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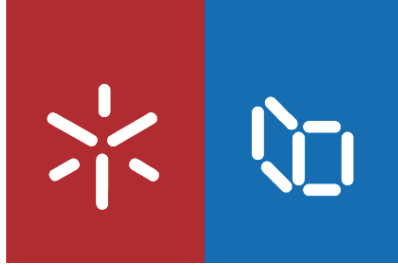
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PhD thesis in Language Sciences
Specialization English Linguistics

Supervised by
**Professor Isabel Ermida
Professor George Joffé**

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Habiba Chafai

Abstract

This thesis aims to explore how the phenomenon of "honour killing" is reported in British newspapers by looking at the different linguistic and discursive strategies used in the news coverage of two victims, 'Banaz Mahmod' and 'Samaira Nazir'. More specifically, news reports from the *Times,* the *Daily Telegraph,* the *Guardian*, the *Independent,* the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror* were selected in order to examine the representation of "honour killing" among Muslim immigrants in the UK. The multidisciplinary approach of Critical Discourse Analysis; in particular van Dijk's framework (1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2008 and 2009) provides the theoretical backdrop for the study. The description, interpretation and explanation of the linguistic and discursive mechanisms - lexical choice, implicit meanings, semantic strategies, sources and quotations - unveil the ideological constructions underlying the texts. The thesis also addresses questions such as whether or not the press associates "honour killings" with Islam and Muslims or with cultural tribal custom, whether or not news reports reinforce the reproduction of popular stereotypes, and whether or not they express a reinforcement of prejudice against immigrant Muslim communities. The study thus intends to assess how the British press tackles the concepts of identity and difference in the UK's growing multicultural and multifaith society.

Resumo

Esta tese procura explorar como o fenómeno dos "crimes de honra" é reportado nos jornais britânicos através da análise das diferentes estratégias linguísticas e discursivas usadas na cobertura das notícias de duas vítimas, Banaz Mahmod e Samaira Nazir. Mais especificamente, notícias do *Times, Daily Telegraph, Guardian*, *Independent, Sun*, *Daily Mail* e *Mirror* foram selecionadas para investigar a representação de "crimes de honra" entre imigrantes muçulmanos no Reino Unido. A abordagem multidisciplinar da Análise Crítica do Discurso, em particular o quadro de van Dijk (1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2008 e 2009), fornece o enquadramento teórico do estudo. A descrição, interpretação e explicação dos mecanismos linguísticos e discursivos – escolha lexical, significados implícitos, estratégias semânticas, fontes e citações – revelam as construções ideológicas subjacentes aos textos. A tese aborda também questões como: se a imprensa associa ou não "crimes de honra" ao Islão e a muçulmanos ou a costumes culturais tribais, se os relatos da imprensa reforçam ou não a reprodução de estereótipos populares, e se representam ou não um reforço do preconceito contra as comunidades muçulmanas imigrantes. Desta forma, o estudo pretende avaliar como a imprensa britânica aborda os conceitos de identidade e diferença na crescente sociedade multicultural e multirreligiosa do Reino Unido.

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Introduction

Identity and cultural difference have always been a source of controversy in most societies, in literature, cinema, art and the media. Religion, nationality, ethnicity and race are the main components of identity, alongside the complex issue of culture. Nowadays, religion has become a particularly important factor of individual identity, especially after the emergence of religious fundamentalism[1] and acts of terrorism carried out in Western societies where 'Muslims' and 'Westerners' live alongside one another. The conflict between the Orient and Occident, and between Islam and Christianity, is very old but it is now more intensified because of the incidents that have taken place in Western societies on the one hand and the confrontations in the Middle East on the other in the last two decades. Such hostilities seem to be based primarily on political issues, but they are also reflected at social and cultural levels.

Currently, the existence of multicultural and multifaith societies in the West has brought social, cultural, economic and political problems to the fore. In other words, the coexistence of immigrants of patriarchal and traditional origins with Westerners adopting liberal values has produced disagreements and tensions. Migrants generally choose to settle in more developed countries, primarily for economic reasons, with the aim of improving their financial and personal circumstances. The reasons for these choices can also extend to cover academic or professional motivations. Immigrants usually appreciate the social and political rights they acquire and recognise the quality of educational and health systems - among other services - in host countries when compared to those of their motherlands. However, religious and cultural backgrounds are also the factors that bring about the majority of conflicts and violence between individuals or groups. Islam, the position of women within Islam, gender inequality and violence are issues of interest associated with immigrant communities in Western societies in particular, and the sources of debate in the media in general. Furthermore, all the horrific incidents and harmful practices that occur within minorities are essentially explained and justified by religion. Religious extremism, cultural differences, social problems, the 'unacceptable' behaviour of some immigrants or

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[1] The term 'fundamentalism' strictly refers to literalist interpretations of the Bible by Protestant sects in the United States at the start of the twentieth century. It has, however, become a portmanteau term covering any literalist application of religious doctrine to social and political situations. It is in that sense that the term is used to apply to literalist manifestations of Islam in the public sphere today.

refugees and sometimes the absurdity of some attitudes and actions affect the opinions the host community may have about minorities.

Islam and the status of Muslim women in Africa or Asia are issues of relevance and pride to some, but symbols of inequality and backwardness to others. Nevertheless, the interpretation of Islamic Law, and therefore the situation and rights of women vary across Muslim countries for political and legal systems are not unified. Although the Muslim states do not share the same systems, perspectives, interests, understanding or interpretation of Islam, the latter is hugely misrepresented as a homogeneous entity in the Western media. As a result, the imprecision that the media demonstrates in its (mis)representations of Islam and of the associated crisis of identity amongst Muslim minorities has an adverse impact on the host country audiences. The influence of the media is transmitted through language, through which the positions of majority communities are subtly conveyed. It is crucial to highlight the importance, weight, power and unconscious control that language and discourse may have upon audiences. On the other hand, it is also common to find religious excuses made to justify whatever public relations disaster associated to Muslim people as a result of the 'apparent' consent of Islam. These motivations summarise the background behind the choice of the present research topic.

Amongst immigrants settling mainly in Europe, America and related regions outside the Muslim world, Muslim immigrants in the UK are the subject of this study. Muslims in the UK constitute almost 3 million of the total British population and come mainly from South Asia and the Middle East. Their proportion within the population is significant - indeed, Islam is now the second largest religion in the country. It is among some of these communities in the UK that violence in the name of 'honour' is carried out in part as a result of the shared conflict between traditional and liberal values. So-called "honour killing" is the phenomenon that will be investigated in this thesis and through which representation of Muslims in the British press will be analysed. This will be achieved by exploring how events, actors, relationships, themes and processes are portrayed through two case studies selected from British newspapers. "Honour killing" is a crime which is common within traditional and patriarchal cultures, with female relatives as the principal victims. The 'inappropriate' sexual conduct of women is regarded as bringing dishonour to the family and this consequently requires honour to be restored, especially when the event becomes public knowledge.

Media representations of Muslims and Islam and especially of Muslim immigrants are generally expressed in negative terms, both in Western media in general and the British media in particular (Said, 1981, 1997; van Dijk, 1991; Poole, 2002, 2009; Richardson, 2004; Abbas, 2005; Poole & Richardson, 2006, 2010; Elgamri, 2008, 2010; Marsden & Savigny, 2009; Farouqui, 2009; Lyons, 2012; Lewis, Mason, & Moore, 2011; Kausar & Hussain, 2011). However, much of the research carried out up until now has tackled the issue in relation to political violence and religious radicalism while focusing less on cultural difference. Furthermore, studies that explore the incident of "honour killings" have focused mainly on the cultural, religious and political factors. They essentially aim to examine the issue from a perspective of human right violations, arguing that religious or cultural interpretations should not justify abuse of women (Mojab, 2004; Welchman & Hossain, 2005; Siddiqui, 2005; Khan, 2006; Gill, 2006, 2011; Meetoo & Mirza, 2011; Husseini, 2011; Idriss & Abbas, 2011). While these authors' approaches do not involve discursive analysis, authors such as Poole (2002, 2006), Richardson (2004, 2006, 2007, 2009) or Elgamri (2008, 2010) use a discursive analysis approach to portray events concerning British Islam and Muslims, but do not apply it to the issue of honour-based violence or, more specifically, to the phenomenon of "honour killings".

Since news reports, amongst other media sources, influence readers' minds and therefore manipulate their attitudes and actions, the main objective of this study is to examine the representation and interpretation of "honour killings" in British newspapers, to consider if the British press discourse associates such crimes with Islam and Muslims or with tribal cultures, and to find out if this contributes to the reproduction of discrimination or the strengthening of stereotypes towards Muslim immigrants in Britain. The aim of this study is thus to use Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the issue of "honour killings" within Muslim minorities in British press coverage from a discursive point of view. The focus will be on textual analysis without considering the roles of those who produce or those who read the texts. This will be done by looking at the different linguistic and discursive strategies used in British newspapers - both broadsheets and tabloids - for two particular victims, Banaz Mahmod and Samaira Nazir, with the objective of revealing the ideological constructions underlying the actual texts of the news reports. The achievement of these aims requires

a preliminary discussion of a number of topics and issues which are of great relevance to the subject under study and to an understanding of the textual analysis.

The introductory chapter, entitled "Study context", represents the context of the research. The chapter starts by commenting on the conflict between the West and Islam, the homogenized representation of Islam in the West, Islam's frequent association with fundamentalism, violence and oppression and its depiction as inferior, as a threat or as the 'other', in the British media. The issue of violence against women will be then introduced, especially honour-based violence in general and "honour killings" in particular. The phenomenon under study will be defined by identifying the communities among which "honour killings" have taken place in Britain, verifying the statistics associated with the phenomenon and examining its (mis)representation in the British press. A concise comment on British immigration history will be provided to highlight which immigrant communities are settling in Britain and in which parts of the country they are most concentrated. After contextualising "honour killings" in the UK and the British media and after outlining the research questions for the thesis, the two case studies and the methodology to be used will be introduced to define the theoretical and methodological perspectives the study has adopted. The section closes with a review of the portrayal of Muslims in the British media, in order to justify the principal objectives and choices made throughout the thesis.

The second chapter, entitled "Gender and cultural 'rationalization' of 'honour' violence", constitutes the essential background of the study, for it analyses the role of culture and gender in reinforcing and justifying violence through so-called "honour killings" within Muslim traditions and in the British context. The section begins with a more detailed discussion of violence against women and the different theories used to explain it by distinguishing between domestic violence, gender-based violence, honour-based violence, honour crimes and "honour killings". The latter is then represented as a form of femicide that targets the castigation and control of women because of their allegedly offensive sexual conduct. Consequently, the position of women in Islam and Muslim cultures will be discussed by exploring notions such as patriarchy and male authority, the role of marriage, family and community, female sexuality, and the concern of males and females to protect their collective senses of honour, shame and reputation. All these concepts are to be considered in the context of Muslim immigrants, together with related topics such as forced marriage, the diverse motives behind such a

crime and its difference from crimes of passion in the British context. An attempt to explain the excuses usually provided to justify 'honour' violence, and which may vary from explanations based on religious, cultural, traditional or local customs, will also be made. Other questions will be surveyed, such as Western attitudes towards "honour killings", and the great controversy as to whether honour-based violence should be included under the umbrella of violence against women (so as to avoid stigmatising certain communities) or whether it should be considered to be culture-specific. Another topic involves whether "honour killing" is Islamic or rather related to tribal custom. This chapter attempts to present a perspective that questions the perceptions usually assumed by the press, namely that patriarchal systems, gender inequalities and tribal cultures are the principal causes of the adverse situation of women and of the violence perpetrated against them rather than Islam in itself.

The third chapter, entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis", presents the methodology adopted in the study. It establishes the origins and development of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by identifying its perspectives and objectives, examining notions such as "critical" and "interdisciplinary", as well as the role of language, text and discourse in social practices. An overview of the various approaches to CDA is presented to provide a general perspective about the different ways of carrying it out. Three approaches to CDA, by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun A. van Dijk, will be discussed. In particular van Dijk's framework (1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2008 & 2009 provides the theoretical background for the study. As CDA exploits the dialectical relationship between discourse and society, the description of the linguistic and discursive mechanisms at play in the language of the press - such as lexical choice, implicit meanings, semantic strategies and sources and quotations - is the subject of analysis and will hopefully reveal power relations and ideological constructions underlying news texts, as well as their possible impact on the thoughts and attitudes of the readers.

The last chapter is entitled "Textual analysis – Representations". It begins by providing a description of the case studies, their backgrounds and the events surrounding the victims, Banaz Mahmod and Samaira Nazir. The data comprises 120 newspaper articles about the first victim and 26 about the second from four British broadsheets and three British tabloids. CDA is used to examine press representations of "honour killings" by exploring how events, topics, headlines and actors are depicted and

the linguistic and discursive strategies that have been used to do so. This will be achieved by analysing the lexical choice of news reports, the implicit meanings (vagueness versus overcompleteness), the semantic strategies (mitigation versus reversal as well as comparison and contrast) and the sources used in the texts to describe the phenomenon under investigation. The linguistic and discursive descriptions, explanations and interpretations of newspaper texts are designed to reveal systems of control, inequality or discrimination against Muslim immigrants, and to see if they contribute to reinforcing a sense of "us" versus "them". The chapter concludes by bringing together the topics discussed in previous chapters. Finally, it also attempts to assess, by way of conclusion, how the concepts of identity, difference and ethnic relations are tackled in Britain's growing multicultural and multifaith society.

Chapter I Study context

1. Introduction

> *For the general public in America and Europe today, Islam is "news" of particularly unpleasant sort. The media, the government, the geopolitical strategists, and – although they are marginal to the culture at large – the academic experts on Islam are all in concert: Islam is a threat to Western civilization (Said, 1981, 1997: 144).*

This thesis is designed to examine media response to the issue of "honour killings[2]" among minority Muslim migrant communities in Great Britain. Before tackling the subject matter of this thesis, I would like to comment on the existing differences and tensions between Islam and the West, as two distinct realities where conflicts, prejudice and stereotypes are frequently raised. I will also observe the homogenised representation of Islam and the orientalist nature of Islam's portrayal in the West, as well as the increasing visibility and importance given to issues related to Islam and to political violence in the news media. In this connection Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978, 2003) is commonly mentioned in literary and cultural studies as well as in studies related to Islam's representation in the media. Said (1997, 2003) described media as having an orientalist approach to Islam by examining the prejudiced attitude the West has over the East, the constructed images Westerners have about the culture and customs of Arab and Muslim people, and how Islam and Muslims are depicted as 'threatening' and as the 'other'.

Considerable information and news are increasingly produced and reported about Islam and Muslims, and special attention is given to Muslims settling in western societies because of political concerns as well as religious and cultural differences - among other reasons - between Muslims and Westerners/non-Muslims. Although Muslims are geographically characterised by their different religious practices and diverse ethnic identities and cultural habits and experiences, yet discourses about Islam are likely to disregard the 'diversity' and 'differences' between Muslims (Poole, 2002, 2009: 44). Curiously, Islam becomes newsworthy when it is represented as a danger; it

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[2] The term "honour killings", when placed inside quotation marks, is meant to reflect the media's abusive use of the term 'honour' to describe what is, in effect, straightforward murder.

is defined and compared to Christianity with the aim of either representing its followers as a 'problem' (Lewis, Mason, & Moore, 2011: 51), or referring to the expansion of Islam as a threat to Christianity (Poole, 2002, 2009: 78).

The news spread about Muslims and the Muslim world seems to focus frequently on issues related to violence and oppression allegedly exercised on the pretext of Islam. These are said to be beliefs conveyed through custom or religion that justify brutal and violent acts such as terrorist attacks against non-Muslim societies, killing of women in the name of honour, forced marriage, child marriage, or female genital mutilation among others. Since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, more Islam-related events reported in the media have helped in the expansion of the gap and the deterioration of the relationship between Islam and the West. Such events can be summarised in the following incidents: the *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie in 1989 because of his book "*The Satanic Verses*", the ban on minarets in Switzerland in 2000, the events of 11 September 2001 in the United States, the death of Muslims in Iraq (2003) and Afghanistan (2001) as well as hate crimes against Arabs and Muslims in Western countries, the Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005, the Madrid train bombings in 2004, the bombing of 7 July 2005 in London in the United Kingdom, the crisis over Danish cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed in 2005, the ban on the veil (face covering) in public places in 2010 in France, recent riots in England (2011) and France (2005 and 2012), and recently the Boston Marathon events in April 2013. Besides the reported events in relation to political violence and religious conflict, there are other incidents and stories that are said to illustrate the situation of women within Islam. For instance, the depiction of Muslim women as oppressed, illiterate and under the authority of men, and the violence committed against women in Muslim communities living in Western societies[3] are some of the bewildering factors that increase the interest, curiosity and sometimes disregard or alienation within Western societies in general and the media in particular. Such media discourses about Islam may intend to produce "Fear of the Muslim other, to sell the "war on terrorism" as essential to Western security, and to lead the West into its greatest confrontation with Islam" (Lyons, 2012: 2). The attitudes that emerge often seem to seek logical and comprehensible reasons behind behaviours

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[3] In the context of honour crime, some immigrant groups may practice traditions and habits where women are likely to be exposed to abuses such as "marital rape, female genital mutilation, nose cutting, bride price, forced marriage, polygamy, and forced virginity testing" (Pervizat, 2004: 138).

perceived by host societies as alien but justified by these communities as part of tradition, culture or religion.

Various studies (Said, 1981, 1997; van Dijk, 1991; Poole, 2002, 2009; Richardson, 2004; Abbas, 2005; Poole & Richardson, 2006, 2010; Elgamri, 2008, 2010; Marsden & Savigny, 2009; Farouqui, 2009; Lyons, 2012; Lewis, Mason & Moore, 2011; Kausar & Hussain, 2011) confirm that media representations of Islam are mainly based on negative and stereotypical foundations; in that they give more intrinsic value to Western culture and represent Islam as inferior and 'other', and particularly antipathetic and hostile towards women. Islam is represented as a religion of violence through the anti-Islamic discourse produced in different forms of media where:

> *Muslims are irrational and backward "medieval", and fearful of modernity; Islam is by nature fanatical; Muslims are sexually perverse, either lascivious polygamists or repressive misogynists or both; they are antidemocratic and despise Western notions of civic freedoms; and, finally, they are caught up in a jealous rage at the Western world's failure to value them or their beliefs (Lyons, 2012: 3).*

In the British context, in particular, events focusing upon Islam[4] revolve around "conflict, terrorism, social and political turmoil, and disaster" (Poole, 2002, 2009: 57), and Muslims are portrayed as "perpetrators of violence, lacking the common values of tolerance and freedom of thought and expression, and unable to accept ideas and opinions contrary to theirs" (Elgamri, 2008, 2010: 221). Other discourses have a typical orientalist nature such as the incompatibility of Islam versus the West, the collapse of the British multiculturalism due to Islam and finally the threatening character of Islam towards British norms and customs (Lewis, Mason, & Moore, 2011: 53).

It is a general fact that everybody is daily exposed to news about violence around the globe in general and violence against women in particular, and it is on this latter issue that this thesis will focus. Media, international organisations and academic work provide articles, reports and essays about issues related to violence against women, such as domestic violence, sex trafficking, forced prostitution, or honour-based violence. Violence against women and girls is a worldwide phenomenon that defies human rights' groups across cultures and geographies and needs local, national and international attention. Violence against women has different facets, from femicide to

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[4] The second largest religion in the UK.

domestic violence or honour crime. It can happen in private spaces within the family or in the public sphere, as in the street or at work. Violence can be applied physically, sexually and psychologically and is generally carried out by strangers, family relatives or even by the extended community.

Some examples may illustrate the range of such problems, as to the violence carried out in the name of honour, which can exist within minority communities in Europe. On January 21st 2002, for example, 25-year-old Fadime Sahindal[5] was murdered in Uppsala, Sweden. Fadime, who was of Turkish Kurdish origins, came to Sweden with her family at the age of seven and was described as "a luminous example of courage and integrity". She was threatened with murder when she went against her father's will and took the option of choosing her own partner, the Swedish Iranian Patrik Lindesjo (Wikan, 2003: 1). Fadime was murdered by her father when she went to say goodbye to her mother and sisters (Husseini, 2009: 187). Two months before her death, Fadime gave a talk in the Swedish Old Parliament Building on November 20, 2001, with the objective of revealing her own experiences to the public and warning the Swedish state of the treatment and violence that young Muslim women may face within immigrant communities in the Western world: (Husseini, 2009: 184-186)

> *I'm going to talk about how hard it is to be caught between the demands of your family and the demands of society. I want to point out that this is not only about women from the Middle East.*
>
> *...My parents thought that school was a good thing as long as you learned to read and write, but that girls didn't need a higher education. The most important thing was for me to go back to Turkey one day and get married.*
>
> *But when the time came, I refused because I thought that I was too young. Besides, I wanted to choose my own husband. I told them I wouldn't go back to Turkey. For them, my marriage was for the good of the entire family. Even if I didn't want to get married, it was better for one member of the family to feel disgraced than the whole family. But I considered myself to be a member of Swedish society.*
>
> *...I've paid a high price for that. My friends have become my new family I don't regret having left, but I'm sad that I was forced to do it. My family lost both their honour and a daughter.*

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[5] Wikan, Unni (2008). *In honour of Fadime: Murder and shame*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

In the same year that Fadime Sahindal was murdered, in October 2002, Heshu Yones[6], a 16 years-old Turkish Kurd, was killed in the UK by her father Abdulla Yones (Gill, 2011: 225), who was the first person to be convicted of an "honour killing" in Britain in 2003[7]. After a period of beating and suffering where the father tried to oblige his daughter to end her relationship with her 18 years-old Lebanese Christian boyfriend, he finally killed her when the affair became public knowledge among the Kurdish community of North London (CSC[8], 2010: 55). A letter recovered by the police written by Heshu mentioning her decision to run away, declared: (CSC, 2010: 55-56)

Bye Dad, sorry I was so much horrible.

Me and you will probably never understand each other, but I'm sorry I wasn't what you wanted, but there's some things you can't change.

Hey, for an older man you have a good strong punch and kick.

I hope you enjoyed testing your strength on me, it was fun being on the receiving end.

Well done

The cases of the two victims are of paramount significance as Fadime and Heshu were the focus of most of the recent publications on these issues, because of their puzzling[9] stories. It is important to illustrate the victims' own experiences before death since their voice may help us to understand the characteristics and the kind of motivations behind murders committed in the name of honour, and also because both cases grabbed the attention of "European governments, NGOs[10], the police and activists" (Husseini, 2009: 184), and "marked perhaps the first time the phrase 'honour' killing entered the lexicon of the popular press" (Payton, 2011: 75). Both murders, which made international news, could have been prevented if the complaints of their victims had been taken into consideration by the relevant responsible institutions

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[6] More information about Heshu Yones' case in: BBC, 'Honour killing' father begins sentence. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/london/3149030.stm 6.03.2012

[7] http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/jun/12/ukcrime.prisonsandprobation1?INTCMP=SRCH 6.03.2012

[8] Centre for Social Cohesion: a non-partisan independent organisation specialised in studying radicalisation and extremism within Britain.

[9] Such young women are murdered by their own family members, killed with extreme violence, and while the reasons for which they are perpetrated are naturally justified by the community, such murders are obviously incomprehensible to the hosting societies.

[10] Non-Governmental Organisations.

(Mojab, 2004: 17). Before exploring the problematic of "honour killings" in the British context, I would like to briefly describe the phenomenon under study.

2. "Honour killings"

> *Honour killing, much like genocide, is a crime that few would want to be associated with. It tarnishes the image of a people, nation, country, religion and culture which allows it to happen (Mojab, 2004: 32).*

The origin of "honour killings" seems to be very old since in numerous patriarchal cultures killing has been the unhesitating verdict against the accused since time immemorial (Mojab, 2004: 16). "Honour killing" is defined according to the UNICEF as "an ancient practice in which men kill female relatives in the name of family 'honour' for forced or suspected sexual activity outside marriage, even when they have been victims of rape" (Sindh, 2007: 77). This phenomenon is considered an extreme example of patriarchal power (Pope, 2004: 102). More specifically and as illustrated by Idriss, "honour killing" involves "a young Muslim woman falling in love with a man of another religion/caste/sect, and once the community hears of it, it is felt incumbent on the head patriarch to take action so as to avoid any 'shame' being placed on the wider family" (2011: 2). "Honour killing" thus refers to the murder of women at the hands of their family members when their sexual conduct is not approved.

According to the Centre for Social Cohesion in the UK, "honour killings" are the most extreme cases where individuals lose their right to life because of the norms and values of the community (CSC, 2010: 37). Investigations indicate that honour-based violence is expected to be located in societies worldwide namely "among Latin American and Mediterranean peasant societies, among nomadic people in the Middle East, South Asia, and among the various Indian castes and Chinese elites" (Rizvi, 2004: 220). However, of the five thousand women who die every year as a result of "honour killings", the vast majority take place in countries such as Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, according to the United Nations (CSC, 2010: 37). The perpetrators[11] of such murders are generally male relatives of the victims (father, brother, uncle or

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[11] Onal, A. (2008). *Honour killing: Stories of men who killed*. London, San Francisco: Saqi.

cousin). The reasons can be summarised in Lama Abu Odeh's (1996: 141) description of honour:

> *Honour is defined in terms of women's assigned sexual and familial roles as dictated by traditional family ideology. Thus, adultery, premarital relationships (which may or may not include sexual relations), rape and falling in love with an 'inappropriate' person may constitute violations of family honour (cited in Welchman & Hossain, 2005: 5).*

It is clear that "honour killing" is not depicted as an individual action, but as a collective crime where the family and even the whole community are responsible for the killing (Mojab, 2004: 18), without forgetting the likely participation of women such as mothers or mothers-in-law in the murder of other female relatives. Indeed, "honour killing" has to do with:

> *...the rights of the collective over the individual and the individual's duty to submit. It has to do with structures and systems, social categories of people indoctrinated into the belief that they exist to serve the system (Wikan, 2003: 16).*

Furthermore, although the origin of "honour killing" is rooted in history and is associated with patriarchal systems, research suggests that it is wrong to consider the incident as specific to particular regions or faiths (Jafri, 2008: ix). However, because of growing patterns of immigration, "honour killings" have experienced an increase in host societies among minority cultures and communities (Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 182). Yet British official attention, for instance, was only directed towards the issue after a number of murders of women in Europe occurred for these reasons (Ibid). Moreover, even if it is broadly believed to be a Muslim tradition, "…Rationally speaking, this human practice has nothing to do with religion but is rooted in culture of tribal practices" (Sindhi, 2007: 21). Hence, "honour killing" is mainly an extreme interference by men who reconstruct a religious doctrine to justify their tribal behaviours (Jafri, 2008: 141).

In the following sections of the chapter, the essential objective will be to identify amongst which communities "honour killings" have been taking place in Britain, verify if there are any investigations that show the statistical dimensions of such a phenomenon, reveal how it is represented and misrepresented in the British press, and provide a concise comment of contemporary British immigration to indicate which

Muslim immigrant communities are settling in Britain and in which parts of the country they are most concentrated.

3. "Honour killings" in Britain and the British press

Back in the early 1990s, the murder of women among immigrant communities in the name of family honour started to attract the attention of the media (Husseini, 2009: 183). Reported "honour killings" in Europe took place mainly within immigrant populations comprising predominantly Asian, Turkish, or Kurdish communities, and where many of the victims undergo forced marriage (Gill, 2009: 7)[12]. African and Caribbean women also suffer from honour crimes (RWA 2003, as cited in Meetoo & Mirza, 2011: 42). As a result, in the UK context, government organisations and media associate "honour killings" with particular minority ethnic groups; "honour killings as domestic violence have become 'ethnicised' within the British multicultural context" (Meetoo & Mirza, 2011: 43). Indeed, according to the study made by the Centre for Social Cohesion, the majority of the victims of "honour killings" reported in the UK are women who are identified as Muslim, South Asian and below the age of thirty (CSC, 2010: 41). On the whole, "honour killings" in the UK are considered to occur amongst South Asians and such murders are mainly perpetrated by Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims. Such a phenomenon also occurs amongst Hindus and Sikhs but in smaller numbers (CSC, 2010: 39). Furthermore, not only is it first generation immigrants who are mainly perpetrating these crimes, but generations born and raised in Britain are also increasingly involved in such practices (Ibid). In addition, the cases of the "honour killings" carried out within Kurdish communities in the UK are rather few even though such incidents happen frequently in Kurdish regions in Iraq and Turkey (CSC, 2010: 55). However, while women organisations declare that domestic violence within Arab minorities is frequent, yet "there has been no recorded honour killings by Arabs in the UK" (CSC: 2010, 60).

There are examples of women's organisations focussing on honour-based violence in the UK. For instance, Southall Black Sisters (SBS), a campaigning group for the rights of minority ethnic women, took care of more than 2,500 cases of domestic

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[12] http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2009/Expert%20Paper%20EGMGPLHP%20_Aisha%20Gill%20revised_.pdf 6.03.2012

violence a year and dealt with over 20 "honour killings" between 2001 and 2003 in the UK (RWA 2003, as cited in Meetoo & Mirza, 2011: 42). The Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO) is another example that intervened in 85 possible honour-related violence cases or examples of forced marriage in 2008-2009 (Payton, 2011: 67). However, few 'empirical' researches about so-called honour crimes have been carried out in the UK (Gill, 2011: 218). Gill pointed out that an incomplete investigation of national media coverage reports that, each year, about twelve "honour killings" were investigated by police between 1998 and 2007 (2011: 223). Similar figures were indicated by the Criminal Prosecution Service (CPS), yet the precise number of the cases of "honour killings" in the UK is not identified (CSC, 2010: 37). Besides, forced suicide or disappearances suggest that the number of "honour killings" is much higher than the police estimate since there are therefore many possibly unreported cases that are excluded from official figures. Till recently, The UK government's main emphasis in relation to honour-related violence was directed towards forced marriage; "The government focused on a small subset (of a distinct legal category) of victims, rather than attempting to understand the wider context of HBV [honour-based violence] and VAW [violence against women]" (Gill, 2011: 224).

Previous investigations suggest that there are only 12 "honour killing" victims each year in the UK. However, according to new research by The Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO)[13] published in British newspapers, violence against women carried out by families or communities is rising significantly in the UK. It also presents, for the first time, a national estimate about so-called honour-related violence. IKWRO sent requests, under the Freedom of Information Act, to 52 police forces (although 13 did not respond) in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland to determine how much honour-related violence occurred, involving threats, abduction, beatings, forced marriage, mutilation and murder. This research revealed that reports of such incidents increased by 47% in just one year, and that 2,823 incidents took place in 2010. London experienced a growth from 235 to 495 incidents and Greater Manchester a rise from 105 to 189[14]. Yet, IKWRO considers that because of women's fear of blame, many incidents still remain unreported. Similarly, Jasvinder Sanghera[15], a co-founder of

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[13] http://ikwro.org.uk/ 6.03.2012

[14] http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/dec/03/honour-crimes-uk-rising 6.03.2012

[15] Born in Derby, UK, faced herself a forced marriage, and tells her story in her novel *Shame*.

Karma Nirvana[16], declares that the 'real figure' could be four times higher than the reported statistics. The demonstrated increase of incidents was because of the raised awareness among police about such violence, and also due to more reporting by victims (resisting a forced marriage for example), according to IKWRO's campaigns officer, as declared in the Guardian daily newspaper[17].

As far as observing the opinions and reactions of the communities affected by the concept of honour is concerned, a survey was made by market research company ComRes on the BBC One television channel's weekly current affairs programme[18] "Panorama: Britain's Crimes of Honour" on March 19th, 2012, where 500 British Asians between the age of 16 and 34 were interviewed about the importance of honour in their communities. Eighteen per cent of young British Asians support the 'honour' concept and believe that physical punishment is justified in the cases where women violate family values or refuse an arranged marriage. Furthermore, two-thirds of young British Asians consider the concept of honour as central to family life. Sixty-nine per cent agreed that family should live according to the honour code with a slight difference between women's and men's views on the subject (75 per cent of young men compared to 63 per cent of young women), and 3 per cent said "honour killings" can be justified (6 per cent of young Asian men compared to 1 per cent of young Asian women). Commentators in a discussion on the BBC Asian network criticised the survey as 'stereotypical', stigmatising', and not 'representative' of people of Asian heritage since the sample was small and hence not representative.

It is true that the media has a central role in increasing awareness about so-called "honour killings"; however, 'media reports' and 'legal proceedings' employ the concept of 'honour' as the main reason behind the murders of women by family male relatives (Khan, 2006: 42). It is the case that culture and customs are likely to have a powerful impact on the attitude of individuals and their perception of the world (Pope, 2004: 103). Still, it is wrong to associate "honour killing" with:

> ...a certain culture, and in particular a monolithic Muslim culture. It is ignorant to make the
> assumption that one billion of the world's population is a homogeneous entity, undermining its

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[16] A registered charity supporting victims and survivors of forced marriages and honour-based violence.

[17] http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/dec/03/honour-crimes-uk-rising 6.03.2012

[18] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VyunVoRKL8k 26.03.2012 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17319136 26.03.2012 http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/21/honour-crime-domestic-abuse?INTCMP=SRCH 21.03.2012

cultural, linguistic, historic, and geographical diversity. It is also important to mention that the notion of an honour code is by no means specific to Islam or Muslim societies (Rizvi, 2004: 219-220).

Additionally, Western media frequently depict "honour killings", to some extent falsely, as associated to Muslim tradition; "The underlying message is usually that these murders are committed by backward people coming from distant cultures, and bear little in common with forms of violence prevalent in the West" (Pope, 2004: 101). Therefore, "honour killings" are misleadingly described as linked to Islam as well as to backward cultures. Violence is considered to be framed in a cultural context, whether in developed or developing countries; "while violence against women in Western societies is rarely perceived as a problem of 'culture', but rather as a social issue, murders committed in minority communities in the West or in developing countries, particularly if they are Muslim, are broadly attributed to 'culture' rather than to the patriarchal element within the culture", which produces and strengthens "prejudices and racism, and leads to the rejection of the entire culture" (Pope, 2004: 101).

After identifying the communities among which "honour killings" usually take place in Britain, examining the new figures about the victims of "honour killings" as well as the value of the code of 'honour' among communities, and exploring how the phenomenon is misrepresented in the British media, the focus of the following section is to briefly comment on the migration history of Muslim communities to Britain and their demographic profiles.

4. Muslim immigration history into the UK

"Multiculturalism is often seen as cultural pluralism describing the equal coexistence of many cultures in a locality, without any culture dominating the region" (Von Meien, 2006: 3). Multiculturalism was adopted by the British government and politicians to construct cultures of tolerance and equality and encourage ethnic, religious and cultural diversity with the aim of avoiding segregation and isolation among migrant communities in Britain. Yet arranged or forced marriages, as an example, are still practiced among some Muslim communities in the UK. Multiculturalism within the British context demonstrates "the basic failure of the model Britain had adopted to promote the integration of its minority populations – a kind of passive multiculturalism which, for some, was merely the mirror image of the racism they believed characterised

host and minority community relations in Britain" (Joffe, 2008:16). After shortly commenting on multiculturalism, an overview of immigration history and settlement of Muslims in Britain will be presented. The objective is to identify Muslims in Britain and to show that they are far from symbolising a homogeneous community with similar regional, religious or cultural backgrounds.

Studies (Anwar, 1985; Mason, 1995; Din, 2006; Lewis, 2007; Somerville, 2007; Chakraborti, 2007) suggest that, after the Second World War, immigration to the UK from former colonies originated because of the persisting circumstances of labour shortage. Considerable Muslim migration started in the 1950/1960s mainly from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The migrants came to work in the industrial cities of London, the Midlands and the former textile towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Immigration regulation applied to people from 'commonwealth countries' under the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, which encouraged immigration by allowing family reunification. Many immigrants, with lower levels of education, arrived from rural areas (Moore, 2010: 17). Consequently, the presence of Muslims increased significantly after the 1960s; "a clear demonstration of this is the rise in the number of mosques" (Hussain, 2008: 24). Later migration came from the Middle-East and North Africa and recently in the 1990s, East European Muslims from Bosnia and Kosovo, in addition to refugees from Afghanistan, Somalia, Turkey and Iraq came to settle in the UK (Lewis, 2007: 16). This demonstrates the diversity of Muslim identities and ethnicities coming from different regions and cultures to reside in the UK, as Moore suggests; "The communities of Muslims in Britain form a highly differentiated and heterogeneous population" (2010: 17). To sum up, the development of Muslims immigration to Britain can be recapitulated in the following phases: the settlement of migrant workers and the 'chain migration' from a number of villages, followed by family reunion by the migration of wives and children, then the appearance of generations born and grown up in Britain, and finally the settlement of refugees and asylum seekers (Lewis, 2007: 16; Hussain, 2008: 24).

Statistics from the 2001 UK census showed that Muslims settling in Britain constitute 1.6 million people, representing 2.7 per cent of the British populace (Lewis, 2007: 19). Sixty eight per cent were from South Asian origins (43 per cent Pakistani, 17 per cent Bangladeshi and 8 per cent Indian) (Ibid). An increase of Muslim population has origins also from the arrival of 'refugees' and 'asylum-seekers' from Afghanistan,

Iraq and Somalia (Ibid). Accordingly, the Muslim population of the UK "rose from about 21,000 in 1951 to 55,000 in 1961, a quarter of a million in 1971, nearly 600,000 in 1981, 1 million in 1991 and 1.6 million in 2001. The rate of growth is rapid while the population remains, on average, relatively young" (Abbas, 2011: 19). Seventy per cent of all Muslims are mainly concentrated in London, Birmingham, Greater Manchester and the Bradford-Leeds urban area (Lewis, 2007: 21). The Muslim population in Britain is highly concentrated in a small number of large urban areas: (607,000) in London; (192,000) in West Midland Metropolitan County, which includes Birmingham; (125,219) in Greater Manchester; and (150,000) in West Yorkshire Metropolitan County, the Bradford-Leeds urban area (Lewis, 2007: 21).

The census statistics show that no less than 50 per cent of the Muslim population was born in the UK, and that it is likely to have larger families than non-Muslims with a younger age range (McRoy, 2006). More than 60 per cent of Muslims are under the age of 30 which demonstrates that Muslims, according to the census data, have the youngest demographic profile of any group in England and Wales (Hussain, 2008: 42). It is noted from the above statements that recent arrivals contributed to the diversity of the Muslim population. There is a variety of Muslims in Britain, coming from different "national origins, local customs, linguistic divisions, sectarian affiliations, and migration histories, it is impossible to generalize solely on the basis of religion" (Moore, 2010: 18). Muslim population growth in the UK can be due to marriage to wives or husbands from the countries of origin, the higher birth rate among Muslim communities and also through conversion to Islam.

It is also noteworthy that Muslim immigrants who constitute the major communities in Britain originate from rural backgrounds in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, where common concepts of honour and vengeance conflict with the values of British society (Abbas, 2011: 17). Idriss explains that the presence of honour-based violence in the UK may have its roots in second generation disagreement with the customs of the older generation; "Second generation migrants who have become more 'Westernised' may provoke the first generation to take physical action in order to 'remedy' the perceived shame created by their apparent transgressions" (Idriss, 2011: 3). Idriss illustrates the effects of family position, habits, traditions and cultural identity in relation to their women relatives in Muslim communities living in non-Muslim host societies:

These groups have a strong sense of group identity and loyalty, and in cases where these communities are Muslim, there is extra pressure placed upon young women to remain chaste until marriage, and even then to marry partners that are chosen by members of the wider family, including the head patriarch as well as the head matriarch. When the line is crossed, it is quite possible for men to act to 'punish' their wives, daughters or sisters in the most extreme of ways" (Idriss, 2011: 2).

5. Research questions and methodology

Now that "honour killing" has been contextualized in the UK and that the phenomenon under study has been defined, I shall address in more detail the questions that I wish to elucidate through my research.

(1) Since news reports among other media resources impact people's minds and therefore influence their attitudes and actions, the first question considers how the phenomenon of "honour killing" has been reported in the British press.

(2) Secondly, it is crucial to explore whether religion is used to legitimise "honour killings". It is essential, therefore, to look at how the British press associates such crimes with Islam and Muslims or with tribal custom.

(3) Consequently, a further central concern is to see how media discourse may reproduce systems of dominance and inequality by examining if news reports contribute to the reproduction and reinforcement of stereotypes or prejudice against Muslim immigrants.

(4) If so, the final question will be why the British press adopts such portrayals, and to what extent is it a deliberate attempt to influence race relations in Britain?

This will be achieved by analysing the linguistic structures and discursive strategies of newspaper articles dealing with "honour killings" and attempting to relate such an analysis to the socio-cultural context of the communities concerned in Britain.

It is common knowledge that the media functions as a mode through which government and institutions, politicians and group elites communicate prevalent and powerful ideologies to the public. The media has also the role of shaping events, framing news and constructing or strengthening particular principles and thoughts besides its impact upon public opinion, which is observed in language choice and

structure of the content of news stories. However, readers and viewers of the media are not conscious of how news is transmitted and why particular forms of communication are chosen. In other words, they maybe not aware of the significance of word selection, modes of expression, chosen sentence structures or the arguments or presuppositions used by journalists in order to convey events and meanings. Nor do they understand why news reports are transmitted in the particular way in which they are represented. Therefore, news media may play an important role in representing and misrepresenting immigrant Muslim communities through the discursive strategies they use.

The objective of this study, in short, is to analyse press discourse about so-called "honour killings" by looking at the different linguistic and discursive strategies used in the British tabloid and quality press coverage of such events. More specifically, news reports about "honour killing" among Muslim immigrants in Britain will be examined in order to see how the issue has been represented, with the aim of revealing the ideological constructions underlying press texts. Two famous victims, Banaz Mahmod from Iraqi Kurdistan and Samaira Nazir from Pakistan will be selected as representing Middle-Eastern and South Asian communities in Britain. These two special cases are chosen since "honour killings" frequently occur among Kurdish and Pakistani communities in Britain. Banaz Mahmod is selected because her case was still being discussed in the British press up to 2012, and also because it generated interest amongst academics and women rights organisations, and finally because there was the abundant news coverage about the victim. Samaira Nazir, as a British Pakistani, was selected as a second case since an individual case of a person of Kurdish origin might not be considered to be representative. Another reason is a relatively small number of news items was consecrated to her case in the British press, besides the fact that most "honour killings" occur among Pakistani communities[19]. Before discussing the methodology to be used, a brief summary of the two victims will be presented. The corpus of data available about them, drawn from the press, will then be discussed before discussing the methodology to be used in analysing the material as the methodology will depend on the kind and amount of data available.

There is no doubt that the phenomenon of femicide is now widespread in Britain, as the following sample of recently-reported cases reveals. Over the years,

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[19] Ninety per cent of South Asians settling in Britain originate from Mirpur in Pakistan (Joffe, 2008: 10).

British newspapers have reported a number of stories[20] about women murdered by their own families because of the concept of 'honour'. In 1998, Rukhsana Naz, 19 years-old, was murdered by her mother and brother because of her illegitimate pregnancy. In 2002, Heshu Yones, 16 years-old, was murdered by her father because she had a boyfriend. In 2005, Samaira Nazir, 25 years-old, was killed by her brother since she wanted to marry a man who was not from her family's caste. Banaz Mahmod, 20 years-old, was murdered and buried in a garden in 2006 because her family disagreed over her relationship. These victims, among other cases, were brought to court and that is why they have been reported in the British media, while many other suspected suicides[21] and disappearances remained unreported. The following paragraphs will describe the two case victims selected for this study.

Banaz Mahmod[22], a 20 year-old Iraqi Kurdish[23] young woman from Mitcham, South London, was murdered and buried in a suitcase in a garden in Birmingham in January 2006 because her family disagreed with her relationship. Before her disappearance, Banaz Mahmod reported to police that her father, together with some family members, were prepared to kill her. A video taken by her boyfriend contained Banaz's statements about a family attempt to kill her in 2005. Her father, uncle and an associate of her uncle's were found guilty of murder in 2007, and another two suspects who fled to Iraq, were jailed for life in 2010 after being extradited back to Britain. Banaz Mahmod had come to Britain with her family at the age of 10 as an asylum seeker. After an arranged marriage at the age of 16/17 and a subsequent divorce from a 'violent' husband, Banaz met an Iranian Kurd, Rahmat Suleimani, with whom she had a relationship and whom she wanted to marry. Consequently, as her family disapproved of her behaviour, her father and uncle plotted her murder with the help of other members of the community. It is reported that Banaz made complaints at least four times to the police about her father's and uncle's determination to kill her, but none of her declarations was taken into consideration by the authorities, and thus the police failed to save Banaz's life. It is also reported that Banaz refused a refuge offered by

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[20] http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/jun/13/ukcrime.prisonsandprobation?INTCMP=SRCH 26.03.2012

[21] The suicide rates for young Asian women are three times the national average.

[22] Guardian news from 2006 till 2012 – "Father guilty of daughter's 'honour' murder" http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/jun/11/ukcrime.jamessturcke?INTCMP=SRCH 27.02.2012

[23] Kurdish people remain ethnically and culturally diverse. For many, being Kurdish entails "tribal patterns of living and relationships based on patriarchal values in which men dominate almost all areas of life" (Begikhani, 2005, as cited in Gill et al., 2012: 78).

police and preferred to return home, thinking that she would be safe with her mother there. The following day, January 24, 2006, Banaz disappeared after being tortured and subjected to sexual violence, and three months later her body was discovered in Birmingham on April 28, 2006.

Samaira Nazir[24], a 25 year-old British Pakistani woman from Southall, West London - a graduate from Thames Valley University and a recruitment consultant at her brother's company - was murdered by her family relatives in April 2005. Her 30 years-old brother and her 17 years-old cousin were arrested as the principal perpetrators. Samaira had already refused arranged marriages in Pakistan on two occasions, and when she had fallen in love with Salman Mohammed 'an Afghan asylum seeker', she kept the relationship secret from her family, anticipating their disapproval. Once she decided to let her mother know about her relationship, her engagement proposal was not welcome by her family members who thought that the man was from a different caste and that he was mainly after their money. As Samaira attempted to escape the family house, both her brother and cousin held her back and stabbed her several times till she died, a murder which was witnessed by her mother and two young nieces. While two of her murderers were jailed, her father fled to Pakistan where he was declared by the family as dead, and charges against her mother were dropped.

It is clear that the methodology used to analyse this material should be based on Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) since this approach analyses language and discourse by combining linguistic and social analysis. In particular van Dijk's framework (1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2008 & 2009) will provide the theoretical backdrop for the study. As a general approach, CDA is attractive because it is possible to use linguistic approaches to investigate social and cultural issues such as the phenomenon of "honour killings", and identify how discourse itself may be one of the causes of discrimination and inequality. I will examine the discourse, language and representation of "honour killings" as covered in the British press, and observe how knowledge about such stories is produced via discourse, how the events are structured, and how press discourse may influence ideas and behaviours, for it is argued that the ideological biases of newspapers have an impact on the minds and points of view of their readers (van Dijk, 1991). The structures and discursive strategies of the collated

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[24]   http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2006/jul/15/ukcrime.mainsection?INTCMP=SRCH   3.03.2012   &
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/london/5179162.stm 3.03.2012

texts will be examined, together with a determination of their social and cultural context. Since discourses are not only restricted to linguistic description, and are social, cognitive and ideological in nature, thus controlling utterance, behaviour and action, this will help to identify hidden meanings and ideologies, and to facilitate analysis of the socio-political perspectives involved. The purpose is to deconstruct the selected texts by exploring how discursive techniques and strategies are employed in news coverage to reconstruct a particular image of the phenomenon of "honour killings". As CDA is a critical multidisciplinary mode of analysis, and not an approach with a unitary framework, my approach will basically be multidisciplinary in nature.

6. Muslims' representation in the British media: Review

There are many studies that examine how Muslims in general are represented in the media, and more specifically significant research has surveyed the image reflected in the press of Muslim communities settling in Western societies. In the context of this study, it is necessary to examine Muslim representation in the British press by looking at such different studies, the periods when they were carried out and the methodologies they have used. There are studies (Poole & Richardson, 2006, 2010) which combine investigating social and political environments, institutional practices, media production and audience reception in order to understand the communication process and to reveal how social implications are represented and reproduced in the reporting of Islam and Muslims.

There are studies which have addressed the representations of British Muslims in the British press in relation to race and religion, by combining press content and audience reception on British Islam (Poole, 2002, 2009). Poole explored daily coverage from 1994 to 1996 in two broadsheets by using a quantitative content analysis, while the qualitative data were explored in a more detailed analysis including the coverage of two broadsheets and two tabloids in 1997. Poole (2006, 2010) also conducted research on coverage of British Muslims from 2003 onwards with the aim of comparing it with previous coverage from 1994, as well as establishing the influence of the events of 11 September 2001 in America and the war in Iraq on the reporting of Muslim communities. Other studies (Richardson, 2004) examined more specifically the reproduction of discrimination against Muslims in the discursive representation of Islam in British newspapers. Richardson (2004) demonstrated the importance of van Dijk's

'ideological square' to the representation of Muslims and Islam in news reporting. In a study where he explored how British Muslims were portrayed during the general elections of 1997, 2001 and 2005 in the British broadsheets and tabloids, Richardson argued that negative representations were "a response to the so-called 'war on terror' in general, the invasion of Iraq in particular, and how these events were thought to be playing out in the national political sphere" (2009: 355).

Significant analysis explores representations of Muslims and Islam in the British broadsheets and tabloids during the times before and after the attacks on the United States in 11 September 2001 by using a discursive analysis (Baker, 2010; Lewis, Mason, & Moore, 2011). For instance, Baker analysed an 87 million word corpus on the issue of Islam with the aim of exploring the meanings and the lexical choices as well as the influence of language use on peoples' behaviour. Lewis, Mason and Moore also examined British print media content in the period between 2000 and 2008 and found that news coverage on British Islam rose considerably after the events of 11 September 2001, and another noticeable increase took place after the attacks of 7 July, 2005 in London (2011: 45). Another example is Elgamri's investigation (2008, 2010) on the impact of Orientalism on representations of Islam. Elgamri explored how media discourses represent Islam in Britain by analysing how events and awareness of British Islam are structured and reproduced via discourse, drawing on discourse analysis work by van Dijk, Foucault, Fairclough, Kress, Hodge and Fowler.

Other studies approach the same issue of Muslim representation but from different perspectives. Asking whether complaints about the negative representations of Muslims in British newspapers were considered by the newspaper industry watchdog, "the Press Complaints Commission", is a way of examining the topic from another angle (Petley, 2010). A different approach researched the topic of the recruitment of ethnic minority journalists into British newsrooms by looking at the motives behind their low level of enrolment into the journalistic profession (Cole, 2010). Instances can be drawn from exploring newspaper institutions by making interviews with Journalists from Muslim milieu (Muir & Smith, 2011). Muir and Smith have suggested that "If media coverage of Islam and Muslims is to improve, then the make-up of the journalistic workforce on newspapers should more accurately reflect the proportion of Muslims living in Britain" (2011: xix).

In addition, so as to understand the impact and responsibility of the media in reflecting the social representation of Muslims, there are studies carried out into news sources and the role of major actors within the field with the aim of exploring the kind of people speaking on behalf of British Muslims (Poole, 2002, 2009; Richardson, 2010; Lewis, Mason, & Moore, 2011). Richardson (2010) examined participants in news coverage between Muslims and non-Muslims in order to determine who provides the news and who is not allowed to speak or represent the 'other' by considering the consequences sources themselves may have on news coverage content. Among the findings, Richardson came to the conclusion that newspapers mirror "the practices of those who have the power to determine the experiences of others" and in the case of Islam, news is "dominated by non-Muslim bureaucratic sources" (2010: 115). Lewis, Mason and Moore indicated that politicians who are in general 'white' and 'British' are the prevailing sources for news about British Muslims (2011: 57), and that radical Islamic groups were more cited than Muslim religious leaders while British Muslim communities are hardly quoted or used as sources in the press (2011: 58). The researchers' findings also indicated, however, that the presence of British Muslims in British news coverage has grown, but that the common depiction of British Muslims has an orientalist nature focussing on dissimilarities and representing Muslims as a menace (2011: 64). Finally, according to Poole's results, Muslims - including women - are represented in a restricted stereotypical format where they are denied "legitimacy in the roles in which they are represented, and that women are marginalized as significant actors" (2002, 2009: 86).

In relation to the topics and issues covered by the British press, five topics related to British Muslims and Islam dominate: education, relationships, fundamentalism/extremism/terrorism, politics and crime (Poole, 2002, 2009; 2010). Education is a subject of concern wherever the debate of female Muslims in mixed schools and the state support for funding Muslim schools is highlighted (Poole, 2002, 2009: 67). British-Muslim relationships are repetitive issues in that they represent cultural differences in relation to women and Islam. They refer to stories about British people converting to Islam and the mixed marriages that result (2002, 2009: 68). Islamic fundamentalism has a relevance "due to its high media profile in terms of foreign news" and also because it may be of interest in relation to the presence of Islamic fundamentalism in the UK (2002, 2009: 70). When gender issues are treated within

fundamentalism, negative portrayals of Muslim women are observed. Political activity is considered as a main topic for media interest and has a high news value. It associates Muslims engaged in politics with illegitimate activities such as corruption and distrust in relation to Muslim motivations for politics and their devotion to Britain (2002, 2009: 73). Criminal activity is also considered newsworthy when British Muslims are represented as deviant implying that they are a threat to the British culture (2002, 2009: 74). Therefore, representations were generally linked to criminal deviance or cultural difference, and relationships and crime are closely related in the coverage of British Muslims. Likewise, Richardson indicated that the negative 'othering' of British Muslims is mirrored in the representation of "'fanatical' Muslim violence in the public sphere", by focusing on the topic of terrorism as an unending attribute of how the press debates and depicts Islam and Muslims (2004: 130). Other studies select the most prominent and prevalent news coverage in relation to Muslims; Elgamri collected events, from three broadsheets over a period of 13 years, involving the British novelist Salman Rushdie affair in 1988, the Taliban movement in Afghanistan in 1996, the Luxor massacre of foreign tourists in Egypt in 1997, and finally the attacks on the United States in 11 September 2001 (2008, 2010) to come to similar conclusions.

It has been suggested that when Muslims constitute a minority in a foreign country, there are frequently persistent stereotypes that homogenise such groups and represent them through a negative image as *all the same*, *all religiously motivated*, *all totally other*, *all inferior*, *all a threat* and *all impossible to work with* (Richardson, 2011a). Therefore, the topics discussed in the newspapers about British Islam and Muslims mainly construct negative and stereotypical themes and meanings. According to Poole's findings, conclusions related to Muslims in Britain suggest that Muslims constitute a menace to UK security because of their deviant actions, that they represent a danger to British principles and values which creates the emergence of tension and anxiety between Muslims and Britons, and finally that their presence in the public space is increasingly noticed in Britain (2002, 2009: 84; 2010: 101-102). Richardson (2004: 75) explores the constructed and prevalent negative image of Muslims in four argumentative discourse strategies: as military threat, terrorist and extremist threat, threat to democracy by Muslim political leaders, and ultimately social threat in relation to gender inequality. In the last topic, women's situation in Islam is criticised in the news as a way of belittling Islam and placing it in a conflicting position with Western

values. According to other analyses, news reports describing Islam emphasise representing Islam and Muslims as a 'single monolithic' group, associating Muslims with 'extremism', 'terrorism', 'violence', portraying Islam as 'anti-Western', and depicting both Islam and Muslims as 'irrational' (Elgamri, 2008, 2010: 93). Lewis, Mason and Moore classify news stories about British Muslims into three frequent 'news hooks': 'terrorism or the war on terror', 'religious and cultural issues' and 'Muslim extremism' (2011: 47).

In short, the topics examined portray Muslims as 'deviant' at the religious, political, cultural and gender levels and represent Islam as a danger to the safety and values of Britons, and thus as a different 'other', incompatible with the British way of life. In effect, British Muslims were not only reported in relation to terrorism and political issues, but they were also portrayed as linked to religious and cultural difference from the norms of the British society. Remarkably, coverage about cultural and religious issues, which involves debates about Sharia law, the veil issue and dress codes of Muslim women or forced marriages among other topics, has seen a significant increase "from 8 per cent in 2002 to 32 per cent by 2008" according to Lewis, Mason and Moore (2011: 48).

In relation to representations of cultural differences, whilst Muslim women stand out as visible figures of such difference, Muslim men are also represented in the media as 'extremist and violent' (Kausar & Hussain, 2011: 96). Poole's study found that women are marginalized and their representation is limited within the news coverage of British Islam; "…women were not represented as figures of authority at all in relation to Islam in Britain, featuring mainly in less authoritative roles (men hold more than 80 per cent of the establishment roles)" (2002, 2009: 90). Muslim women are also described as featuring less frequently and considered as being "…victims of male aggression, at the mercy of men's deviancy, rather than being deviant themselves" (2002, 2009: 92). Additionally, in coverage of relationships and crime, more focus is drawn to 'cultural difference', by shifting the news interest towards arranged marriages and honour killings; Poole states that, "Whilst these incidences are rare the huge focus on honour killings in the press suggests to a reading public that Muslim families are dysfunctional, that misogyny is rife in Islam and that pride is more important than familial relations" (Poole, 2010: 99). Consequently, depicting Muslim women as 'veiled, segregated, uneducated and oppressed' by associating the majority of them with Islam's consent to

male superiority (Khan, 2006: 10) are negative representations of Islam as "irrational and oppressive towards women" (Kausar & Hussain, 2011: 96).

Whereas Poole (2002, 2009) argued that Muslim women were less visible than men in the British media, Khiabany and Williamson (2011) examined some issues related to Muslim women and observed that the importance of the topic within the circumstances of 'the war on terror' reflects an increased interest in the British press:

> *Images that are circulated in the media of Muslim women often brush aside the variety of their experiences, lives, histories, and contexts in the interests of erecting the false binary of 'us' and 'them' and promoting the idea of the incompatibility of 'Islam' with 'modernity'; a form of 'exceptionalism' that sect Muslims aside as the truly alien other (Khiabany & Williamson, 2011: 187).*

They argued that in media and political discourses, the 'Muslim veil', which is used to represent Muslim women as dominated victims is today regarded as a menace to British women, a threat to British culture and values and therefore against gender equality and freedom (2011: xix). Khiabany and Williamson (2008) in a previous study, for instance, reviewed the notion of the veil in Britain as a growing political picture of both 'difference' and 'defiance' by examining how the discourse of difference was built up in the *Sun* in 2006. Their findings revealed that British news coverage of Muslim women in relation to the notion of the veil involves four common subjects; (1) the construction of the veil as a rejection of the British way of life, (2) its use in this way as a consequence of the extreme tolerance of British multiculturalism, (3) the veil as struggle brings the idea of Britain's distress at the culture and customs of a minority community, and (4) the association of the tradition of the veil with the war on terror (Khiabany & Williamson, 2011: 189-190). Finally, through the events and themes observed in British coverage, Islam is commonly represented as 'backward', 'barbaric', 'fanatical', 'antagonistic' and repressive and unfair towards women (Elgamri, 2008, 2010: 221).

Accordingly, I would like to suggest that, on the one hand, there are several studies that have examined events in relation to Islam and the representation of Muslims in the British media at the social, cultural and political levels, whilst other studies explored the same topic but by resorting to the analysis of the discourse adopted by the British press to describe Muslim communities in Britain. The representation of Muslims in the British press is more investigated in relation to events related to political violence

and Islamic fundamentalism, and less with respect to events linked to cultural difference and to the representation of Muslim women in the British press, such as exploring the phenomenon of "honour killings". On the other hand, studies which were carried out to explore the incident of "honour killings" were mainly focused on the social, cultural, political and religious factors and contexts; they essentially aim at correcting stereotypes, and at urging organisations and government to consider such practices as a human rights issue and not as honour-based violence (Mojab, 2004; Welchman & Hossain, 2005; Siddiqui, 2005; Khan, 2006; Gill, 2006, 2011; Meetoo & Mirza, 2011; Husseini, 2011; Idriss & Abbas, 2011). The work of some women's organisations such as Karma Nirvana, The Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO), and Southall Black Sisters (SBS) aims at putting so-called "honour killings" within the framework of violence against women and not using religious or cultural sensitivity to justify the crime. These organisations have an important role in supporting victims and survivors of forced marriages and honour-based violence. They help women to escape arranged marriages or an imminent murder for reasons of 'honour'. To my knowledge, there are no studies that examine "honour killings" in the British press from a discursive point of view, by exploring the language use in journalist reports on the topic under study. For example, Aisha Gill, whose main interests are on criminal justice in relation to violence against women within minority communities, investigates how "honour killing" is represented and misrepresented in the British media through some case studies and tackling the issue from a human rights violation perspective[25]. She argues that culture should not be an excuse for such crimes: "…either in terms of reducing sentences for perpetrators or in terms of allowing minority communities to adopt and enforce 'laws' and values that support the abuse of women" (Gill, 2011: 227). Gill's approach does not involve a discursive analysis while authors such as Poole, Richardson or Elgamri used a discursive analysis to portray events concerning British Islam and Muslims, but did not apply it to the issue of honour-based violence or more specifically to "honour killings".

The objective of this study, therefore, is to combine the linguistic and discursive analysis of news texts and social practices by adopting a Critical Discourse Analysis approach, with the aim, first, to reveal the implied connotations and ideologies of the press, and, second, to verify how press articles might impact or manipulate the socio-

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[25] http://www.sascv.org/ijcjs/aisha.pdf 26.02.2012

cultural context by, for example, reproducing racist or stereotypical discourses. More specifically, the purpose of the analysis is to understand the phenomenon of "honour killing" within minority communities in the British context, to demonstrate how the topic is represented and misrepresented in British tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, to analyse the journalists' language use and strategies and to observe how certain choices may influence readers' thoughts and attitudes. Particularly, the interpretations of the British authorities (police, judges, reporters), the representation of women victims, their perpetrators (men or women) and the reaction of their families/communities will be analysed in order to determine how views about the phenomenon are likely to have an influence on public attitudes and thus on behaviours adopted towards them. This will be achieved by analysing the lexical choice, the implicit and presupposed meanings, the semantic strategies as to reversal and mitigation as well as comparison and contrast, besides the quotes and sources represented in newspaper articles.

7. Data collection

The corpus that will be analysed in this study includes all the articles that refer to the two selected victims, Banaz Mahmod and Samaira Nazir, starting from the dates on which news of these events were published in the British daily press, both broadsheet and tabloid. Data has been selected through the LexisNexis research database which yielded 120 articles about Banaz Mahmod and 26 articles about Samaira Nazir from 2006 till 2012. Coverage about the "honour killings" of the selected victims will be collected from the following British broadsheets: the *Times,* the *Daily Telegraph,* the *Guardian*, the *Independent*, and from these tabloids: the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror*. These newspapers were chosen first for their different political and ideological standpoints as either left, right or neutral on the political spectrum, and second because of their different audiences and objectives as well as for their different style of reporting events. Tabloids were included since their discourses are generally more sensational and devote more space to gossip stories. Newspapers are chosen among other media sources because of their informative weight and influence; "…36 million people read a national newspaper every week, and 85 per cent of UK adults read a national newspaper on a monthly basis" according to the National Readership Survey (Elgamri, 2008, 2010: 94). Furthermore, these newspapers are the most widely read in Britain as it is provided by

the audited daily circulation figures[26] in 2012: the Sun (2,582,301), the Daily Mail (1,945,496), the Daily Mirror (1,102,810), the Daily Telegraph (578,774), the Times (397,549), the Guardian (215,988), and the Independent (105,160).

8. Conclusion

The image and representation of "honour killings" in the British press has been chosen because of the controversial nature of the topic and the frequent misunderstandings and conflicts between Muslim immigrant communities and indigenous British citizens. "Honour killing" is considered as essential to restore family honour from the community point of view, but as 'barbaric' and incomprehensible by the native British population and other ethnic communities in the country. Consequently, the reason for looking into the subject of "honour killing" in the British press is, first the ambiguity it demonstrates in public attitudes towards Islam. Second, the misrepresentation of Islam as a homogeneous project in the Western media in general and the British media in particular provides a further reason for choosing this topic. Third, the widespread curiosity and public ignorance in relation to the status of women in Islam as a result of media reporting provides another motivation for this analysis. A fourth reason, which is the principle motivation and objective of the study, relates to the micro analysis involved in this project, namely, the importance, power and unconscious influence that language and discourse may have upon audiences. This latter analysis will be achieved by exploring how linguistic structures and discursive strategies may have a primordial function in controlling the beliefs and thoughts of people. In other words, how the news report is written and for what purpose may impact the implicit discourse behind the actual reporting process which thus unconsciously affects a readership. More specifically, words have weight but, as language is considered to be limited in its structure yet boundless in its meanings and implications, it is the concern of this study to analyse what is written, how it is written and why it is written. It is essential to consider how people in general are conscious or not of the power of language in conveying and sometimes ruling their own beliefs, knowledge and attitudes. That is why exploring the importance of associating language/discourse use and choice with social practices by bringing together the linguistic strategies of the text within its discursive social connotations is of paramount significance. Before examining these

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[26] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_the_United_Kingdom_by_circulation 30.05.2013

notions through exploring the perspectives and aims of Critical Discourse Analysis, the next chapter will first introduce and contextualise the position of women of Muslim origins settling into a Western background, in relation to honour-based violence in general and so-called "honour killing" in particular.

Chapter II Gender and cultural 'rationalization' of 'honour' violence

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a basic background to the study and a fundamental contextualization to honour-based violence amongst immigrants in a Western context. The objective is to briefly introduce violence against women in general, as well as to discuss its basis and the different forms it takes. In particular, I will examine the interrelated concepts of honour, family and community within immigrants of Muslim cultures, and look at the role of culture and gender in reinforcing and excusing violence through so-called "honour killings" in the UK context. As it is important to understand the social and cultural environments of the phenomenon with women as its victims, the position of women in Islam and Muslim cultures will be discussed in relation to patriarchy and male authority, the significant roles of marriage, family and community, female sexuality, and the concerns of males and females in preserving the notions of honour, shame and reputation. I will also observe gender relations and how they are negotiated within violence committed against women in the name of honour, perceive how such violence is viewed, treated and carried out among Muslim immigrants in Britain, and explain its motivations in terms that may range from religious explanations to ones based on culture, tradition or local custom. Other questions are to be surveyed such as the great controversy about whether it is correct to include honour-based violence under the umbrella of violence against women, which may avoid stigmatising certain communities, or whether it should be considered as culture-specific and hence needs responses in cultural terms – although cultural factors will also be necessary to contextualise and explain the phenomenon. Another significant topic involves honour-based violence as being frequently associated with Islam and Muslim cultures; this will be examined to demonstrate whether "honour killing" is inherently Islamic rather than being related to tribal customs.

The following questions cover the themes and perspectives that will be surveyed in this chapter. What is the difference between honour-based violence, "honour crimes" and "honour killings"? What are the social and cultural conditions that produce honour-based crimes? What are the actors and mechanisms of "honour killing"? What are the nature, context and motivations behind "honour killings"? Is "honour killing" an

individual or a collective action? Are "honour killings" specifically connected to a region, culture or religion? What is implied within the concept of 'honour'? How and why is the notion of honour depicted differently across gender? What is the role of honour in the family and the community or tribe? What is the difference between "honour killings" and "crimes of passion"? How do patriarchy and gender inequality play a role in reinforcing violence against women? What are the roles of men, family and community in controlling women's sexuality? Why is women's sexuality of such great concern and so feared in society? Why are women in some cultures regarded as men's property? How and why should Muslim women preserve their reputation for the sake of men's honour? How does the West look at the issue of "honour killing"? Is honour-based violence expected to be treated under the agenda of violence against women as a violation of human rights or is it a culture-specific phenomenon? Does Islam have any power to condemn or justify such crimes? Are "honour killings" based on religious doctrine or on cultural and tribal custom?

2. Violence against women

I will first introduce the definition of violence against women (VAW) and its different forms of expression before discussing the phenomenon of "honour killing" as a form of femicide. Violence, a worldwide phenomenon, is a form of exercising physical, mental or economic power or control over vulnerable and defenceless members or groups in any given society. The United Nations (UN) declaration on the elimination of violence against women defines the term as:

> *...any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life[27].*

Parrot & Cummings indicate that the concept of violence is wide-ranging, involving "threats, intimidation, verbal abuse, coercion, and harassment as well as murder, sexual assault, rape, and battering", besides the exclusion of women's participation from economic and political life, which is also a form of violence[28] (2006: 10). Gells (1974) has explained the phenomenon similarly, but associating it only to husband and wife relationships, adding to the definition that it may be "...conditioned by traditions, laws

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[27] http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm 27-10-2011.

[28] According to Hom, 1992 (as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 10).

and attitudes prevalent in the society in which it occurs" (as cited in Sindh, 2007: 74). In other words, violence serves as a means to stress women's inferiority where both men and states maintain a legitimised and legal violence against women since dominant systems of inequalities at the social and juridical levels are still maintained (Ennaji & Sadiqi, 2011: 2). It follows from the above statements that violence against women entails any intentional physical, psychological or sexual harm or threat - including the impact of harmful traditions - in the social, economic or political life, whether in the public or private spheres. Examples of violent crimes as depicted by investigations undertaken by modern feminists and as committed in many areas across the globe particularly within some religious and ethnic communities are "...bride burning, beating/murders of daughters-in-law, female genital mutilation, forced marriage, child marriage, and last but not least, coercion of the women of the family in the name of honour and in some cases, their murder" (Khan, 2006: ix).

Most feminist theories are based on the hypothesis that it is within patriarchal cultures that gender inequality is claimed as normal and morally fair, and where discrimination against women is generally maintained in all domains of life and legitimated by government, religion and culture (Bograd, 1990; Brownmiller, 1975; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1983; Radford & Russell, 1992, as cited in Della Giustina, 2010: 17). Although the theory argues that increasing gender equality would stop violence against women, backlash theory in relation to rape studies, argues that supporting women's equality may threaten men and consequently produce more violence against women (Whaley & Messner, 2002, as cited in Della Giustina, 2010: 19). Economic deprivation theory suggests, according to Messner and Rosenfeld (1999), that wealth is related to "power" and "success", other views maintain that poverty or class disparities increase the frequency of violent crimes (Della Giustina, 2010: 29). Macro-level social structure theory is another approach that considers the entire society rather than individuals as responsible for the motivation of crime (Anderson & Taylor, 2001; Durkheim, 1951; Hess et al., 1996, as cited in Della Giustina, 2010: 27). A micro-social family violence perspective (family conflict theory), suggests that family violence originates in "…cultural norms tolerating violence, male dominance in the family and society, and stresses created by unemployment, poverty, occupational stress, and racism" (Steinmetz, 1980, as cited in Della Giustina, 2010: 23). This is the perspective

that I will attempt to illustrate in this section though the reasons behind violence are not merely cultural but originate also from social, economic and political dynamics.

There is a variety of frequently used and controversial terminology about the different forms of and reasons for violence carried out against women that needs to be investigated. "Violence against women", "gender-based violence", "honour-based violence", "domestic violence" and "honour crimes" are all terms which may share common characteristics but may also involve different meanings and implications, depending on the context of violence. All the expressions stated above, implicitly or explicitly, reveal that violence is committed against women although it is recognized that there can also be violence practised against men for the same reasons. While there are interpretations that link honour-based violence to particular traditional, religious or cultural environments, other views denounce such an approach and demand that such violence should be considered under the agenda of violence against women regardless of culture. It is true that violence against women is worldwide irrespective of class, race, faith or sect, but it is also the case that there are some practices which are related to region, culture or tradition. So-called "honour killing" is an example of a practice that is allegedly associated with specific customs or tribal mentalities. Therefore, it becomes necessary to clarify the expressions related to violence against women and determine the differences between them:

> Domestic violence is defined by The Home Office - the British interior ministry - as *any incident of threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between adults who are or have been in a relationship together, or between family members, regardless of gender or sexuality (CSC, 2010: 27).*

> Honour-based violence (HBV) is described as *an expression of patriarchal power, with women as its victims. HBV is thus considered to constitute any form of violence perpetrated against females within the framework of patriarchal family structures, communities and/or societies where the main justification for the perpetration of violence is the protection of a social construction of honour as a value system, norm or tradition (Gill, 2011: 219).*

> Honour crimes are characterised as *a variety of manifestations of violence against women, including 'honour killings', assault, confinement or imprisonment, and interference with choice in marriage, where the publicly articulated 'justification' is attributed to a social order claimed to require the preservation of a concept of 'honour' vested in male (family and/or conjugal) control over women and specifically women's sexual conduct: actual, suspected or potential (Welchman & Hossain, 2005: 4).*

"Honour killing" refers to *a practice which reveals the double standards of a male-dominated society in which it is acceptable to kill a girl who sullies her family's reputation. The girl's death is thought to free families from stigma and to bear witness to their respect for honour and their ability to do the right thing. By the same token, it serves as a deterrent to other women who are made all too vividly aware of the fate that awaits them should they be tempted to break the code of honour within their society (El Saadawi, 2007: xi).*

Violence against women may appear with different forms, degrees, motives and contexts, across the East and the West regardless of class or religion. Pope argues that despite the colossal progress achieved in relation to violence against women by feminist movements in the past few decades, such violence is still predominant; "Over 100 women are still killed by partners or ex-partners every year in countries like England and Wales, and figures in other developed, liberal societies are just as alarming" (2004: 105). Concerning honour-based violence, a punishment directed to women who break honour codes, it was estimated in 2000 by the United Nations that every year, more than five thousand women all over the world are killed in honour crimes (Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 173; Husseini, 2011: 154). According to Radhika Coomaraswamy, in her quality as the United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women, violence in the name of honour is closely related to the "regulation of sexuality", because in many cultures the notion of "honour" is associated with the masculinity of men, the status of family community, and is necessarily strengthened by "policing" the conduct and sexuality of women (2005: xi). "Honour killing" is the consequence of such cultural norms, to which we now turn.

3. "Honour killing"

This research project has generated a politically loaded debate and many significant subjects and questions. Opinions and judgments, methodologies and approaches have emerged to explain the phenomenon of "honour crimes" in general and "honour killing" in particular. It appears that the term 'honour' is used to justify those killings which are commonly believed to be specific to certain ethnic communities. "Honour killing" is a more recent matter that started to attract the attention of the Western media from the second half of the 1990s (Eldén, 2004: 91). It is a complex issue that necessitates careful examination and comprehension, ultimately yielding well-founded explanations.

No term existed to define the specific murder of women till the term 'femicide'[29] was coined by Russell in 1974 (Della Giustina, 2010: 14). It is assumed that all patriarchal societies continue to use femicide, as a form of sexual violence to maintain male control and female repression, and as a way of castigation, authority or control over women (Radford & Russell, 1992). Femicide includes the case of "honour killing" as a crime in which men consider themselves superior to women whom they consider to be their property; the majority of "honour killings" appear to "fit immediately into both the narrower and the wider understandings of femicide" (Welchman & Hossain, 2005: 7). "Honour killing" is a crime which is common within patriarchal cultures and where males kill female relatives because of conjugal or family honour. It is a collective crime where both the family and the community are accomplices. What mostly distinguishes such violence from other crimes is that it is usually committed by close family members on the pretext of restoring the honour of the family and community because of the offensive sexual behaviour of women (An-na'im, 2004: 67; Sindhi, 2007: 21). Perpetrators[30] can be the father, brother, uncle, cousin or husband of the victim without excluding the likely participation of women such as mothers-in-law, aunts or mothers; as Meetoo & Mirza pointed out "It is not just the husband or partner that may carry out the act, but also the community and other family members such as mothers, brothers, uncles and cousins" (2011: 42).

"Honour killings"[31] are supposed to take place in less developed areas of South Asia and the Middle East, mostly in underprivileged villages with low or no educational attainment and with 'long traditions of self-administered justice' (Khan, 2006: 12; Idriss, 2011: 1). However, within the context of increased immigration, the customs and practices that were previously bound to specific regions are now taking place in areas "where there are no attempts or laws to understand or deal with such crimes" (Parrots & Cummings, 2006: 183). The European Parliamentary Assembly[32] declared that it is among 'Muslim or immigrant Muslim communities' that, with a few exceptions, the

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[29] The "misogynous killing of women by men" motivated by hatred of women; simply the killing of women because they are women (Radford, 1992: 3).

[30] Statistically, women are more likely to receive violence from males who are known to them (Sen, 2005: 55).

[31] Reported in countries including "Brazil, Denmark, Egypt, Iraq, Israel and the occupied territories, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Qatar, Sweden, Syria, Turkey and Yemen" (Coomaraswamy, 2005: xii).

[32] 'Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Resolution 1327 (2003): So-called "honour crimes"', 4 April 2003.

majority of cases are reported in Europe[33] (Husseini, 2009: 201). More specifically, it is confirmed that "honour killings" that took place in Europe mainly involved immigrants of South Asian, Turkish or Kurdish origins; many of whom experienced forced marriage (Gill, 2011: 223). Only after such crimes became commonplace did attention amongst European countries towards the issue - in relation to so-called 'honour crimes', 'forced marriages' and other types of women's repression among immigrant groups - start to develop (Husseini, 2009: 183). Yet, such violence not only occurs among Muslims in host countries and their regions of origin, it often appears in other cultures such as in Brazil, Spain, Colombia, and Mexico as well (Jafri, 2008: 27). Honour-based violence should not be then restricted to Muslim countries and cultures as is generally the case in the Western world; there are also cases[34] of such violence in Western Europe, Latin America and Africa, and also among the Christian communities residing in India and Pakistan and amongst Hindu communities (Khan, 2006: 32). However, although such crimes are commonly attributed to a specific culture or region, Werbner (2007) and Yuval-Davis (2009) have pointed out that feminist arguments on the issue rely on the fact that "all fundamentalist religious movements use the control of women's bodies symbolically to assert a broad agenda of authoritarian political and cultural control" (as cited in Gill et al., 2012: 76).

4. Women between religion and culture

Because of the frequently reported cases of honour-based violence among Muslim immigrants in the Western media in general and in the British media in particular, such violence is mainly associated with Muslim cultures. It is important, then, to examine Islam, its culture and the position of women within it with the aim of separating the influence of Islamic Law from that of culture and customs.

Violence has been committed throughout societies, cultures and traditions in both the West[35] and the East. Religion, traditions and myths support and reinforce the

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[33] "One such example of non-Islamic honour-based patriarchal society is found in Italy where, until 1981, the 'honour' argument was an admitted legal defence. Men were offered a reduction in penalty from three to seven years if they killed their wives, sisters or daughters to cleanse their or their family's honour" (Husseini, 2009: 201).

[34] For more information about honour, family structure and women's sexuality in Latin America, Spain and Italy, see Khan p. 33-34 in Tahira, S. (2006). *Beyond honour: a historical materialist explanation of honour related violence.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[35] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the murder of women was justified by the belief that women were witches and thus intrinsically sinful and immoral. In the same period, primarily in

subordination of women as well as violence against them. Throughout history, violence towards females as new born babies, as girls, as adults, as wives, as daughters-in-law or as mothers has always existed. Infanticide[36] is an example involving "the deliberate killing of a child in its infancy, including death through neglect (Hom, 1992, as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 56). Both infanticide and feticide - intentional act of destroying a fetus - used to be practised to get rid of children; regrettably such killings still primarily target females, especially in Asia - China and India (Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 53). Mothers experiencing such infanticide or feticide are likely to suffer hostility and brutality as well:

> *Because women are blamed for the sex of their children, women who have given birth to girls…'have been poisoned, strangled, bludgeoned, and socially ostracized... (some have been driven) to suicide, others into mental institutions…The pressure on women is so great that many openly weep on learning that they have given birth to a girl (Chang, cited in Weisskopf, 1985: A1, as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 56-57).*

In India, for example, the regular murder of female children "does not result from environmental stress but is rather the consequence of an excessive male sense of honour", and in the beginning of the 20th century, in the Punjab and in Kashmir, "there were castes and tribes in which not one single girl was left alive" (Janssen-Jurreit, 1992: 69).

However, infanticide is prohibited in Islamic Law. Centuries before, during the pre-Islamic period, society had a tribal social structure with no prescribed rules and instead relied on habits and custom. Tribes were patriarchal in nature and thus placed women in an inferior position (Al Engineer, 1999: 30). Women, therefore, were regarded as property in a dominant male society, although there were also exceptions[37] in some areas where women had the choice to marry and divorce their husbands. Afterwards, it is claimed, that with the coming of Islam, the situation of women was improved. Islam brought change by providing women with rights such as inheritance,

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continental Europe and Scotland, but also in England, thousands of people, the vast majority women, were accused of witchcraft and therefore punished and murdered, with the aim of maintaining male dominance (Radford and Hester, 1992).

[36] Historically, it has been practiced on every continent (Williamson, 1978; Jeeva, Gandhimathi, and Phavalam, 1998) and in diverse cultures as "Ancient Rome, among the Yanomami Indians of Brazil, and in Arabian tribes (Mitra, 1993)" (as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 56).

[37] "Clans were matriarchal, children were named after the mother and were enrolled in the mother's clan, and exogamy, that is marriage outside the clan, was the rule" (El Saadawi, 1980, 2007: 140).

the right to own property and prohibition of female infanticide. The following Quranic verse urged men to stop burying their daughters alive and to denounce such practices:

And when one of them is given news of a female infant, his face darkens, and he chokes with grief. He hides from the people because of the bad news given to him. Shall he keep it in humiliation, or bury it in the dust? Evil is the decision they make (Quran, 16: 58-59).[38]

Accordingly, Islam is frequently considered to have liberated women and provided them with a better situation than in pre-Islamic times. This may be true but did not provide gender equality in Islam. The preferred discourse of most Muslims on the issue, however, seems always to be defensive; they assert that Islam gave women all their rights as well as further protection and honour. However, such interpretations are inherently sexist, the arguments are not well-based and the understandings are deficient and intrinsically contradictory. Even if Islamic Law is sacred for Muslims, its comprehension is controlled by "one's own circumstances, perceptions, perspectives and inclinations and while verses are divine, the understanding and interpretations are human" (Al Engineer, 1999: 5). Thus, the fact that Islam prohibited infanticide, for example, is insufficient to justify the argument that Islam improved the status of Muslim women, according to Leila Ahmed (1992).

Other issues within Islam and Muslim cultures also highlight the ambiguous status of women and raise questions about possible incompatibility between Islam and international human rights, democracy or gender equality. These are subjects that attract the attention and curiosity of the West as markers of the repression of women and the inferiority of Muslim societies:

- Marriage, for example, is a topic that raises such questions because of issues such as child marriage, enforced marriage with a rapist, arranged or forced marriages, and polygamy[39].
- Sex segregation, Islamic dress and the controversy over the veil are other topics that can be interpreted in different ways; they may present religious or cultural motives. Old justifications over the use of the veil are connected to social status - as a symbol separating the Prophet's wives from other women. This can be compared with more recent

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[38] http://www.clearquran.com/quran-chapter-016.html 20-11-2012.

[39] A practice that was considered a solution to demographic problems at times of war, and which objective was to protect the interests of widows and orphans at that context.

explanations - as facilitating the transition from home to work in the public sphere, reducing sexual harassment, maintaining a good reputation, or preserving Muslim identity against that of the West.

- Inheritance practices, where women still legally inherit half a man's share in Muslim societies.

- The requirement that witness evidence from two women is considered equivalent to that of a single man.

- Violence committed against women in the name of religion or honour, such as lashing or stoning to death, female genital mutilation or "honour killing" are examples of controlling female sexuality to avoid sin and maintain order in society.

These practices are what create prejudice against Muslims worldwide, particularly those settling in Western societies. So what really is the role of Islam in defining the status of women and the violence committed against them?

4.1. Islam

It is important at this stage to define Islam and some of its fundamental institutions in order to better understand the position of women. I will introduce some religious and cultural factors that influence women's situation in Islam, without discussing Quranic laws regarding women's rights and obligations. My objective is not to argue or interpret the religious, legal rights and roles of Muslim women, but to call attention to the power and influence of Islam as a culture and tradition more than as a religion in itself.

Islam is a religion in which the 'sacred' book, the *Quran,* and the teachings of its *Sunna* or *hadith*[40] are fundamental sources that organise and rule the everyday life of its followers, and justify their behaviours and actions; "To a Muslim, Islam is a way of life, governing not only religious practice and morality but social relationships, marriage, divorce, kinship, economic and political relations" (Anwar, 1985: 158). However, debate about Islam in the Muslim world or elsewhere is frequently focussed on a number of controversial issues such as fundamentalism, terrorism or the status of Muslim women. Many aspects define and control the status and the conduct of Muslim women, ranging from religious doctrines, social customs or popular culture, to state

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[40] Narratives and teachings by the prophet Mohammed used as a spiritual guide for Muslims.

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policies or even the rules imposed by a father or a husband – since men are dominant in political, legal and religious institutions, which implies that men's control over women is religious, social and even legal.

It is recognized that state and religion are intertwined institutions in Muslim countries, and that the Islamic Law is regarded as a sacred institution. However, since there are no standardized policies across all the Muslim countries - different laws vary from Africa to the Middle East or South Asia - interpretations of the Islamic Law differ from one state to another; "There are over fifty Muslim states in the world, with a variety of legal and political systems, and there is no single body, political or religious, that speaks for the Muslim world as a whole" (Halliday, 2003: 142). Thus, there is a diversity of views, systems and interpretations amongst Muslim societies, even if men are the major leaders in households, institutions or states and the majority of women are denied participation in powerful positions or in decision making. Before exploring the role of marriage, family and community in Islam, patriarchy will be initially introduced as it continues to be a factor that encourages violence in this situation.

4.2. Patriarchy and male violence

> *Women are particularly at risk within cultures where unchallenged patriarchy and misogyny are embedded in political, religious, or social systems (Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 13).*

It is in patriarchal societies that gender inequality and violence against women are mainly prevalent. Patriarchy, an ancient phenomenon, reinforces its position as "ordained by the Gods, supported by the priests, implemented by the law, women came to accept and psychologically internalise compliance as necessary" (Fox, 2002: 28, as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 3). Besides religion and laws, the patriarchal character of gender relations is a general phenomenon that constructs inequalities between the sexes; power is used by men to control women's sexuality and ability to reproduce, and the status, reputation and honour of a man therefore comes to be basically connected with the behaviour of women's relatives (Erturk, 2004: 165). Patriarchy, then, is a social structure that acquires legal power from religion and traditional culture. It is socially constructed and is manifested in legal, economic and political organisations. In the micro context, it entails men's authority over women with

the aim of controlling their behaviour and sexuality as well as maintaining their dependence and inferiority upon men. Patriarchy is a worldwide phenomenon that is related to class and sex, and not only associated with Arab, Muslim or third world societies as Nawal El Saadawi explains:

> *The oppression of women, the exploitation and social pressures to which they are exposed, are not characteristic of Arab or Middle Eastern societies, or countries of the 'Third World' alone. They constitute an integral part of the political, economic and cultural system, preponderant in most of the world – whether that system is backward and feudal in nature, or a modern industrial society that has been submitted to the far-reaching influence of a scientific and technological revolution. The situation and problems of women in contemporary human society are born of developments in history that made one class rule over another, and men dominate over women. They are the product of class and sex (2007: xiii).*

This pattern of male authority and female subjugation are the principal reasons behind violence against women – an argument supported by the general theoretical framework of feminism. Mojab associates patriarchy with male violence, and argues that the eradication of such violence depends on a drastic breakdown of patriarchy and its gender system (2004: 15). There is strong evidence to suggest that cultures with more traditional, patriarchal attitudes and more extreme conditions of subordination of women generate more severe and frequent violence against women (Sanday, 1990; Bui & Morash, 1999; Song, 1996; Yodanis, 2004, as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 19). What would then be the position of women within marriage, family and community in Muslim cultures, and the role of such institutions in condemning, encouraging or condoning such violence?

4.3. Marriage, family and community

According to Jehl (1999), family respect requires women's chastity; "An unchaste woman is sometimes considered worse than a murderer. A woman's chastity reflects not just on the woman, but also her entire family and even her tribe" (as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 174). It becomes clear that the concepts of shame and honour are strongly associated with female chastity and the reputation of family and community. Consequently, marriage and family are central foundations in Muslim cultures where Muslims and particularly females are mainly brought up with the objective of marriage and the preservation of chastity. Marriage is a legal agreement between a woman and a man to legitimate sexual relationships, but when these relations are practised outside

marriage, a woman's reputation and her honour are put into question. Wife and husband have specific roles and obligations towards each other within the family, and children are also urged to respect and obey their parents. Islam sets down roles for both women and men; men[41] as heads of households are responsible for working in the public sphere and nurturing the family, while women in the private space are urged to give man sexual pleasure, rear children, and serve the family, the institution that was indeed:

> *...the only group based on kinship that is recognised, and in practice the family was the instrument whereby the first Muslim community was founded in Medina. The family institution made it possible to organise a society of believers (umma), thus breaking away from the pre-Islamic society that was based on the tribe (Dahl, 1997: 49).*

Marriage in particular is the duty of every Muslim who is physically and economically capable. It always needs the concord of both spouses; however, the authority of parents is sometimes misused when imposing their choices on their daughters, as pointed out by El Saadawi:

> *For decision-making in marriage is still largely a family matter and most fathers are still prepared to sell their daughters into wedlock for a good price. Parental authority is shamefully misused when the matter concerns daughters. The Arab[42] family being highly patriarchal, both socially and legally, the authority of the father over his daughters is absolute (1980, 2007: 71).*

Such social and cultural authority as to arranging or forcing a daughter into marriage does not originate from religion but rather from custom; such practices are not Islamic and mutual consent is fundamental in marriage; "...when it comes to consent, it is the woman's right to make a decision concerning her marriage; her father or guardian is not permitted to ignore her wishes" (Al Qaradawi, as cited in Onedera, 2008: 92). The following quotes from the *Quran* and *hadith* respectively demonstrate that forcing women into marriage is prohibited in religion, and that both partners must give their free consent before the validation of marriage:

> *O you who believe! It is not permitted for you to inherit women against their will. And do not coerce them in order to take away some of what you had given them... (Quran, 4: 19)[43].*

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[41] *Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, as God has given some of them an advantage over others, and because they spend out of their wealth (Quran, 4: 34)* - http://www.clearquran.com/quran-chapter-004.html 20-11-2012.

[42] The use of 'Arab' here does not exclude the influence of Islam and Muslim cultures.

[43] http://www.clearquran.com/quran-chapter-004.html 20-11-2012.

Abu Huraira reported Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) as having said: A woman without a husband (or divorced or a widow) must not be married until she is consulted, and a virgin must not be married until her permission is sought. They asked the Prophet of Allah: How her (virgin's) consent can be solicited? He (the Holy Prophet) said: That she keeps silence (Hadith, translation of Sahih Muslim, the Book of Marriage (Kitab Al-Nikah), Book 008, Number 3303)[44].

These religious arguments clarify that a woman has the right to make decisions concerning the choice of her partner for marriage, something which is ignored and abused within local cultural traditions, in addition to the different interpretations that allow a male perspective to define the duties of women in Islam in male interests.

Marriage and family therefore remain sacred social foundations in Islam, and, in practice, gender relations therein are complex and controversial issues. Women's rights, attitudes and actions are controlled by the Islamic Law, by government, by social, cultural and economic restrictions and also by men. According to Fatima Mernissi, "Muslim ideology, which views men and women as enemies, tries to separate the two, and empowers men with institutionalized means to oppress women" (2003: 20). Feminists and scholars such as Qassim Amin, Nawal El Saadawi, Leila Ahmed and Fatima Mernissi (though they may diverge in terms of their detailed arguments) defend the progress of Muslim women through their liberation and their right to equal opportunities as to education and employment. These fundamental factors stimulate the emancipation of women at the economic and political levels and as a result lead to development in Muslim societies. There is also the indispensable contribution of novelists[45] with a feminist stance, who deal with obstacles faced by women through social commentary on the status of women in the Muslim world.

Two other considerations influence this general picture. On the one hand, Muslim fundamentalists believe that men's superiority over women is something natural and that colonial and western discourses about gender equality are threatening Islam; for any struggle for women's rights is sometimes considered as in opposition to Islam. On the other hand, Western views, media and other institutions judge Islam and its teachings as incompatible with the modern world, and that many of the restrictions

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[44] http://www.searchtruth.com/book_display.php?book=008&translator=2&start=64&number=3294 20-11-2012.

[45] Women writers such as Huda Barakat, Assia Djebar, Ahdaf Soueif, Hanan Al-Shaykh, Simin Dãneshvar, Ahlam Mosteghanemi, Fadia Faqir, Leila Aboulela, among others.

related to women's position in Islam remain signs of backwardness. Jawad points out that "Very often, Western media latch on to selective examples of unjust treatment and generalize them to include all Muslim women. Islam is often branded as a backward and fundamentalist religion, especially in its treatment of women" (2003: 11). However, although religion is often implicated in the subordination of women, the issue is mostly related to the consequence of misleading interpretations and local traditions rather than religious control or Islam itself. Naseef declares that:

> *While it may be true that women under some so-called Islamic regimes are treated unfairly in practice, this behavior stems entirely from influences outside of the Qur'an. Injustice against women is a product of bigotry, ignorance, and the favouring of entrenched cultural practices, not divine writ (2007: 205).*

Within marriage and family, sexuality is a concept which is strongly associated with the behaviour of both women and men, and where women's identity is powerfully related to her being a girl or a woman; as a daughter, a wife or a mother. More specifically, men, family and the community all together have roles in regulating and controlling honour, reputation and the sexual behaviour of women, an issue that will be surveyed in the next section.

4.4. Female sexuality

Women in popular culture and religious texts are regarded as causing social, moral and public disorder. According to Courtney Howland (1997: 283), the five main religions consider women's sexuality as sinful and destructive of men and that is why men have a "'divine mandate to exercise authority over women for the good of the entire community" (as cited in Stafford, 2011: 170). Women are depicted similarly in Muslim cultures, according to a *hadith*, "Attraction is a natural link between the sexes. Whenever a man is faced with a woman, fitna[46] might occur: when a man and a woman are isolated in the presence of each other, Satan is bound to be their third companion" (Mernissi, 2003: 42). As female sexuality is feared, male violence is needed to control women's behaviour. Sexuality, reputation and honour remain interrelated concepts that restrict women's social private and public behaviour. Generally, it is the honour and reputation of woman and her family that matter most rather than the loss of virginity.

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[46] As well as meaning 'disorder', Fitna means also a beautiful woman; the connotation of the *femme fatale* who makes men lose their self-control.

Women's sexuality in particular is reserved for marriage, so it is important to control female and male relationships before their legal union for the sake of preserving female family honour.

From an early age, the education of girls and boys comes from the values they absorb at home, from their socialization at school or through the opinions they absorb from other people, institutions or mass media. Culturally, girls are constantly reminded of the shame and impurity of their bodies, to the extent that the ignorance of their own bodies and the passivity of their sexual relationships is a symbol of 'honour', 'purity' and 'good morals', while the opposite is regarded as 'undesirable' and 'shameful' (El Saadawi, 1980, 2007: 67). The birth of a female child will be adversely affected compared to that of a male child because of the risk of bringing dishonour to family in matters related to virginity before marriage or infidelity after marriage[47]. Usually, girls are assumed to become wives and mothers holding Muslim values while boys are prepared to be heads and providers of the family. Obviously, girls and boys are treated differently and are directed to different roles; girls are commonly brought up with apprehension and in isolation from males. Such different expectations influence girls' decisions and opportunities in the future, as explained by El Saadawi:

> *The male child is taught from the very beginning how to project his personality and how to prepare for a man's life involving strength, responsibility, authority and a positive attitude in the face of difficulties. A girl, on the other hand, is trained and educated right from the start to shrink into a corner, to withdraw and to hide her real self because she is a female and is being prepared for the life of a woman, a life where she must be passive and weak, and must surrender to the domination of the man and be dependent on him (1980, 2007: 120).*

The reasons for differentiating between males and females in treatment and expectations is that females have a valuable attribute called virginity, it is their responsibility to maintain their virginity till marriage, and "if it is in any way violated this serves as the basis of male retribution for bringing dishonour to the community" (Abbas, 2011: 25). That is why when reaching the age of puberty, more restrictions are imposed on girls which are meant to primarily save their virginity from illegitimate sexual relationships. Until marriage, daughters are considered to be a burden for the father and the rest of the family; "A daughter is considered an undesirable burden

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[47] Controlling women's sexuality and reproductive ability is central since a man can only be sure of the paternity of his child when his wife is segregated from other men (Pope, 2004: 106).

because she is seen as a financial liability and a potential risk to the honour of the family. In some cultures, parents will commit infanticide rather than bear the perceived burden of raising a girl" (Naseef, 2007: 95). In order to protect this virginity, many families opt for marrying their daughters at an early age so as not to endure the burden of keeping their daughters chaste; "The younger the daughters are at marriage, the less likely they are to protest, elope, or commit suicide" (Khan, 2004, as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 176). As adults, women are more valued if they are young, beautiful and virgin while experienced women remain a threat to men and society (El Saadawi, 1980, 2007: 114). They remain a symbol of sexuality and are primary urged to satisfy their husbands, be obedient and preferably give birth to baby boys. Before marriage, females remain under the protection of a father, brother or a guardian, then they come under the protection of a husband or a son after marriage. Therefore, male relatives' role lies in protecting the social moral values to which women are considered the principal threat; they seem to be solely empowered to decide women's destiny.

Females, therefore, alone bear the burden of sexual morality. More importance is thus given to appearances to save the image of family and extended community. Women should obey and not think or question the norms imposed by men and law. It is true that social pressure and economic factors are primary obstacles for women, but the weight of religion and tradition, in particular, remain the major influential reasons for the inferior situation of women. Besides, patriarchal norms and the exclusion of women from economic and political power hinder women from imposing their rights. Finally, all these issues about expected female behaviour from an early age, through their teens till adulthood are prevalent norms which are justified socially, religiously and sometimes even legally in Muslim societies. However, the degree and the probability of practising such customs may vary from one Muslim country to another depending on many factors such as milieu, class, level of education and the importance given to habits and local traditions. The notion of honour is the justification of harmful traditions imposed on women arising from such assumptions which will now be described.

4.5. The concept of 'honour'

> *Honour is a fluid concept which has been widely interpreted by different societies, cultures and classes throughout history to promote behaviour*

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Honour is a complex social phenomenon that is claimed to be related to cultural-specific values for regulating social conduct. It is "a relative term" whose definition depends on social, economic and cultural circumstances, and the significance and implications of which vary across cultures (Khan, 2006: 42). It is a valuable concept for men, women and the wider community in traditional societies. As suggested by the anthropologist, Ladislav Holy[48] (1966: 75), honour is a "'similar resource to property, economic cooperation or power. It too has to be secured and protected in the same way as these other resources'" (as cited in CSC, 2010: 4). In a patriarchal context, women's virginity and conduct are regarded as a form of property (Moghadam, 1993: 105). Similarly, Parrot & Cummings also affirm that in many parts of the world women are regarded as the property of their husbands and fathers (2006: 50). Shah (1998) explains the notion of honour as related to property by associating the value of honour with material goods or belongings where "A woman is also an object of value and therefore an integral part of a man, tribe etc., therefore when the rights of a woman are transferred from her father to the man she is marrying, the guardianship of honour shifts as well" (as cited in Sindh, 2007: 100). As honour is a concept owned by men, women are also considered to be the property of male family relatives (as belonging to the father till married then to the husband), as well as a potential risk to their honour if ever they are dishonoured. In other words, the reputation and rank of a family lies in the reputation of its daughters.

Accordingly, honour is meant to be protected and saved as an economic benefit. Honour has also significance and consequences for both women and men, and its meaning varies across gender. It dictates the standards of behaviour and the common values of masculinity and femininity demanded by society (Sirman, 2004; Sen, 2005). While honour in its masculine aspect holds "active and positive qualities: dynamism, generosity, confidence, dominance and violence", it is considered in its feminine aspect as being "located in negative, passive characteristics: stoicism, endurance, obedience, chastity, domesticity, servitude" (Payton 2011: 69). Femininity for girls and women still remains equivalent to 'weakness', 'naivety', 'negativeness' and 'resignation' (El

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[48] Peristiany, J. G. (Ed.). (1966). *Honour and shame: The values of Mediterranean society.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Saadawi, 1980, 2007: 116). Whilst chastity is imposed on females, no limits on personal behaviour are traced for males.

The above statements suggest that the notion of honour can be explained either by complex social structures where the concept of the family and the community is fundamental to the lives of both men and women, and where men find it necessary to control women's sexuality before and after marriage, or by the fact that women are believed to be the property of men, a belief which justifies behaviour controlling women. Hence, honour is likely to be embedded in individuals, in conjugal life, family, tribe or community.

Premarital sex and adultery are some examples of behaviour dishonouring men; they are serious infringements of patriarchal norms in certain societies and are the ones that bring out the most severe punishment (Baker, Gregware, & Cassidy, 1999, as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 174). Consequently, if a woman transgresses the rules of 'honour', then she is either secluded or forced into marriage (amongst other punishments), or when rebelling and refusing, she is killed to eliminate the dishonour that she has brought to the family as pointed out by Sen; honour is seen as "the motive that propels men to kill women for reasons that are deemed petty or unreasonable, and thus, as an extension of this reasoning, as barbaric or backward" (2005: 45). Nevertheless, according to Hannana Siddiqui of Southall Black Sisters[49], the word 'honour' is a "misnomer" because the committed crimes are themselves dishonourable; "they are merely justified by the perpetrator, and wider community, in the name of honour" (RWA, 2003: 6, as cited in Meetoo & Mirza, 2011: 42). At the same time, honour is neither a new concept, nor the bearer of Islamic attributes, nor a characteristic of 'backward societies'[50] (Sen, 2005: 61). Siddiqui's opinion of honour and its relation to women, men and community is pertinent in summarising the 'rationalization' behind the notion of honour:

> *'Honour' is used as a motivation, justification or mitigation for violence against women as seen from the perspective of the perpetrator, often with the collusion or active involvement of the community. It is essentially a tool to police and control a woman's behaviour. Transgression*

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[49] "Southall Black Sisters, a not-for-profit organisation, was established in 1979 to meet the needs of black (Asian and African-Caribbean) women". http://www.southallblacksisters.org.uk/ 30-10-2011.

[50] "Europe itself has been familiar with concepts of honour (Peristiany, 1966; Pitt-Rivers 1963, 1968; Bourdieu 1966; Brandes, 1980), especially as associated with medieval codes of chivalry and nobility" (Sen, 2005: 43).

results in her 'punishment', often in the form of social ostracism, harassment and even acts of violence (2005: 264).

After discussing the position of women, the importance of marriage, family and community as well as gender relations in Muslim cultures, and exploring the complexity and intertwined relationship between concepts such as sexuality, reputation, honour and violence, the following section brings together these notions to the context of Muslim immigrants in the UK.

5. Immigrant identity between liberal and traditional values

Although it is acknowledged that there is diversity within Islam across the Muslim world because of different interpretations and understandings across regions, powerful religious groups share common discourses which argue that Islam is innate to a single whole Muslim community regardless of political, ethnic, geographical or linguistic factors. This is also a discourse which has become prevalent in Western countries - consciously or unconsciously - where the presence of Muslim immigrants is significant. In other words, Islam is represented as a homogenized project in the Western media and Muslims are regarded as a single homogenous[51] community in the eyes of Westerners. As religion for Muslims is regarded as a public matter rather than a private one, being a Muslim in Western countries also becomes a cultural identity. This suggests that migrants identify more with Islam rather than with other cultural signifiers such as nationality, for example. Migrant Muslims in particular are deemed to be more influenced by religion and its principles, making it into their only visible identity, as Sookhdeo comments in the British context:

> *Until the 1979s ethnicity rather than religion dominated the way Muslims perceived themselves. In recent years there has been a determined push for Muslims to downplay racial, sectarian and linguistic differences, and present a united front towards the outside, non-Muslim world and the British authorities (2008: 62).*

Immigrant Muslims this way defend Islam, affirm their home culture and preserve their traditional values in host countries, and at the same time take an antagonistic position

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[51] "Ethnic communities are often homogenized, for example Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis are often referred to as 'Asians', which does not take into account the many differences that exist 'between' 'Asians' or indeed the greater diversity 'within' the groups based on caste, sect, culture or language to name but four" (Din, 2006: 147).

toward Western culture by rejecting its norms and rules. Religious identity becomes more significant than any other variant, especially after political tension between the East and the West in general, and conflicts between indigenous and immigrant communities in particular.

Coming from societies where religion governs all domains of life, Muslim immigrants, with their cultural background and national identity, generally seek to preserve their culture and customs with respect to food, clothes, religious practices, and life style. They are also normally loyal to their homeland, and as affirmed by Butler "There was a conscious desire on the part of some migrants and their descendants to retain many elements of their 'original' cultures, modifying them only marginally, and sometimes emphasising them even more actively with the passage of time" (1999: 135). Migrant communities usually favour contact with people and habits similar to theirs and consequently depend on the support of members of their own communities where women have to submit to rigid social and cultural rules and prohibitions. Immigrants' habits or traditions, when not discreet and practised without respect for the space and ways of life of other citizens, may generate conflict and tension between minority and majority societies. On the one hand, the indigenous population, as the powerful group, considers the immigrant group as unable to integrate within the rest of society, and migrant residents on the other hand, may perceive that the culture of their host country is a threat to their values because both cultures are based on different norms. Such behaviours from both parts of society are shaped and constructed by the social and economic dynamics of the country, by the guidelines and procedures of the state, as well as the media portrayal of immigrants (Hopkins, Kwan, & Aitchison, 2007: 3).

More specifically, Muslims in Britain do not constitute a homogenous group but rather originate from different cultural, linguistic, educational, economic, and geographical backgrounds as well as from differing political and gender systems. They, however, share the reality of coming from male-dominated countries, even if each has different values and interests, different social attitudes and kinship patterns. The majority of them come from south Asia where "...a significant portion within each community originates in a fairly specific and small area of their former country: Mirpur in Azad Kashmir for the Pakistanis, Sylhet for Bangladeshis and Gujarat for Indians" (Sookhdeo, 2008: 58). In the beginning, migration occurred for economic reasons with the migrants' ultimate objective of returning to their homeland, but family reunification

- where women's immigration was related to joining their family males - brought other issues and challenges for migrants coming from traditionalist countries to settle down in modern and individualistic societies that abide by different rules and values. With distinct histories, customs and attitudes brought to the UK, in this respect, Sookhdeo asserts that traditionalists encourage Muslims to preserve their "Muslim identity" and oppose "secular temptations", attitudes which reinforce Muslims coalescing into physical and mental "ghettos" (2008: 59) away from the British values, since for Muslims, English law lacks "legitimacy and moral standing" particularly when it has to do with family regulations (2008: 61). The adoption of such ideas and behaviour, may mean that minorities face problems within British society, especially with respect to 'faith', 'family' and 'community'; issues that remain controversial for South Asian Muslims in a secular and individualistic Britain (Husain & O'Brien, 2001: 15).

The established family, based on traditional roles for husband and wife, has known dramatic changes in Western societies. Britain has a great diversity of household patterns; nuclear families, lone parents where the vast majority is headed by women, cohabitation where premarital sex is common and 'condoned' in British society, childbearing outside marriage, and homosexual couples (McRae, 1999: 1). The importance of marriage and family is differently viewed, constructed and negotiated within Muslim and Western cultures; cultures which are influenced by different social, economic and political systems. As a result, the impact of the West on immigrant children is seen as a menace to parental authority and reputation; disagreement between parents and children can be symbolized in western clothes, arranged marriages and the question of freedom and tolerance (Anwar, 1985: 60). Pakistani parents, for example, take religion as fundamental in the education of their children and suspect the tolerant British environment as a threat to morals and Muslims (Anwar, 1985: 167). Parents prefer cousin marriage[52] for their children, which keeps property within the family "...for they tend first to consider the available spouses from among their nephews and nieces, many of whom are in Pakistan[53]" (Shaw, 1997: 150).

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[52] A social geographer demonstrates in a recent labour Force Survey data for 1997-2002 in London that 98 per cent of Bangladeshi women, 94 per cent of Pakistani women and 92 per cent of Indian women were married to co-ethnics (Lewis, 2007: 5).

[53] With its ethnic and linguistic diversity, Pakistan is one of the most unsafe countries for women in the world because of honour-based violence.

As mentioned earlier, in Islamic Law the status of women lies in the wellbeing of the family and the community. However, within International Human Rights Law, women's rights are based on their role as individuals, in achieving the same rights, duties and opportunities as men (Swick, 2009: 132). In short, women under different laws and cultures do not have the same function within family and society. Sookhdeo pointed out that:

> *Coming from Muslim-majority countries in which traditional views on religion, family, honour and shame, and Islamic law prevail, many Muslim immigrants are shocked by the secular, permissive and liberal society they find in Britain. They intuitively feel that excessive individual freedom endangers communal rights and considerations of the common welfare (2008: 64-65).*

This reveals the importance of honour and family in Muslim cultures and the collapse of such values in liberal societies which has weakened the position of young immigrants in Western societies. Young women in this context are the individuals who most endure pain and difficulty as a result; they are caught between the freedom and autonomy of liberal values on the one hand and the restrictions, control and dependence of traditional customs on the other hand. They are the bearers of men's honour; any behaviour against the prescribed rules of their culture may bring castigation. Forced marriage may be one response to women's disobedience.

5.1. Forced marriage

> *Forced marriage conjures up images of female subjugation, cultural backwardness, and a need for societal evolution. When used in a predominantly Muslim context, forced marriage recalls the stereotypes of patriarchal oppression that invariably accompany discussions of Muslim women's lives (Siddiqi, 2005: 293).*

Forced marriage[54] refers to the process of obliging women or girls to marry against their will by using physical or psychological pressure. It is a practice that is common in traditional communities, in Muslim and non-Muslim societies, but it is also common among immigrant communities in the UK. 'Forced marriage' which is different from

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[54] In June 2012, the British government made forced marriage a criminal offence in the UK. http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2012/jun/06/david-cameron-forced-marriage-law 10-06-2012.

'arranged marriage'[55], refers to "events that involve the exercise or application of some form of force on the persons contracting the marriage" (Siddiqi, 2005: 292). The Forced Marriage Unit in London claims that 300 cases are reported every year, some cases even involving girls as young as 13 years-old; however, the total number of forced marriages seems to be much higher (CSC, 2010: 9). Recently, in 2012, The Home Office declared that forced marriage is growing at an estimated rate of 5000 to 8000 cases a year[56]. Such marriages happen frequently in honour-based communities involving 'South Asians, Kurds, Arabs, Iranians, Turks' and sometimes 'ultra-orthodox Jewish communities', and the same incidence can be found, according to some women's groups, in 'white British communities' (CSC, 2010: 9). Though the majority of forced marriage cases in the UK are from South Asian origins, this should not be identified as an Asian problem or be used to denigrate any specific community (Working Group[57], 2000 and [dealing with cases of forced marriage], 2002).

It is self-evident that forced marriages violate "...both the basic human right to freedom of association in entering marital relationships and the right to personal security in the application of physical consequences for declining the proposed union" (Merali, 2010: 104). In essence, forced marriage which may apply to both men and women, aims at reinforcing family, community and caste ties[58], maintaining family security and wealth and, mainly, at controlling female sexuality (CSC, 2010: 10). In extreme cases, when women rebel against the decision of their families, they can be imprisoned or taken to their home country where they can be coerced into marriage through the exercise of more violence (Ibid). Another reason behind such practices is to preserve youth from secular values; "prevent or limit the influence of 'Western' ideas on children from traditional backgrounds who are brought up in the UK" (CSC, 2010: 12). When a forced marriage does not succeed as expected, then physical and emotional abuse is likely to follow, which may, in turn, lead to elopement, suicide or murder.

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[55] It is difficult to "draw the line between wholly arranged and wholly coerced marriages, and between different degrees of socially acceptable and unacceptable 'force'" (Siddiqi, 2005: 292).

[56] http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2012/jun/06/david-cameron-forced-marriage-law 10-06-2012.

[57] Initiative from women's groups among which a report 'A Choice by Right', published by the Working Group in 2000 focuses on explaining the difference between forced marriage and arranged marriage by affording the police, social services and schools with parameters of forced marriage.

[58] Family agreement and commitment made about a marriage when children were very young.

5.2. Motives of "honour killing"

Though female honour belongs to male relatives, the motivations lying behind the practice of "honour killing" are diverse; irrational for some and reasonable for others. It is believed that damage to honour caused by a woman's behaviour may be restored either by forced marriage or by murder in the name of honour. The reasons identified in "honour killing" cases, especially in the context of immigrant communities, can be summarized as rebellious behaviour against parental authority, being too westernized or betraying one's origins, family and community, particularly when rumours of any of these factors become public knowledge (CSC, 2010: 6). In other words, what matters most is not what actually happened but rather the harm and damage done to the family; "An 'immoral' act does not become 'shameful' or 'dishonourable' until it becomes public knowledge" (Ibid).

There are other factors which bring dishonour to the family and involve women's transgression across designated boundaries, such as choosing one's husband or wife oneself, seeking divorce (albeit from an abusive husband), or being raped (Idriss, 2011: 3). Therefore, shame maybe induced when women are raped, seek divorce, aim to choose their own husbands or marry outside caste or class, religion or nationality. Premarital and extramarital sex, pregnancy out of wedlock, and suspicion of loss of virginity are other examples of women' sexual misconduct.

Apart from social and cultural imperatives such as institutionalising male superiority, tribal traditions or religious justification, women also suffer from such violence because of the complicity of economic and political institutions and their constant reproduction of patriarchal norms and regimes. Erturk affirms that women who lack economic independence are those who are most vulnerable "to the pressures of their family and kinship network since their survival is dependent upon them" (2004: 174). Indeed, violence committed against women does not emerge from nothing; "education, religion, cultural values, family structure, socioeconomic status, traditional beliefs, myths, geography, economics, government policies, criminal statutes, political unrest, and natural disasters all affect the violence and in many cases, contribute to it" (Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 23). After all, violence in the name of honour remains, regardless of place, related to both "sex (virginity, chastity) and wealth (land, property and cash)"; female chastity and male property and control continue to be essential to

women's sexual oppression (Khan, 2006: 38). It is important at this stage, however, to contrast "honour killings" with "crimes of passion".

5.3. "Honour killings" versus crimes of passion

"Honour killings" and "crimes of passion" are two different kinds of crimes that generate great controversy. They are different because of the nature of the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim and also because of the variety of reasons that distinguish both crimes, particularly when the perpetrator is not also the woman's partner. They may converge in feelings and notions of jealousy, honour, power, love or hatred that perpetrators have towards the victim. According to Payton, "honour killing" embodies three distinctive features that make it different from the crimes of passion; "...it is collectively decided and planned, it is premeditated and it is an act committed for the benefit of a presumed audience" (2011:73). It is a mistake to confound "honour killings" with crimes of passion (Wikan, 2003: 15; Sen, 2005: 55). Crimes of passion entail violence by an 'intimate partner' while "honour killings" include family relatives who have a collective responsibility to ensure restoration of honour in case kinswomen misbehave (Erturk, 2004: 166; Jafri, 2008: 4; Hossain 2005: 11). However, both crimes are "manifestations of femicide where culturally positive values legally/judicially mitigate the murder of women from, arguably, motivations of male control, whether named as 'honour' or 'passion'" (Welchman & Hossain, 2005: 10). Pope examines both crimes to verify if they diverge in any aspect:

> *Is there a connection between the jealous and possessive man in Europe, who kills his lover because she wants to leave him, and the father who kills his daughter in Kurdistan or Pakistan? I believe there is. In both cases, the murders are triggered by wounded pride, a wish to exercise power and the notion that women can, and should be, controlled (Pope, 2004: 104).*

The following paragraphs will tackle critical issues about the subject under study by uncovering the Western outlook in relation to the phenomenon and showing whether 'honour' violence is culture-specific, religiously justified or a crime that should be perceived as an infringement of women's rights.

6. Western attitudes towards "honour killing" violence

Honour-based violence is one form of violence against women and is reported from the Mediterranean to Latin America, and also within Muslim societies (Erturk, 2004; Jafri,

2008). Crimes such as forced marriage, female genital mutilation or "honour killings" have become practices that are generally associated with Muslim countries and cultures. News about such incidents is commonly described in Western media as happening mostly among immigrant communities, while they are barely mentioned in the media of countries-of-origin. Western views about honour crimes perpetrated within immigrant communities generally regard them as 'exotic' and 'culturally based' and consequently absolutely remote from European values and Western realities (Husseini, 2009: 183; Pope, 2004: 101). They are seen as the 'barbaric culture' of immigrants from non-Western origins (Mojab, 2004: 29) and considered as a problem of 'the other' in which some communities, especially men within them, are demonized (Welchman & Hossain, 2005: 8). The 'other' is always judged by the behaviour and traditions immigrants from the same origin, culture or faith adopt. The superior position adopted by Western commentators tends to judge and compare the culture of others by the values and norms of its own culture, and to observe the immigrants' customs and habits, particularly gender relations, as requiring to be modernised and liberalised (Sen, 2005: 43; Mojab, 2004: 25). More specifically, by the end of the twentieth century, Western perceptions condemn "honour killings" as being characteristic of oriental backwardness and an indication of the repression of women (Sen, 2005: 46). Yet, there are also those who condone it and claim that it is necessary for the survival of the family within the community. As Sirman pointed out; "Those who live according to the code of honour see such violence as necessary for the protection of virginity and of gendered values, while those who try to struggle against them define these crimes and the value system they are related to as ways of controlling women and their bodies" (2004: 39).

7. Honour-based violence, women rights' issue or culture-specific?

Amnesty International declares that there are common reasons behind the abolition of violence against women, regardless of the form of violence (Curry, 2004: 178). Honour crimes are then considered as a type of violence against women (VAW) that should not be treated in isolation; otherwise, it may create a distinctive category of violence that may generate greater 'racial tension', according to Rahila Gupta (2003) (as cited in Payton, 2011: 76). Gill is another scholar that supports this argument and suggests that the expression 'honour-based violence' needs to be "abandoned in favour of situating violence committed in the name of honour within the wider context of VAW" (2011: 219). She continues by arguing that only by doing so can justifying such violence on the

pretext of cultural values be defeated (Ibid). However, Diana Nammi from the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO)[59] argues that including "...honour killings under the umbrella of domestic violence is wrong because 'honour killing is a deliberate act, a planned killing and the perpetrator is actively looking to kill'"[60] (as cited in Thapar-Bjorkert, 2011: 183). Pope suggests that "honour killings" are "culture-specific in the way they are carried out, and therefore need culture-specific solutions", yet the notions of 'pride' and 'shame' that lie behind these crimes exist in different forms everywhere (2004: 102). 'Cultural sensitivity', therefore, should not be used as an apology for such violence "either in terms of reducing sentences for perpetrators or in terms of allowing minority communities to adopt and enforce 'laws' and values that support the abuse of women" (Gill, 2011: 227).

8. "Honour killing", a Muslim, cultural or tribal phenomenon?

It is true that "honour killing" as identified by the media mainly happens among immigrants in the UK from South Asia and the Middle-East, particularly from Muslim and Sikh origins. However, although "honour killings" are strongly connected to patriarchal systems, this does not mean that such crimes are encouraged by Islam or associated merely with its followers and with particular geographical areas. Nor does this imply that honour-based violence is Muslim-specific as it is misleadingly understood as justified by religion and hence not treated under the framework of violence against women. According to Asamoah-Wade (1999-2000), such violence is "neither confined to Muslim societies nor to South Asia; rather it should be viewed as an international women's human-rights issue" (as cited in Idriss, 2011: 4).

According to the Qur'an, the taking of life without just reason is prohibited; "Do not kill the soul which God has sanctified – except in the course of justice. All this he has enjoined upon you, so that you may understand[61]" (Quran, 6: 151). In other words, life is sacred in Islam and hence must be safeguarded. Nevertheless, there are those who believe that getting involved in illegitimate relationships deserve death while others regard such violence as unjustifiable and illegal in any circumstances (Aslam, 2009:

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[59]It is a registered charity that was set up in 2002 by Diana Nammi, the director, in partnership with other refugee women from Iran, Iraq and Kurdistan
http://www.ikwro.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&id=4&Itemid=2 27-10-2011.

[60] In an interview with Diana Nammi in September 2005.

[61] http://www.clearquran.com/quran-chapter-006.html 20-11-2012.

36). Asma Jahangir, United Nations Special Rapporteur (2000), points out that numerous 'renowned' Islamic leaders and intellectuals have overtly denounced the practice as having no foundation within religion (as cited in Welchman & Hossain, 2005: 13). Likewise, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference rejected "any association between Islam and 'the killing of women and girls under any societal or communal banner, including in the name of passion, honour or race'" (OIC, October 2000 as cited in Sen, 2005: 57). It is clear that many Islamic leaders and scholars have denounced the practice, insisting that neither religious law nor the Quran are related to honour killings (Goodnight, 1999; Queen Noor, 1999; Muslim Women's League, 1999; Turgut, 1998 as cited in Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 180-181).

One very religious Muslim tribal leader, in his answer as to whether the Qur'an has any association with the practice of "honour killing" insisted that, "'this is honour, what has that got to do with Qur'an? Men's honour comes before the book'" (Pervizat, 2004: 139). Such testimony demonstrates that honour is not related to Quranic doctrine, even though the punishment for adultery in Islamic Sharia Law consists of "the penalty of one hundred lashes for premarital sex, eighty lashes for falsely accusing another of a sexual offence, and death by stoning for adultery" (Parrot & Cummings, 2006: 39). It is because of such religious regulation that "it is a widely-held belief that honour killings are sanctioned by the Koran" (Van Eck, 2003: 37). However, according to Idriss, the concepts of honour and honour-based violence have an effect sociologically upon all societies, classes and religions (2011: 4); or as explained by Gill:

> *Honour killings cut across ethnic, class and religious lines. Despite the meagre amount of academic literature on honour killings in the Punjab, Kurdistan, Turkey and Pakistan, a number of studies have come to the conclusion that these practices are fundamentally Islamic (Ginat 1979; Kressel 1981). In fact honour killings are perpetrated not only by Muslims, but also by Druze, Christians and occasionally Jews (of Sephardic backgrounds, primarily in Greek and Latin American societies (2011: 223).*

Though "honour killing" is a practice that is more widespread in Muslim countries, the practice as stated above is denounced by Muslim leaders who reject any association with Islam, stating that in fact such crimes are deemed to be a "pre-Islamic tribal custom" originating from "the patriarchal and patrilineal society's interest in keeping strict control over familial power structures" (Sindh, 2007: 82). The weight of family structure and the reaction of the community in patriarchal societies are very

important, and the code of honour is not limited to the behaviour of an isolated individual, but expands to the whole clan and community through its collective norms, judgment and castigation (Pope, 2004: 105; Sen, 2005: 48). Much research has demonstrated that tribal or community attitudes remain central to the family, and play a significant role in the cruelty committed against women in the name of honour. Sirman explains the complex structure and function of the community as follows:

> *What is described is a society where the community is imagined as being composed of persons related to each other a kin. In this type of society, relations of production, and distribution, of domination and subordination, and relations with the supernatural are structured according to kinship. Kinship serves to position persons vis-à-vis one another and provides them with a basic identity and guide to behaviour (2004: 43).*

Tribal mentality is therefore deeply implicated in violence perpetrated against female relatives. In societies where powerful tribal factors are present, a woman's body is common property for her male relatives who together benefit from the marriage of an 'eligible' virgin (CSC, 2010: 4).

9. Conclusion

Violence against women is an issue that has gained increasing attention from the media and human right groups, particularly honour-based violence which is a phenomenon amongst immigrant groups in the Western world. As the British press does not discuss the background to "honour killing", its understanding in the popular mind and the reasons behind such violence, this chapter has attempted to answer questions in relation to the phenomenon such as the complex relationship between honour and violence in the context of Muslim cultures. It explains the intermingled ties between religion, customs, patriarchy, honour, female sexuality and the established norms in family and community. The analysis seeks to demonstrate that violence perpetrated against women is cultural in origin, rather than justified by religion. It was argued that "honour killing" does not have its roots in Islam, in terms of religious doctrine and the testimonies of religious leaders. Such violence is more associated with tribal mentalities where an individual does not exist outside his or her community, but has rights and duties towards the members of the clan. It has to do with cultures and customs where females - through preserving their sexual chastity - are given the responsibility of preserving the honour of their male relatives, the reputation of the family and the respect of the community. Western attitudes towards honour crimes have also been explored, as have differing

views about whether it is necessary to include honour-based violence within the widespread image of violence against women or to consider it as culture-specific. Instead of associating honour crimes with Islam and Muslim cultures, such crimes should be placed on the international agenda of violence against women and regarded as violations of human rights - in order not to stigmatise any group, faith, culture or region. Still, it is essential to understand these cultural motivations in order to find adequate solutions to such violence.

Violence carried out against women is reinforced in patriarchal systems, especially given the institutionalization of male superiority socially, economically and politically. Consequently, this patriarchal structure that institutes social, political and even legal institutions assists in empowering men and gives birth to gender inequality where subordinated women are controlled by powerful and dominant men. This superior-inferior relationship has its roots in history, religion and tradition; sources which are also believed to be at the origin of violence. It is true that religion and state participate in the suppression of women; however, cultural values and mainly local traditions may also encourage harmful practices towards women. Examples as to the importance of the institutions of marriage and family in Islam and the established rules therein play a crucial role in supporting and reproducing violence against women. Honour, for instance, implies female chastity, male prestige, family reputation and, in most cases, loyalty to the norms of the community by looking at actions that bring honour and those that reclaim it.

This is obviously linked to the vulnerable status of women within family and community, and consequently to how religious, social and legal policies should not be transgressed, otherwise violence against women would be legitimated. Women victims are frequently blamed for the violence perpetrated against them, besides illiteracy and poverty that may encourage more violence towards them. Thus, men, family and community are all responsible for controlling women's sexual conduct and therefore women are expected to tolerate violence against them if they lose their virginity or reputation. Additionally, the inferior and vulnerable position of women in immigrant communities and the culture shock they initially face as opposed to men's dominance and the Western cultural values to which they are exposed, suggests that more violence is likely to be committed against these women. This happens among immigrant generations in the UK when girls and young women are sometimes obliged to marry

against their will because their parents wish them to preserve the culture of their ancestors, away from Western influences, where concepts of freedom and modernity clash with notions of honour and traditional values.

Chapter III Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Introduction

> *Criticism... aims at changing or even removing the conditions of what is considered to be a false or distorted consciousness. ...Criticism ... renders transparent what previously been hidden, and in doing so it initiates a process of self-reflection, in individuals or in groups, designed to achieve a liberation from the domination of past constraints (Connerton, 1976: 20, as cited in Fowler, 1996b: 5).*

Critical research offers a 'critique' of the facets of society; it is a study that critically discusses social, cultural, economic or political aspects of social order to raise awareness. According to Wodak, critical theory's tasks are to help in "'remembering' a past that was in danger of being forgotten, to struggle for emancipation, to clarify the reasons for such a struggle and to define the nature of critical thinking itself" (2001a: 9). Wodak shows the significance of critical studies and its main stance towards resistance against a social crisis for liberation and change. Van Dijk (2008) confirms that the emergence of critical research - as related to language use, discourse and power - began at the end of the 1970s, guided by Roger Fowler and promoted as the study of Critical Linguistics[62] (CL). Later in the 1990s, this approach developed to an international movement of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Such critical approaches have the objective of raising awareness among people and hopefully producing transformation in their intellectual approaches, they also call attention to the contribution of *text* and *discourse* in (re-)producing and legitimating social power abuse and inequalities. Kress illustrates the situation and points out that these theories always intend to share socio-political aims:

> *... broadly speaking that of altering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural and political goods in contemporary societies. The intention has been to bring a system of excessive inequalities of power into crisis by uncovering its workings and its effects through the analysis of potent cultural objects – texts – and thereby to help in achieving a more equitable social order. The issue has thus been one of transformation, unsettling the existing order, and transforming its elements*

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[62] This is a branch of discourse analysis that was developed at the University of East Anglia by the end of the 1970s (Wodak & Chilton, 2005; van Dijk, 2001: 352; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 139).

into an arrangement less harmful to some, and perhaps more beneficial to all the members of a society (Kress, 1996: 15).

Text, talk and communication events are determined by language and are loaded with different discourses and meanings. While linguists are concerned with the function of language for its own sake, critical discourse analysts are interested in the role of language use and discourse in social change (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 2). Critical analysts give more attention to the suggested ideologies behind language use and to the aims and interests that may be achieved by discourse. They may analyse problematic issues characterised by a perspective of inequality in education systems, cultural differences, gender, media or political discourses. Consequently, Critical Discourse Analysis[63], the critical approach that will be examined in this chapter, is mainly looking for "the origins of social problems and finding ways to analyse them productively" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 12). Critical Discourse Analysis considers itself a political project that relates discourse in social practices and relationships, seeks situations of dominance, inequality or prejudice as manifested in the linguistic and discursive forms used to represent discriminated groups or organisations, and highlights the effect of discourse on social practices and development (Fairclough, 2010: 8; Wodak & Weiss 2003: 15; Meyer, 2001: 30; Titscher, 2000: 147). More specifically, besides deciphering social problems, CDA describes, explains and interprets relations between language and society, between discourse and social practices (Blackledge, 2005: 1-2).

This chapter therefore explores CDA by discussing its origins and development, and defining its perspectives and objectives through notions such as critical evaluation, interdisciplinary engagement and the role of language, text and discourse in social practices. An overview about the different approaches to CDA will be presented to provide a general perspective about the multifaceted ways of undertaking CDA. Three approaches to CDA from Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun A. van Dijk will be discussed. In particular van Dijk's framework (1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2008 & 2009) will provide the theoretical background for the study. As CDA supports the dialectical relationship between discourse and society, the description of the linguistic and discursive mechanisms involved will hopefully unveil power relations and the ideological constructions underlying texts. This should reveal

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[63] Or Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) as van Dijk prefers to name it.

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the commitment of CDA towards change, transparency, critical thinking and self-reflection.

2. Origins, evolution and criticism of CDA

The history of the critical study of discourse can be traced back to philosophers, thinkers and theorists from the twentieth century such as Althusser, Bakhtin, Gramsci, Foucault and Habermas and others such as Pêcheux, who influenced the basis of Critical Linguistics and therefore Critical Discourse Analysis through their sociological approaches (Titscher, 2000: 144; Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 6). It is proposed that some of the tenets of CDA can already be found in "the critical theory of the Frankfurt School before the Second World War", and that the interest in language and discourse started with Critical Linguistics by the end of the 1970s in the UK and Australia (Fowler et al. 1979, as cited in van Dijk, 2001a: 352). Critical Linguistics was proposed and developed by Fowler et al. (1979) in *Language and Control* and by Kress & Hodge (1979) in *Language as Ideology*. It demonstrates that there is a connection between linguistic analysis and social structure; it analyses "social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements, and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon that system" (Fairclough, 1989: 5). In such a way, these authors influence the manner in which both language and society are approached and illuminate how they become crucial notions in the critical study of discourse. They consider discourse not as a mere reflection of social reality, but as a reproduction and maintenance of real social structures.

Alongside the impact of the critical work of linguists such as Fowler, Kress and Hodge (1979), the CDA movement emerged as "a network of scholars" in the early 1990s when Teun A. van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak introduced specific theories and methodologies into CDA (Wodak, 2001a: 4). In particular, Fairclough's book *Language and Power* (1989) is considered to be a significant influence on CDA. The main objective of these analysts was to critically reveal social, cultural and political ideologies, relations and contexts in language use and discourse. Thus Critical Discourse Analysis has its origins in Critical Linguistics

which itself has its own roots in Systemic Functional Linguistics[64] (SFL). However, according to Wodak, Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are frequently used 'interchangeably'; "In recent times it seems that the term CDA is preferred and is used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL" (Wodak, 2001a: 1).

It goes without saying that CDA has also experienced criticism. It has been criticised for achieving meanings and results by focusing only on textual analysis while disregarding the world of media. Widdowson (1998, 2004) argues that exploring discourse critically does not rely on the explanations of analysts alone, but should rather involve considering the role of the producers and consumers of texts (as cited in Paltridge, 2006, 2011: 195). CDA has also been criticised for not affording methodical and detailed textual analysis (Schegloff, 1997), and Cameron (2001) calls attention on the fact that the perception and interpretation of the reader – the recipient of discourse – is necessary for a critical analysis; however, CDA is still supported because of the importance of its agenda and its social commitment (Stubbs, 1997) (as cited in Paltridge, 2006, 2011: 195). The following section will define CDA, the approach adopted in this study, by bringing together its perspectives and ideological agenda.

3. CDA: perspective and aims

> *CDA conceptualizes languages as a form of social practice, and attempts to make human beings aware of the reciprocal influences of language and social structure of which they are normally unaware (Titscher, 2000: 147).*

Critical Discourse Analysis is a critical multidisciplinary research programme which is concerned with the study of discourse, language use or communication in general. CDA combines linguistic and social theories by considering language as a social practice, where social and political aspects are (re-)produced in text and oral communication. It is a controversial issue since CDA is considered to be neither a systematic structure of analysis, nor a specific approach, nor a unitary framework and definitely not a method of discourse analysis in itself. However, CDA is a critical process that relates textual analysis to a socio-political context, whose objective is to explain how language and

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[64] This is a linguistic theory with a social approach to language developed by Michael Halliday (1978). SFL is defined as "...concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts" (Fairclough, 2003: 5).

discourse may reflect, shape or reproduce social, cultural, economic and political thoughts, relations, interactions, attitudes and actions in society.

According to van Dijk, CDA has been particularly concerned with the 'discursive reproduction of social power' (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 1989). It was also stimulated by 'the critical study of political discourse' (Chilton, 1985), by the theory of 'ideology' (van Dijk, 1998) as well as by the study of 'social problems' such as racism or discrimination. This critical programme was also concerned with 'the feminist movement and the critical study of gender' (van Dijk, 2008: 8). Thus, Critical Discourse Analysis is mainly concerned with research that challenges domains such as media, education, politics, and social problems in order to struggle against the abuse of social power, gender inequality or ethnic minority difficulties. CDA is defined by van Dijk as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (2001a: 352). Hence, the major task of Critical Discourse Analysis is to criticise a social system by looking at how situations of prejudice, abuse of power, control, or injustice are produced, maintained or challenged in discourse, and to determine whether this influences social relationships, identities and attitudes. This attempt calls attention to the manipulative function of language, of which people are normally unconscious. Finally, as has been stated above, it is not clear whether CDA is a method, a theory or an approach to analysis. This is a point that will be tackled below to demonstrate whether CDA has a systematic or flexible structure.

4. Method, theory or approach?

> *Research in CDA must be multitheoretical, multimethodical, critical and self-reflective (Wodak, 2001b: 64).*

CDA is regarded as both "a theory and a method of analysing the way individuals and institutions use language" (Richardson, 2007: 1). Yet it is generally assumed that CDA does not reflect the image of an intellectual 'sect', and should not be understood as a uniform theory or a consistent method with a single theoretical framework, but rather as a 'critical' approach (Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 13; Meyer, 2001: 14; Blackledge, 2005: 2). As van Dijk points out, "CDS is not a homogeneous movement - as is true for any social movement" (2008: 8). However, although the theoretical framework of CDA

seems 'eclectic' and 'unsystematic', the diversity and exchange within disciplines can be considered as a constructive advantage since "the plurality of theory and methodology can be highlighted as a specific strength of CDA" (Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 6). In other words, crossing boundaries and combining both linguistic strategies and social theories to comprehend social problems and achieve research objectives is a positive aspect of CDA. Hence, the heterogeneous nature of CDA may appear to be bewildering, but the apparent confusion may lead to new arguments and debates and, overall, to innovation and change (Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 13). I conclude that the absence of a well defined method of analysis in CDA is an advantage and thus CDA seems to be an open, critical and interdisciplinary project. So, what is the role of interdisciplinarity in CDA?

5. Inter/trans/multi-disciplinarity

> *The critical turn developed and the cross-fertilisation between linguistics and the social sciences was expanded and enriched into a remarkable interdisciplinary and international project (Wodak & Chilton, 2005: xi).*

CDA is wide-ranging and, in effect, a mixture of approaches from diverse academic backgrounds; "Studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds and oriented towards very different data and methodologies" (Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 12). This means that CDA is concerned with sharing interests with other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, ethnography and ethnomethodology[65], as well as cognitive and social psychology (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 2). This interdisciplinarity is vital for the achievement of CDA objectives; just as linguistic theory is needed to describe words and sentences, social theories are also the prerequisite for the explanation and interpretation of the ideologies of discourse.

Furthermore, in addition to 'interdisciplinarity', there are also other terms such as 'transdisciplinarity' and 'multidisciplinarity' which become "catchwords of academic discourse" (Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 15). From Fairclough's point of view, CDA has three basic features "it is relational, it is dialectical, and it is transdisciplinary" (2010: 3). It is relational because it focuses on social relations, it is dialectical because it is

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[65] A methodology for the analysis of methods used to achieve social production, developed by Harold Garfinkel.

interested in interactions between discourse and other social components, and in order to achieve such objectives, it is necessary to bring into play other disciplines - linguistics, politics, sociology - that focus on the interdisciplinarity of CDA or, as Fairclough would prefer to put it, as a 'transdisciplinary' form of analysis (Fairclough, 2010: 4). Therefore, CDA calls for interdisciplinary work so as to "gain a proper understanding of how language functions in, for example, constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power" (Wodak, 2001a: 11). As the analysis of discourse needs an interdisciplinary perspective, it also requires a critical attitude, though interdisciplinarity in itself brings a sense of critique to the study.

6. What is 'critical' about CDA?

> *CDA is 'critical' in two senses: one sense is based on the ideas of the Frankfurt School (in particular the work of Jurgen Habermas) and the other on a shared tradition with so-called critical linguistics (Titscher, 2000: 144).*

The term 'critical' can be associated with "the Frankfurt school of philosophy" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 261), or with Marx's notions[66], or with literary criticism. However, 'critical' may also be understood as "having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research" (Wodak, 2001a: 9). In Bourdieu's opinion (1977), calling an approach 'critical' is to acknowledge that peoples' use of language and their social practice are connected with 'causes' and 'effects' that are normally invisible to them (as cited in Fairclough, 1995: 54). This means that Critical Discourse Analysis should be 'critical' in the sense of helping audiences to evaluate statements critically, and not accept or believe naively what society as a whole seeks to (re-)produce and legitimate, or what particular individuals or groups attempt to transmit to others through different means of discourse.

CDA is 'critical' because, as stated previously, it investigates the opaque relationships between "(a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes" (Fairclough, 2010: 93). Unlike most other approaches, it is "always explicit about its own position and commitment"

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[66] Marx notion of critique is associated with the critique of ideology, and with revealing mechanisms of oppression. It takes the standpoint of the oppressed and struggles against social inequalities.

(Meyer, 2001: 17) since it takes a clear moral and political position when tackling the social problem under examination (Richardson, 2007: 2). Therefore, the term 'critical' in CDA implies a determination to explore the explicit role of language in revealing ideological and power relations in a socio-political context, and also to adopt an attitude, a perspective, that will contribute to social change through a more 'conscious' discourse. Thus, language, text and discourse, as key elements in CDA, will be discussed next to reveal the differences between them as they are sometimes used as overlapping expressions.

7. Language, text and discourse

> *Discourses are systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution. ...A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about (Kress, 1985b: 6-7, as cited in Fowler, 1996b: 7).*

Generally speaking, language is a means of communication, a way through which one expresses oneself. It is also a mode by which one may influence the thoughts and attitudes of others, and a convincing manner of (re-)producing cultural, social, economic and political ideologies. It is important, therefore, to note that language has grown dramatically in terms of "the uses it is required to serve, in terms of the range of language varieties, and in terms of the complexity of the language capacities that are expected of the modern citizen" (Fairclough, 1989: 3). Language plays a significant role in society since linguistic phenomena are considered to have social consequences; "Whenever people speak or listen or write or read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects" with the objective of preserving or changing social interactions or relations (Fairclough, 1989: 23). Particularly, the concept of language in CDA focuses on the complex relationship between language use and the exercise of power, as pointed out by Chouliaraki & Fairclough; "language is central to contemporary social life, and to the calculations of and struggles over power" (1999: 9).

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According to Fairclough, language use in CDA is also a form of "social practice", rather than a merely "individual activity" (1989: 22; 1992: 63; 1995: 54). This implies that language is a "social process" which takes place in society, and which is a "socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society" (Fairclough, 1989: 22). In other words, language is viewed as 'shaping' and being 'shaped' by society and its social structures (Fairclough, 1995: 54). More clearly, language use in any text, for example, is "always simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief", which means that every text brings its own contribution to shape the characteristics of society and culture (Ibid). Language seems to be "not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it" (Wodak, 2001a: 10). This conveys the implication that persons in privileged positions are able to achieve their objectives through dominant and influential language to persuade or manipulate the thoughts and attitudes of others.

On the other hand, text and discourse have always been controversial terms. They used to be used as a single, interchangeable term, but subsequently of the two expressions has been given a specific meaning. Fairclough distinguishes between text and discourse by looking at 'text' as a "product rather than a process – a product of the process of text production" while the term 'discourse' is used to refer to "the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part" (1989: 24). Likewise, Bloor and Bloor point out that while 'text' refers to "actual written or spoken data", 'discourse' refers to "the whole act of communication involving production and comprehension" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 7). Therefore, a text is considered to be a product or a creation, but discourse is seen as the socially constituted process or the expected result deduced from the text. This process, according to Fairclough, involves "in addition to the text the process of production, of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation, for which the text is a resource" (1989: 24).

Discourse is used in linguistics to refer to 'language use' - whether spoken or written (Fairclough, 1992: 62; 1995: 54; 2003: 3) while in CDA, discourse is considered to be "a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1989: 22; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258). Thus, discourse belongs to a social process where its participation in the construction of social identities and relationships and in the reproduction of ideological beliefs and systems of knowledge is of vital significance. Discourse is also, "shaped and constrained by social structure in the widest sense and at all levels", as well as being

"socially constitutive" (Fairclough, 1992: 64). In short, discourse becomes a practice that not merely reflects the world but also constructs it. Discourse is generally determined and influenced by governing groups who are "socially constituted orders of discourse, sets of conventions associated with social institutions" (Fairclough, 1989: 17). Since discourse has a social impact, social practices may have 'ideological effects' and can help (re-)produce unequal power relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258). To sum up, according to a more wide-ranging description of discourse by van Dijk:

> *Discourse is a multidimensional social phenomenon. It is at the same time a linguistic (verbal, grammatical), object (meaningful sequences or words or sentences), an action (such as an assertion or a threat), a form of social interaction (like a conversation), a social practice (such as a lecture), a mental representation (a meaning, a mental model, an opinion, knowledge), an interactional or communicative event or activity (like a parliamentary debate), a cultural product (like a telenovela) or even an economic commodity that is being sold and bought (like a novel) (van Dijk, 2009a: 67).*

8. CDA directions/approaches

It is generally agreed that CDA does not represent "a well-defined empirical method but rather a cluster of approaches with a similar theoretical base and similar research questions" (Meyer, 2001: 23). There are different ways of undertaking CDA, depending on the researchers and analysts' positions, their methodologies and their own objectives and perspectives in relation to the critical study of discourse, as well as the kind of corpus and the nature of the issues under investigation.

As there is a considerable diversity of positions over CDA, and as there are different ways of undertaking it, a brief overview of the main theoretical approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis will be presented so as to provide a general idea about the different and varied directions it offers. They include French discourse analysis (as proposed by Althusser, Foucault and Pêcheux where language and ideology meet), critical linguistics (developed in Britain in the 1970s by Fowler, Kress and Hodge, which is associated with Halliday's systemic functional linguistics 1978, 1985), social semiotics (Hodge, Kress and van Leeuwen) who suggest that "insights from the analysis of visual images may lead us to rethink our theories of language", sociocultural change in discourse (Fairclough, 1989; 1992), socio-cognitive studies (van Dijk, since 1980), discourse-historical methods (the group in Vienna, Ruth Wodak, influenced by the Frankfurt School), reading analysis (the linguist Utz Maas combines Michel Foucault's

theories with a hermeneutic methodology), and finally the Duisburg School (influenced by Michel Foucault's theories) (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 262-267).

However, the present study does not aim to explore all the approaches stated above. It will briefly focus on the approaches of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun A. van Dijk. The objective is not to compare the approaches of the scholars since they have the same aims, perceptions and social commitments, but rather to shed light on the approach and theoretical framework of Teun A. van Dijk whose perspective will be examined in more detail and used in the textual analysis of news reports.

9. Fairclough's approach

> *We see CDA as bringing a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other, so that its theory is a shifting synthesis of other theories, though what it itself theorises in particular is the mediation between the social and the linguistic (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 16).*

Critical Discourse Analysis from Fairclough's point of view is a critical analysis of "the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices"; it is concerned in particular with the drastic transformations in contemporary society (2001: 123). The most distinctive feature of CDA is that it joins linguistic analysis and social theories together by setting up an exchange between them (Fairclough & Chouliaraki, 1999: 6). The key to it is that connecting language and society is fundamental to such a critical approach (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258).

Fairclough undertakes CDA from another point of view, that of language involvement in power - the relationship between the use of language and the exercise of power, the ambiguous nature of such processes to people and the necessity to make the elements of discourse more explicit and evident (Fairclough, 1989: 17; 1995: 54). That is why the main purpose of CDA in Fairclough's opinion is to make people conscious of the rich relationship between language and power, and how language may contribute to dominance and abuse by supporting oppressed groups (1989: 4; 1997: 259). In other words, it is essential to critically consider the interrelationship between language and society by emphasizing the role of power and ideology in producing, maintaining or

changing discourse. Fairclough's two aims in relation to the use of language and the unequal relations of power are first "theoretical", where the intention is to correct people's underestimation of the impact of language in producing, preserving, or altering the social relations of power. The second objective is "practical" where people should become more conscious about how language may participate in the domination of others; "because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation" (1989: 1). This is meant to make people more conscious and critical about language use, about the apparently implicit relationship between language, discourse, power and society and the respective consequences of the relationship.

Language may vary according to the knowledge and beliefs of individuals; it also depends on the kind of relationships between those involved, their identities, background, culture, objectives, and their perceptions of the issues under discussion, without forgetting their interests (Fairclough, 1989: 21; 1992: 63). These relationships are identical to Fairclough's dimensions of language functions which are 'identity', 'relational' and 'ideational':

> *The identity function relates to the ways in which social identities are set up in discourse, the relational function to how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated, the ideational function to ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations (Fairclough, 1992: 64).*

I agree with Chouliaraki and Fairclough when they point out that language is pertinent "not only in the discursive construction of the changing practices of late modernity – what is changing in these practices is in part also language" (1999: 5). This means that language and society may have a mutual influence in the interaction process; language changes its environment and is changing itself, language constitutes social situations, thoughts, attitudes and actions and is constructed by them at the same time.

Fairclough explores the various dimensions of the relations of power and language, namely power *in* discourse and power *behind* discourse (1989: 43). On the one hand, power *in* discourse is concerned with "discourse as a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted", as in the cross-cultural discourse, and the hidden power of mass media discourse for example (Ibid). On the other hand, power *behind* discourse focuses on how "orders of discourse, as dimensions of the social orders of social institutions or societies, are themselves shaped and constituted by

relations of power" (Ibid). In other words, social groups, institutions and organisations support each other in constructing social control and stand together as a veiled existing power. However, according to Fairclough, power *in* or *behind* discourse is "never definitively held by any one person, or social groupings, because power can be won and exercised only in and through social struggles in which it may also be lost" (Ibid).

Concerning Fairclough's framework or steps of analysis, he highlights that critical analysis intends to interpret and hence explain the structure and processes of society (2010: 8). In *Language and Power* (1989), Fairclough distinguishes between three dimensions/stages of CDA: *description* where the linguistic features of text are described. *Interpretation*, a process related to the cognitive method, looks at the relationship between the properties of the text and the resources of members involved with the discourse [67]. *Explanation* is the last procedure which connects the processes of production and interpretation and their social effects with the social context (1989: 26 &109). Likewise, in his 1995 book *Media Discourse*, Fairclough presents relationships between three dimensions which he calls "text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice" (1995: 57). According to these stages, it follows that one may begin with a linguistic analysis which is a mere descriptive stage from which tools are obtained to take the interpretative step, which is the intertextual analysis that takes into consideration social and cultural situations (1995: 61-62).

Fairclough later introduces an analytical framework (2001) for CDA which is moulded upon the 'explanatory critique' of the critical theorist Roy Bhaskar. This analytical structure focuses on social change and upon the social problems which people are facing in their everyday social lives, especially the "poor, the socially excluded, those subject to oppressive gender or race relations" (2001: 125). Therefore, Fairclough's approach to CDA can be summarized as connecting discourse with society, the linguistic with the social, text with context and particularly how power is exercised through language. Fairclough prefers a problem-oriented approach where his central aim of addressing social problems is an emancipatory attitude towards social change.

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[67] This refers to "what people have in their heads and draw upon when they produce or interpret texts – including their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, and so on" (Fairclough, 1989: 24-26).

10. Wodak's approach

Wodak's view of CDA may be similar to Fairclough's since she considers the programme as exploring discourse critically by dealing with social problems. Wodak defines CL and CDA as "fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (2001a: 2). She states that the central objective of CDA is to study in a critical way social inequalities as 'expressed', 'signalled', 'constituted', and 'legitimized' by discourse (Ibid). In her examination, CDA is concerned with making social problems and power relations more transparent, more critical and more explicit since they are transmitted by language and expressed in discourse. Wodak argues explicitly that CDA is not concerned with assessing what is correct or what is erroneous; CDA "should try to make choices at each point in the research itself, and should make these choices transparent. It should also justify theoretically why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid than others" (Wodak, 2001b: 65).

In relation to her theoretical framework, Wodak basically considers every discourse as historically constructed and interpreted (Wodak, 2001a: 3). Her own approach to CDA refers to a discourse-historical approach. This particular approach to CDA adheres to "the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory"; it "follows a complex concept of social critique which embraces at least three interconnected aspects, two of which are primarily related to the dimension of cognition and one to the dimension of action" (Wodak, 2001b: 64). In order to understand the discourse-historical approach, some of its vital characteristics will be defined here. It focuses on 'interdisciplinarity', it is a 'problem oriented' approach which does not emphasise particular 'linguistic' features, its theory and methodology are 'eclectic', it includes fieldwork so as to study the issue under investigation, its historical context should always be explored and involved in the 'interpretation of discourse and texts', and its aim is to change 'certain discursive and social practices' (Wodak, 2001b: 69-70). Wodak also focuses on the concept of context which encompasses four levels (as cited in Meyer, 2001: 29):

> *1. The immediate language – or text-internal co-text;*
> *2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses;*

3. The extralinguistic (social) level which is called the context of situation' and explained by middle-range theories;

4. The broader socio-political and historical contexts.

In other words, these levels bring into the analysis the vital importance of language or text, "the intertextual and interdiscursive" connections between 'texts', 'genres' and 'discourses', and the context that can be explained through the historical, social and political perspectives. In this approach, what is first analysed is the "linguistic manifestations of prejudice in discourse, embedded in the linguistic and social context", then the text is confronted with "other facts and context phenomena" (Wodak, 2001b: 70).

Wodak essentially focuses on how the complex interrelations existing between discourse and society can be explored only when linguistic and social approaches are mingled together (Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 7). She also supports the suggestion of other linguists who believe that interdisciplinary work is necessary in the comprehension of the complex roles and relationships between language, power and society (Wodak, 2001a: 8; Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 14). Wodak's approach is mainly problem-oriented and interdisciplinary but not focused on specific linguistic items.

11. Van Dijk's approach

11.1. A brief overview of van Dijk's research

Since the 1980s, van Dijk's work has focused on the study of racism in relation to media and news reports. He has also explored issues such as ideology, power abuse and the role of 'symbolic elites' which form the foundation of the project of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). Among his concerns is to specify the way in which Europe and the United States speak about Africa, Asia and Latin America, and to emphasise the reproduction of inequalities in discourse and media communication by associating cognition with wider social processes. This has been a continuing project with a political commitment, where van Dijk has included cognitive theories and social dimensions in order to explain the discourse-cognition-society triangle. This triangle is the basis of the socio-cognitive approach (for example: how are minorities talked about? This would entail posing questions such as what is the cognitive basis as to why are minorities spoken about in this or that way (the socio-psychological dimension) and what are the socio-political functions behind a specific discourse?). Van Dijk's most

recent approach lies in a theory of context according to which the interpretation of pertinent aspects of social conditions should be taken into consideration. Thus, his research involves discourse and racism, discourse and ideology, discourse and knowledge, and discourse and context. To sum up, all these notions are likely to be involved in Critical Discourse Studies (as van Dijk prefers to name it to emphasise that it is not a method of analysis). CDS as a wide-ranging term suggests that "such a critical approach not only involves critical *analysis*, but also critical *theory*, as well as critical *applications*. The designation CDS may also avoid is the widespread misconception that a critical approach is a *method* of discourse analysis" (van Dijk, 2009a: 62). It is taken for granted that there are many approaches to CDS, but van Dijk's perspective is multidisciplinary, critical, and problem-oriented. Additionally, van Dijk's approach to CDS is mirrored in the socio-cognitive explanation of critical studies, especially the reproduction of power abuse by discourse.

11.2. Van Dijk's CDA perspective

> *CDA may be seen as a reaction against the dominant formal (often 'asocial' or 'uncritical') paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s (van Dijk, 2001a: 352).*

Critical Discourse Analysis in van Dijk's opinion is neither a method, nor a theory, nor a specific school - otherwise this would not be compatible with critical thinking, he argues - but merely "a type of discourse analytical research" (2001a: 352) that deals with social problems. It is rather a "critical *perspective*, *position* or *attitude*" (van Dijk, 2009a: 62), which is concerned in the first place with the "social conditions of discourse" (van Dijk, 2008: vii). More specifically, CDA is interested in the interaction between discourse and social power; it 'describes' the production of social power, social inequality, domination and control and 'explains' how such intermingled constructions and beliefs are performed, reproduced, maintained, legitimized, resisted or abused by the discourse of leading groups and governing institutions in the social and political milieu (van Dijk, 1996: 84; 2001b: 96; 2001a: 352; 2005: 87). The critical study of discourse which van Dijk propounds is mostly concerned with the discursive structures and the consequent social inequalities.

CDA obviously contests the unrestricted access of the elites and powerful institutions to the 'public discourse' (van Dijk, 2005: 88). At the same time, it supports dominated groups and struggles against their inequality, injustice and discrimination as is clearly explained by van Dijk: "CDA research combines what perhaps somehow pompously used to be called 'solidarity with the oppressed' with an attitude of opposition and dissent against those who abuse text and talk in order to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power" (2001b: 96). Therefore, critical discourse analysts "take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality" (van Dijk, 2001a: 352).

11.3. CDA Theoretical Framework

> *Critical Discourse Studies uses any method that is relevant to the aims of its research projects and such methods are largely those used in discourse studies generally (van Dijk, 2008: 2).*

In order to analyse any text/discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis, it is essential to consider several factors among which figure language use, knowledge and social or political contexts. It is clear that CDA does not have a precise or detailed 'framework' as evidently argued by van Dijk; "since CDA is not a specific direction of research, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework" (2001a: 353). Yet, there is a number of critical concepts which are usually used and examined in CDA as part of its investigation framework since they imply discursive abuse such as 'power', 'dominance', 'hegemony', 'ideology', 'class', 'gender', 'race', 'discrimination', 'interests', 'reproduction', 'institutions', 'social structure', and 'social order' (van Dijk, 2001a: 354). These key expressions and concepts give rise to significant relationships and interactions between discourse and society in general.

Van Dijk believes that there is an indispensable connection between text and society in CDA. That is why it is not only the language but also the circumstances, situations and contexts - whether social, cultural, political or economic - which are supposed to be analysed. It is solely via the external conditions and surroundings of any text that the processes of interpretation and critical explanation can actually take place. Van Dijk focuses on the cognitive side of analysis which is a fundamental medium between discourse and society in the study of social problems:

> *Social structures are observed, experienced, interpreted and represented by social members, for instance as part of their everyday interaction or communication. It is this (subjective) representation, these mental models of specific events, this knowledge, these attitudes and ideologies that finally influence people's discourse and other social practices. In other words, personal and social cognition always mediates between society or social situations and discourse. Hence, in CDS we need to study social problems in terms of the discourse – cognition – society triangle. None of these three dimensions can be really understood without the other (van Dijk, 2008: 16).*

Hence, the sociocognitive approach which van Dijk advocates connects textual structure to the social structure by means of cognition. When undertaking CDS within a sociocognitive approach, van Dijk values "the fundamental importance of the study of cognition (and not only that of society) in the critical analysis of discourse, communication and interaction" (2009a: 64). According to van Dijk, a 'cognitive device' is required for the representation of "the relevant structures of the social situation, both locally (micro) as well as globally (macro), and is also necessary for the control of discourse as well as the process of production and comprehension" (2009a: 73). It is taken for granted that cognition has an impact on the reproduction of discourse.

It is within the discourse-cognition-society triangle that van Dijk attempts to put together the basic principles to undertake CDA (van Dijk, 2009a: 64). Social cognition, mental representations, mental models or context models are the requisite concepts linking discourse and society, and they "make sure that language users adapt their discourse to the social environment, so that it is socially appropriate" (van Dijk, 2009a: 73). In other words, sociocognitive discourse analysis mainly emphasises the relationship between discourse and society via cognition, or more clearly the relation between "mind, discursive interaction and society" (van Dijk, 2009a: 65). The particular function of social cognition in sociocognitive theory is to explore how social structures may influence discourse structures (van Dijk, 2009a: 79).

Such interactions need to relate analysis of micro-level properties of language use in text or oral communication to macro-level facets of society as to power and inequalities between groups or organizations (van Dijk, 2001a: 354; 2008: 1). In other words, van Dijk undertakes separate levels of analysis; micro-level analysis as far as the linguistic characteristics of language use are concerned, and macro-level analysis which is interested in the social dimensions of what has been said, particularly social problems such as signs of power abuse or injustice. He argues that language and language use are

visibly reckoned to be 'social phenomena' and require to be explored in their 'social and cultural contexts' (2008: 6). Van Dijk suggests that analysis should concentrate on linguistic markers besides the social and the cognitive dimensions and the context as they are very important in undertaking a critical analysis. There are many ways of undertaking CDA; the analysis could be 'grammatical' (phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic), pragmatic, rhetorical, stylistic, and it may involve a specific analysis for news reports, parliamentary debates or advertisements (van Dijk, 2008: 3). There is, therefore, always a choice of analysis, of the selected tools and strategies, depending on the interest of research, data, the issues under study and the research questions posed (van Dijk, 2008: 2). Social cognition, power and ideology are intermingled concepts that remain implicit in the critical analysis of social problems. The relationship and interaction of these terms is reflected and reproduced in the social practices of discourse and thus will be discussed below.

11.4. Power, domination and control in CDA

> *If dominant groups, and especially their elites, largely control public discourse and its structures, they thus also have more control over the minds of the public at large (van Dijk, 2001a: 358).*

What is the role of power in CDA? How is power related to discourse? Are there different kinds of power? Who controls public discourses and how is it controlled? How are mind control and public discourse control achieved? And what are the outcomes of social power and domination? The answer to these questions may help to explain the relationships between these concepts in CDA. According to van Dijk, the common trend in critical studies is to connect society, in particular power and dominance, with 'discourse', 'social practices' and the events being investigated (2008: 16). This, in turn, reveals how interested CDA is in the relations of power and dominance between "social entities and classes, between women and men, between national, ethnic, religious, sexual, political, cultural and sub-cultural groups" (Titscher, 2000: 164). Consequently, the central endeavour of CDA is to seek out how inequalities are reproduced in language and, as a result, in discourse, thoughts, attitudes and actions.

The term 'power' is perceived to be a critical notion in discourse studies; specifically in terms of "the social power of groups or institutions" (van Dijk, 2001a:

354). CDA is concerned with social power rather than the power of individuals. There are several dimensions of power exercised by and on people in everyday life. We may begin with the control parents have over their children or the power of husbands over their wives or between family relatives at home. We can then move on to the power teachers or professors have over their pupils and students, the power exercised between colleagues, or the control an employer may have over his/her employee. All these kinds of relationships may be identified in terms of authority, influence, manipulation or persuasion. We are also influenced and controlled by daily conversations in which we may participate or just receive 'knowledge' unwittingly from family, friends, neighbours or colleagues. Another intriguing mode of control is the media (spoken or written), which may manipulate individuals' thoughts and behaviour and also the public discourse as a whole. Nevertheless, the majority of people may have "active control" over daily discussion with other people, but a "passive control" over the communication and information transmitted by the media (van Dijk, 2001a: 355).

CDA hence tackles social power, which can be defined in terms of "the control exercised by one group or organisation over the actions and/or the minds of another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies" (van Dijk, 1996: 84). While social power manages to have control over the minds of others and consequently on their actions, dominance entails power abuse over the others' actions or resources (van Dijk, 2000c: 87).

As to the classical definition of power, power has been characterised in terms of "class and the control over the material means of production" (van Dijk, 2008: 14). However, nowadays this designation has mainly been substituted by "the control of the minds of the masses, and such control requires the control over public discourse in all its semiotic dimensions" (Ibid). As confirmed by van Dijk, power can be translated as mind control which is considered to control not only the way individuals may comprehend and figure out the meaning of a text or a conversation, but would also include 'personal and social knowledge', 'previous experiences', 'personal opinions' and 'social attitudes', 'ideologies and norms or values' (van Dijk, 2008: 11). All these factors are likely to influence, manipulate, persuade or change people's way of thinking and behaving.

The actors articulating social power are influential people or dominant groups who are likely to have the privilege of access to cherished social resources like, for example, having the means to access money, power, charitable positions, high status, reputation or celebrity, knowledge, 'culture' and, as a consequence, "a preferential access to public discourse and communication" (van Dijk, 1996: 84; 2001a: 355). In other words, social power and dominance belong to privileged groups who are capable of accessing and controlling the minds and actions of others through discourse. Such power and dominance are usually "organised and institutionalised, so as to allow more effective control, and to enable routine forms of power reproduction" (van Dijk, 1996: 85). Again, the power of dominant groups is not only seen via the access they may have to wealth, status, information and public communication, but also by means of "laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus, and thus take the form of what Gramsci called "hegemony"" (Gramsci, 1971, as cited in van Dijk, 2001a: 355). Elites, therefore, are defined not in terms of their economic resources but to their access to public discourse.

Governing groups and institutions should first have access to powerful resources provided by society, politics, culture, the press and so on, for not everybody has the same access to such resources and their dominant position implies that they do. In this way, they are likely to participate in making laws and regulations controlling media content in relation to education, gender and immigration issues, for example. Consequently, dominant groups may control the public discourse, starting from the daily conversation between normal people and groups to media communicative events and debates. Hence, by means of discourse, powerful groups may influence people's minds and exercise considerable control over their beliefs, knowledge, behaviour and ideologies. According to van Dijk, "these notions of discourse access and control are very general, and it is one of the tasks of CDA to spell out these forms of power" (2001a: 356).

It is obvious from this discussion that CDA is interested in the relationship between discourse and the abuse of power. In order to achieve control, it is necessary as a first step to have "access to specific forms of discourse", in politics, media, or science. The next step is then to be able to have an impact on people's knowledge or views, and indirectly influence (some of) their attitudes (van Dijk, 2001a: 355). Elite control over

who may take part of a communicative event, when, where and for which reasons is an example of such control (van Dijk, 2008: 9).

11.5. Ideology

> *More neutrally and more generally, then, ideologies simply serve groups and their members in the organization and management of their goals, social practices and their whole daily social life (van Dijk, 1998: 138).*

Ideology is a concept that was initially 'coined' by Antoine Destutt de Tracey after the French revolution; it refers to "a new science of ideas, an idea-logy, which would be the ground of all other sciences (McLellan, 1986: 6, as cited in Richardson, 2007: 32). De Tracey argued that "the ideas we hold are not the product of God or nature but are generated by our social environment as perceived through our physical senses" while according to Marx, ideas and beliefs are "'not the product of experience per se, but rather 'alter according to their economic circumstances' (Marx, 1998 (1848): 27, as cited in Richardson, 2007: 32). According to Thompson (1990), the term 'ideology' which emerged in the late eighteenth-century, is an expression that has suffered alterations in its role and significance over time; ideology refers to "social forms and processes within which, and by means of which, symbolic forms circulate in the social world" (as cited in Wodak, 2001a: 10). From Fairclough's point of view, ideology refers to meanings, implications, productions or creations of the truth or 'reality' like 'the physical world', 'social relations', 'social identities', which are constructed and put together into 'forms/meanings of discursive practices', and which are involved in the 'production', 'reproduction' or 'transformation' of power relations (1992: 87). Fairclough insists that ideologies exist in texts and focuses on the argument that the interpretation of discourse may generate different ideological significance (1992: 89).

Lazar shares the same critical view about ideologies in that the main objective is to maintain and preserve unbalanced relations of power and dominance (2005: 6-7). There are, therefore, no definitions of ideology that would, as van Dijk suggests, "fail to mention that ideologies typically serve to legitimate power and inequality". He confirms that ideologies are "assumed to conceal, hide or otherwise obfuscate the truth, reality or indeed the 'objective, material conditions of existence' or the interests of social

formations" (1998: 138). Consequently, it follows that the aim of CDA in relation to ideology is to identify hidden ideological positions by making them more precise and explicit in social communication (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 11).

Van Dijk presents ideology as a system of 'ideas' or 'beliefs', or to what psychologists call 'cognition', and considers ideologies as 'social' in so far as they are associated with "group interests, conflicts or struggles" (1998: 5). Ideologies are thus obtained not only on the basis of personal experience and beliefs but they are also socially acquired, shared and changed. In other words, they are both mental and social phenomena. Therefore, besides regarding ideologies as cognitive, van Dijk also defines them "in terms of social groups, group relations, institutions at the macro-level and in terms of social practices at the micro-level" (van Dijk, 1998: 9). Ideologies are not simply sets of ideas and principles but also socially shared beliefs.

Finally, according to van Dijk, ideologies are not 'personal', not necessarily 'negative', not a kind of 'false consciousness', not essentially dominant, and they are not "the same as any other socially shared belief or belief systems" (2008: 117). Ideologies may have the role to "legitimate or obscure power abuse, or conversely they may be used to resist or denounce domination and inequality" (van Dijk, 1998: 69). Therefore, as there are negative functions of ideologies, there are also positive ideologies that may "positively serve to empower dominated groups, to create solidarity, to organize struggle and sustain opposition" (van Dijk, 1998: 138). To sum up, a general and 'umbrella' definition of ideology might be the following:

> *Ideologies are representations of who we are, what we stand for, what our values are, and what our relationships are with other groups, in particular our enemies or opponents, that is, those who oppose what we stand for, threaten our interests and prevent us from equal access to social resources and human rights (residence, citizenship, employment, housing, status and respect, and so on). In other words, an ideology is a self-serving schema for the representation of Us and Them as social groups. This means that ideologies probably have the format of a group schema, or at least the format of a group schema that reflects Our fundamental social, economic, political or cultural interests (van Dijk, 1998: 69).*

11.6. Discourse analytical approach

Discourses involve different social structures as they may be examined in diverse manners. Since the selected corpus to be analysed in this study consists of news reports,

it is taken for granted that the aim of news analysis is to "show how social or political structures are also manifested in the meanings or organisation of news reports, and how such news reports may in turn contribute to the formation or change of social cognitions of the readers or the reproduction or legitimation of power of elites" (van Dijk, 1991: 45). Media generally exhibits a one-sided view of reality that fits the interests of dominant groups, and its arguments aim at persuading audiences of its credibility, values and ideological standpoint. Such communicative events are social practices that bring into play different sides or contributions. There is the producer (writer or speaker), text (or talk) and the public (reader, listener or viewer). Texts do not bear the responsibility of how discourses are produced, transmitted, understood or interpreted alone. Media institutions, which comprise editors and journalists, as well as internal guidelines and policies, and probably dominant entities standing behind both sets of institutions, also have the role of controlling the process of production. Audiences or media text recipients on the other hand are also important in the way they perceive information and their consciousness of the ideological, power relations and social context of discourses. The reception process and the social effects of media discourse are also essential factors towards the realisation of a comprehensive critical analysis. However, this study will focus only on textual analysis, on the description of the linguistic features of the text, its discursive strategies and its ideological perspectives.

The focus of the thesis will be on exploring the themes, the linguistic characteristics and the discursive mechanisms of news reports. As suggested by van Dijk, the first element to be explored in press discourse is the global meaning. This is achieved by looking at the main topics and themes. Topics or 'semantic macrostructures' represent the most significant issues that are best retained by recipients (van Dijk, 2000c: 90). Thus, the exploration of news reports is likely to begin with the analysis of headlines since they play a significant 'textual' and 'cognitive' role, and also because they are considered to be "the most conspicuous part of a news report: they are brief, printed 'on top', in large bold type and often across several columns" (van Dijk, 1991: 50). Headlines are the most visible component in news articles and bridge division in the reports that may otherwise impact on the readers. From headlines, I move to an examination of topics, events and the main facts incorporated in news reports. According to van Dijk, topics are "structured by abstract underlying forms, which we call 'superstructures' or textual 'schemata'" (1991: 118). These

superstructures include a number of organised categories such as a summary (headline and lead), main event, background (context and history), previous events, consequences, comments and evaluation (van Dijk, 1991: 118-119; 2002: 152). This schema as a 'top-down ordering' may have an impact on the mental model the readers construct of an incident (van Dijk, 1991: 121). Sources and quotations in the news articles are also the focus of analysis since they are "a fairly direct function of news production processes, which are essentially a complex form of text processing" (van Dijk, 1991: 151).

Once the semantic macrostructures in terms of topics have been examined, one may move to explore local meanings, such as coherence which is "what distinguishes an arbitrary sequence of sentences from a (fragment) of discourse" (van Dijk, 2000b: 40), and disclaimers such as 'apparent denial', 'apparent concession', 'apparent empathy', 'apparent ignorance', 'apparent excuse', and reversal (blaming the victim) among others (van Dijk, 2000c: 92). Moreover, semantic features are important elements behind which meanings are deciphered: "presuppositions, implications, inferences, concealments, euphemisms, disclaiming denials, blaming the victim, negativisation, and in general the combined strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (van Dijk, 1991: 177). It is assumed that discourses entail implicit information and presupposed knowledge; analysis of implicitness will be focused on since it is "one of the most powerful instruments in the critical study of discourse" (van Dijk, 1991: 180). Presuppositions are regarded as a kind of implicitness and are defined as "a proposition that is semantically implied (entailed) by a statement as well as by the denial of that statement" (van Dijk, 1991: 183). In other words, news reports are loaded with implicit meanings that may be deciphered depending on popular knowledge of the context and of the wider world (van Dijk, 2000b: 40). Such strategies serve the purpose of covering up and excusing discrimination or prejudice and express views that may influence the reader to adopt the opinion of the newspaper (van Dijk, 1991: 198).

At another level, the description of structure is usually accomplished at the level of lexicon, syntax and rhetoric. Within syntax, the study of pronouns may prove to be pertinent; "the opposition between Us and Them has become prototypical of the polarization of (mental representations about) ingroups and outgroups" (van Dijk, 2000c: 95). Moreover, the use of nominalization and the choice between the active and passive voice at the sentence level is one of the strategies that demonstrates the position of participants as responsible 'agents', 'targets' or 'victims of action' (van Dijk, 2000b: 40). As

the syntactical style has to do with sentence structure or form, the lexical style has to do with the choice of words in news reporting (van Dijk, 1991: 216). Hence, analysing lexical choices will be relevant in describing and identifying the actions and properties of others (van Dijk, 2000c: 95). While style demonstrates "what the appropriate use of words is in order to express meaning in a specific situation or discourse genre", rhetoric explains "what the most effective way is when communicating our meanings and beliefs" (van Dijk, 1991: 209). Finally, rhetorical operations can be summarised into the following categories: 'repetition' (parallelism) at the level of lexical form and 'hyperbole', 'metaphor', 'comparison', 'metonymy', 'euphemism' and 'irony' at the level of meaning (van Dijk, 1991: 217-221). The following table summarises the different linguistic and discursive mechanisms that will be analysed; only the strategies encountered in the corpus texts will be illustrated and explored.

Lexical choice	Syntactic structure	Implicit meanings	Semantic strategies	Rhetorical devices
Adjectives	Nominalization	Implication	Mitigation/ excuse	Hyperbole
Nouns	Active & passive voice	Presupposition	Ridicule	Metaphor
Verbs	Pronouns: Us & Them	Vagueness	Reversal/blaming the victim	Euphemism
	Modality	Overcompleteness/ irrelevance	Comparison/contrast/division	Irony

Table 1 - Linguistic and discursive strategies

In short, the role of the discourse analytical approach is to combine the description of mechanisms within the text with the social or political context (van Dijk, 2000b: 35). The description of global themes, linguistic structures and discursive strategies found in text such as local meanings, syntactic form or rhetoric devices are likely to "emphasise positive information about Us, and negative information about Them (or avoid negative information about Us, and positive information about Them)" (van Dijk, 2000a: 98). More specifically, the choice of discourse structures also has the role of achieving "deeper insight in the way discourses express and manage our minds"; it is especially this discourse-cognition crossing point that explores the way discrimination and ideologies are articulated, shared and reproduced in society (van Dijk, 2002: 148).

Finally, since the structure of discourse and the strategies used in news reports are likely to control "the specific mental models we have about ethnic events, or the more general social representations (attitudes, ideologies) we have about ourselves and

Others" (van Dijk, 2002: 148), and as discourse analysis is able to "explain why media discourses have the structures they have, and how these affect the minds of the recipients" (van Dijk, 2002: 152), the aim of this thesis is to analyse news discourse by exploring the structure and content of news reports at the micro and macro levels by taking into consideration the social context. A structural description is needed at the beginning to depict the roles of words, expressions and sentences in conveying implicit meanings, then explanation and interpretation come as a next step. Therefore the objective will be to examine the form and the content of texts, decipher and interpret their function and connotation with the aim of raising awareness and calling attention to the influential role of language and the impact or control of discourse on the minds of readers.

12. Conclusion

After introducing the critical multidisciplinary programme of Critical Discourse Analysis by observing its evolution and identifying its perspectives and purposes, this chapter has attempted to highlight different CDA approaches since there are many ways of carrying it out. Three selected approaches to CDA have been presented; Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, Wodak's discourse-historical approach and van Dijk's sociocognitive approach. The three approaches provide critical interdisciplinary focus on textual analysis, and on the negotiated power relations and ideologies underlying the texts, demonstrating how these factors are often unclear to readers. They are mainly based on the assumption that language and discourse produce and legitimate discrimination and inequalities in society. Critical Discourse Analysis has been chosen as part of this methodology since it has a social commitment and a political agenda; that of criticising the social order and system and seeking to highlight situations of prejudice and inequality particularly in discourse. Another reason behind this choice is because it is a movement in the humanities and social sciences that combines linguistics with social sciences, looks at how power is reproduced in discourse and society, and particularly connects discourse and society through cognition. It also seeks to protect subjugated groups by exploring the linguistic forms used to describe or represent such groups, which is also a valid motivation for adopting CDA.

It is the case that the analytical framework of CDA links linguistic to social analysis, whilst including the nature of the relations between language and power, as

well as ideology and social cognition in discourse. This, in turn, explains how society may constitute discourse and may be also shaped by it, and demonstrates the influence of the discursive character of social problems. Power, cognition and ideology remain central terms in CDA since they have an impact on the comprehension and reproduction of discourse. More specifically, van Dijk's approach is clearly interested in the function of 'discourse, language use and communication' in particular, and in social problems in general, by criticising situations of inequality and domination, - which necessitates analysing critically discourse factors at the linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural levels (van Dijk, 1998: 193; 2008: 6). Van Dijk applies his approach and his suggested stages of analysis at the micro and macro levels, by giving examples of discourses in relation to political debates, immigration issues and culture differences. He looks for signs of prejudice or stereotypes that mainly attain vulnerable groups in society:

> *Instead of focusing on purely academic or theoretical problems, it starts from prevailing social problems, and thereby chooses the perspective of those who suffer most, and critically analyses those in power, those who are responsible, and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve such problems (van Dijk, 1986: 4, as cited in Wodak, 2001a: 1).*

Such reasons support the choice of van Dijk's approach to analyse newspapers' reports, and identify Critical Discourse Analysis as suitable to investigate linguistically and sociologically the phenomenon of "honour killings" as reported in British newspapers. This will be achieved in terms of language use and the discursive strategies employed in the newspaper texts by linking these linguistic characteristics to the social, cultural or political contexts of the events to which they relate.

Finally, since conflicts, abuse of power, authority, discrimination, difference or inequalities are concepts encountered in everyday life and are socially reflected and shaped by media discourse - raising issues of a political, cultural, gender or ethnic nature - the objective of this study is to use CDA and look for signs of discrimination against Muslim immigrants in the discourse of British news reports about "honour killings". For such reasons, associating the analysis of the linguistic components and the discursive strategies of a text with the social context is one of the aims of CDA and eventually the purpose of this study. In the final chapter, I will analyse the selected corpus and evaluate its linguistic, discursive and ideological perspectives.

Chapter IV Textual analysis - Representations

1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter of analysis is to explore the language and discourse of articles in British newspapers about honour-based violence. It aims, through two "honour killing" case studies, to reveal the image reflected of such crimes in the press and of its associated group - Muslim immigrants in Britain. The analysis is informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1991) and guided by the idea that the media may not only reflect but also reproduce and reconstruct social reality. The representation of the incidents will be analysed through examining the lexical choice, the implicit meanings, the semantic strategies and the sources used in the texts to describe and illustrate the events concerned, the themes and topics that arise as well as the actors and relationships involved. The study of language use and of such discursive strategies will hopefully unveil the ideological perspectives behind the representation of the events. This should facilitate a response to the question of whether or not the press perceives religion to legitimate "honour killing" or whether or not it associates such crimes with tribal custom. It will also investigate if media discourse reproduces or emphasizes discrimination and stereotypes against British Muslims.

Before introducing the case studies and establishing the textual analysis, drawing attention to the British attitudes towards Muslim communities in the UK remains important. According to Richardson (2011), Muslim minorities settling in Western countries generally experience frequent stereotyping, a topic that was previously examined in the introductory chapter to this dissertation. One specific attitude which is prevalent and is worth mentioning at this stage is that of considering Muslims as being "all religiously motivated". Muslims' actions and attitudes are viewed as mainly induced by religion; for instance, violence, economic backwardness or human rights violations are all considered to be supported by religion and by the spread of religious tradition (Richardson, 2011: 28). Such attitudes towards Muslims are likely to be the outcome of news transmitted about Muslims, perceptions of cultural differences, awareness of controversial issues identified within Islam and involving Muslims, as well as everyday contact with Muslims. Specifically, certain allegations are made about British Muslims in particular and about Muslims in Europe in general. The following reflections describe some of these claims, as noted by Richardson (2011: 31-32):

- Muslims' rejection of integration within majority society and hence their preference to settle in segregated neighbourhoods. This in turn highlights the failure of Muslims in succeeding in some spheres in society and the feeling that indigenous population is 'unjust' and 'Islamophobic'.
- Muslims and their irrational demands, since the culture and values of the majority are deemed offensive to them and therefore need to be modified, quite apart from issues such as public dress code or the building of mosques.
- Muslims' 'mixed loyalties' reveal that Muslims are more loyal to their country of origin and to their specific local community, as well as the wider community as a whole, which appears, in some way, to maintain the idea that Muslim communities support extremism. This is taken to highlight the incompatibility between Islam and the West in terms of norms, values and interests.

According to the British social attitudes survey (2010), extensive hostility towards Islam in Britain has been demonstrated; the failure of multiculturalism, the negative effect of religious multiplicity, and Islam's threat to national identity are ideas accepted by indigenous Britons - with only a quarter of them feeling positive towards Muslims (Richardson, 2011: 34). Besides, in educational terms, Britons with no qualifications were twice as likely as those with degrees to have a negative approach towards Muslims (Ibid). Yet, positive or negative opinions about Muslims depend on the knowledge and awareness of Islam and direct contact with Muslims, which generally reduces discrimination or injustice towards Muslims (Richardson, 2011: 35). So, why does the British majority adopt such attitudes and feelings towards Muslim minorities? Does media discourse contribute to reinforcing such an image? Or do the behaviour and actions of certain Muslim individuals or groups contribute to strengthening a negative attitude towards Muslim immigrant communities?

2.1 The case studies – Banaz Mahmod

Banaz Mahmod, a 20-year-old woman from Iraqi Kurdish origins, was murdered and buried in a garden in January 2006. When she was 10 years old, Banaz moved with her family from Northern Iraq, from the rural Mirawaldy area close to the Iranian border, to settle in Britain as asylum seekers. Banaz lived with her parents, brother and sisters in

Mitcham, South London. When she was 17 years old, Banaz experienced an 'arranged marriage' organised by her family in 2003. After two years of suffering from ill-treatment and abuse from her husband - as Banaz testifies in a video shown for the first time in a documentary film almost seven years after her murder - Banaz wanted to get a divorce, something which could be achieved only with great difficulty against family and community pressures and was badly perceived by them. Despite her family's pressure to remain with her husband, Banaz returned back to live with her parents although she remained officially married. In a family gathering, Banaz met Rahmat Suleimani, an Iranian Kurd, and fell in love with him. Though Banaz tried to keep her new relationship secret from her family, it became public knowledge amongst them and the wider community. Consequently, Banaz's father and uncle decided to kill her, ordering her murder because of the shame she brought to the family reputation. The dishonour can be summarised as comprising Banaz's willingness to divorce and to begin a new relationship while still married, against the background of her family's disagreement about both the divorce and the new relationship. This so-called dishonour was reinforced by the behaviour of Banaz's sister who escaped from home after rejecting a forced marriage, an incident which made the public situation worse for the Mahmod family. In cultures where women's reputation depends on the honour of male relatives, men's honour is central to the status of the family, and thus collective control over females is considered necessary.

As her mother had warned her of the decision to kill her, Banaz reported her uncle's threats to the police. Banaz also gave the police a list of the people who were willing to kill her. However, when the police visited her at home, she withdrew the accusation. Some days later, Banaz survived her father's first murder attempt. Banaz's boyfriend subsequently recorded a video of Banaz at hospital describing how her father tried to kill her and how she had escaped from an imminent death; the video later became evidence against her aggressors. However, a police constable investigating the incident did not pay attention to Banaz's claims, focussing instead on damage caused by Banaz to a neighbour's window when she tried to escape her home. As she was afraid to go back home afterwards, Banaz decided to stay with her boyfriend. However, she was convinced by her family to return, whilst her boyfriend was threatened by a group of men. Both Banaz and her boyfriend reported death threats to police who offered her a refuge which she refused, claiming that her mother would protect her. It is believed that

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the day after Banaz's disappearance on 24 January 2006, her boyfriend reported her missing but her parents did not want to confirm her disappearance. Police investigation then started and her body was only found three months later. Her father, uncle and an associate of her uncle's were found guilty of murder in 2007, and another two suspects who fled to Iraq were jailed in 2010 after being extradited back to Britain. Since the police had failed repeatedly to protect Banaz from murder and because of public reaction, the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) called for an investigation into the case and for subsequent disciplinary proceedings. These processes were later dropped because of lack of evidence.

2.2. The case studies – Samaira Nazir

Samaira Nazir, a 25-year-old Pakistani graduate and recruitment consultant, used to live in her family home in Southall, West London. The family had settled in Britain 17 years before she was murdered, when Samaira was eight. Her father and brother ran a grocery store and owned an employment agency. Samaira studied travel and tourism and later became the director of her brother's agency. Samaira was murdered on 23 April 2005 by her brother, Azhar Nazir (30), and cousin, Imran Mohammed (17). Both of them were found guilty. Her father was also charged with the murder but fled to Pakistan, whilst charges against her mother were dropped. The reasons behind the crime, as stated in newspaper reports, can be summarised as Samaira's rejection of marriages proposed by her family, her falling in love with an Afghan asylum seeker, Salman Mohammad, who was from a lower caste[68] and the fact of keeping their relationship secret from the family. Both Samaira and Salman were threatened if they continued the relationship. They met in 2000 after Salman entered the UK illegally and became friendly with Samaira's brother through his business. They fell in love and when, some years later, Samaira sought her family's approval of the relationship, her request was rejected. After vainly seeking approval from her father and brother, the couple then attempted to convince her mother whilst she was visiting a relative, but in vain.

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[68] Although Salman Mohammed was described as coming from a lower caste in press reports, it should be noted that there is no caste system in Afghanistan and that the family's objection to him would have been expressed in different terms.

3. Data collection

This section seeks to describe, interpret and explain the linguistic and discursive mechanisms used in British news reports of the two events by exploring how the topics, headlines, participants and events, as well as the themes and related issues are represented in the newspaper discourse about these so-called "honour killings". As it is a qualitative analysis, only two cases have been selected. The first one, outlined above, is a famous case that has been chosen to represent Middle-Eastern examples, whereas the second case was added to represent victims from South Asia. There will be more emphasis on the first case because of the abundance of articles on it and the various themes tackled in them. The second case will serve for comparison purposes and as confirmation of conclusions reached in the first case study. The corpus of articles about the victims' cases was collected via the LexisNexis research database. The data consisted of 120 daily newspaper articles - including Sunday editions - referring to Banaz Mahmod and only 26 articles about Samaira Nazir from 2006 till 2012, taken from British broadsheets: the *Times* (centre-right), the *Daily Telegraph* (rightwing), the *Guardian* (centre-left) and the *Independent* (centrist), and tabloids: the *Sun* (rightwing populist), the *Daily Mail* (rightwing appealing to petty bourgeoisie) and the *Mirror* (traditionally populist leftwing). These newspapers will be referred to by means of the following letters respectively A, B, C, D, E, F, and G when referring to examples about Banaz Mahmod and by H, I, J, K, L, M, and N when mentioning articles about Samaira Nazir from the same newspapers. As to the selected texts from each newspaper, table 1 shows the number of articles that refer to the victims, Banaz Mahmod and Samaira Nazir, respectively within each newspaper.

Newspaper	Banaz Mahmod	Samaira Nazir
The Times	31	7
The Daily Telegraph	11	2
The Guardian	19	3
The Independent	14	3
The Sun	15	5
The Daily Mail	15	4
The Mirror	15	2
Total	**120**	**26**

Table 2 - Number of articles in each newspaper about both victims

4. Headlines and topics

Headlines are the segments which are most widely read in the newspapers as they are short and generally summarise events. The following headlines are examples illustrating the representation of the cases of both victims from broadsheets and tabloids. They are used to define the event and to mainly "activate the relevant knowledge in memory the reader needs to understand the news report" (van Dijk, 1991: 50).

> "Girlfriend was killed 'for honour of family'" (**A3**)
> "Having fled Iraq, she died at the hands of her father – and all because of a kiss" (**A7**)
> "'Honour' killing used to threaten others" (**A10**)
> "'Honour' victim buried in cousin's garden" (**A22**)
> "Where is the honour in having your daughter killed?" (**B2**)
> "'Honour killing' victim was let down by police" (**B7**)
> "Honour killing victim accused father in phone video, court told" (**C1**)
> "'Honour' killer boasted of stamping on woman's neck: Kurdish victim was raped and tortured for two hours: Jokes and laughter heard in description of murder" (**C7**)
> "Honour-killing victim told police four times of fears father would murder her" (**D2**)
> "Iraqi pair jailed for life for 'honour killing' of woman; CRIME" (**D11**)
> "Strangled and buried in suitcase...for falling in love with wrong man" (**E3**)
> "60 years. Father, uncle and pal are caged for 'honour killing'" (**E8**)
> "Bride in 'honour killing' mystery" (**F1**)
> "Two-hour rape and torture of honour killing girl murdered by her family" (**F12**)
> "Fears of 'honour' victim's sister" (**F14**)
> "Murdered by her father... for loving the 'wrong man'; agony of girl in 'honour killing'" (**G3**)
> "'Honour' murder: man held" (**G10**)
> "Sister stabbed to death for loving the wrong man" (**H3**)
> "Woman stabbed to death by family for loving wrong man" (**I1**)
> "Two jailed for life over brutal honour killing" (**J1**)
> "Stabbed to death as her family watched...for honour" (**K1**)
> "Sis 'killed for love'" (**L1**)
> "Murdered for loving our values" (**M2**)
> "Killed by her family for loving the wrong man; brother and cousin are jailed" (**N1**)

The victims appear as 'patients' who suffer or experience an action (killed, died, buried, let down, raped, tortured, strangled, murdered, stabbed). The notion of 'honour' is frequently placed in first position and is named as associated to the killing (action), to

the victim (patient) and to the perpetrator (agent). These roles or semantic categories may change. For instance, victims can become 'agents' when they testify against their families ('tell' or 'accuse' a father or other family members). Perpetrators may turn out to be 'patients' of the actions of authorities (jailed, caged).

It should be noted that the headlines overtly characterise the incident as mainly related to the concept of 'honour', and suggest that the roles are related to negative actions. Events, relationships or actions are all associated with honour; there is mention of family honour, the victim's honour, the killer's honour and honour killing. Honour is explored to explain the events themselves, as well as the behaviour and actions of actors within them. Both honour and love are considered the reasons behind the murder. While honour is the notion through which the victim, her family and perpetrators are depicted, love is presented as the counterpart to honour and to the culture of Muslim communities, thus as one of the principal reasons behind the victims' murders and as characteristic of Western values.

The newspapers' body text about Banaz's case highlights the following themes and topics:

- The recorded video of the victim in a hospital telling and describing her father's first murder attempt.
- Bringing dishonour to the family is presented as the main reason behind her murder.
- The perspective of Rahmat, Banaz's boyfriend, in relation to the murder, the perpetrators and the men who threatened him.
- Evidence of policemen being ordered to change or remove records that might reflect on the responsibility of detectives for the outcome in terms of believing the victim when she complained of threats against her.
- Shortcomings in the handling of Banaz's case, particularly police neglect over the victim's frequent reports about her fears for her life.
- Statistics about honour-based violence worldwide and in the UK in particular.
- New advice to the Police on how to deal with honour crimes.
- The case of Banaz as an example for raising awareness to prevent the phenomenon of honour-related violence.

- The case of Banaz as a warning for girls and women who cross cultural boundaries.

- Banaz's sister's evidence against her father and family who failed to adapt to British life and her fears about the probability of being the next victim.

- Public reactions to police failure to protect the victim leading to the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) investigation to investigate Metropolitan Police response to the case.

- Excusing police failures in Banaz's case, not because of neglect but because of ignorance of "Asian culture" and the practice of "honour killing".

- Promotion of the officer who failed to protect Banaz, and outrage from some campaigners over the final IPCC decision.

- Two suspects/cousins extradited from Iraq to be charged with the murder of Banaz.

- Statistics revealed by police to The Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation, under the Freedom of Information Act, recording almost 3000 incidents in 2010.

- Asian families in Britain should live according to the notion of honour; honour-based violence justified and supported by young Asians according to a survey.

- "Banaz, a Love Story", a documentary film produced in 2012 by Deeyah Khan and premiered at the Raindance Film Festival in London.

- Male honour remains strongly dependent on the behaviour and choices of female relatives.

5. Actors

The major participants in the event can be divided into groups: the British authorities and the two witnesses (sister and boyfriend of the victim) on the one hand, the perpetrators and the community on the other, together with minority representatives as demonstrated in figure 1 below.
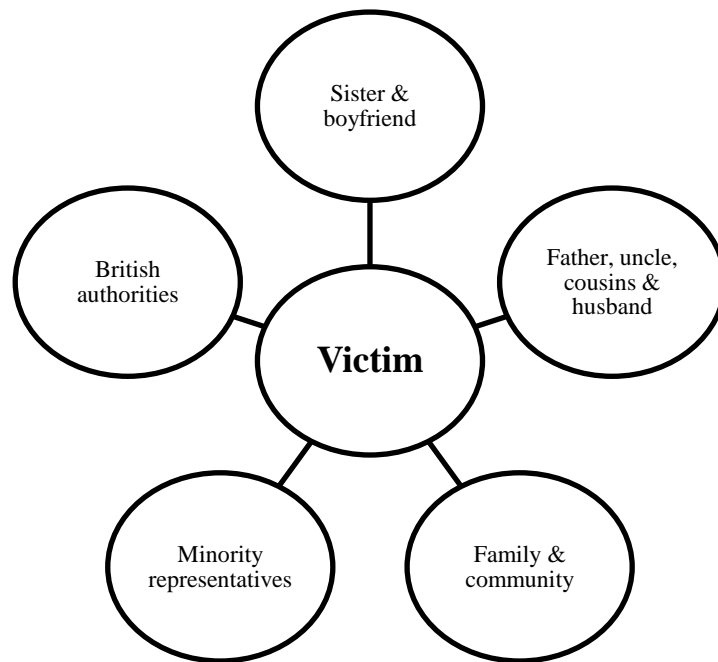
Figure 1 - Participants in Banaz's case

- **Victims** - victim (Banaz Mahmod), her sister (Bekhal Mahmod) and her boyfriend (Rahmat Suleimani).

- **Perpetrators** - Father (Mahmod Mahmod), Uncle (Ari Mahmod), associate of uncle/cousin (Hama Mohammad), two suspects/cousins extradited from Iraq (Mohammad Ali & Omar Hussain), husband, family and community.

- **British authorities** - Metropolitan police and criminal justice system.

- **Minority representatives** - Non-governmental women's organisations (The Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO), Southall Black Sisters (SBS) and Karma Nirvana).

Similarly, in the case of Samaira Nazir, there is the victim as the central focus of the event, her boyfriend, her perpetrators such as her father, brother and cousin, and the British authorities whose principal role lies in defining and judging the crime. This case is distinguished by the absence of minority representatives; neither independent victims groups nor religious leaders are cited in the news reports.

6. Themes tackled in the newspapers

Against the background of the events reported about the victims, particularly in the murder of Banaz, a variety of constructive issues come to the fore, mainly in the quality papers rather than in the tabloids. News articles reported on statistics about violence

committed against women worldwide and in the UK, especially the figures revealed by the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation, to confirm the gravity of the issue and to contextualise the crimes carried out in the name of honour in a Western setting. Such news recalled that in countries such as Pakistan and some Arab countries, the criminal justice system was to be criticised since perpetrators of "honour killing" received light sentences on the basis of provocation as an excuse for the crime, and sometimes they might even go unpunished. Experiences of other victims who endured the same fate in the UK were brought into the debate, such as Heshu Yones (whose father was the first to be convicted of an "honour killing" and thus given a reduced sentence on the grounds of cultural justification), Du'a Khalil, Samaira Nazir, Surjit Athwal, Sabia Rani, Laura Wilson, Rukhsana Naz, Shafilea Ahmed, Arsema Dawit, Tulay Goren, Sahjda Bibi and Nuziat Khan. Discussing previous incidents of victims may have a double significance: it could be useful for better understanding the situation and thus raise awareness or warn of the need for immediate social action, but it might also reinforce images of violence and hostility towards those responsible and the culture they belong to. The victims mentioned above comprise reported cases in the UK, but there are certainly more victims because of disappearances, unreported cases, girls missing from school, others taken for marriage to countries of origin, and cases of suicide enforced by family relatives. Such cases raise questions about the quality of police investigation.

Before Banaz's death, officers were said to have received guidelines on how to handle "honour killings" and protect women suffering from such violence. Banaz, however, did not receive this help and the police repeatedly failed to save her from family threats and, eventually, from murder. It is the case that, since then, the police and the Home Office have made major efforts to identify the danger faced by victims and to provide police officers with new guidelines and advice on how to be aware of and deal with such crimes. A special team from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office was sent to distant villages around the world, mainly in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Kenya and Yemen, to recover British-born women who may have experienced forced marriage. There are also initiatives proposed that aim at raising awareness and preventing the occurrence of similar crimes since there had been shortcomings in the police response to the case of Banaz. While there are those who call for police awareness of the cultural background of migrant communities, there are others who claim that such sensitivities

are not needed when dealing with a crime. This argument has been raised by independent victims' groups.

Those groups or organisations that help women at risk of honour crimes particularly influenced discussion about the nature of honour-based violence among minorities in the broadsheet press. Hannana Siddiqui from Southall Black Sisters (SBS) and Diana Nammi from the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO) both called for the collaboration of government, police and social services to prevent murders like that of Banaz occurring again. They urged that such offensive crimes should be challenged by raising awareness among the community, insisting that these are intolerable crimes whose perpetrators should be brought to justice, and also among government and police to take preventive measures, support women at risk and disregard suggestions that this kind of violence is part of a minority culture and hence the problem of resolution should be left to the community itself; "cultural sensitivities" are misplaced in this context. They also called for an immediate inquiry by the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) to determine the reasons for the failure of the Metropolitan Police to protect the victim. Dr Aisha Gill drew attention to the need for 'a long-term educational campaign' and for tackling the 'wider structural inequalities' that contributed to the reproduction of honour violence against women. She also affirmed that both the failure of the Metropolitan Police to properly discharge its duties and the silence and solidarity of the Kurdish community with the perpetrators were to blame for what happened to Banaz, as was the silence of religious leaders.

Banaz's case also drew attention to the practice of forced marriage. Jasvinder Sanghera, who herself escaped a forced marriage, set up "Karma Nirvana" to support potential women victims and believes that introducing a specific criminal offence against the practice of forced marriages would be necessary for there to be a possible change of community behaviour. Whether "honour killing" is justified by religion or culture was an issue dealt with in some newspaper articles, mainly in broadsheets rather than in the tabloids, with an emphasis on whether Islam was to blame for such crimes. Jasvinder Sanghera pointed out that it was mistaken to consider that "honour killings" or forced marriages constitute part of Asian culture since they were crimes first and foremost and should be treated as such. Diana Nammi declared that although honour crimes happen among Muslim families, the Qur'an does not legitimise such practices. She stated that such violence was seen as a Muslim practice only because it mostly

happens in Muslim majority countries, and that there were no overt statements in the Qur'an permitting the killing of women. It was mainly a question of honour and status to affirm men's power and control, notions that are prevalent in patriarchal systems and are not exclusively Islamic: "There is nothing ISLAMIC about it either. Nowhere in the Quran does it say a woman can be killed for stepping out of line. NOWHERE" (**E11**). Such violence, according to women's organisations, exists among Muslim, Sikh and Hindu communities and also amongst second generation immigrants. It was true that the majority of forced marriages originated from South Asia, but could also be found in Somali, Turkish, Kurdish, Nigerian and Chinese communities; it was not a religious matter, it was rather a question of honour and custom, according to Dr. Nazia Khanum.

As to the newspapers tackling the case of Samaira Nazir, there was a debate and a focus specifically on whether forced marriage should be considered a specific criminal offence. Responses suggested that criminalising such marriages would be a step to further stigmatise Muslim communities. Fortunately, in 2012 forced marriage was made illegal by the British Government.

7. Lexical choice

7.1. The event

The news reports tackled the murders of Banaz Mahmod and of Samaira Nazir as "honour killings" which is a pejorative expression for representing the crime when compared with other wide-ranging terms such as honour crimes or honour-based violence. Yet these expressions are also criticised for including the notion of 'honour' as a distinction from other forms of violence. Figure 2 shows the frequency of the term "honour killing" - as compared to the other terms - in the 120 newspaper articles referring to Banaz Mahmod, which demonstrates the focus on the murder as a special crime based on the concept of 'honour'. This notion is frequently depicted as more important than family relations: "Mahmod showed no emotion when he was found guilty of ordering his daughter's murder, but why would he? His family's honour was more important to him than Banaz Mahmod's 20-year-old life" (**B2**).

The frequency of use of 'honour' violence
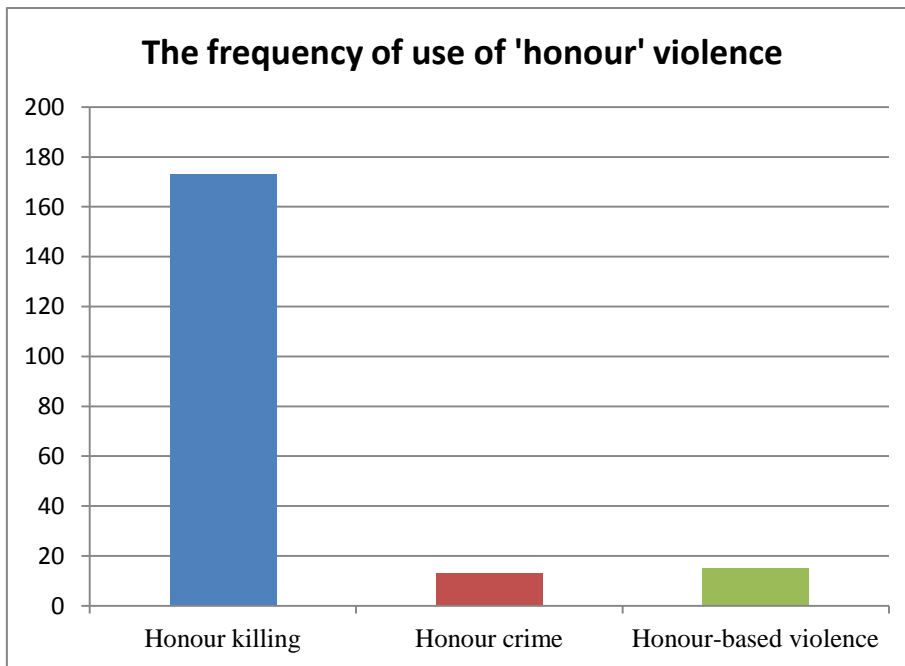
Figure 2 - The frequency of use of 'honour killing', 'honour crime' and 'honour-based violence' in the British press – Banaz's case

The notion of 'honour' is then explored as the main justification of the murder, so that the crime is depicted, to some extent, as unnatural, strange, and deviant because of family involvement. The love and protection of the family of the victim are put into question, and are compared with the 'evident' tolerance and care of the 'UK families'.

> "It was carried out by the very people who were supposed to love and protect Banaz, and because others in the family turned a blind eye" (**E5**)
> "What makes this murder even more vile was that it was ordered by family members" (**E9**)
> "The very people who should have protected her from harm plotted her killing garrotted her with a bootlace, stuffed her body in a suitcase and buried her under a freezer" (**F5**)
> "It is beyond belief that a father could put his twisted idea of 'honour' above the life of his child. I am sure many dads in the UK aren't that chuffed about the man their daughters end up with. But if they truly love their girls then they will want them to be happy" (**E5**)

On the other hand, it has been more common to accept or condone murder carried out by strangers. Other passages reinforce the idea that such incidents are unfamiliar to English people and alien to British society and culture: "They [UK fathers] would never harm their child just for falling in love" (**E5**), or "In Britain we're not programmed to believe any father is capable of placing pride above love. Nor would we expect an entire

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community to collude in covering up his evil crime" (**G5**). These examples presuppose and stress that the action of killing is committed because of the love relationship in which the victim was involved. The reasons behind the murder were then simplified by journalists, although they were better explained by independent victims' groups. The analysis of the incident was then constructed in a superficial way with honour as its major motive, ignoring any deep sociological interpretation or political analysis, particularly in the tabloids. The crime was perceived as such since its participants were Muslim and Kurdish or Pakistani and because its circumstances happened among Iraqi Kurdish or Pakistani immigrants in Britain - a Western country - more specifically among families for whom the concept of honour and status in their community depends on the reputation of women. As is demonstrated in figure 3, the frequency of the use of the term 'honour' varied across the seven newspapers and also according to the number of articles each newspaper included; the term 'honour' involved 538 repetitions in all the selected newspapers, with reference to the case of Banaz Mahmod.
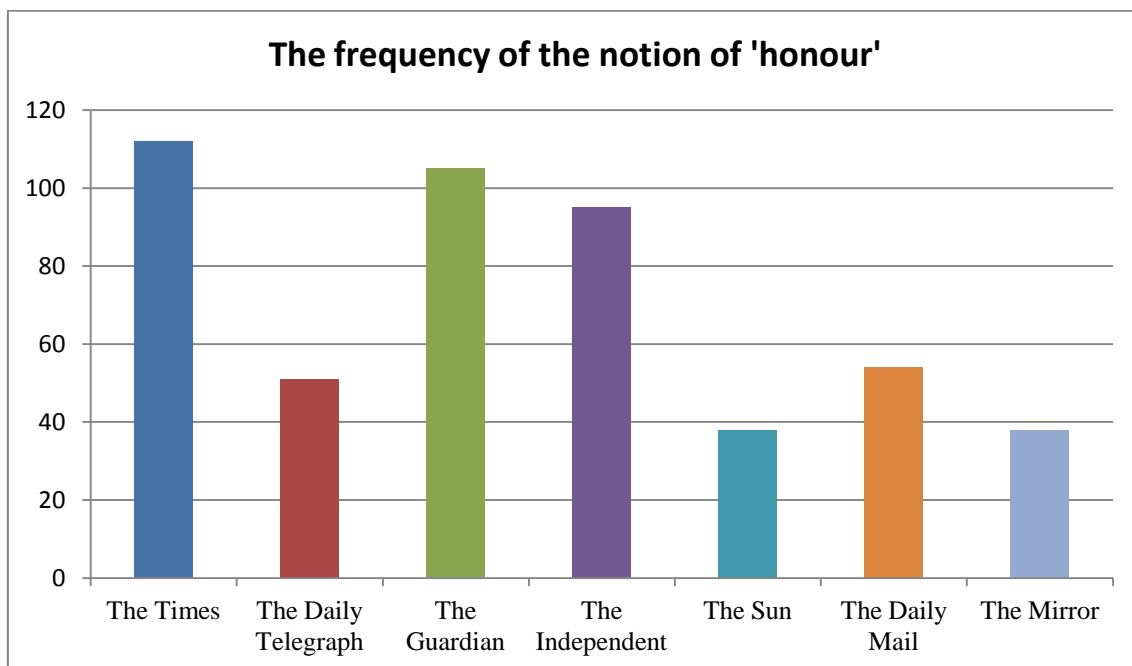
Figure 3- The frequency of the notion of 'honour' in British broadsheets and tabloids - Banaz's case

The justifications for the murder of Banaz included her involvement in a new relationship after leaving an arranged marriage and the fact that the man she fell in love with was not a 'strict Muslim' and not from 'the same group of villages', as demonstrated in the following examples:

"Strangled and buried in suitcase for falling in love with wrong man" (**E3**)

"Pretty Banaz Mahmod's 'crime' was to gently kiss her boyfriend in a London street" (**E4**)

"Her Neanderthal father decided the young man she had chosen wasn't the 'right' sort of Muslim" (**E5**)

"Banaz fell in love at 19...So her family decided she had to die" (**F5**)

"Leaving her violent husband and starting a new relationship" (**G15**)

In the case of Samaira Nazir, the causes of the murder did not differ from those of the previous victim. The reasons also revolved around falling in love with the 'wrong' man - who was perceived by the family to come from an inferior background - rejecting marriages back in Pakistan and preserving the honour of the family with the exception that Samaira was not married.

"Her family wanted her to marry with the Pakistani family's circle" (**H1**)

"To protect the honour of the family" (**H3**)

"The family regarded Mr. Mohammad as being of "low caste", and felt that he was only after the family's money" (**H4**)

"She wanted to marry a man against her family's wishes" (**I1**)

"She had argued with her Pakistani family after rejecting an arranged marriage and falling in love with an Afghan asylum-seeker" (**I2**)

"She fell in love with the "wrong type of man"" (**L2**)

"Samaira fell in love with an Afghan man from a lower caste after refusing to meet suitors who had been lined up for her in Pakistan" (**M2**)

Consequently, these apparently trivial reasons brought 'shame' and 'dishonour' to the family, which reflected the importance given to the family 'name', 'reputation' and 'honour' in order to justify the murder. However, such motives were deemed to excuse the murder culturally and sometimes religiously, ignoring the fact that it was a crime and should be treated as such. Ending the marriage union - whether arranged, forced or freely entered into - and starting a new relationship before being divorced used to be unacceptable in many cultures. However, such values are still common among patriarchal societies where tribal values and customs prevail and control the lives of their people, even if deemed to be 'old-fashioned' or 'outdated' norms in the Western world. The illustrated causes of such murders may be considered trivial in the eyes of Westerners but this does not mean that they are always viewed as reasonable by others as well.

Community practices with respect to "honour killings" were also seen as impossible in British society while they could normally happen in countries of origin, far away from British territory; "It seems incredible that some of this abuse happens on British soil to British citizens, many of whom are controlled by unbending men imposing their own laws inside their own ethnic niches" (**B2**). The news reports implicitly convey the idea that, even though Banaz's family was granted asylum successfully, her father maintained the culture and traditions of his 'rural tribal homeland' in Britain, and that their moving to another country had not changed their attitudes and way of life. This is often mentioned in connection with such examples of violence, 'the insidious brutality of the "honour"-obsessed culture' (**A24**), amongst backward people and the rejection of British values, which raises the question of their degree of integration in British society.

7.2. Actors and relationships

Banaz Mahmod was often referred to as a lover or girlfriend and other times as a teenage bride or wife. Her origins (Iraqi Kurd) and religious faith (Muslim) were mentioned in all the newspapers. She was initially described negatively by police officers as 'dramatic', 'manipulative', 'calculating', 'melodramatic',' attention-seeking' and 'lying drunk' when she went to report her father's first murder attempt. After her death and after the police mistakes had been recognised, Banaz was then depicted as 'young', 'pretty', 'non-drinking', 'hard-working', 'perfect', 'beautiful', 'innocent', 'striking', 'bright' and 'brave' for facing her family from whom she was depicted as being 'distressed', 'scared', 'frightened', 'terrified' and 'petrified'. In Banaz's case, there are two witnesses that can support the victim's claims. Her sister Bekhal and her boyfriend Rahmat were the only individuals who gave witness against the family and confirmed the violence of the father, the passive attitude of the mother and her other sisters, and the threats of the uncle and other members of the community. Bekhal, who was a 'key prosecution witness', criticised her father's indifference to integration in British society, her parents' way of life and how they were loyal to their traditions and rejected the values of the host country. She also spoke about the physical and psychological harm she endured from her father, how she escaped home at an early age after refusing a forced marriage and the consequences of this choice on her everyday life. Both the sister and Banaz's boyfriend were depicted as having the sympathy and support of the Metropolitan Police, prosecution lawyers, independent victim groups and

journalists because of their brave attitude. They were praised by the judge as brave since they gave evidence against the suspects. They were also described as being afraid of the threats of the family and community before and after Banaz's death. Banaz, her sister and boyfriend were considered victims of the intolerance of their own community and of the different cultural values they were exposed to.

Banaz's husband in the arranged marriage was described as an 'older man', 'violent', 'abusive', 'ill-educated', 'old-fashioned', but as 'the David Beckham of husbands' according to her family. The father of Banaz, a former Iraqi soldier and asylum seeker, was identified as 'strict Muslim' and 'violent'. He was described as 'angry', 'furious' and 'enraged' because of his daughter's behaviour. His voice was reflected through Banaz's description of his first murder attempt, and also via Bekhal's evidence against his mistreatment and violence. At the same time he was described by his brother, Ari Mahmod, and the rest of the community as a weak person unable to either execute his daughter Banaz or bring back his other daughter Bekhal. This obviously contributed to his loss of status in the community. It is believed that great pressure was put upon the father to get rid of his daughter; he was threatened and abused by members of the community, something which was not emphasised in the newspaper reports. The uncle, who was the head of the family, was represented as 'wealthy, 'respected', 'influential', and the elder of the Kurdish community, and therefore as having a superiority over the family members including his older brother Mahmod Mahmod. There was further information about the victim's uncle which was irrelevant to the crime, and only reinforced stereotypes about immigrants as being involved in criminal activities. The three other suspects were not named as 'violent' though they personally committed the murder. They were not much explored in the news apart from Hama Mohammad since they were not believed to be close family but rather involved as 'hitmen', 'thugs' or 'gang' hired to do the job of killing Banaz. No further description and investigation were revealed about them apart from the efforts made to bring them to justice and the details given by one of them boasting on how he carried out the murder. These perpetrators were generally identified as 'heroes' in the eyes of their family members and the community as a whole.

The consent of family members and the silence of the community over the murder are other key elements that could be joined to the evidence of the perpetrators of the crime. The family was referred to as being 'Kurdish', 'Muslim' and 'strictly

traditional'; it was also identified as 'assassins' and 'killers'. The community was described as 'small, self-contained and tight knit', 'close-knit' because of the solidarity and loyalty of its members in supporting each other by keeping silent. It is portrayed as supporting 'honour crimes', using such incidents as an example to threaten other women in the community, remaining in agreement with the perpetrators' decisions and against the attitudes, rules and values of the British authorities. However, the voices of those who ordered and carried out the murder were only reflected through other perspectives such as those of the victim herself, her sister and her boyfriend. This can be explained either by the fact that their perspectives were not taken into consideration by the British authorities and therefore disregarded by editors and journalists, or simply because of the perpetrators' choice to keep silent in such cases. The father and uncle were much criticised for being emotionless and showing no remorse for their crime. The sense that they were considered heroes among their own people, and generally did not 'feel' or 'show' remorse for their crime was widespread throughout the newspaper articles; "Her killers have been locked up for a very long time, but they show no shame, no remorse and cling to their beliefs that a daughter is a possession to be used and abused as they see fit" **(E9)**.

At the same time, no description of the police officers involved in the case was provided unlike the case of the other participants in the incident. Although the Metropolitan Police made mistakes in dealing with the case, they were not as severely judged as the victim's family, the community or its culture. They were represented as not taking Banaz' claims seriously, thinking she was making the story up to get her boyfriend's attention and that is why they charged her with criminal damage for breaking a window. They approached her family after Banaz's complaints, something which is forbidden by police guidelines. They failed to protect the victim, but they did not face the threat of disciplinary action because they erased important notes about Banaz's statements, and in the end those responsible escaped punishment because of a lack of evidence.

7.3. 'Radical' lexicon or freedom of speech?

From all the newspaper articles, the tabloids were the papers that most often used negative terms to describe the event and its participants as well as contrasting the culture, habits and values of immigrant minorities to those of British majority society.

The following examples reveal negative feelings towards the 'other' and demonstrate the exaggeration revealed in some news reports given the implied meanings and presuppositions they contain:

> "Only **monsters** deliberately harm their kids" (**E5**)
> "The Government ran away from banning arranged or forced marriages for fear of upsetting these **backward-thinking madmen**" (**E6**)
> "**Savages** without honour" (**G5**)
> "When we talk about an integrated Britain, it's all just tosh and hot air. We're years away from that. And anyway, who wants to be integrated with a **bunch of people** who think it's acceptable to cut a woman into little pieces just because she kisses a Western man or because she wears makeup?" (**G9**)
> "The Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims and Kurds who live here and who believe that honour killings are justified should be **rounded up** and **thrown out**, [...] as should those who know when a killing is about to happen and do nothing" (**G9**)
> "When they introduce compulsory English classes for immigrants, they should start by explaining that in modern English, 'honour' and 'killing' do not belong in the same sentence. No honour is restored when a father **butchers** his daughter. And in our statute books, following your heart is not a crime" (**F8**)
> "In Kurdistan so-called "honour killings" take place in the streets. Here **savagery** goes on behind closed doors and remains unreported, the bruises too easily concealed beneath the all-encompassing burkha and the truth covered up by a Kurdish community **locked in a medieval culture of repression and bullying**" (**G5**)
> "It's time the government accepted that with some communities, integration is never going to happen because, quite simply, they don't want it. Which is why **the British people are fed up having to live among those who hate us**" (**G9**)
> "We cannot allow people from different countries to bring **the worst of their cultures** here – especially the kind that allows women to be murdered for something as trivial as wearing make-up" (**G9**)

While it may be acceptable in some circumstances to refer to criminals as 'savages', 'monsters' or 'madmen', what is ideologically charged here is the generalisation and characterisation of them as 'backward' people, closed in a 'medieval culture of repression and bullying' and manifesting 'the worst of their cultures'. This presupposes that "honour killings" are specific to some cultures, mainly those which are backward and medieval in nature, whose people are unwilling to integrate into the majority society, and whose women are oppressed and even killed for trivial reasons. Immigrants are therefore urged either to abandon their customs and follow the rules and values of the host country or to leave and return to their country of origin.

8. Discursive strategies

The general picture drawn from the newspapers about Banaz's case provides irrelevant detail and places much guilt and responsibility upon the culture and traditions of the victim, whilst at the same time demonstrating ambiguity and justifying the mistakes of the British authorities. The news reports also represent the members of the family as opposed to the behaviour of the victim, placing the immigrant community in opposition to the indigenous citizens of British society and depicting traditional or religious norms as in conflict with the British values. It was demonstrated above that the crime was validated in terms of cultural motives by showing that men's honour is embodied in the attitudes and actions of its females' relatives. As to whether religious norms are to blame, there are barely explicit thoughts relating the crime of "honour killing" to the religion of Islam, but there are implicit associations of violence with religion. The only perspective in the texts that condemns cultural and religious rationalization and attempts to briefly explain sociological insights on the crimes is the voice of the Non-Governmental Women's Organisations, as well as some academics generally quoted in quality papers.

8.1. "Overcompleteness" about minorities versus vagueness about authorities

A sequential description of the crime is presented with a focus on how Banaz survived the first murder attempt and how she was finally murdered and buried. Other details revealed the threats directed to the victim, her boyfriend or her sister from the part of male relatives such as her father and her uncle - "If I was your father you would have been turned to ashes by now" **(A4)** - and her cousin - "We're going to kill you and Banaz because we're Muslim and Kurdish. We're not like the English where you can be boyfriend and girlfriend" **(C4)**, a threat which was addressed to the boyfriend of Banaz and which was reported in almost all the newspapers. The contesting voice of the sister and boyfriend against the family and the rest of the community is abundantly present in the newspapers, particularly the sister's experience while living in the family home, as are details of how her parents failed to adapt to British life. An emphasis was also put on the details of where and how the body of the victim was found, and on the two hours of torture Banaz was subjected to before her death:

> "Three months later, her naked-body was found crammed into a suitcase and dumped on a 6ft makeshift grave below a pile of bin bags, a rusting fridge and a

discarded television in a back garden in Birmingham. The bootlace that was used to strangle her was still tied around her neck" (**A7**, **E4**)

"She was garrotted for five minutes – but took more than half an hour to die" (**E7**)

"I was kicking and stamping on her neck to get her soul out" (**C7**, **E7**, **F12**, **G7**)

"He described how he stood with one foot on her back as another man prepared the ligature that would kill her, how he would "shut her up quickly" and how she had vomited during the ordeal" (**C7**)

"The wire was thick and the soul would not just leave like that. We could not remove it. All in all it took five minutes (to strangle) her. 'I was kicking and stamping on her neck to get the soul out. I saw her stark naked, without pants or underwear" (**F12**, **G7**)

In the case of Samaira Nazir, the newspapers focused on the details of the murder by describing how the victim was murdered, with which instruments, how often stabbed and how the police found two of the victim's nieces screaming and spattered with blood:

"They found her dead, slumped in the hallway, surrounded by blood. A silk scarf had been tied tightly around her neck" (**H1**)

"They used four knives to cut Samaira Nazir's throat and repeatedly stab her after she fell in love with an asylum-seeker from what they saw as an unsuitable caste" (**H3**)

"Her throat was cut in three separate wounds" (**H3**, **H4**)

"Nazir's daughters, aged 2 and 4, were screaming and were spattered with blood. Police fear that they were ordered to watch as a warning to them" (**H3**)

"When police arrived they found a trail of blood from the front of the house to the back door and then to the hallway where Miss Nazir's body was slumped in a pool of blood" (**H3**)

"She was strangled with a silk scarf, stabbed 18 times and had her throat cut" (**I2**)

"During a bloody struggle, her father, brother and cousin used four knives to cut the young woman's throat and stab her 18 times" (**M2**)

"It is believed Samaira's nieces, aged two and four, were forced to witness the killing as a warning of what they could expect if they similarly dared to break with tradition. The little girls were found screaming and splattered with blood" (**M2**)

"A silk scarf was held tight around her neck, to stop her moving and one of the wounds included a six-inch gash across her throat" (**M3**)

The details given in the newspaper texts about the victim's torture and rape before the murder in the case of Banaz, and about the way in which the second victim,

Samaira, was murdered and how her little nieces were watching the crime are irrelevant to the reader since they demean the dignity of the victim and demonise the perpetrators by reinforcing the idea of violence and cruelty among the communities they belong to. While irrelevant details are given about the victim, her family and community in Banaz's case, vagueness abounds on the other hand concerning the mistakes made by the police in failing to save the victim's life after her frequent calls for help. There is also further ambiguity about the disciplinary process against the officers concerned, which was eventually dropped because of insufficient evidence. This ambiguity is achieved through syntactic structures such as nominalization or the absence of a responsible agent for the failure to protect the victim, as shown in the following examples. However, just as there are instances that conceal the responsible agency of the authorities, there are other examples which demonstrate their role as active agents responsible for their actions.

> "A lot has changed, despite the tragic **failure** to keep Banaz alive" (**A11**)
> "Dedicated teams of senior prosecutors are to be deployed in the UK's honour killing hotspots in the wake of the **failings** exposed this week by the case of a young Kurdish woman murdered by her family" (**C6**)
> "The case highlighted the Met's **failures** to implement a 2003 strategy" (**C12**)
> "Before the murder, the 20-year-old had given police a list of three men she believed would kill her, but **no action was taken**" (**B1**)
> "Her account was **dismissed as fantasy** and her allegations **were never investigated**" (**B1**)
> "Her account was **dismissed as fantasy**" (**E3**)
> "But her pleas **were ignored**" (**G3**)

The Metropolitan Police's failure to protect Banaz's life is not discussed as a separate issue in the tabloids unlike the broadsheets where one finds more rigour in dealing with the issue. This imprecision about representing the role of the British authorities - in terms of their duties and attitudes - is sometimes demonstrated by blaming the victim and her culture and, at other times, by excusing police failure. The syntactic structures also reveal the ambiguity of the responsible agent behind this failure to protect the victim in some cases, but this turned out not to be a major factor behind the vagueness that surrounds the discussions of the actions of the British authorities.

8.2. Blaming culture and victim versus the excuse of police failure

The victim, her family, the community and a mixture of culture, religion and custom are constantly blamed for the crime that has been committed. While it is acceptable to consider the perpetrators and their accomplices as guilty, it seems inappropriate to reverse the situation and blame the victim for what happened to her. The nature of the relationships and the values which are normally shared amongst family members are thereby implicitly criticised. The fact that Banaz refused the refuge offered by the police and returned home to stay with her family because of her faith in her mother's protection were amongst the justifications given by the police to show that saving victims can be problematic unless they renounce ties with their families, as demonstrated in the following examples:

> "But if we are looking at individuals we have to ask whether what they did was reasonable at the time. Unless people are willing to give up their family and community connections it's really difficult to provide them with the full level of protection we would like to give them" (**A6**)
> "Some women did not want to "criminalise" their families and so played down the threat they faced" (**A10**, **A13**)
> The Metropolitan Police "revealed that it would consider new measures to help women such as Miss Mahmod who refuse to leave their family and move to a safe house" (**A10**)
> "The police offered Banaz a personal alarm, then a place in a refuge, but she turned them down, still hoping that her mother might be able to save her" (**B2**)

At the same time there are examples that mitigate the police's failure to protect the victim. The dominant excuses ranged between the abnormality of the incidence of such crimes on British territory, police ignorance of the crime of "honour killing", their misapprehension and misinterpretation of Asian culture, their 'fear' to be 'accused' of racism and therefore a preference for "political correctness". These were all justifications to diminish the impact of police failure in the case of Banaz. The following instances illustrate this point:

> "The revelation that a number of police officers had failed to take seriously Miss Mahmod's cries for help points to a fundamental misunderstanding of the practice of honour killing and alludes to a wider ignorance of Asian culture in general" (**A13**)
> "'Police has been unaware and ignorant of crimes that were going on' and admitted that honour killing was not on the police radar" (**A13**)

"Local authorities are not acting because of "political correctness" and a fear of being accused of racism" (**B6**)

"The police didn't take her seriously and although it is easy to blame them for not protecting her, you can almost understand why they did not believe her. This is, after all, Britain in 2007, not some throwback to the Stone Age. Things like this just aren't supposed to happen here" (**E5**)

"Not wanting to appear culturally insensitive or – worse – racist, the police tended not to realise how much danger some of these women were in" (**D5**)

"'Clearly the police were not responsible for her murder. There were people determined to punish and kill her'" (**F6**)

"Non-Asian officials and police officers are scared of acting against families who abuse their relatives for fear of being branded as racist" (**F15**)

In addition to such implicit assumptions, the irrelevance of some details and the vagueness of others, blaming the victim and her community and excusing the British authorities' failures, comparing and contrasting the norms and values of the British society to those of the Kurdish community in particular and of Muslim immigrants in general is another strategy that divided the two different worlds that shared the same territory.

8.3. Liberal values versus Traditional culture

The issue of contrasting the two cultures was primarily revealed through the migrant father-daughter relationship as far as Banaz, her sister and her father were concerned. The conflict first emerged when his daughters wore 'western clothes' instead of the 'veil'. This behaviour revealed abuse and violence by her father when he 'accused' his daughters of being 'too westernised', which presupposed that being a Westerner was equivalent to a crime, at least in cultural terms: "Bekhal, who remains in hiding after her sister's death, says she was beaten, called a whore and accused of being too westernised by her family" (**E4**). More examples from the press described this father-daughter relationship; some of these examples implied that more violence emerged when women in such communities follow "Western examples" - whatever represented the life styles and values of British people. In other words, women from certain tribes, not necessarily just Muslims, when they want to marry outside the family circle - quite apart from just having a Western boyfriend - were faced by a blanket refusal and if they insisted on maintaining the relationship, they would probably have been killed to restore the honour

of the family. The examples below demonstrate that violence can be invoked for very trivial reasons:

> "When Bekhal, an older sister, wore Western dress her father called her a whore, beat her and demanded that she wears the veil" (**A7**)
> "The more westernised his daughters tried to become, the more he tried to control them, often resorting to verbal abuse and violence" (**F10**)
> "Mahmod, who had worked for the department of Education, of Mitcham, South London, branded his daughters 'whores' for wearing make-up and beat them for removing their head scarves" (**G3**)

Besides, such comparisons and divisions in attitudes were highlighted by depicting how the victim's family had come from Iraq, arriving in Britain with traditional values, and how the family had preserved such customs that have "no place" in a modern and liberal Britain. Comment also highlighted the harsh consequences the female relatives might face if they dared break the prescribed rules or adopt Western values.

> "While her father, who had served in the Iraqi Army, sought the safety of the West, he was determined to preserve the traditions of his Mirawaldy culture" (**A7**)
> "A cultural tradition the Mahmods had brought with them from their rural tribal homeland in the Sulaymaniyah district of Kurdistan" (**A17**)
> "The trial exposed the insidious brutality of the "honour"-obsessed culture that has dominated sections of the Iraqi Kurdish community in South London" (**A24**)
> "But her dad was determined to maintain his strict Muslim traditions" (**E4**)
> "But Banaz's move to a Western country changed nothing about the life she was made to lead" (**F5**)
> "They arrived in Britain with rural tribal traditions that the men of the family were determined to maintain" (**A24**)
> "She was kept away from Western influences, entered an arranged marriage at the age of 16 with a member of her clan and was expected to fulfil the role of subservient wife and mother" (**F5**)

What is expected and permitted to happen in countries such as Iraq or Pakistan is not allowed to happen in British territories. Such countries are considered to permit such violence and to oppress women through the veil, forced marriage or "honour killing". Immigrants from such communities, with their culture, customs, laws, and religion, were depicted as supporting 'honour' violence when settling in a Western country, which raised questions about their integration there: "Since Mahmod brought

his family here 10 years ago, after successfully seeking political asylum from Iraq, his integration into British society and appreciation of British values seems to have been slight" (**B2**).

Love and happiness were portrayed as values of British society which were also considered to be behind the violence committed in the Kurdish community here: "In their [father and uncle] warped world it is quite acceptable for a daughter to be raped and strangled, but not to find love and happiness with a man of her choice" (**E9**). Indeed, through the newspaper articles, the immigrant's traditional culture, 'strict Islamic education', 'medieval culture', 'savagery', 'oppression' and 'barbarism' were contrasted and compared with the Westernised world, in particular '21st century', 'modern', 'civilised' and 'liberal' Britain. Hence, contrasting the norms and values of British society to those of the Kurdish community in particular and of Muslim immigrants in general was another strategy that stressed the differences and deepened the gap between the minority and the majority host society in Britain. Specifically, it was presupposed that immigrant religion and customs were responsible for the repression of women and for the violence perpetrated against them, so that their ideas and attitudes had no place in a Western context, as demonstrated below:

> "Bekhal has come from a strict Islamic upbringing but she is clearly now a thoroughly modern young London woman. The transition, however, has been rough and dangerous" (**A11**)
> "Hundreds more women are taken abroad where they are forced into marriage or suffer serious harm when their westernised world view of life, sex and relationships placed them in conflict with their traditional male-lead communities" (**D13**)
> "It would be good if Bekhal too could acknowledge that she is living in 21st Century Britain. She should drop her own weapon of mass oppression, the veil, and face down those men and their ridiculous, dangerous views that have no place in modern Britain" (**E6**)
> "When is this country going to stop hiding behind the veil of political correctness and deal with the barbarism of certain cultures that have no place in a civilised society?" (**G9**)
> "They [killers] show no shame, no remorse and cling to their beliefs that a daughter is a possession to be used and abused as they see fit" (**E9**)

All these themes were reinforced through the use of pronouns that stressed the difference between 'Us' and 'Them' as demonstrated in the following examples:

"**We**'re fed up of people who have no intention of ever integrating and who only want to replicate here the barbarism that flourishes in **their** own country. These people don't deserve to be here or to avail themselves of **our** liberal society" (**G9**)

"It's time they were made aware **we** have teeth, the kind of teeth that will rip **their** barbaric culture to shreds if it dares to threaten **ours**" (**G9**)

8.4. Is Islam to blame?

Newspaper articles in both broadsheets and tabloids reveal, either implicit or explicit, a probable connection between violence and religion. Some examples, in particular, presume that the practice of "honour killing" is rife within Islamic extremism, that it is associated with Muslim conservatism and religious fundamentalism, that it is justified and encouraged by Islam, that the concept of 'honour' is a religious value, that some aspects of Islam are 'unjust' and 'oppressive' and that it is basically a question of men's superiority and authority over women. These notions are illustrated below:

"Across Europe and increasingly, it seems, in Britain, as Muslim become more conservative and religious fundamentalism strengthens its grip, growing numbers of women are being killed or mutilated in the name of family honour" (**A11**)

"The problem was particularly acute in areas where Islamic extremist groups were active" (**B6**)

"As Bekhal well knew, Kurdish society was patriarchal and based on the repression of women. The rise of Islam had only made matters worse nobody was in any doubts that a stricter Islamic faith had contributed to an increase in the incidence of honour killing" (**A17**)

"In societies dominated by patriarchal and religious values, a woman's honour can be regarded as a family commodity" (**B2**)

"Secular law protects people's right to practise their religion, but it also protects them from aspects of their faith to which are unjust and oppressive" (**D7**)

"When are we going to stop pretending that there is anything complex about Muslim and Asian male violence against women? [...] There is no mystery here. It's about certain men battling to keep a medieval level of control over women in a free society" (**F8**)

Though such crimes are also seen as the result of a clash of cultures and a conflict between different values surviving in a climate of freedom and modernity, it is implied that religious customs are the cause of the violence committed against women:

"The plight of Asian women caught between traditional religious customs and modern Western values" (**A13**)

"She fled the horrors of Saddam's Iraq only to die at the hands of her strict Muslim father in Britain" (**E4**)

"Banaz and her sisters grew up in Mitcham in Surrey, but they might as well have been trapped in Islamabad, Kabul or indeed any strict Islamic society. The girls were beaten if they dared to go to school without wearing the hijab" (**F8**)

It is the case that the crime is commonly presented as related to and justified by religion: "Honour killing victims are targeted in certain cultures or religions because they are seen to have shamed their family" (**F1**). This statement claimed that such violence happened within specific cultures or religions and was validated by religious values - though not always specified or named - and not considered a crime that might require a social explanation, for example. In particular, it was associated with Muslims and Islam since the incident happened within families sharing traditional religious values amongst the Muslim communities settled in Britain, and also because "honour killing" was associated with the status of women in Islam and with the repression they were said to face in the name of religion and customs. It was frequently assumed that Islamic teachings supported women's oppression and encouraged violent behaviour or acts such as beating and forcing women to wear the veil or to marry against their will.

However, there were also explicit declarations in the press denying any relationship between "honour killings" and religion, particularly any association with Islam or the teachings of the Quran. Here it was argued that such violence was basically about patriarchal cultures where male control over women was the norm. The following examples point out that Islam was not responsible for the practice of "honour killing" - though the second example does reflect some exaggeration and expresses stereotypical ideas about women:

"Most of the families who are involved in 'honour' crimes are Muslim but there is nowhere in the Qur'an where it condones 'honour' killing", She says. "The majority of Muslims would consider 'honour' crimes to be wrong, but there are fundamentalists, in a very patriarchal culture, who believe they are right" (**B5**)

"Because the truth is honour killings have nothing to do with religion and everything to do with male chauvinism and a culture where man is king and where women are dominated to the extent they exist only to cook and breed" (**G9**)

"Mainstream Islamic thought totally condemns the concept of honour killings. They mostly occur when women are being forced to marry, but Islam believes marriage should be based on willing consent and force should play no role whatsoever" (**I2**)

9. Sources and quotations

The news sources reported here ranged from major news sources, alongside comments from minority representatives and ordinary people. The major sources concerned with the case studies were the representatives of the law, such as the prosecutor, the judge and the lead counsel on honour-based violence for the Crown Prosecution Service, as well as the Metropolitan Police (commander, detective chief inspector, detective inspector, police constable). They all refer to the dominant power exercised by concepts of honour and shame, family reputation and community respect as being more important than the happiness of the victim. Typical of these views was the statement of the judge, cited in the first example, which was reported in almost all the newspaper articles, and followed by the declaration made by the prosecutor:

> "This was a barbaric and callous crime. You [father & uncle] are both hard and unswerving men for whom the respect of the community is more important than the happiness of your own flesh and blood, and for whom killing in the name of honour is above understanding and tolerance" (**C8**)
> "The Kurdish community in South London is tight-knit. In some sections of the community the family name subjugates all else. In their eyes, should the family be shamed, retribution should follow. If the family member is a woman, who in any view is not treated as equal, the retribution often encompasses the ultimate penalty death" (**F4**)

These were the official conclusions about the crime. The British authorities represented the event as an 'honour killing' that took place amongst immigrant communities and identified the causes of the murder as cultural, an interpretation that was criticised by the leaders of independent victims' groups. These Non-Governmental Women's Organisations (The Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO), Southall Black Sisters (SBS) and Karma Nirvana are the only voices that represented minorities and sought to explain the sociological perspective of the context of the crime. They mainly represented women at risk and not the community as a whole. They supported victims and survivors of forced marriages and honour-based violence, criticised police work by asking the authorities to help to punish perpetrators and

achieve justice for victims. They raised awareness that this was not a cultural issue to be treated with sensitivity in multicultural British society. The following declarations are examples of the women's organisations points of view. The first example is from Jasvinder Sanghera from Karma Nirvana and the second is by Diana Nammi from IKWRO:

> "We often meet victims whose perception of the threat they face is not believed by the police. They are told to go away and come back with evidence. This has to change" (**A25**)
>
> "The majority of Muslims would consider 'honour' crimes to be wrong, but there are fundamentalists, in a very patriarchal culture, who believe they are right. We need to challenge 'honour' killings and violence in the community, challenge that mindset and raise awareness that it is unacceptable. The British government has a duty to do that, and the police have to intervene. They may be worried that they will be seen as racist if they interfere in another culture, but, on the contrary, I believe it's racist if they do nothing. It doesn't matter if this is happening in a Kurdish community or a white British community – it is still a crime" (**C5**)

As far as ordinary people were concerned, the sister and boyfriend of the victim were the ones who were generally quoted in newspaper articles. The sister described the horrors she endured with her father and the threats she received from her uncle. This example revealed her attitude towards her family: "There's a lot of evil people out there. They might be your own blood, they might be a stranger to you, but they are evil. They come over here, thinking they can still carry on the same life and make people carry on how they want them to live life" (**F5**). The boyfriend on the other hand was quoted describing the threats he received from the family and the men hired to carry out the murder. Both of them criticised the family's failure to adapt to British life, and were depicted as in disagreement with the family and the community but in harmony with British values. The uncle, the father and the cousin are quoted from the point of view of the victim, her sister or her boyfriend: "If I was your father, I would have done it by now. I would have killed you. You would have been turned into ashes by now" (**F6**); this was the uncle's threat to Bekhal. Neither the father nor uncle had a direct voice in the news reports. The women of the family could be divided between the victim and her sister on the one hand and the mother and the other sisters on the other hand. The victim and her sister who escaped home were supported by the British authorities and women's organisations; they were also praised for their courage in facing their family and

fighting for their freedom. The mother made no appearance in the texts, except when she warned her daughter and her boyfriend of the murder, and when she was criticised for not protecting her own daughter. The mother was depicted as having no opinion, no weight and no authority.

After using the AntConc[69] concordance program to verify which group was most frequently cited in newspaper articles, the results - as demonstrated in figure 4 - confirm that the British authorities were mainly mentioned for judging the event when compared to minority representatives. The three women's non-governmental organisations were not referred to as much as the judge, the prosecutor and the Metropolitan Police. The British authorities were, therefore, the sources which were mainly relied on and trusted when identifying the reasons, circumstances and consequences of the crime that had been committed. When comparing the frequency of citation between the British authorities and ordinary people - in this case restricted to two sources only, the voices of both the sister and the boyfriend of the victim - these witnesses were slightly more frequently mentioned as reliable sources than were the declarations of the British authorities and, further, this frequency differed between the quality and the tabloid newspapers.
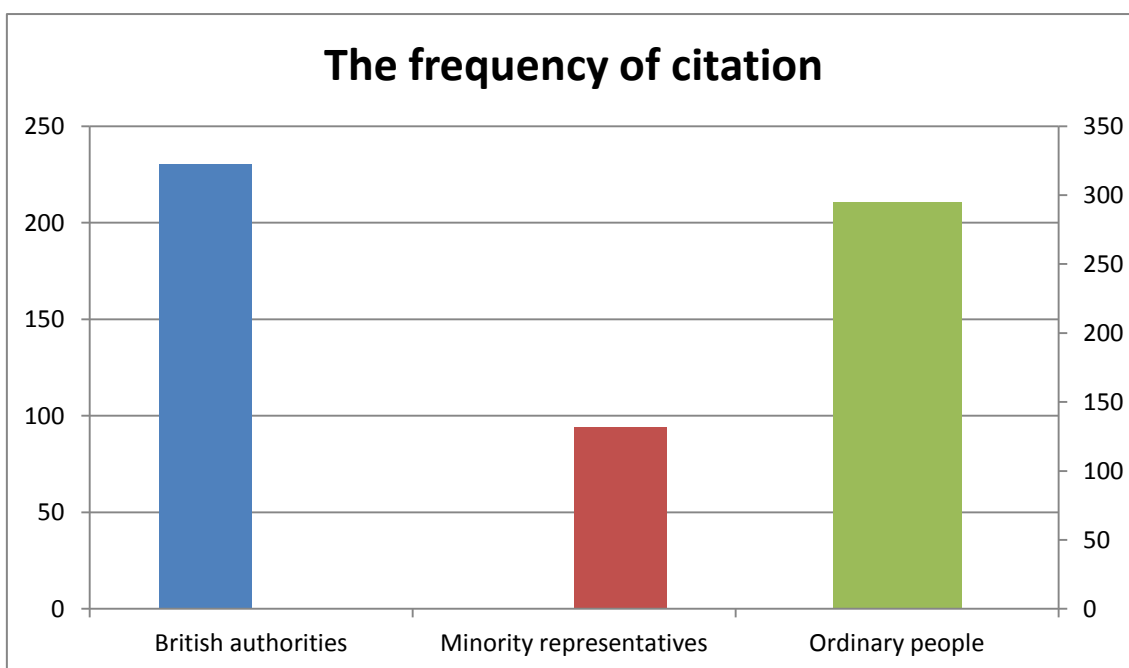

Figure 4 - Representation of the frequency of citation in newspapers

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[69] AntConc is a freeware corpus analysis program developed by Prof. Laurence Anthony.

Figure 5 compares the frequency of source citations between broadsheets and tabloids. The statements of the authorities are more often mentioned and quoted in the broadsheets than in the tabloids, contrary to quotes from ordinary people, which were more abundant in the tabloids. While minority representatives, such as independent women's groups, are rarely cited in news reports, they are referred to even less in the tabloids, as is shown in Figure 5. The objective behind comparing which group is most mentioned or quoted in the newspapers is not concerned about the perspective of the sources about the event, whether positive or negative. The aim is primarily to demonstrate which groups' ideology is more present in the text and hence more emphasised in the exploration of other discursive strategies, as demonstrated in examples cited above.
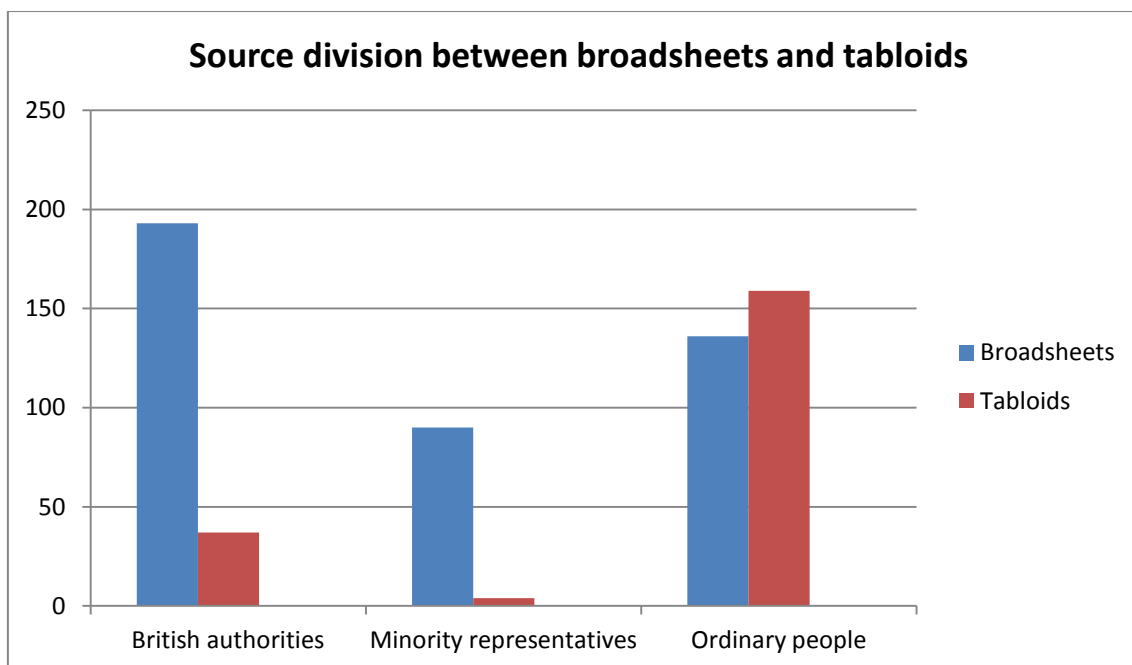
Figure 5 - Representation of the division of sources between broadsheets and tabloids

Almost the same scenario was reproduced in the case of Samaira Nazir. The British authorities - the Crown Prosecution Service, Queen's Counsel, judge and police witnesses - were the major resources for describing the scene, the reasons and outcomes of the crime. As to minority representatives, only Diana Nammi from IKWRO and the leader of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain were quoted once in the Daily Telegraph. Ordinary people involved the victim's own words before her death as well as the point of view of both the victim's brother who justified the murder that was

committed and her boyfriend who lamented the loss of Samaira and revealed the threats he received from her father and brother.

10. Discussion

The incident of "honour killing", as journalists and the media in general prefer to name it, is presented as a strange and abnormal crime which is unfamiliar to British society, and as a different form of violence that takes place among immigrants of religious and traditional cultures. What distinguishes the crime is the involvement of family members and the importance of women's behaviour in some traditional cultures, as well as the exploration of the concept of honour as the major reason behind the event. Leaving an arranged marriage or simply getting into a relationship with a person not belonging to the same family or tribe are the motives that bring dishonour and consequently punishment to female relatives. Such reasons are considered too insignificant and bizarre to justify such a crime in the eyes of British society where such practices are deemed offensive and intolerable. As a result, it is suggested that, amongst Muslim immigrants, marriages are either arranged or forced rather than based on love and happiness. The question of how Muslim immigrants remain faithful to their culture and customs, particularly in a Western society, and how they are associated with violence, backwardness, gender inequality, repression of women and the rejection of British values are issues that are frequently raised in newspapers, as is demonstrated through the lexical choice, for example. As to the discursive strategies that are used in the reports, they reveal that much blame is put on the culture, family and community of the victim, and that British authorities are excused for mistakes they may have committed because of lack of knowledge. This essentially places Muslim immigrants in opposition to indigenous British people and consequently contrasts Muslim cultures and traditions against those of British society.

One of the objectives of this study was to observe how the participants in the event were represented, and to explore the choices of depicting the 'other' and the outcome of such portrayals on minority groups. On the one hand, the victim and her sister were represented as the 'other', as subordinated, oppressed and threatened by their family's patriarchal norms. On the other hand, they are portrayed as the 'brave' kind of women who appreciate the freedom, independence and values of modern British culture, while the other sisters and the mother are depicted as threatened and obedient

females who are unable to witness against the male heads of the family. Immigrant women are generally depicted as being subjected to harsh forms of violence through male oppression. However, immigrant male violence is depicted as endorsed by their origin and culture. They are represented as living under medieval norms, coming from a distant culture, as being hostile to British values and unable to integrate in their host country. Yet the sister and the boyfriend of the victim separated themselves from the decisions and actions of the father, uncle, cousin and community. They were portrayed as rejecting the norms of their culture and being in harmony with British life styles. The family and community are characterized as all opposed to the behaviour of Banaz and hence to the norms of the majority host society.

The analysis also seeks to show if there were any associations between the event of the murder and Islam; yet just as there are ways of relating "honour killing" to religious values, other examples reject Islam as the cause of such crimes. Cultural differences are articulated in relation to ethnicity, nationality, origin, religion and gender. The use of the Muslim community or immigrant communities implies a homogenous image and reinforces loyalty and solidarity between its members. Notions of dominance and inequality are therefore demonstrated through the representation of victims as "honour killings" - the prevailing theme in British news reports. This contributes to stress the differences between the minority and the majority populations. Particular emphasis is thereby given to a cultural conflict between the life of the victim, on the one hand, and the community or British society on the other. The crime is not considered as a social problem but as the problem of "outsiders", as something unacceptable and unnatural in modern, liberal and Western Britain. The concept of 'honour' is particularly exploited as the key reason making sense of the murder. The phenomenon is thus presented as unlike other forms of violence against women and as an extreme instance of the difference between Muslim communities and British society.

Implicitly or explicitly, killing in the name of honour, in particular, is seen as excused by Islam as if religion urges the performance of such practices with the aim of controlling the behaviour of women in the family. On the whole, the general tone adopted by the press suggests that religion or religious tradition is commonly used to legitimise any violence or negative attitude or action carried out by Muslims. However, as mentioned earlier, sociological interpretations are barely represented in the news reports as a means of raising awareness among audiences about such a social problem.

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Exploring the phenomenon in relation to tribal custom is not highlighted in the texts. As mentioned in the second chapter, such crimes mainly happen amongst tribes or communities where the individual does not exist in isolation but is an integral part of the clan and has to follow the norms of the group. Women in such communities are controlled by members of their families as well as by the males of the tribe. Such patriarchal values and tribal mentalities consider women as their property and therefore give much importance to the concept of honour and to the opinions of others about their women's conduct. Thus, newspapers failed to interpret the event from a sociological perspective by looking at gender issues or tribal cultures to explain the phenomenon rather than limit its representation to the notion of honour.

The identification of the events, relationships and strategies used in the texts of the news reports demonstrates that there appears to be a division, a social distance and a cultural conflict between the majority society and immigrant communities. The image suggests that family members and the community stand in opposition to British norms. In this way, the press has established a dichotomous attitude between what is British and what identifies a Kurdish/Turkish, Muslim - the traditional 'other'. The British values are depicted as supporting gender equality and as opposed to violence against women, while immigrant communities are described as supporting women's inferiority as well as legitimating violence against them. Implicitly, therefore, the only prescribed way towards the integration of immigrants who are otherwise represented as blameworthy for failing to accept assimilation is for them to adopt the values of British culture and to abandon their existing group identity. Since immigrants are represented as anxious to preserve their religion and customs, and since their culture has been used by the news reports to excuse 'honour' violence, few voices in the texts contest the cultural and religious justification given for the crime, urging, furthermore, that it should be characterized as violence against women in general.

Finally, comparing 'our' values to 'their' culture and traditions is usually achieved through the language and discourse of newspapers. Such a comparison considers British values as the norm and as the culture that should be adopted in a Western context. It judges immigrants, mainly the Muslims among them, as a minority that exhibit backward and "medieval" attitudes expressed through religious custom. Yet these unequal press representations between majority and minority groups, and the dominant and superior emphasis of one culture over another may contribute to the

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reproduction and reinforcement of prejudice or stereotypes towards the marginal group. The more this 'other' is depicted in a negative way and is urged to integrate into the rest of society or to adopt the British model, the more the group sticks together and its members cooperate with each other as a collective whole opposed to British values. This, in turn, frequently creates conflict between the British majority and the Muslim minority on the grounds that Muslims remain loyal to their culture and customs, reject assimilation and perceive the British way of life and its norms as a threat to their values and traditions. At the same time, British society assumes that ethnic minorities should respect the culture and values of the host country and also regards the habits, practices and customs of Muslim communities as a menace to British life styles.

Conclusion

The conflict between the Orient and the Occident is old and intricate. Liberty, modernity, equality, democracy, human rights and freedom of speech are differently perceived, interpreted and exploited across societies and cultures in both camps. Gender, religion and politics are controversial issues in all societies but are still considered taboos - not questioned or discussed publicly - in patriarchal and traditional cultures. It is claimed that Muslims are obsessed with preserving their religion, customs and traditions, which is why actions undertaken by these groups are frequently justified by reference to religious values instead of to any other motivation. Westerners are less preoccupied with religious norms and usually describe themselves, as a result, as modern, liberal and civilised. Muslim states are known for their autocratic and corrupt political systems and for widespread poverty, class disparities, illiteracy, unemployment, religious extremism, misogyny, sexism and homophobia at social and cultural levels. Muslims generally subjugate individuality to the collectivity, they favour a collective membership in which individual freedom is denied and where forms of critical thinking, freedom of choice, creativity or even beauty are subordinated particularly to religious principle.

The role of women in such cultures appears to be limited to obeying men and performing traditional chores, and their appearance is concealed behind veils, chadors or burkas. Men are alleged for being authoritarian and oppressive towards women and opposed to modernity, freedom and liberalism. In particular, communities of Muslim immigrants in the West are recognized for their failure or refusal to accept integration into majoritarian society. Some of these beliefs and attitudes reflect reality while others encourage established stereotypes, feed more intolerance, and promote more discrimination towards Islam and Muslims. These ideologies are regularly generalised as a result of the West's collective understanding of Islam. Indeed, disagreement and prejudice are rife between Muslim immigrants and the indigenous populations of Western societies. The majority society considers itself invaded by Muslims and threatened by their traditions and culture, whilst minorities regard themselves as discriminated against and threatened by liberal British values. These principles are generally reproduced and legitimised by the media.

Honour-based violence, the position of women within Muslim cultures, immigration and cultural difference, the crisis of identity, and the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British media are intermingled issues which this thesis has attempted to tackle. The present study has sought to examine the representation of Muslim immigrants in the British press through the most extreme example of cultural difference, so-called "honour killings". It is a qualitative analysis inspired by Critical Discourse Analysis. It has been achieved by examining the linguistic and discursive strategies used in British newspapers over two 'honour' violence victims. The objective of the study has been to explore the interpretation of "honour killings" in British newspapers, to examine if the phenomenon is associated with Muslims in general and if it is explained and justified by Islam or by cultural issues, and to detect if such depictions contribute to the reinforcement or reproduction of prejudice and stereotyping against Muslim immigrants in the UK. After contextualising "honour killings" in the UK and in the British media, a brief history of Muslim immigrants and their representation in the British media has been presented. Additional essential background information to the research was provided to aid in the analysis of the position of women within Islam and Muslim cultures and to clarify the roles of gender issues and patriarchal systems in violence committed against women. The methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis has also been examined before introducing textual analysis of the collected data from British broadsheets and tabloids, with the aim of investigating positive self-representation and negative other-representation of the topic under study.

"Honour killings" are categorised as crimes committed within immigrant communities in the UK particularly from Pakistani, Kurdish, Bangladeshi, Turkish or Indian origins. It is true that the British media have had a central role in increasing awareness of so-called "honour killings". However, through linguistic and discursive analysis, we have seen that the association of "honour killings" with Islam and Muslim cultures is the prevailing attitude in the press, despite the fact that the phenomenon also involves Hindus and Sikhs. The crime is distinguished as an anomaly, as a different form of violence common among immigrants of traditional and conservative cultures, and as unnatural and alien to the British society. The incident is also promoted as being explained in cultural and religious terms. The notion of 'honour' is, hence, used to identify the reason for the crime, is seen as more important than family ties and is labelled as the problem of the 'other'. The concept of honour is depicted in different

terms between the two genders: whilst the image of women is reinforced as inferior, obedient, dependent, exploited, passive and oppressed, men are represented as authoritative, oppressive and incompatible with the values of modern, liberal societies. Women are thus portrayed as victims of male dominance and patriarchy. The use of the term 'community' is in itself a way of representing the social groups concerned as homogenous and supportive of the crime. On the other hand, the groups that represent the major voices in British society and speak in the name of the whole in news texts are the British authorities and individuals - within the immigrant communities - who are in agreement with British values. The perspective of the family and community, in particular, and Muslim immigrants in general is ignored in press discourse, especially the perpetrators of crimes amongst them who have to 'suffer in silence'. These kinds of crimes highlight stark differences and underline the social and cultural boundaries between immigrants and the indigenous population. In fact, there is a strong sense of 'us' versus 'them' throughout press discourse.

The press representation of these crimes raises the question of whether "honour killings" are cultural, Islamic or tribal in nature, and whether such violence is an issue of women's rights or is rather culture-specific. "Honour killings" are implicitly or explicitly associated in both British broadsheets and tabloids with Muslim immigrants, with Islamic values, and with 'backward' cultures. Islam is represented as a religion of restriction, repression, irrationality, intolerance, misogyny and extremism. This view is grounded in the perceived hostility of Muslim religion and its followers towards the host community, for they are seen as a 'threat' to the British culture. In a way, it is suggested that the Muslim minority threatens modern, liberal and civilised Britain, on which it seeks to impose its medieval, primitive and backward customs. Nevertheless, examples demonstrate that it is not Islam in itself which is condemned for the crime committed but that it is a question of gender inequalities in Islam that is also criticised. Only a few voices contest this cultural and religious explanation for the crime, explaining instead the phenomenon's gender, patriarchal and tribal perspective. Journalists do not succeed in interpreting the crime from a sociological point of view. They fail to represent conflicts and inequalities between men and women, between social classes, between liberal and traditional values, between immigrants and indigenous communities, and between older and younger generations as being at the origin of violence. The press also fails to identify tribal mentalities and customs - where

communities reject legal systems and opt rather for personal revenge to preserve their status, honour and interests - as one of the principal sources behind such violence. Instead, it limits its interpretation to the concept of 'honour'.

British people are likely to gain their impressions of Muslims from everyday contact or from the discourse about them in the media. Yet, the ignorance about Islam on the part of British people, the lack of knowledge of journalists about immigrants' religion and culture, the effects of editorial policies, and the negative generalisations which the press makes about Muslim immigrants are all responsible for the image of Islam and Muslims in the press. It arises from the choices made by the British media in the information it transmits about issues related to Islam and Muslims to the general public. In fact, the choices made by media organizations about the nature of news associated with Islam and immigrants are demeaning to those communities since they frequently portray negative aspects - violence, religious radicalism, gender inequality or examples of 'primitive' thinking and behaviour - of such ethnic groups and consequently demonise an entire faith. Such attitudes reinforce the construction of established stereotypes about Muslims, and the reproduction of systems of inequalities and discrimination against immigrant communities in Britain. The descriptions – whether adopted consciously or unconsciously – which the media convey about Muslim immigrants are one of the causes for conflict and hostility between majority and minority groups within British society and, more generally, between Islam and the West. The greater the disagreements, the deeper the gap between immigrants and indigenous communities and, as a result, failed integration may generate other problems. The murder of a British soldier in Woolwich, in London in May 2013, the murder attempt on a French soldier in Paris, riots in Sweden, and the consequent Islamophobic attacks on mosques after the Woolwich murder are recent examples of the violence generated between different faith groups in Western societies.

The newspaper analysis raises issues of a political nature about the power and the dominant ideology of media institutions in representing Muslim immigrants in Britain and in treating them as a burden to the majoritarian society. This also raises concerns about religious extremism, misogyny and integration. Cultural questions, therefore, such as identity and values are highlighted in order to condemn immigrant unwillingness to integrate in British society. Immigrants are generally welcomed when they identify themselves with the culture of the host society, but are negatively viewed

if they preserve their culture and customs. It is implicitly suggested that the immigrants' problems would have been avoided if they had complied with the norms of the host country and had adopted modern and civilised values.

It is common knowledge that immigrants generally leave their country of origin either because they disagree with the system, or they reject social and cultural norms or because they suffer from oppression, poverty or insecurity. The questions which are mostly commonly raised - in the media and by ordinary people - reflect the sense that, if immigrants encounter in their new host societies what they lack in their own countries, what are the reasons that then make them assert their own identities so strongly, affirming themselves through religious practice and belief, and rejecting the modern and liberal values of the Western country to which they have come? And why do they not return to their own countries if they are unsatisfied with the life style and the norms adopted in secular societies? Accurate answers to these questions may be difficult to formulate, but it is the case that the more migrant attitudes, histories, religion, culture and traditions are respected, the more open-minded they will eventually become towards the culture and values of those around them and vice versa. If 'their' culture is despised, crushed and depreciated in comparison to 'our' values, this creates more frustration, distress, insecurity and violence between cultural groups. To become modern without losing one's identity, and to integrate into another society without abandoning one's own culture, is very complex and there is no ready-made recipe to guarantee peaceful cohabitation or to maintain cultural diversity.

The main objective of this study is to raise awareness about the reciprocal influences between discourse and society of which people are normally unaware, and to demystify the meanings and ideologies - conveyed through language use - that are unclear to media recipients and to people in general. The purpose is not to defend any faith but to support vulnerable groups that may suffer from social exclusion. The research carried out about Islam and the portrayal of Muslims in the British media demonstrates that these groups have been represented there in a negative fashion. The present study has confirmed the results of previous investigations about the phenomenon of "honour killings" in terms of how such negative depictions are manifested and reproduced in the discourse of the press. The thesis does not offer a quantitative analysis of the overall reality about the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British media, but rather presents a qualitative analysis of two case

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studies of "honour killings" amongst Muslim immigrants in the British press, an examination that undertook local linguistic analysis to provide an ideological interpretation of the discourse used. The use of limited data requires reflection and excludes generalisations in commenting on the final results. Thus, the discussion of the findings of this study is applicable only to the selected texts actually analysed.

In hindsight, the study could be reinforced by assimilating the analysis of news reports with an investigation of media institutions as producers and media audiences as receivers of news and information, but the present study focuses on textual analysis. The research could be also complemented by comparing the representations of such crimes to non-Muslim cases. Future research could bring media production, audience reception and data analysis together to achieve a more systematic and complete view of the workings of ideology in the discourse of the press. On the other hand, parallel topics, such as the image of Arab women in the media, the analysis of the political discourse in the Arab media, and the representation of non-Muslims/foreigners in non-Western media in Arab Muslim society, would also be interesting areas for future investigation.

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Annex

Banaz Mahmod

A. The Times

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, May 2	"Uncle charged over girl's death"	
2	2007, March 14	"Murder victim's film tells of death fear"	Steve Bird
3	2007, March 15	"Girlfriend was killed 'for honour of family'"	Steve Bird
4	2007, March 15	"Tearful boyfriend tells how family killed 'for honour'"	Steve Bird
5	2007, May 3	"PC 'was ordered to change notes over honour killing'"	Steve Bird
6	2007, June 12	"Police ignored woman who warned them she was in fear of her life"	Steve Bird
7	2007, June 12	"Having fled Iraq, she died at the hands of her father – and all because of a kiss"	Steve Bird
8	2007, June 12	"Guidelines aimed at countering ignorance"	Steve Bird
9	2007, June 13	"Calling a halt to 'honour' killings"	Dr. Aicha Gill
10	2007, June 13	"'Honour' killing used to threaten others"	Steve Bird
11	2007, June 17	"My family killed my sister: I could be next"	Jon Swain
12	2007, June 19	"Inquiry into police over 'honour' killing"	
13	2007, June 19	"The deadly ending to a 'melodrama'"	Tanveer Qureshi
14	2007, June 21	"Forces unite against cross-border killers"	Sean O'Neill & Adam Fresco
15	2007, October 14	"Honour killing charge"	
16	2007, October 14	"Murder charge"	
17	2007, November 11	"In a suburban Mc Donald's a father begged his wayward daughter to come home..."	David James Smith
18	2008, January 26	"'Honour killing' case"	

Nº	Date	Title	Author
19	2008, June 4	"Victim had to wait 12 days after initial complaint to police about stalker threat"	Adam Fresco
20	2008, June 12	"The killings that have no 'honour'"	Grania Langdon-Down
21	2008, July 30	"Garden burial charges"	
22	2008, July 30	"'Honour' victim buried in cousin's garden"	
23	2008, August 7	"Trial of 'honour-killing gravediggers' collapses"	
24	2008, December 1	"She staggered to the café, bleeding. The officer decided she was a lying drunk"	Andrew Norfolk
25	2008, December 1	"Promotion for the PC who ignored a desperate victim; Disciplinary case halted in murder aftermath"	Andrew Norfolk
26	2008, December 1	"Promotion for the pc who ignored a desperate victim"	Andrew Norfolk
27	2009, January 4	"Rebel brides: your day has come; As more Asian women dare to speak out against forced marriage, Jasvinder Sanghera tells Margarette Driscoll it will become a defining issue of 2009"	Margarette Driscoll
28	2009, June 30	"Extradited from Iraq"	
29	2010, November 11	"Men extradited from Iraq given life for 'honour killing'"	
30	2012, October 27	"Picks of the day; Wednesday 31"	Mike Mulvihill
31	2012, October 31	"Viewing Guide"	David Chater

B. The Daily Telegraph

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2007, June 12	"Honour death victim warned police as Scotland Yard faces censure, message left on mobile helps to convict father and uncle, reports Bonnie Malkin"	Bonnie Malkin
2	2007, June 13	"Where is the honour in having your daughter killed?"	Jan Moir

Nº	Date	Title	Author
3	2007, June 17	"Revealed: the growing toll of deaths before dishonour police uncover the truth about 'suicides' as one woman's campaign to end forced marriage puts her life in danger every day"	Olga Graig
4	2007, September 20	"Honour killing mother-in-law to die in jail"	Martin Beckford
5	2007, October 14	"'Honour killing' charge"	Jasper Copping
6	2008, February 3	"Conspiracy of silence on 'honour killings'"	Jonathan Wynne-Jones
7	2008, April 3	"'Honour killing' victim was let down by police"	Nick Britten
8	2010, November 11	"Victim told police who would kill her; Honour killing pair extradited from Iraq to face life terms for murder"	Tom Whitehead
9	2011, December 3	"'Honour killing' police win award"	
10	2012, March 19	"Honour abuse supported by young Asians"	Tom Whitehead
11	2012, October 31	"Documentary"	SH; VP

C. The Guardian

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2007, March 14	"Honour killing victim accused father in phone video, court told"	Jeevan Vasagar
2	2007, May 3	"PC asked to erase query against strangled woman, court told"	Karen McVeigh
3	2007, June 12	"Front: Murder victim told police four times she feared her family: each time in vain: Murder victim went to police four times"	Karen McVeigh

Nº	Date	Title	Author
4	2007, June 12	"National: Banaz murder: Men who decided a daughter had to die – for the good of the family: Father and uncle found guilty of murder plot: Kiss in street sealed fate in close-knit community"	Karen McVeigh
5	2007, June 13	"G2: Women: Dishonourable acts: Banaz Mahmod was murdered by her family. Each year, 12 British women like her die in 'honour' killings. Why aren't we doing more to save them?"	Emine Saner
6	2007, June 16	"Front: Special units to crack down on honour killing: Police and prosecutors target 'hotspots'"	Karen McVeigh
7	2007, July 20	"'Honour' killer boasted of stamping on woman's neck: Kurdish victim was raped and tortured for two hours: Jokes and laughter heard in description of murder"	Karen McVeigh
8	2007, July 21	"Father and uncle given life for 'honour' murder: Relatives weep as three men are sentenced: Judge praises bravery of victim's sister and lover"	Karen McVeigh
9	2007, November 22	"'Honour' killing: pressure grows on UK to extradite suspect from Iraq: Man wanted for murder held in Iraqi Kurdistan: CPS criticised for refusing o ask for his removal"	Karen McVeigh
10	2007, November 27	"Letters and emails: extradition case"	Carmen Dowd
11	2008, March 14	"G2: The invisible: each year, it is believed, thousands of young British Asian women are forced into marriage against their will. Those who resist face ostracism – or far worse. So why, asks Emine Saner, do we hear so little about them?"	Emine Saner
12	2008, April 3	"Met 'let down' victim killer by her family: Woman approached police four times before murder: Two officers to face disciplinary proceedings"	Karen McVeigh
13	2008, April 9	"Reply letters and emails: Learn from Banaz"	Vivienne Hayes & Aisha Gill

Nº	Date	Title	Author
14	2008, June 4	"Murdered schoolgirl's family had told police of earlier assault and threats against her life: Teenager met suspect in choir, detectives believe: Allegations were taken seriously, says Met"	Vikram Dodd & Helen Pidd
15	2009, June 19	"Making the state protect women"	
16	2009, December 17	"Tulay Goren: Police hampered by honour code that silenced family"	Karen McVeigh
17	2009, December 18	"Ten years on, father jailed for 'honour killing' of daughter: Father jailed for 'honour killing' of daughter"	Karen McVeigh
18	2011, December 3	"Huge rise in 'honour' crimes as girls reject families' demands"	Rachel Williams
19	2011, December 31	"National: New Year's Honours: Unsung heroes: Taekwondo champion awarded MBE: Rewards for public sector workers"	Robert Booth

D. The Independent

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, May 2	"HOME NEWS IN BRIEF: Man in court over body in suitcase"	
2	2007, June 12	"Honour-killing victim told police four times of fears father would murder her"	Ian Herbert
3	2007, June 17	"Father, uncle, brother, killer; crime; Hanna is in hiding after her parents threatened to murder her. As one woman a month falls victim to an 'honour killing' in Britain, it's no wonder she's frightened"	Ian Herbert & Aditi Tandon
4	2007, June 29	"Love that can be lethal: Muslim couples in fear of 'honour' killing"	Jerome Taylor
5	2007, June 29	"'Training is needed to recognise dangers'; ANALYSIS"	Diana Nammi
6	2007, September 20	"Grandmother gets life for 'honour killing'"	Robert Verkaik

Nº	Date	Title	Author
7	2008, February 10	"British women are already suffering from Islamic law; The Archbishop of Canterbury says Sharia courts could rule on family issues, but this is exactly where they can cause most harm"	Joan Smith
8	2008, March 6	"'Honour' killings are an outrage we must confront"	Joan Smith
9	2008, April 3	"Police 'let down' victim of honour killing; HOME NEWS IN BRIEF"	
10	2009, December 19	"'My people refuse to talk about honour killings'; Jagdeesh Singh's sister was murdered by her in-laws for daring to seek a divorce. But, he tells Jerome Taylor, it is a crime his community would prefer to ignore"	Jerome Taylor
11	2010, November 11	"Iraqi pair jailed for life for 'honour killing' of woman; CRIME"	Lewis Smith
12	2012, April 22	"Ask politicians about FGM, and lo, they are against it"	Joan Smith
13	2012, September 24	""Still now they follow me": Footage of Banaz Mahmod warning police before her 'honour' killing to be shown for the first time"	Paul Peachey
14	2012, October 31	"Critic's choice"	Gerard Gilbert

E. The Sun

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, May 1	"Uncle arrested for girl's murder"	
2	2006, May 2	"Body in case girl, 17, was suffocated"	Mike Sullivan
3	2007, June 12	"Strangled and buried in suitcase...for falling in love with wrong man"	Anthony France
4	2007, June 13	"They come over here thinking they can have the same life. They can't"	Oliver Harvey
5	2007, June 16	"Only monsters harm their kids"	Lorraine Kelly
6	2007, June 19	"Government poll-axed on immigration"	Jon Gaunt

Nº	Date	Title	Author
7	2007, July 21	"60 yrs for 'honour' kill three"	Neil Syson
8	2007, July 21	"60 years. Father, uncle and pal are caged for 'honour killing'"	Neil Syson
9	2007, July 21	"Her death must not be in vain"	Lorraine Kelly
10	2007, July 26	"Dear Sun"	Jason Smith
11	2009, December 30	"Murder is not Islamic"	Anila Baig
12	2010, July 29	"The victims of 'honour'"	
13	2010, November 11	"Cousins jailed for 'honour slaying'"	Tom Wells
14	2011, December 4	"Honour attacks treble in the North; Nearly 3,000 attacks in Britain over the last year"	Coreena Ford
15	2012, April 22	"THE FINAL VICTIMS; Across the UK, young WOMEN are being ordered to MARRY and those that refuse can end up paying with their lives. But now a TEAM is working to ensure that these three forced marriage BRIDES are among..."	Claie Wilson & Christina Quaine

F. The Daily Mail

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, February 8	"Bride in 'honour killing' mystery"	
2	2006, April 30	"Girl's body 'found in suitcase'; MURDER"	
3	2006, May 1	"HONOUR KILLING CORPSE RIDDLE"	
4	2007, March 14	"The young wife 'murdered for falling in love with another man'"	Neil Sears
5	2007, June 12	"Banaz fell in love at 19... So her family decided she had to die"	
6	2007, June 12	"Murdered girl's as a New Year's Eve drunk. Instead five cries for help"	
7	2007, June 12	"Murdered girl's five cries for help"	
8	2007, June 13	"There's no honour in this killing"	
9	2007, June 14	"The judge, his briefs and the idiocy that now pervades this country"	

Nº	Date	Title	Author
10	2007, June 16	"Britain was appalled by the horrific 'honour killing' of a girl murdered by her father for daring to kiss the man she loved. Here, her sister, who narrowly escaped death herself and now lives in fear of her life, breaks her silence"	
11	2007, June 24	"'Bitch! Whore! You've made a mockery of me! I'm not going to leave you alive after this'..."	Ferzanna Riley
12	2007, July 20	"Two-hour rape and torture of honour killing girl murdered by her family"	
13	2007, July 21	"I'll always be afraid, says sister of 'honour' victim"	Neil Sears
14	2007, July 21	"Fears of 'honour' victim's sister"	Neil Sears
15	2008, February 3	"Asian PCs blocking crackdown on honour killings"	Daniel Boffey & Miles Goslett

G. The Mirror

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, April 30	"BEAUTY KILLED AND BURIED IN SUITCASE"	Fiona James
2	2006, May 1	"LOVER OF GIRL IN A SUITCASE ARRESTED"	Adrian Shaw
3	2007, June 12	"MURDERED BY HER FATHER... FOR LOVING THE 'WRONG MAN'; AGONY OF GIRL IN 'HONOUR KILLING'"	Adrian Shaw
4	2007, June 12	"MURDERED BY OWN FATHER... FOR LOVING THE 'WRONG MAN'; COPS IGNORED PLEAS FOR HELP"	Adrian Shaw
5	2007, June 13	"SAVAGES WITHOUT HONOUR"	Sue Carroll
6	2007, June 13	"TODAY ON THE WEB MIRROR.CO.UK"	
7	2007, July 20	"I TRIED TO KICK OUT GIRL'S SOUL"	Adrian Shaw
8	2007, July 21	"FAMILY KILL TRIO JAILED"	
9	2007, July 29	"NO HONOUR IN THESE KILLERS"	Carole Malone

Nº	Date	Title	Author
10	2007, October 14	"'HONOUR' MURDER: MAN HELD"	
11	2008, July 30	"BODY HID TO 'WIN FAVOUR'; TRIAL"	
12	2009, June 30	"HONOUR KILL SUSPECT IS EXTRADITED; COURT"	Greig Box Turnbull
13	2009, December 18	"THERE IS NO HONOUR IN KILLING AN INNOCENT CHILD OF 15; DAD GETS 22YRS FOR MURDERING DAUGHTER"	Brian Roberts
14	2010, November 11	"HONOUR KILL PAIR JAILED; MURDER"	
15	2011, December, 4	"'HONOUR' ATTACKS HIT EIGHT EACH DAY"	Adrian Butler

Samaira Nazir

H. The Times

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, May 6	"Woman 'murdered by her family for loving wrong man'"	Nicola Woolcock
2	2006, June 16	"Youth guilty of 'honour killing'"	
3	2006, June 17	"Sister stabbed to death for loving the wrong man"	Steve Bird
4	2006, July 15	"Killed for loving the wrong man"	Joanna Bale
5	2006, July 24	"Despair as forced marriages stay legal"	Andrew Norfolk
6	2008, June 27	"Cold-blooded 'honour' killer shot man who married for love"	Andrew Norfolk
7	2010, July 5	"Forbidden love: no redress for couples divided by caste"	Dominic Kennedy

I. The Daily Telegraph

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, July 15	"Woman stabbed to death by family for loving wrong man"	John Steele

Nº	Date	Title	Author
2	2006, July 16	"'Honour killings' increasing in Britain as women stand up for their rights"	Karyn Miller & Tom Harper

J. The Guardian

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, July 14	"Two jailed for life over brutal honour killing"	
2	2006, July 15	"Honour killing: 'You're not my mother any more', shouted Samaira. Then her family killed her: Man gets 20 years after murdering sister who chose husband from wrong caste"	Riazat Butt
3	2007, June 13	"G2: Women: Dishonourable acts: Banaz Mahmod was murdered by her family. Each year, 12 British women like her die in 'honour' killings. Why aren't we doing more to save them?"	Emine Saner

K. The Independent

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, July 15	"Stabbed to death as her family watched...for honour"	Terri Judd
2	2007, June 17	"Father, uncle, brother, killer; CRIME"	Ian Herbert & Aditi Tandon
3	2007, September 20	"Grandmother gets life for 'honour killing'"	

L. The Sun

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, May 6	"Sis 'killed for love'"	
2	2006, July 15	"Murdered...for loving wrong man"	Lynsey Haywood
3	2006, July 15	"Life for sis 'honour' murder"	
4	2006, August 8	"I was 16 when we visited Pakistan. I asked mum who was getting married. She said: 'You are'"	Anila Baig

Nº	Date	Title	Author
5	2012, April 22	"The final victims"	Claie Wilson & Christina Quaine

M. The Daily Mail

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, May 6	"Brother 'killed woman who refused to marry'"	Colin Fernandez
2	2006, June 21	"Murdered for loving our values"	Allison Pearson
3	2006, July 15	"Killed for loving the wrong man"	Nick Craven
4	2006, July 26	"For God's sake, can't my children be taught their own religion?; A furious mother on how her children have been bombarded with teaching about Islam, Sikhism and Hinduism but nothing about their own culture"	Jill Parkin

N. The Mirror

Nº	Date	Title	Author
1	2006, July 15	"KILLED BY HER FAMILY FOR LOVING THE WRONG MAN; BROTHER AND COUSIN ARE JAILED"	Don Mackay
2	2006, July 24	"'HONOUR' MURDER A MONTH; EXCLUSIVE"	Lucy Thornton