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Culture or masculinity? Understanding gender-based violence in the UK

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Violence against women and girls from minority communities has been a focus for intervention in European countries for several decades. These initiatives have, however, tended to exist in isolation from strategies on violence against women and girls from majority groups. Taking the UK as a case study, this paper argues that when minorities are involved in gender-based violence, whether as victims or perpetrators, culture is problematised rather than masculinity in a way that is unhelpful in preventing these crimes.

key words gender • equality • violence • culture

Introduction

Forms of violence that primarily address minoritised women and girls have been recognised in European countries, and by the European Commission and the Council of Europe.¹ However, while there is now greater awareness of violence against minoritised women and girls than 30 years ago, and a greater commitment to addressing it as such by statutory agencies and government, as well as by NGOs, progress has not been as great as might be wished. Narrowing the focus to the UK, this paper asks why, and identifies two potential causal factors: the conflation of all forms of violence affecting minoritised women and girls; and the portrayal of gender-based violence involving minoritised women and men as a cultural problem.

The paper begins with a brief discussion of the wider policy context and move away from multiculturalism before identifying developments in policies on violence against women and violence against minoritised women. The paper then contrasts media portrayals of gender-based violence by white and Asian/Muslim men. It concludes by asking what are the implications of all these developments for effectively addressing violence against *all* women and girls in the UK.

Terminology

This paper uses the term ‘minoritised’ in relation to women and girls from black and minority ethnic, Muslim and other religious minority communities for two reasons. First, it indicates that majority and minority identities are not a question of objective fact. People are minoritised – that is to say they are identified as belonging to a minority group – both by themselves and by others. Second, the term minoritised does not

specify the grounds on which the individuals in question are a minority – something that is helpful when looking at the experiences of women and men in the UK who are defined on the basis of an ethnic, racial, national, cultural or religious identity at different times or simultaneously, by themselves and others.²

From multiculturalism to integration

As in a number of European countries, multiculturalism as a policy or process for managing diversity came under attack in Britain towards the end of the twentieth century. In 2005, the head of Britain's statutory race equality body said the country was 'sleepwalking into segregation' because a policy of multiculturalism allowed different communities to live in ghettos with no contact with one another.³ Under the Labour governments of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown from 1997 to 2010, community cohesion replaced multiculturalism as a policy and term.⁴ Under the next coalition government elected in 2010, there was a move to integration as the label for policies on how majority and minority groups co-exist.⁵ That approach is likely to continue under the Conservative government elected in May 2015, with a minimal focus on addressing structural racism and inequality, some support for faith institutions and a focus on migrants learning English.⁶

In terms of context, it is also important to highlight a number of other areas of policy: one is a strong anti-immigration drive that has been expressed in successive immigration acts that, for example, require landlords and employers to take on immigration functions.⁷ Second, is the anti-terrorism agenda with legislation including the Prevent policy and 'Prevent duty' requiring local authorities to take action to prevent people being drawn into terrorism.⁸ Finally, and on the whole a more positive development, the UK has seen the extension of a pan-equality approach to tackling discrimination through the 2006 and 2010 Equality Acts which introduced protection on all grounds, including gender, race and religion, and created a statutory body to prevent discrimination and promote equality and human rights – the Equality and Human Rights Commission. The 2010 Act also introduced a single equality duty which requires statutory bodies such as local authorities, hospitals and schools, to promote equality of opportunity and address discrimination.⁹

These developments are relevant in providing the framework within which minoritised women and girls are protected from violence and feel able to challenge it. A stronger legal and institutional equality and human rights framework provides the basis for all women to assert their right to live a life free of violence as well as providing better mechanisms for support and redress in individual cases. However, many would argue that the cohesion, anti-immigration and counter-terrorism agendas have been pursued by the current and previous two governments in a way that targets minority ethnic and religious communities, puts them on the defensive and makes it harder for them to integrate.¹⁰ This may make it more difficult for women and girls to identify and challenge violence within their communities.

Policies to address violence against women and girls (VAWG)

Overall, recent years have seen some gains in terms of addressing violence against women and girls (VAWG), not least because of the way women's organisations have come together in networks such as End Violence Against Women (EVAW). EVAW

provides a voice for organisations campaigning on a wide range of VAWG issues – from rape and sexual harassment in schools to female genital mutilation (FGM) and forced marriage. Other factors adding momentum to work in this area are a series of high profile sexual abuse cases (including those discussed below) and feminism’s enthusiastic and successful adoption of social media channels to raise awareness. However, it is also true that recent UK governments of all parties have recognised that targeted strategies on VAWG are necessary to achieve improvements in levels of violence. In 2010, the previous government set out its strategy to end violence against women and girls through better prevention, provision of good quality services, improved partnership working, better justice outcomes and risk reduction.¹¹ Detailed action plans have been published on International Women’s Day every year since then.¹²

The problem here, and one which has a specific impact on minoritised women experiencing or threatened with violence or abuse, is the government’s failure to connect different areas of policy and address the needs of *all* women. Or to put it another way, the government has given with one hand while taking away with the other. So there has been a strong push in recent years to tackle VAWG, but at the same time, cuts in public spending have had an enormous impact on the women’s NGO sector meaning a reduction in the support available to victims of violence, including FGM and other abuses. Research suggests that post-recession cuts and austerity measures¹³ have had a greater impact on some groups in the population – including women – than others.¹⁴ According to EVAW, 31 per cent of local authority funding to domestic violence and sexual abuse services was cut between 2010/2011 and 2011/2012.¹⁵ The anti-immigration agenda is likely to have further marginalised vulnerable BME women, making it harder for victims of violence to access support – for example, funding for English language classes has been cut¹⁶ and landlords are now legally required to check the immigration status of tenants, making it likely that women fleeing violence who have insecure immigration status will have more difficulty in finding accommodation.¹⁷

Work to address forms of violence that primarily affect minoritised women is also well established. This work has focused on three issues: FGM (the Prohibition of Female Circumcision Act was passed in 1985); forced marriage; and ‘honour’-based violence (forced marriage and ‘honour’-based violence are recognised as also affecting a minority of men and boys). While campaigners, service providers and women’s organisations have long identified these phenomena as human rights abuses and forms of violence against women and girls, government has been slower to do so, at first positioning them as ‘practices’ within work on race and/or immigration. For example, the Forced Marriage Unit created by the government in 2005 was a joint Home Office-Foreign and Commonwealth Office initiative located in the Foreign Office. Feminist organisations such as Southall Black Sisters have repeatedly criticised policy makers for failing to adequately address FGM, ‘honour’ violence and forced marriage as forms of violence against women, instead treating them as ‘cultural practices’ to be condemned or ignored for fear of provoking accusations of racism.¹⁸

There has long been a belief that the ‘practice’ of FGM goes on both in this country and with families sending their daughters back home or abroad during school holidays and that measures to reach practising communities have not been successful. A report in 2015 claimed that FGM is a problem affecting women and girls in every local authority in England and Wales.¹⁹

FGM has been illegal since the 1985 Prohibition of Female Circumcision Act that was later replaced by the 2003 Female Genital Mutilation Act, and has been the subject of various initiatives by government and other public bodies. A cross-government specialist FGM unit was launched in 2014 and in 2015 the Serious Crime Act introduced a new FGM reporting duty and Female Genital Mutilation Protection Orders (FGMPO).²⁰ The Bedfordshire police force secured the UK's first FGM protection order, preventing two girls from going abroad, in July 2015.²¹ There has, however, been what some campaigners and service providers see as a disproportionate emphasis on securing a prosecution rather than education and awareness-raising measures – an unproductive focus as only two men have ever been charged under the Act and they were found not guilty in 2015.²² Perhaps in response to such criticisms, the government has also taken measures to prevent the 'practice' and provide support to victims and potential victims, for example, by producing a resource pack for local authorities and professionals.²³

Forced marriage has also been a focus of government and NGO activity for many years. A government working group on the subject led to the establishment of the Forced Marriage Unit in 2005. This was criticised for emphasising the 'overseas dimension' of forced marriage, raising concerns that the government's real agenda was to prevent immigration.²⁴ However, despite statutory guidance on forced marriage and outreach work with charities, schools, local authorities, airport officials and others, it was widely recognised that more needed to be done: Forced Marriage Protection Orders were introduced in 2008 to protect those at risk, for example by preventing someone being taken abroad, and following consultation, forced marriage was made a criminal offence in 2014.²⁵ The same year, the UK with Unicef, hosted the first Girl Summit, aimed at mobilising domestic and international efforts to end FGM and child, early and forced marriage (CEFM) within a generation, and an update on progress was published a year later.²⁶ However, as with FGM, the focus on a criminal justice solution over education and prevention has been criticised by campaigners and women's organisations who fear that it will stigmatise minorities and drive these problems underground.²⁷

What are known as 'honour'-based violence, 'honour' crimes and 'honour' killings – almost always with inverted commas attached – have been addressed by women's and community organisations including Southall Black Sisters, Kurdish Women Action Against Honour Killings, and the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Project for many years. Statutory bodies were slower to respond but after extensive media coverage in 2002 of the murder of 16-year-old Heshu Younes, killed by her Turkish father after he learned of her affair with a Lebanese Christian man, the Metropolitan Police Service created a Strategic Homicide Prevention Working Group on Honour Killings.²⁸

Following a campaign called 'Britain's Lost Women' by the magazine *Cosmopolitan* and Karma Nirvana – an organization supporting victims of 'honour' crimes and forced marriage, and a petition to 'Honour their memories, dishonour the crime by giving us a day of memory to remember all those victims of Honour Based Violence', a national day of remembrance for victims of 'honour'-based abuse was established. The day was held on 14 July 2015 and marked by organisations including police forces around the country – Greater Manchester Police force released balloons.²⁹ *Cosmopolitan* and Karma Nirvana used a shocking image of a girl being suffocated by plastic as part of their campaign, in reference to the way that Shafiea Ahmed, a

17-year-old British Pakistani girl who refused an arranged marriage, was murdered by her parents.³⁰

Media depictions of VAWG

The section above describes *policies* targeting majority and minority women as *victims* of violence. This section contrasts *portrayals* of majority and minority men as *perpetrators* of violence. It highlights recent well-publicised cases of child abuse – mainly of girls – in the UK, the first by white men and the second by Asian and/or Muslim men, which demonstrate the inconsistencies in how crimes against women and girls are portrayed and addressed in the UK.

The first cases relate to sexual abuse allegations, mainly abuse of children, dating back to the 1980s. They include proven allegations against Jimmy Savile, a well-known DJ and TV personality who died before the allegations were made public, as well as a number of other well-known television presenters, musicians and DJs. Under Operation Yewtree, the Metropolitan Police investigated and arrested a number of public figures – all white men who were middle-aged or elderly by the time of their arrest – with approximately half a dozen men convicted and a number of other claims not taken further or dismissed. To many, the scale of the abuse and the impunity of the offenders was shocking. While there was recognition of a corrupt milieu in light entertainment at the time, if ‘culture’ was blamed, it was the culture of a particular time and place in British history – the ‘permissive’ or ‘promiscuous’ culture of the 1960s and 1970s.³¹ The problem was not identified as being white British men as a group. Newspaper headlines routinely referred to ‘shamed’ and ‘disgraced’ celebrities³² – although using the concept of ‘shame’ in a different way to ‘honour’-based crimes where the victim is perceived to have brought shame on her family.

The second set of cases are the Rochdale and Oxford cases of child grooming and rape which occurred at a later date. The Rochdale case involved a group of men who raped and abused under-age teenage girls in Rochdale (near Manchester). They were convicted in 2010. The men were all Muslim and mainly British Pakistani and the girls were all white. The Oxford case involved a group of seven men who targeted underage girls in Oxford and were convicted of sexual offences including rape, facilitating child prostitution and sexual trafficking in 2013. Again, the perpetrators were mainly Muslim and the victims were white. There were similar cases in the English areas of Derby, Rotherham and Telford.³³

What is notable is the attribution of a cultural basis and group identity to the crimes in the Oxford and Rochdale cases that is absent in the cases investigated as part of Operation Yewtree. In the Yewtree cases, the culprits were held up to disgrace as individuals who had finally been exposed. In the Rochdale and Oxford cases, the men were invariably identified in the media as Asian and occasionally Muslim. One article said ‘Hundreds of young girls were allowed to fall into the hands of Asian grooming gangs because police and social workers may have been scared of seeming racist, an official report says.’³⁴ In the Oxford case, the perpetrators were described as ‘of Asian and north African descent’³⁵ and ‘mostly of Asian heritage’.³⁶ Interestingly, when in 2012 a Conservative Member of Parliament targeted the perpetrators of such crimes on a religious rather than ethnic basis, he was roundly criticised for referring to ‘gangs of Muslim men going round and raping white kids’.³⁷

Two observations may be made from the juxtaposition of these cases. One is that when a number of white men all at the same time are charged and found guilty of abusing girls, it is not identified as a problem of either UK, white or western culture, while when a series of crimes is committed by Asian or Muslim men the implication is that there is a cultural or group motivation. What is also notable is how rarely in the media, political discourse and court rulings, is masculinity itself identified as at the root of these abuses.

Conflating abuses and a new focus on 'culture'

Building on the discussion above, this article identifies two phenomena. First, a not completely new phenomenon is the tendency to collapse a range of human rights abuses and forms of VAWG that principally affect minoritised women and girls under the blanket heading of 'honour'-based violence. For example, in July a question was raised in the House of Lords by Baroness Cox: 'To ask Her Majesty's Government what is their response to the Day of Remembrance on 14 July for victims of dishonour-based violence, and what steps they are taking to prevent such violence against girls and women.' The government minister's response referred to work on forced marriage and FGM.³⁸ The Crown Prosecution Service now provides legal guidance on its website on 'Honour Based Violence and Forced Marriage', and in a prominent speech on extremism in July 2015, the Prime Minister said: 'It sickens me to think that there were nearly 4,000 cases of FGM reported in our country last year alone. Four thousand cases; think about that. And 11,000 cases of so-called honour-based violence over the last five years – and that's just the reported cases.'³⁹

This syndrome extends to some parts of the NGO sector: The Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation reported that over a five-year period 'across the UK there were more than 11,000 cases of honour crimes, which included abductions, false imprisonment and murder'. The organisation describes itself as 'a leading women's rights charity campaigning to end all forms of "honour"-based violence, including forced marriage, child marriage and female genital mutilation'.⁴⁰

I would argue that 'honour'-based violence, forced marriage and FGM are very different forms of violence carried out for a range of reasons. Even FGM is not a single act but takes different forms, is carried out on girls and women whose ages vary from infancy to full adulthood and – in some cases – is done at the woman's request. They are all forms of violence against women and girls and constitute abuses of human rights as well as criminal acts and it is appropriate to badge them as such. But the danger of attributing them all to a single motive – the culture of shame and honour among minorities in the UK – is that this may disguise the real agendas that underpin these abuses and make it harder to prevent them, while also denying agency to the perpetrators and victims.

The second identifiable phenomenon is a shift in political and media focus from race and ethnicity to minority religious – and in particular Muslim – identities, often under the heading of 'culture'. This dates back to the 1980s and the *Satanic Verses* affair.⁴¹ Individuals who would once have identified as Asian or even Black in a political sense, now self-identify and are classified on religious grounds in addition or instead. There are new organisations and initiatives corresponding to this trend, for example, the Muslim Council of Britain was set up as an umbrella body in 1997 and became the government's preferred partner when it wanted to engage with British

Muslims before falling out of favour over issues such as terrorism and its failure to support Holocaust Memorial Day.⁴² To give another example, in 2009, the Muslim Women Power List was established as a 'celebration of the 100,000 Muslim women currently working in Britain'. At times individuals are identified on both ethnic and religious grounds, as in the 2013 report on the sexual exploitation of Asian girls and young women by the Muslim Women's Network which refers to 'deviant sexual behaviours in Asian and Muslim men'.⁴³

It is unlikely to be coincidental that this development corresponds with the establishment of religion as an equality ground alongside race, gender and disability; a development that academic Tariq Modood sees as a logical extension of identity-based politics.⁴⁴ It also corresponds with the counter-terrorism policy agenda targeting some Muslim identities as problematic and a threat to social cohesion.

Why does it matter? Individual identity is complicated – people identify and are discriminated against on the basis of both their ethnicity and their religion. They are not able to separate out those elements of their being so why should policy makers or campaigners be able to? Does it matter whether 'honour'-based violence affects women and girls that are defined by the state or NGOs as Asian, Muslim or Pakistani when they are clearly all three? It matters because of the way that policy is made and delivered in the UK. The basis on which minoritised people organise and engage with government has implications, including for what organisations receive government funding. The development of a more public role for religion in recent years has been accompanied by new funding opportunities for religious organisations. For example, in 2011, a women's organisation providing services to trafficked women saw its government funding taken away and given to the Salvation Army, an evangelical protestant organisation.⁴⁵ Beyond the scope of this paper but an area that merits further research is whether it has become easier for faith-based community organisations to secure funding than community organisations based on an ethnic identity. For the purposes of this paper, what is important is that it is the minority cultural identity – whether that is ethnic or religious – that is the defining feature of many depictions of gender-based violence involving minority communities in Britain.

Conclusion

As this brief overview of recent developments shows, policies on protection from violence for all women and girls – including from minority groups – have improved significantly since the 1990s. However, while there is far greater recognition of and commitment to addressing FGM, 'honour' crimes and forced marriage, and better integration of this work as part of equality and human rights frameworks, the danger remains that these crimes are seen as separate from other 'mainstream' forms of VAWG. Additionally, the recognition of religious rights may make it harder to promote gender equality if, for example, it allows faith-based schools to avoid providing the kind of sex education (personal, social and health education as it is currently termed in the UK) that will equip girls to challenge forced marriage or FGM.

Returning to the question of the causes of violence against women for majority and minority women in the UK, there is an over-privileging of the significance of culture, but only in relation to minorities. So when a white man kills his partner because she had an affair or wanted to leave him, this is regularly reported in the media as an individual snapping in the face of provocation.⁴⁶ In contrast, if a women

from a minority religious and/or ethnic background is killed by her father, brother or cousin, the media is likely to position it as an ‘honour’ crime, as in the 2014 *Daily Mail* headline ‘Father who brought daughter, 24, to Britain to learn English stabbed her to death for using a mobile in honour killing’.⁴⁷ The specific details of the crime and individuals concerned are less remarkable than the broader phenomenon of ‘honour’ violence.

In this way, culture is given too much significance as a motivating factor in relation to minorities and too little in relation to members of the majority society, when the reality is that culture is a determining factor for minorities and majorities alike. We all tend to act in a way that is familiar, according to the norms of those around us and we are all influenced by a range of people and factors including family, friends, work, the local community, the national context and many other elements. But only members of minoritised communities are seen as determined by their ethnicity, religion or culture to the detriment of other factors including individual agency.

This does not mean that we should not recognise the specificity of FGM, forced marriage and ‘honour’ violence in terms of time, location and the people who commit and are victims of these crimes. As this paper has argued, one problem with existing strategies is precisely the lack of specificity and the tendency to subsume a range of very different abuses under the heading of ‘honour’ violence. What is argued is that policy makers, NGOs and service providers would be in a better position to target policies and services if there was more clarity about the causes of forms of violence that are often lazily attributed to ‘culture’. Everyone has a cultural identity, or rather many cultural identities. Following Raymond Williams, culture should be understood as what is ‘ordinary’⁴⁸ rather than as something or some practices that are exotic and privileged in relation to particular groups of people. Then it would be easier to see cultural ‘practices’ such as forced marriage as abuses, but abuses that may have connections to common cross-cultural agendas and motivations rather than as representations of alien norms and values.

This paper is therefore proposing an adjustment in perception, so that instead of focusing on ‘culture’ as abusing women and girls, we interrogate and challenge the articulations of masculinity that help to perpetuate gender-based violence in both majority and minority communities. Such an adjustment might lead to improvements in strategies on VAWG in the UK that would have lessons for other European countries.

Notes

¹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014; EIGE, 2015; Council of Europe, 2011; Dustin, 2006.

² Thanks to Yasmin Gunaratnam for this suggested usage: ‘I use the term “minoritized” to give some sense of the active processes of racialization that are at work in designating certain attributes of groups in particular contexts as being in a “minority”’ (Gunaratnam, 2003, 17).

³ Trevor Phillips, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4270010.stm>

⁴ DCLG, 2005.

⁵ DCLG, 2012.

⁶ In a speech on antiterrorism in July 2015, the Prime Minister announced a ‘review of how to boost opportunity and integration in these [minority] communities and bring Britain together as one nation’ including ‘issues like how we can ensure people learn English’, www.gov.uk/government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech

⁷ The Queen's speech in 2015 announced new immigration legislation designed to 'Control immigration, making sure we put hard-working British families first' and 'To support working people, clamp down on illegal immigration and protect our public services' (Prime Minister's Office, 2015).

⁸ HM Government, 2015a. The Queen's speech also announced measures to be introduced by the Conservative government to promote cohesion and protect people through a new Extremism Bill (Prime Minister's Office, 2015).

⁹ www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents

¹⁰ See, for example, Choudhury and Fenwick, 2011. www.equalityhumanrights.com/uploaded_files/research/counter-terrorism_research_report_72.pdf

¹¹ HM Government, 2010.

¹² HM Government, 2015b.

¹³ The term 'austerity' refers to the large public spending cuts introduced by the UK government in and since 2010 in order to reduce public deficit. An extensive research programme at the London School of Economics found that 'Despite a promise that the better-off would carry the burden of austerity, changes to direct taxes, benefits and tax credits affected poorer groups most. After initial protection ended, estimates suggest that poverty increased to 2014/15 and will get worse in the next five years' (Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, 2015).

¹⁴ Women's Budget Group, 2015.

¹⁵ EVAW, 2013. See also Women's Resource Centre, 2013a.

¹⁶ In July 2015, the government announced the withdrawal of funding for ESOL (English for speakers of other languages). www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/446922/Funding_Allocations_2015_to_2016.pdf

¹⁷ Home Office, 2014a.

¹⁸ 'We were especially concerned by the reluctance of statutory agencies to intervene because forced marriage was seen as a cultural practice to be tolerated rather than challenged. We campaigned to gain widespread acceptance of the view that it is not racist not to intervene to protect a young person from forced marriage and that forced marriage is an abuse of their human right to choice in marriage. We argued that all women should expect and be afforded state protection against violence, including forced marriage.' The Forced Marriage Campaign, Southall Black Sisters website, www.southallblacksisters.org.uk/campaigns/forced-marriage-campaign/

¹⁹ Macfarlane and Dorkenoo, 2015.

²⁰ HM Government, 2015d.

²¹ www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-33572428

²² www.theguardian.com/society/2015/feb/04/doctor-not-guilty-fgm-dhanuson-dharmasena

²³ Home Office, 2015.

²⁴ Dustin and Phillips, 2008.

²⁵ Gay, 2015; Home Office, 2014; 2014b.

²⁶ HM Government, 2015c.

²⁷ Women's Resource Centre, 2013b, 163.

²⁸ Dustin and Phillips, 2008.

²⁹ www.gmp.police.uk/live/nhoodv3.nsf/WebsitePages/AC5B15D98E39099780257E820045C8C6?OpenDocument

³⁰ www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/cosmopolitan-uses-powerful-image-of-girl-suffocating-in-plastic-to-front-britains-lost-women-report-in-protest-against-honour-killing-9980894.html

³¹ www.telegraph.co.uk/men/thinking-man/10950998/Should-I-be-worried-about-how-I-behaved-in-the-1970s.html and www.economist.com/news/britain/21660519-claims-long-ago-child-sex-abuse-reach-downing-street-see-no-evil

³² www.mirror.co.uk/all-about/operation-yewtree

³³ For reports of these cases: see Rochdale www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-25450512; Oxfordshire www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-oxfordshire-31643791; Derby www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-derbyshire-12137400; Rotherham www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-28934963; Telford www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-shropshire-22379414

³⁴ www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2526896/Revealed-Catalogue-police-failures-let-Rochdale-sex-grooming-gangs-flourish-claims-damning-police-report.html#ixzz3hyOrTvbu

³⁵ www.guardian.co.uk/society/2013/may/14/oxford-abuse-ring-social-services

³⁶ www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2262723/Gang-men-groomed-young-girls-sex-drove-terrified-victim-14-woods-night-threatened-cut-head-off.html

³⁷ www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-20316934

³⁸ www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201516/ldhansrd/text/150715-0001.htm#15071539000508

³⁹ www.gov.uk/government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech

⁴⁰ <http://ikwro.org.uk/2015/07/research-reveals-violence/#more-2539>

⁴¹ Following the publication in 1988 of *The Satanic Verses*, a novel by Salman Rushdie, which some Muslims found blasphemous, a *Fatwa* sentencing Rushdie and his publishers to death was issued by Ayatollah Khomeini, then leader of Iran in 1989 and violent and non-violent protests took place around the world, including in Bradford in the North of England where a public book-burning took place. For discussion of the controversy and the way in which it polarised Muslim and non-Muslim voices, see Modood, 2005, 118–24.

⁴² www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/dec/03/secondworldwar.religion

⁴³ Muslim Women's Network UK, 2013.

⁴⁴ 'The position of Muslims today in countries like Britain is similar to the other identities of 'difference' as Muslims catch up with and engage with the contemporary concept of equality' (Modood, 2013, 65).

⁴⁵ www.theguardian.com/society/2011/apr/11/eaves-housing-trafficking-salvation-army

⁴⁶ www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1402468/Father-jailed-for-killing-wife-in-front-of-children.html

⁴⁷ www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2788439/father-brought-daughter-24-britain-learn-english-stabbed-death-using-mobile-honour-killing.html

⁴⁸ 'Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact' (Williams, 1958)

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