina found married life much better than she had anticipated based on her previous experience of being imprisoned in her parent's house and actually started to enjoy her life, newfound freedom and work. What Bina thought was a FM serendipitously turned out to be more like a love marriage (LM) and Bina settled into her married life well until her husband went abroad one day never to return.

#### **Emergent theme 4.2.1 Unexpected**

All women recalled and recounted how they did not expect the prospect of FM (Appendix 4). This emergent theme demonstrates what it was like for participants to learn that they were being forced into marriage.

Bina: "..... um I just lived in a bubble really probably to do with all the romantic films I watched from a very young age" (L 31-33 p4). "you can choose A, B or C or if you are very lucky even D, but it would have to be from them four choices" (L38-40. P8) ": Uh.... suffocating it just felt wrong it just felt like..... I'm not even ready for this kind of commitment..... And some days [...] I would actually be terrified that I didn't know what to expect," (L 23-28. P9. Bina)

Bina's world seemed to be turned upside down when she realised, she was being psychologically manipulated into FM as she had grown up as a British-Asian watching romantic movies and expected LM based on the movies she watched. Bina's father and brother wanted her to have an AM and gave her a limited option of four suitors to choose from; Bina felt terrified because she did not know what was going to happen when she rejected AM in favour of LM.

#### **Emergent theme 4.2.2 Disappointed**

All participants expressed disappointment at the prospect of FM (Appendix 4).

Bina: "I would mean everything to him and vice versa and we'd just be us against the world...I lived in a bubble really...." (L 28- 31. P4. Bina)

Bina feels disappointed her prior expectation of a whirlwind romance followed by marriage was so unrealistic that it was akin to 'living in a bubble'.

#### **Emergent theme 4.2.3 Shattered dreams**

This theme shows how all participants dreams were shattered as they realised the full implications and extent of belonging to a collectivist clan (Appendix 4).

Bina: "In love no because that was just um... my dreams had been shattered (ha ha) and destroyed because I had been in love when I was younger, and it was just such a different feeling..." (L29- 33. P 22. Bina)

With hindsight Bina reflects on how her dreams of falling in love and marrying were shattered since she had gone through the experience of FM.

### **4.3 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme one: Major unwanted change**

The first super-ordinate theme of 'Major unwanted change' reported three emergent themes: unexpected, disappointing, shattered dreams. The outcome of this super-ordinate theme was that participants described how they learnt about their unexpected impending FM and felt

disappointed that their dreams of a fairy tale wedding had been shattered. This study found diasporic south-Asian participant had prior hopes and expectations about marriage based loosely on either LM or AM where only personal choice was deemed important. Hence in all cases the prospect of FM was unexpected for participants as each woman felt disappointed at having her dreams shattered when she realised FM.

As a diasporic south-Asian male the researcher was aware that pre-pubescent south-Asian girls are given a lot of love and affection by parents and clan members since they will be expected as young women to comply to their demands to marry based on the clan's political calculations at the expense of their own individual agency. For most participants raised in the UK where endogamy is frowned upon, being biologically related to the opposite sex members of the clan was another reason why they should avoid cousin marriage since there is a whole world of people out there looking for marriage who are not genetically related and therefore more appealing. According to Ziring & Burki *et al* the baradari (patrilineage, literally "brotherhood") is a very important social institution in south-Asian culture. Endogamy is widely practiced, often to a degree that would be considered inappropriate in Western (UK) society. This study has shown how growing up in the UK, participants were oblivious to patriarchy as many were encouraged to leave school to stay at home. Participants were trained to become housewives and mothers by learning household chores and permitted to pass time watching romantic Bollywood movies for instance, until their clan set a date for their marriage. These movies designed to temporarily 'escape' the struggles of daily life (usually for adults), were inappropriately consumed by the adolescent participants which led to unrealistic fantasies and expectations about LM. According to Gunes (2019) Indian (Bollywood) movies are one of the most effective examples for the cultural model representation reflecting cultural codes such as Indian family structures (p107). According to Jain (2019) Item songs are sensuous, over-sexualized, dances performed to the tunes of catchy Bollywood songs (p 15-29). In contemporary 'Bollywood' movies the 'item numbers', usually show women dancers with a prominent actress playing the role of 'item girl'. These women are often shown as surrounded by large groups of men while performing sexual dance moves to gratify their needs exacerbating the gender inequities portrayed in Bollywood films (Wazir 2013. P42-43

Dasgupta 2008; Gupta 2015; Sarkar 2012 have argued that the predominant representation of women in Bollywood cinema is problematic because it reinforces dominant patriarchal norms

and male fantasy about women. The ideal women in Bollywood cinema are often submissive to patriarchal norms, live a chaste life, and embrace self-sacrifice as a moral duty. Women are projected as objects of male's desire, are subjected to sexual exploitation, and often face violence. Women in Bollywood cinema rarely demonstrate their agency that question patriarchal practices. The decent woman or the lead female role resides within the institutional practices and expectations of marriage. The indecent women or the vamps are notoriously devoted to sensual gratification and are played to cater to presumed desires and fantasies of males. Having watched the same movies growing up which usually felt like an ordeal, researcher now understands their significance for participants since Bollywood movies are almost entirely without reference to AM, the most common form of marriage practised in south-Asia which also limits choice in marriage. Nijhawan (2009) argues that item songs demonstrate women's sexual freedom and desire that disrupt the male gaze and voyeuristic pleasure. Recent feminist scholarship posits that women in item songs are active agents with erotic desire, and they are not objects of the male gaze (Nijhawan 2009.p 99-112; Weidman 2012. P307-18). Women performers in the item songs flaunt their sexuality and do not hesitate to express their desire, and the so-called coolness of being sexy has replaced the stigma of being indecent.

Having been exposed to and sedimented notions of love/desire portrayed in such movies at a young age, once participants realised that they would have to sacrifice their individual agency, desire, and consent for the benefit of the collective clan. Each woman became fully aware of the implications of belonging to a collectivist patriarchal hegemonic clan. Participants realised that they would have to conform to the demands of their respective patriarchal clan at the expense of their personal agency to choose their own spouse independently. According to Grover *et al* Love, affection, and romantic relationships before marriage are not encouraged and the wish for a love-marriage often encounters strong disapproval from parents (Grover 2009). Commonly, they are viewed as less ideal, based on personal choice, on ignorance of the parent's judgment and selection. These are characteristics of societies that emphasize individualism, which become contradictory in India, since it is characterized as a collective society (2013. P4). This realisation led to the diasporic participants understanding that as women, they were subordinate to the men in their respective clan. Most participants in this study disapproved of their impending marriage for various reasons and therefore felt it was sufficiently along the AM/FM continuum to be deemed FM particularly as it lacked explicit consent. Taher *et al* (2015) agrees that being



forced into an engagement or marriage is unfair to the party that disapproves of the marriage; compromising the very purpose of marriage which aims to find love/intimacy between the spouses (shortly after marriage). According to the home office, a forced marriage (FM) is seen as a violation of women's human rights and as a form of violence against women, where there is no full and free consent and in which duress is used to enact the marriage or gain consent. Duress can involve psychological, financial, sexual, emotional, and physical violence, threats to harm or kill the victim and sexual intercourse within a FM is rape as consent has not been given. (Home Office, Forced Marriage Unit 2013. P4-6). This section has met the aim of explaining what part love plays in FM.

Stobaart *et al* (2002) suggests that the rights debate on marriage can include the rights of parents and community members in-order to preserve their identity, hence the conflict between rights of the individuals and their families. Similarly, it is evident from the participants accounts that in each case regardless of whether, they were socialised in the UK or south Asia, participants felt their hopes and dreams were unduly sacrificed to meet the complex needs of their collective clan. According to Ballard *et al* (1994) usually FM cases have more to do with domestic violence (DV) and familial breakdowns than culture, however studies have shown British south-Asian communities use codes designed to solidify power hierarchies {clan patriarchy}, the pooling of resources and controlling wealth in the UK and back to those in the sub-continent (Ballard 1994. Shaw 2000). This was an interesting finding since it suggests a necessary practical patriarchal clan need over and above the notions of honour and shame in relation to FM. It is clear in all cases it was male patriarchal family members such as father, brothers and paternal uncles who directly or in-directly instigated FM on their single female family members in order to derive maximum financial or strategic benefit for their collective clan even if that meant AM with a maternal cousin from the same clan. Even in cases where participants were 'forced' into marriage on their mother's side, it was done in the interests of the patriarchal clan since their respective parents were also relatives. The theme of major unwanted change has conveyed how participants realised their dreams had been unduly shattered due to the unexpected and disappointing nature of FM. The next super-ordinate theme 'sought equality against patriarchy' will endeavour to grapple with participants struggle against loss of expected self, excessive thinking, and unrealistic expectations by exploring how participants experienced inequality against patriarchy.

#### **4.4 Super-ordinate theme two: Experienced inequality against patriarchy**

The super-ordinate theme of experienced inequality against patriarchy consisted of three emergent themes: Loss of expected self, excessive thinking, and unrealistic expectations.

Neelam was a third generation British Asian in her late twenties born and raised in the UK to parents who had both also attended school and spoke English as their second language; but her father was often physically and emotionally violent towards her mother. Neelam enjoyed school because it was an escape from the violence at home and mum encouraged her to continue her studies until she graduated. After graduating Neelam was not allowed to go out to work and stayed at home doing household chores passing time on social media and listening to music. As a British Asian female, Neelam knew she would have to get married sooner or later and that her autocratic and violent father would not let her make her own decision in marriage. Neelam's only condition was that she did not want to marry a cousin when she was unexpectedly given the option of marrying one of two cousins. Neelam automatically assumed that both options were forced since they were betrothed by her authoritarian father but in order to avoid the first, Neelam felt obliged to accept the second. Once married Neelam realised she had a lot in common with her husband since they were both graduates, enjoyed the same food, social interests and had an overlapping social circle of relatives/friends. Neelam started developing amorous feelings for her husband which were unreciprocated, and the marriage was ended soon after based on her father's decision that she should leave the marriage.

##### **Emergent theme 4.4.1 Loss of expected self**

All eight participants expressed a loss of expected self (Appendix 4). This emergent theme demonstrates what it was like for the women to experience a loss of expected self as they realised being forced into marriage.

Neelam: "at first I was just like... marriage...if this is what it is then I don't really ever want to ever get married..." (L 17-19. P 2). "I was scared maybe I would even get thrown out of the house or...I don't know what's going to happen ...um ...but I did feel really scared...and just... trapped...and just really...I just...I actually did not know what to do so..." (L 16-20. P 5. Neelam)

Neelam did not want to marry anyone, especially a cousin from her abusive father's clan and when she realised, she was facing the prospect of FM, it resulted in a loss of expected self.

#### **Emergent theme 4.4.2 Excessive thinking**

All eight participants experienced excessive thinking (Appendix 4).

Neelam: "um so yeah basically my dad was in control, he was always in control ...and yeah he would just...say that you know ...you would marry someone who I choose for you...and ... will give me an option...to just...this is the person...just give me all the possi, you know explain how he's like all the...obviously I knew that I can't choose my own...er partner..." (L 7-18. P 3). "The only expectation I had that, is that I would be forced into marriage..." (L 24-25. P 3). "I never really spoke to...anyone about it really...kept it mostly to myself" (L 15-16. P 6 Neelam).

Neelam felt lost and scared as she did not want to get married but was now looking at the prospect of FM. Neelam's world was turned upside down and she felt confused because her father was only giving her two options for AM which felt like FM as both betrothals were from her authoritarian father which resulted in excessive thinking.

#### **Emergent theme 4.4.3 Unrealistic expectations**

All eight participants spoke about unrealistic expectations (Appendix 4).

Neelam: "because love marriage, I knew like was not...was never like...a possibility with...within our household..." (L 6-7. P 3) "the only expectation I had that is that I would be forced into marriage..." (L 24-25. P 3. Neelam)

Neelam had sedimented the idea that any marriage she entered into would automatically be forced since it was betrothed by her authoritarian father. Neelam knew her father was autocratic and would not let her make any decision especially something as important as her own marriage and therefore became resigned to the unrealistic expectation that she would automatically end up in FM.

#### 4.5 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme two: Experienced inequality against patriarchy

The second major super-ordinate theme ‘experienced inequality against patriarchy’, reported three emergent themes: loss of expected self, excessive thinking, and unrealistic expectations. Each of the eight participants experienced patriarchal subjugation which they found oppressive and attempted to negotiate a better outcome without success except for Mariam. A significant concept within radical feminist theory is patriarchy, which is a social system that is typified by the privilege and power of men (Payne, *et al* 2005). Due to patriarchy all women have a common interest; since they are oppressed and exploited by men (p253). The women are-seen-as sexual objects, domestic servants, and cheap labour (Bryson, 2003, p.165). According to Payne *et al* (2005) girls in patriarchal societies are always treated as second-class citizens in their families due to their low status. (p.252). In each case in the current study, patriarchy led the women to experience loss of expected self and excessive thinking followed by unrealistic expectations as each woman realised that her expectations about marriage based on the notion of explicit consent and sexual equality were unrealistic under a patriarchal regime. At a personal level, the researcher felt sad to realise this but insisted that collectivist cultures which happen to be patriarchal can and should practice sexual equality and demonstrate respect particularly in post-modern societies like the UK which has equal cradle to grave social support system for all citizens.

Each of the eight British-Asian female participants appeared to have an expectation that in an equal and democratic society like the UK they would be freed from the tyranny of patriarchal subjugation perhaps for no other reason than the fact that basic human rights are enshrined in law and guarded by civil structures. According to Dyer *et al* (2015, p10) many women come to the UK to escape violent cultural practises abroad, from female genital mutilation to the threat of ‘honour’ killings, but find they are met with the same brutality and dangers here. Sofia Sanchez-Grant *et al* (2008) agrees that “the female body as a site of oppression has always been the means by which patriarchy exerts control over women” (p.78). In 2014 forced marriage (FM) was criminalised by the former prime minister David Cameron who said “FM is abhorrent and little more than slavery. To force anyone into marriage against their will is simply wrong and that is why we have taken decisive action to make it illegal (FMU 2015 p4).” As each participant realised, she was facing FM despite being a citizen of liberal UK society, experienced inequality against patriarchy within her insular clan/ community. The gradual process began as each woman initially experienced a loss of

expected self, followed by excessive thinking which led to an understanding that even her prior expectations about marriage were unrealistic in the face of strong collective patriarchal clan ideology. In Chantler *et al* (2017) study, one of the professional representatives said “... we would define forced marriage more as a process which is rooted in gender-based violence so I would say that forced marriage is a process of grooming where someone is being prepared for a marriage and that over a period of time their ability to consent, or rather withdraw consent, is compromised” Chantler (2017, p19).

According to Jenkinson *et al* (2012), common reasons for FM include: attempting to strengthen family links and protect perceived religious/cultural ideals, honouring long-standing family commitments, controlling unwanted behaviour particularly that of women and preventing ‘unsuitable’ relationships. The consequences of FM can include physical, emotional, and financial abuse, disruption to education, damage to career opportunities, enforced pregnancy, rape, abortion, abduction, mutilation, and murder. Patriarchal clan members have historically, asserted their domination over females by treating them as second-class citizens. In-order-to maintain their powerful hegemonic position, they feel obliged to continue such oppression. According to Samad & Eades *et al* (2002), duress can range from emotional pressure, exerted by close family members and the extended family, to more extreme cases, which can involve threatening behaviour, abduction, imprisonment, physical violence, rape and in some cases murder. The court of appeal has ruled that the test of duress for these purposes is simply ‘whether the mind of the applicant (the victim) has in fact been overborne, howsoever that was caused’ (CPS, *et al* 2017. P6).

Honour based violence (HBV) such as FM are one side of the coin and on the flip side; there are codes of honour which form the motive, justification, mitigation, or excuse for the violence. HBV therefore aims to control female sexuality and autonomy by using conservative patriarchal interpretations of religious and cultural value systems to justify it. As women are-seen-as the collective carriers of collective identity and honour (Yuval & Davis, *et al*1997.p193-209). This study has found that diasporic patriarchal clan members can deliver sexual equality in-line with indigenous UK culture by allowing their daughters to marry a person of their choice; but they would then be ostracised by their community and indigenous clan members in south-Asia who would not derive any financial or social mobility benefit. This situation would present an existential threat to the entire clan and is therefore deemed shameful and dis-honourable and hence unthinkable. According to Ziring & Burki *et al* (2020) (in south Asia) the baradari (patrilineage, literally “brotherhood”) is a very

important social institution. Endogamy is widely practiced, often to a degree that would be considered inappropriate in Western society; the preferred marriage for a man within some south Asian communities for instance is with his father's brother's daughter, and among many other groups marriages are invariably within the baradari. The lineage elders {patriarchs} constitute a council that adjudicates disputes within the lineage (clan/group) and acts on behalf of the lineage with the outside world (p6).

According to Chantler *et al* (2012) in south Asian communities, marriage ceremonies prioritise consensus at the expense of Western concept of 'free consent'. Furthermore, a high value is placed on community and family involvement providing a complex and power-laden social situation in which negotiations take place. This re-framing enables us to analyse understandings of motivations, micro-powers, and its navigation rather than questions of choice and consent. This study has shown the aim of diasporic patriarchal clan members is to maximise efficiency by getting their son/daughter married to a female/male clan member of the opposite sex through the practice of endogamy in order to benefit the entire clan.

According to Mchanty *et al* (1988) It is assumed in literature for example that women of culture lack agency judged by Western standards of individualism. Furthermore, cultural differences are viewed as clash of values: the western 'progressive' values of freedom and choice, against 'their' 'backward' values coupled with 'tradition'. This liberal individualist concept of full and free 'consent' in marriage, is viewed as the norm against which cultural practices are always compared, however the cultural experience of south Asian people suggests a nuanced boundary between forced and arranged. Diasporic families in the UK go to great lengths to hold on to traditions and attempt to force them on their children in-order-to maintain a sense of identity. Although the researcher believes in transmitting culturally appropriate values through socialisation, the 'tradition' of FM is not deemed to be one which belongs to this category.

According to Barot *et al* (1998), UK families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh generally tend to reproduce their caste and sectarian communities, underpinned by regional and linguistic identities. It is suggested that while parents forcing their young people into marriage believe they are upholding the cultural practices from their country of origin in-reality-such practices had moved on. FM is therefore a product of the diasporic experience and not a 'traditional practice' (Home Office 2000, Philip & Dustin *et al* 2004). If the bride to be accepts her duty and loyalty to the clan by agreeing to the offer of AM to a male member deemed most appropriate by her patriarchs, then there is no conflict. If the individual

disagrees with the patriarchal clans well thought out plan on-the-basis of personal preference such as wanting LM then there is a collective crisis in the clan which is presented and perceived as shameful and dis-honourable. When patriarchal clan members give the bride to be a limited number of potential male clan suitors to choose from and she refuses in line with her prerogative then conflict is inevitable as the entire clan feels their honour is at stake. The clan would cease to function as an entity if it allowed its single female members to choose their marriage partner based on LM as it would open the floodgates for all single clan members to demand choice in marriage which would inevitably lead to the demise of the clan along with the aphrodisiac of its patriarchal hegemonic privilege. Such culturally sanctioned patriarchal privilege has served south-Asian clans well for millennia. It is therefore unlikely to change as-a-result-of being in the little understood and therefore hostile and diametrically opposing individualistic culture of UK society which strongly favours full choice in marriage. An expectation of explicit consent in marriage does however appear to have been imbibed by participants through prolonged contact with external individualistic culture such as attending school and ubiquitous media outlets.

This study has shown that when participants refused the marriage option which was presented to them as AM, the machinery of the patriarchal clan shifted gears to tackle the problem. This discussion of the super-ordinate theme experienced inequality against patriarchy has met the aim of demonstrating how it affects individuals at a personal level. This super-ordinate theme has shown how participants experienced inequality against patriarchy because they felt that the hegemonic system which favoured males was heavily tilted against females. Participants used various strategies to seek equality against patriarchal subjugation with varying degrees of success. The researcher believes that the practice of endogamy for financial reasons is obsolete since postmodern societies such as the UK provide cradle to grave care and hence the pooling of resources is unnecessary and according to participants a hindrance. The next section looks at how participants sought equality against patriarchy by expressing an opinion which was at odds with patriarchal domination, but they were unprepared for the backlash and experienced shock at the ferocity of response. It will attempt to demonstrate how participants undertook the struggle to challenge patriarchy.

## **Super-ordinate theme 4.6 Challenging Patriarchy**

The super-ordinate theme of challenging patriarchy consisted of three emergent themes: Females challenged patriarchy, perceived lack of choice in AM, rejection of AM.

Sophie was in her late twenties, having been born and raised within an extended collectivist family setting in south Asian. She was happy with the proposal of a cousin marriage from the UK and looked forward to starting her new life with her husband with an implicit expectation of more freedom. Once settled in the UK Sophie resented living in cramped overcrowded conditions with her new husband and extended family with very little freedom; she decided to get a job also asking her husband to join her in work so that they could both save for a deposit to get on the property ladder. Her in-laws saw this as a shameful act since newly married brides are expected to display modesty and uphold their family honour by staying at home and being obedient to all adult family members. Sophie disregarded their expectations and went to work which resulted in her experiencing HBV sanctioned by her father-in-law and carried out by her husband. Sophie finally exited the toxic marriage by going to the police and reporting the violence but only after her two-year permanent residential status qualifying period had elapsed. Using the exit strategy, Sophie finally felt able to stand on her two feet and continued to work to raise the deposit for her own place while she moved temporarily into sheltered accommodation.

### **Emergent theme 4.6.1 Females challenged patriarchy**

All females challenged patriarchy (Appendix 4).

Sophie: "I realised that our views were too different, and he didn't care for me or love me, and he doesn't work, and he doesn't respect me...". (L 1-3. P11) "I wanted my husband to get a job, but my father-in-law did not want his son to work..." (L 28-30. P5) "I wanted us both to work and buy a new house and support ourselves, but he (husband) did not agree..." (L 15-17. P9. Sophie)



Sophie realised her husband and in-laws were even more patriarchal than her own family in south-Asia, and she took a position to challenge patriarchy. Sophie wanted to change the patriarchal power dynamic in her marriage and asked her husband to get a job so that they could move out by getting on the property ladder and hence creating distance from at-least her patriarchal father-in-law. He realised what she was trying to achieve and stopped her in her tracks by forbidding his son to listen to his wife instead of him.

#### **Emergent theme 4.6.2 Perceived lack of choice in AM**

Almost all women perceived a lack of choice in AM (Appendix 4).

Sophie: "I thought I would go to my house I would be happy and live with my husband who would be caring towards me". (L25-27. P2) "... I didn't think about what I wanted, I just thought whatever my elders {patriarchs} have decided for me must be the right thing for me.....If I had chosen my own partner, it would have been better for me....." (L27-31. P4. Sophie)

Sophie thought her husband and in-laws would be caring and therefore less patriarchal. After migrating to the UK, Sophie realised the inequality she was facing and in hindsight perceived this as a lack of choice in AM as she left the decision to her patriarchs who based the marriage entirely on clan politics and at the expense of her personal choice/desire.

#### **Emergent theme 4.6.3 Opposition against AM**

All participants expressed opposition against AM (Appendix 4)

Sophie "if I had chosen my husband that would have been better, I think having an AM was the wrong option for me. If I had told my parents that I wanted a LM perhaps I would not have ended up in

this marriage and found myself in this situation .....” (L 9- 14. P5. Sophie)

Sophie is expressing regret at not having the option to choose her own (non-patriarchal) partner because her expectation was that a fiancée raised in a democratic equality-based society like the UK would be less patriarchal and therefore more flexible. She was disappointed to learn this was not the case but only after getting married in the UK. This perceived lack of choice in AM and challenge to patriarchy led Sophie into opposition against AM and in favour of LM.

#### **4.7 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme three: Challenging patriarchy**

Once participants became aware of patriarchal domination and realised, they were the victims of such subjugation each participant looked for ways to challenge patriarchal hegemony. The emergent themes identified in this struggle were: females challenge patriarchy, perceived lack of choice in AM and subsequent opposition to AM. When participants concluded they were left with feeling that their prior expectations about marriage based on explicit consent (imbibed from prolonged contact with external indigenous individualistic culture) were unrealistic; they could either accept patriarchal hegemony or challenge it and all participants opted for the latter. According to Bourdieu *et al* (1998), in some instances physical force is not necessary as some women have internalized certain societal gender norms and therefore accept the union without questioning the societal and personal beliefs that make FM acceptable. However, when the participants in this study realised, they were facing the prospect of FM perpetrated by patriarchy, each participant chose to take a stand against this injustice. Participants tried to negotiate a compromise about their marriage options but once it became clear that patriarchal clan members arranged their marriage to partners based entirely on clan politics rather than their individual agency/choice; participants realised the extent of sexual inequality they were being subjected to and expressed their dis-approval explicitly and/or implicitly.

A comparative study of Pakistanis in Bradford; and Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, reveal the complexities of FM. Primary data collected through focus groups found some south-Asian families believe that certain levels of “emotional coercion” are acceptable. According

to Samad & Eade *et al* (2002 p5-7), the acceptability of “emotional coercion” is the result of ignorance. South-Asian diaspora communities believe that “physical force” is unacceptable however “emotional and psychological pressure is not considered to be coercion”.

Participants in the current study took a stand against patriarchal domination as they became aware of a significant and progressive curtailment of choice between LM, AM and FM. This lack of choice initially led participants to conclude that AM was restrictive and since the option of LM was the dominant choice in UK culture and therefore deemed acceptable; they preferred LM based on full and free choice rather than AM with restricted and limited choice. It was only when female participants hit a metaphorical brick wall by being denied the choice of LM, did they realise the gravity of entrenched patriarchal domination which led to the spectre of FM. Researcher believes the spectre of FM is understandable under such circumstances since it is unfair for south Asian females as they are not free to express themselves by freely choosing their marriage partner.

Sabbe Alexia *et al* (2013), carried out a study in which she looked at the determinants of child and forced marriage in Morocco. A qualitative study approach was used with participants to generate primary data using semi-structured interviews found that in practice it can be difficult to determine at which point emotional pressure becomes great enough to implicate genuine force to distinguish FM from AM. Almost all participants in this current study felt AM with the involvement of complex clan politics designed to benefit both indigenous and diasporic arms of the clan was draconian. Pleas for greater choice in marriage i.e., LM fell on deaf ears and therefore they felt they had no alternative but to reject AM since it felt difficult to distinguish from FM. Patriarchal clan members took this rejection personally as it did nothing to help but instead brought shame and dis-honour to the entire collective clan and was therefore unacceptable. According to Stewart *et al* (1994) honour codes depend on and generate respect for both individuals and the group to which they belong, thereby conferring status. The study found that most males agreed that honour plays a key role in maintaining social relationships even more strictly than by law.

It is believed by the researcher that behind closed doors clan members plotted and planned for ways to coerce participants to comply to their demands of AM to a suitable clan member based only on clan politics. This diametrically opposing conflictual outlook between (Eastern) collective ideology (AM) and (Western) individual agency (LM) was partially responsible for what could potentially be perceived as (toxic) FM. Researcher was surprised

at the level and nature of patriarchal subjugation of women who were almost being treated like prized cattle. According to Mishkin *et al* (2018) sexual harassment comes in many packages including within the context of marriage; participants expressed a similar view as the AM/FM was instigated without their explicit consent and therefore seen as a form of harassment. Participants had assumed FM even before the issue of compatibility arose to determine if the couple got on well together because they shared similar interests and how that factored into the marriage debate. This section has met the aim of illuminating the impact of how it feels to be forced into marriage. Once participants became aware of patriarchal hegemony and realised that AM was primarily a vehicle to benefit the collective clan without specific consideration of their own needs/wants. Participants experienced some degree of confusion and conflation in relation to AM/FM which will form topic of discussion in the next section.

#### **Super-ordinate theme 4.8 Confusion & conflation between AM/FM**

The Super-ordinate theme of Confusion and Conflation between AM/FM had three emergent themes in which participants expressed a desire for sexual equality from their patriarchs; but were sorely disappointed to learn that the sharing of power was simply not an option open to them. This impasse led to confusion between AM/FM based on excessive unwanted patriarchal involvement resulting in the rejection of AM/FM. Rejection of AM/FM was completely at odds with the demands of patriarchy and participants were left with no realistic or meaningful alternative.

Kiran was a second generation British Asian in her early forty's having been born and raised in the UK to diasporic parents from south Asia. Kiran enjoyed school and expected to continue her studies but when she completed her compulsory education was told that she had to get married to a cousin from south Asia. This was her worst fear because she had already visited the south Asian country and based on her observations of how subjugated female members of the clan were, she had made up her mind never to marry a cousin from south Asia. Kiran's father had always been distant and aloof but started displaying love and affection on the condition that she marries the cousin betrothed to her. Kiran reluctantly

accepted his condition and agreed to get married from south Asia just because she had longed for her father's affection and validation. On the first night of their wedding Kiran told her new husband that she did not want to marry him and that she would not be sponsoring him to join her in the UK; but he convinced her that he was also forced into this marriage and hence they both bonded over their mutual victimhood and decided to give the marriage a chance. After many years of financial and coercive abuse, Kiran discovered her husband was cheating on her and she finally made the decision to leave the marriage with her son. Kiran moved into student accommodation to complete her clinical training as a nurse and went on to get married again after successfully starting her career in nursing. Her second husband had also previously been in a toxic marriage and this time they both fully embraced their equal and mutually respectful relationship with each other and their blended family.

#### **Emergent theme 4.8.1 Wanting equality**

All participants expressed a notion of wanting equality (Appendix 4).

Kiran: "I picked up on it that his mother wasn't...she didn't have no respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or anything, she was there as a purely as a servant...and I saw her working and I picked up on their weaknesses and I picked up on his weaknesses what he wo what his lifestyle and everything was and so when the night came...I was honest with him I told him straight, I sat him down and I told him I've seen this...I didn't wanna marry you...(L 7-16. P7)

Kiran wanted her marriage to be based on equality and was enraged by the lack of respect shown to female family members by her male patriarchal in-laws. Kiran started picking out their weaknesses so she could mount a counterattack to demand equality, starting with telling her husband on the first night that 'she did not want to marry him'.

#### **Emergent theme 4.8.2 Conflation between AM/FM**

All eight participants conflated AM/FM at some stage based on different personal reasons (Appendix 4).

Kiran: "I picked up on it that his mother wasn't...she didn't have no respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or anything, she was there as a purely as a servant..." (L 7- 11. P7. Kiran) "I didn't say yes the first time, I didn't say yes the second time, and I nodded my head the third time because I was told to do so...so just did not accept it, my heart did not accept it..." (L 35- 39. P6. Kiran)

Kiran was disappointed that female members of her husband's family were treated as second class citizens by male patriarchs, and she could expect the same treatment. Kiran reluctantly said yes to AM on the third time of asking (in keeping with tradition); and it was then based on her future expectation of patriarchal subjugation that Kiran conflated AM/FM.

#### **Emergent theme 4.8.3      Rejection of AM/FM**

Based on a desire for sexual equality and conflation between AM/FM, all participants went on to reject such a union (Appendix 4).

Kiran: "didn't wanna marry you and I'm sorry but I know you want a better life...but I don't want to live with you, I'm telling you now when I go back, I will not be calling you over I will not going to support you, what is it that you want...?" (L 15- 21. P7. Kiran)

Kiran's desire for equality and conflation between AM/FM, led to the rejection of AM/FM. Kiran rejected AM/FM by telling her husband that she had had a FM with him, and was not going to sponsor him to join her in the UK, but then contradicted herself by asking what he wanted (from the relationship)?

#### **4.9 Discussion of super-ordinate theme four: AM/FM confusion and conflation**

The super-ordinate theme of AM/FM confusion and conflation had three emergent themes: wanting equality, conflation between AM/FM, rejection of AM/FM. Once diasporic participants had rejected AM based on excessive involvement of their collectivist patriarchal clan, they could go against their instincts and agree to patriarchal demands; or use the UK's

'exit' strategy to distance themselves from the conflated AM/FM and therefore be free to choose LM or even stay single. However, participants felt a strong connection to their collectivist roots and did not want to exit their community, culture, or stay single. Based on the findings, literature review and the researcher's emic perspective, becoming a UK citizen is seen as a positive change by diasporic south-Asian females as it is expected to reduce the risk of HBV and increase opportunities for employment, civil and political engagement which they largely lack in south-Asia. Becoming a UK citizen for south-Asian males is not seen as a completely positive change since they are expected by the clan to improve their English quickly so that they can find employment. Diasporic males usually must work double shifts to support themselves and their indigenous clan members for the rest of their working lives, where honour is proportional to the wealth a male accumulates and being unemployed/unwealthy is seen as dis-honourable for able bodied men of working age. Diasporic south Asian males may also feel oppressed by the more equality-based culture in which they find themselves as they must learn to accept that indigenous and diasporic UK females demand equality which directly challenges and threatens their hegemonic power and masculinity. This threat to patriarchal power is crystallised at the point at which patriarchal diasporic males try to arrange the marriage of their subordinate female clan members based on their hegemonic power in-order-to derive maximum benefit for the clan.

It is only if females refuse the offer of AM based on Bollywood movies and imbibed expectations of external individualistic social norms of LM; knowing that they have the power of UK judiciary behind them that the patriarchal males become angry and frustrated. Such feelings of rage are channelled through clan mechanisms of shame and dishonour which can escalate very quickly into HBV such as FM and or worse. The entire diasporic and indigenous patriarchal clan can feel impotent against the wishes of a single female in a democratic and relatively equal society like the UK. In a qualitative study carried out by Gill & Harvey *et al* (2016) deploying semi-structured in-depth interviews using a mixed methods approach; it was found that men tended to identify family honour as the key motivational influencer of FM, women see the problem of FM as more private and linked to the need to respect family's wishes. The difficulty that diasporic south-Asian females experience is that they have never explicitly been informed about patriarchal subjugation because the blatant inequality is a sore point which is difficult to explain and even harder to accept. FM is therefore tacitly accepted by females apparently in-order-to avoid being shamed themselves or bringing dishonour to their clan.

According to Seelinger *et al* (2010), a FM is seen as the result of gender inequality that excludes women and girls from education, economic independence, reproductive autonomy as well as their full civil and political participation. Once participants became aware of the blatant sexual inequality they faced as British-Asian females perpetrated by patriarchal hegemonic clan males, they sought equality in line with the romantic Bollywood movies they consumed and wider surrounding indigenous British cultural norms. Based on the transcripts in this study, almost all diasporic British-Asian female participants (apart from Sophie who initially sought AM) wanted their marriage to be based more on notions of love and consent with both choice and autonomy, but their patriarchal hegemonic clan members wanted them to marry based strictly on rights of the collective clan in relation to its self-preservation. Ballard illustrated the maintenance of values of ‘izzat’ (family honour) was paramount ‘as a matter of relative standing’ (Ballard *et al*,1994. p558) for first generation Pakistanis and led to the creation of a competitive environment within which groups competed against neighbouring communities. Marriages and other important life events were significant for social interaction and as a means, to advance family status (Ballard 1994). According to Chantler & Gangoli *et al* (2011), consent is a notion often regarded as a Western concept which assumes the right to individual autonomy and choice. For some minority community’s choice is often about the rights of the collective. Since there was no middle ground as neither side was willing to compromise on core principles, what the collective patriarchal clan members presented as AM after serious deliberation based entirely on clan politics; was conflated by all participants as FM as it was deliberated completely without their involvement or explicit consent.

The patriarchs assumed tacit consent based on honour codes and their patriarchal hegemonic domination of the female participants, but they failed to take account of the specific context i.e., young women watching romantic movies in post-modern UK society both in which explicit individual and personal consent is seen as paramount. Gunes G *et al* (2019) suggested that Indian movies are one of the most effective examples of the cultural model representation reflecting cultural codes such as Indian family structures. According to Nijhawan *et al* (2009) recent feminist scholarship posits that women in item songs (in Bollywood movies) are active agents with erotic desire, and they are not objects of the male gaze (Nijhawan *et al* 2009.p 99-112; Weidman *et al* 2012. P307-18). Women performers in the item songs flaunt their sexuality and do not hesitate to express their desire, and the so-called coolness of being sexy has replaced the stigma of being indecent. Baxi, Rai & Ali *et al*



(2006), suggested that the definition of HBV focuses on emphasizing male honour and overlooks violence, not ending in murder, which is routinely used to control women. Without such consent and subsequent confusion between AM/FM, led participants to conflate AM/FM. Researcher felt that conflation between AM/FM was the most significant finding of this study which went a long way to explain the phenomenon of FM. This section has met the aim of exploring where AM stops, FM starts and found that it depends entirely on the individual's personal perception; the next section will look at rejection of Individualistic exit strategy.

#### **Super-ordinate theme 4.10 Rejecting Individualistic Exit strategy.**

Participants concluded that they would be better off accepting their AM/FM rather than exiting their community/culture. The super-ordinate theme of rejecting individualistic exit strategy had three emergent themes: Acceptance of collectivist ideology, tacit acceptance of FM and colluding with patriarchy.

Anisa was in her late forty's born and raised in the UK to diasporic south Asian parents and had attended school which she enjoyed, expecting to continue into further education. Since her parents were absent through much of her adolescents, she identified with her indigenous Caucasian female schoolteachers and partially assumed an individualistic outlook on life and relationships unlike that of her collectivist south Asian parents. After completing her compulsory education, her parents wanted her to get married to a cousin from south Asia which she did not approve of but was given little choice in the matter. Anisa eventually got married to her south Asian cousin, who did not want to come to the UK, but she persuaded him through his friend to join her. Following many years of domestic violence, a power struggle, three children, setting up home and starting a business, Anisa filed for divorce but only after her husband's behaviour became erratic and dangerous. During the acrimonious custody and financial settlement proceedings, after Anisa had gone into hiding with her children through help from a women's refuge, her husband had a heart attack and died. Following husband's death, Anisa finally felt liberated to choose her own path in life with her

children and started helping other women in a similar position by sharing her story in the women's refuge.

#### **Emergent theme 4.10.1 Acceptance of Collectivist ideology**

All participants accepted collectivist ideology (Appendix 4).

Anisa: "when he became more horrible and then I still didn't have the confidence until he started getting physical...and then it came to the last straw that he tried everything he even told me...beat me up and said call the police and I wouldn't call the police because it was honour..." (L 40. P8; L 1-5. P9. Anisa)

Anisa fought patriarchy heroically and refused to back down even when she started experiencing HBV. When Anisa's husband became physically violent and asked her to call the police, she had the option to use the individualistic exit strategy but chose to accept the honour of her collectivist clan instead.

#### **Emergent theme 4.10.2 Tacit acceptance of FM.**

All participants tacitly accepted FM (Appendix 4).

Anisa "my husband he drank, he smoked he womanised basically did everything he shouldn't be doing behind my...you know without my knowledge... (L20-23. P8) "but I just still carried on you know because my mum she'll be um..." (L 33-34. P8. Anisa)

Anisa has tacitly accepted FM since she claimed FM but even after discovering her husband was cheating on her, she still carried on as normal.

#### **Emergent theme 4.10.3 Colluding with patriarchy**

All participants ended up colluding with patriarchy (Appendix 4).

Anisa "but I just still carried on you know because my mum she'll be um...my dad will say this to her my brothers will come on her like a ton of bricks..." (L 33-36. P8. Anisa).

Acceptance of collectivist ideology over the individualistic exit strategy and tacit acceptance of FM resulted in Anisa colluding with patriarchy. She suffered HBV at the hands of her husband and nearly got killed in the process but carried on regardless because her patriarchy would derogate her mum verbally; although unwelcome, still far better than staying silent and leaving herself open to further attacks which could easily have resulted in her honour killing. By staying silent Anisa has put her own life in further jeopardy and colluded with patriarchy in relation to her husband, father, and brothers.

#### **4.11 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme five: Rejecting Individualistic Exit strategy.**

The emergent themes which came up through the super-ordinate theme of rejecting individualistic exit strategy included: acceptance of collectivist ideology, tacit acceptance of FM, colluding with patriarchy. After each participant experienced confusion and conflation in relation to AM/FM, as British-Asians they had the option to inform authorities about their plight and by using the 'exit' strategy to remove themselves from potential danger/ harm. Anitha & Gill (2015) carried out a study over a period of ten years, showing that media reporting of FM constitutes a moral panic. In the newspaper study the women at the heart of this debate were deemed to lack agency who were victims of a deterministic culture, or as survivors who had distanced themselves from all aspects of their 'former' culture. Such narratives were framed by the ideas of otherness and often used differences between victim's former patriarchal culture against the liberal mainstream western communities to which they had escaped. This conceptualization reinforces the view that migrants should abandon their cultural traditions, which are seen-as the main cause of FM, they should assimilate to Western values which are unequivocally seen as privileging gender equality. Most participant in this study chose to remain in their collectivist culture/clan in favour of the little understood and therefore hostile Western individualistic culture. Anisa, Sarah and Sophie used the exit strategy to leave their marriage but only after twelve, six and two and a half years respectively of abuse post FM involving an escalating level of DV/HBV which became increasingly intolerable.

According to Taher *et al* (2015), in British south-Asian families, FM is based on the practice of endogamy. Marrying within the limits of a local community, tribe or clan is customary as well as cultural notions of honour and shame. In-an-attempt to reproduce cultural values diasporic communities go to great lengths and if that involves subtle pressure to ‘encourage’ their children to marry then this is seen as acceptable. However, this does not take-into-account the effect their actions have on the children who find themselves as unwilling ‘victims’ of FM, who do not complain because they do not want to bring dishonour and shame to their families. This study has shown how British Asian female members of a clan are subjected to patriarchal hegemonic control mechanisms such as not giving them access to the clan’s wealth which is instead transferred from father to son. Shaw (1988) a social anthropologist turned her PhD thesis into a book ‘A Pakistani community in Britain’. This qualitative study of the Pakistani community in Oxford described and analysed family relationships, kin groups and arranged marriage systems in detail. The participants included numerous immigrant individuals in Oxford and their respective relatives in Pakistan. It suggested that a specific role was given to women in guarding family honour as the bearers of sons who would inherit the family wealth. Keeping the woman ‘sharif’ (respectable) made sure that the wealth was properly channelled through marriage. Married women are usually not allowed to go to work thereby making them fully dependent on their patriarchs. The feminist communication studies scholar Campbell *et al* (1989) undertook important work focusing on women’s silences and the patriarchal conditions under which they are produced as such silences have been equated with oppression. Furthermore, the researcher’s emic perspective holds that girls are discouraged from further education since knowledge is power which can tilt the balance in their favour. Females are patronised and discouraged from taking part in political debate or running for office because that too would give them a voice with which to demand equality. The roles and responsibilities of clan males and females are clearly marked, and no derogation is permitted for the sake of maintaining social order. The unfortunate outcome of this collectivism is that females are largely excluded from economic and political activity at all levels and therefore justified in demanding more rights and equality. Patriarchal clan males wanting females to marry someone chosen by the patriarchs using the practice of endogamy in-order-to serve the greater good of the clan is seen as their legitimate prerogative.

Based on the researcher’s emic perspective, in south-Asian countries the patriarchal hegemonic status-quo is accepted by females since there is no culture of females working

independently and no social support network. According to Gabriela (2019) internalized patriarchy exists in all societies as an involuntary belief by girls and women that the lies, stereotypes, and myths about women are true. Women have been told their entire lives that they are weak, passive, manipulative etc. By saying you are feminist women are often labelled as man-hater. Women having internalized the sexism are subconsciously perpetuating it, and this is pretty much all women. Still to this day the patriarchal conditioning comes up in all societies and there is no quick fix, easy solution to internalized sexism and patriarchy as women have been conditioned by a patriarchal society their entire lives (no page no). According to Real (2018) women can be just as patriarchal as men by holding those same types of values and biases (no page no). Researcher insists that in democratic societies such as the UK, diasporic women should engage in all strata of civic society including political engagement, employment, and financial independence just like their male counterparts. This would increase their family's income thereby instantly improving the clan's desired socio-economic status.

According to Okin (1998) & Dustin (2004) in the UK one of the approaches to the issue of FM was that of 'exit', in which individuals are seen, as free agents who are free to leave, but for various reasons are not able to realise their personal preferences within their minority cultural community to leave that group. This exit strategy is meaningless for women of culture as it forces them to choose between their culture and their freedom, thereby failing to recognise the connection between culture and identity (Okin & Dustin.p550). In accepting the traditional collectivist culture of their clan, five of the eight participants maintained their identity; but had no real alternative but to accept their FM as the price diasporic south-Asian women pay for maintaining membership of their respective patriarchal hegemonic clan. This position automatically resulted in the participants unwitting collusion with patriarchy to maintain the status quo. Participants found the experience of FM positive if they accepted at some level that they had confused and conflated AM/FM which was further facilitated if the relationship did not involve DV; their husband was less patriarchal; they preferred their new surroundings or if the FM turned out to be better than they had expected. In the first few years of marriage, all eight participants concluded they would be better off accepting AM/FM rather than exiting their community/culture even in half the cases that involved DV/HBV in which the participants found the experience negative. This was a finding difficult for the researcher to comprehend since it involved actual physical violence which participants

somehow tolerated. However, if we consider AM/FM conflation which was applicable to all participants then the abuse can be seen as DV which is a familiar problem in all societies. This section has met the aim of exploring the impact of why FM is positive for some and negative for others, why there is such polarity and the issue of compatibility and its significance in the FM debate. Participants first accepted their collectivist ideology followed by tacitly accepting their AM/FM by not explicitly rejecting it and then colluding with patriarchy to justify their decision. The next section looks at how participants used their difficult experience of AM/FM to help other females who find themselves in this situation. It will shed light on how the participants used their experience to become equality advocates in-order-to help others.

#### **Super-ordinate theme 4.12      Equality Advocate**

The super-ordinate theme of Equality Advocate has three emergent themes: Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM, rejecting hegemonic male patriarchy, hard won emancipation.

Mariam was in her late twenties a third generation British Asian with parents, both of whom had attended school and spoke English as their second language, but her father was physically and emotionally violent to her mother. Mariam did not enjoy school much and was permitted to leave after her compulsory education to train and work as a nurse nurse, a job which she thoroughly enjoyed. A few years later Mariam was informed that she would be marrying a cousin betrothed by her father and that she should start getting ready for her wedding. Mariam grew up witnessing her father mentally and physically abuse her mother and unlike her parents wanted LM with a non-related partner as it was deemed less likely to be abusive. She felt mum was not respected or heard because she had had an AM to a cousin from the same clan and Mariam would seek LM to avoid such a predicament when she unexpectedly realised, she was to marry a cousin. Coincidentally Mariam had already fallen in love with another cousin who had been earmarked to be married from south Asia and as a subordinate young female, she was unable to change this decree. Reluctantly Mariam got married to the man she did not love but a few days later her sweetheart turned up belatedly to put an end to what he described as a FM and with the help of her (paternal) uncle, Mariam found her voice in agreeing that she had experienced FM and really wanted to marry the cousin she was in love with and not the one she had just married. Mariam was permitted to

divorce her new husband to marry the cousin she was in love with but only after she had the courage to speak her own truth.

#### **Emergent theme 4.12.1 Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM**

All participants identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM (Appendix 4)

Mariam: "I just smiled, and I laughed with them" (L 17-18. P13) "I just thought to myself this is it this is who we are...it's the Asian culture of Asian women, this is what we do..." (L 38-40. P 19.

Mariam)

Mariam understands that as a British-Asian female she is obliged to accept what she believed was FM as a cultural practice in her insular patriarchal culture and therefore identifies and accepts patriarchy as the root cause of FM.

Sarah was socialised in (south Asian country) by a dogmatic clan which she wanted to escape through AM to a British citizen. When Sarah came to the UK to start her married life with her new husband and in-laws, she unexpectedly realised they were as strict as her family in south-Asia since they were diasporic members of the same clan. Sarah was happy in her marriage but had a few issues settling in the UK and with her extended family. The real problems started when the couple realised, they could not have children as her husband was impotent and they decided to adopt a child. Sarah's father-in-law got married again in south Asia to perpetuate his genetic lineage, but she chose to adopt her brother's son instead who did not share such lineage. In order to protect their accumulated wealth from falling into Sarah's brother's genetic lineage through her adopted son, the in-laws decided to force her out of marriage. With help from a women's refuge, Sarah moved into her own flat with her brother's adopted son and eventually fulfilled her long held ambition of working in a school. When her brother asked her to move back to south Asian country along with his biological son, she refused because she was now independent and able to support herself and her adopted son.

Sarah: " my father-in-law had two boys...from other marriage and then they said why you didn't take my son...they never asked us...okay take (adopt) my son...but they had a problem that he's (adopted son) is coming from my family...and they didn't like

it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother's son (Adopted from maternal side of family)...they think so, so, so far...I don't I still don't know they still say they oh like, they still okay, but I don't think they okay with him...and they didn't like it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother's son." (L14-29. P8. Sarah)

Sarah identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM and knew that adopting her brother's son would have serious implications for her patriarchal in-laws; but she went ahead regardless in the hope that as a female matriarch she could purchase considerable (financial) leverage against patriarchy through her adopted son by channelling her in-laws accumulated wealth to his biological father who was also her brother. A move in patriarchal politics similar to stealing her husband's land, property, and giving it to her brother and his son as she chose not to adopt her father-in-law's son who is seen as the legitimate (genetically related) heir to Sarah's husband's wealth accumulated over many generations and lifetimes.

Amelia was in her late forties, socialised in (south-Asian country) and had high expectations about AM with a suitably compatible spouse chosen by her parents but an unexpected proposal from the UK with a younger cousin changed everything. Amelia reluctantly got married and when she migrated to the UK, realised that her younger husband had been forced into the marriage. Before either had a chance to respond to their FM, Amelia found herself pregnant and the issue of consent was put aside particularly as Amelia started developing amorous feelings for her new husband which were unreciprocated. Amelia gave birth to a baby girl and her in-laws responded with dismay. A year or so later Amelia gave birth to a son but also started experiencing DV and discovered that her husband was cheating on her. Despite the toxicity of the situation, Amelia persevered to make her marriage work until her husband declared that he was leaving her for another woman; Amelia's pleas for reconciliation fell on deaf ears and without hesitation her husband left his wife and their three children to be with the woman he loved.

Amelia: "...a part of me felt that what am I even crying about what have I even lost? It never was a marriage he never wanted



me but...in the eyes of society and my culture my family, everybody knew that we were married...had children it was this...it was the honour and respect from my family, it felt like I've lost it all...I felt that I've failed in all aspects ... because my husband's left me...it was a big thing having a marriage...and having a failed marriage was...it was very disappointing, I felt ashamed I felt embarrassed for my family..." (L 18-29. P 18. Amelia)

Amelia did not want to get married to her husband and he certainly did not want to marry her but they both found themselves married to each other. The social stigma of divorce from patriarchal clan members was still too much to tolerate since they were-seen-as the root cause of FM. Amelia wished to avoid the humiliation directed at her and her immediate family by society and patriarchal clan members of Amelia's husband's family and by implication her own extended family since Amelia and her husband were relatives.

#### **Emergent theme 4.12.2 Rejecting male hegemonic patriarchy**

After identifying patriarchy as the root cause of FM, all participants ended up rejecting male hegemonic patriarchy (Appendix 4).

Amelia: "he (husband) did want a boy...I started to resent them all to be honest, I just wanted another girl because I thought this family doesn't deserve a boy...they just...how could they be so nasty about females because if there wasn't females in the world they wouldn't have boys...and how could they be so ignorant not know that it's their son, who decides sex of the baby not me!" (L 12-20. P11. Amelia)

Amelia finally rejected hegemonic male patriarchy, after giving birth to a son following a daughter and it was then that she realised the extent of sexual inequality within her husband's extended family which made her resent them all.

Mariam: "he (LM suitor) spoke to his family, he went crazy like oh they did this behind my back, she's not wanting to do this I'm telling you, she didn't want this...um and then after a while I hear that he's in (M's town), he's gone to the family, like oh you lot did this to me. She didn't want to be with him, you lot have forced, it's against (religion)...um how could you have done this to her". (L

7-13. P16) "I can't do this anymore, I can't be with this guy I've accepted to marry...I've married him, I can't be with him, I really wanna marry the one I wanna be with..." (L 14-18. P 17. Mariam)

Mariam rejected FM and hegemonic male patriarchy but only after receiving support from the man she was in love with who suddenly reappeared as her knight in shining armour.

Sarah: "he (husband) was swearing everyday shouting everyday... and telling me to leave his house because I'm eating his food, I'm living free in his house ... and...everyday like every day same thing...in front of my son sometimes ...so I, I [only] waited like six months with him..." (L 32-38. P8) "... I spoke to (participant five who introduced Sarah to research) at that time...I was looking for private renting... and then she told me go to (women's organisation) and I went to (women's organisation) and they helped me...to find a place...and I left him (husband) (L 5-11. P9. Sarah)

Sarah rejected hegemonic male patriarchy by using the exit strategy and moving out with her adopted son to escape the relentless abuse.

#### **Emergent theme 4.12.3 Hard won emancipation**

All participants came to the realisation that emancipation was hard-won (Appendix 4).

Mariam: "tell me now and I'll stop everything...who do you want to marry? He goes I was in a forced marriage myself... and I didn't know the ins and outs of how you feel Mariam ... who do you want to marry, and I cried, and I cried, and I cried, and he goes just tell me now, who do you wanna marry? And I said the one I wanted to marry, and he wiped my tears...and he said don't worry we'll do this..." "so I think because of him and that chat that I had, it made him realise that...this is something that's gotta stop...or I don't know ...what it was...and then... everyone just agreed...the families got together and (inhales) we got (LM) married." (L 16-20. P 20. Mariam)

It took a lot of courage for Mariam to tell her paternal uncle that she wanted to marry the man she was in love with but by doing so, she finally identified and challenged hegemonic male

patriarchy as the root cause of FM. Mariam was the only participant to successfully challenge her patriarchal clans FM to marry the man she loved and therefore finally felt emancipated. Importantly even though Mariam was coerced into marriage and she divorced her AM husband for LM husband within the same clan. Mariam did not suffer any ‘consequences’ for dishonouring, going completely against and disrupting her deeply patriarchal hegemonic clans well thought out plans for her marriage.

Sarah: “I wanted to come to UK... now (in the UK) my brother say oh you should go live in (south Asian country). Why should I go now ...cos I’m ...I can look after myself now, and you want me to go back!?!...” (L 3-7. P 10. Sarah)

It was only after Sarah and adopted son left her abusive husband and her patriarchal brother tried to convince her to go back to south-Asia that she identified and rejected male hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM and finally felt emancipated to look after herself and her adopted son.

Amelia: “they’re nothing [patriarchal] like their father, they’re strong minded, they’re all educated they’re all graduates and all three of them are...I couldn’t ask for...I couldn’t ask for anything better really they’ve all turned out to be lovely human beings and I hope they find lovely partners and...” (L 15-23. P 19) “I’m ...a very strong role model for my children and...they respect me so much and they would never experience what I’ve experienced, I will make sure of that...” (L 6-9. P 19. Amelia).

Amelia had experienced a lot of pain and suffering in her marriage before her husband left her for another woman. That is when she finally identified and rejected male hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM before she finally felt emancipated.

#### **4.13 Discussion of super-ordinate theme six: Equality Advocate**

Once the participants had rejected individualist exit strategy in favour of collectivism, tacitly accepted FM and colluded with patriarchy, the only thing left to do was to make sense of their experience. This resulted in the super-ordinate theme of equality advocate which presented three emergent themes: Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM; rejecting

hegemonic male patriarchy and hard-won emancipation. Participants finally felt courageous enough to speak their mind and defend their individual interests over and above that of their clan. This emancipation was hard won as participants were subjected to patriarchy that they had to identify and accept as the root cause of FM, which they then subsequently rejected. Only half of the participants had negative experiences of FM since they felt they were forced into marriage and experienced DV or HBV; although the other half felt they were also forced into marriage, they did not experience DV or HBV, found that they liked their husbands, shared common interests, and/or got on well together at-least up to the point when their patriarchal husbands abandoned them. Ironically, it was the patriarchal husbands who ended the marriage in most cases although participants would have persevered in what they perceived to be FM. Since the marriage ended through no fault of the participants even though they tried their utmost to make it work for the benefit of the collective clan; they were again left to pick up the pieces of their frenetic experience. Participants were kept in the dark over what was happening to their marriage until their patriarchal husbands had themselves made the decision for them that they would leave the marriage.

The critical issue of consent seems to be the pervading theme expressed by all participants as they found it incredible that they live in a society (UK) in which consent has become the battle ground for female emancipation and yet they find themselves in an all-consuming struggle against collectivist patriarchal hegemony over this very issue. Participants expressed delight in having overcome the challenges of patriarchy as they felt empowered in looking forward to a future in which they were masters of their own destiny i.e., no longer under the control of patriarchy. Since most participants did not end the marriage themselves, they would have stayed in their FM perhaps because it did not seem so bad after the event. The implication is that participants saw their marriage from a Western individualistic perspective before AM and from a south-Asian collectivist perspective subsequently after conflation with FM. Since most participants who were not experiencing HBV would have stayed in FM, and even some who were experiencing HBV, it is further support for the argument that participants had conflated AM/FM. Researcher realised participants had conflated AM/FM but saw individualism and collectivism as two separate and distinct cultural identities which individuals would have to navigate and negotiate as British-Asian females.

## **Chapter 5 Introduction to Existential Perspectives on DV/FM.**

As an existential counselling psychologist and psychotherapist, I was interested in applying existential dimensions to the research. To this end the work of Yalom (1980) and Deurzen van (2010) were independently judged to be fruitful perspectives to illuminate the phenomenon of FM. The lifeworld is the foundation upon which existential phenomenological thought is built. Existential phenomenology is useful in studying the misinterpreted and concealed experiences of women in its devotion to description and understanding, its openness to the lifeworld; and its celebration of experience and the experiencing person letting both speak so-as-to let the existential chips of meaning fall where they may. Existential phenomenological research takes place between co-researchers who communicatively co-create their relationship. Such dialogical research lets participants reveal the existential and personal dimensions and conditions of their lives, which could not be easily examined previously but now can be interpreted and interrogated. This reinforces the argument on the ability of the phenomenological methods to help reveal the concealed and misinterpreted experiences of women (Reitz 1999). In 2003 the department of health made a direct link between DV and FM; where FM itself is seen as a form of DV, and as contributing to DV after marriage (Anita & Gill.2009). According to the Crown Prosecution Service (2014) Honour Based Violence (HBV) has parallels with DV and FM as it is identified as a crime committed to protect/defend the honour of a family or community (Welchman & Hossain, 2005). HBV includes specific crimes such as kidnap, imprisonment, FM, harassment, physical/emotional abuse, female genital mutilation, rape, and murder. Weingourt (1985) postulated that abused women see the world as a dangerous lonely place in which survival depends on finding a protector.

### **5.1 Yalom's Existential perspective on DV/FM**

Yalom (1980) the givens of existence are death, freedom, isolation, and meaninglessness. The experience of domestic violence allows death anxiety to reach such high proportions that it brings about a chronic retreat from life. The goal of the victims is never to be alone, which is strongly tied to the fear of death. This motivation results in a tendency to fuse with another stronger person and allow him to do the living for both. This person has the power of life and death over them and he becomes the "ultimate rescuer". The victim achieves a sense of safety by merging with another and defends against her fear of death by refusing to live. The result

of this merger is ultimately destructive as the woman relinquishes the chance to explore and develop her own strengths. Separation from the husband leaves the woman to face life and death alone, without the magical protection of the ultimate rescuer. Loneliness, isolation, and fear of abandonment are recurring themes for women in abusive relationships as they perceive themselves as worthless and weak and are terrified of being alone. In this study all participants had personally concluded that their AM was sufficiently further along the AM-FM spectrum to constitute FM. Based on the work of Yalom it was therefore expected that participants would avoid FM and the difficulties in relation to the givens of existence: death, freedom, isolation, and meaninglessness. However, it was found that all female participants tacitly accepted FM and therefore the potential for HBV and or DV which is in direct opposition to Yalom's postulation:

Bina: "Thing that helped me was the freedom that I got in (husbands city) my new family (in laws) were not half as controlling as my... own family were, so coming to a new city and being able to get a job and just embraced the new culture of this big city and just gave me a reason to live and a reason to try and be happy..." (L10-18. P20).

Bina claimed FM but if she were true to her convictions, she would not then be expected to say, 'that the freedom she got in husbands city and less controlling in-laws helped her to embrace the city and find a reason to live again and be happy'. Bina is describing AM but changing the environment does not change FM.

Sophie: "it was only when I came here (UK) that I realised I made a big mistake" (L 28-29. P 3). "it didn't feel nice at all and even my father realised he had made a mistake marrying me into (maternal) aunties family" (L 17-18. P8) "I still didn't want to leave my (abusive) husband because it would mean going back to (south Asian country) and that would bring shame to my parents which isn't very nice..." (L 21-24. P 10. Sophie)

Sophie claimed FM but if she were true to her convictions, she would not be expected to say, 'I still did not want to leave my (abusive) husband as it would be dishonourable'. Sophie is describing an AM with DV and as such she is unable to leave her "ultimate rescuer" since physical survival is significantly more important than any notion of honour.

Kiran “but you know what we can make this...make something good out of it for both of us...” (L 33-34. P7. Kiran).

Kiran claimed FM but if she were true to her convictions, she would not be expected to say, ‘we can make something good come out of FM for us both’. Kiran is describing AM since by definition nothing ‘good’ can be expected to come out of FM for the victim.

Anisa: “basically I tried to make it (marriage) work because I came over and I sent all my paperwork for application and my husband wasn’t applying for them he said he didn’t want to come to the UK...and I said well I can’t come and live in (south Asian country) ...and in the end his friend rang and he said oh he’s just being silly you know, well go and do the application...so they did the application and the visa date came and then he still wasn’t being cooperative and he said oh if you want to come you can come...but I don’t really want the visa...so basically I when I look back at it now I always had like a third person...to keep the marriage rolling...” ( L 28-40. P 7; L 1 p 8)

Anisa claimed FM but if she were true to her convictions, she would not be expected to go to so much trouble trying to get her husband’s visa especially as he made it clear ‘he did not want to come to the UK’. Anisa is describing AM as she only talks about herself moving to (south Asian country) or husband coming to UK, but the option of their mutual status quo ante does not cross her mind?

Amelia: “I felt this marriage was the best thing that’s ever happened to me...because it gave me my baby girl...I felt that life...I just saw life through rose tint glasses that day...it just felt perfect...” (L 35-40. P 9. Amelia)

Amelia claimed FM but if she were true to her convictions, she would not be expected to say, “I felt this marriage was the best thing that’s ever happened to me”. Amelia is describing the feeling of starting a family following LM since it is by definition impossible to describe FM as “perfect”.

Half the marriages had elements of DV or HBV, but all participants found the marriage more acceptable than the alternative of leaving and thereby bringing dis-honour to their clan. Since participants had confused and conflated AM/FM, they felt angry and cheated hence

subsequently challenged patriarchy at every level and therefore did not perceive themselves as weak or worthless as suggested by Yalom:

Bina: "I thought that my marriage would never ever be like my mothers or my sisters under any circumstances and I will be confident unlike my sister and I will be attractive, and I will be glamorous unlike my mother and my brother-in-law and my dad the way they were with other women that would never be my husband I would make sure of that..." (L 18-27. P 6. Bina)

Bina claimed FM but also challenged patriarchy by saying 'she would make sure that her husband would never treat her like a second-class citizen'.

Sophie: "I wanted my husband to get a job as well, but my father-in-law did not want his son to work..." (L 28-29. P 5) "I used to get stressed because my husband would not take my side..." (L 28-30. P 8. Sophie)

Sophie claimed FM but also challenged patriarchy by saying that 'she got stressed as her husband would not take her side against his patriarchal father'.

Kiran: "I picked up on it that his mother wasn't...she didn't have no respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or anything, she was there as a purely as a servant...and I saw her working and I picked up on their weaknesses and I picked up on his weaknesses what he wo what his lifestyle and everything was and so when the night came...I was honest with him I told him straight, I sat him down and I told him I've seen this...I didn't wanna marry you...(L 7-16. P7)

Kiran claimed FM but also challenged patriarchy by saying, 'I sat my husband down and told him straight on the first night that I did not want to marry you'.

Neelam: "I obviously wanted ...for it to be my decision because I'm going to be spending the rest of my...life with this person. (L 32-35. P3)" he (father) did ask me at once like he did say to me that...would you marry him, or would you like to marry him? So, I remember saying to him ...no...I, I wouldn't..." (L 12-18. P4).



Neelam claimed FM but also challenged patriarchy by directly saying “no” when her father asked her if she wanted to marry either one of two cousins. This was seen as disrespectful since daughters are expected to express silent agreement in issues relating to their marriage.

Anisa “husband started... (Inhales) being a bit funny as well so I clearly told him look if you’re not happy I will go back to the UK, and I’ll take it on my head; I was strong enough at that time then” (L 39-40. P 5; L 1-3. P 6)” so I couldn’t even understand him either so I thought oh because he’s from abroad his mentality’s different the main reason why I didn’t want to marry anybody abroad...but I can go back but if he doesn’t want to...continue with the marriage he doesn’t need to come to the UK...I can leave...” (L 19-23. p 6. Anisa).

Anisa claimed FM but also challenged patriarchy by telling her new husband, ‘If you are unhappy with the marriage, I will go back alone to the UK, and you can stay single in south Asia’.

Sarah “my father-in-law had two boys...from other marriage and then they said why you didn’t take my son...and they didn’t like it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother’s son (Adopted from maternal side of family) ...” (L 14- 23. P8. Sarah)

Sarah claimed FM but also challenged patriarchy by deliberately adopting her brother’s son who would eventually inherit both her husband’s and brother’s wealth.

Amelia “I thought he’s very young maybe it’s a big shock, being a dad is a big responsibility he’s obviously not mature enough...to be honest I used to look down on him really if I think about it now, I used to think he doesn’t have a good education...maybe he doesn’t...he’s not even mentally stable or ready to be a dad...” (L 1-7. P 9. Amelia)

Amelia claimed FM but also challenged her patriarchal husband by looking down on him as immature, unstable, and uneducated in comparison to herself.

Since participants chose to enter FM to protect the honour of their clan and subsequently did not perceive themselves as weak or vulnerable as expected based on Yalom's postulation; it is further evidence that participants conflated AM/FM.

## **5.2 Van Deurzen's Four world's model**

According to Van Deurzen (2010), all human experience can be mapped on to a world map that contains the following four dimensions:

- 1) Umwelt (around world) is the physical, natural, material domain.
- 2) Mitwelt (with world) is the social, public, cultural domain.
- 3) Eigenwelt (own world) is the personal, private, psychological domain.
- 4) Uberwelt (above world) is the spiritual, interpretive, ideological domain.

Existential psychotherapy requires a philosophical gaze to become aware of the fullness as well as paradoxical nature of human existence. In-fact it is these paradoxes and contradictions which exist at every level of our existence that are confusing and confounding, but also a vital source of our energy. This current research study on FM fits well with van Deurzen's (2010) four world model as it is anticipated that a frank and open discussion about the struggles and challenges experienced by women previously in their FM will increase knowledge for improving psychotherapy and counselling services. This current study will implicitly enhance understanding of how individuals create purpose and meaning when faced with a significant life event such as FM. According to van Deurzen's Living with conflict and trauma model the proceeding statements are made and it would be interesting to determine how such statements map onto the case of FM as it too is seen to involve conflict and trauma. According to van Deurzen (2010) each of the four dimensions is infinitely interwoven with the others and that real hardship usually involves destruction or faltering on all dimensions simultaneously. The four dimensions of existence model will be applied to the transcript of specific quotes from participants in the study to explore the level of hardship in relation to the outcome based on these predictions.

### **5.2.1 Physical world (Umwelt)**

Umwelt (around world) is the physical, natural, material domain. At the physical dimension, our body is seen as the point of contact with the environment and the main modes of operating are through our five primary senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. At the physical level under conditions of conflict and trauma it is advised to seek safety when under threat. To trust and heed sensations of stress and find natural environment that can soothe as well as expand your horizon (van Deurzen 1997, p139-142). The participants experience will be illuminated in relation to the physical dimension of existence to understand how it was perceived.

#### **Physical level (Umwelt)**

Bina: "being with my new husband it just felt... just felt wrong to be honest with you to begin with it just felt that this is not how it is supposed to be it is not where I'm supposed to be... because it was my cousin it just felt awkward because that's not what I had visualised or imagined my wedding to be like..."[...] "...ever and it was just it'd all gone pear shaped I felt but because I was so fed up of being trapped that it felt good to be out of there..." (L 8-20. P 19)

Bina felt trapped like a prisoner in her parent's house while she was waiting for her impending FM, which felt like a better option. Rather than seeking safety from the conflict and trauma of FM, she sought safety and freedom within it, much more in keeping with AM. Bina was in contact with police but chose FM rather than the exit strategy because she valued her collectivist culture above the individualistic which was again much more in keeping with AM.

Sophie: "Even after the marriage I tried really hard to make it work, but even at the slightest thing if I made a.....a any mistake my husband would get angry raise his hand and hit me..." (L 1-4. P4) "The situation was not good, there were three rooms and with me and my sister ten people so there just wasn't the space and we all had to share bunkbeds; we were stuffed tightly..." (L 23-26. P6) "I realised things were very bad they all lived off the state nobody

worked in the house and I told my auntie I want to work..." (L 23-26. P 5. Sophie)

Sophie was living in cramped overcrowded conditions, doing all the housework, and experiencing HBV. Sophie would therefore be expected to seek safety from her punishing regime, but instead decided not only to accept all these difficulties but added to them significantly by getting a full-time job.

Anisa: "I think my marriage lasted (as long as it did) because I just got on with my life... because I was working...I was you know I was driving...um my brother bought me a car...um I was living in his (brother's) house the rent was cheap because his mortgage was cheap...so I wasn't paying the rent I was paying his mortgage so I could afford it on my own..." (L 19-26. P13. Anisa).

Anisa is describing a traditional AM with a spouse from south-Asia who has the burden of financially supporting his indigenous clan members who often have very high expectations. Rather than seeking safety from the trauma of FM, Anisa went to a lot of effort to make her marriage work over a period of twelve years and had four children before she finally decided to 'exit'.

Mariam: "...and I just looked at the ring and like how do I put this ring on him, what do I have to do, like do I touch the hand...I just put the, I just got the ring and it was the first time I've ever put a ring on someone that's all I remember....and when it happened like I could breathe like it's done..." (L 26-31. P 13. Mariam)

Mariam is describing AM rather than FM because in AM she might be nervous beforehand and then relieved once she put the ring on. In FM that is the point which would induce maximum anxiety because it would legitimise a future lifetime of enslavement.

Sarah: "yeah he (husband) was good, he was looking after me taking me out shopping...he wasn't saying anything to me, all his family was... (clears throat) ... he used to fight with his sister for me" (L 18-21. P 5) "...and they (sister's- in-law) used to come and say oh you not doing...you not working, we are working...you not looking after our mum (mother-in-law), like I was doing that...I was doing washing for her, everything..." (L 32-37. P5. Sarah)

Sarah felt 'looked after' in FM by her 'good' husband but had problems with her in-laws, which is common in AM and not FM especially in the early stages as everyone begins adjusting to significant change.

Amelia: "he said to me that this is over obviously I didn't wanna let go of him ...I did fight and argue I begged and said give us another chance...but he wasn't having any of it he just walked out on us one day" (L 11- 15. P 18. Amelia).

Amelia's husband had experienced FM and wanted to end the relationship. If Amelia had also experienced FM she would not be expected to 'beg and plead' with him to stay in FM especially as she was also experiencing DV.

Kiran: "...then after that I had the pressure of getting pregnant...we didn't have much of a physical relationship um ...I didn't understand it then...that what exactly was it that was the problem because I always blamed myself but now being in the health profession, I know it wasn't me" (L 7- 12. P 10. Kiran)

Kiran would only be expected to feel under pressure to get pregnant in AM not FM.

Neelam: "the first few days like even though it was supposed to be a time where we were just, the husband and wife should be together all the time...but he would kind of avoid me. I felt like he was avoiding me um..." (L 26- 30. P 10. Neelam).

Neelam is using language expected in a traditional AM where the honeymoon period is a special time for the couple to really get to know each other for the first time. Under the context of FM Neelam would be expected to seek safety from the trauma of FM and not expected to complain about their lack of intimacy.

Rather than seeking safety, all participants used submissive appeasement strategies to placate their husbands and in-laws with varying degrees of success. After marriage participants were not looking for exit strategies but instead wanted to make the marriage work which would indicate AM rather than FM. At the physical level rather than seeking to remove and isolate themselves from the situation by using exit strategy (which three participants did after many

years in FM and only after being forced out of marriage and/or experiencing HBV/DV), participants tacitly accepted their FM and subsequently tried to make the marriage work. Even under conditions of FM half the participants who faced HBV, chose to accept abuse in-order-to maintain their patriarchal hegemonic clans honour rather than seek safety. Participants sought safety within FM rather than without as was expected by the physical world model.

### **5.2.2 Social level (Mitwelt)**

The polarities in the social world include love and hate, appreciation, and resentment, like and dislike, dominance and submission, acceptance and rejection, inclusion, and exclusion. At the social or public dimension Mitwelt we are regulated by our feelings in the sense that our emotions indicate how we position ourselves in relation to the space we share with others. At the social level it is advised to communicate your emotions without reproach, resentment, or bitterness. Seek belonging with like-minded allies. Seek to go beyond hateful and destructive relations by isolation and avoidance till reconciliation is possible (van Deurzen 1997, p139-142).

### **Social level (Mitwelt)**

Bina: "the freedom that I got in (husbands city) my new family (in laws) were not half as controlling as my... own family were, so coming to a new city and being able to get a job and just embraced the new culture of this big city and just gave me a reason to live and a reason to try and be happy and despite the marriage not being where I'd expected it to be or visualised it to be..." (L 10- 18. P 20. Bina).

To her surprise Bina experienced a lot more freedom in AM with her new husband and in-laws who were far less patriarchal, hence serendipitously her AM turned out to be more like LM rather than FM.

Sophie: "After I thought now, we are married, he's my husband so I have to spend the rest of my life with my husband because in our (south Asian) culture; life is with your husband and death is also with your husband" (L 14- 17. P4. Sophie).

Sophie was conditioned to play a submissive role in the face of patriarchal hegemony, and she had accepted this without question until she got married into the diasporic arm of her clan in the UK.

Kiran: "...and her siblings and the pressure from her husband as well in a way cos I guess in a way that he wanted...a daughter married in a way um...I think a combination er religion that you've got to get your daughters married at a decent you know a reasonable age and not to be unmarried for long...culture family pressure...um but at that point I did think it was my mother but now looking back at it and knowing other people's experiences and how other people ...it was normal it (FM) doesn't feel so wrong anymore" (L 9-20. P 14 Kiran).

With hindsight Kiran accepts that she conflated AM/FM and acknowledges how easy it is to do so in the context of collectivist culture and patriarchal hegemony.

Neelam: "so because obviously...[husbands] dad and my dad are cousins as well and...my dad likes to keep everyone happy also ...um so they asked for the rishta (proposal) and then my dad felt like he can't say no to them as well...so in a sense my dad had to say yes, and he couldn't...he didn't wanna ruin the relationship that he had with his cousin brother and their family..." (L 31-38. P 12. Neelam)

With hindsight Neelam blames her collectivist patriarchal culture for putting her and her father in an impossible situation which resulted in AM/FM.

Anisa: "when I moved away I, I...there's no community our own community there...so I've done the best I could and my eldest daughter she suffered or suffers depression...because they grew up in our own (south-Asian) community..." (L 1-5. P 15. Anisa)

Having moved into a predominantly individualistic cultural community, Anisa blames her daughter's depression on the move because the family have left behind their collectivist culture and community.

Mariam: "it did make me really sad cos I thought there is someone out there who would want to be with me...and I've accepted this for the sake of the families...um but you're not really making an effort...then I think at one point I even asked that do you even want to marry me..." (L 34- 39. P9. Mariam)

Mariam had sacrificed her true love for the sake of her collectivist patriarchal clan, but even so her fiancée seemed completely disinterested in her as a person.

Sarah: "my father-in-law had two boys...from other marriage and then they said why you didn't take my son...they never asked us...okay take (adopt) my son...but they had a problem that he (brother's adopted son) is coming from my family... and they didn't like it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother's son...they think so, so, so far..." (L 14- 24. P8. Sarah)

Sarah is pleading ignorance but since she was raised under the same patriarchal clan in south-Asia; Sarah would have known fully the consequences of her action in adopting her brother's son rather than a child from her husband's side of the clan.

Amelia: "...it was the honour and respect from my family, it felt like I've lost it all...I felt that I've failed in all aspects...because my husband's left me...it was a big thing having a marriage...and having a failed marriage was...it was very disappointing, I felt ashamed I felt embarrassed for my family...I felt that I couldn't face the world, that I have a broken marriage and my husband has left me for another woman...the shame was just too much to handle I just wanted to leave, to take my three children and not be seen by anyone...just wanted to move away somewhere where nobody could ask me questions..." (L 23- 36. P 18. Amelia).

Amelia was subjected to dishonour because her patriarchal husband had left her and she self-deprecated herself due to community shaming.

At the social level participants felt connected to their wider collective clan/community and modified their behaviour accordingly to minimise dis-honour to their clan. Participants had the option of 'exit' strategy soon after marriage, but none took the option to leave immediately. It was only after many years that Sophie, Sarah and Anisa finally used exit



strategy to leave the marriage for various personal reasons. At the social level participants again did not conform to expectations of FM based on the social world model.

### **5.2.3 Personal level**

Eigenwelt (own world) is the personal, private, psychological domain. At the psychological or private dimension, we are regulated by thinking and mainly concerned with creating the centredness that gives us a sense of stability, selfhood, and integration. At the personal level it is advised to learn to yield as well as to be resolute. Regain a sense of freedom in relation to adversity. To express thoughts and memories and to allow the event to strengthen character (van Deurzen 1997, p139-142).

#### **Personal level (Eigenwelt)**

Bina: "So, in my head the reason why their marriages were negative were because both of these marriages were, marriages were arranged marriages that made me feel that arranged marriages are a negative thing and if you do have an arranged marriage or not that I thought of forced marriage erm, but I thought..... anybody who would choose my partner for me, things would be like their relationship (sisters and parents), things would be wrong..." (L 29-40. P 6; L 1. P7. Bina).

Bina conflated AM/FM which made her personally feel weak and helpless based on what she knew about her parents and sister's unhappy relationship.

Neelam: "there wasn't...much love there...yeah so that was the first few signs like I thought look this isn't right, I've put everything into this marriage, I'm...you know what open to everything, like I'm...I felt like I'm putting more effort into it than he was...he wasn't putting much effort into it at all...I would actually talk to his family members more than I would talk to him and...this was just like the first few days of our wedding...yeah...and I felt like that wasn't right..." (L 8-17. P11. Neelam)

Neelam claims FM but was also expecting love to flourish and when that did not happen, she experienced disappointment.

Anisa: "my husband started...(Inhales) being a bit funny as well so I clearly told him look if you're not happy I will go back to the UK

and I'll take it on my head; I was strong enough at that time then...but I can go back but if he doesn't want to...continue with the marriage he doesn't need to come to the UK...I can leave...I'll have a reason I'll just leave..." (L 40. P 5; L 1-6. P 6. Anisa).

Anisa challenged her patriarchal husband by demonstrating that she was her own person and an equal in the relationship which he could either choose to accept or stay single in south-Asia.

Mariam: "there was a point where I was like um you know what I'll marry him...I'll find whatever I'll do what I have to do...there was a point I just thought to myself you know what...I'll just get on with it, cos I was just...tired really really tired..." (L 24-29. P 9. Mariam)

Since Mariam's patriarchs had matched her LM interest to another and personally as a subordinate female she was unable to overrule the decree, Mariam reluctantly chose to accept her AM suitor.

Sarah: "...boys still choose it but girls I don't think they have any choice there... they (girls) will be like a showpiece and they will go and boy goes sees, them...if boys mum says okay then it's okay...that's not right I don't like this traditional thing...they should let the girl see...to choose as well...have a choice to say yes or no...not only boys..." (L 40. P 12; L 1-7. P13. Sarah).

Sarah concludes that it is male patriarchal hegemony that she was against all along since males are given much more autonomy in choosing a bride, but the female is given none.

Amelia: "...to be honest I used to look down on him really if I think about it now I used to think he doesn't have a good education ... maybe he doesn't...he's not even mentally stable or ready to be a dad because...he's not had...the correct life experiences or he's just not...um been through enough in life to...I didn't really blame him to be honest, I just tried to understand because I was an older woman compared to him, my maturity level was different..." (L 3-9. P 9. Amelia)

Amelia is describing a traditional AM in which her husband is a typical (diasporic) south-Asian patriarchal male and in response she uses her greater maturity and education as leverage against patriarchy within the relationship.

Sophie: "I used to take a lot of tension and I didn't used to feel hungry so I went into depression and.....it's not been a good impact on my life in forced marriage.....seven months ago I really wasn't well, I had gone into depression, the tension led me to stop eating/drinking but now I am better because I have completely removed him out of my heart, my life, I don't think about him (FM husband) anymore"(L 28-35. P 11. Sophie).

Sophie tried hard to beat the patriarchal hegemonic collectivist clan system but had to give up without success due to the HBV she experienced. Sophie finally used the exit strategy after the two-year qualifying period in-order-to leave her abusive husband and to remain in the UK.

Kiran: "when I was about to go to (south Asian Country) that was the only time that my father actually showed me affection...and I wanted to hold on to that and so for that I think a part of me just blocked things out and I just wanted to like get this over and done with..." (L 3-8. P 5. Kiran)

Kiran had longed for her father's affection and validation, since he showed her both on the condition she marries according to the clan's wishes, she accepted the marriage by blocking off her personal feelings and emotions.

At the personal level participants claimed to have felt trapped in FM but their behaviour in the relationship did not reflect this. Infact participants went to a lot of trouble to make the marriage work. At the personal level, all participants experienced some difficulty as expected for new brides in AM, especially as all participants made genuine efforts to settle into their relationship.

#### **5.2.4 Spiritual level**

Uberwelt (above world) is the spiritual, interpretive, ideological domain. At the spiritual dimension Uberwelt we are regulated by intuition and connected through our soul to the purely abstract world of ideas and their concrete significance in our daily lives. At the spiritual level it is advised to improve rather than give up values, beliefs, purpose, meaning. Stick with what is true but transcend values. Integrate what has happened in worldview (van Deurzen 1997, p139-142).

#### **Spiritual level (Uberwelt)**

Bina: "I... had... such a strong religious upbringing and I believed in my religion so strongly I was such a practising (devout believer) that, that helped me get through each day because I believe that a person only gets married once and mine has happened like this for a reason because I believe in fate and I believe in god and I felt that this was meant to be so it's for me to not accept this would be going against all those things for I fought as much as I could to begin with and despite all that I ended up here so that was meant to be from God so for that reason I decided to make a go of my marriage..." (L 27-40. P 17; L 1-2. P 18. Bina).

Bina put her FM down to fate and therefore accepted it as divine intervention against which she was ultimately powerless.

Sophie: "I thought it was the right thing to do (get married) according to (named religion) I looked to my parents, I listened to my parents and I did just as they wanted. In our (named religion) whatever elders decide is the final word on what is in our best interests..." (L 20-25. P 4) "I told my auntie I want to work (L 25-26. P 5) "I wanted my husband to get a job as well, but my father-in-law did not want his son to work" (L 28-30. P 5. Sophie)

As a devout and dutiful daughter Sophie revered and listened to her parents in her AM and to get to the UK. once in the UK, she challenged her patriarchal in-laws by going out to work and making their son go to work which was perceived as shameful action for a newly married bride to take.

Anisa: "I came over and I sent all my paperwork for application and my husband wasn't applying for them he said he didn't want to come to the UK...and I said well I can't come and live in (south Asian country)...and in the end his friend rang and he said oh he's just being silly you know, well go and do the application...so they did the application and the visa date came and then he still wasn't being cooperative and he said oh if you want to come you can come...but I don't really want the visa...so basically I when I look back at it now I always had like a third (L 27-40. P7) person...to keep the marriage rolling...um and he used to just say to me I just don't want to come to the UK I can live here fully knowing that I couldn't live in (south Asian country)...and the funny thing is my visa was granted for that reason...um I was praying deep down that the visa wouldn't be granted and I would go back to (south

Asian country) but then I also had the fear would he let me go back (return to UK)" (L 1-9. P8. Anisa).

Anisa's husband was not keen on coming to the UK, although at that time she pursued the matter through his friend until he relented. With hindsight Anisa is now claiming that she was praying for it not to happen.

Kiran: "...I always had this firm belief that I knew in my head that if you're good... good things will happen to you that's how it works" (L 9- 11. P 19. Kiran)

Kiran's unwavering belief in good karma led her to accept FM in the hope that it would all turn out for the best.

Neelam: "...the first thing actually that happened was the (religious ceremony) which was the...I think it a few days after the...it being arranged..." (L 22-25. P 6. Neelam).

Neelam was disappointed that her patriarchs arranged her FM religious ceremony as quickly as they did because it was now officially sanctified under god and therefore irrevocable.

Mariam: "...I've never ever prayed, I've prayed, I've never done a prayer so deep and with so much, tears and from the bottom of my heart." (L 6-8. P 18. Mariam).

Mariam prayed for a miracle to be rescued from FM and a few days later her LM suitor turned up to do just that.

Amelia: "I told him, I also wasn't given a choice, but we can make this work, we believe in...we believe in only marrying once and ...in our religion and...and we we are gonna make this work either way and..." (L 8- 11. P 8. Amelia).

Amelia is describing an AM in which she has discovered her husband experienced FM and she is trying to convince him to see the positives in the relationship at the spiritual level.

## Chapter 6 Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the impact of FM on diasporic British-Asian females to determine how it affects individuals at a personal level; what does it feel like to be forced into marriage; FM is positive for some and negative for others so why is there such polarity; is the issue of compatibility significant in the FM debate; what part does love play, if any in FM; where does AM stop and FM start and the implications for psychotherapeutic work. All participants claimed FM but did not meet this expectation in line with any of the three different psychological models: IPA study, Yalom's work and van Deurzen's four world's model; although participants claimed FM, their claims were not fully substantiated, corroborated or supported. The aims of the study have been met in the theme discussion sections and the implications for psychotherapy will now be addressed.

The UK is currently supplementing the criminalization of FM with interagency protocols to protect women involving healthcare professionals, social care agencies and others as victims of FM may not get another opportunity to tell someone what is happening to them. The "one chance rule" guidelines stress the importance of acting swiftly to secure endangered individual's safety by removing them from their families. Recommendations include looking out for signs of anxiety, depression, self-harm, substance abuse, unexplained injuries, and emotional withdrawal (Kopelman 2016, p176). This study has shown that participants confused and conflated their experience of AM with FM. If participants had disclosed to healthcare professional that they had experienced FM, the 'one chance rule' protocol would have been implemented, each participant removed from their families, the incident inaccurately recorded and added to FM statistics. The participants initial assumption that they had experienced FM would automatically be reinforced by agencies such as the FMU and others (which makes them complicit) such as was the case with Anisa, Sarah, and Sophie thereby inadvertently perpetuating the phenomenon of FM.

## **6.1 UK National Azim Psychotherapeutic Strategy on FM**

### **Implications for psychotherapy**

The implications for psychotherapy are that it is currently automatically assumed a client who claims Forced Marriage (FM) had in fact experienced FM. Even though the client claims they had experienced FM, it should not automatically lead to the assumption that they are victims in need of urgent rescue. Clients who disclose they have experienced FM should instead be given the time and space to explore their feelings and situation in a safe and empathetic context. Women/men who disclose they have experienced FM could be given the option to be signposted to existential counselling services and/or the FMU but only after the client has had the opportunity to make an informed decision about their future in relation to the two very different prospective paths. In the first instance the client who is considered vulnerable since they have experienced FM should be informed that every effort will be made to confidentially explore and understand their plight before any further action is considered based on their explicit consent. In the first few psychotherapy sessions the client should be made to feel comfortable with the aim of building a trusting and supportive therapeutic relationship in a safe, confidential, non-judgmental, and empathic environment. When the client is ready to talk about their experience of FM, the following questions may be considered:

- 1) What were your hopes and expectations about marriage before you were forced into marriage?
  
- 2) Can you describe in your own words what happened when you were forced to marry?
  
- 3) Who do you feel was responsible for forcing you to marry and what do you think were their reasons?
  
- 4) Did you feel you were in love or could grow to love your new spouse? (Prompt) did you share any values, interests, or aspirations with your spouse?
  
- 5) Has the experience of being forced to marry changed you as a person? (Prompt) If so how?
  
- 6) What are your views about forced marriage now?

The aim of these questions is to determine if the client conflated AM with FM, DV or HBV. If adequate attention is paid to specific answers to each question a clear understanding of FM, AM/FM conflation or AM should emerge equally for both female and male clients from a one-hour counselling session. It is important to note that although some clients would have left FM, the-majority-of clients seeking counselling will still be married and in need of an empathic and strictly confidential service. Clients who are still married and believe they experienced FM could be encouraged to explore their subjective experience (remotely on zoom to avoid being seen by someone hostile) within the context of their diasporic collective clan which may also be patriarchal in its orientation. If DV and FM is suspected, then the client could after discussion and mutual agreement be signposted to FMU and in the case of DV without FM, the client could be dealt with under existing guidelines. If the client chooses to remain a member of their collectivist clan and accepts AM/FM conflation, then the aim of the therapeutic relationship could be to assist the client to live authentically within their AM on the basis of a typical therapeutic relationship albeit in a collectivist diasporic context. FM is seen as a form of HBV, but HBV can occur in the absence of FM where the female is perceived to have bought dishonour to her clan based entirely on the sensibilities of the clan and just because she is a female. HBV is like DV in that it is carried out by a (patriarchal) husband to restore his perceived dis-honour by punishing his (subordinate) wife. HBV differs from DV however in the sense that other usually adult family members may know about the abuse and are complicit through their silence. We may be faced with a situation for instance in which FM is present, but HBV is absent or one where HBV is present, but FM was absent. If client has experienced HBV but not FM then the psychotherapeutic work could be focused on a 'typical' case of DV with the additional understanding that it may be with the knowledge of other family, clan and or community members. If HBV and/or FM are suspected, then the client could after consultation and mutual agreement be signposted to FMU.

After building a safe and supportive therapeutic alliance and ascertaining that the perceived FM was in fact a badly arranged AM. The process of existential/phenomenological therapeutic counselling for 'victims' of perceived FM could begin by using Husserl's principles of 'Bracketing' to explore and investigate the phenomenon. This can be achieved firstly by being open and withholding our preordained thoughts or presuppositions about FM in-order to understand the meaning of it for the client known as Epoche or bracketing (Finlay *et al* 2008). The second stage may involve deploying van Deurzen's *et al* (1997) four world's model to shed light on the phenomenon of FM with the client on physical, social, personal, and spiritual dimensions. The existential theme could then be further extended by deploying



Yalom *et al* (1980) gives of existence death, freedom, isolation, and meaninglessness. Since the majority of Mirpuri's from the disputed region of Kashmir choose to live in cities such as London, Birmingham, and Luton (and elsewhere) where there is a high level of prevalence of mental health issues resulting largely from the Kashmir conflict which is similar to complaints from 'victims' of FM; instead of drawing quick conclusions, a thorough analysis and consideration of the clients presenting issues should be undertaken. The work may be difficult and demanding since clients might have sedimented FM over a prolonged period whilst carrying the burden of trauma and victimhood, but a common understanding of the conflation between AM/FM could ultimately emerge which has been observed by the researcher to significantly ameliorate the impact of trauma and victimhood. Professionals in the UK should not be fearful of being labelled culturally insensitive to intervene in FM cases if their intention is to help the client to understand their experience before choosing their next step, but not if they intend to implement the 'one chance rule'. Child marriage is illegal and underage marriage of any description is child abuse and therefore by definition FM.

The distinction between the terms AM, FM, and HBV can sometimes be vague especially for adult diasporic south Asian females and every effort should be made to clarify and address client concerns as the work is ultimately rewarding. Khan, Saleem & Lowe *et al* (2018) found that only one in six of their convenience sample reported HBV which was far lower than expected. The FMU has secured three convictions since FM was made illegal in 2014. The current study from three different perspectives, found that although all eight participants claimed FM, each had conflated AM/FM. It would therefore appear that the issue of HBV specifically FM is not as prevalent as it is sometimes feared or portrayed and therefore traditional south Asian cultural practices of AM and Endogamy should be accepted without fear or prejudice. Most importantly the issue of AM, FM, and HBV or DV should not be conflated or confused without being thoroughly explored and investigated in a therapeutic context. The existential therapeutic model is an excellent fit for this level of analysis since it is modelled around the client being the expert on her/his experience. An existential exploration of the experience of FM could help clients to clarify their interpretation of the experience and enable them to choose the best way forward based on their individual, specific, circumstance and explicit consent. Making clients aware of the option to participate in therapy sessions remotely and on-line would reduce the risk of clients being seen by someone hostile.

## Chapter 7 An Emic and Political Perspective with Recommendations

As an existential counselling psychologist, the researcher strongly believes that the practice of FM is unacceptable and (where it exists) should be dealt with by the full force of the law i.e., perpetrator/s should be incarcerated for up to seven years upon conviction. According to Chantler *et al* (2006) the dominant UK policy on FM is to encourage victims to ‘exit’ the abusive situation, however this is problematic as it asks women to make an imperfect choice between individual rights and cultural belonging (Gill & Mitra-Khan *et al* 2010). This exit policy suggests women can access safety by abandoning their own culture and by implication adopting another. However, in no culture are women assured freedom from gender-based violence. The ‘one chance rule’ is a dangerous strategy which further marginalises south Asian women who may have experienced FM or a badly arranged AM. As it removes their option to make an informed choice about their situation perhaps with the help of an existential counselling psychologist as they currently do not feel they have anywhere to turn to, anyone to listen to them, or see them as individuals outside of Asian women. The “one chance rule” guidelines stress the importance of acting swiftly to secure endangered individual’s safety by removing them from their families and recommends looking out for signs of anxiety, depression, suicidal ideation etc, which is also the diagnoses given to much of the general diasporic south Asian population. A survey found a lifetime prevalence of traumatic events of 59% among the Kashmiri inhabitants surveyed. Therefore, upon a complaint of FM by a diasporic south Asian female displaying such difficulties, it is unwise to assume the difficulties are the result of FM without considering the wider perspectives such as the traumatic effects of war in south Asia over the disputed territory of Kashmir. According to Ballard *et al* (2006) badly arranged marriages may indeed be a frequent cause of family strife, but they are by no means the only cause of difficulties as there can be multiple causes. The aim of this research was to explore FM in the UK context and we now have a very few reliable figures available with which we can attempt to illuminate the scope and scale of the phenomenon:

Table of FM cases dealt with V total convictions

Number of FM cases dealt with by FMU 2014-2020	Number of convictions for FM 2014-2020	Percentage in incidence of prevalence
7973	3	0.04%

(FMU statistics 2020; Oppenheim & Dearden 2019)

In other words, there was 1 conviction for every 2658 FM cases dealt with by the FMU and as such the prevalence figure of 0.04% indicates that the UK conservative government's strategy to deal with the phenomenon of FM has failed almost comprehensively. These findings are broadly supported by the current research study which found that each one of the eight participants who had claimed FM, had in-fact conflated AM/FM. In theory and on average we would expect roughly one actual and unequivocal (without conflation) case of FM to emerge from roughly every two and a half thousand presentations. Since the UK's role in south Asia has been linked to FM it can therefore be concluded that the conservative government's strategy on FM through the largely defunct FMU, is not only a failure but also an Imperialist agenda (unintentionally) designed through sheer ignorance to further marginalise and alienate the long-suffering and war weary Kashmiri/south Asian diaspora in the UK. This study has however indicated that agencies such as the FMU have serendipitously acted as strong beacons for British south Asian females to challenge patriarchal hegemony by demanding equality in line with the global '#Me Too' movement for female emancipation from the forces of patriarchy.

As a diasporic south Asian Kashmiri male and UK citizen however, during the process of this research the researcher deduced that the significant problems faced by insular south Asian diaspora communities and the largely perceived practice of FM are inextricably linked to the Kashmir conflict. The former prime minister David Cameron described FM in south Asian diasporic communities as abhorrent and little more than slavery, the researcher felt incensed at the Ironic nature of this statement since these specific sentiments are by far, more apt, and appropriate descriptions for the past century direct rule of south Asia by the British Crown, a problem on a significantly greater magnitude of order particularly considering the findings of this study! According to Vanore, Rageb & Seigel *et al* (2015) "diasporas are formed by the forcible or voluntary dispersion of people to a number of countries. They constitute a

diaspora if they continue to evince a common concern for their ‘homeland’ (sometimes an imagined homeland) and come to share a common fate with their own people, wherever they happen to be” (no page no). According to Gunes G *et al* (2019) the term diaspora also refers to the dispersal of population to other places due to various reasons started in India with the sending of ‘Indentured labour’ identified as ‘new slavery’ to the plantation region under the administration of the British Empire (p103). According to Arius C *et al* (2017) the south Asian diaspora coincided with the end of the colonial process of British Empire in India and ongoing struggle for independence and then the separation of the country into India and Pakistan (no page no). As forty-one thousand south Asians have been killed in the Kashmir conflict (the roots of which lie in India and Pakistan’s shared British colonial past) over just the last three decades, the current conservative governments silence on the Kashmir issue is inexplicable and inexcusable. Especially as Jammu Kashmir’s autonomous status has recently been rescinded by India’s conservative BJP resulting in draconian human rights violations which will most likely escalate the deadly cycle of violence with an inevitability for further bloodshed. India carries the prestigious title of world’s largest democracy but at the same time sees no contradiction in committing grave human rights violations in relation to its own people in Kashmir!

These are not just distant hypothetical geopolitical issues, in 2019 researcher commuted to London as part of his existential training the day after one of many terrorist attacks on a London bridge whilst police were still searching for other suspects. After a delayed train journey, running late, carrying an overnight bag full of personal effects, feeling flustered, the researcher ran around a corner in a busy tube station to be confronted by two Caucasian armed and uniformed police officers. Knowing that there had been a terrorist attack with suspects outstanding; running towards police officers carrying loaded guns, carrying a bag which could have concealed an explosive device; with the knowledge that diasporic Mirpuri men from Birmingham (who fit the profile of the researcher) are known to be responsible for terrorist acts; made the researcher freeze for an instant realising that both marksmen might (accidentally) open fire at the ‘target’ running directly toward them. Regrettably, this was not the researchers first such encounter either in the UK or as a child in Kashmir. In 1997 on his way to work the researcher was caught up in the security operation in Birmingham city centre immediately after Irish Republican Army (IRA) terrorists phoned in a coded bomb threat from a nearby phone box. The researcher also came face to face with armed police officers on that occasion and had to explain his reasons for being there. It was still a rare experience for

the researcher but what about the more recent Police officers who may be exposed to the same life or death situation hundreds of times each day?

According to Merrill & Owens *et al* (1986), in Birmingham (West Midlands) south-Asian females were three times more likely to attempt suicide and these women's ages were much younger than similar white women in the comparison group sample. Asian born females the majority of whom were married, reported marital problems significantly more often and many of these were due to cultural conflicts over traditional customs and racial prejudice. According to Wrench & Madood *et al* (2000) in the UK, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men have the lowest economic activity rates, and the differences are wider for women (p 5). Large sections of Britain's ethnic minority communities, when judged alongside their white peers are still seen to carry the burden of an 'ethnic penalty' (p 1). According to Jones (1989) racial constraints contributed to pushing (south) Asians into self-employment and the types of businesses turned to, reflected this harsh reality. (South) Asians get involved in commercial enterprises requiring little start-up capital with low levels of expertise such as restaurants, retail, and taxi cabs. These excerpts reinforce the researcher's personal lived experience of endemic racism in UK society which appears to harbour special animosity toward diasporic Kashmiri's. It is not the sort of overt racism which should and would easily be called out but much more subtle and nuanced which is implicit in ordinary everyday life and therefore consistently demoralising and deflating. Overt displays of racism are difficult to pinpoint until Britons consume alcohol and that is when the façade of decorum is lifted, and racial prejudice becomes explicit. Bennett *et al* (2013) who carried out research analysing a binge drinking night out found that alcohol is understood either explicitly or implicitly by participants as allowing them the greater confidence needed to be in the environment of the night out crowd. "A movement of transcendence to a different state of being and associated with it is a contrariety, a non-identity with the normal world and a sense of specialness or naughtiness" (p93). The researcher's personal experience is that for some Britons this sense of 'contrary anonymity coupled with specialness and/or naughtiness' can be expressed as a torrent of racist abuse directed particularly at Kashmiri's. Since many Kashmiri's are pushed to self-employment in sectors such as restaurants and taxi cabs, they are well placed to come across inebriated Britons whose sense of 'specialness/naughtiness' routinely causes them considerable financial loss, fear, pain and angst.

According to Manning and Roy (2006) immigration policy (how many immigrants from what countries to allow in) or policy on the assimilation of immigrants once they are in the country e.g., forcing them to learn the language or taking exams in citizenship; such policies to increase cultural assimilation might be thought of as turning up the heat on the ‘melting pot’. We already see evidence that governments are moving in this direction and against the policy of ‘multiculturalism’ that, according to some of its critics, has actively discouraged assimilation by excessive celebration of diversity. For example, the UK government introduced classes in citizenship into the national curriculum for schools in 2002 and since 2005 most immigrants acquiring British citizenship are required to pass a test of knowledge about British history and institutions (that many of the native born might struggle to pass) and to attend a citizenship ceremony intended to imbue them with a sense of pride in being British (p 2-3). Although the researcher feels proud to describe himself as a British Asian, there is always an unspoken powerful, complex, and value laden desperation in this juxtaposition which invariably trickles back to the Kashmir conflict. The very fact that this (well intentioned) government immigration policy is designed to promote assimilation and by-definition at the expense of accommodation is viewed by the researcher as further evidence of imperialist marginalisation of the south Asian diaspora. According to the Chief Executive of the British Psychological Society Bajwa (2020), the BPS is also institutionally racist, and needs to change. In line with the sentiments of the researcher, the BPS Chief Executive said: “It’s really difficult for me, as a brown person, to say that people are being racist”. As you then must accept that this is your daily reality. The Chief Executive of the BPS went further to say: “I can’t and won’t ignore the depth of feeling about racism within the psychology profession and lack of past leadership” (no page no). The researcher through this dissertation hopes to promote greater understanding through dialogue at all levels of society in the UK not dissimilar to the truth and reconciliation commission model used in south Africa (please see section 2.6) following lifting of the (other) historic British Colonial Apartheid.

According to Pennebaker *et al* (2000) during (India’s) partition, the abduction and rape of women of the opposing religious community became the preferred way to inflict the harshest punishment and revenge on the other side. The high levels of mental health trauma and ‘FM’ cases experienced by diasporic Kashmiri woman in UK can also be traced back to historic role played by the British colonial Empire within the south Asian subcontinent. This would

strongly suggest that UK agencies conceptualisation of south Asian female's mental health issues being generically attributable to FM rather than the legacy of transgenerational trauma from the Kashmir conflict is an incorrect, harmful, and sedimented, assumption. Especially as Balmer (2021) claims that Northern Ireland's catastrophic levels of mental ill health blighted by transgenerational trauma of the Troubles are well documented as the legacy of the conflict. It therefore follows that although south Asians have suffered identical trauma at the hands of British colonialism (please see Dickson, 2018; below), the cause and effect of their current difficulties are incorrectly conflated even by UK professionals who claim to be available to help and support them! In response to such inequality the brutality of sexually abusing children and young women could be being re-enacted today in the UK by the large diasporic Kashmiri population to inflict maximum dis-honour and humiliation for its past role in the Kashmir conflict and subsequent inaction to resolve it. According to Lee G *et al* (2017) Asian men make up 75 per cent of group abusers who carry out child sexual abuse, by targeting children and young women because they are vulnerable. Furthermore, according to Jacob and Naqshbandi *et al* of the Hindustan Times (2017) militancy in Kashmir has claimed a total of 41,000 lives in the past twenty-seven years which means an average of four deaths per day in the state with an additional 1519 casualties every year (no page no). The implication for such figures is that many diasporic arms of extended south Asian clans in the UK mourn such loss on-a-daily basis. The assertion is that there is also a strong link between terrorism in the UK, the conflict in Kashmir and the UK's inaction to resolve the issue. The disturbing realisation that in response to past atrocities committed by the British over two centuries in south Asia; by raping Briton's daughters (Kashmiri grooming gangs) and indiscriminately killing men, women, and children (Kashmiri terrorists), an increasing minority of diasporic Kashmiri men appear to be carrying out an insurgency on UK soil. Thereby recreating-precisely the conditions under which the British withdrew from the battlefield during India's partition. It therefore follows those diasporic Kashmiri insurgents aim to recreate the same battlefield conditions and level of violence in the UK as experienced in the disputed Kashmir territory on a daily basis. In-order-to further avoid such outcomes, the researcher believes that the UK must take urgent action. As-a-result-of the findings of this research study and discussion, the following recommendations are made in no specific order to the current Conservative Prime Minister Boris Johnson as a matter of urgency:

- 1) Withdraw the 'one chance rule' in relation to FM.

- 2) Take concrete steps in the form of urgent action to resolve the Kashmir conflict.
- 3) Apologise unreservedly to the south Asian people for the suffering and humiliation caused by successive UK governments over the past two centuries.
- 4) Make Psychotherapeutic counselling provision freely available through IAPT services for south Asian's who believe they have experienced FM.

Resolution to the Kashmir conflict which the researcher believes to be the biggest obstacle; with British involvement is not an intractable proposition as it has significant parallels with the Northern Ireland (NI) conflict. In NI, the conflict developed out of repressive measures taken by successive unionist governments which resulted in people from the 'nationalist' community, who were mainly Catholics and supporters of the re-unification of Ireland, being deprived of equality of rights with their Protestant neighbours (p21). The peace process in NI took a major leap forward in 1998 when most of the political parties in NI reached what is called the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement. This provided for a power-sharing government, the early release of people serving prison sentences for conflict-related offences and the decommissioning of weapons held by illegal paramilitary groups. Following the Agreement there was a reduction in the level of politically motivated violence in NI (Dickson B, 2018. p22-23). A point to note is that Kashmiri insurgents did not become active until well after the Good Friday Agreement perhaps because they were content to see carnage inflicted on UK soil by their brothers in arms in the form of the IRA which was also previously active in Birmingham. The IRA was also secretly admired by south Asians for its killing of Lord Mountbatten the last Viceroy of India who was responsible for unleashing carnage by abruptly announcing the imminent partition of India and Pakistan prematurely.

A peace process in Kashmir is possible with Indian, Pakistani, British, and Jammu (Indian administered) & Azad (Pakistan administered) Kashmiri government cabinet ministers putting serious effort into hammering out an amicable deal based on a roadmap for a long-term solution to the Kashmir conflict. Such an amicable and parallel solution would only materialise by erasing the current arbitrary (porous and deadly) Line of Control border between Jammu & Azad Kashmir to be replaced with a single hard border between India and the then newly unified "United Kashmir". The newly unified United Kashmir could have a power sharing government made up of current political foes (India and Pakistan) working together, side by side for the mutual greater good. To this end the following



recommendations are made in no specific order to the Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi who himself discouraged patriarchal attitudes by encouraging parents to raise their sons and daughters alike, as a matter of urgency:

- 1) Make additional and substantial resources available to tackle patriarchy and sexual inequality in India.
- 2) Take concrete steps in the form of urgent action to resolve the Kashmir conflict.
- 3) Entertain the possibility that change in Kashmir is both inevitable and necessary.

In the same vein the following recommendations are made in no specific order to the Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan as a matter of urgency:

- 1) Make additional and substantial resources available to tackle patriarchy and sexual inequality in Pakistan.
- 2) Take concrete steps in the form of urgent action to resolve the Kashmir conflict.
- 3) Entertain the possibility that change in Kashmir is both inevitable and necessary.

It is the researcher's firm belief that implementation of the above recommendations will have a significant positive impact on the following populations:

- 1) South Asian women including those who have experienced FM will feel heard, valued, and respected for the first time.
- 2) An end to war with prosperity in India, Pakistan, 'United Kashmir', and finally a chance for the long-suffering south Asian people to start healing from physical and psychological trauma.
- 3) A significant reduction in terrorist activity on UK, Indian, Pakistani, and Kashmiri soil.
- 4) A significant UK reduction in FM and child sexual exploitation cases.
- 5) An improvement in cultural accommodation rather than the current well-intentioned but ultimately Imperialistic state of assimilation in the UK.

An end to violence in Kashmir is in the researcher's opinion long overdue and a solution should be sought without delay to prevent further unnecessary death and trauma in UK, India, Pakistan, and Kashmir. Urgent action is required since Kashmir's special status has been rescinded and therefore the likelihood of further conflagration has significantly increased. According to Happymom J (2011) the South Asian region is widely considered to be one of the most dangerously unstable regions in the world with the two nuclear-armed countries, India, and Pakistan, in conflict over several outstanding issues. The standard argument is that conflict in Kashmir, in its present form, (even before Kashmir's special status was rescinded) has the potential to spark off future armed confrontations leading to war between India and Pakistan especially given the kind of animosity that the two countries share. The breakout of nuclear war in south Asia would for all intents and purposes be World War Three with the potential to extinct all life on earth. The researcher therefore strongly urges UK prime minister Boris Johnson a statesman and affective leader of the free world to act on the recommendations of this study and in resolving the Kashmir conflict issue through quadrilateral dialogue with all haste as it would bring prosperity instead of potential nuclear annihilation.

If Britain was content to pillage and plunder the entire south Asian sub-continent for two centuries including the symbolic Kohinoor diamond which was once the largest diamond in the world discovered in the vicinity of Kashmir and subsequently swindled by the British never to be returned; nigh is the time for Great Britain to show at the very least a modicum of contrition. South Asians are a proud people who take honour codes even more seriously than life itself. It would therefore be another grave error, to assume that Britain can continue to avoid its responsibility of addressing the Kashmir issue or treating its diasporic south Asian citizens with contempt! Post partition Britain changed the status of its past tyrannical colonial conquests to members of the commonwealth with the implication that all members had a fair share of the 'common-wealth', however this is once again deeply erroneous and arrogant since the wealth disparity between south Asian countries and Britain is as stark as the difference between night and day! If several recent conservative prime ministers including Boris Johnson can jeopardise their hard-won political capital into successfully achieving Brexit, then surely there is a strong case to be made now for turning attention to the much more urgent issue of the Kashmir conflict especially as it has recently morphed into a clear and present global threat?

## Chapter 8 Conclusion

The aim of this study is to explore the past lived experience of forced marriage (FM) for diasporic British-Asian females. It began by considering the findings of the research, including fundamental aspects of the phenomena of FM; the results and aims were discussed with reference to existing literature and psychological theory as well as the researchers personal and humble emic input as diasporic south-Asian male. In line with Greene *et al* (1952) work reminding us that the existentialist does not admire the happiness of a man's/ woman's life, the goodness of his/her disposition, or the rightness of their acts but the authenticity of his/her existence. [...] the existentialist denies the practical supremacy of reason, he denies the universality of moral values, he asserts the all-importance, ethically, of the historic individual in his unique situation." The findings delivered six super-ordinate themes which gave an overall account of what it feels like for British-Asian females having gone through the experience of FM. The findings from the study were then discussed in relation to Yalom's existential psychotherapeutic perspective and van Deurzen's four worlds model. In conclusion the phenomenon of FM is much more nuanced and complex than anticipated however some useful themes have been identified which will now be outlined. Collectivistic south-Asian cultures are propagated based on entrenched patriarchal hegemonic privilege of males who believe it is their duty to subjugates south-Asian females by marrying them to specific clan members in-order-to strengthen the clan through lineage and financially. Such subjugation is propagated under the guise of shame and honour practised over women's bodies and sexuality.

The patriarchal hegemonic clan's aim is to become more powerful by maximising its resources in comparison to rival clans against whom they are in constant competition. Each clan attempts to accumulate greater resources which can be facilitated through indigenous clan members migrating to Western countries such as the UK as either economic migrants or through marriage. This then results in two arms of the same clan with associated dual income streams giving them the desired competitive advantage. UK arm of the diasporic clan continue their insular tradition of AM based entirely on clan politics without due regard for individual agency mainly in relation to females who are excluded from financial and other important resources. Male and female clan members are afforded the prerogative of refusing AM to a particular suitor but in so doing, only women are condemned to shame and dis-honour for expressing choice especially if it is at the expense of a clan member since it is

seen as detrimental to the patriarchy of the clan. Once married in the clan the more male offspring a female can produce the more honour and respect, she earns and the easier her life becomes. The more male offspring and wealth a clan displays, the greater its competitive advantage against rival clans. If a female refuses marriage to a clan member the subordinate female can be subjected to HBV such as FM or forced to use exit strategy thereby potentially losing culture and community to fend for herself in the little understood and therefore hostile external individualistic culture.

Although it is accepted without dispute that the phenomenon of FM does exist since there have been three convictions for FM since 2014 (Oppenheim & Dearden 2019), the experience of FM is more nuanced than had been anticipated. Findings from this study have shown that each participant first confused their complex and power laden AM with what they feared was FM and subsequently conflated AM/FM. Participants became increasingly fearful that as diasporic south-Asian females they were subjected to patriarchal hegemony by the clan which would soon convene behind closed doors to arrange their marriage. Had the resulting suitor/s been acceptable to the participant/s then a traditional AM would have ensued. Since participants had been socialised at a time where globally issues of consent have become prominent and AM reduced choice, the participants in this study concluded that their AM was far enough down the AM/FM scale to be deemed FM. It would therefore appear diasporic south-Asian females have also joined the global ‘#Me Too’ movement by standing up to their patriarchal hegemonic clans to demand equality. Since participants volunteered to take part in this research on-the-basis of self-disclosure, their personal experience of FM is both valid and valuable; IPA analysis of the transcripts however does not appear to unequivocally support their claims of FM. Moreover, it is the objection to patriarchal subjugation of women which appears to carry more weight and might provide a clearer understanding of why participants had conflated AM/FM on-the-basis of unwanted and continued patriarchal clan involvement.

This study suggests that British-Asian females dislike the patriarchal culture in which they find themselves as they are deemed to be the ‘property’ of their fathers/brothers before marriage; until these patriarchs arrange their marriage, after which they are seen as the sole ‘property’ of their patriarchal husbands. According to campaigner Jasvinder Sanghera, “a woman has to be controlled; she has to be sexually submissive, until it’s time for her to be married” (Dyer *et al* 2015, p11). Since there is limited choice in AM which is further compounded by patriarchal subjugation of females first by their father/brothers and later by their husband and father-in-law, it seems reasonable for females to object strongly to such

controlling behaviour and a plausible explanation for conflating AM/FM. As demonstrated by participant Mariam however, the consequences of defying, rejecting, dishonouring, and disagreeing, with clan patriarchy before divorcing one AM husband and marrying another LM husband can be a relatively straightforward exchange but only if the female is courageous enough to stand up to give voice to her own truth. It was shown that sexual harassment can come in many packages including within the context of marriage; it would therefore appear that British south-Asian females are not turning their backs on the tradition of AM, but they are taking a stand against sexual inequality alongside their Westerners/European counterparts in the form of the ‘#Me Too’ movement for sexual equality. The implications for psychotherapy suggest that the ‘one chance rule’ currently used by healthcare and other professionals is a dangerous strategy in which the vulnerable women are once again deprived of their prerogative to make an informed choice based on explicit consent.

Since Britain ruled the Indian sub-continent directly through the British crown and the impact of colonialism is not just measured in terms of financial exploitation; but also, the dehumanisation of the colonised having profound implications for the legacy of transgenerational trauma. It is such transgenerational trauma which has largely been demonstrably implicated in HBV such as FM currently affecting south Asian diaspora in the UK. FM is a foreign practice in Western culture and is often viewed as a violation of individual rights and a form of violence against women within ethnic communities. However, a literature review on FM indicates that it is often written from a Eurocentric perspective outside of the culture, and the rich perspectives of those individuals from inside the community are often excluded. There are differing opinions on FM as a form of sexual slavery or as a crime against humanity due to its similarity to slavery; with the former prime minister David Cameron having described FM as abhorrent and little more than slavery. However, there have only been three defendants convicted in two separate cases for the specific offence of FM.

During India’s partition, the abduction and rape of women of the opposing religious community (based on previous feudal ideology nefariously promoted by the British) became the preferred way to inflict the harshest punishment and revenge on the other side. It has been argued in this dissertation that European civilization and its best representatives are responsible for colonial racism and that every citizen of for example the United Kingdom (including its prime minister Boris Johnson) is responsible for actions committed in the name

of this nation. Furthermore, since such transgenerational trauma is seared into the memories of the victims it therefore cannot and must not simply be brushed out of history by changing the rhetoric. India's partition in 1947 was the most cataclysmic event of the 21<sup>st</sup> century involving large scale civil violence, riots, and the mass movement of people alongside the collapse of local administration. Up to 250,000 people died on both sides with an estimated 50,000 Muslim and 33,000 Hindu or Sikh women abducted by the other side. Instead of joy and expectancy following years of struggle (under colonialism) there was a sense of despondency and gloom on premonitions of further conflict and struggle. Kashmir's status has been contested by both India and Pakistan since partition and right up to the present.

Since many Pakistani migrants in the UK originate from Mirpur in Kashmir; it has been shown how diasporic Kashmiris carrying the transgenerational trauma of war appear to be carrying out insurgency on UK soil in retaliation for Britain's past colonial atrocities.

Revelations emerging from the independent inquiry into child sexual exploitation in Rotherham (Jay 2014) for example, dealt another blow to the already tense race relations with ethnic minorities, putting the Pakistani [Kashmiri] community at centre stage in this public debates. The Inquiry reported trafficking, abduction, rape, violence, and intimidation of over a thousand predominantly white girls by several (mostly) Pakistani men between 1997 and 2013. Furthermore, militancy in Kashmir has claimed many thousands of lives in the past twenty-seven years and these troubling figures could be the key to 'legitimising' another type of revenge attack. One in ten of all Britain's Islamist terrorists for instance come from just five council wards in Birmingham. The researcher is personally aware of at-least four terrorism convictions perpetrated by diasporic men from Mirpur who live in Birmingham. Since many Mirpuris from Kashmir came to settle in Birmingham; the assertion is that there is also a strong link between terrorism in the UK and the Kashmir conflict in south Asia.

The researcher has proposed that to demonstrate contrition and further prevent such atrocities, Britain must act urgently to resolve this long running Kashmir conflict since the British saw it as their god given duty to enslave the south Asian subcontinent through its shameful and disgraceful direct act of colonialism. The resolution of the Kashmir conflict is within reach since it has strong parallels with the Northern Ireland conflict for which an amicable solution has already been sought. Let there be little doubt that procrastination in resolving the Kashmir conflict is a luxury which Britain can ill afford since the current retaliatory insurgency on two (known) fronts (Terrorism and Child exploitation) may very well be the tip of an iceberg.

Ironically it was the purpose of this dissertation to illuminate the ‘abhorrent’ south Asian practice of FM but in so doing, it has transpired that it was in fact Britain which is responsible for past atrocities in south Asia and its current inaction in resolving the devastating impact of the conflict in Kashmir which has been identified as the greater evil.

Finally, Nadia Murad was a victim of war crimes just like those south Asian women and girls during partition and each one deserves an honour bestowed upon them for their suffering and endurance albeit many posthumously! The Nobel Peace Prize committee said Nadia represented 3,000 women who had gone through a similar experience but what about the 75,000 women and girls who experienced the same trauma followed by brutal slaughter during India’s partition? Women were victimized, tortured, and raped – some were even stripped naked and paraded down streets to intensify their trauma and humiliation. In many even more tragic cases, fathers, fearing that their daughters would soon be raped, pressured, and coerced the girls to commit suicide lest such an event “taint” their family's “honour”. Why has no one been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize to represent these women? To this end Nietzsche’s words are chillingly accurate in that ‘Man (does indeed) conceal things by himself standing in the way’. The Nobel Peace Prize committee along with many other prominent international NGOs should hang their heads in shame for their blatant double standards in turning a blind eye and thereby concealing the plight of the long-suffering Kashmiri people and in particular women who currently do not feel they have anywhere to turn to, or anyone to listen to them. South Asian woman have never really been the victims of forced marriage, just patriarchy perpetuated through colonialism. As victims of past colonialism and current members of the commonwealth Kashmiri women and men do not have the privilege but prerogative to demand that the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson acts to resolve the Kashmir issue in all haste using all the means available at his disposal including British troops who were previously deployed in Northern Ireland during the ‘Troubles’. Peace keeping troops could be redeployed to the new hard border between India and the future state of United Kashmir with its own power sharing arrangement.

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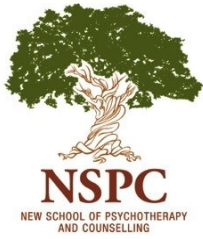
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## Appendices

### Appendix 1



*The Department of Health and Social Sciences  
Middlesex University  
Hendon  
London NW4 4BT*



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**Participant Information sheet** Date: 22/09/19.

**An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of The Experience of Forced Marriage for diasporic south Asian Women who have left.**

Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in this research study. Please read carefully the information below and feel free to discuss this further either with the researcher or others if you are unsure and before you decide to participate. It is important that you understand why the research is being carried out and what it involves in, order for you to make an informed decision regarding whether, or not to take part.

What is the purpose of the research? The purpose of this study is to investigate the experience of Adult British-Asian females who were forced into marriage when they were aged between 18 to 25, have subsequently left that marriage, and are not currently living with the person/s who forced them into marriage. The study will explore women's past personal accounts of Forced Marriage through face-to-face interviews. The question being explored is the impact of Forced Marriage on women to determine how it affects individuals at a personal level.

Why have I been chosen? You have expressed an interest to take part and fulfil the specific selection criteria requirements. The selection criteria are that participants are Female (with South-Asian lineage), have previously experienced a Forced Marriage when they were aged between 18 to 25, which they are no longer still in, and are currently not living with the person/s who forced them into marriage.

Do I have to take part? You are not obliged to take part in this study it is entirely up to you to decide if you want to take part or not. If you do decide to take part, I will be grateful for your valuable contribution.

What will happen to me if I take part? There will be two meetings in total, in the first meeting I will explain exactly what will happen in the second meeting. You will be given a list of questions in the first meeting which you will be asked in the second interview session. It is important that you answer these questions openly and honestly, including describing your emotions, feelings, and the personal meanings which you attach to your experience of Forced Marriage or in other words how you make sense of your experience. The research will be written up as a doctoral thesis and may also be written up as a journal article and or a book. You will have the option to withdraw from the study at any stage including before or after the interview and without giving a reason.

### What are the possible disadvantages to taking part?

Talking about your personal experience of Forced Marriage can be thought provoking and upsetting. Please do consider how you will feel talking about your experience before agreeing to take part. If the material during the interview is too emotionally demanding, then you will be given the option to stop the interview. Immediately after the interview you will be debriefed (in-line with the BPS code of conduct guidelines) making sure you are happy with your contribution to the research and given a list of external psychotherapy counselling organisations should you choose to use them; although I will not personally be able to provide any therapeutic support.

### What are the possible advantages of taking part?

The research could help you to understand your past experience of Forced Marriage more fully and from other perspectives. It is intended to give you a platform to have your voice heard, and through dissemination potentially to raise awareness of this particularly sensitive issue.

### Consent

Participation in this research study is completely voluntary and if you do decide to proceed after you have been informed about the nature and quality of the study and any other aspects that might influence your willingness to take part; you will be given a copy of this information sheet and asked to sign a consent form and give verbal consent before taking part. As the researcher I adhere to the British Psychological Society guidelines on psychological research and I respect your right to privacy, autonomy, dignity, and non-maleficence; I believe in promoting justice, fairness, and beneficence. Attention will be paid over informed consent as this study will work with a vulnerable population and I will ensure this by obtaining both a signed and verbal consent before the interview. Participants will be able to exercise their right to see their own data and have the option to withdraw from the research study at any time without any obligation to give a reason for doing so.

Who is organising and funding the research? This research is being conducted as part of my doctoral training at the New School of Psychotherapy & Counselling in collaboration with Middlesex University. The research is completely self-funded, and interviews will be conducted in a suitable private room.

What will happen to the data? All data will be taken, kept, and stored in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation 2018; ensuring no participant is at risk of being identified through recorded, written, or electronic form. Once the data is collected it will immediately be numerically coded and thereafter only identified through the unique codes. Pseudonyms will be used for participants, all identifying details will be changed, disguised, or removed and only data extracts that are fully anonymous will be used in the final report. Participants will be informed that the study and their contribution will be part of a doctoral thesis and could in the future be published as a journal article and or a book.

Who has reviewed the study? All proposals for research using human participants are reviewed by an Ethics Committee before they can proceed. The NSPC Ethics Committee have reviewed this proposal.

Concluding section I would like to take this opportunity to thank you deeply for taking the time to read this information and consider taking part in my research study as I look forward to answering any questions you may have at this stage. It is hoped that this study will deliver some unique insights into the lived reality of females who have previously experienced Forced Marriage (FM) and have since left that marriage. It would be fascinating to find out what their views on FM are now and why these women left the relationship.

Appendix 2



*The Department of Health and Social Sciences  
Middlesex University  
Hendon  
London NW4 4BT*



Researcher: Tahir Azim E mail: [TA699@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:TA699@live.mdx.ac.uk) Tel: **07886555764**

Supervisor: Dr Julie Scheiner at: 61-63 Fortune Green Rd, London, NW6 1DR. Tel: 02074358067

## **Informed consent**

Title: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of The Experience of Forced Marriage for diasporic south Asian Women who have left.

Researcher: Tahir Azim

Supervisor: Dr Julie Schiener

- 
- I have understood the details of the research as explained to me by the researcher and confirm that I have consented to act as a participant.
  - I have been given contact details for the researcher in the information sheet.
  - I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, the data collected during the research will not be identifiable, and I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time without any obligation to explain my reasons for doing so.
  - I further understand that the data I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent publication, and I provide my consent that this may occur.

\_\_\_\_\_

Print name

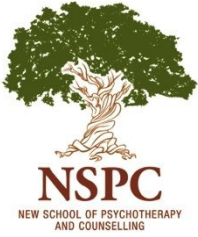
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Sign Name

date: \_\_\_\_\_

**To the participant:** Data may be inspected by the Chair of the Psychology Ethics panel and the Chair of the School of Health and Education Ethics committee of Middlesex University, if required by institutional audits about the correctness of procedures. Although this would happen in strict confidentiality, please tick here if you do not wish your data to be included in audits: \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix 3



*The Department of Health and Social Sciences  
Middlesex University  
Hendon  
London NW4 4BT*



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## Debriefing

**Title:** An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of The Experience of Forced Marriage for south Asian Women who have left.

Researcher: Tahir Azim / E mail: [TA699@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:TA699@live.mdx.ac.uk) Tel: **07886555764**

Supervisor: Dr Julie Scheiner / 61-63 Fortune Green Rd, London, NW6 1DR. Tel: 02074358067

Thank you for taking part in this research and making a valuable contribution towards the aims of the study. This debrief is your opportunity to talk about your experience of being interviewed. If you feel you would like to talk more about the issues which have arisen in the interview process, or any difficult feelings you have experienced in relation to this, there is a list of organisations at the bottom of the page.\*

This research aims to investigate the experience of Adult British-Asian females who were forced into marriage, have since left that marriage and are currently not living with the person/s who forced them into marriage. The study aims to explore women's personal accounts of past Forced Marriage through face to face interviews; the participants will have the right to withdraw from the research at any time and without giving a reason. The question being explored is the impact of past Forced Marriage on women to determine how it affects individuals at a personal level.

The aim of debriefing is to ensure that you as participant leave the research in a good and positive frame of mind as before you took part and that you are happy with your contribution to the research. If anything came up during the interview such as misconceptions or negative feelings which caused distress, or you did not like, you will have the opportunity to discuss this with the researcher in an open and honest way with reassuring reciprocity. My email address and telephone number at the top of this document will be available for you to ask any follow up

questions or request to see the study results as well as your contribution. Debriefing will be in-line with BPS code of conduct (ethical principles and guidelines).

If you have concerns or would like to make a complaint please contact my supervisor Dr Julie Schiener at: 61-63 Fortune Green Rd, London, NW6 1DR. Tel: 02074358067

**If you feel you would benefit from further counselling after taking part in the interview process you are invited to contact any of the following counselling services at your discretion.**

**\*Further Support:**

[Bd.national@victimsupport.org.uk](mailto:Bd.national@victimsupport.org.uk) **No fee charitable crisis hotline.**

[www.karmanirvana.org.uk](http://www.karmanirvana.org.uk). **No fee charitable forced marriage hotline**

[www.gov.uk/guidance/forced-](http://www.gov.uk/guidance/forced-)

[marriage. Government advice for](#)

[forced marriage.](#)

[www.counselling-direct.co.uk](http://www.counselling-direct.co.uk) **Low**

[cost counselling](#)

[www.bark.com/Local/Counsellors](http://www.bark.com/Local/Counsellors) **Low cost local counselling**

[www.cedarcounselling.co.uk](http://www.cedarcounselling.co.uk) **Low**

**cost local counselling**

[www.birmingham-therapy.co.uk](http://www.birmingham-therapy.co.uk) **fee**

[paying service](#)

## **4.2 Super-ordinate theme one: Major unwanted change**

### **Emergent theme 4.2.1 Unexpected**

All women recalled and recounted how they did not expect the prospect of FM. This emergent theme demonstrates what it was like for participants to learn that they were being forced into marriage.

Bina: "..... um I just lived in a bubble really probably to do with all the romantic films I watched from a very young age" (L 31-33 p4). "You can choose A, B or C or if you are very lucky even D, but it would have to be from them four choices" (L38-40. P8) ": Uh.... suffocating it just felt wrong it just felt like..... I'm not even ready for this kind of commitment..... and some days [...] I would actually be terrified that I didn't know what to expect," (L 23-28. P9. Bina)

Bina's world seemed to be turned upside down when she realised, she was being psychologically manipulated into FM as she had grown up as a British-Asian watching romantic movies and expected LM based on the movies she watched. Bina's father and brother wanted her to have an AM and gave her a limited option of four suitors to choose from; Bina felt terrified because she did not know what was going to happen when she rejected AM in favour of LM.

Neelam: "I said to my dad...I don't want to marry any of my cousins ...but then he gave me the option of you have these two...you know potential husbands...you need to choose at least one of them ...so there was only two options I had...so I be like both of them were...forced in a way...because I, I never agreed to any of them ...um I never said yes to any one of them, but I have to choose one of them... so I feel like whoever I ended up marrying it would have been forced... because I [had] no option...no option of saying no to neither one of them. (L 26-37. P 4)

Neelam knew LM was out of the question therefore her only expectation was AM with anyone but a cousin; when she unexpectedly realised, she was facing FM with a cousin from the same clan as her authoritarian father.

Sophie: "When I came here (UK) I was really excited I thought my husband and in-laws would be kind and caring but when I got here, I saw something completely different, it was nothing like what I was used to" (L 5-9. p3). "Even at the slightest thing if I made a...any mistake my husband would get angry raise his hand and hit me" (L 1-4. P4). "I wasn't happy, but I agreed because of my parent's izzat (honour)". (L 7-9. P4. Sophie)

Sophie was looking forward to married life in the UK and was shocked when her husband unexpectedly turned out to be abusive and violent. Following a traditional AM when Sophie came to the UK to settle with her husband and in-laws, she realised they were even stricter than her own family in south-Asia. Although she was unhappy in swapping one strict family for another, Sophie accepted the marriage to protect her clans honour and to remain in the UK as complaining would dishonour her parents i.e., her own family and that of her husbands since they were all part of the same clan.

Kiran: "my hopes were always like I was gonna meet somebody and fall in love...um I (exhales) I think for me the only aim was I just really really hoped it wasn't a cousin, I did not (emphasis) want to get married to a cousin..." (L 13-18. P2). "I knew who he was, I never liked, I did not like him I just as a person he was he was...one of the things was he was a younger than me" (L 37-38. P 3; L 1-2. P4) "I just I just didn't want to he just looking at him just made me feel...can't describe the feeling but I just did not feel right just awful um they had this very very simple wedding...it was from involvement from parents very simple and I did feel I was just given away..." (L 13-20. P5. Kiran)

Kiran hoped to meet somebody and fall in love but unexpectedly felt she had been 'given away' like a piece of unwanted furniture to a younger cousin from south-Asia she could not comprehend spending a lifetime with as she did not like him as a person or the fact that he was a younger cousin which, Kiran was against.

Anisa: "...so she'd missed I'd missed my mum...like at that puberty age...um so you know when when your mothers there to guide...so



I was brought up like in a way my teachers were my mothers in a way" (L 6-10. P7). "I said it's just the mentality I didn't have anything against him because I didn't know him...it's not like anything against my dad's um choice because I didn't know him...I just said to her purely because the way I've been brought up, my thinking it will not click with somebody from there." (L 7-13. P 19. Anisa)

Anisa was socialised as a British-Asian female in an open and democratic society partly by her teachers with whom she identified while her parents were absent during much of her adolescence. Anisa expected to have an AM with a partner socialised in the UK like herself when she unexpectedly realised, she was getting married to a spouse from south-Asia.

Mariam: "...um I grew up with my mum and dad having problems" (L 4-5. p2) "then you're married as a husband and wife...you're you're meant to share your... yourself with someone that....." (L 8-10. P4) "um you have to listen to the husband...I could just see history repeating itself ... really it kind of does in Asian cultures..." (L 35-37. P4). "Basically, like my mum who wasn't heard...who wasn't really respected or just to get to listen to the husband but then the husband being controlled by somebody else really" (L 23-26. P3. Mariam).

Mariam grew up witnessing her father mentally and physically abuse her mother and unlike her parents wanted LM with a non-related partner as it was deemed less likely to be abusive. She felt mum was not respected or heard because she had an AM/FM to a cousin from the same clan and Mariam would seek LM to avoid such a predicament when she unexpectedly realised, she was to marry a cousin.

Sarah: "...I saw the my family's arranged marriage in the family ...and they just wanted the same thing for us...and I never wanted to get married in the family...or .... wata sata...like they give you daughter, and you give your daughter to them...and my family was different, and their family was so different" (L 16-23. P2). "at that time...I was too young (nineteen) ...I didn't ... think that...I was thinkin about my parents and family..." (L21-27. P3) I said yes because my dad and my uncle asked me so nicely... and asking I got emotionally blackmailed by them". (L 40. P3; L 1-3. P4. Sarah)

Sarah was socialised in (south Asian country) by a dogmatic clan which she wanted to escape through AM to a British citizen. When Sarah came to the UK to start her married life with her

new husband and in-laws, she unexpectedly realised they were as strict as her family in south-Asia since they were diasporic members of the same clan.

Amelia: "I just wanted someone from a good home from a good background, somebody mature someone older than me...someone who would understand me and share my values" (L20-25. P 2). "When I heard this...I was in shock! because when I last saw him...he was just a child, and I was a teenager and I remember him playing around with me and...as a child would... I found it...a very disturbing thought to...because that child's face would come into my head..." (L 26-32. P 4. Amelia)

Amelia was socialised in (south-Asian country) and had high expectations about AM with a suitably compatible spouse chosen by her parents but an unexpected proposal from the UK with a younger cousin changed everything.

#### **Emergent theme 4.2.2 Disappointed**

All participants expressed disappointment at the prospect of FM.

Bina: "I would mean everything to him and vice versa and we'd just be us against the world...I lived in a bubble really..." (L 28-31. P4. Bina)

Bina feels disappointed her prior expectation of a whirlwind romance followed by marriage was so unrealistic that it was akin to 'living in a bubble'.

Neelam: "I knew that I would get, I would go into an arranged marriage because my dad was...was obviously very strict and he would make all the decisions..." (L 30-33. P 2) "like in your spouse you don't know if they're gone be the same person as your dad, if they would hit you just like how your dad would treat your mum..." (L 23-26. P 2 Neelam)

Neelam is disappointed as she starts talking about AM which quickly turns into FM if the suitor happens to be a cousin from her abusive father's side of the family.

Anisa: "but it it didn't happen I wasn't allowed to finish my education ... um in the dispute. So, I was just kept at home, and I started suffering depression because I wasn't allowed to go to

college, school um during the (exhales) arguments..." (L 7-12. P 3. Anisa)

Anisa was more than disappointed as she had high hopes of getting a decent education but experienced depression as her parents wanted her to get married as quickly as possible; and argued about the best person for her to marry.

Mariam: "your grandmother has said this or whatever then you get them doubts that oh my god there is a possibility I might be with this person there is a possibility I might be with that person but then you look into the...look into their personality and you just kind of become ,more of a like someone who accepts you for who you are...um not being, I definitely didn't want to be someone who did um ....basically like my mum who wasn't heard...who wasn't really respected" (L 15-25.p 3. Mariam).

Mariam was disappointed when she realised, she was facing FM with a cousin from the same clan as her abusive father since she knew how dis-respectful her paternal male relatives were to females in the clan.

Sarah: "I never wanted to get married in the family..." (L 19-20. p2). "What I mean if you do wata sata...if something they (husband & in laws) do to their daughter ...they will do same thing...to you...like if [...] their daughter gets abused and then your daughter gets abused too..." (L 28-32. P 2. Sarah)

Sarah was disappointed when she realised, she was still in the grips of the same collectivist clan she was trying to escape from since the practice of 'wata sata' could make your life difficult just because your brother has abused his wife, so you could end up inadvertently paying the price. The term wata sata, is a south-Asian tradition signifying a quid pro quo relationship where a brother and sister in one family are married to the opposite sex brother and sister of another family (usually from the same clan). If your brother mistreats his wife, then you could expect to be mistreated by your husband in reprisal.

Amelia: "uh (exhales) either way it was just a disturbing thought because that child's head, that child's picture just wouldn't come out of my head and...I said to my mother this can't happen but..." (L 35-39. P 4). "Four years is not a big gap... he's matured, and you'll like him once you see him... you'll settle in England, you'll have such a good life....". (L 2-4. P 5. Amelia)

Amelia was expecting AM in south Asia with a slightly older spouse but a proposal from the UK sounded appealing, although she was not keen on the suitor as he was considerably younger. Amelia was disappointed at the prospect of 'FM to a child' and protested to her mother, who in turn tried to convince her that marrying a UK citizen was an opportunity too good to pass.

Sophie: "I thought he (fiancée) would be a kind human being who would look after me and he had himself told me how he was loving, caring and would take care of me and look after me he'd sold me so many dreams.....he told me there is this.... and that.... in the UK, I will help you and earn for you and look after you but when I came here it was all an illusion it was nothing..." (L 11-16. P 6. Sophie)

Sophie was disappointed to learn that her fiancée had deceived her by making promises he had no intention of keeping. Sophie fully trusted her parents to find the right suitor for her to marry but disappointingly realised that they had not.

Kiran: "soon as I was ten eleven, I knew I was going to end up marrying one of my cousins from back home" (L3-4. P 3). "I think I lived in those Bollywood movies that.... I felt this is...but deep down (emotional tone) even though I knew this that I was gonna be made a scape goat I guess..." (L 15-19. P 3. Kiran)

Kiran had the spectre of FM hanging over her even before puberty and she immersed herself in Bollywood movies as a means of escape although she knew it was only a temporary distraction. Disappointingly in real life Kiran knew she had a miserable future in a marriage with a first cousin, but in her Bollywood fantasy things seemed much better, brighter and that is where she spent most of her time through the magic of movies.

#### **Emergent theme 4.2.3 Shattered dreams**

This theme shows how all participants dreams were shattered as they realised the full implications and extent of belonging to a collectivist clan.

Bina: "In love no because that was just um... my dreams had been shattered (ha ha) and destroyed because I had been in love when I was younger, and it was just such a different feeling..." (L29-33. P 22. Bina)

With hindsight Bina reflects on how her dreams of falling in love and marrying were shattered since she had gone through the experience of FM.

Sophie: "When my fiancée came to (south Asian country) he said he would be caring towards me and sold me lots of dreams" (L 15-17. P 5). "Even after the marriage I tried really hard to make it work, but even at the slightest thing if I made a any mistake my husband would get angry raise his hand and hit me" (L 1-4. P 4. Sophie)

Sophie's dreams of getting married and living happily in the UK were shattered when she arrived to realise, she had experienced FM as her husband had made promises which did not materialise. Her reality was much darker than she expected although this did not deter her from trying to make her marriage work.

Kiran: "my expectations, well they were like any British born young woman that would be watching Bollywood growing up, watching Bollywood movies and... Um but at the back of mind knowing that you're going to end up marrying a (high pitched tone) first cousin" (L 5-11. P 2) "I wanted to marry someone from outside family not in the family ...Just have a a comfortable life...being happy at a friend in the partner somebody I could talk to somebody...who was on my wavelength..." (L 20-24. P 2. Kiran).

Kiran wanted to marry someone outside the family who was on her wavelength based on the Bollywood movies she watched. Her dreams of LM based on the magic of movies had been shattered because Kiran knew she was facing marriage to a first cousin from south Asia whom she felt would not be on her wavelength.

Anisa: "I suppose like every girl has a dream of having a nice caring understanding husband... you know you can do things together, plan your life together and um my plan was to marry someone in the UK brought up same way as I was...you know thinking was same and everything" (L 5-10. P 2). "My eldest sister was married into my dad's family and my mum was adamant she was going to

marry me into her family (in south Asia) ...so my dreams were crushed..." (L 15-17. P 2. Anisa)

Anisa's dreams about a fairy tale marriage to a spouse from the UK who shared her hopes and aspirations were "crushed"/ (shattered). In reality she knew she would end up with a cousin from south-Asia. Anisa felt trapped and helpless in a collectivist clan system she did not value, trust or understand.

Sarah: "...and my family was different and their (husbands) family was so different...from us cos they was living in the UK and we living in (south Asian country)". (L 22-25. P 5). "Out of the family...not in the family or not wata sata....out of the family...but I got married in the family (laughs) and we got wata sata.... I don't mind arranged marriage that time...but now I think...we should have a choice..." (L 18-24. P 3. Sarah).

Sarah's dreams to get married outside the family were shattered as she got married in the family and her new husband and extended family in the UK turned out to be just as draconian as her own. Sarah regrets that she was 'blackmailed' into marriage with a cousin and on top her brother was married to her husband's sister (wata sata). So that if there was trouble in her brother's relationship it could inadvertently have equally adverse implications for her own marriage.

Amelia:" ...my dreams completely shattered that night...couldn't believe what I'm hearing...he (husband) was forced... just as I was, and he was very unhappy with the situation he didn't want to marry anybody from back home". (L 31-36. P7. Amelia)

Amelia's dreams were shattered when she realised her husband had been forced into marriage and was very unhappy with the situation since he wanted to marry a younger spouse from the UK like himself.

Neelam: "because I [had] no option...no option of saying no to neither one of them ...so I ended up marrying...(suitor two)...he was my cousin also, he was my second cousin...okay, yeah so both were my cousins, first cousins...and I obviously didn't wanna go into cousin marriages...but...I did not have the option to say no so...so...I wanted to say no..." (L 36-40. P 4; L 1-2. P 5 Neelam)

Neelam's dreams of LM were shattered as she felt pressured into a situation with only two suitors to choose from where both were cousins whom she was against, but in order to avoid the first she felt obligated to accept the second.

Mariam: "so I it was a point where I was open minded that ok it's the culture...this is what's going to happen blah blah blah... whatever". (L 39-40. P 5) "...and then there was like a good four people...and then it came to a point where I was like oh my god is there something wrong within me like even the arranged marriages that I'm actually considering for myself... they're not like getting accepted... (emotional) sorry..." (L 1-5. P 6. Mariam)

Mariam's dreams were shattered when she reluctantly accepted the cultural practice of AM to a cousin but did not expect even then to be rejected again and again. It was tough for Mariam to accept that even though she had opened herself up to AM because that is what her culture expected, she was still facing abject rejection.

#### **4.3 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme one: Major unwanted change**

The first super-ordinate theme of 'ajor unwanted change' reported three emergent themes: unexpected, disappointing, shattered dreams. The outcome of this super-ordinate theme was that participants described how they learnt about their unexpected impending FM and felt disappointed that their dreams of a fairy tale wedding had been shattered. This study found diasporic south-Asian participant had prior hopes and expectations about marriage based loosely on either LM or AM where only personal choice was deemed important. Hence in all cases the prospect of FM was unexpected for participants as each woman felt disappointed at having her dreams shattered when she realised FM.

As a diasporic south-Asian male the researcher was aware that pre-pubescent south-Asian girls are given a lot of love and affection by parents and clan members as they will be expected as young women to comply to their demands to marry based on the clan's political calculations at the expense of their own individual agency. For most participants raised in the UK where endogamy is frowned upon, being biologically related to the opposite sex members of the clan was another reason why they should avoid cousin marriage as there is a whole world of people out there looking for marriage who are not genetically related and therefore more appealing. According to Ziring & Burki *et al* the baradari (patrilineage,

literally “brotherhood”) is a very important social institution in south-Asian culture. Endogamy is widely practiced, often to a degree that would be considered inappropriate in Western (UK) society. This study has shown how growing up in the UK, participants were oblivious to patriarchy as many were encouraged to leave school to stay at home. Participants were trained to become wives and mothers by learning household chores and permitted to pass time watching romantic Bollywood movies until their clan set a date for their marriage. These movies designed to temporarily ‘escape’ the struggles of daily life (usually for adults), were inappropriately consumed by the adolescent participants which led to unrealistic fantasies and expectations about LM. According to Gunes G (2019) Indian (Bollywood) movies are one of the most effective examples for the cultural model representation reflecting cultural codes such as Indian family structures (p107). According to Jain (2019) Item songs are sensuous, over-sexualized, dances performed to the tunes of catchy Bollywood songs (p 15-29). In contemporary ‘Bollywood’ movies the ‘item numbers’, usually show women dancers with a prominent actress playing the role of ‘item girl’. These women are often shown as surrounded by large groups of men while performing sexual dance moves to gratify their needs exacerbating the gender inequities portrayed in Bollywood films (Wazir 2013. P42-43)).

Scholars argue that the predominant representation of women in Bollywood cinema is problematic because it reinforces dominant patriarchal norms and male fantasy about women (Dasgupta 2008; Gupta 2015; Sarkar 2012 ). Having watched the same movies growing up which usually felt like an ordeal, researcher now understands their significance for participants since Bollywood movies are almost entirely without reference to AM, the most common form of marriage practised in south-Asia which also limits choice in marriage. Nijhawan (2009) argues that item songs demonstrate women’s sexual freedom and desire that disrupt the male gaze and voyeuristic pleasure. Recent feminist scholarship posits that women in item songs are active agents with erotic desire, and they are not objects of the male gaze (Nijhawan 2009.p 99-112; Weidman 2012. P307-18). Women performers in the item songs flaunt their sexuality and do not hesitate to express their desire, and the so-called coolness of being sexy has replaced the stigma of being indecent.

Having been exposed to and sedimented notions of love/desire portrayed in such movies at a young age, once participants realised that they would have to sacrifice their individual agency, desire, and consent for the benefit of the collective clan. Each woman became fully



aware of the implications of belonging to a collectivist patriarchal hegemonic clan. Participants realised that they would have to conform to the demands of their respective patriarchal clan at the expense of their personal agency to choose their own spouse independently. According to Grover *et al* Love, affection, and romantic relationships before marriage are not encouraged and the wish for a love-marriage often encounters strong disapproval from parents (Grover 2009). Commonly, they are viewed as less ideal, based on personal choice, on ignorance of the parent's judgment and selection. These are characteristics of societies that emphasize individualism, which become contradictory in India, since it is characterized as a collective society (2013. P4). This realisation led to the diasporic participants understanding that as women, they were subordinate to the men in their respective clan. Most participants in this study disapproved of their impending marriage for various reasons and therefore felt it was sufficiently along the AM/FM continuum to be deemed FM particularly as it lacked explicit consent. Taher *et al* (2015) agrees that being forced into an engagement or marriage is unfair to the party that disapproves of the marriage; compromising the very purpose of marriage which aims to find love/intimacy between the spouses (shortly after marriage). According to the home office, a Forced Marriage (FM) is seen as a violation of women's human rights and as a form of violence against women, where there is no full and free consent and in which duress is used to enact the marriage or gain consent. Duress can involve psychological, financial, sexual, emotional, and physical violence, threats to harm or kill the victim and sexual intercourse within a FM is rape as consent has not been given. (Home Office, Forced Marriage Unit 2013. P4-6). This section has met the aim of explaining what part love plays in FM.

Stobaart *et al* (2002) suggests that the rights debate on marriage can include the rights of parents and community members in-order to preserve their identity, hence the conflict between rights of the individuals and their families. Similarly, it is evident from the participants accounts that in each case regardless of whether, they were socialised in the UK or south Asia, participants felt their hopes and dreams were unduly sacrificed to meet the complex needs of their collective clan. According to Ballard *et al* (1994) usually FM cases have more to do with domestic violence (DV) and familial breakdowns than culture, however studies have shown British south-Asian communities use codes designed to solidify power hierarchies {clan patriarchy}, the pooling of resources and controlling wealth in the UK and back to those in the sub-continent (Ballard 1994. Shaw 2000). This was an interesting finding since it suggests a necessary practical patriarchal clan need over and above the notions of

honour and shame in relation to FM. It is clear in all cases it was male patriarchal family members such as father, brothers and paternal uncles who directly or in-directly instigated FM on their single female family members in order to derive maximum financial or strategic benefit for their collective clan even if that meant AM with a maternal cousin from the same clan. Even in cases where participants were 'forced' into marriage on their mother's side, it was done in the interests of the patriarchal clan since their respective parents were also relatives. The theme of major unwanted change has conveyed how participants realised their dreams had been unduly shattered due to the unexpected and disappointing nature of FM. The next super-ordinate theme 'sought equality against patriarchy' will endeavour to grapple with participants struggle against loss of expected self, excessive thinking, and unrealistic expectations by exploring how participants experienced inequality against patriarchy.

#### **4.4 Super-ordinate theme two: Experienced inequality against patriarchy**

The super-ordinate theme of experienced inequality against patriarchy consisted of three emergent themes: Loss of expected self, excessive thinking, and unrealistic expectations.

##### **Emergent theme 4.4.1 Loss of expected self**

All eight participants expressed a loss of expected self. This emergent theme demonstrates what it was like for the women to experience a loss of expected self as they realised being forced into marriage.

Bina: "I am young, and I am not capable to make my own decisions because I haven't lived life so I would make the wrong decisions and if I listen to them, it would be right decision..." (L32-36. P7. Bina)

Bina realised she was facing the prospect of FM and experienced a loss of expected self as she had high expectations of LM based on the romantic movies she watched but in reality, was told that she was not capable herself of making such (major) decisions.

Sophie: "I have to spend the rest of my life with my husband because in our culture life is with your husband and death is also with your husband..." (L 15-17. P 4) "I wasn't happy, but I agreed because of my parent's izzat (honour). We are relatives because his mum and my mum were (are) sisters" (L 7-9. P 4. Sophie).

Sophie experienced a loss of expected self when she sadly realised her fiancée was not the person, she thought he was, but still went ahead with the marriage to uphold her clan's honour.

Kiran: "like any British born young woman that would be watching Bollywood growing up, watching Bollywood movies. ...Um but at the back of mind knowing that you're going to end up marrying a (high pitched tone) first cousin" (L 6-11. P 2). "I approached my mother and I begged her...I begged her, and I said to her that I'd marry anyone (emotional tone) as long as they were from the UK I didn't wanna have a say on who he was, I just did not want to get married from (south Asian Country) and her reply to that was that...if she told my dad my dad would kill me." (L 18-25. P 4. Kiran)

Kiran wanted to marry a spouse from the UK like herself but experienced a serious loss of expected self when her mother suggested it could result in her honour killing if she did not comply.

Neelam: "at first I was just like... marriage...if this is what it is then I don't really ever want to ever get married..." (L 17-19. P 2). "I was scared maybe I would even get thrown out of the house or...I don't know what's going to happen ...um ...but I did feel really scared...and just... trapped...and just really...I just...I actually did not know what to do so..." (L 16-20. P 5. Neelam)

Neelam did not want to marry anyone, especially a cousin from her abusive father's clan and when she realised, she was facing the prospect of FM, it resulted in a loss of expected self.

Anisa: "(my husband was) more ambitious in building a career for himself and being the main um you know lead man {patriarch} um but obviously I wanted a career as well but I wanted someone who would balance that career so that if when we started a family...he would have enough income to support us...and have a good standard of living" um you know just like as I class I'm from an Asian background but I didn't want to live that kind of a [subjugated] lifestyle where the woman is at home all the time

just doing cooking cleaning and having children..."(L 13-24. P 3. Anisa).

Anisa wanted her marriage to be based on equality and realised she was facing the prospect of FM which led to a loss of expected self.

Mariam: "So it was not even an option for me like it was never something you would consider like even when I was considering arranged ...so...um I remember at first I was like shocked like how am I gonna um I remember in them words I said to my sister like oh my god...no way man he he's like completely different..." (L 15-20. P 7. Mariam)

Mariam did not want to marry a cousin and when she realised, she was facing the prospect of FM, she experienced a profound loss of expected self.

Sarah: "his sisters came and first day they told me oh you need to do his washing...like I didn't even know how to use a washing machine...I just came from (south Asian country) ...there was no washing machine like this and...oh you have to do this, you have to do that and...they was like ordering me on first day..."(L 34-40. P 4; L 1. P 5. Sarah)

Sarah came to the UK to get married before she realised, she was facing the prospect of FM and subsequently experienced a loss of expected self as she felt she was being treated like a servant rather than an individual with hopes and aspirations.

Amelia: "...I spent many nights crying and wondering why I'm being asked to marry a child, which I clearly knew he wasn't but that's how I felt...inside and it was a very lonely thing...in my head I was just...lost felt alone...and misunderstood and felt that nobody understands where I'm coming from...couldn't really talk to anybody my mum...just wouldn't understand, spoke to my sister a few times and...she also just said to me ...you're so lucky, lucky girls get to go to England..." (L 19-29. P 5. Amelia)

Amelia was facing the prospect of AM/FM to a younger cousin which she did not want and therefore experienced a loss of expected self since it would change her life trajectory in an unexpected way.

#### **Emergent theme 4.4.2 Excessive thinking**

All eight participants experienced excessive thinking.

Bina: "...marriages were arranged marriages that made me feel that arranged marriages are a negative thing and if you do have an arranged marriage or not that I thought of forced marriage erm, but I thought .....anybody who would choose my partner for me, things would be like their relationship (sisters and parents), things would be wrong and if I choose my own partner somebody I fall in love with and somebody who .....sorry somebody who falls in love with me first and then I fall in love with them, would be different to what these negative marriages were but it was very very important for me to have someone to fall in love with me first because then I would mean everything to them and it would be a fairy tale ending..."(L 32-40. P6; L 1-11. P7. Bina)

With hindsight Bina realises that her expectation of a fairy tale marriage based on love and romance was very different from her reality of FM. Experienced excessive thinking when she realised AM/FM was the same thing; the only way she could avoid such a union was to wait until someone would just appear to pay her enough attention because he had fallen in love with her first and then she would reciprocate.

Sophie: "I used to get stressed because my husband would not take my side, they say if your husband is on your side then no power in the world can trouble you....When I got here I didn't like him (fiancée) or how he was, in (south Asian country) he seemed caring and good but when I came here I saw nothing he would not earn, not work, just go here and there with his family and sleep all the time, he didn't work, wasn't spiritual and he would not listen to me or even the family when he didn't want to but especially in my case he would always side with his family rather than me. I used to think a lot, take a lot of stress and tension but still remained patient to make my marriage work." (L 28-38. P 8; L 1-8. P 9).  
"...when I got married here, I didn't like it, I used to think a lot and cry a lot..." (L 20-21. P 8 Sophie).

Sophie was a submissive south-Asian female who was willing to sacrifice her own happiness for the benefit of her collective patriarchal clan. Sophie expected AM to a kind caring husband who would support her; but when she came to the UK and realised things were very different from what she had expected, this led to excessive thinking and more.

Kiran: "was seeing how those three girls (husbands young sisters) and the mother lived and the younger; trouble is I wanted to make

it work for them...the father and (coughs) they didn't matter to me they were out there they were there as pieces I guess...for me it was them human beings (sisters in law) I wanted to help them and I promised myself at that point that I was not gonna do anything I was not going to end this marriage until I have those three girls they had to be [rescued]...(emotional)"(L 37-40. P 8; L 1-6. P 9. Kiran)

After Kiran was shocked to realise that her simple wish to marry someone from the UK could potentially result in her honour killing! Kiran quickly realised, she was facing FM and her new relationships with her young sister's in-laws led her to experience excessive thinking where she wanted to somehow rescue them perhaps from a potential future FM; ironically by playing the long game by choosing to stay in her own FM.

Neelam: "um so yeah basically my dad was in control, he was always in control ...and yeah he would just...say that you know ...you would marry someone who I choose for you...and ... will give me an option...to just...this is the person...just give me all the possi, you know explain how he's like all the...obviously I knew that I can't choose my own...er partner..." (L 7-18. P 3). "The only expectation I had that, is that I would be forced into marriage..." (L 24-25. P 3). "I never really spoke to...anyone about it really...kept it mostly to myself" (L 15-16. P 6 Neelam).

Neelam felt lost and scared as she did not want to get married but was now looking at the prospect of FM. Neelam's world was turned upside down and she felt confused because her father was only giving her two options for AM which felt like FM as both betrothals were from her authoritarian father which resulted in excessive thinking.

Sarah: "so he... dad go behind his (back) and we moved out from the house...and we staying separately...and his mum still had problem like...he went...cos he...I told him to go rent a house...it wasn't me, it was him...he wasn't...he didn't want to stay with his dad cos dad got married again... his dad got married cos it's my fault as well... (L 25-32. P 6) [according to] his mum, cos we can't have kids he (father-in-law) wanted to have a...he wanted to have a kid because we can't have a kid, so he went and got married to

have kids for us...and still blamed me...like he's gotten married because of us..." (L 40. P 6; L 1-5. p 7).

Sarah was socialised in a conservative hegemonic patriarchal clan in (south-Asian country) so when she finally migrated to the UK, she expected more freedom. Since Sarah and her husband could not have children, her father-in-law got married again to have a child for them which led to Sarah experiencing excessive thinking in an attempt to make sense of her convoluted situation.

Amelia: "after coming to terms with what he had said, I just went back and told him I've had a long hard think and...(exhales) I d...do feel it's unfair for you and...I told him, I also wasn't given a choice but we can make this work, we believe in...we believe in only marrying once and ...in our religion and...and we we are gonna make this work either way and..." (L 4- 11. P 8. Amelia)

Amelia felt alone and misunderstood in her struggle to accept her AM to a younger man for whom the marriage was FM; she tried to envisage what their improbable future might hold which led to excessive thinking about making the marriage work based on religious connotations.

Anisa: "his last straw was to accuse me with an innocent person ...and because I kept saying it's not true, he said he can get druggies and pay them money...and they would go to court...he'll kill me, and they would go to court and hold the bible and say they saw me with their own eyes" (L25-31. p 9). "Because he painted that on me that oh, I'm having an affair with someone so it's like I'm a corrupt woman...and that was eating away into me for a long time if he wanted to end the marriage, he should have just ended the marriage..." (L 33-38. P 18. Anisa)

Anisa wanted a traditional AM with a spouse from the UK like herself who would complement her professional endeavours and together they would unite to bring up their offspring; rather than being stuck at home while husband went out to work. Anisa was familiar with the expected role of south-Asian females but since she partially identified with individualistic ideology; she was not looking forward to being forced into that position by her patriarchal clan although she did identify herself as a member of that clan. When Anisa realised she had experienced FM she was sufficiently troubled which resulted in excessive thinking and subsequently much worse i.e., "and that was eating away at me for a long time".

Mariam: "...if I told my husband something it was...we could share our views like, oh by the way I don't think this should happen like that...how about if we do this or something...um not go to the mum and then mum say oh who do you think you are, de de de, just extending it then you're feeling pressured and like oh my god I can't do this now and then ok I need to reserve myself a bit now I can't share my feelings and thoughts with my husband I just wanted to be open really.... for someone to accept me for who I am, who would listen...not kind of...just do their own thing really". (L 15-25. P5. Mariam)

Mariam was shocked and appalled to learn she was marrying a cousin related to her abusive father and feared this outcome. Mariam wanted LM to one cousin, but her patriarchal abusive father wanted her to have an AM with another cousin. Mariam is excessively speculating what might happen in her AM as she wanted LM and despite that was expecting FM which resulted in excessive thinking.

#### **Emergent theme 4.4.3 Unrealistic expectations**

All eight participants spoke about unrealistic expectations.

Bina: "well when I look back at it now, it just makes me laugh that how naïve I was, but my expectations were that my husband .... would be completely and utterly besotted with me (L 12-20. P4). "I would be like those glamorous women, and I would be the centre of my husband's world, I would be like the only one I felt that he would never ever even .....consider looking at another, women because I would be that beautiful, attractive, glamorous, that I would be the be all and the end all;" (L 26-34. p 5. Bina)

With hindsight Bina accepts that her expectations were unrealistic as they were based on fairy tales portrayed in movies which have very little bearing on real life. Since Bina was influenced by the romantic movies she watched, it is possible that she had very high expectations about marriage which were in fact to some extent unrealistic.

Neelam: "because love marriage, I knew like was not...was never like...a possibility with...within our household..." (L 6-7. P 3) "the only expectation I had that is that I would be forced into marriage..." (L 24-25. P 3. Neelam)



Neelam had sedimented the idea that any marriage she entered into would automatically be forced since it was betrothed by her authoritarian father. Neelam knew her father was autocratic and would not let her make any decision especially something as important as her own marriage and therefore became resigned to the unrealistic expectation that she would automatically end up in FM.

Anisa: "my thinking was more my teachers my teachers were my mum my mums ...so they basically when I was at school they were like my mums and they taught me you know things, so and your mentality changes to their way of thinking." (L 35-40. P6) "it was just like normal to be shipped abroad and...get married to who they {patriarchal clan} wanted to get married because... particularly in Asian culture um it's like your um it's all about dis-honour.... If you don't abide by what they {patriarchs} want, then you're dis-honoured and you're disrespectful and you got no respect at all yourself. So, you're painted in that taint, and I didn't want to be painted like that..." (L 30-38. P 4. Anisa).

Anisa was partially socialised into an individualistic culture by her teachers and found it difficult to wrap her head around collectivist cultural practices such as honour, patriarchy and AM. Anisa could not come to terms with the sexual inequality she was experiencing in her clan which led to unrealistic expectations about a married south Asian women's role within a patriarchal collectivist culture.

Mariam: "I've accepted this for the sake of the families...um but you're not really making an effort...then I think at one point I even asked that do you even want to marry me... (L 36-39. P9) "I think the main thing definitely for me was like being able to find somebody who I've already got to know their personality, we were on the same level um...someone who I can look into and say ye yeah I...do love him, he loves me..." (L 27-32. P 3. Mariam)

Mariam was facing her impending AM to a cousin who was related to her abusive father, but her fiancée was making it extremely difficult for her to accept him through his lack of commitment which led Mariam to entertain unrealistic expectations about LM (since her patriarchs had already betrothed AM).

Sarah: "first day I was like no I don't like living here it's so boring.... cos no one in the house, only him, his mum, his dad, his sisters came and first day they told me oh you need to do his

washing... like I didn't even know how to use a washing machine...I just came from (south Asian country) ...” (L 32-38. P 4. Sarah)

Sarah quickly realised that her prior expectations about marriage were unrealistic as she found it difficult to settle into marriage in a new country and did not appreciate being told how to use a washing machine so that she could wash her new husband's clothes. Sarah said she found her early days in the UK 'boring as there was no-one in the house' apart from husband, in-laws, and extended family, perhaps because she missed her own family and single life.

Amelia “I'm gonna try to come around to your way of thinking and you can try and compromise with my way of thinking and we will, we will get through this...he didn't say much but he was very distant and...the cracks were just there...(A asked to pause audio)...um that's it....I mentally became stronger knowing that my husband was forced into this marriage, I just thought okay we're both in the same boat...we are gonna make this work and...I was adamant that I will make this marriage work.(L 12-22. P 8. Amelia)

If both Amelia and spouse felt that they had experienced FM, then the logical solution would be to seek amicable annulment instead of Amelia putting extra effort into making the FM work, which resulted in unrealistic expectations about their future together.

Sophie: “when I got here, I saw something completely different...” (L 7-8. P 3) “my fiancée was uncaring and so was his family... I told my auntie I want to work, she said OK you can go to work and earn your living yourself. I wanted my husband to get a job, but my father-in-law did not want his son to work...” (L 25-30. P 5. Sophie)

Sophie realised her husband was a son first and a husband second and as they lived with their in-laws, it was impossible for Sophie to have her voice heard. Since Sophie's reality was very different from her expectations, this led her to conclude that her expectations about sexual equality were unrealistic.

Kiran: “my sister knew I didn't want to, but she was twelve she couldn't do anything for me...and my brother although he was only a year younger than me, but I didn't have that kind of relationship with him that I could ask him for help I couldn't ask for help from

anyone really..." (L 36-40. P 4; L 1. P 5) "I think I lived in those Bollywood movies..." (L 15-16. P3. Kiran)

This was the point at which Kiran realised she was a powerless female in a powerful hegemonic patriarchal clan. With hindsight Kiran realises that watching romantic Bollywood movies created unrealistic expectations.

#### **4.5 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme two: Experienced inequality against patriarchy**

The second major Super-ordinate theme 'experienced inequality against patriarchy', reported three emergent themes: Loss of expected self, Excessive thinking, and Unrealistic expectations. Each of the eight participants experienced patriarchal subjugation which they found oppressive and attempted to negotiate a better outcome without success except for Mariam. A significant concept within radical feminist theory is patriarchy, which is a social system that is typified by the privilege and power of men (Payne, *et al* 2005). Due to patriarchy all women have a common interest; since they are oppressed and exploited by men (p253). The women are-seen-as sexual objects, domestic servants, and cheap labour (Bryson, 2003, p.165). According to Payne *et al* (2005) girls in patriarchal societies are always treated as second-class citizens in their families due to their low status. (p.252). In each case in the current study, patriarchy led the women to experience loss of expected self and excessive thinking followed by unrealistic expectations as each woman realised that her expectations about marriage based on the notion of explicit consent and sexual equality were unrealistic under a patriarchal regime. At a personal level, the researcher felt sad to realise this but insisted that collectivist cultures which happen to be patriarchal can and should practice sexual equality and demonstrate respect particularly in post-modern societies like the UK which have equal cradle to grave social support systems for all citizens.

Each of the eight British-Asian female participants appeared to have an expectation that in an equal and democratic society like the UK they would be freed from the tyranny of patriarchal subjugation perhaps for no other reason than the fact that basic human rights are enshrined in law and guarded by civil structures. According to Dyer *et al* (2015, p10) Many women come to the UK in order to escape violent cultural practises abroad, from female genital mutilation to the threat of 'honour' killings, but find they are met with the same brutality and dangers here. Sofia Sanchez-Grant *et al* (2008) agrees that, "the female body as a site of oppression

has always been the means by which patriarchy exerts control over women” (p.78). In 2014 Forced Marriage was criminalised by the former prime minister David Cameron who said “FM is abhorrent and little more than slavery. To force anyone into marriage against their will is simply wrong and that is why we have taken decisive action to make it illegal (FMU 2015 p4).” As each participant realised, she was facing FM despite being a citizen of liberal UK society, experienced inequality against patriarchy within her insular clan/community. The gradual process began as each woman initially experienced a loss of expected self, followed by excessive thinking which led to an understanding that even her prior expectations about marriage were unrealistic in the face of strong collective patriarchal clan ideology. In Chantler *et al* (2017) study, one of the professional representatives said “... we would define forced marriage more as a process which is rooted in gender-based violence so I would say that forced marriage is a process of grooming where someone is being prepared for a marriage and that over a period of time their ability to consent, or rather withdraw consent, is compromised” Chantler (2017, p19).

According to Dr Jenkinson *et al* (2012), common reasons for FM include: attempting to strengthen family links and protect perceived religious/cultural ideals, honouring long-standing family commitments, controlling unwanted behaviour particularly that of women and preventing ‘unsuitable’ relationships. The consequences of FM can include physical, emotional, and financial abuse, disruption to education, damage to career opportunities, enforced pregnancy, rape, abortion, abduction, mutilation, and murder. Patriarchal clan members have historically, asserted their domination over females by treating them as second-class citizens. In-order-to maintain their powerful hegemonic position, they feel obliged to continue such oppression. According to Samad & Eades *et al* (2002), duress can range from emotional pressure, exerted by close family members and the extended family, to more extreme cases, which can involve threatening behaviour, abduction, imprisonment, physical violence, rape and in some cases murder. The court of appeal has ruled that the test of duress for these purposes is simply ‘whether the mind of the applicant (the victim) has in fact been overborne, howsoever that was caused’ (CPS, *et al* 2017. P6).

Honour based violence (HBV) such as FM are one side of the coin and on the flip side; there are codes of honour which form the motive, justification, mitigation, or excuse for the violence. HBV therefore aims to control female sexuality and autonomy by using conservative patriarchal interpretations of religious and cultural value systems to justify it. As women are-seen-as the collective carriers of collective identity and honour (Yuval & Davis,

*et al*1997.p193-209). This study has found that diasporic patriarchal clan members can deliver sexual equality in-line with indigenous UK culture by allowing their daughters to marry a person of their choice; but they would then be ostracised by their community and indigenous clan members in south-Asia who would not derive any financial or social mobility benefit. This situation would present an existential threat to the entire clan and is therefore deemed shameful and dis-honourable and hence unthinkable. According to Ziring & Burki *et al* (2020) (in south Asia) the baradari (patrilineage, literally “brotherhood”) is a very important social institution. Endogamy is widely practiced, often to a degree that would be considered inappropriate in Western society; the preferred marriage for a man within some south Asian communities for instance is with his father’s brother’s daughter, and among many other groups marriages are invariably within the baradari. The lineage elders {patriarchs} constitute a council that adjudicates disputes within the lineage (clan/group) and acts on behalf of the lineage with the outside world (p6).

According to Chantler *et al* (2012) in South Asian communities, marriage ceremonies prioritise consensus at the expense of western concept of ‘free consent’. Furthermore, a high value is placed on community and family involvement providing a complex and power-laden social situation in which negotiations take place. This re-framing enables us to analyse understandings of motivations, micro-powers, and its navigation rather than questions of choice and consent. This study has shown the aim of diasporic patriarchal clan members is to maximise efficiency by getting their son/daughter married to a female/male clan member of the opposite sex through the practice of endogamy in order to benefit the entire clan.

According to Mchanty *et al* (1988) It is assumed in literature for example that women of culture lack agency judged by western standards of individualism. Furthermore, cultural differences are viewed as clash of values: the western ‘progressive’ values of freedom and choice, against ‘their’ ‘backward’ values coupled with ‘tradition’. This liberal individualist concept of full and free ‘consent’ in marriage, is viewed as the norm against which cultural practices are always compared, however the cultural experience of south Asian people suggests a nuanced boundary between forced and arranged. Diasporic families in the UK go to great lengths to hold on to traditions and attempt to force them on their children in-order-to maintain a sense of identity. Although the researcher believes in transmitting culturally appropriate values through socialisation, the ‘tradition’ of FM is not deemed to be one which belongs to this category.

According to Barot *et al* (1998), UK families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh generally tend to reproduce their caste and sectarian communities, underpinned by regional and linguistic identities. It is suggested that while parents forcing their young people into marriage believe they are upholding the cultural practices from their country of origin in-reality-such practices had moved on. FM is therefore a product of the Diasporic experience and not a 'traditional practice' (Home Office 2000, Philip & Dustin *et al* 2004). If the bride to be accepts her duty and loyalty to the clan by agreeing to the offer of AM to a male member deemed most appropriate by her patriarchs, then there is no conflict. If the individual disagrees with the patriarchal clans well thought out plan on-the-basis of personal preference such as wanting a LM then there is a collective crisis in the clan which is presented and perceived as shameful and dis-honourable. When patriarchal clan members give the bride to be a limited number of potential male clan suitors to choose from and she refuses in line with her prerogative then conflict is inevitable as the entire clan feels their honour is at stake. The clan would cease to function as an entity if it allowed its single female members to choose their marriage partner based on LM as it would open the floodgates for all single clan members to demand choice in marriage which would inevitably lead to the demise of the clan along with the aphrodisiac of its patriarchal hegemonic privilege. Such culturally sanctioned patriarchal privilege has served south-Asian clans well for millennia. It is therefore unlikely to change as-a-result-of being in the little understood and therefore hostile and diametrically opposing individualistic culture of UK society which strongly favours full choice in marriage. An expectation of explicit consent in marriage does however appear to have been imbibed by participants through prolonged contact with external individualistic culture such as attending school and ubiquitous media outlets.

This study has shown that when participants refused the marriage option which was presented to them as AM, the machinery of the patriarchal clan shifted gears to tackle the problem. This discussion of the super-ordinate theme experienced inequality against patriarchy has met the aim of demonstrating how it affects individuals at a personal level. This super-ordinate theme has shown how participants experienced inequality against patriarchy because they felt that the hegemonic system which favoured males was heavily tilted against females. Participants used various strategies to seek equality against patriarchal subjugation with varying degrees of success. The researcher believes that the practice of endogamy for financial reasons is obsolete since postmodern societies such as the UK provide cradle to grave care and hence the pooling of resources is unnecessary and according to participants a hindrance. The next

section looks at how participants sought equality against patriarchy by expressing an opinion which was at odds with patriarchal domination, but they were unprepared for the backlash and experienced shock at the ferocity of the response. It will attempt to demonstrate how participants undertook the struggle to challenge patriarchy.

#### **Super-ordinate theme 4.6 Challenging Patriarchy**

The super-ordinate theme of challenging patriarchy consisted of three emergent themes:

Females challenged patriarchy, perceived lack of choice in AM, rejection of AM.

##### **Emergent theme 4.6.1 Females challenged patriarchy**

Bina: "my mum was never the centre of my dad's world there were always other women around which weren't necessarily women he would have affairs with but women that he'd find attractive, and my mum knew this, and I also knew this" (L8- 14 p5). "That would never be my husband, I would make sure of that..." (L26- 27. P6.

Bina)

When Bina realised her patriarchal father and brother would not entertain the possibility of her desire for LM she challenged patriarchy. Bina's parents had an unhappy AM where her father was dominant, her mother was seen as the submissive weaker victim and Bina vowed that she would not end up in a similar position by standing up for herself as a female against patriarchy.

Sophie: "I realised that our views were too different, and he didn't care for me or love me, and he doesn't work, and he doesn't respect me...". (L 1- 3. P11) "I wanted my husband to get a job, but my father-in-law did not want his son to work..." (L 28-30. P5) "I wanted us both to work and buy a new house and support ourselves, but he (husband) did not agree..." (L 15- 17. P9. Sophie)

Sophie realised her husband and in-laws were even more patriarchal than her own family in south-Asia, and she took a position to challenge patriarchy. Sophie wanted to change the patriarchal power dynamic in her marriage and asked her husband to get a job so that they could move out by getting on the property ladder and hence creating distance from at-least her patriarchal father-in-law. Her father-in-law realised what she was trying to achieve and stopped her in her tracks by forbidding his son to listen to his wife instead of him.

Neelam: "my dad, I just know that my dad will make the decision for me...so I obviously wanted ...for it to be my decision because I'm going to be spending the rest of my...life with this person. (L32- 35. P3. Neelam) "I said to my dad...I don't want to marry any of my cousins ...." (L26- 27 p4. Neelam)

When Neelam realised she was facing the prospect of marriage to a cousin which she was completely against, she took a position to challenge patriarchy by not being the expected silent submissive daughter and daring to speak out in direct disagreement against her patriarchal father.

Sarah: "so I have a son he's my brother's son, so they gave me their child to me (for adoption) ...so I came back to the UK, he was happy...my husband with his...like my brother giving me his child...and his mum and dad wasn't that happy cos we taking ...child from my brother, my (maternal) family..." (L 18- 25. P 7) "my father-in-law had two boys...from other marriage and then they said why you didn't take my son...and they didn't like it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother's son (Adopted from maternal side of family) ..." (L 15- 23. P 8. Sarah)

When Sarah had an AM to a cousin who was impotent, she took a position to challenge patriarchy. Sarah's adopted son as the only heir would legitimately inherit all accumulated wealth from her husband's lineage and use it to help his biological fathers who was also Sarah's brother. A Machiavellian move by Sarah since she did not adopt from her husband's lineage and instead by using her brother's son as leverage to disinherit her husband's accumulated wealth in the UK and south Asia which she could automatically redistribute to her own lineage through her brother and son.

Anisa: "and then my husband started... (Inhales) being a bit funny as well so I clearly told him look if you're not happy I will go back to the UK, and I'll take it on my head; I was strong enough at that time then..." (L 39- 40. P 5; L 1- 3. P 6. Anisa)

When Anisa realised she was facing AM to a cousin from (south Asian country) which she was against, she took a position to challenge patriarchy. Anisa stood up to her new patriarchal husband and told him that if he were not happy with the marriage, he could stay single in south Asia. She would return alone to UK because she felt strong enough at the time to deal with the consequences of the fallout from their mutual patriarchal clan.



Mariam: "um aunties uncles, seeing their relationships...um other people having control over them um...how much mainly mum and dad...I used to see it...I could obviously with the mothers you could see the pain um..." (L 7- 10. P2) "if I got married to someone who accepted me [equally] no way would I be in this situation, no way would I be accepted as this or spoken to like this or not heard or whatever". (L25- 28. P25. Mariam)

When Mariam realised, she was facing AM to a cousin even though she was in love with another, she took a position to challenge patriarchy by vowing she would do everything in her power to avoid being in her mother's second class, subjugated, and painful, position.

Kiran: "his mother wasn't...she didn't have no respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or anything, she was there as a purely as a servant..." (L 8- 11. P7) "When the night came, I was honest with him I told him straight, I sat him down and I told him I've seen this...I didn't wanna marry you." (L14- 16. P7. Kiran)

When Kiran realised, she had been engaged to marry a cousin she did not like, she took a position to challenge patriarchy firstly by identifying sexual inequality within her patriarchal husband's family and later challenging him directly by telling him that she did not want to marry him.

Amelia "I thought he's very young maybe it's a big shock, being a dad is a big responsibility he's obviously not mature enough...to be honest I used to look down on him really if I think about it now, I used to think he doesn't have a good education...maybe he doesn't...he's not even mentally stable or ready to be a dad..." (L 1- 7. P 9. Amelia)

When Amelia realised, she was pregnant and her husband seemed unsure, she took a position in challenging patriarchy. By looking down on her husband rather than being the obedient submissive and dutiful wife expected in patriarchal south Asian culture Amelia is expressing silent opposition. Amelia is aware that she is situated in a patriarchal collective clan and therefore expressing a desire for sexual equality overtly would result in a direct backlash from her in-laws and her own family. Viewing him as an immature, uneducated, and mentally unstable individual Amelia is attempting to derogate her patriarchal husband from a safe distance.

#### **Emergent theme 4.6.2 Perceived lack of choice in AM**

Almost all women perceived a lack of choice in AM

Bina: "Marriages were arranged marriages that made me feel that arranged marriages are a negative thing and if you do have an arranged marriage or not that I thought of forced marriage erm, but I thought... anybody who would choose my partner for me, things would be like their relationship (sisters and parents), things would be wrong..." (L 32-40. P6; L 1. P 7. Bina)

Before marriage Bina decided she would not tacitly accept AM/FM just because it was the expectation of her patriarchs and instead would challenge this inequality. Bina felt AM/FM was bound to go wrong and become abusive since it lacked her explicit consent and she experienced this as a perceived lack of choice in AM.

Neelam: "I would go into an arranged marriage because my dad was...was obviously very strict and he would make all the decisions..." (L 31-33. P 2) like in your spouse you don't know if they're gonna be the same person as your dad, if they would hit you just like how your dad would treat your mum..." (L 22-26. P 2. Neelam)

Neelam understands patriarchal subjugation from a British Asian female perspective but is too frightened of her father to complain as it could potentially put her in physical danger. Since Neelam experiences her father as patriarchal, autocratic, and abusive, she already assumes a lack of choice in any marriage betrothed by him.

Anisa: "like every girl has a dream of having a nice caring understanding husband... you know you can do things together, plan your life together and um my plan was to marry someone in the UK brought up same way as I was...you know thinking was same and everything..." (L 5-11. P 2) "my eldest sister was married into my dad's family and my mum was adamant she was going to marry me into her family (in south Asia) ...so my dreams were crushed..." (L 15-17. P 2. Anisa)

Anisa was socialised in the UK partly by her teachers during her formative years while her parents were absent, and she had not been implicitly conditioned to tacitly accept patriarchy and therefore felt confident in expressing her contradictory opinion. Since Anisa was being taken to (south-Asian country) to marry a cousin, she identified this as a lack of choice in AM since it excluded potential partners from the UK.

Mariam: "it came to a point where I was like oh my god is there something wrong within me like even the arranged marriages that I'm actually considering for myself...they're not like getting accepted". (L2- 5. P6. Mariam)

Mariam wanted to marry the cousin she was in love with and thought it would reduce her risk of patriarchal subjugation and/or DV, after witnessing her parents toxic AM. Since all four of her potential AM suitors had stepped aside due to clan politics, Mariam blamed herself and perceived this as a lack of choice in AM.

Sarah: "he (husband) was good.....until now, like one years ago....he go a bit like...I don't know what happened... okay yeah he was good, he was looking after me taking me out shopping...he wasn't saying anything to me, all his family was...(clears throat)....he used to fight with his sister for me (laughs)...so he was okay he wasn't.....bad...but something happened one years ago" (L 15-23. P 5) "... I don't mind arranged marriage that time...but now I think...we should have a choice...they should ask us... if we like this person or no like this person..." (L 21-24. P 3. Sarah).

The "something" which "happened one year ago" was that Sarah adopted her brother's son from her maternal side of the family rather than a child from the paternal side of the family (seen as the legitimate heirs of the clan's wealth). For the clan this was a big deal because their wealth had been accumulated over generations and the code of honour dictates that it should continue to be channelled through patriarchy from father to son. The adoption resulted in an unexpected backlash from her patriarchal in-laws since they stood to lose all their accumulated wealth. The backlash led Sarah to retrospectively conclude somehow that she had a lack of choice in AM.

Sophie: "I thought I would go to my house I would be happy and live with my husband who would be caring towards me". (L25-27. P2) "... I didn't think about what I wanted, I just thought whatever my elders {patriarchs} have decided for me must be the right thing for me.....If I had chosen my own partner, it would have been better for me....." (L27-31. P4. Sophie)

Sophie thought her husband and in-laws would be caring and therefore less patriarchal. After migrating to the UK, Sophie realised the inequality she was facing and in hindsight perceived

this as a lack of choice in AM as she left the decision to her patriarchs who based the marriage entirely on clan politics and at the expense of her personal choice/desire.

Kiran: "I approached my mother and I begged her...I begged her, and I said to her that I'd marry anyone (emotional tone) as long as they were from the UK I didn't wanna have a say on who he was, I just did not want to get married from (south Asian Country) (L18-23. P4. Kiran)

Kiran was keen to marry someone from the UK like herself but was harshly rejected, she perceived this as a lack of choice in AM, since at the very least it excluded potential partners from the UK.

#### **Emergent theme 4.6.3 Opposition against AM**

All participants expressed opposition against AM

Sarah "at that time...I was too young (nineteen)...I didn't ... think that...I was thinkin about my parents and family [honour]...and I said yes..." (L 24-27. P 3) "... I don't mind arranged marriage that time...but now I think...we should have a choice...they should ask us.... if we like this person or no like this person..." (L 21-24. P 3. Sarah)

With hindsight Sarah feels she was coerced into AM and saying no to the marriage would have been dis-honourable to her clan. A perceived lack of choice in AM and her position in challenging patriarchy led Sarah into opposition against AM.

Amelia "finally when I met him, he was a very shy young-looking boy...still ... he just felt really young although he was nineteen years old... he just felt...I didn't feel any attraction towards him and...I didn't feel that he feels attracted towards me either ... [...] ...a few days had passed but...it didn't feel right" (L33-40. P6; L 1-2. P7)

Amelia's husband was younger than her and since there was no attraction between them and 'it did not feel right', this scenario led Amelia into opposition against AM.

Bina "Had I cooperated it would have continued that way (coercion) but because I chose to reject what they (father and brother) were saying it became slowly aggressive and nasty'..." (L 37-38. P 7; L 1-3. P 8. Bina)

Experience of witnessing unhappy AM which Bina conflated with FM based on excessive patriarchal involvement in both and perhaps the romantic movies she watched; Bina saw no alternative but to oppose AM which resulted in pressure, aggression, and force from patriarchy.

Sophie "if I had chosen my husband that would have been better, I think having an AM was the wrong option for me. If I had told my parents that I wanted a LM perhaps I would not have ended up in this marriage and found myself in this situation ....." (L 9-14. P5. Sophie)

Sophie is expressing regret at not having the option to choose her own (non-patriarchal) partner because her expectation was that a fiancée raised in a democratic equality-based society like the UK would be less patriarchal and therefore more flexible. She was disappointed to learn this was not the case but only after getting married in the UK. This perceived lack of choice in AM and challenge to patriarchy led Sophie into opposition against AM and in favour of LM.

Kiran: "I'd been engaged to my mum's nephew ...so um...I knew who he was, I never liked, I did not like him I just as a person he was he was...one of the things was he was a younger than me...the way I'd seen him their house the way they were living it just...I just could not comprehend myself living there," (L36-38. P3; L1-4. P4 Kiran)

Kiran did not like her fiancée as a person or the fact that he was younger than her. Hence a lack of choice in AM and an unsuccessful challenge to patriarchal hegemony left little choice for Kiran but to go into opposition against AM.

Neelam: "the only expectation I've had of marriage was...I don't wanna go into the same... environment...I don't wanna have the (abuse) ...what my mum was going through I did not want to go through the same..." (L 11-16. P 2). "Because love marriage, I knew

like was not...was never like...a possibility with...within our household... "(L 4-7. P 3. Neelam).

Since Neelam's father was abusive and authoritarian she feared AM with a cousin from her father's side of the family who might also turn out to be abusive. This perceived lack of choice in AM and fear of her patriarchal father led Neelam into silent opposition against AM as overt objection could result in HBV.

Anisa: "didn't know what he was like as a person so there wasn't any love there...it was...it just works you know the parents just put you together because they think you're suitable and you just have to work it out..." "I couldn't even understand him either, so I thought oh because he's from abroad his mentality's different the main reason why I didn't want to marry anybody abroad...and when I used to say to my mum, I'll marry anybody here, but I don't want to marry anybody abroad. (L19-25. P6. Anisa)

Anisa wanted to marry from the UK but knew she would end up with a spouse from south-Asia, which was her fear because their "mentalities" would differ. This lack of choice in AM, her position to challenge patriarchy and the absence of love all led Anisa into opposition against AM.

Mariam: "being with someone in the room...and then you're married as a husband and wife...you're you're meant to share your... yourself with someone that....." (L 7-10. P 4) "um you have to listen to the husband ...I could just see history repeating itself ... [as] really it, kind of does in Asian cultures..." (L 35-37. P 4. Mariam)

Mariam was against the idea of cousin marriage especially from her abusive and controlling father's side and since AM was-seen-as a direct route into such a potentially toxic betrothal, it was something she wanted to avoid. This perceived lack of choice in AM and her position to challenge patriarchy resigned Mariam into opposition against AM.

#### **4.7 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme three: Challenging patriarchy**

Once participants became aware of patriarchal domination and realised, they were the victims of such subjugation each participant looked for ways to challenge patriarchal hegemony. The

emergent themes identified in this struggle were: Females challenge Patriarchy, Perceived lack of choice in AM and subsequent opposition to AM. When participants concluded they were left with feeling that their prior expectations about marriage based on explicit consent (imbibed from prolonged contact with external indigenous individualistic culture) were unrealistic; they could either accept patriarchal hegemony or challenge it and all participants opted for the latter. According to Bourdieu *et al* (1998), in some instances physical force is not necessary as some women have internalized certain societal gender norms and therefore accept the union without questioning the societal and personal beliefs that make FM acceptable. However, when the participants in this study realised, they were facing the prospect of FM perpetrated by patriarchy, each participant chose to take a stand against this injustice. Participants tried to negotiate a compromise about their marriage options but once it became clear that patriarchal clan members arranged their marriage to partners based entirely on clan politics rather than their individual agency/choice; participants realised the extent of sexual inequality they were being subjected to and expressed their dis-approval implicitly and/or explicitly.

A comparative study of Pakistanis in Bradford; and Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, reveal the complexities of FM. Primary data collected through focus groups found some south-Asian families believe that certain levels of “emotional coercion” are acceptable. According to Samad & Eade *et al* (2002 p5-7), the acceptability of “emotional coercion” is the result of ignorance. South-Asian diaspora communities believe that “physical force” is unacceptable however “emotional and psychological pressure is not considered to be coercion”.

Participants in the current study took a stand against patriarchal domination as they became aware of a significant and progressive curtailment of choice between LM, AM and FM. This lack of choice initially led participants to conclude that AM was restrictive and since the option of LM was the dominant choice in UK culture and therefore deemed acceptable; they preferred LM based on full and free choice rather than AM with restricted and limited choice. It was only when female participants hit a metaphorical brick wall by being denied the choice of LM, did they realise the gravity of entrenched patriarchal domination which led to the spectre of FM. Researcher believes the spectre of FM is understandable under such circumstances since it is unfair for south Asian females as they are not free to express themselves by freely choosing their marriage partner.

Sabbe Alexia *et al* (2013), carried out a study in which she looked at the determinants of Child and Forced Marriage in Morocco. A qualitative study approach was used with participants to generate primary data using semi-structured interviews found that in practice it can be difficult to determine at which point emotional pressure becomes great enough to implicate genuine force to distinguish FM from AM. Almost all participants in this current study felt AM with the involvement of complex clan politics designed to benefit both indigenous and diasporic arms of the clan was draconian. Pleas for greater choice in marriage i.e., LM fell on deaf ears and therefore they felt they had no alternative but to reject AM since it felt difficult to distinguish from FM. Patriarchal clan members took this rejection personally as it did nothing to help but instead brought shame and dis-honour to the entire collective clan and was therefore unacceptable. According to Stewart *et al* (1994) honour codes depend on and generate respect for both individuals and the group to which they belong, thereby conferring status. The study found that most males agreed that honour plays a key role in maintaining social relationships even more strictly than by law.

It is believed by the researcher that behind closed doors clan members plotted and planned for ways to coerce the participant to comply to their demands of AM to a suitable clan member based only on clan politics. This diametrically opposing conflictual outlook between (Eastern) collective ideology (AM) and (Western) individual agency (LM) was partially responsible for what could potentially be perceived as (toxic) FM. Researcher was surprised at the level and nature of patriarchal subjugation of women who were almost being treated like prized cattle. According to Mishkin *et al* (2018) sexual harassment comes in many packages including within the context of marriage; participants expressed a similar view as the AM/FM was instigated without their explicit consent and therefore seen as a form of harassment. Participants had assumed FM even before the issue of compatibility had arose to determine if the couple got on well together because they shared similar interests and how that factored into the marriage debate. This section has met the aim of illuminating the impact of how it feels to be forced into marriage. Once participants became aware of patriarchal hegemony and realised that AM was primarily a vehicle to benefit the collective clan without specific consideration of their own needs/wants. Participants experienced some degree of confusion and conflation in relation to AM/FM which will form topic of discussion in the next section.



## **Super-ordinate theme 4.8 Confusion & conflation between AM/FM**

The Super-ordinate theme of Confusion and Conflation between AM/FM had three emergent themes in which participants expressed a desire for sexual equality from their patriarchs; but were sorely disappointed to learn that the sharing of power was simply not an option open to them. This impasse led to confusion between AM/FM based on excessive unwanted patriarchal involvement resulting in the rejection of AM/FM. Rejection of AM/FM was completely at odds with the demands of patriarchy and participants were left with no realistic or meaningful alternative.

### **Emergent theme 4.8.1 Wanting equality**

All participants expressed a notion of wanting equality

Bina: "I thought that my marriage would never ever be like my mothers or my sisters under any circumstances and I will be confident unlike my sister, and I will be attractive, and I will be glamorous unlike my mother; and my brother-in-law and my dad the way they were with other women that would never be my husband I would make sure of that..." (L 19-27. P 6. Bina)

Bina wanted her marriage to be based on equality and vowed, she would somehow make certain that her husband did not behave disrespectfully towards her as her father and brother-in-law did towards her mother and sister.

Sophie: "I told my auntie I want to work, and she said OK you can get your own visa, go to work and earn your living yourself... I wanted my husband to get a job as well, but my father-in-law did not want his son to work... L 25-30. P 5). "I used to get stressed because my husband would not take my side..." (L 29-30. P 8. Sophie)

Sophie wanted her marriage to be based on equality and was exasperated at the response from her in-laws when she requested some autonomy in relation to work and future-plans, since her husband was unresponsive to her needs. Sophie came to live with her husband in the UK and expected him to be less patriarchal and to share her vision of working hard to get on the property ladder (i.e., moving away from the patriarchal clan's structural sphere of influence).

Sophie's husband and father-in-law however did not want to relinquish the power of their hegemonic patriarchal prerogative which induced a stress response in Sophie.

Anisa "...he was bitter-sweet he was one minute he was nice to me one minute he wasn't nice to me...so I couldn't even understand him either so I thought oh because he's from abroad his mentality's different; the main reason why I didn't want to marry anybody abroad...but I can go back but if he doesn't want to...continue with the marriage he doesn't need to come to the UK..." (17-23. P 6). "I can leave..." (L 6. P6. Anisa).

Anisa wanted her marriage to be based on equality and was perplexed by her husband's changing moods which she attributed to the fact that his mentality was different since he was socialised in south-Asia. This is precisely what she had feared all along as there also seems to be an undercurrent of a power struggle developing between the couple even within the context of a collectivist patriarchal setting.

Mariam: "once you're married even if you share your views with...him (husband) he might not even accept you that way...so if it's something that he doesn't agree with he might go share it with the family, that's when the family get involved in the relationship" (L 40. P 4; L 1-4. P 5. Mariam).

Mariam wanted her marriage to be based on equality since she had sedimented bad experiences of her parent's toxic relationship, in which the family often got involved to support the patriarchal husband. Mariam saw this as ontic tribulations of daily life in Cousin AM, which she wanted to avoid through LM to another cousin where love was believed to be the antidote against patriarchal subjugation.

Sarah "my father-in-law had two boys...from other marriage and then they said why you didn't take my son...and they didn't like it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother's son (Adopted from maternal side of Sarah's family) ..." (L 15-23. P 8. Sarah).

Sarah wanted her marriage to be based on equality and the couple were happy in their AM until they decided to adopt a child. Sarah chose her brother's son who would then inadvertently inherit her husband's wealth (illegitimately based on clan politics as he did not share genetic lineage to patriarchs) as well as her brother's (legitimate) wealth, which upset

her in-laws. This choice would give Sarah more financial and matriarchal power against and from within her patriarchal clan.

Amelia: "I couldn't believe they could be so shallow...they had two daughters of their own why would they expect me [to] deliver a son? And why they even blamed me...well I felt blamed...they (in laws) just said oh well, the first thing my mother-in-law said was oh never mind next time it will be a boy...it was almost like it was bad news..." (L 21-26. P 10. Amelia).

Amelia wanted her marriage to be based on equality but was exasperated that her patriarchal in-laws were seriously disappointed that she had delivered a baby girl, this caused consternation where she expected celebration.

Kiran: "I picked up on it that his mother wasn't...she didn't have no respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or anything, she was there as a purely as a servant...and I saw her working and I picked up on their weaknesses and I picked up on his weaknesses what he wo what his lifestyle and everything was and so when the night came...I was honest with him I told him straight, I sat him down and I told him I've seen this...I didn't wanna marry you...(L 7-16. P7)

Kiran wanted her marriage to be based on equality and was enraged by the lack of respect shown to female family members by her male patriarchal in-laws. Kiran started picking out their weaknesses so she could mount a counterattack to demand equality, starting with telling her husband on the first night that 'she did not want to marry him'.

Neelam: "...only expectation I had that is that I would be forced into marriage..." (L 24-25. P 3) "if my dad was a bit more lenient, I would obviously be like I would have the ...chance to just like...even find someone myself...or if not like maybe my parents give me the option...of... choosing...or someone...not like someone who I get to choose... even from their options...so...so as long as it's not forced..." (L 35-40. P3; L 1. P4. Neelam)

Neelam felt victimised by her father and sought clemency from AM/FM betrothed by him in favour of LM but knew it was too much to ask for. Neelam felt trapped and therefore desperately hoped for her marriage to be based on equality unlike that of her parents.

### **Emergent theme 4.8.2 Conflation between AM/FM**

All eight participants conflated AM/FM at some stage based on different personal reasons.

Bina "that made me feel that arranged marriages are a negative thing and if you do have an AM or not that I thought of FM erm, but I thought..... anybody who would choose my partner for me, things would be like their relationship (sister's and parents), things would be wrong..." (L 33-40. P 6; L 1 p7. Bina)

Since both AM and FM do not involve explicit consent, Bina conflated AM/FM. As Bina's parents and sister's AM was unhappy, she concluded that a marriage without her explicit consent would automatically be unhappy, intolerable, and therefore FM.

Sophie: "We're always thinking I had thoughts and feelings about what I had done as wrong not knowing what would be good for me. If I had chosen my husband, it would have been better for me." L 6-10. P5) "My husband used to beat me because his dad used to tell him negative things about me like I go to work, and I didn't like that." (L 10-13. p7. Sophie)

Since Sophie's husband and father-in-law following AM were patriarchal and abusive, she conflated AM/FM.

Anisa: "so I really basically looking back at it I actually carried my marriage forward...just to please my pa family" (L 36-38. P 8) "I had met my cousin once, but I didn't know his qualities...I didn't know what his expectations were...I didn't know what he was like as a person so there wasn't any love there." (L 9-13. P 5) "once my mum passed away, he (husband) became more horrible...and when he became more horrible and then I still didn't have the confidence (to leave) until he started getting physical." (L 39-40. P8; L1-2. P9. Anisa)

Anisa had an AM to a cousin from south Asia and crucially for her what was missing from the union was explicit consent, choice, love, and since this was followed by HBV it led Anisa to conflate AM/FM.

Mariam: "I could just see history repeating itself ... really it, kind of does in Asian cultures..." (L 36-37. P 4) "being able to...I don't know like brother and sister and then you're gonna get somebody who's gonna be able to touch you in a different way or um...it just wouldn't...being a (religion) girl, yes I wanted a love marriage..." (L 10-14. P 4).

Mariam expressed conflation between AM/FM as she was in love with another cousin (whom she could also have previously seen as a brother) and wanted LM so anything less i.e., AM/FM especially between cousins just like her parent's toxic relationship was unacceptable.

Sarah "...I said yes because my dad and my uncle asked me so nicely...and asking I got emotionally blackmailed by them...and I said OK do whatever you want...and I said yes.....and that's it... after they asked me...if you're happy or not (about marriage proposal) ....and then...I said yes..." (L 1-4. P4) "...he was swearing everyday shouting everyday...and telling me to leave his house because I'm eating his food, I'm living free in his house... and ... everyday like every day same thing...in front of my son sometimes...so I, I [only] waited like six months with him (L 32-38. P8. Sarah)

Sarah was happy in her AM until she adopted her brother's son which her in-laws rejected because he was from a different lineage and therefore could not 'legitimately' inherit their accumulated wealth so the only option available to protect their clan's wealth was to force her out of marriage. Sarah conflated being forced out of marriage with being forced into marriage thereby conflating AM/FM.

Amelia: "I did want to make this marriage work...and that's when he started to tell me that I was forced into this marriage...my dreams completely shattered that night...couldn't believe what I'm hearing...he was forced...just as I was and he was very unhappy with the situation he didn't want to marry anybody from back home...he said...this is just not what he wanted he didn't want an older woman, he didn't want a woman from (south-Asian country), he felt that I'm not on his wavelength, he felt that he wasn't ready for marriage" (L 29-40. P7. Amelia)

Since Amelia was initially reluctant to marry her younger husband and he claimed he had experienced FM with her; based on her husband's claim of FM Amelia conflated her AM/FM.

Kiran: "I picked up on it that his mother wasn't...she didn't have no respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or anything, she was there as a purely as a servant..." (L 7- 11. P7. Kiran) "I didn't say yes the first time, I didn't say yes the second time, and I nodded my head the third time because I was told to do so...so just did not accept it, my heart did not accept it..." (L 35- 39. P6. Kiran)

Since Kiran was disappointed that female members of her husband's family were treated as second class citizens by male patriarchs, and she could expect the same treatment. Kiran reluctantly said yes to AM on the third time of asking (in keeping with tradition); and it was then based on her future expectation of patriarchal subjugation that Kiran conflated AM/FM.

Neelam "so, there was only two options I had...I never said yes to any one of them, but I have to choose one of them... so I feel like whoever I ended up marrying it would have been forced..." (L 30- 35. P4. Neelam)

Since Neelam's father was patriarchal, abusive, and authoritarian, she knew that LM was off the table which only left the conflated and unwanted option of AM/FM.

### **Emergent theme 4.8.3      Rejection of AM/FM**

Based on a desire for sexual equality and conflation between AM/FM, all participants went on to reject such a union.

Bina "think to begin with I wasn't forced, I was coerced I.....it all started really positively..." (L 18- 20. P 7). "Had I cooperated it would have continued that way but because I chose to reject what they (father and brother) were saying (AM with one of four suitors) it became slowly aggressive and..... Nasty..." (L 37-38. P7; L1- 3. P8. Bina)

Bina's desire for equality and conflation between AM/FM, led to the rejection of AM/FM.

Sophie: "It was really difficult with my husband we were so different we had completely opposite views on everything ....it was impossible for us to spend a life together and that's why I feel forced marriage should not happen..." (L 24-28. P9. Sophie)

After AM Sophie and her husband had wildly different views on everything from work to sexual equality and the differences resulted in HBV, which led Sophie to reject what she had already conflated as AM/FM.

Kiran: "didn't wanna marry you and I'm sorry but I know you want a better life...but I don't want to live with you, I'm telling you now when I go back, I will not be calling you over I will not going to support you, what is it that you want...?" (L 15- 21. P7. Kiran)

Kiran's desire for equality and conflation between AM/FM, led to the rejection of AM/FM. Kiran rejected AM/FM by telling her husband that she had had a FM with him, and was not going to sponsor him to join her in the UK, but then contradicted herself by asking what he wanted (from the relationship)?

Neelam "so I feel like whoever I ended up marrying it would have been forced... because I [had] no option...no option of saying no to neither one of them ..." (L 34- 37. P4. Neelam)

Neelam's desire for equality and conflation between AM/FM, led to the rejection of AM/FM as both AM suitors were chosen without her explicit consent and therefore any such union would not meet her condition of full and explicit consent.

Anisa: "it's like oh now you got to look after your...husbands honour plus your own fathers honour and your fa you know the family you're married into...and I always feel like that why is it that it's always only on the woman's...head that she has to look...to protect the honour of the family's whereas the man can do whatever he wants...because my husband he drank, he smoked, he womanised basically did everything he shouldn't be doing..." (L 12- 22. P8. Anisa).

Following AM Anisa and her husband had serious difficulties and opposing views not least because he was patriarchal, and in response she was a feminist. Anisa rejected the conflated concept of AM/FM as unfair, outdated, and draconian.

Mariam: "the grown-ups were happy and this, this is something I would never ever have considered because we've had so many issues with my dad's family and them. So, it was not even an

option for me like it was never something you would consider like even when I was considering arranged..." (L 12-17. P7. Mariam)

Mariam's desire for equality and conflation between AM/FM, led her to reject marriage to a cousin from her abusive father's side of the family, specifically because she wanted LM to a different cousin.

Sarah: "he (husband) was swearing everyday shouting everyday... and telling me to leave his house because I'm eating his food, I'm living free in his house ... and...everyday like every day same thing...in front of my son sometimes ...so I, I [only] waited like six months with him..." (L 32-38. P8) "... I spoke to (participant three who introduced Sarah to research) at that time...I was looking for private renting... and then she told me go to (women's organisation) and I went to (women's organisation) and they helped me...to find a place...and I left him (husband) (L 5-11. P9. Sarah)

Sarah's in-laws deliberately forced her out of marriage, and she conflated this with being forced into marriage. Sarah's desire for equality and conflation between AM/FM, led to the rejection of AM/FM when she left her husband and sought safety at a women's refuge.

Amelia "one day he just started to push me around a little...I didn't think anything of it at first and then when I started to answer him back further and said I'm not happy with the way he's treating me, he slapped me... which came as a bit of a shock erm ...I was horrified actually. (L31-37. P 12. Amelia)

Amelia's desire for equality and conflation of AM/FM followed by HBV led to the rejection of AM/FM but she still stayed in the marriage.

#### **4.9 Discussion of super-ordinate theme four: AM/FM confusion and conflation**

The super-ordinate theme of AM/FM confusion and conflation had three emergent themes: Wanting Equality, Conflation between AM/FM, Rejection of AM/FM. Once diasporic participants had rejected AM based on excessive involvement of their collectivist patriarchal clan, they could go against their instincts and agree to patriarchal demands; or use the UK's 'Exit' strategy to distance themselves from the conflated AM/FM and therefore be free to



choose LM or even stay single. However, participants felt a strong connection to their collectivist roots and did not want to exit their community, culture, or stay single. Based on the findings, literature review and the researcher's emic perspective, becoming a UK citizen is seen as a positive change by diasporic south-Asian females as it is expected to reduce the risk of HBV and increase opportunities for employment, civil and political engagement which they largely lack in south-Asia. Becoming a UK citizen for south-Asian males is not seen as a completely positive change since they are expected by the clan to improve their English quickly so that they can find employment. Diasporic males usually must work double shifts to support themselves and their indigenous clan members for the rest of their working lives, where honour is proportional to the wealth a male accumulates and being unemployed/unwealthy is seen as dis-honourable for able bodied men of working age. Diasporic south Asian males may also feel oppressed by the more equality-based culture in which they find themselves as they must learn to accept that indigenous and diasporic UK females demand equality which directly challenges and threatens their hegemonic power and masculinity. This threat to patriarchal power is crystallised at the point at which patriarchal diasporic males try to arrange the marriage of their subordinate female clan members based on their hegemonic power in- order-to derive maximum benefit for the clan.

It is only if females refuse the offer of AM based on Bollywood movies and imbibed expectations of external individualistic social norms of LM; knowing that they have the power of UK judiciary behind them that the patriarchal males become angry and frustrated. Such feelings of rage are channelled through clan mechanisms of shame and dishonour which can escalate very quickly into HBV such as FM and or worse. The entire diasporic and indigenous patriarchal clan can feel impotent against the wishes of a single female in a democratic and relatively equal society like the UK. In a qualitative study carried out by Gill & Harvey *et al* (2016) deploying semi-structured in-depth interviews using a mixed methods approach; it was found that men tended to identify family honour as the key motivational influencer of FM, women see the problem of FM as more private and linked to the need to respect family's wishes. The difficulty that diasporic south-Asian females experience is that they have never explicitly been informed about patriarchal subjugation because the blatant inequality is a sore point which is difficult to explain and even harder to accept. FM is therefore tacitly accepted by females apparently in-order-to avoid being shamed themselves or bringing dishonour to their clan.

According to Seelinger *et al* (2010), a FM is seen as the result of gender inequality that excludes women and girls from education, economic independence, reproductive autonomy as well as their full civil and political participation. Once participants became aware of the blatant sexual inequality they faced as British-Asian females perpetrated by patriarchal hegemonic clan males, they sought equality in line with the romantic Bollywood movies they consumed and wider surrounding indigenous British cultural norms. Based on the transcripts in this study, almost all Diasporic British-Asian female participants (apart from Sophie who initially sought AM) wanted their marriage to be based more on notions of love and consent with both choice and autonomy, but their patriarchal hegemonic clan members wanted them to marry based strictly on rights of the collective clan in relation to its self-preservation. Ballard illustrated the maintenance of values of ‘izzat’ (family honour) was paramount ‘as a matter of relative standing’ (Ballard *et al*,1994. p558) for first generation Pakistanis and led to the creation of a competitive environment within which groups competed against neighbouring communities. Marriages and other important life events were significant for social interaction and as a means, to advance family status (Ballard 1994). According to Chantler & Gangoli *et al* (2011), consent is a notion often regarded as a western concept which assumes the right to individual autonomy and choice. For some minority Community’s choice is often about the rights of the collective. Since there was no middle ground as neither side was willing to compromise on core principles, what the collective patriarchal clan members presented as AM after serious deliberation based entirely on clan politics; was conflated by all participants as FM as it was deliberated completely without their involvement or explicit consent.

The patriarchs assumed tacit consent based on honour codes and their patriarchal hegemonic domination of the female participants, but they failed to take account of the specific context i.e., young women watching romantic movies in post-modern UK society both in which explicit individual and personal consent is seen as paramount. Gunes G *et al* (2019) suggested that Indian movies are one of the most effective examples of the cultural model representation reflecting cultural codes such as Indian family structures. According to Nijhawan *et al* (2009) recent feminist scholarship posits that women in item songs (in Bollywood movies) are active agents with erotic desire, and they are not objects of the male gaze (Nijhawan *et al* 2009.p 99-112; Weidman *et al* 2012. P307-18). Women performers in the item songs flaunt their sexuality and do not hesitate to express their desire, and the so-called coolness of being sexy has replaced the stigma of being indecent. Baxi, Rai & Ali *et al*

(2006), suggested that the definition of HBV focuses on emphasizing male honour and overlooks violence, not ending in murder, which is routinely used to control women. Without such consent and subsequent confusion between AM/FM, led participants to conflate AM/FM. Researcher felt that conflation between AM/FM was the most significant finding of this study which went a long way to explain the phenomenon of FM. This section has met the aim of exploring where AM stops, FM starts and found that it depends entirely on the individual's personal perception; the next section will look at rejection of Individualistic Exit strategy.

#### **Super-ordinate theme 4.10 Rejecting Individualistic Exit strategy.**

Participants came to conclusion that they would be better off accepting their AM/FM rather than exiting their community/culture. The super-ordinate theme of Rejecting Individualistic Exit strategy had three emergent themes. Acceptance of collectivist ideology, Tacit acceptance of FM and colluding with patriarchy.

##### **Emergent theme 4.10.1 Acceptance of Collectivist ideology**

All participants accepted collectivist ideology.

Bina: "I didn't really want my family to be arrested obviously and I would never tell them (police) the whole truth ... (L 10-12. P 15) "it felt morally incorrect..." (L 20-21. P15) "I wouldn't want my family behind bars...I just wouldn't bring shame on my family..." (L 23-26. P15. Bina)

Bina claimed FM but if she were true to her conviction, she would not be expected to refrain from full disclosure to the police for fear of shaming her family which instigated FM.

Therefore, when it came to the crunch point of decision Bina chose acceptance of collectivist ideology over the individualistic Exit strategy.

Sophie: "was really healthy before coming here and since taking all the tension and beatings I lost a lot of weight. I would never even tell my family about the violence or that I was unhappy, when my family would ask, I used to tell them that they really look after me, everything is fine, and I am happy here..." (L 22-28. P8. Sophie)

When Sophie had to make the crucial decision, she chose acceptance of collectivist ideology because if she were true to her conviction; she would not be expected to hold back from

telling her family in south Asia how badly she was being treated following FM and blaming them directly for putting her in this dire situation.

Anisa: "when he became more horrible and then I still didn't have the confidence until he started getting physical...and then it came to the last straw that he tried everything he even told me...beat me up and said call the police and I wouldn't call the police because it was honour..." (L 40. P8; L 1-5. P9. Anisa)

Anisa fought patriarchy heroically and refused to back down even when she started experiencing HBV. When Anisa's husband became physically violent and asked her to call the police, she had the option to use the individualistic Exit strategy but chose to accept the honour of her collectivist clan instead.

Mariam "it did make me really sad cos I thought there is someone out there who would want to be with me...and I've accepted this for the sake of the families (clan)..." (L34-37. P9. Mariam)

Mariam was in love with a cousin who was betrothed to marry from abroad and therefore unavailable, so she tacitly accepted AM to another cousin she was not in love with just to please her clan, thereby accepting collectivist ideology.

Sarah "cos I never told anything (complained) to my family..." (L 12-13. P5. Sarah)

When Sarah had to make the crucial decision, she chose acceptance of collectivist ideology as she claimed FM but if she were true to her conviction; she would have complained to her family for putting her in this difficult situation in the first place.

Amelia: "...and now that they've had a boy, I'm part of the family and I'm here to stay...and my father felt this...he just gave this big sigh of relief that I've delivered a boy...again which sent me further into depression that there's this inequality there... even from my family who are really educated and I thought were a lot better than this...but anyway tried to work through my depression...tried to bond with the baby..." (L13-22. P12. Amelia)

Amelia chose acceptance of collectivist ideology as she accepted her position within her patriarchal collective clan in relation to her own family and in-laws. She did find the situation very difficult to deal with psychologically but chose to accept it best she could.

Kiran: "post the (religious marriage ceremony) I was there at his house for another two weeks...um he (husband) wasn't that bad he was all about trying to get his passport done and his family...and I started to think of him as a friend so like ok he is actually...were both sort of similar he didn't want to get married and all this but you know what we can make this...make something good out of it for both of us...I'd help around the house, his sisters they all...they all loved me." (L 26-35. P 7. Kiran)

Rather than seeking to use the individualistic Exit strategy to leave her marriage, Kiran chose acceptance of collectivist ideology instead. If Kiran felt convinced that she had been subjected to FM, she would not be expected to see her FM husband as a friend or someone she could live with, and "make something good out of it for both of us" or fit right in with his extended family.

Neelam "Like I would like agree you know to go out with him ... (L 7-8. P8) "like I know he's my cousin...I know I was completely against it but...I'm going to give him a chance... (L 32-34. P8) "...I actually gave...him and gave our whole marriage a chance like...and once I realised look, he's just like me...we're very similar ...and then I, that's when I decided to like...look it's going well, just keep it up...just keep this up and...it's gonna, it's all going to be okay..." (L40. P8; L 1-5. P 9. Neelam)

When Neelam had to make the crucial decision, she chose to accept collectivist ideology by agreeing to go out with him (husband) and not using Exit strategy by going to the Police. If Neelam was true to her conviction of FM, she would not further contradict herself by saying she would make the most of her marriage by giving him a chance because they were "very similar" and "it's going well".

#### **Emergent theme 4.10.2 Tacit acceptance of FM.**

All participants tacitly accepted FM.

Bina "it'd all gone pear shaped I felt but because I was so fed up of being trapped that it felt good to be out of there, so I just picked my head up and chin up and carried on..." (L17-21. P19. Bina)

Bina was so fed up living with her parents that she sought sanctuary within FM which led to the tacit acceptance of FM.

Sophie "I wanted us both to work and buy a new house and support ourselves, but he did not agree he said I am British why should I work when the government pays for everything..." (L 15-18. P9. Sophie)

Sophie wanted to move away from her patriarchal in-laws so that her husband would not be under their sphere of influence but when he refused, she accepted that without objecting or externalising her disappointment thereby tacitly accepting FM.

Kiran "but you know what we can make this...make something good out of it for both of us..." (L 32-34. P7. Kiran)

By saying we can "make something good out of it (FM) for both of us" is by definition impossible. Kiran has tacitly accepted FM as a marriage of convenience in which both spouses could potentially help each other as would be the case in a typical AM.

Anisa "my husband he drank, he smoked he womanised basically did everything he shouldn't be doing behind my...you know without my knowledge... (L20-23. P8) "but I just still carried on you know because my mum she'll be um..." (L 33-34. P8. Anisa)

Anisa has tacitly accepted FM since she claimed FM but even after discovering her husband was cheating on her, she still carried on as normal.

Mariam "I'm just going to learn to live with this person...and just get on with life...I just thought it was the same cultural life I'm gonna get as my mum as my aunties as everyone had really..." (L 30-33. P22. Mariam)

Mariam tacitly accepted FM as she claimed FM but added she would also carry on with married life like her mum and aunties who had experienced and lived-in unhappy AM's.

Sarah "so I have a son he's my brother's son, so they gave me their child to me (for adoption) ...so I came back to the UK, he was happy...my husband with his...like my brother giving me his

child...and his mum and dad wasn't that happy cos we taking ...child from my brother, my (maternal) family..." (L18-25. P7).

Sarah claimed FM but if she were true to her conviction, she would not be expected to go to the trouble of adopting her brother's son and seeking husband's approval which at the very least implies tacit acceptance of FM.

Amelia: "I complained to my mother-in-law she said it was perfectly normal for this family...apparently she's always been [...] ...beaten by her husband and it's just a normal thing and I just have to deal with it and not answer my husband back...obviously I was horrified...and shocked...that this is the way this family thinks so I just... carried on with life...best as I could and made the best of a bad situation..." (L1-10. P13. Amelia)

Although she was "horrified" Amelia's acceptance of DV also resulted in tacit acceptance of FM as she "made the best of a bad situation".

Neelam "I felt like I'm putting more effort into it than he was ...he wasn't putting much effort into it at all...I would actually talk to his family members more than I would talk to him..." (L 12-15. P11. Neelam).

Neelam claimed FM but if she felt true to her conviction, she would not be putting more effort into FM than her husband. Tacit acceptance of FM led Neelam to complain about the fact that she was talking to her husband's family members more than to him.

### **Emergent theme 4.10.3 Colluding with patriarchy**

All participants ended up colluding with patriarchy.

Bina: "Thing that helped me was the freedom that I got in (husbands city) my new family (in laws) were not half as controlling as my... own family were, so coming to a new city and being able to get a job and just embraced the new culture of this big city and just gave me a reason to live and a reason to try and be happy..." (L10-18. P20).

The result of accepting collectivist ideology over and above the individualistic Exit strategy and tacit acceptance of FM resulted in Bina colluding with patriarchy. Bina was subjugated to patriarchy by her father and brother before she was forced into marriage. Therefore she

would not be expected to embrace the new city so much that she found a reason to live a happy life in FM and say that “my new family were not half as controlling as my own family were” since it is by definition impossible to be “happy” or not controlled under FM. Finding “a job, being happy, feeling free, and embracing the new cultures in a new city after marriage” are qualities of AM not FM and further evidence that Bina conflated AM with FM.

Sophie “I still didn’t want to leave my (abusive) husband because it would mean going back to (south Asian country) and that would bring shame to my parents which isn’t very nice...” (L21- 24. p10. Sophie).

Acceptance of collectivist ideology over the individualistic Exit strategy and tacit acceptance of FM resulted in Sophie colluding with patriarchy. Sophie claimed FM but if she were true to her conviction, she would not be expected to imbibe HBV after she had experienced FM, without going to the Police due to risk of dishonouring her family or being sent back to the relative safety of her familiar surroundings in south Asia. In other words, Sophie is colluding with patriarchy by not disclosing her dire situation to police or other agencies where in cases of DV/HBV permanent residential status and asylum is automatically granted.

Mariam: “were gonna be sitting in the same room sleeping in the same bed...I have to go on this date...so I was quite firm with myself to go on the date...so we went on the date...” (L14- 19. P10). “we didn’t have no conversation we got to the cinema I think I even paid for my ticket and... (emotional)... that was the worst outing I ever did...” (L24- 26. P10. Mariam).

Mariam claimed FM and forced herself to go on a date with her FM fiancée and found the experience upsetting but by choosing to go on the date in the first place, she colluded with patriarchy. If Mariam was convinced, she was facing FM then “being firm with herself to go on a date” with her FM fiancée does not make sense unless she was colluding with patriarchy.

Sarah: “didn’t like it first time and then I...my uncle told me don’t say anything to them...just look after them be good” (L10- 12. P 5. Sarah)



The result of the acceptance of collectivist ideology over and above the individualistic Exit strategy and tacit acceptance of FM resulted in Sarah colluding with patriarchy. Sarah claimed FM and did not like the situation but then continued to look after her in-laws based on the advice of her paternal (patriarchal) uncle. Sarah wanted to remain in the UK and chose to put up with the difficulties and had therefore colluded with patriarchy to remain in the UK.

Amelia: "I had clearly grown to have feelings for him...I dunno why this was maybe because he'd given me two beautiful children there was a third one on the way and I had just... in my own stupid way I'd grown to love him...and the thought of another woman sharing him with me was just destroying me inside it was just...horrifying...and how he could choose another woman over our unborn child was just...just disgusting...tried to convince him that this is against my religion, it's against my beliefs, it's against your beliefs...he just started to break things, he just started to bully me..." (L5- 17. P15. Amelia)

Amelia colluded with patriarchy by attempting to appease her violent abusive husband who was having an affair with another woman; for the sake of her children and the fact that she had genuine feelings for him which were unreciprocated. If Amelia was convinced of FM and experiencing DV, she would not be expected to put up with this dangerous situation.

Neelam "my dad had to say yes, and he couldn't ...he didn't wanna ruin the relationship that he had with his cousin brother and their family ... and I feel like that's what made him you know...like he couldn't get out of it as well, just the way I couldn't get out of it..." (L35- 39. P12. Neelam).

The result of the acceptance of collectivist ideology over and above the individualistic Exit strategy and tacit acceptance of FM resulted in Neelam colluding with patriarchy. Neelam is saying that her patriarchal abusive and autocratic father had no alternative but to betrothal her FM as he too was under the same amount of pressure from their collective clan. However, in the UK which has a comprehensive welfare state system, the option to opt out of clan patriarchy was a viable alternative for her diasporic south Asian patriarchal male father. This was not an option for Neelam who as a female was the victim of FM and patriarchy perpetrated directly by her father and indirectly by her hegemonic clan.

Anisa "but I just still carried on you know because my mum she'll be um...my dad will say this to her my brothers will come on her like a ton of bricks..." (L 33-36. P8. Anisa).

Acceptance of collectivist ideology over the individualistic Exit strategy and tacit acceptance of FM resulted in Anisa colluding with patriarchy. She suffered HBV at the hands of her husband and nearly got killed in the process but carried on regardless because her patriarchy would derogate her mum verbally; although unwelcome, still far better than staying silent and leaving herself open to further attacks which could easily have resulted in her honour killing. By staying silent Anisa has put her own life in further jeopardy and colluded with patriarchy in relation to her husband, father, and brothers.

Kiran: "um he (husband) wasn't that bad he was all about trying to get his passport done and his family...and I started to think of him as a friend so like ok he is actually...were both sort of similar he didn't want to get married and all this but you know what we can make this...make something good out of it for both of us...I'd help around the house, his sisters they all...they all loved me." (L 27-35. P 7. Kiran)

By saying that that her FM husband "wasn't that bad", 'a friend with whom she could make something good come out of'; Kiran is colluding with patriarchy and describing AM not FM.

#### **4.11 Discussion of Super-ordinate theme five: Rejecting Individualistic Exit strategy.**

The emergent themes which came up through the super-ordinate theme of Rejecting individualistic Exit strategy included: Acceptance of Collectivist ideology, Tacit acceptance of FM, Colluding with patriarchy. After each participant experienced confusion and conflation in relation to AM/FM, as British-Asians they had the option to inform authorities about their plight and by using the Exit strategy to remove themselves from potential danger/harm. Anitha & Gill (2015) carried out a study over a period of ten years, showing that media reporting of FM constitutes a moral panic. In the newspaper study the women at the heart of this debate were deemed to lack agency who were victims of a deterministic culture, or as survivors who had distanced themselves from all aspects of their 'former' culture. Such narratives were framed by the ideas of otherness and often used differences between victim's former patriarchal culture against the liberal mainstream western communities to which they had escaped. This conceptualization reinforces the view that migrants should abandon their cultural traditions, which are seen-as the main cause of FM, they should assimilate to western

values which are unequivocally seen as privileging gender equality. Most participant in this study chose to remain in their collectivist culture/clan in favour of the little understood and therefore hostile Western individualistic culture. Anisa, Sarah and Sophie used the Exit strategy to leave their marriage but only after twelve, six and two and a half years respectively of abuse post FM involving an escalating level of DV/HBV which became increasingly intolerable.

According to Taher *et al* (2015), in British south-Asian families, FM is based on the practice of Endogamy. Marrying within the limits of a local community, tribe or clan is customary as well as cultural notions of Honour and Shame. In-an-attempt to reproduce cultural values diasporic communities go to great lengths and if that involves subtle pressure to ‘encourage’ their children to marry then this is seen as acceptable. However, this does not take-into-account the effect their actions have on the children who find themselves as unwilling ‘victims’ of FM, who do not complain because they do not want to bring dishonour and shame to their families. This study has shown how British Asian female members of a clan are subjected to patriarchal hegemonic control mechanisms such as not giving them access to the clan’s wealth which is instead transferred from father to son. Alison Shaw (1988) a social anthropologist turned her PhD thesis into a book ‘A Pakistani community in Britain’. This qualitative study of the Pakistani community in Oxford described and analysed family relationships, kin groups and arranged marriage systems in detail. The participants included numerous immigrant individuals in Oxford and their respective relatives in Pakistan. It suggested that a specific role was given to women in guarding family honour as the bearers of sons who would inherit the family wealth. Keeping the woman ‘sharif’ (respectable) made sure that the wealth was properly channelled through marriage. Married Women are usually not allowed to go to work thereby making them fully dependent on their patriarchs. Furthermore, the researcher’s emic perspective holds that girls are discouraged from further education since knowledge is power which can tilt the balance in their favour. Females are patronised and discouraged from taking part in political debate or running for office because that too would give them a voice with which to demand equality. The roles and responsibilities of clan males and females are clearly marked, and no derogation is permitted for the sake of maintaining social order. The unfortunate outcome of this collectivism is that females are largely excluded from economic and political activity at all levels and therefore justified in demanding more rights and equality. Patriarchal clan males wanting females to

marry someone chosen by the patriarchs using the practice of endogamy in-order-to serve the greater good of the clan is seen as their legitimate prerogative.

Based on the researcher's emic perspective, in south-Asian countries the patriarchal hegemonic status-quo is accepted by females since there is no culture of females working independently and no social support network. According to Gabriela B (2019) internalized patriarchy exists in all societies as an involuntary belief by girls and women that the lies, stereotypes, and myths about women are true. Women have been told their entire lives that they are weak, passive, manipulative etc. By saying you are feminist women are often labelled as man-hater. Women having internalized the sexism are subconsciously perpetuating it, and this is pretty much all women. Still to this day the patriarchal conditioning comes up in all societies and there is no quick fix, easy solution to internalized sexism and patriarchy as women have been conditioned by a patriarchal society their entire lives (no page no). According to Terry real (2018) women can be just as patriarchal as men by holding those same types of values and biases (no page no). Researcher insists that in democratic societies such as the UK, diasporic women should engage in all strata of civic society including political engagement, employment, and financial independence just like their male counterparts. This would instantly increase family's income thereby improving the clan's desired socio-economic status.

According to Okin (1998) & Dustin (2004) in the UK one of the approaches to the issue of FM was that of 'Exit', in which individuals are seen, as free agents who are free to leave, but for various reasons are not able to realise their personal preferences within their minority cultural community to leave that group. This exit strategy is meaningless for women of culture as it forces them to choose between their culture and their freedom, thereby failing to recognise the connection between culture and identity (Okin & Dustin.p550). In accepting the traditional collectivist culture of their clan, five of the eight participants maintained their identity; but had no real alternative but to accept their FM as the price diasporic south-Asian women pay for maintaining membership of their patriarchal hegemonic clan. This position automatically resulted in the participants unwitting collusion with patriarchy to maintain the status quo. Participants found the experience of FM positive if they accepted at some level that they had confused and conflated AM/FM which was further facilitated if the relationship did not involve DV; their husband was less patriarchal; they preferred their new surroundings or if the FM turned out to be better than they had expected. In the first few years of marriage,

all eight participants concluded they would be better off accepting AM/FM rather than exiting their community/culture even in half the cases that involved DV/HBV in which the participants found the experience negative. This was a finding difficult for the researcher to comprehend since it involved actual physical violence which participants somehow tolerated. However, if we take into account AM/FM conflation which was applicable to all participants then the abuse can be seen as DV which is a familiar problem in all societies. This section has met the aim of exploring the impact of why FM is positive for some and negative for others, why there is such polarity and the issue of compatibility and its significance in the FM debate. Participants first accepted their collectivist ideology followed by tacitly accepting their AM/FM by not explicitly rejecting it and then colluding with patriarchy to justify their decision. The next section looks at how participants used their difficult experience of AM/FM to help other females who find themselves in this situation. It will shed light on how the participants used their experience to become equality advocates in-order-to help others.

#### **Super-ordinate theme 4.12    Equality Advocate**

The super-ordinate theme of Equality Advocate has three emergent themes: Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM, rejecting hegemonic male patriarchy, hard won Emancipation.

##### **Emergent theme 4.12.1    Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM**

All participants identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM

Bina: "he (brother) was ten years older and that makes him a lot more wiser and he's a male which makes him more dominant in our culture and which just generally gives him more power over me being the younger female sister and... for that reason he knew what he was talking about and I should just accept..." (L16-25. P22. Bina)

Bina identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM, since she accepted that her brother was "male which makes him more dominant in our culture" [...] "gives him more power over me being the younger female" and older "wiser" brother was dominant in their relationship and therefore able to betrothal FM for Bina, and she as a female was submissive and therefore obliged to accept.

Sophie: "he doesn't respect me and swears at me and beats me up and I decided that living with him was impossible so after two and a half years the marriage ended" (L 4-6. P11). "I went and told the

police, the police put a [restraining] order on him preventing him from coming near me." (L 12-14. P 11. Sophie)

Sophie identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM, but it was only after much suffering that she finally went to the police to report her abusive husband. This only after the two-year qualifying period for permanent UK residential status had elapsed, so she could be confident of gaining permanent UK residential status, despite leaving her abusive marriage.

Kiran: "His father and his auntie were very negative about British girls very abusive basically we were called sluts, slags oh they go back, and they do this, and they hang around boys and...and I looked at him (husband) and he didn't utter a word...I [also] lost all respect for him then..." (L 2-7. P8. Kiran)

Kiran identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM and identified her patriarchal father-in-law as being derogatory towards British-Asian females to his sister. Since his patriarchal son did not defend his wife Kiran, she turned the tables on them by losing respect for both.

Neelam "my dad was responsible... he was the one to... forced me into the marriage...so he was obviously responsible for...what was happening to me...but I knew this marriage wasn't going to work." (L 20-23. P 12) "my dad had to say yes, and he couldn't ..he didn't wanna ruin the relationship that he had with his cousin brother and their family {clan patriarchy}" (L 35-38. P12. Neelam)

Neelam identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM as she was subjugated into FM by her patriarchal father who was in turn put under pressure by the clan. Neither FM nor patriarchy is a necessity in the UK with its robust social support system which is significantly less problematic than patriarchy.

Anisa: "he accused me...that I was with somebody...and...you know he tried to kill me basically...um under the honour...and I just called the police, and they came, and they wanted the evidence of which knife he used, and my brother was there, and he was saying to me not to give the knife because it was honour..." (L 6-12. P 9. Anisa)

Anisa understands she was the victim of patriarchy through the mechanism of HBV and identifies patriarchy as the root cause of FM. However, Anisa continued to defend her

husband under the cloak of honour despite her life being under imminent danger and despite the fact she did not appreciate or accept FM, HBV, and patriarchy.

Mariam: "I just smiled, and I laughed with them" (L 17- 18. P13) "I just thought to myself this is it this is who we are...it's the Asian culture of Asian women, this is what we do..." (L 38-40. P 19. Mariam)

Mariam understands that as a British-Asian female she is obliged to accept what she believed was FM as a cultural practice in her insular patriarchal culture and therefore identifies and accepts patriarchy as the root cause of FM.

Sarah: " my father-in-law had two boys...from other marriage and then they said why you didn't take my son...they never asked us...okay take (adopt) my son...but they had a problem that he's (adopted son) is coming from my family...and they didn't like it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother's son (Adopted from maternal side of family)...they think so, so, so far...I don't I still don't know they still say they oh like, they still okay, but I don't think they okay with him...and they didn't like it...cos you know their land...their house, their everything will go to...my son who is my brother's son." (L14- 29. P8. Sarah)

Sarah identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM and knew that adopting her brother's son would have serious implications for her patriarchal in-laws; but she went ahead regardless in the hope that as a female matriarch she could purchase considerable (financial) leverage against patriarchy through her adopted son by channelling her in-law's accumulated wealth to his biological father who was also her brother. A move in patriarchal politics similar to stealing her husband's land, property, and giving it to her brother and his son as she chose not to adopt her father-in-law's son who is seen as the legitimate (genetically related) heir to Sarah's husband's wealth accumulated over many generations and lifetimes.

Amelia: "...a part of me felt that what am I even crying about what have I even lost? It never was a marriage he never wanted me but...in the eyes of society and my culture my family, everybody knew that we were married...had children it was this...it was the honour and respect from my family, it felt like I've lost it all...I felt that I've failed in all aspects ... because my husband's left me...it was a big thing having a marriage...and having a failed

marriage was...it was very disappointing, I felt ashamed I felt embarrassed for my family..." (L 18-29. P 18. Amelia)

Amelia did not want to get married to her husband and he certainly did not want to marry her but they both found themselves married to each other. The social stigma of divorce from patriarchal clan members was still too much to tolerate since they were-seen-as the root cause of FM. Amelia wished to avoid the humiliation directed at her and her immediate family by society and culture as well as patriarchal clan members of Amelia's husband's family and by implication her own extended family since Amelia and her husband were relatives.

#### **Emergent theme 4.12.2 Rejecting male hegemonic patriarchy**

After identifying patriarchy as the root cause of FM, all participants ended up rejecting male hegemonic patriarchy.

Bina: "I don't think his (Brother's) intensions were bad at all really I think in his head he thought he (Husband) would look after me, he was the best person he was mature he was sensible; he was educated, he ticked all the boxes. He was a reliable person he even told me he'd make a good dad and I'd have educated kids and (ha ha) ... it all makes sense now when I'm older but at that time I just rejected and resented everything he said..." (L 37-40. P 21; L 1-7. P 22. Bina)

Bina talks and laughs ironically about reasons why she should accept patriarchal subjugation thereby rejecting hegemonic male patriarchy, as she is not conveying that she accepts this as a valid argument. Especially as the marriage ended by her "mature", "reliable", "sensible", and "educated" husband who was supposed to look after her but ended up walking out on Bina.

Sophie "I decided that living with him was impossible so after two and a half years the marriage ended" (L 5-6. P11). "I went and told the police, the police put a (restraining) order on him preventing him from coming near me." (L 12-14. P 11. Sophie).

After Sophie identified the problems being associated with her patriarchal husband and father-in-law, she used Exit strategy to escape the intolerable violence regardless of the implications for dishonouring her clan. Patriarchs would still have judged Sophie's actions dis-honourable if she filed for divorce before the two-year probation period for permanent



residency was completed but she feared being sent back to (south Asian country) if she complained earlier. Sophie was not aware that in cases of DV or HBV in the UK, asylum is automatically granted to victims regardless of immigration stage or status. By going to the police Sophie rejected hegemonic male patriarchy as she did not want to sacrifice her freedom as a UK citizen in exchange for a return to patriarchal subjugation back in south-Asia which she escaped by paying a heavy price in terms of losing community and culture and suffering years of HBV.

Kiran: "I found (sharp intake) he'd left his phone around and I found text messages from other women and...and for me that was a relief because at that point I was thinking I can't live with him anymore..." (L 22-26. P 12. Kiran)

Kiran only rejected hegemonic male patriarchy by deciding to leave her FM husband of twelve years after she discovered he was cheating on her despite everything she had done and gone through to accommodate and support him. Kiran was in-fact being punished by her patriarchal husband over all those years for disrespecting him on the first night by telling him she 'did not want to marry him'.

Neelam: "there was no real relationship between us I decided to tell my... mum and my aunties ... um...um...just the whole situation really...and what was going on...and they, they realised that what you know...that what he was doing and how they...how he he were treating me wasn't right..." (L 29-34. P 14. Neelam)

Neelam rejected hegemonic male patriarchy by telling her mother so she could inform her patriarchal father that the marriage he had forced her into was not working, and that as her patriarch he had to get her out of the marriage quickly before people started speculating and thereby bringing further dishonour to the clan.

Anisa: "rang the police up because he was up all that night as well...and I rang them up and I just said I'm just worried because I could see in his eyes, he was going to do something that day or he had done something, but I didn't know what it was..." (L 38-40. P 9; L 1-3. P 10) "so I rang them and said I just had a fear... I thought if I go home, he'll either kill me and nobody would find out um..." (L 10-12. P 10. Anisa).

Anisa finally rejected hegemonic male patriarchy using the Exit strategy by calling the police but only after realising her husband's behaviour had become dangerously unstable and she was literally risking her life by continuing to challenge him.

Amelia: "he (husband) did want a boy...I started to resent them all to be honest, I just wanted another girl because I thought this family doesn't deserve a boy...they just...how could they be so nasty about females because if there wasn't females in the world they wouldn't have boys...and how could they be so ignorant not know that it's their son, who decides sex of the baby not me!" (L 12-20. P11. Amelia)

Amelia finally rejected hegemonic male patriarchy, after giving birth to a son following a daughter and it was then that she realised the extent of sexual inequality within her husbands extended family which made her resent them all.

Mariam: "he (LM suitor) spoke to his family, he went crazy like oh they did this behind my back, she's not wanting to do this I'm telling you, she didn't want this...um and then after a while I hear that he's in (M's town), he's gone to the family, like oh you lot did this to me. She didn't want to be with him, you lot have forced, it's against (religion)...um how could you have done this to her". (L 7-13. P16) "I can't do this anymore, I can't be with this guy I've accepted to marry...I've married him, I can't be with him, I really wanna marry the one I wanna be with..." (L 14-18. P 17. Mariam)

Mariam rejected FM and hegemonic male patriarchy but only after receiving support from the man she was in love with who suddenly reappeared as her knight in shining armour.

Sarah: "he (husband) was swearing everyday shouting everyday... and telling me to leave his house because I'm eating his food, I'm living free in his house ... and...everyday like every day same thing...in front of my son sometimes ...so I, I [only] waited like six months with him..." (L 32-38. P8) "... I spoke to (participant five who introduced Sarah to research) at that time...I was looking for private renting... and then she told me go to (women's organisation) and I went to (women's organisation) and they helped me...to find a place...and I left him (husband) (L 5-11. P9. Sarah)

Sarah rejected hegemonic male patriarchy by using the Exit strategy and moving out with her adopted son to escape the relentless abuse.

### **Emergent theme 4.12.3 Hard won emancipation**

All participants came to the realisation that emancipation was hard-won.

Sophie: ".....I used to take a lot of tension and I didn't used to feel hungry so I went into depression and.....it's not been a good impact on my life in forced marriage....seven months ago I really wasn't well, I had gone into depression, the tension led me to stop eating/drinking but now I am better because I have completely removed him out of my heart, my life, I don't think about him anymore (L 28-35. P 11. Sophie). "My auntie wanted me to go back to (south Asian country) but I don't want to go back..." (L 15-16. P10) "and I couldn't work there, here at-least I can work and stand on my own feet." (L 25-26. P 10. Sophie)

Sophie was given the option to go back to her patriarchal clan in south-Asia where she would once again be subjugated to patriarchy, but she refused. After leaving her husband Sophie had identified and rejected male hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM and finally felt emancipated as she was 'able to work and stand on her own feet'.

Kiran: ".....so I returned home back and my father my dad didn't want me to work...." (L 7-9. P 9)" the seven years he (husband) spent with me all he was doing is earning and he was sending money back, but they had nothing to show..." (L2-4. P11) "I've remarried, but I'm not the same person it's not a case of well you know I'm earning a hundred and you're earning a hundred and you know what I'll spend it on my husband...but this time round he's been through similar, so we understand we've got more of an understanding we've got a [mutual] friendship..." (L 38-40. P 20; L 1-4. P 21. Kiran)

Kiran experienced a lot of difficulties in her first marriage, and it was only after she re-married (out of her clan) that she identified how she was kept financially dependent by her (clan's) patriarchal father and first husband. Kiran understood and rejected hegemonic male patriarchy as the root cause of FM and finally felt emancipated because her second husband was not patriarchal.

Bina: "I think being forced into marriage has empowered me in many ways because I feel that if I have survived this then I can survive anything and I'm very open about it and I'm happy to share my experiences with anybody who is going through a similar ordeal..." (L 4-11. P 25. Bina).

Bina resented patriarchal subjugation, hence everything that her father/brother said was inconsequential. Once Bina had identified and rejected hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM, she finally felt emancipated as she wants to help others by sharing her difficult experience and insight.

Neelam: "I feel like it has changed me, like I've learnt a lot of things from this marriage and, what to do wha um...I felt like I have learnt things...I've become. I have become a lot stronger and...um and just to listen to more like...yeah...probably in a way it has made me confident..." (L 15-20. P 20. Neelam).

Neelam had a hard time in her marriage, and it was only after she left that she identified and rejected male hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM and finally felt emancipated.

Anisa: "when I was in the refuge, they wanted me to help counsel other (FM) women...to be part of the group...um to... because some women used to come in and I could see because I was in that same position...you can't see it until you're outside the box..." (L 27-32. P 27. Anisa)

Anisa waited until she left her abusive husband and sought counselling at a women's refuge before she identified male hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM and finally felt emancipated.

Mariam: "tell me now and I'll stop everything...who do you want to marry? He goes I was in a forced marriage myself... and I didn't know the ins and outs of how you feel Mariam .... who do you want to marry, and I cried, and I cried, and I cried, and he goes just tell me now, who do you wanna marry? And I said the one I wanted to marry, and he wiped my tears...and he said don't worry we'll do this..." "so I think because of him and that chat that I had, it made him realise that...this is something that's gotta stop...or I don't know...what it was...and then... everyone just agreed...the families got together and (inhales) we got (LM) married." (L 16-20. P 20. Mariam)

It took a lot of courage for Mariam to tell her uncle that she wanted to marry the man she was in love with but by doing so, she finally identified and challenged hegemonic male patriarchy as the root cause of FM. Mariam was the only participant to successfully challenge her patriarchal clans FM to marry the man she loved and therefore finally felt emancipated.

Importantly even though Mariam was coerced into marriage, and she divorced her AM husband for LM husband within the same clan. Mariam did not suffer any ‘consequences’ for dishonouring, going completely against and disrupting her deeply patriarchal hegemonic clans well thought out plans for her marriage.

Sarah: “I wanted to come to UK... now (in the UK) my brother say oh you should go live in (south Asian country). Why should I go now ...cos I’m ...I can look after myself now, and you want me to go back!?!...” (L 3-7. P 10. Sarah)

It was only after Sarah and adopted son left her abusive husband and her patriarchal brother tried to convince her to go back to south-Asia that she identified and rejected male hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM and finally felt emancipated to look after herself.

Amelia: “they’re nothing [patriarchal] like their father, they’re strong minded, they’re all educated they’re all graduates and all three of them are...I couldn’t ask for...I couldn’t ask for anything better really they’ve all turned out to be lovely human beings and I hope they find lovely partners and...” (L 15-23. P 19) “I’m ...a very strong role model for my children and...they respect me so much and they would never experience what I’ve experienced, I will make sure of that...” (L 6-9. P 19. Amelia).

Amelia had experienced a lot of pain and suffering in her marriage before her husband left her for another woman. That is when she finally identified and rejected male hegemonic patriarchy as the root cause of FM before she finally felt emancipated.

#### **4.13 Discussion of super-ordinate theme six: Equality Advocate**

Once the participants had rejected individualist Exit strategy in favour of collectivism, tacitly accepted FM and colluded with patriarchy, the only thing left to do was to make sense of their experience. This resulted in the super-ordinate theme of Equality advocate which presented three emergent themes: Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM; Rejecting hegemonic male patriarchy and Hard-won emancipation. Participants finally felt courageous enough to speak their mind and defend their individual interests over and above that of their clan. This emancipation was hard won as participants were subjected to patriarchy which they

had to identify and accept as the root cause of FM, which they then subsequently rejected. Only half of the participants had negative experiences of FM since they felt they were forced into marriage and experienced DV or HBV; although the other half felt they were also forced into marriage, they did not experience DV or HBV, found that they liked their husbands, shared common interests, and got on well together at-least up to the point when their patriarchal husbands abandoned them. Ironically, it was the patriarchal husbands who ended the marriage in most cases although participants would have persevered in what they perceived to be FM. Since the marriage ended through no fault of the participants even though they tried their utmost to make it work for the benefit of the collective clan; they were again left to pick up the pieces of their frenetic experience. Participants were kept in the dark over what was happening to their marriage until their patriarchal husbands had themselves made the decision for them that they would leave the marriage.

The critical issue of consent seems to be the pervading theme expressed by all participants as they found it incredible that they live in a society (UK) in which consent has become the battle ground for female emancipation and yet they find themselves in an all-consuming struggle against collectivist patriarchal hegemony over this very issue. Participants expressed delight in having overcome the challenges of patriarchy as they felt empowered in looking forward to a future in which they were masters of their own destiny i.e., no longer under the control of patriarchy. Since most participants did not end the marriage themselves, they would have stayed in their FM perhaps because it did not seem so bad after the event. The implication is that participants saw their marriage from a western individualistic perspective before AM and from a south-Asian collectivist perspective subsequently after conflation with FM. Since most participants who were not experiencing HBV would have stayed in FM, and even some who were experiencing HBV, it is further support for the argument that participants had conflated AM/FM. Researcher realised participants had conflated AM/FM but saw individualism and collectivism as two separate and distinct cultural identities which individuals would have to navigate and negotiate as British-Asian women.

**Analysis of FM interview three with Kiran by Tahir Azim**

**Appendix 5**

Subsumption leading to super-ordinate themes	Key words
Prospect of FM as major unwanted change. Unexpected Disappointing Shattered dreams	Didn't feel right, just awful, can't describe, I was just given away, looking at him just made me feel... Lived in those Bollywood movies, knew I was gonna to be made a scape goat Marry from outside family, have a comfortable life, at ten I knew I was gonna be a ticket for her family
Experienced inequality against patriarchy Loss of expected self Excessive thinking Unrealistic expectations	I begged mother I'd marry anyone from UK, she replied if I told your dad he would kill you I was not going to end the marriage until I had those three girls...they had to be... (emotional) I think I lived in those Bollywood movies
Challenged Patriarchy Feminism challenges Patriarchy Perceived lack of choice in AM Opposition against AM	I sat him down and I told him straight look I've seen this....I didn't wanna marry you ...I begged her and I said to her that I'd marry anyone as long as they were from the UK ...I just could not comprehend myself living there
AM/FM confusion and conflation Wanting Equality Conflation between AM/FM Rejection of AM/FM	I saw her working and I picked up on their weaknesses and I picked up on his weaknesses I nodded my head the third time...so just did not accept it, my heart did not accept it I'm telling you now when I go back, I will not be calling you over I will not support you
Rejecting Individualistic Exit strategy Acceptance of Collectivist ideology Tacit acceptance of FM Colluding with Patriarchy	started to think of him as a friend... were both sort of similar he didn't want to get married but you know what we can make this...make something good out of it for both of us started to think of him as a friend...we can make something good out of it for both of us
Equality advocate Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM Rejecting hegemonic male Patriarchy Hard won Emancipation	I looked at him (husband) and he didn't utter a word...I lost all respect for him that was a relief because at that point I was thinking I can't live with him anymore this time round he's been through similar, we've got an understanding we've got a friendship

**Verbatim transcript three analysis with Kiran**

Original script themes

1) Descriptive 2) Linguistic & 3) Conceptual comments

Emergent

<p>1:T. Thank you for having the interview recorded, 2:please tell me what were your hopes and 3:expectations about marriage before you were forced 4:into marriage?</p> <p>5:K. Um (54.48)... (clears throat) my hopes my 6:expectations, well they were like any British born 7:young woman that would be watching Bollywood 8:growing up, watching Bollywood movies and(54.36) 9:... Um but at the back of mind knowing that you're 10:going to end up marrying a (high pitched tone) first 11:cousin... I was... plagued with our family how it was 12:my, my parents being the youngest of their siblings, 13:there was a lot more pressure on but my hopes 14:were always like I was gonna meet somebody and 15:fall in love(54.16)...um I (exhales) I think for me the 16:only aim was I just really really hoped it wasn't a 17:cousin, I did not (emphasis) want to get married to 18:a cousin...I don't know what it was but at that point 19:being fifteen sixteen I wanted a decent I wanted a 20:good education and I wanted to marry someone 21:from outside family not in the family (53.53) ...Just 22:have a a comfortable life...being happy at a friend in 23:the partner somebody I could talk to 24:somebody...who was on my wavelength um...I 25:guess somebody who spoke English(53.40)... yeah... 26:that's my...yeah somebody who'd understood me... 27:can't give you more details than that now (nervous 28:laughter) ..... Um growing up my father spent a lot 29:of time abroad who... as mum single handedly 30:bought us up...um but (clears throat) she had the 31:majority of her family back home back in (south</p>	<p align="center">Time 56 minutes</p> <p>1)Kiran grew up as a British Asian female hoping that she would meet somebody and fall in love, having been influenced by Bollywood Movies which are often based on romantic themes, but instinctively knew she belonged to a culture in which she would most likely end up marrying a first cousin.2) Like any British born young woman that would be watching Bollywood growing up, watching Bollywood movies. (54.36) ...Um but at the back of mind knowing that you're going to end up marrying a (high pitched tone) first cousin -Implies expectations of marriage based on choice, autonomy &amp; love; but knowing that real life is very different from movies, and she would have to accept a cousin marriage.3) Growing up Kiran had the spectre of a cousin marriage hanging over her which she wanted to avoid but without exiting her culture/clan perhaps because Kiran valued her collectivist culture more than she valued marriage based on romantic love.</p> <p>1)Kiran knew that it was impossible for her to choose her partner based on LM as she belonged to a collectivist culture in which her parents would choose AM for her and the best, she could hope for was that her husband was compatible, understanding, spoke (fluent) English and not a first cousin. 2)I wanted to marry someone from outside family not in the family(53.53)...Just have a a comfortable life...being happy at a friend in the partner somebody I could talk to somebody...who was on my wavelength um...I guess somebody who spoke English(53.40)... yeah... that's my... yeah somebody who'd understood me-Implies Kiran knew a cousin marriage was on the cards and she just wanted a husband who was not a first cousin and on the same wavelength as her so that they could both spend a comfortable happy life together.3) Kiran is being rational, reasonable and is at this stage ready to negotiate and compromise about her future husband, although she hoped her expectations would be taken into consideration by her parents.</p> <p>1)Since Kiran was raised mostly by her mother and had single male cousins in south-Asia who were relatively poor and keen to marry a UK citizen to improve their life chances; Kiran knew that AM with a maternal first cousin was inevitable so the only question was which cousin she would find herself marrying. Kiran knew her husband would be a first cousin, not fluent in English but there was still a chance he might at least be compatible and on the same wavelength. 2) I always being the eldest of</p>	<p>High prior expectations of love and marriage Sought equality, Unexpected and unwanted change, loss of expected self, unexpected outcome, Shattered dreams.</p> <p>Unexpected, Shattered dreams of love, Loss of innocence, Loss of hope, Major life event, Major upheaval, disappointing outcome.</p> <p>Disappointment, Loss of self, loss of time, major upheaval, difficult life event. Perceived lack of choice in AM.</p>
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<p>32:Asian Country) and...it was her, I always being the  1:eldest of five I always knew I was gonna be(53.08)...a  2:ticket for her family to be well off...so I think growing  3:up soon as I was ten eleven I knew I was going to end  4:up marrying one of my cousins from back home from  5:my mums side um in so many ways my mum used to  6:be always very very negative towards my, my dad's  7:side so although there were potentials in my dad's  8:side...that I knew that was never gonna  9:happen(52.47) ...and my mum would always sort of  10:praise them a lot more, I'd get the odd outfit sent  11:and not sent for my other my sister so...it's clues  12:like that that were there that were existed...I guess  13:er(52.30)...there wasn't a relationship as a father  14:daughter relationship because my father to a  15:degree even with my mother, I just...(exhales) I  16:think I lived in those Bollywood movies(52.14)...that  17:I felt this is...but deep down (emotional tone) even  18:though I knew this that I was gonna be made a  19:scape goat I guess... my parents and...I think when I  20:hit teenage, I was a teenager I felt like I was a  21:burden on both of em and hence been taken to  22:(south Asian Country) when I was sixteen(51.55)...I  23:knew at that point I probably I wasn't going to  24:come back not being married, but I was lucky to  25:return not being married (nervous laugh) a year and  26:a half later on... yeah...but they had the pressure as  27:well(51.33).....(emotional) sorry.....can I go onto  28:question two?</p> <p>29:T. Um you can ok. Can you describe in your own  30:words your experience of being forced into your  31:marriage?</p> <p>32:K. Right um(50.51)...when I returned back from  33:(south Asian Country) I was seventeen and a couple  34:of months um... and it wasn't made obvious to me  35:but I got to know from my elder first cousins that  36:that I'd been engaged to my mums  37:nephew(50.33)...so um...I knew who he was, I never</p>	<p>five I always knew I was gonna be(53.08)...a ticket for her family to be well off...so I think growing up soon as I was ten eleven I knew I was going to end up marrying one of my cousins from back home from my mums side. Implies-Kiran saw herself as a commodity that would be traded in for the benefit of the collective clan in the absence of well-paid jobs in south Asia. 3) Kiran seems resigned to the inevitability of this unwanted union due to the dire economic situation of the clan which has already crossed 2/3 of her red lines, Kiran's only hope left was that prospective husband turns out to be compatible and friendly.</p> <p>1)Kiran did not feel that she or her mother had a good relationship with her father, and she must have been deeply disappointed by this lack of paternal love; created a parallel fantasy based on Bollywood movies which represented a much happier aspirational life based on love and equality, the opposite of her current situation.2) I guess er(52.30)...there wasn't a relationship as a father daughter relationship because my father to a degree even with my mother, I just...(exhales) I think I lived in those Bollywood movies(52.14)...that I felt this is...but deep down (emotional tone) even though I knew this that I was gonna be made a scape goat I guess... my parents and...I think when I hit teenage, I was a teenager I felt like I was a burden on both of em.3) In real life Kiran knew she had a miserable future in an AM with a first cousin but in her Bollywood fantasy things seemed much better, brighter and that is where she spent most of her time through the magic of movies.</p> <p>1)As anticipated Kiran's parents had arranged her marriage to a maternal first cousin but she did not like him as a person, his personality or the fact he was younger than her. Paternal relatives tried to talk her out of this match in the hope she would instead choose to marry a paternal cousin.2) I'd been engaged to my mums nephew (50.33)...so um...I knew who he was, I never liked, I did not like him I just as a person he was he was...one of the things was he was a younger than me...the way I'd seen him their house the way they were living it just...I just could not comprehend myself living there, erm it was my first cousins elder ones and they tried to talk me out of it they wanted me to stand up for myself and said to me oh you could do so much better etc and these were the cousins my mum always had warned me of and said they'd turn just against parents um(49.51)- Implies-Kiran knew her fiancée well</p>	<p>grief of losing expected self, personal relationships problematic, miserable future, deep dissatisfaction, unrealistic expectations. Manipulated by Bollywood media which enabled withdrawal into fantasy perhaps as a form of protection. Major unwanted change which was disappointing.</p> <p>Experiencing sorrow, sadness, helplessness, difficulty, and disappointment at patriarchal culture in which women were treated as second class citizens even in postmodern liberal UK. Led to opposition against AM.</p>
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38:liked, I did not like him I just as a person he was he  
1:was...one of the things was he was a younger than  
2:me...the way I'd seen him their house the way they  
3:were living it just...I just could not comprehend  
4:myself living there, erm it was my first cousins elder  
5:ones and they tried to talk me out of it they wanted  
6:me to stand up for myself and said to me oh you  
7:could do so much better etc and these were the  
8:cousins my mum always had warned me of and said  
9:they'd turn just against parents um(49.51)...so when  
10:my mum when I found this out six months later on,  
11:they were prepping me to go to (south Asian  
12:Country) to get married um...cos my mum my dad  
13:um were going my four younger siblings were  
14:staying here(49.36)...um my sister she were only  
15:about elev, twelve when I went...was taken to  
16:(south Asian Country) she was to stay home back in  
17:the UK and look after the rest of the siblings and I  
18:was gonna go...I approached my mother and I  
19:begged her(49.17)...I begged her and I said to her  
20:that I'd marry anyone (emotional tone) as long as  
21:they were from the UK I didn't wanna have a say on  
22:who he was, I just did not want to get married from  
23:(south Asian Country) and her reply to that was  
24:that(48.59)...if she told my dad my dad would kill  
25:me... I wasn't...when I returned from (south Asian  
26:Country) I didn't go to school I wasn't, I was told I  
27:couldn't go to college, carry on with my education  
28:so I left school when I was fifteen with no education  
29:no GCSE's...stay home um, mum used to go out and  
30:I was looking after the kids and looking after the  
31:house(48.32) (exhales emotional tone)...I used to  
32:always reading up on (Religious) quotes  
33:spiritually...if I said no it's not a marriage  
34:(48.22)...um so I kept telling myself it's gonna be  
35:fine...none of my siblings none of them would...  
36:well my sister knew, my sister knew I didn't want to  
37:but she was twelve she couldn't do anything for  
38:me...and my brother although he was only a year  
39:younger than me but I didn't have that kind of

enough to know she did not like him, his personality or younger age and paternal relatives tried to talk her out of it as they wanted her to marry into their side of the family.3) Kiran's dreams of LM based on the magic of movies had been crushed, she had to confront the harsh, painful reality of her impending AM to a first cousin she did not like, who couldn't speak fluent English and was also younger than her. Kiran could have rejected maternal cousin she did not like for a paternal cousin she did like without bringing dishonour to the collective clan; but she simply did not want to marry anyone in the family.

1)Kiran pleaded with mum to let her marry someone from the UK but then the needy clan members back home would not benefit thereby decimating the principles of collective ideology. Mum felt compelled to invoke the 'code of honour killing' to prevent her naïve young daughter from even thinking about bringing dishonour to the clan by expressing a desire to marry outside.  
2) I approached my mother and I begged her(49.17)...I begged her and I said to her that I'd marry anyone (emotional tone) as long as they were from the UK I didn't wanna have a say on who he was, I just did not want to get married from (south Asian Country) and her reply to that was that (48.59)...if she told my dad my dad would kill me- Implies Kiran faced her mum telling her she did not want to get married from back home, but the response she got was disproportionate and alarming.3) Kiran found herself in an unfamiliar situation which she did not like and could not see a way out of.

1)Kiran had decided at this stage that she did not want to enter into AM and since none of her siblings could help her in this difficult situation; when she was asked to marry her maternal first cousin, she had decided to use her prerogative to say no.2) If I said no it's not a marriage (48.22)...um so I kept telling myself it's gonna be fine...none of my siblings none of them would... well my sister knew, my sister knew I didn't want to but she was twelve she couldn't do anything for me...and my brother although he was only a year younger than me but I didn't have that kind of relationship with him that I could ask him for help I couldn't ask for help from anyone really(47.53)Implies-Kiran felt she was alone in her struggle against her impending marriage but she knew she could always say no to this match but then she would be obliged to marry another cousin from back home.3) Kiran's choices for AM were limited and she imposed conditions on top which made it almost impossible for the needs of the entire diasporic and indigenous collective clan to be met.

1)Father started showing affection to Kiran because she was about to be married off, to start her new life with her husband (chosen by parents not Kiran), in-laws and it would cause him emotional pain to 'give' his daughter away. Mesmerised by this welcome change which seemed to fill a gaping void for paternal acceptance, resulted in Kiran blocking out all her long-held hopes and desires for marriage

Experiencing disappointment, regret, loss of expected self, painful transition, Lack of choice in AM. Although Kiran knew her patriarchs would never harm her, perhaps through a sense of fear and duty she felt trapped.

Steadfast, determined, opposition, challenge, helplessness, absurdity, alienation, indifference, Unrealistic expectations, rejection, desire.

Painful experiences led to creation of fantasy perhaps as a defence mechanism.

40:relationship with him that I could ask him for help I  
1:couldn't ask for help from anyone really(47.53)...  
2:(emotional) um...so finally when I did go to (south  
3:Asian Country) um...when I was about to go to (south  
4:Asian Country) that was the only time that my father  
5:actually showed me affection(47.41) ...and I wanted  
6:to hold on to that and so for that I think a part of me  
7:just blocked things out and I just wanted to like get  
8:this over and done with...um I'll call him over here  
9:(husband after marriage) and then he won't want to  
10:be with me he'll divorce me and I'll carry on with  
11:my life and that sort of thing started getting on I did  
12:hear about other people getting married and it not  
13:working out(47.20)...um so when we did go and I  
14:saw him...and he was (exhales)...I just I ju didn't  
15:want to he just looking at him just made me  
16:feel(47.00)...can't describe the feeling but I just did  
17:not feel right just awful um they had this very very  
18:simple wedding...it was from involvement from  
19:parents very simple and I did feel I was just given  
20:away(46.39)...but from me the breaking point  
21:was...it was a couple of weeks before I was going to  
22:(south Asian Country) to get married um I  
23:overheard my parents talking and my mother told  
24:my dad that she doesn't wanna marry him she's  
25:told me, I never thought she would do but she  
26:did(46.10)...and his answer was well if she doesn't  
27:wanna marry him who has she got...? And that was  
28:something...that I've never done...the boyfriend  
29:girlfriend type of culture didn't exist in our families  
30:and it was something that was against, I've never  
31:done it's not something my religion didn't allow me  
32:and I accepted that(45.43) ... my religion was  
33:precious to me...weren't fully practising but I did  
34:used to read (holy book) and the odd prayer that I  
35:could...but hearing that what my father this is what  
36:my father thought that... I dunno I guess it just it  
37:just felt vulgar(45.21)...I just didn't like my father  
38:saying something like that so in a way I wanted to  
39:prove to him that I wasn't (in a relationship outside

based on romantic movies in exchange for the real love expressed by her father.2) when I was about to go to (south Asian Country) that was the only time that my father actually showed me affection(47.41) ...and I wanted to hold on to that and so for that I think a part of me just blocked things out and I just wanted to like get this over and done with.... Implies-Kiran was overwhelmed by her father's affection at the physical, psychological, social, spiritual level and she chose to accept her AM with her maternal first cousin from back home whom she did not like but would now accept due to the affection, validation and approval she finally received from her father.3) Kiran discarded all her hopes and desires about marriage on the basis of her father's approval/affection which he used extremely successfully as a tool for patriarchal domination. Fathers affection was subject to absolute compliance to his wishes to marry his daughter where it would deliver maximum benefit to the clan at the expense of Kiran's personal desire.

1)Kiran had been successfully manipulated by her patriarchal father to voluntarily accept AM with a first cousin she did not like. Kiran did not understand how her father had been withholding affection from her perhaps since she was a child because he knew that it would be a useful tool for manipulation at this critical juncture in which his reputation and honour within the clan were potentially at stake.2) I just I ju didn't want to he just looking at him just made me feel(47.00)...can't describe the feeling but I just did not feel right just awful um they had this very very simple wedding...it was from involvement from parents very simple and I did feel I was just given away(46.39. Implies-Kiran felt as a female, she had been given away (as a worthless commodity which had been traded in) by her patriarchal father to her new patriarchal husband.3) Kiran felt ill at ease during the wedding ceremony to a cousin she did not like, as she did not understand that she was being used as a commodity to bring about financial gain to the clan; and certain honour to her father for raising an obedient and dutiful daughter who sacrificed herself for the benefit of the clan.

1)Before marriage Kiran overheard her father casting doubt on her chastity and honour which she found vulgar because it was untrue and implied she had acted out her fantasies for romantic love and hence violated the code of honour expected from females within her south Asian collectivist culture.  
2)Before I was going to (south Asian Country) to get married um I overheard my parents talking and my mother told my dad that she doesn't wanna marry him she's told me, I never thought she would do but she did(46.10)...and his answer was well if she doesn't wanna marry him who has she got...? And that was something...that I've never done...the boyfriend girlfriend type of culture didn't exist in our families-Implies It was vulgar as Kiran had already sacrificed her hopes and desires for duty and honour and therefore doubt at this stage meant she had done all this in vain.3) Kiran had sacrificed all her individual dreams to gain approval from her powerful patriarch, and since he was now casting doubt on her commitment to the clan in wanting LM outside the clan, she became resolute in wanting AM to the cousin she did not like in return for approval/validation from her patriarchal father/culture/clan.

Serious decision, impossible choice, conflicting opinions, charged atmosphere, perceived lack of autonomy, confusion, frustration, rejection, no clear or easy way out.

Excessive thinking, resentment, ambivalence, pain, anger, impotence. This rage was internalised thereby creating a parallel internal fantasy world.

40:marriage) so I accepted (exhales) that I am going to  
 1:get married so(45.11)...I went to (south Asian  
 2:Country)...I got married my two first cousins, two  
 3:cousins were there they both knew, the same age as  
 4:me similar that point I was eighteen one of my  
 5:cousins was sixteen his sister was seventeen & a  
 6:half(44.52) ... they both knew that I didn't wanna  
 7:marry him and...I remember when...the first day that  
 8:I went...I begged my cousin I said to her you have to  
 9:get me out of there tonight, I'm not staying the night  
 10:you have to get me out and I don't know how but  
 11:she sent her brother and after I was there for about  
 12:four or five hours(44.18)...I felt numb I can't  
 13:remember any feelings I can't remember anything  
 14:that was going on...it just all...things were  
 15:happening around me but I wasn't  
 16:there(44.17)...but I remember my cousin came and  
 17:I felt like he was an angel, he came and he said I'm  
 18:taking her back home and she can come back  
 19:tomorrow and they were like oh no no she's come  
 20:here and he made it clear he said you're not doing a  
 21:(ceremony) so there's no need for her to stay, she  
 22:can come back tomorrow I'm taking her(43.44)... so  
 23:he did he brought me back um...and I remember it  
 24:was me him and his sister and we went back and he  
 25:took us for a drive after that and just being able to  
 26:stand there next to the sea and feeling  
 27:that...(emotional) that's when I actually thought  
 28:that(43.24)...I could breathe...I stayed back at my  
 29:parents for about four days...trying to get my head  
 30:around it (being married) trying to look at it  
 31:(religious perspective) how I was going to make it  
 32:work...er I just kept telling myself that it wasn't a  
 33:(religious ceremony) that this was not a (religious  
 34:ceremony) it was(43.00)...that when they asked me  
 35:the (religious ceremony official) was asking me I  
 36:didn't say yes the first time, I didn't say yes the  
 37:second time, and I nodded my head the third time  
 38:because I was told to do so(42.47)...so just did not  
 39:accept it, my heart did not accept it that it was

1)In her mind Kiran had already decided to get married to her first cousin even-though she did not like him and eventually nodded approval at the third time of asking in line with tradition. Did not accept her marriage at this stage but agreed reluctantly to go along with it and at the same time tried to look for weaknesses she could exploit in the in-laws perhaps to gain some leverage/power in the face of anticipated patriarchal domination from her new husband.2) I didn't say yes the first time, I didn't say yes the second time, and I nodded my head the third time because I was told to do so(42.47)...so just did not accept it, my heart did not accept it. I went...it was during the day and they lived with an extended family and I could...I just sat there and I observed for the whole day what was happening in that house and I picked up on it that his mother wasn't (41.50)...she didn't have no respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or anything, she was there as a purely as a servant...and I saw her working and I picked up on their weaknesses and I picked up on his weaknesses what he was what his lifestyle and everything was-implies Kiran found herself coerced by patriarchy into marriage with another patriarchal man who was younger than her and she decided to use this age difference to gain some advantage in her fight against patriarchal domination.3) Kiran now understands patriarchy and the coercive role it played in her marriage and she noticed how the females in her husband's family were treated like servants who had no respect under patriarchy. Finally, it all made sense but there was very

Kiran conflated AM/FM and agreed to get married under protest as all her attempts to stop FM so far had failed. Sacrifice, capitulation, defeat, opposition, challenge, confrontation, subversion, cunning, manipulation, conflict, crisis, fighting back, Feminism v Patriarchy. Helplessness, anger, betrayal, wanting equality, impotence, ruminative thinking led to creating an unrealistic fantasy to protect against expected loss of a happy future.

40:a...um (exhales) after about two three three days  
 1:my grandma, my mums mother and my...so called  
 2:husband came and said they'd come to take me  
 3:home...I cried my eyes out I didn't want to go but I  
 4:knew I had to(42.15)...I went...it was during the day  
 5:and they lived with an extended family and I could...I  
 6:just sat there and I observed for the whole day what  
 7:was happening in that house and I picked up on it  
 8:that his mother wasn't(41.50)...she didn't have no  
 9:respect there she wasn't a wife or a mother or  
 10:anything, she was there as a purely as a  
 11:servant...and I saw her working and I picked up on  
 12:their weaknesses and I picked up on his weaknesses  
 13:what he wo what his lifestyle and everything was  
 14:and so when the night came(41.30)...I was honest  
 15:with him I told him straight, I sat him down and I  
 16:told him I've seen this...I didn't wanna marry you  
 17:and I'm sorry but I know you want a better  
 18:life(41.17)...but I don't want to live with you, I'm  
 19:telling you now when I go back I will not be calling  
 20:you over I will not going to support you, what is it  
 21:that you want? So he was honest with me and he  
 22:said well take me over (to UK) and bring me give  
 23:me a visa and it's fine(41.00)...if you can be  
 24:amicable that will be fine but I don't want my  
 25:family to find out...and I believed him I said ok  
 26:that's fine...over the four weeks post the (religious  
 27:marriage ceremony) I was there at his house for  
 28:another two weeks(40.41)...um he wasn't that bad  
 29:he was all about trying to get his passport done and  
 30:his family...and I started to think of him as a friend  
 31:so like ok he is actually...were both sort of similar  
 32:he didn't want to get married and all this but you  
 33:know what we can make this...make something  
 34:good out of it for both of us(40.22)...I'd help around  
 35:the house, his sisters they all...they all loved me...I'd  
 36:give em I'd shower them with gifts shower them  
 37:with money whatever I had cos they never had any  
 38:of this they never had any of this cos they were  
 39:neglected by their own father so I'd help the

little she could do at this stage as a female to change the powerful patriarchal structure she was now fully immersed in.

1)Kiran realised that if she used this powerful new knowledge to her advantage, it might be enough to reverse the power balance between herself and her younger husband to her advantage. (41.30)...2)I was honest with him I told him straight, I sat him down and I told him I've seen this...I didn't wanna marry you and I'm sorry but I know you want a better life (41.17)...but I don't want to live with you, I'm telling you now when I go back I will not be calling you over I will not going to support you, what is it that you want? So he was honest with me and he said well take me over (to UK) and bring me give me a visa and it's fine (41.00)...if you can be amicable that will be fine but I don't want my family to find out...and I believed him I said ok that's fine-Implies Kiran feels confident she has been assertive and dominant enough in this first encounter to claim some form of victory against her patriarchal husband.  
 3)Kiran feels relieved that she has understood the patriarchal system through her struggle in adversity, but she can now fight this inequality on the basis that her knowledge is power. Her younger husband thought unlikely to resist the psychological warfare knowledge Kiran acquired from dealing with her patriarchal father.

1)Kiran believed that she now had the upper hand in the relationship and that they would both try to help each other on an equal footing rather than continuing the conflict. This perceived change in power dynamic enabled Kiran to lower her guard as she also realised her husband wasn't the (patriarchal) monster she had envisaged. (40.41)...2)um he wasn't that bad he was all about trying to get his passport done and his family...and I started to think of him as a friend so like ok he is actually...were both sort of similar he didn't want to get married and all this but you know what we can make this...make something good out of it for both of us(40.22)- Implies Kiran was less concerned about marrying her husband due to his personhood as his patriarchal personality and once she felt she had neutralised the threat by becoming dominant in the relationship, they became friends (something she desired all along).3) Since patriarchal domination was removed from the relationship by Kiran's new knowledge+ effort to establish equality, she accepted her AM and her husband for the first time. Although it was a difficult and painful process, the outcome at this early stage of the marriage was amicable as she wanted a partner who was a friend, and someone on her wavelength who she could talk to.

1)Since Kiran's new husband was unable to defend her against his patriarchal father's verbal onslaught, she lost all respect for him because if he can't stand up for her against his own father then he would not be able to do so against the clan.2) His father and his auntie were very negative about British girls

Facing opposition, wanting equality, challenging patriarchy, direct conflict, conflation, distrust, fear, hostility, uncertainty, difference, rejection of AM/FM, aggression, force, impossibility, schism, alienation. Cleverly turned into victory, success, control through manipulation.

Acceptance of collectivist ideology, suppression, denial, conformity, compliance, truce, equity, equality, tacit acceptance of FM. Kiran was optimistic about turning the tables on patriarchy by using psychological means.

40:mother(40.00)...but to me I remember sitting on  
 1:the last (exhales) t...with all the extended family that  
 2:day ten eleven (o clock) and his father and his auntie  
 3:were very negative about British girls very abusive  
 4:basically we were called sluts, slags oh they go back  
 5:and they do this and they hang around boys and  
 6:(39.29)...and I looked at him (husband) and he didn't  
 7:utter a word...I lost all respect for him then(39.18)...I  
 8:guess that if he can't stand up for me now then  
 9:you're never gonna be able to stand up for me...and  
 10:my grandma was there she didn't utter a word...er I  
 11:walked out...his mother came up to me and she  
 12:basically said I can't do anything for you...but  
 13:remember this you're not here for long you've only  
 14:got days(38.45)...his sister...who was thirteen  
 15:(exhales) at that time when he came out the room  
 16:she got me and said you're sleeping in my room,  
 17:come to sleep with us...so when he came into the  
 18:room... she said to him you should have said  
 19:something and you didn't(38.21) ...and he told her  
 20:to shut up and he came nearly to hit her...I couldn't  
 21:I came home second last day and my mother in law  
 22:was cooking and my mum came to her and the  
 23:extended family one of the nephews came and took  
 24:all the curry and chapattis and my mother  
 25:questioned that and said what was happening with  
 26:this and my mother in law said please don't say  
 27:anything just let it be(37.48)...and my mother  
 28:turned around and said well my daughter's not  
 29:gonna live like this and I snapped at her...I said well  
 30:you put your daughter here what does it matter  
 31:now? You've done the damage...I came back  
 32:applied for his visa...he didn't get the visa...it went  
 33:through appeal(37.22)... after about six months his  
 34:mother was diagnosed with cancer um she wasn't  
 35:treated...at that point I wanted to make the  
 36:marriage work when I returned (to UK after  
 37:marriage) I was seeing how those three girls  
 38:(husbands young sisters) and the mother lived and  
 39:the younger trouble is I wanted to make it work for

very abusive basically we were called sluts, slags oh they go back and they do this and they hang around boys and (39.29)...and I looked at him (husband) and he didn't utter a word...I lost all respect for him then (39.18)...I guess that if he can't stand up for me now then you're never gonna be able to stand up for me-Implies Kiran expected husband to stand up for her against his father based on the mutual understanding that they were in an equal relationship and would help to defend each other.  
 3)Kiran was unable to stand up to her patriarchal father by rejecting this marriage and now for her to expect her husband who is younger than her to stand up to his father to defend her is short-sighted. Hence more likely that Kiran felt ashamed to defend herself against the patriarchs onslaught and decided to punish his son by losing all respect for him (she started looking down on her husband just like her father-in-law was looking down on her).

1)Kiran's auntie/mother-in-law was diagnosed with terminal cancer and by now she had psychologically worn her husband enough to call a truce and decided to sponsor his visa to the UK. She could continue fighting her feminist cause to help his younger deprived sisters back home as they would lose their mother and at-least her husband could support his sisters by sending money back home from working in the UK.2) I came back applied for his visa ... he didn't get the visa...it went through appeal(37.22)... after about six months his mother was diagnosed with cancer um she wasn't treated...at that point I wanted to make the marriage work when I returned (to UK after marriage) I was seeing how those three girls (husbands young sisters) and the mother lived and the younger trouble is I wanted to make it work for them(37.00)-Implies Kiran felt obliged to sponsor her husband because he was no longer seen as a patriarchal threat, his mother was terminally ill, his sisters were young and helpless in a male dominated patriarchal culture and she realised she would be helping the entire clan.3) Kiran did not expect to find herself in this awkward spot but decided to do her duty to her collective clan by sponsoring her husband despite residual reservations about patriarchal domination.

1)Kiran describes her father-in-law (patriarch of husband's family) as a 'piece' who was just out there and his young unmarried daughters as human beings whom she vowed to 'rescue' from their tyrannical father before she would annul her own marriage to their brother.2) I was seeing how those three girls (husbands young sisters) and the mother lived and the younger trouble is I wanted to make it work for them(37.00)...the father and (coughs) they didn't matter to me they were out there they were there as pieces I guess...for me it was them human beings (sisters in law) I wanted to help them and I promised

Betrayal, Sacrifice, Unravelling, Pain, Dread, Fear, Animosity, Despair, emotional, out of control, broken, submission, hopelessness, lost, defeated, enraged, hostility. Kiran replied to the verbal abuse by losing respect for her patriarchal husband and his father. Patriarchy identified as root cause of FM.

Sadness, sorrow, pain, death-anxiety, guilt, duty, sacrifice, excessive thinking. Kiran's auntie was dying, and she did not want to continue protest and decided to bring her husband to the UK. Collusion with patriarchy.

Feminism v patriarchy. Conflated AM/FM based on unwanted patriarchal involvement in both, to which she took a feminist

40:them(37.00)...the father and (coughs) they didn't  
 1:matter to me they were out there they were there as  
 2:pieces I guess...for me it was them human beings  
 3:(sisters in law) I wanted to help them and I promised  
 4:myself at that point that I was not gonna do anything  
 5:I was not going to end this marriage until I have  
 6:those three girls they had to be(36.39)...(emotional  
 7:tone) I had to make their lives happy cos.....so I  
 8:returned home back and my father my dad didn't  
 9:want me to work so he had his papers made and I  
 10:used to make Christmas crackers and from home  
 11:and I'd work sixteen eighteen hours my room used  
 12:to be full completely around, I made good money  
 13:and after about a year my mu auntie went to (south  
 14:Asian Country) and I sent some gold earrings for my  
 15:mother in law and she wasn't at that point that  
 16:poorly and my auntie(36.01)...(coughs) made a joke  
 17:of it she said to me they made her put them on and  
 18:they (coughs) said to her look your son's not even  
 19:in the UK and your Kiran daughter in law has sent  
 20:you gold earrings we've not had anything like  
 21:that...and she was happy about it...towards at the  
 22:end of her days her earrings became heavy and  
 23:they took them off her(35.41) ... when she died  
 24:(coughs) after about a year and a half I went um  
 25:but before that the visa was refused had to go  
 26:through the appeal ...think I was a good actress put  
 27:up a good appeal and the judge refused but he did  
 28:say that he wasn't refusing because of me he was  
 29:refusing because of my husband(35.05)...he says his  
 30:answers were not good...so when he refused on  
 31:that day I was sent back to (south Asian Country)  
 32:again and at that point I stayed (coughs loudly &  
 33:sniffles) um for four weeks(34.46)...um the mother  
 34:in law had passed away then and...my uncle  
 35:remarried...that four weeks I was there for the girls  
 36:and that's it...the youngest boy was sent to his  
 37:uncles(34.27)...he went and stayed there and the  
 38:younger ones the girls basically did all the house  
 39:work and looked after the auntie ( new step mom)

myself at that point that I was not gonna do anything I was not going to end this marriage until I have those three girls they had to be(36.39)-Implies Kiran had found her feminist cause and she was going to deal with anything the patriarchs could throw her way in order to do right by those girls.3) By describing her young sister's-in-law as human beings and her father-in-law as a 'piece' who was just out there, Kiran is suggesting that the young female victims of a patriarchal culture are human beings while their patriarchal perpetrator father is inhuman or a monster.

1)Back in the UK, Kiran sent gifts for her female clan members back home because she felt sorry for them as they were relatively poor and subjugated to patriarchy and her auntie was dying She tried to brighten their lives the best she could and because she felt confident & dominant in her relationship, that enabled Kiran to tolerate her marriage.2) I told the girls that I wanted them to keep their heads down and I'd secretly send my own money through my own family my mu...my dad's side (laughs) which is ironic really my mum said they were all really bad that they were willing to secretly give(33.58) I sent some gold earrings for my mother in law and she wasn't at that point that poorly and my auntie(36.01) ... (coughs)...and she was happy about it...towards at the end of her days her earrings became heavy and they took them off her (35.41) ... when she died (coughs) after about a year and a half I went- Implies Kiran was now fighting patriarchy subversively by aiming to protect her young sister's-in-law from the tentacles of patriarchal subjugation.3) Kiran was searching for ways to stop patriarchal domination of young females in the clan by their father, whilst consolidating her dominating status within her own marriage.

1)Once Kiran's husband came to UK, they did not have a normal intimate relationship as he had a medical condition which prevented regular intercourse, and this was yet another issue.2) After that I had the pressure of getting pregnant...we didn't have much of a physical relationship um...I didn't understand it then...that what exactly was it that was the problem because I always blamed myself but now being in the health profession I know it wasn't me (sniggers) it was him he had the health professional he had the (clears throat) (33.31) (32.58)...so after seven years...um I fell pregnant...I was twenty five then yeah...um my son was four months and I went to (south Asian Country)-3)The

position in rejecting both as equally bad. Excessive thinking resulted in Kiran accepting her sacrifice of FM to help her sister's in-law avoid the same fate in the future.

False hopes, promises, incentives, misinformation, secrecy in the hope of establishing influence over sisters in law, establish female solidarity with the aim of helping them avoid FM.

Confusion, uncertainty, loss, relief, embarrassment, self-blame. Collusion with patriarchy.

40:and her kids and...there were all sorts of rumours of  
 1:things going on in the house (clears throat) but I told  
 2:the girls that I wanted them to keep their heads  
 3:down and I'd secretly send my own money through  
 4:my own family my mu my dad's side (laughs) which  
 5:is ironic really my mum said they were all really bad  
 6:that they were willing to secretly give(33.58 )...  
 7:(exhales)um and then after that I had the pressure of  
 8:getting pregnant...we didn't have much of a physical  
 9:relationship um...I didn't understand it then...that  
 10:what exactly was it that was the problem because I  
 11:always blamed myself but now being in the health  
 12:profession I know it wasn't me (sniggers) it was him  
 13:he had the health professional he had the (clears  
 14:throat) (33.31) ...and then my grandma came here  
 15:um...I invited her over here as a visitor I sent the  
 16:papers...and then she returned and then me I  
 17:wanted to go for a (religious pilgrimage) so I asked  
 18:my dad I said...I asked my husband he said no so  
 19:then I asked my dad please will you come (religious  
 20:pilgrimage) with me? And it was the first time that  
 21:my dad went as well and he said yeah that's fine  
 22:he'll come and because my dad said he'll come, my  
 23:husband decided he'll come(32.58)...so after seven  
 24:years...um I fell pregnant...I was twenty five then  
 26:25:yeah...um my son was four months and I went to  
 27:(south Asian Country) and I stayed there for four  
 28:mm no he was actually seven months and I actually  
 29:stayed in (south Asian Country) for four  
 30:months(32.32)...and whilst I was there I got his two  
 31:isters married...and apart from the food  
 32:expenditure all the gold and all the clothes, I gave it  
 32:to em I was questioned my father in law and his  
 33:other brother and his sister in law got me a room  
 34:aside and said you can't give them this much  
 35:gold(32.10)... I was giving them 180 ounces each  
 36:because that's what my father gave me...and I was  
 37:told you no can't give this...um we don't give girls  
 38:this much so what to do is give the girls less and we  
 39:can use that for something else(31.55)...and at that

situation seemed to be getting from bad to worse, the extended family expected grandchildren which seemed impossible but Kiran chose to stay in the marriage and after seven years gave birth to a boy.

1)The relationship between Kiran and her father had improved vastly and she felt comfortable in asking him to go with her on a religious pilgrimage and she was at peace with clan members back home as she voluntarily invited her to the UK for a holiday. (33.31) ...2) and then my grandma came here um...I invited her over here as a visitor I sent the papers...and then she returned and then me I wanted to go for a (religious pilgrimage) so I asked my dad I said...I asked my husband he said no so then I asked my dad please will you come (religious pilgrimage) with me? And it was the first time that my dad went as well and he said yeah that's fine he'll come and because my dad said he'll come, my husband decided he'll come(32.58) once my son was born I decided to call it a truce and that put a cement on the relationship that everybody's got that this marriage is working but nobody looks behind closed doors that no it's not working (laughs)(30.40) Implies- Kiran was finally settled in her loveless AM with her husband and her baby son.3) As Kiran had given birth to a boy who would one day inherit all the wealth accumulated by his father and inherited from previous generations, the entire clan was relieved as they now had a bloodline which extended to the UK and a means by which future generations in both countries could expect to improve their life chances.

1)The situation was further improved as Kiran kept her word and helped to get her sisters-in-law married.2) I actually stayed in (south Asian Country) for four months(32.32)...and whilst I was there I got his two sisters married...and apart from the food expenditure all the gold and all the clothes, I gave it to em I was questioned my father in law and his other brother and his sister in law got me a room aside and said you can't give them this much gold(32.10)... I was giving them 180 ounces each because that's what my father gave me...and I was told you no can't give this...um we don't give girls this much so what to do is give the girls less and we can use that for something else. I made it clear it's my earnings I'll do what I want with it(31.38)...you guys can give em an ounce you can give a ring whatever but this is what I'm giving them and full stop...and because my uncle was there my dad's brother...they knew that I'd go and speak to him(31.24)...I might not have said something to my own father but I

Acceptance, conformity, compliance, truce. Kiran wanted to put the past behind and start afresh.

Matriarchy, pride, solution, acceptance, improvement, silver lining. Kiran felt like she was the mother her sister's-in-law had lost, and she felt proud of her contribution to their lives.



40:point I said yeah right but I knew he was never  
 1:gonna stand up for me or not gonna say anything cos  
 2:the seven years he (husband) spent with me all he  
 3:was doing is earning and he was sending money  
 4:back but they had nothing to show... so I made it  
 5:clear it's my earnings I'll do what I want with  
 6:it(31.38)...you guys can give em an ounce you can  
 7:give a ring whatever but this is what I'm giving them  
 8:and full stop...and because my uncle was there my  
 9:dad's brother...they knew that I'd go and speak to  
 10:him(31.24)...I might not have said something to my  
 11:own father but I would say it to my uncle, so they  
 12:were a bit I guess it's that Izzat (honour) thing...they  
 13:wouldn't say anything they just let it go...(exhales)  
 14:and then when I came back(31.08)...it felt  
 15:good...that to me it felt like I've got two girls that's  
 16:brought em happiness you know that I didn't get  
 17:that I was there for someone but I couldn't be...um  
 18:and I went...once my son was born I decided to call  
 19:it a truce and that put a cement on the relationship  
 20:that everybody's got that this marriage is working  
 21:but nobody looks behind closed doors that no it's  
 22:not working (laughs)(30.40)...you you know you're  
 23:so grateful to god that he was doing nights...and  
 24:he'd be asleep all day and I'd be out and...uh it'd  
 25:just be me and my son(30.24)...I was like starting to  
 26:go back to education when I was twenty five he'd  
 27:(husband) got his two sisters back I felt at that point  
 28:that I'd something cleared something for them now  
 29:I had to do something for my son, I didn't want him  
 30:to him to grow up to thinking well my dad hasn't  
 31:got a decent education and my mum's sat at home  
 32:doing nothing so I started attending evening classes  
 33:and(30.01)...I truly believe that the reason why I  
 34:was allowed to go to evening classes uh at college  
 35:was cos I had my son, if it wasn't for my son I  
 36:wouldn't have been allowed he was my key...so I'd  
 37:go did my evening classes(29.46) ...then I did an  
 38:access course and applied for nursing but before  
 39:nursing I still needed experience and I'd remember

would say it to my uncle, so they were a bit I guess it's that Izzat (honour) thing...they wouldn't say anything they just let it go (31.55-Implies Kiran was now comfortable in challenging patriarchy through intelligent dialogue and felt she was achieving success.3) Kiran has become an expert at manipulating patriarchy and thoroughly enjoying the journey.

1)Since Kiran had delivered a son and Heir, she was seen as a respected matriarch in the family who had proved her commitment to the clan and was now in a respectable position where she could peruse her personal interests such as continuing her education.2) I started attending evening classes and(30.01)...I truly believe that the reason why I was allowed to go to evening classes uh at college was cos I had my son, if it wasn't for my son I wouldn't have been allowed he was my key...so I'd go did my evening classes (29.46)...then I did an access course and applied for nursing-Implies Kiran was not satisfied with just existing and wanted to better her and her son's life, and the perfect way to achieve this outcome was through education which delivered some fantastic results!3) Kiran had successfully negotiated her AM within the restricted parameters of her patriarchal collectivist culture and was conferred with status of matriarch which was secondary to patriarchal status but still better than having no status at all as a single woman who according to south Asian culture, was only seen as a burden to her parents.

Pride, satisfaction, mobility, progress, settled, achievement. Kiran found her life enriched through the birth of her son but this would only serve to perpetuate the patriarchy she was so against.

40:(coughs) I applied for a homecare job first at  
 1:(healthcare organisation) and in the interview I'd got  
 2:this confidence that I never had but at the interview  
 3:when they said they asked me about what my plans  
 4:were and I made it clear to them that I've only  
 5:applied for this job to do my nursing so if I get  
 6:accepted I'm leaving(29.09)...and ironically they still  
 7:gave me the job...and seven weeks later on I was  
 8:offered a place in march, but then I got a call two  
 9:weeks later on saying we got a place in the...free to  
 10:start in the August can you start um sorry  
 11:September so I did(28.50)...and I left...in spite doing  
 12:nursing and I had his youngest sister married...I  
 13:didn't get any support what so ever there he  
 14:(husband) was ...for him he was(28.33)...it was  
 15:auntie that was in (south Asian Country) who was  
 16:horrible to, evil to his siblings and mother...I don't  
 17:now what it was that...she said good morning but  
 18:nothing was ever for his siblings or he was just sent  
 19:to (south Asian Country) for his father, his father  
 20:lived a lavish life(28.13)... they had a hold on him  
 21:and I think to a degree I think they still do...I tried  
 22:uh...I couldn't get it passed...and then I found  
 23:(sharp intake) he'd left his phone around and I  
 24:found text messages from other women and...and  
 25:for me that was a relief because at that point I was  
 26:thinking I can't live with him anymore(27.46)... I  
 27:can't carry on with this...my (own) mum my mother  
 28:and father relationship with them is non-existent...I  
 29:remember my mum going for (religious pilgrimage)  
 30:and...(emotional) I came to see her but I couldn't  
 31:forgive her(27.23)...I tried but I couldn't...when her  
 32:mum died a part of me was...I guess relieved  
 33:but...I'd just felt that she'd (maternal gran) pushed  
 34:my mother and my mother forced it all because she  
 35:had the pressure from her own mother and put  
 36:pressure on me(26.56)... once ...they'd gone for  
 37:pilgrimage and went back to (south Asian Country),  
 38:I used to spend a lot of time in my brother's house  
 39:not much at home so him working nights was a cue

1)Kiran had a negative opinion about her patriarchal father-in-law and now she learnt that her husband and father of her son was cheating on her with other women. Kiran was already unhappy in her loveless AM and this revelation led her to the understandable conclusion to leave her husband.2) His father lived a lavish life(28.13)... they had a hold on him and I think to a degree I think they still do...I tried uh...I couldn't get it passed...and then I found (sharp intake) he'd left his phone around and I found text messages from other women and...and for me that was a relief because at that point I was thinking I can't live with him anymore(27.46) I'd just felt that she'd (maternal gran) pushed my mother and my mother forced it all because she had the pressure from her own mother and put pressure on me(26.56)-Implies Kiran had sacrificed a lot of herself to make her marriage work under the constant gaze of patriarchal oppression but at-least she was dominant in her own relationship; the revelation that her husband was cheating on her while she was suffering in silence, must have evoked so many hitherto repressed emotions that she conflated her AM to FM since it was also deemed sufficient ground for annulling the marriage.3) Kiran thought she was dominant in her relationship and that her husband was submissive, she now realised that this was not the case. Husband had given Kiran the illusion of power knowing from day one that she would not tolerate his patriarchal domination and since this was unacceptable to him, he agreed and complied fully to Kiran's every wish to achieve his aim of becoming a UK citizen. Once in the UK he did what he liked, when he liked and with whom he liked without worrying about being exposed as he recalled all the times when his deluded wife tried to control his patriarchal prerogative. This was the point at which Kiran conflated AM/FM.

Crisis, opposition, force, shock, capitulation, dis honour, disloyalty, rejection, Finality, failure, submission, defeated, deflated, rock bottom, humiliation, dishonoured, devastated, ridiculed, prolonged agony. Confronted with the choice of being rejected by family/ community, Bina feared losing much more than was acceptable to her as a woman and female member of the clan she therefore found it impossible to stay in her marriage. Rejection of hegemonic patriarchy.

40:for me to say oh well I can't stay at home I.... but he  
 1:was five my son was five...and I remember being in  
 2:bed with him and he came up and he wiped my  
 3:tears(26.18)...and...he just walked away...it was my  
 4:last year of nursing at that point and reflection is a  
 5:big thing in nursing and I started thinking what  
 6:impact it's having on him (son) and I just thought I  
 7:can't deal with this forget my life it's him...I spoke to  
 8:my brother middle one he was away at university  
 9:(25.51)...I told him everything how I felt everything  
 10:...and he basically said to me he was happy to put  
 11:his own life on hold...he'll do whatever he wants  
 12:me to so he said whatever you decide I'm here for  
 13:you...just forget me my life's on hold(25.33)...I'll do  
 14:whatever you want so I told him I couldn't do  
 15:anything by myself I wasn't gonna (exhales)...so I'd  
 16:spoken to university and...at this point I had his...his  
 17:brother was living with us as well his brother came  
 18:and his uncles son so he was living with us...um he  
 19:loved it he loved living with me he(25.04)...I  
 20:provided I gave him everything whatever he  
 21:wanted food wise I'd ask him daily take him out buy  
 22:him clothes...I spoke to university and they agreed  
 23:that I could have my last placement...my last three  
 24:months in a different town cos otherwise it  
 25:would've meant I'd have to repeat a year...I had to  
 26:arrange it myself so with help from a friend...an  
 27:English friend...we went to (UK City) she drove me  
 28:there, went to hospital and arranged for me to  
 29:three months at intensive care unit(24.24)...and  
 30:although they had their own students they agreed  
 31:to take me cos they looked at my marks...um my  
 32:brother rented a house there my brother came to  
 33:ive with me he helped me with childcare...I  
 34:remember the day that I left(24.01)...I packed my  
 35:bags...his father was here my father in law was here  
 35:who'd I'd sent the papers to but he didn't come to  
 36:stay with us he stayed with his brothers...so I  
 37:moved to (UK City) with my brothers help and  
 38:completed my nursing (23.43)...

1)Kiran finally left her husband with her son, completed her nursing degree, sorted out accommodation and started working back in the community where she grew up.2) we went to (UK City) she drove me there, went to hospital and arranged for me to three months at intensive care unit (24.24)...and although they had their own students they agreed to take me cos they looked at my marks...um my brother rented a house there my brother came to live with me he helped me with childcare...I remember the day that I left (24.01)...I packed my bags...his father was here my father in law was here who'd I'd sent the papers to but he didn't come to stay with us he stayed with his brothers...so I moved to (UK City) with my brothers help and completed my nursing (23.43)- Implies after so long Kiran finally managed to be herself and do the things she had wanted like finishing her professional education and she now had a son she was proud of.3) Despite all the obstacles Kiran had to face throughout her married life, she was finally free to choose her own future without patriarchal subjugation and she did not let herself or her son down.

1)Kiran starts off blaming south Asian collective culture and her parents for forcing her into marriage but then acknowledges that 'it (her AM which she conflated with FM) was normal, it didn't feel so wrong anymore. 2) I think it was a lot to do with culture...and pressure...at that point (23.22). Yes... the pressure from my mother yes...and the fear from my father (22.01). but now looking back at it and knowing other people's experiences and how other people ....it was normal it doesn't feel so wrong anymore (22.24).3) Kiran accepts that her marriage wasn't forced but she did suffer a lot in her badly arranged marriage to her maternal auntie's son. Patriarchal subjugation was identified as the root cause of contention for Kiran and the major reason for her tribulations.

Honour, shame, adjustment, acceptance, pain, awkwardness, unimagined, trapped, difficulty, choice, acceptance, freedom, opportunity, happiness, reason to live. Kiran had to accept her penitence and persevere patiently so that she may get back what she had lost and be a respectable member of the collectivist community again.

Focus, goal, mission, challenge, absurdity, acceptance, blame, loss, gain, injustice, embodiment, spirituality, grace. Kiran coped due to her strong cultural belief which again reinforced patriarchal domination.

1:T. Who do you feel was responsible for forcing you  
 2:to marry and what do you think were their reasons?  
 3:K. I think it was a lot to do with culture...and  
 4:pressure...at that point(23.22)...for me it was my  
 5:mother I completely and utterly blamed my mother  
 6:but now as a grown up adult with experience in life  
 7:more understanding our culture...more(23.11)...I  
 8:think my mother had the pressure of her  
 9:mother...and her siblings and the pressure from her  
 10:husband as well in a way cos I guess in a way that  
 11:he wanted...a daughter married in a way  
 12:um(22.57)...I think a combination er religion that  
 13:you've got to get your daughters married at a  
 14:decent you know a reasonable age and not to be  
 15:unmarried for long...culture family pressure(22.42)  
 16:... um but at that point I did think it was my mother  
 17:but now looking back at it and knowing other  
 18:people's experiences and how other people ....it  
 19:was normal it doesn't feel so wrong  
 20:anymore(22.24).....  
 21:T. So would you say it was mostly your mother?  
 22:K. Yes... the pressure from my mother yes...and the  
 23:fear from my father(22.01)...both I guess yeah both  
 24:I guess yeah...the pressure from my mother the fear  
 25:I had of my father was the fear that my mother had  
 26:put... she's she's her telling me my father was  
 27:gonna have(21.46)...first it started off that he was  
 28:gonna kill me and when she realised actually that  
 29:wasn't working anymore it moved onto well you're  
 30:fathers going to have a heart attack(21.38)...and I'd  
 31:hear things so and so had a heart attack and this

1)Kiran claims she could have grown to love her husband and respected him if he was able to defend his female family members and was 'the strong man' in their marriage. (21.08). 2) But had he been different with his siblings his mother if he was more of a...the image that we're all shown of a man man a macho man I guess then yes but I lost all that respect for him an I knew that he couldn't (20.47). he wasn't standing up for his own siblings he wasn't standing up for his own mother (20.37)...that's when I couldn't cos I always I wanted a strong man (20.30)...didn't wanna be the man in the house in the relationship I didn't wanna be the strong woman, I wanted someone to look after me I wanted him to...that there was nothing of him and I think(20.20) ...don't know whether it was because he was younger than me two years-Implies Kiran could have loved/respected her husband if he demonstrated the strong man (dominant/patriarchal) tendencies.3) Kiran spent much of the twelve years of her married life in a war with patriarchy and claiming now that she actually wanted a 'strong macho man to look after her' seems implausible. Kiran tried her utmost to fight patriarchal oppression, but she had been completely unsuccessful in changing the entrenched hegemonic patriarchal structural ideology of her south Asian culture. Since Kiran was unable to affect change and has ended her marriage, she wants to minimise the bad experience as it serves no useful purpose in her new life.

Compliance, insistence, inflexibility, rejection, patriarchy v matriarchy, force, abandonment, sacrifice, disowned, disillusioned, perpetrators. Since patriarchy dominated feminism, Kiran is trying to change the narrative to gain closure.

1:happened and that sort of stuck so...yeah the main  
2:person I would say was my mother...  
3:T. Did you feel you were in love or could grow to love  
4:your new husband?  
5:K. At the beginning I would have said no way never  
6:um(21.08)...but had he been different with his  
7:siblings his mother if he was more of a...the image  
8;that were all shown of a man man a macho man I  
9;guess then yes but I lost all that respect for him an I  
10:knew that he couldn't(20.47).  
11:T. When he didn't stand up for you?  
12:K. He didn't stand up for me he didn't I mean forget  
13:me, he wasn't standing up for his own siblings he  
14:wasn't standing up for his own  
15:mother(20.37)...that's when I couldn't cos I always I  
16:wanted a strong man(20.30)...didn't wanna be the  
17man in the house in the relationship I didn't wanna  
18:be the strong woman, I wanted someone to look  
19:after me I wanted him to...that there was nothing  
20:of him and I think(20.20) ...don't know whether it  
21:was because he was younger than me two years  
22:or.....I think now...it was sort of he was sixteen  
23:sixteen and a half...what kind of...don't think he  
24:knew what was happening...but I guess he was just  
25:a glorified image to him was portrayed to him that  
26:he was gonna go to the UK(19.54)...um he wanted  
27:to get out but... as he was and what he was  
28:throughout the twelve years I was with him  
29:(exhales) ...I have no respect for him no.  
30:T. Did you share any values interests or aspirations  
31:with your husband?  
32:K. No don't think there was anything, I was too  
33:much of a strong person for him(19.24)...he wasn't  
34:for him he was just...pleasing his father he wanted I  
35;think for him was pleasing his father his aunt and  
36:his uncle to get that recognition that he was a good  
37:son(19.12) ...you know father rings don't have any  
38:money left take money out of credit card...pay that  
39:off...it was just a vicious circle for him I don't think

1:he didn't have time to do anything...there was  
2:nothing there whether it was you know....  
3:T. How did your marriage end?  
4:K. How did my marriage end...er after about eleven  
5:years my son was about four and a half(18.35)  
6:...completing my nursing towards the end his father  
7:wanted to come over...so his father came over but  
8:didn't stay with us...I don't think they realised that I  
9:knew what was happening because(18.15)...I was  
10:blessed to have a good relationship with his  
11:extended family, I wasn't an evil daughter in law  
12:they knew that if a kid a lot of his family were out  
13:of town and if they wanted to come over and stay,  
14:I'd go pick the kids up and tell em to stay it didn't  
15:bother me...If they were coming over and I had to  
16:cook a six course meal I'd cook it with a  
17:smile(17.52)...there was never...and things come  
18:back to me...um basically what happened was  
19:his...aunt his dads younger brother who was Hong  
20:Kong and where the money was coming to him as  
21:well, his family had moved from Hong Kong to the  
22:UK... they'd also brought...(exhales) my brother in  
23:law but they left their own son in (south Asian  
24:Country) so they were finding him a potential here  
25:so they found him a potential girl from the village  
26:here in the UK (17.16)...but the family had said to  
27:them that they wouldn't get the girl married to em  
28:unless they could get their divorcee daughter  
29:married....um word got out and I found out that  
30:when his father came over he'd actually agreed for  
31:them to marry my...(16.55) husband...which I didn't  
32:tell anyone about...cos to be fair I was just relieved  
33:for me it was just a cue like ok he's done that I can  
34:get out I don't have a guilty conscience so it was a  
35:breakthrough...um later on my mother told me that  
36:she knew that as well she'd heard that as well  
37:because she'd heard that as well from one of the  
38:girls relatives(16.34)...um so...when I left... packed  
39:my bags rang my brother my brother came to pick  
40:me up and I went with him to (UK City)...I

1)Kiran's father thought she was happy in her marriage and was shocked to discover that her husband had been cheating on her and suggested that she should have left the marriage much earlier if she was unhappy.2) I rang my dad...his words, exact words were, I wish you'd done this earlier... (emotional tone) he said I thought you were happy it wasn't worth what you... I still have a fantastic, fantastic loving relationship with all his siblings (11.14). I've remarried, (5.16)[...] Respect...respect (3.17)...I can't put it in more than that um the first day I married my second husband and he sat me down and he said...anyone says anything to you...you do what you want to do if you don't want to do it don't do it whatever you don't want to go anywhere that's fine if anybody says anything just say I told you...I'll deal with it(2.57) Implies-Kiran's dad feels she should have left her husband before now if she was unhappy but only because he realised the husband was cheating on his daughter.3) It was only because Kiran discovered her husband was cheating on her that she decided to leave him, and her father added that she should have left much earlier if she was unhappy. Kiran did not tell her father she was unhappy in her marriage nor did she have any plans to leave the marriage until she discovered his infidelity. In her second AM Kiran feels respected by her husband because he values sexual equality and does not appear to be patriarchal.

Compliance, compromise, acceptance, clarity, duty, honour, respect, guilt, obligation. Although the second marriage was also AM, once Kiran accepted her marriage, she also accepted that her family had her best interests at heart. Kiran was happier in her second marriage since her husband was not patriarchal like her first husband and therefore, she felt respected by him.

1:remember I was there and I picked the phone up and  
2:the first person I rang (quiet tone) was my  
3:dad(16.10) ...I rang my dad and I was ready I was  
4:mentally prepared that this was going to be the last  
5:time I was gonna speak to him...I said to him I have  
6:left I'm not going back to him...I've got my brother  
7:here with me...and I do not want anyone anyone to  
8:contact me I'm not interested in the baradri  
9:(extended clan) or anybody ringing me I'm not  
10:interested(15.41)...at that point...his words, exact  
11:words were I wish you'd done this earlier...  
12:(emotional tone) he said I thought you were happy  
13:it wasn't worth what you...my uncle took the phone  
14:off him and he said to me forget your father forget  
15:everyone nobody's taking you back(15.05) (to  
16:husband)...if I have to come there myself and fight  
17:your corner, nobody's coming there they're not  
18:worthy of you...and (exhales) I felt so relieved it was  
19:just...I can't believe it it was just like getting  
20:permission to get divorced that's how it  
21:felt(14.46)...um my dad was there in the  
22:background and my mum I could hear him saying to  
23:her that you want your family you can have em  
24:nobody's, don't you dare speak to my daughter  
25:nobody's going to speak to her, leave her  
26:alone(14.32)...er the only thing my dad did say to  
27:me was that I wish you'd gone to your brother,  
28:gone to my house instead of coming here; I said no  
29:I needed to get away I don't want anybody...that  
30:night when I went to sleep...I had my son with  
31:me...he hugged me and he said mummy you're not  
32:gonna cry now are you? That killed me cos  
33:(emotional) for me it was that I'd never let him see  
34:me cry but children pick up on things that you don't  
35:actually(13.49)...see...and I said to him no I'm not  
36:gonna cry...all those years I felt as if I'd kept him  
37:away and the damage he wasn't being damaged  
38:and it hit me you know what maybe I'd left it too  
39:late...fourteen days later on I had the divorce  
40:papers in my hand...my dad made a phone call and

1:told em straight nobody goes to my daughter  
2:nobody comes and talks...my brother who's house  
3:l'd come to...he kept ringing me and saying ah his  
4:(ex-husbands) brother wants to talk to you and so  
5:and so and forget dad you need to talk to  
6:em(13.01)...the only pressure I got was from him...I  
7:remember coming back to (UK home city) and...and  
8:his brother (ex-husbands) did come...and he cried his  
9:eyes out and he said you're still my sister  
10:and...please don't come out of our lives and I said  
11:l'm here for you and I remember saying this to him  
12:it was twelve years ago I said I said you know  
13:whatever you do you're here now (UK) you better  
14:not let me down, make sure you get a degree  
15:(12.17)...and thank god he got his Criminology  
16:degree about four years ago...and he came and he  
17:said he said l've got it now do l...do I get a tick box?  
18:l said yes you get a tick that's fine...his sister middle  
19:one who got married who lives here and is in our  
20:town(11.57)...after my div when I got divorced two  
21:weeks after after about a week...she came and  
22:spent the night with me...she said to me she said  
23:if it means picking sides l'm choosing your side...and  
24:l said to her l wish you didn't come and stay the  
25:night cos l don't want to make it difficult for you or  
26:your(11.33)...and she said no it's my mother died  
27:you were there for us...l'm not leaving you...l still  
28:have a fantastic, fantastic loving relationship with  
29:all his siblings(11.14)...er go on which one are we on  
30:number six?  
31:T. Has the experience of being forced into marriage  
32:changed you as a person?  
33:K. Yes definitely(10.59)...um I think at the beginning  
34:when l was...when l got out the divorce um...it's sad  
35:really cos during the twelve years of marriage l was  
36:trying to get the acceptance l guess from my in laws  
37:to say yes you're doing fine you're doing this good  
38and once l was divorced um... l needed to have that  
39:acceptance from my own family cos you'd hear  
40:things you know such a (inaudible) but l had my



1:career I had my education behind me I wasn't going  
2:to let them sit there and(10.13)...when I bought my  
3:house I moved out...I knew my...I wasn't stupid I  
4:knew that living at my brothers I was being used I  
5:was their full time baby sitter and...I couldn't even  
6:though I had my nursing I was told that you can't  
7:work in hospital cos whose gonna look after your son  
8:and I knew that(9.50)...and I always had this thing in  
9:my...I always had this firm belief that I knew in my  
10:head that if you're good... good things will happen  
11:to you that's how it works(9.36)...I remember my  
12:sister in law sending me with her youngest  
13:daughter to get her immunisations and done  
14:because she couldn't be bothered taking her and  
15:for me it was all great yes that's fine and I'll go and I  
16:went and I was sat there in reception the waiting  
17:area and the GP came(9.13)...and she came up to  
18:me and this is a woman who was my GP she's  
19:known me as a child...and she came up to and she  
20:said have you finished your nursing? And I said yes I  
21:have...and she said right and the next thing I know  
22:is she's back with her manager and points at me  
23:and says to her get her to apply you won't regret  
24:it(8.53)...the next thing I know is I've been handed a  
25:form to say that apply for this job as a practice  
26:nurse...(exhales) when I qualified at that point there  
27:wasn't many jobs around but being out of the  
28:marriage it gave me such confidence that I still  
29:believed that it was gonna be fine...that anything  
30:was better than being there (8.27)...I remember  
31:having five interviews in one day (laughs) and by  
32:the time...I came to do my interview as a practice  
33:nurse I'd already had three job offers and I  
34:remember going into the discharge team interview  
35:and the sister came out to me and she said this  
36:job's yours and...you must accept it and(8.00)...you  
37:do know you're from band five and you'll move up  
38:really quickly and you'll be a sister really quickly  
39:and I kept feeling that she was selling me the job  
40:but, I knew it wasn't for me...I said I was going to

1:get back to her...the practice nurse job was perfect  
2:for me(7.46)...getting out of forced marriage it  
3:wasn't nights it wasn't weekends it was nine to five  
4:job and thank god I had a chid minder on my  
5:doorstep and...I wasn't gonna be that weak person  
6:that I was, I was gonna be strong...and from then I've  
7;seen people come through the door that when I was  
8;divorced looked down on me(7.20)...that did upset  
9;me I used to hide even though the period from after  
10:I got divorced although I was strong and I...person  
11:but still I used to hate going to gatherings I would  
12:never go to weddings I would never go to any  
13:family gatherings, wanted to be away(7.06)...but I  
14:was happy it didn't bother me I didn't want to be in  
15:a party it was fine don't go to a wedding go to a  
16:wedding I was fine ...thank god I was happy  
17:um...and my work I loved (passionate tone) my  
18:work, I still do em....because those same people  
19:that were registered when I was working and  
20:they'd come see me and all of a sudden it was a  
21:different person...I was like I was something(6.39)...I  
22:could see the respect they had for me ...that I  
23:hadn't seen...that I hadn't seen at home...um that  
24:it's being through that is what's mixed going from a  
25:practice nurse and doing all the courses there,  
26:completing one course after the other and setting  
27:up clinics and I look back I'm thinking am I the same  
28:person now I mean from a practice nurse I went to  
29:matron now I'm an advanced practitioner I sign  
30:peoples prescriptions this is my father's dream was  
31:that one of his children to be a doctor and  
32:now(5.57) ... I've got all these family members and  
33:all these people that lived in the village that will go  
34:up to my dad and say yes we see your daughter  
35:your daughter's our doctor cos nobody understands  
36:the concept of an advanced practitioner and it's all  
37:because...of the changes that I've had(5.39)...being  
38:through that marriage...I'm not, I've remarried, but  
39:I'm not the same person it's not a case of well you  
40:know I'm earning a hundred and you're earning a

1:hundred and you know what I'll spend it on my  
2:husband...but this time round he's been through  
3:similar so we understands we've got more of an  
4:understanding we've got a friendship(5.16)...he  
5:doesn't...so it's not a case of well no, I've got to have  
6:my three course meal no it's like you know what  
7:you've been working all week you wanna come  
8:home the weekend fine if not during the week we'll  
9:make do(5.03).  
10:T. So this second marriage was that an arranged  
11:marriage?  
12:K. It's an arranged marriage yeah, my second  
13:marriage is an arranged marriage with my auntie's  
14:son (4.52).  
15:T. But it wasn't forced?  
16:K. No. it wasn't forced it was my auntie what  
17:happened was I went to um...my dad had a word  
18:with my my auntie and said to them that you know  
19:she does she's young and she's got a young child  
20:and my husband he's related to my auntie's son in  
21:law(4.33) ...so it was actually them that mentioned  
22:it to me and said you know we've got some one we  
23:think you would both be really compatible and then  
24:my auntie mentioned it tried to put it off and  
25:there's issues within the family going on so I said ok  
26:so I met him...so he (dad) met him and they got  
27:on(4.15)...but listening to his side what he'd been  
28:through he's got a child I've got a child...there was a  
29:lot more mutual understanding than anything else a  
30:lot of respect(4.00) ...um and he doesn't hold me  
31:back...he's pushed me towards my career... he's I  
32:didn't want to do my masters it was a case of I've  
33:done enough and it was him he was like no do your  
34:masters you're capable of it with him with me it's a  
35:Lot being quiet and achieving things and then  
36:keeping quiet whereas with him he wants to flaunt  
37:the achievements so whether it's mine or his he  
38:really does want to flaunt em(3.33).

1)Kiran realised what was absent from her first marriage was equality.2) Because...of the changes that I've had(5.39)...being through that marriage...I'm not, I've remarried, but I'm not the same person it's not a case of well you know I'm earning a hundred and you're earning a hundred and you know what I'll spend it on my husband...but this time round he's been through similar so we understands we've got more of an understanding we've got a friendship: Implies Kiran is not the same person as she has realised how she was manipulated and subjugated in her first marriage.3) Kiran finally felt emancipated as she identified patriarchy as the root cause of FM.

1)Kiran's views on FM are the same as she believes she experienced FM and has become an advocate against the practice as she wants to help other women who find themselves in the same predicament.  
2)Same as they were before...I'd help any girl out(2.08)...nobody needs to go through it, not in this day and age...nobody should be going through it and I would like to think that throughout our parents have learnt and with the new generation. I've remarried, but I'm not the same person it's not a case of well you know I'm earning a hundred and you're earning a hundred and you know what I'll spend it on my husband...but this time round he's been through similar so we understands we've got more of an understanding we've got a friendship(5.16)- , - Implies Kiran wants to make good use her experience to help others by preventing them from going through her ordeal.3) Kiran has become a stronger more resilient person since marrying again and she has used her experience to help herself and others.

Identified patriarchy as root cause of FM, emancipated, liberated, stronger, equality.

Learning, teaching, helping, succeeding, committing, completing, controlling, misunderstanding. Kiran has excluded the major part her own misunderstanding played in this whole saga. Conflation, selection, reductive, sedimented, partial, inconsistent. Kiran claims she was forced into marriage but the reality in this case is much more complicated. Hard won emancipation.

1:T. So what do you feel is the difference between  
2:your fist husband and your second husband how  
3:would you describe that?  
4:K. Respect...respect(3.17)...I can't put it in more than  
5:that um the first day I married my second husband  
6:and he sat me down and he said...anyone says  
7:anything to you...you do what you want to do if you  
8:don't want to do it don't do it whatever you don't  
9:want to go anywhere that's fine if anybody says  
10:anything just say I told you...I'll deal with  
11:it(2.57)...so ten eleven years on that's the rule we  
12:have I don't wanna go anywhere just say I can't  
13:go...I don't have to say anything he deals with  
14:it...he's a rock...completely utterly rock and nobody  
15:dares question it and I've noticed that it doesn't  
16:matter which side of the family as soon as I  
17:mention it and he says so? Nobody questions it  
18:there isn't a second question...It's amazing as that  
19:sounds it's not and I've looked back on it now and  
20:considering it's not about how much income he  
21:brings in or anything it's all about respect(2.21).  
22:T. What are your views on forced marriage now?  
23:K. same as they were before...I'd help any girl  
24:out(2.08)...nobody needs to go through it, not in  
25:this day and age...nobody should be going through  
26:it and I would like to think that throughout our  
27:parents have learnt and with the new  
28:generation...but I do have a fear at the back of my  
29:mind that thinking if(1.50)...the couples who have  
30:come over from (south Asian Country) or from  
31:South Asia that, that trend is still gonna be going on  
32:because they've still got family members back  
33:home and they want to improve the lives of their  
34:family(1.37)...so I guess until the law becomes more  
35:stricter ...there's loopholes I deal with  
36:them...there's still loopholes in the visa's that can  
37:be quite easily but I know people think oh eighteen  
38:K (UK earning requirement to sponsor spouse from  
39:abroad) but if you're a carer you don't have to earn

1:more than a hundred and forty pound it's(1.17)  
2:(exhales).  
3:T. Can you say more about the loopholes?  
4:K. for instance they've got the main one um...it's  
5:having to earn x amount eighteen K threshold that  
6:they have but if somebody's a carer which a lot of  
7:elderly(0.56)...elders are disabled and are on the  
8:attendance allowance to some degree and then it  
9:seems to be that they put the younger potential  
10:marriage age girl on put down as a carer and  
11:because she's a carer she then doesn't have to earn  
12:eighteen K it's a lot less so(0.39)...there's ways  
13:around that people do...yeah I guess still doing the  
14:false paperwork and paying the tax and not having  
15:(exhales)...I mean seriously don't the immigration  
16:ever think how many girls would you see working in  
17:a take away(0.19)...it makes you wonder what are  
18:they doing sitting there I think they need to give the  
19:jobs to the ones that have actually gone through  
20:and have a look through the paperwork...I need to  
21:stop now don't I?

Appendix 6                      Journal entry

It is difficult to stare at the screen for hours trying to painstakingly tease out the salient themes. I am experiencing information overload and to make analysis easier I will make hard copies of the transcripts which I can then cut out into smaller pieces of single words, phrases, and themes. It is clear from the three completed transcripts that participants are using emotive language to convey the texture of their difficult experience of FM. At this early stage it appears inconceivable that the participants lived experience of FM is anything other than genuine, overwhelming, and stressful! I am however experiencing strong feelings of uneasiness (just as I did previously in private practice when clients talked about their FM) about participants narrative because it does not appear to match their actions in FM. Participants are claiming they experienced FM but after marriage when they had the opportunity to complain, none did so? It feels important to learn what changed for participant after marriage. The interviews are also psychologically draining and therefore I will complete and transcribe all eight interviews before attempting analysis. I will also continue to discuss my current difficulties in personal therapy.

Appendix 7

**HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED FORCED MARRIAGE?**

**IF YOU ARE A SOUTH-ASIAN FEMALE AND YOU HAVE EXPERIENCED FORCED MARRIAGE IN THE PAST WHEN YOU WERE OVER THE AGE OF 18 WHICH YOU ARE NO LONGER STILL IN OR LIVING WITH THE PERSON/S WHO FORCED YOU INTO MARRIAGE. I WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO SPEAK TO YOU TO FIND OUT MORE ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE. MY NAME IS TAHIR AZIM PLEASE CONTACT ME IN CONFIDENCE TO FIND OUT MORE:**

**Tel 07886555764**

**E mail: [TA699@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:TA699@live.mdx.ac.uk)**

