Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of and justification for domestic violence

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ABSTRACT

To date nothing is known about the attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and domestic violence. Issues related to South Asian men and communities have remained largely under the surface due to religious and cultural sensitivity. The aim of the research is to examine the attitudes of South Asian men in London and the South East of England toward women and their understanding and justification of domestic violence. More specifically, the research explores a range of cultural and religious actions and behaviours in relation to women and domestic violence that have specific reference and are pertinent to South Asian communities. This includes a focus on: educational and employment attainment; domestic labour/household duties; type of and freedom to choose clothes worn; living away from home; relationships before marriage; marriage; divorce; and domestic violence.

The research applies an intersectional gender perspective as the key analytical concept to undertake the first dedicated multi-methodological study to explore South Asian men's attitudes across a range of cultural and religious issues. It provides a baseline for understanding South Asian men's perspectives, enabling policy and practice to tailor interventions to better assist South Asian women and engage in prevention. The first stage of the research consisted of piloting and constructing a new survey instrument; the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence Scale (SAATWDVS). South Asian men were approached in a range of locations to obtain diversity across socio-demographics such as age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and country of birth or migration, and asked to complete the SAATWDVS survey instrument. The sample is 190 South Asian men. The second stage comprised nine in-depth face-to-face interviews with South Asian men to explore the issues in more depth. Concepts such as masculinity, tradition, culture, religion, and honour were explored.

The findings show that whilst the majority of men held liberal attitudes, they were still setting the parameters of appropriate female behaviour. There

appeared to be a difference, albeit small, between the public and private sphere. Where behaviour was deemed to be unacceptable this was often framed within concerns for the protection and well-being of women. Gender and gender relations are not static but evolving and becoming more progressive within the UK's South Asian community. Men's attitudes are understood as located in a complex interplay of factors: gender socialisation; religion; ethnic origin and country of birth; traditions; cultures; family/upbringing; the role of female family members; education; and interactions with female peers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The central aim of this research is to explore, through primary quantitative and qualitative data collection, attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and domestic violence, including whether violence is ever justified against a wife or partner. In this Chapter, the background and context to the research are introduced in Section 1.1. The importance and relevance of the research are outlined in Section 1.2 as well as the overall aims of the research (Section 1.3 and 1.4), and the structure of the thesis (Section 1.5).

1.1 Background and context

Since the late 1970s, South Asian feminist activists have highlighted domestic violence as a concern in South Asian communities and built community based responses. However, until the last decade, the issues remained largely hidden due to religious and cultural sensitivities and a lack of public awareness. In addition, whilst there was a growth in domestic violence organisations in the 1970s (Hague and Malos, 2005), the issues that affected South Asian women's experiences of domestic violence were not being addressed. *Newham Asian Women's Project* emerged out of a recognition that mainstream refuges were failing to meet the specific religious, cultural and linguistic needs of South Asian women fleeing violence (Gill and Rehman, 2004, p.76).

In the last decade, due to the publication of research; the growing pressure from non governmental organisations (NGOs) such as *Southall Black Sisters* and *Karma Nirvana*; and national and international media attention of high profile forced marriage, and honour based violence cases (see, for example, The Guardian, 2011), public awareness as well as discussion and debate has grown. For example, media reporting of action undertaken by the UK Border Agency and the Forced Marriage Unit to alert airports during the summer holiday break (June to August) when some women and girls are tricked by their parents to travel to their 'home' country in South Asia and forced into marriage (BBC News, 2013). Yet, whilst a raised profile, the focus

has not been on domestic violence. Instead the issue has been overshadowed by forced marriage and honour based violence. This issue is further thrown into the background, as misreporting by the media through misunderstanding and misapplying terms such as honour based violence has meant that domestic violence has become subsumed (Patel, 2012).

In addition, South Asian communities are often being treated as one homogenous group, and become synonymous and 'symbolic of all that is deemed wrong with minorities' (Patel, 2012; see also Gill, 2006) with South Asian men often seen as oppressors and South Asian women as oppressed. What do we know about South Asian men in the UK, if anything, in relation to attitudes toward women and domestic violence? Balzani (2010) adds that:

> South Asian male violence has too often been explained in both the popular media and the legal and political spheres with reference to cultural and social traditions. At its crudest, the argument runs: what Asian men do here and now in Britain is merely a remanifestation of what they have always done back 'home'. This specious argument creates the false impression that such violence is somehow uniquely endemic to these traditions, and also potentially characterises this violence as an essential trait that is embedded in the ethnic or 'racial' make-up of men (p.82).

Whilst the Westminster government policy agenda has focussed on domestic violence, no attention has been placed on domestic violence in South Asian communities. It has, although, begun to focus on and address other forms of violence against women within South Asian communities. These efforts include the creation of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) Forced Marriage Unit (2000), the 2008 strategy on honour based violence launched by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), and the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014. The 2014 Act makes it a criminal offence to force someone to marry. This includes taking someone overseas to force them to marry, marrying someone who lacks the mental capacity to consent to the marriage, and breaching a Forced Marriage Protection Order.

Despite this enhanced awareness and government policies and initiatives on forced marriage and honour based violence, there is a lack of accurate and comprehensive data on the extent of domestic violence against South Asian women. The British Crime Survey (now Crime Survey England and Wales) collects data on domestic violence but data on South Asian female victims of domestic violence is not collected regularly and it is not broken down by ethnicity. For example, in the findings presented from the 2001 British Crime Survey, South Asian victims of domestic violence were grouped as 'Asian' (see Chapter Three for details and findings). There is, however, a number of UK qualitative research studies undertaken with South Asian women to examine their experience of domestic violence (for example, Rai and Thiara, 1997; Gill, 2004. See Chapter Three).

Statistics on other forms of violence against South Asian women, which this research also makes reference to and draws upon, show that from January to December 2012 the Forced Marriage Unit gave advice or support in 1,485 cases (Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2012). Almost half of the cases reported to the Forced Marriage Unit in the UK involve Pakistan (41%), with Bangladesh (11%) and India (8%) accounting for a further 19 per cent (Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2012). There are also no published statistics on the number of honour based violence cases in the UK, but it is estimated that there are around 12 honour murders a year (Home Office, 2009).

1.2 Relevance of the research

> Only changes in male behaviour and attitudes towards violence against women will eliminate the violence South Asian women currently suffer (Balzani, 2010, p.89).

Whilst there is a lack of information and data, evidence presented above and by the British Crime Survey, as well as NGOs, such as *Karma Nirvana* who receive on average 500 calls to their helpline a month related to a possible

forced marriage (Sanghera, 2013), suggest that violence against South Asian women and girls is a significant issue.

Wider debate around gender roles, norms and attitudes within South Asian communities, especially from South Asian men's perspectives is absent from media attention, government policy, and research. In the last three decades, researchers have investigated attitudes toward women and domestic violence in many societies throughout the world but an examination and review of this knowledge base confirmed an absence of research on South Asian men (see Chapters Two and Three).

This is the first dedicated multi-methodological study undertaken with South Asian men in the UK to explore attitudes across a range of cultural and religious issues in relation to women and domestic violence.

This study will provide a baseline for understanding South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence, enabling policy and practice to tailor interventions to better assist South Asian women who have experienced control and violence in their lives.

1.3 The research study and methodology

The research was carried out with South Asian men in London and the South East of England (Kent). The location is significant; as since the time of mass migration to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, London and Kent have been two of the geographical and concentrated areas where South Asian communities have resided. Men were selected on the basis of their ethnic origin; South Asian is defined as a person living in the UK, including those born and/or reared in the country and whose ethnic origin is from India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh.

The theoretical framework drawn on for the research is 'standpoint epistemology' (Hawkesworth, 2006) and 'intersectionality' (Crenshaw, 1991). In addition, contemporary gender theory, particularly the concepts of gender

order and gender regimes (Connell, 2009) and hegemonic masculinity are used. This study, therefore, applies an intersectional gender perspective as the key analytical concept to explore and understand South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

The study uses a mixed methods approach (quantitative and qualitative methods and data) to explore a range of cultural and religious actions and behaviours that have specific reference and are pertinent to South Asian communities. The research focuses on: educational and employment attainment; domestic labour/household duties; type of and freedom to choose clothes worn; living away from home; relationships before marriage; marriage; divorce; and domestic violence.

The fieldwork was done and research evidence was gathered in two stages; a survey followed by face to face in-depth interviews.

The first stage consisted of piloting and constructing a new survey instrument. Following an evaluation of existing scales and studies, and a literature review, a new reliable and valid survey instrument was constructed (see Chapter Four); the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence Scale (SAATWDVS). South Asian men were approached in a diverse range of locations to obtain diversity across socio-demographics such as age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and country of birth or migration, and asked to complete the questionnaire. The sample size was 190 South Asian men. The second stage comprised nine in-depth, face-to-face interviews with South Asian men to explore the issues in more depth.

1.4 Aims of the research

There is a dearth of literature on South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence (see Ozcakir, 2008; and Yick and Oomen-Early, 2008). The five national and international studies undertaken on South Asian men identified in the literature review (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 1) have a number of limitations, including: scope or under-explored themes; the

methodology; and the lack of theoretical perspectives when presenting findings.

This study aims to fill the gaps in knowledge by using a mixed methods approach to explore and identify what South Asian men's attitudes are and investigating previously unexamined differences *among* South Asian men. The key research questions are: what is considered unacceptable behaviour for South Asian women and when is violence considered justified to control such behaviour?; what concepts help to explain South Asian men's attitudes?; is there a South Asian masculinity?

The aim and objectives of the survey were:

- to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward women and to explore differences among them;
- to explore what South Asian men consider as unacceptable female behaviour;
- to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward domestic violence and to explore differences among them;
- to examine whether South Asian men justify the use of violence against a wife or partner, and if so, under what circumstances;
- to explore whether and which socio-demographics are associated with South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

The interviews build on and complement the survey findings:

- to explore differences within South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence;
- to explore themes and concepts that might explain South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence;
- to examine whether there is a South Asian masculinity.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Chapter Two provides an overview of the empirical and theoretical literature on South Asian communities and on attitudes toward women. First, the theoretical frameworks for the study are outlined, followed by a contextual background of South Asian communities and South Asian migration to Britain. This is necessary in 'locating' South Asian men within the British population. The previous literature on attitudes toward women is examined, which reveals an absence of studies on South Asian men. Finally, how power and control through culture, religion, honour and forced marriage is applied and exercised over South Asian women is examined.

Chapter Three presents a critical analysis of the empirical and the theoretical literature on domestic violence. This includes debates on defining and measuring domestic violence; theoretical and explanatory frameworks; previous research on domestic violence in South Asian communities; and the prevalence and justification of domestic violence.

Chapter Four provides a discussion on the methodology for undertaking the research. The first section addresses the epistemological framework and methodological approach followed by an outline of the research questions and discussion of the rationale for the selection of the methods. The survey is then examined; the construction of the survey instrument, the steps taken to draft the items, and assessment of the reliability and validity of the research instrument. This is followed by a discussion on the approach to undertaking the interviews via semi structured in-depth interviews; the construction of the interview guide; and transcription and analysis. The intersection of ethnicity/race and gender and the considerations in undertaking research with South Asian men are presented as well as a reflection on the research process and the limitations of this study.

Chapter Five presents the descriptive statistics from the survey. The first section discusses the characteristics of the 190 South Asian men who participated in the research, and thereafter, descriptive statistics on attitudes

toward women and domestic violence. More specifically, whether, which, and when female behaviour and actions are considered unacceptable, and whether violence against a partner or wife is justified.

Chapter Six builds on the findings from the previous chapter to provide more detailed analysis using the chi-square statistical test and factor analysis. There has been a tendency to categorise all people from the South Asian subcontinent as 'Asians', and South Asian communities as homogenous, but there are distinct cultural and religious differences and the differences need to be accounted for. As a result, little attention has been paid to the scope and segmented differences among South Asian men and by socio-demographics such as age, ethnic origin, and religion in examining attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Therefore, social categories such as ethnicity/race, religion, and country of birth are addressed to explore which South Asian men have liberal or traditional attitudes toward South Asian women and domestic violence.

Chapter Seven presents an analysis from the nine face-to-face in-depth interviews on attitudes toward women. The interviews are designed to be complementary to the survey and provide in-depth reflections on 'how', but more importantly on 'why', South Asian men hold liberal or traditional attitudes.

Chapter Eight explores South Asian men's attitudes toward domestic violence and includes: definition and prevalence of domestic violence; justification of domestic violence; and response to domestic violence. The second section explores what has influenced men's attitudes, including a discussion of South Asian masculinities. Although there is a growing body of studies that have examined masculinity in different cultural, racial and/or ethnic groups, relatively little attention has been paid to South Asian masculinities. This is supported by Hibbins and Pease (2009) who argue that the impact of race and class in men's lives needs to be examined. This study is a contribution to understanding how masculinities are constructed in South Asian men's discourses.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis and presents the original contribution to knowledge and the significance of the research. It ends with directions for future research, which can extend the insights of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW I – SOUTH ASIAN COMMUNITIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

One research question for this thesis was to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward women. This required exploring literature on South Asian communities and on attitudes toward women. This Chapter is divided into three main sections. First, the contextual background with an overview of South Asian communities and South Asian migration to Britain is outlined in Section 2.1 and 2.2. This 'locates' South Asian men showing that the demographic profile and characteristics of this group are different to those of the White population. The previous literature on attitudes toward women is examined in Section 2.3 and uncovers that there is limited literature on attitudes toward South Asian women. Where literature is available it points to forms of female behaviour deemed unacceptable and controlled. A comprehensive and critical review of pre-existing established instruments to measure attitudes toward women is examined in Chapter Four. Finally, Section 2.4 explores how power and control through culture, religion, honour and forced marriage are applied and exercised over South Asian women.

The next two sections provide an overview of South Asian communities and South Asian migration to the UK in order to 'locate' South Asian men and to provide details of the demographic profile and characteristics of this group (for more detail of the demographics profile, see Chapter Five).

2.1 South Asian communities

The first large scale migration and settlement of South Asians in the UK began in the early 1950s with a steady decline from the mid 1960s onwards (Ballard, 1994). Just under 8,000 entered Britain from India and Pakistan in 1955 and this number rose to 49,000 in 1961 and 44,000 for the first six months of 1962 up to the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (Anwar, 1998), when new regulations permitted only those with government-issued employment vouchers to settle. Those who entered Britain before the

1962 Act were predominantly economically active (Anwar, 1998), the majority of whom were young adult men from rural areas (Ballard, 1994). They were employed in the poorly paid unskilled sectors to fill a gap for labour 'as a result of the reconstruction and expansion of British industry after the war' (Anwar, 1998, p.17). Men with educational and professional qualifications arrived with higher expectations and aspirations but most found that they were no better placed in the labour market than those with no education and qualifications (Ballard, 1994). Many of these men had no alternative other than to take unskilled manual jobs. However: 'some, like doctors, made progress towards the middle ranks of their professional hierarchies but promotion to more senior positions largely eluded them' (Ballard, 1994, p.22). The limited range of occupations in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in concentrations in certain industrial sectors and in certain towns, cities and regions of Britain (Anwar, 1998). For example: 'Indians are more widely spread but relatively concentrated in the South East and Midlands regions' and the 'Bangladeshis are mainly concentrated in Tower Hamlets and Pakistanis in Bradford' (Anwar, 1998, p.19). Based on the 2011 Census, this pattern has remained with London and the West Midlands having higher than average proportions of South Asian communities; 6.6 per cent Indians in London, 4.1 per cent Pakistanis and 3.9 per cent Indians in the West Midlands (Office for National Statistics, 2012a). The settlement patterns of South Asians have a particular importance to this research as the geographical focus of the research is London and the South East of England, where there is a concentration of people with Indian and Bangladeshi origins.

The 1970s marked a second and ongoing phase of Bangladeshi migration and settlement in Britain involving: 'family reunification and permanent settlement. That is, much of the migration flow has resulted from the sponsorship of family members by those already present in Britain' (Kibria, 2008, p.248). This pattern of migration and settlement was echoed among those from India and Pakistan. The proportion and flow of migration to the UK in recent decades has declined. However, a (UK Government) Home Office (2011) document examining marriage-related migration found that the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) accounted for the largest

proportion of migrant spouses in the UK, and represented a third of all grants of settlement in 2008 (41% in 2009). The 2011 Census findings on international migration also found that South Asian countries (namely India and Pakistan) continued to rank highly within the most common non-UK countries of birth (Office for National Statistics, 2012b). Muslims are the second largest religious group (4.8% of the population). Followed by: Hindu (1.5% of population); and 423,000 people identified as Sikh (0.8%). The figures from the 2011 Census show that 7.5 per cent of the population were Asian/Asian British; Indian was the next largest ethnic group (2.5%) followed by Pakistani (2.0%) (Office for National Statistics, 2012c).

Migration to the UK through sponsorship of family members and marriage migration alongside economic and cultural traditions of living, means that, based on findings from the 2001 Census, South Asian households tend to be larger; particularly Bangladeshi, often housing extended families across three generations (Office for National Statistics, 2005). Such households are likely to be shared with migrants (either first generation and/or recent) and British born children of families that have migrated to the UK, who have been born, raised and educated in Britain. These children are sometimes seen to be caught between two cultures (Cinnirella and Hamilton, 2007): the 'home' and 'host' culture. In a study with British born South Asian adolescents, most young South Asians chose to integrate rather than adopt the traditional ways of their parents' home country (Ghuman, 1999), at the same time they maintained parts of traditional culture or adapted aspects of it to majority norms. Research also suggests that those from professional backgrounds, and Hindus and Sikhs were keener to acculturate, while Muslims were more likely to want to maintain a culture (Ghuman, 2003) based in Islamic values and family traditions (Shaw, 2000).

The concepts of 'assimilation' and 'acculturation' are two key categorisations used to explain how people from their 'home' country of origin are incorporated into their 'new' or 'host' country. Whilst 'assimilation' and 'acculturation' have been used synonymously, they are said to be located in two different disciplines. 'Acculturation' is preferred by anthropologists and is

primarily concerned with 'how so-called 'primitive' societies changed to become more civilized following cultural contact with an enlightened group of people' (Sam, 2006, p.13) and 'assimilation' is preferred by sociologists and is directed towards those who 'through contact with the 'host national', gradually conformed to the ways of life of the host people' (Sam, 2006, p.13).

For Bhopal (1997), both concepts describe a situation in which: 'newcomers change their habits, ways of life, social groups and personal attitudes and identity in response to the patterns they encounter in the host society' (p.7). Cuellor (2000) has a more open approach to acculturation, namely: 'a dynamic process that involves cultural changes triggered when two cultural groups come in direct contact' (Cuellar, 2000 cited in Yick and Oomen-Early, 2008, p.1079). Alongside debates over what constitutes 'assimilation' and 'acculturation', it raises the question over how long contact should be for, for someone to be qualified as 'acculturated'? And does the contact need to be continuous? Jackson (2007) makes the interesting observation that it is not clear to what extent traditional South Asian values infuse the behaviours of those of the 'new' or 'host' country or how long it takes for South Asian migrants to begin adopting Western values. He suggests that acculturation is not a linear process: 'whereby immigrant ethnic minorities move in stages in adopting the behaviours of their new environment. Culture is enduring, and cultural adaptation is not merely process in which one selectively chooses to maintain and adhere to certain values and to discard others' (p.32). These themes are explored drawing on the similarities and differences found among the South Asian men taking part in this study.

2.2 Marriage migration

Some have argued that there are differences between the beliefs of a person who has entered a country through migration and that of a person who was born and lives in a country (Wallach et al, 2010). South Asian men that migrate to the UK bring with them the norms from their 'home' country (Dasgupta and Warrier, 1996), and when the cultures of the two countries are different, a migrant has three choices: firstly, to continue to hold and maintain

existing beliefs and attitudes, including what it is to be a man and a woman; secondly, to totally adapt to and embrace the beliefs and attitudes of the new country (Conway-Long, 2006), or finally, to adjust and reconfigure parts of each. Interestingly, research undertaken by Crossley and Pease (2009) found that changes in men's attitudes followed those of the women in their lives, namely driven by the demands and expectations of their female partners. They note:

> Migration provides opportunities for self-reflection and comparison between what it means to be a man in different countries and contexts. On the other hand, where changes do not take place, where men 'resist' changes in attitudes and behaviour, separation from partners can follow, with some men feeling confused at what has happened and some feeling marginalised by the 'system' that a few perceived as being positively biased towards women and their rights (p.125).

Marriage migration is significant to this research as a South Asian man entering the UK for marriage may bring with him the norms from his home country and not view 'his new wife's behaviour as acceptable given the norms in place of his country of origin' (Balzani, 2010, p.94). This is pertinent as Bandyopadhyay and Khan (2003) claim that throughout South Asia, there is a general acceptance that men have the right to control their partners' movement and behaviour and if a woman was to challenge that right then she may be punished.

Who is more likely to marry someone from overseas? A study with Pakistani families in Oxford found 50 out of 70 marriages were with a man from Pakistan, usually a relative and most often a first cousin (Shaw, 2001 cited in Dale and Ahmed, 2011). Research undertaken by Dale and Ahmed (2011) explores whether gender, ethnic group and qualifications are associated with whether women marry a partner from their country of origin (South Asia). They found that Indian women with higher qualifications were less likely to marry a partner from overseas than Indian women with no qualifications but

Pakistani/Bangladeshi women with degrees were as likely to marry a spouse from overseas as women with lower levels of education. They also found that UK born Pakistani and Bangladeshi women who married men from overseas were constrained in their ability to take paid work (Dale and Ahmed, 2011). This may partly explain why British South Asian women have been found to think that a marriage partner from abroad was more likely to have traditional values and expectations than a partner brought up in the UK (Dale et al, 2002) and thus a preference for apparently liberal minded British born South Asian men (see also Pease, 2009). There were also further religious differences in terms of dating and marriage. Hindu and Sikh parents were less concerned than Muslim parents and were seen as being more prepared to accommodate their children's wishes to date and choose a partner (Ghuman, 2003).

Conversely, a key factor in British South Asian men returning to their country of origin to marry is the desire to find a woman who is more likely or will conform to traditional gender norms and fit the 'traditional mould' (Abraham, 2008 cited in Palriwala and Uberio, 2008, p.312). Women from South Asian countries who join their partner in Britain through marriage often come: 'as dependents from a culture where they were responsible for domestic life and men were expected to be the breadwinners' (Dale and Ahmed, 2011, p.906). As a result of this experience, South Asian women who migrate to countries such as the UK and the US may carry with them limited knowledge of their rights and view men's use of control and violence as acceptable (Schuler et al, 2008).

2.3 The position of, and attitudes toward South Asian women

This section summarises the current knowledge base by providing an examination of previous research undertaken on attitudes toward women in the public and private sphere looking specifically at a number of different aspects of South Asian female conduct and behaviour. The literature here was also used to form the first stage of the development of the survey research instrument along with the examination of pre-existing established

instruments to measure attitudes toward women (in Chapter Four), as none are sensitive to the specifics of South Asian communities.

In the context of South Asian communities and families, domestic violence, honour based violence, and domestic or household labour or 'housework' takes place in the private sphere. Obtaining educational and employment opportunities takes place in the public sphere. The public and private spheres examined in this study include educational and employment attainment; marriage and compatibility with employment; gender roles and domestic labour/household duties; type of clothes worn; relationships before marriage; and more generally, marriage and divorce. All these issues are addressed in the research instruments (see Chapter Four).

Research has shown that South Asian parents have high aspirations for their children (Ghuman, 1994; Basit, 1997). Educational qualifications are highly valued in the South Asian community (Dale et al, 2002), and as part of 'a drive for qualification', there is often a strong push from parents and families to succeed through higher education. As a result, since the 1970s, there has been an increase in the level of educational attainment and performance of South Asian men and women (Modood et al, 1997). Four decades later, pupils of Indian origin tend to out-perform both the average and White pupils, although pupils of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin tend to achieve lower levels of educational attainment (Cassen and Kingdon, 2007). Higher education for young South Asian women is also often viewed as having an intrinsic value as it increases marriage prospects and is believed to have an important role in upward social mobility; it provides status to the family and material wellbeing to her in-laws (Ayyub, 2000 cited in Dasgupta, 2007). Higher education is also seen as: 'something to fall back on in the event of their future partner being unable to provide for them or of the marriage ending' (Dale et al, 2002, p.953).

The rate of employment participation is relatively high, but again mixed, among women in the South Asian community. Bhopal (1998) using the Labour Force Survey investigated changes over time (1984 to 1994) in

economic activity, and found that there had been rapid social change particularly among the 25 – 30 age group, where some South Asian women were becoming highly educated and entering professions. Whilst for Pakistani/Bangladeshi women the numbers remain low, there had, nonetheless, been a substantial increase. This pattern remains the same nearly two decades later. The 2010 Labour Force Survey highlighted that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women had the lowest employment rate of all ethnic groups at 26.5 per cent and two thirds of all Bangladeshi women were economically inactive, compared with only a quarter of White women (see also Dale et al, 2002). Data from the 2011 Census also shows that rates for unemployment were high for 25 – 49 year old women in the Pakistani (15%) and Bangladeshi (18%) groups (Nazroo and Kapadia, 2013). One explanation offered, although not conclusive, is that women in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups have elevated levels of caring responsibility, related to high fertility rates, which lead to low rates of labour market participation (ibid). Education and employment influenced women's marital status with highly educated women and women in employment less likely to marry before the age of 30 (Bhopal, 1998). Bhopal (1998) found that the high numbers of Indian women who were not married were more likely to be employed and highly educated than Pakistani/Bangladeshi women who were married.

Whether employment is incompatible with marriage has been examined in previous research, as well as who should perform domestic labour. A qualitative study undertaken with 68 ethnic minority families showed that most Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents felt that married women should not take up paid employment outside the home, especially those with children (Modood et al, 1997). However, a study which examined the Pakistani community in Oxford found that attitudes varied: some argued that it was not possible for a Muslim woman to perform domestic responsibilities while pursuing a career; whilst others felt it possible to combine the two without compromising Islamic views (Shaw, 1994). Responsibility for domestic labour and childcare is what is often associated with the construction of femininity, whereas masculinity and 'men's power is

experienced as being founded upon their paid work' (Conway-Long, 2006 cited in Pease, 2009, p.81-2) or being a breadwinner. Bhopal (1997) in a study with South Asian women aged 25 to 30 living in East London found that women from 'traditional' families (defined in terms of an arranged marriage and being given a dowry) performed all domestic labour tasks and emphasised separate roles for women and men: homemaker and breadwinner. Many women did not want their husbands to perform domestic labour and felt that it was an 'unmanly' thing to do. Almost half (42%) of respondents said women did the housework in South Asian communities due to socialisation and cultural influence and 39 per cent believed that a woman's place was in the home.

Studies exploring the domestic sphere provide an insight into attitudes toward women. The studies undertaken to investigate social and cultural aspects of South Asian girls and women's lives in Britain reveal that their behaviour was often controlled and monitored. Interestingly, what also emerged was that some parents associated Britain with moral corruption and this was a factor in controlling the activities of both young men and women (Shaw, 1994). A later study with young South Asian women found that: 'parental and community regulation of women's sexuality was tied into protecting young women from the ills of western society' (Handa, 2003, p.109). This often meant that for many Asian teenage girls their social behaviour was restricted by their parents (Ghuman, 1994) and orientated around their home, family and religion: 'their social activities were guided by their parents and the expectations of the Asian community, particularly with regard to contact with boys' (Hennink et al, 1999, p.870). The three main influences in young women's experiences of relationships were: religion, culture and community expectations. When they no longer lived in the parental home or in the Asian community these influences became less apparent (Hennink et al, 1999).

In a small Scottish study (Wardak, 2000), Pakistani boys were asked a range of questions in relation to their attitudes toward young women. The boys' responses, which are formed before adulthood, were mixed with some

holding liberal attitudes and others more traditional attitudes. In relation to western clothes worn by Pakistani women, 41.67 per cent (n= 25) said that 'there is nothing wrong with it as long as it decent', whereas 26.67 per cent (n= 16) said that 'it is wrong' (p.135). Other studies have argued that decency and modesty is associated with traditional clothes and adopting such dress codes was interpreted as subscribing to the values and codes of behaviour of their community (Dale et al, 2002). Controlling the activities of young men and women extended to relationships before marriage. Pakistani boys in Scotland were also asked about their attitudes towards having a girlfriend. Just over a quarter (28.33%) said that 'it is wrong' and around the same proportion (23.33%) thought 'it is alright'. However, just under half (48.34%) gave conditional acceptance with 28.33 per cent believing 'it is alright if the idea is just friendship or intention of marriage' and 18.33 per cent said 'it is alright if the girl is Pakistani' (Wardak, 2000).

Another major theme in research, in South Asian communities, is the value accorded to a good marriage and this may be one explanation for why the marriage rate is high (Dale and Ahmed, 2011). A family and marriage is considered central to women's lives and is said to mark the transition from a girl to a woman (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2004). However, Manderson and Bennett (2003) argue that, in the transition, the girl moves from being the property/possession of her father to that of her husband, and it provides men with 'future caretakers'. It is also seen as a location in which a South Asian woman's identity is derived from (Venkataramani-Kothari, 2007) and where her 'status is determined by her husband's standing in society' (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2004, p.107). Although both men and women are taught to: 'cherish marriage as the mainstay of South Asian culture, the main responsibility of saving both the marriage and family is placed squarely on women' (Roy, 2012, p.1110).

In this gendered context, marriage has been analysed as a location for controlling and regulating sexuality (Walle, 2004) and is one argument for the 'cultural preference of having women married before the age of 25 and men by the age of 30' (Chopra et al, 2004, p.122). This is supported by Berthoud

(2005, p.240) who found that about three-quarters of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women were married by the age of 25, compared to 67 per cent for Indians and 55 per cent for White women (cited in Dale and Ahmed, 2011). An independent unmarried or a single woman can represent a potential threat because: 'not only was a large proportion of their day spent out of surveillance of the honour community, but the women were also accruing independent earnings that could facilitate behaviour that may not have been sanctioned by their parents' (Bradby, 1999, p.161). Whereas: 'if a girl remained at home under the supervision of her family there was less risk that she would engage in activities which could damage the family's reputation' (Dale et al, 2002, p.957). The main reason that young unmarried women moved away from their parental home was to pursue higher education or to take up employment (Hennink et al, 1999). Since it is still considered unusual for a woman to remain single, being in higher education or being a carer are the only socially acceptable reasons, although these would 'often defer the marriage rather than prevent it' (Gangoli et al, 2006, p.25). The issue of women living away from home is explored in the research instruments.

The literature reviewed in this section revealed first, that British South Asian women are likely to have their behaviour controlled and monitored. Secondly, it shows *what* behaviour was controlled and monitored, and finally, *when* and *why* it was controlled and monitored. The latter was largely due to increasing 'good' marriage opportunities. It also showed that women who are married to men from their 'home' country and women who come from South Asian 'home' countries to marry British South Asian men are more likely to experience control through traditional gender norms.

What also emerges is that research to date has been relatively uniform representing South Asian community norms as homogenous, that the variations and complexities as well as the gaps or spaces in attitudes toward women have not been explored. Previous research has been based on the accounts of South Asian women and pupils, whereas South Asian men's attitudes toward women have not been explored. The focus of the five

identified studies undertaken on South Asian men has focussed primarily on attitudes toward domestic violence and not attitudes toward women (see Chapter Three). Relevant here is the study among Pakistani Muslim men in Bradford (Macey, 1999a), which found that some men used religion to justify violence against women, whereas, women were using it as a source of strength and to negotiate the cultural and religious requirements, which men try to impose on them. The diversity and complexity of men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence in this study are presented in Chapters Five to Eight.

The next section explores *how* behaviour is controlled. More specifically, it looks at how culture, religion, honour and forced marriage as applications of power and control are exercised through masculinity over women by South Asian men and South Asian communities to enforce a specific and valued femininity.

2.4 Culture, religion, honour and forced marriage as applications of power and control

> Deconstructing hegemonic notions of gender and sexuality is central to the author's exploration of how visible gender transgressions and sexually 'deviant' women are disciplined and controlled via gender-based violence (Manderson and Bennett, 2003, p.11).

Culture can be viewed as important to people's sense of self identity. Jackson (2007) defines culture as: 'patterns of behaviours and customs such as food, dress, music, and the arts' (p.32). Bhopal (1997) has a different view, defining culture in terms of how communities are specific and different, with different values and ways of life, and that the: 'diverse bases of cultural differentiation include ethnicity, class, gender, religion, language and dress' (p.4). For example, South Asian communities comprise of people from different religions, beliefs and faiths, castes, regional and language groups with a variety of social and cultural characteristics (Bhopal, 1997).

The main South Asian ethnic groups are Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani, and there is limited overlap between religious affiliation and ethnic group: with 95 per cent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations Muslim, Indians are more religiously diverse with predominantly Hindu and Sikh affiliations (Brown, 2000). There are also differences in language: Bengali and Urdu are largely spoken by Muslims and those whose ethnic origin is from Bangladesh and Pakistan (respectively); Hindus mostly speak Hindi; and Sikhs predominantly from Northern India tend to speak Punjabi. Cuisine and clothes worn also distinguish country of origin and religious affiliations. For example, the food eaten by Hindus tends to be vegetarian; pork and drinking alcohol is not permitted for Muslims, and smoking and drinking alcohol is not permitted by Sikhs. The clothes worn by both South Asian women and men can be a visible marker or symbol of cultural identity (Modood et al, 1997). Whether traditional clothes are worn in Britain tends to differ by region, class, migration status, and age. Young British South Asian men and women are more likely to wear 'western' clothes than their parents and grandparents, and women tend to wear traditional clothing more than men (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990).

Whilst culture is important to self identity and distinguishes communities it is neither fixed nor static (Hoogte and Kingma, 2004) as it is: 'constantly being recreated, reshaped and transformed by people, because people have their own ways of doing things and making sense of the world through their own experiences' (McKerl, 2007, p.206). Culture can be analysed as a context in which the perceptions of gender and gender roles may develop and lead to controlling women's behaviour and dress both before and during marriage, and justifying domestic violence (World Health Organization, 2002). This is because it is used to define what 'normal' or acceptable behaviour is and 'cultural norms and traditions are often used to police women's sexuality and to limit their roles to marriage and motherhood' (McFadden, 2003 cited in Bhana et al, 2007, p.135). Jackson (2007) adds that: 'culture plays a role in influencing attitudes sanctioning, minimizing, or masking domestic violence' (p.32). Patel (2003) makes the interesting observation that: 'women use culture to explain the constraints, both real and psychological, that keep them

in an abusive relationship, whilst men use culture to maintain power and control' (p.249).

As culture is fluid, open to interpretation and often intersects with religion, cultural arguments have enabled men to sustain and reinforce gender inequalities (Baobaid, 2006) and uphold certain behaviour related to values and morals. Influential individuals (i.e. religious and community leaders) within a society may hold positions in which they are viewed as responsible for reproducing cultural norms and traditions (see Patel, 2003). A significant aim may be to hold onto values which are associated with the 'home' country to prevent becoming 'westernised' or assimilated, thus 'diluting' their culture. This may involve interpretation of religious texts to justify discriminatory practices. This is compounded as culture and religion are not easily separable and there is an increasing blurring between culture and religion (Patel, 2003; Patel, 2012). Baobaid (2006) supports this arguing that the teachings of Islam have been mixed with cultural traditions in Muslim countries and that: 'while Islam clearly articulates equality between men and women, the Qur'an has been interpreted in a manner supportive of male dominance and patriarchy' (p.165). Interestingly, Ayyub (2007) points to how, as more and more women study the Qur'an, the same verses are being 'interpreted without the patriarchal influence' (p.31). Similarly, in an examination of experiences and attitudes of second-generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim women in Britain, Butler (1999) found that young women maintained their commitment to Islam whilst using religion: 'as a guide to adopt a new role for themselves in British society, one which gives them more freedom and choice, yet at the same time, supports and strengthens their commitment to Islam' (p.136). In addition, Bhopal (1997) in a study with South Asian women found religion to be a significant impact on their lives. She highlights that:

> Women's experiences of religion are the key to social change in social communities. Many South Asian women are rejecting their parents' religions and cultural norms of behaviour to adapt a lifestyle which suits them. This lifestyle is based upon single women using their

education as a means of empowerment to maintain a lifestyle they feel comfortable with, one which enable them to enter employment (p.154).

2.4.1 Honour and forced marriage

> In an honour based society, the man is defined as the head of the family, irrespective of how much value is attached to female activities. The man is the defender of his and his family's honour: it is his duty to protect his and his family's honour against any behaviour that might be seen as shameful or humiliating by the community (Latif, 2010, p.220).

This section examines the concept of honour and two forms of violence against women; forced marriage and honour based violence, and how they can be applied and exercised over South Asian women to control behaviour.

A code of honour is a: 'set of standards that has been picked out as having a particular importance, that measures an individual's worth along some profoundly significant dimensions; a member of the honor group who fails to meet these standards is viewed not just as inferior but often also as despicable' (Stewart, 1994, p.55). Baker et al (1999) add that a 'person's honour depends on the behaviour of others and that behaviour, therefore, must be controlled' (p.165). The concept is increasingly highly contentious (Latif, 2010). 'It is clear that the concept of honour can be very broad and inclusive, containing an entire codex of concepts and behaviours. Codes of honour define the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and even thought, and women must sometimes tread carefully to avoid transgression' (Gill, 2006, p.2).

Wikan (1984) explores the meanings and implications of the concepts 'honour' and 'shame' including whether honour is the binary opposite of shame, but finds that, conceptually, the two concepts are poorly matched. In contrast, Gill (2011) argues that shame functions as the opposite to honour and that it is an: 'effective tool for curbing the behaviour of individuals, and operates as a threatened sanction imposed by a community on those who

transgress against the community's norms, traditions and values' (p.219 - 230). Baker et al (1999) add that 'the entire family experiences shame when a female member violates an honour norm' (p.169) and that 'community public opinion can have an important impact on the shame component of family honour' (p.171). Whilst the notions 'honour' and 'shame' are not specific to South Asian cultures, they exert a particularly powerful influence on South Asian women's lives (Rai and Thiara, 1997; Gill, 2004).

The gendered meaning and impact of honour codes referred to above result in women being seen to represent the family's honour (Baobaid, 2006), responsible for safe-guarding it through appropriate behaviour and avoiding situations where compromising behaviour would be possible (Bradby, 1999). In turn, women know how they have to behave in order to be accepted as 'good' daughters and community members. This is shown in a Canadian study of young South Asians, as they: 'were all concerned about their sexual reputation in one way or another and were very aware that their behaviour has an impact on how their family is viewed by the rest of the community' (Handa, 2003, p.109). Women who comply and maintain their prescribed roles bring honour to their family (Dasgupta, 2007), and it is important that young women avoid any behaviour that might damage the family honour (Dale et al, 2002).

Control over the content and definition of honour is exercised by men: 'thus, the male role of family protector is enacted in a manner that gives him authority over the behaviour of women to defend family honour' (Baobaid, 2006, p.161). There is often an accompanying understanding and awareness amongst young men that they are expected to monitor the behaviour of female family members (Bandyopadhyay and Khan, 2003), alongside responsibility for protecting women. Many commentators ascribe the existence and perpetuation of honour codes to the control of female sexuality, most notably marital infidelity and premarital sex (Kulczycki and Windle, 2011; Idriss and Abbas, 2010). If a woman is caught, suspected of, or is having an 'illicit' relationship with a man, family members in extreme cases can believe that killing her is necessary to restore her family's honour

(Baobaid, 2006). Siddiqui (2003) argues that: 'forced marriage is primarily about the control of female sexuality and autonomy' and 'women's 'sexual purity' reflects on the honour of the family' (p.71). In other words, the consequence of behaving dishonourably and bringing shame on the family can be forced marriage – this has lead some to argue that forced marriage is itself a crime of 'honour' (Latif, 2010).

In an attempt to control, police, or change behaviour, South Asian parents may marry or force a daughter's marriage (Latif, 2010). This is also an attempt to prevent damage to the family's honour and the 'girl's marriage chances' (Dale et al, 2002, p.958). Hennink et al (1999) in a study of Asian young women found that if a daughter had not behaved according to community expectations i.e. being involved in boys, then the parents may face difficulties in finding a husband for their daughter and the consequence may be an arranged or forced marriage. Other reasons underpinning why some families force their children (both male and female) into marriage based on findings from the Forced Marriage Unit and partner agencies to protect family honour or 'izzat' list: controlling unwanted sexuality (including perceived promiscuity and homosexuality); controlling alcohol and drug abuse, wearing make-up or behaving in a 'westernised manner' (HM Government, 2009) (see also Gangoli et al, 2006; Khanum, 2008). There is a clear definition of forced marriage; a marriage where one or both parties do not consent freely to the marriage, but in the early literature there was often a blurring between arranged and forced marriages (Caroll, 1998 cited in Gangoli et al, 2006, p.3). Whilst this has been challenged, some more recent discussions have suggested there may be a continuum (Anitha and Gill, 2009). In practice, some women may feel that there is little difference between the two because of the 'desire to please parents who exert emotional pressure is itself experienced as coercion' (Siddiqui, 2003, p.70).

The primacy of marriage and family makes ending marriage and applying for a divorce a precarious option for women. There is limited literature on divorce within South Asian communities but in many traditional cultures, marriage is seen as permanent and therefore divorce is unacceptable and a violation of

South Asian culture (Abraham, 2000 cited in Dasgupta, 2007). A divorced woman is thought to be tainted (Dasgupta, 2005) and failed in the role of wife and mother (Venkataramani-Kothari, 2007). This is best summed up by Ayyub (2007) who states that 'no price a woman can pay is greater than the shame she would bring on the family if she were to choose to end her marriage' (p.33). A qualitative study undertaken with 68 ethnic minority families, for example, showed that most Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents felt that married couples should not divorce as it is spiritually and morally unacceptable (Beishon et al, 1998). One suggestion may be that for Muslim women divorce occurs at two levels; religious and civil (Ayyub, 2000 cited in Dasgupta, 2007). Seeking a divorce on the grounds of domestic violence is often not considered sufficient and 'many women prefer to live in abusive relationships than to tackle the stigma of divorce' (Haj-Yahia, 2002, p.66-7). This is supported by Ahmed-Ghosh (2004) who argues that:

> for many women reporting domestic violence, divorce is not necessarily what they are seeking. Their interest lies in preserving their marriages and a cessation of the abuse. Marriage is what grants a woman her status, privileges, and, through her children, social security for the future (p.114).

The issue of divorce as well as men's understanding of the concepts of culture, religion, and honour in this section will be explored in the research instruments.

2.5 Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The review here revealed that there is limited literature on attitudes toward South Asian women, and secondly, to my knowledge, all the literature on what is known is from South Asian pupils or South Asian women's accounts.

The existing knowledge base suggest that whilst women in the public sphere have begun to attain high levels of education and employment, they are still, at varying levels, subjected to control in the private sphere. Studies undertaken to investigate social and cultural aspects of South Asian girls and women's lives in Britain revealed that their behaviour was often controlled and monitored to ensure appropriate behaviour and to maintain the honour of the family. A number of areas of public and private spheres were identified that need to be included in this study. These include: educational and employment attainment; marriage and compatibility with employment; gender roles and domestic labour/household duties; type of clothes worn; living away from home; relationships before marriage; marriage; and divorce.

There is also very little literature on South Asian men, including the shaping of masculinities in South Asian communities: 'Asian men are comparative latecomers to the race to 'unwrap' masculinity' (Chapman and Rutherford, 1988 cited in Alexander, 2000, p.16). Masculinity is the 'dominant' and 'powerful' gender position. It comes 'in many forms and packages' (see Pease, 2000, p.10) and, a category of gender, is socially constructed through gender socialisation. Within this, an area that is under studied is South Asian masculinities and how South Asian men 'do' gender in different ways. This is examined in Chapters Five to Eight, particularly Section 8.5.1 in Chapter Eight. Masculinity, through power and control, is produced at a number of sites that has specific consequences for women and girls. Section 2.4 explored how the practice of religion, honour, and particularly culture can be a site of production of masculinity. Detail on, as well as justification and explanation of, power and control in the context of domestic violence is provided in the next Chapter.

A discussion of attitudes toward women and the role of gender necessitates inclusion of domestic violence. A number of studies have been undertaken among non South Asian populations to examine how views on gender connect with those on domestic violence for women and men (see, for example, Luke et al, 2007), reporting that male attitudes are important predictors of domestic violence, whereby men who express more traditional

beliefs and practices (Venkataramani-Kothari, 2007), patriarchal or non-egalitarian attitudes are more likely to be abusive toward a partner and commit domestic violence. The next Chapter will examine domestic violence and more specifically, the definition and measurement of domestic violence; followed by an examination of studies undertaken with men on domestic violence; and finally, a discussion on power and control, including explanations of, and how violent men justify domestic violence.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW II – DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The previous Chapter examined literature on attitudes toward women with an emphasis on South Asian culture. This Chapter focuses on domestic violence. This includes: debates on defining and measuring domestic violence (Section 3.2 to 3.4); theoretical and explanatory frameworks (Section 3.5); previous research on domestic violence in South Asian communities outlined in Section 3.6; Sections 3.7 and 3.8 examine the prevalence and justification of domestic violence. The conclusion and the knowledge gap are provided in Section 3.9 revealing an absence of literature on South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Where studies have been undertaken there have a number of limitations, which this research addresses and overcomes.

3.1 Background

Domestic violence was brought to the forefront as a public issue in the UK in the 1970s, with feminist groups working with women in communities to establish refuges for women (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Harne and Radford, 2000). Little was known about the origins of domestic violence, or what forms the violence took and under what conditions it was considered justified (Dobash and Dobash, 1980). The dominant view held in the 1970s, and by some still, was that domestic violence was a 'private issue', which affected a minority of the population. For centuries it had been considered 'to be a desirable part of a patriarchal family system' (Greenblat, 1983, p.236), with certain levels of violence against wives accepted in British society (Dobash and Dobash, 1979). Such normalisation meant that until relatively recently few support services existed.

> There were no refuges, no safe havens, few housing, medical and social services, no counselling centres. There was no publicity or media coverage, not much in the way of legal remedies, and very little

help from the police. The abuse of wives within families was almost invisible (Hague and Wilson, 2000, p.157).

In the 1970s feminist groups and campaigns encouraged women to speak out about domestic violence, including women from black and ethnic minority communities (Harne and Radford, 2000). Although, Inam (2003) argues that 'Asian women began setting up refuges in the 1970s in part as a reaction to the perceived failure of the White women's movement, particularly Women's Aid, to be sensitive to the needs of Asian women' (p.52). As part of this process specialised services to address the needs and specific experiences of South Asian women were established. This decade also coincided with the end of the large scale migration and settlement of South Asians in the UK. The earliest services, in London, included *Awaz* (voice), the *Brent Asian Women's Group* and *Southall Black Sisters*; all provided advice, information and support. *Awaz* also campaigned to establish refuges for South Asian women (Wilson, 2010). Through the 1980s to the present day, an increasing number of South Asian women's organisations established themselves, including the *Newham Asian Women's Project*, the *Ashiana Network*, and *Aanchal*. However, increasingly over the last decade, due to funding cuts, many of these organisations are working with less resources and some have faced closure or been forced to merge with larger providers (see Imkaan, 2008). *Newham Asian Women's Project*, *Southall Black Sisters*, and *Imkaan*, have all faced reduced funding.

South Asian men and women were living in the UK at the start of a succession of legal reforms, which were not evident in their 'home' country. In the 1970s, there was the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act (1976) and the Domestic Proceedings and Magistrates' Courts Act (1978). From the 1990s more significant legislation superseded earlier reforms, including housing legislation with specific provisions for victims of domestic violence (Matczak et al, 2011). The Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004 introduced a number of provisions, which included making a breach of a non-molestation order a criminal offence (Section 1), extending the power of the courts to make restraining orders for any criminal offence on

conviction or acquittal (Section 12). Section 5 included an offence of causing or allowing the death of a child or vulnerable adult. Taken as a whole they represent: recognition of domestic violence in law, albeit that there is no specific offence; enhanced protection for victims; some statutory rights with respect to re-housing.

3.2 Domestic violence: issues of definition

This section explores the complexity, which surrounds defining and naming domestic violence. The changing definitions can be seen as a historical chronology (battering being replaced by violence or abuse), but also rooted in theoretical frameworks and national traditions. This picture is made even more complex by the fact that the same term may be deployed differently and some authors fail to define concepts they use. Walby (1999) notes that even within survey methodology the terms and concepts used to capture domestic violence have caused considerable controversy.

There is also little agreement about 'the actual incidence, prevalence, duration, or dynamics' (Stark, 2007, p.85) of domestic violence, in part because there is no consensus on a definition. Even the concept/name has a number of variants: 'wife beating', 'marital violence', 'spouse abuse', 'battering', 'domestic violence', 'domestic abuse', and 'intimate partner violence'. Kelly (1988) argued that some of the names applied to domestic violence were problematic: for example, 'wife beating' implied that the woman is married and that severe physical violence took place. In addition, as domestic violence is often understood to mean physical violence, where abuse is primarily psychological, a woman can be unsure how to define her experience. Even though a name is known, a woman may not apply it to her own experience. The stereotypical image of a 'battered' or 'abused' woman may not fit with self-perception, and the terms 'battered wives', 'battered woman', 'beaten women', 'abused woman', or 'victims of spousal or partner abuse' may serve to exclude as much as they include (Jackson, 2007). Representations of victims 'as poor, weak, and downtrodden and as nagging

women who 'deserve' to be hit' (Kelly, 1988, p.123) adds further layers of disconnection.

Brown (cited in Counts et al, 1999), drawing on ethnographic data from many societies, warns that care should be taken to distinguish 'wife beating' from 'wife battering' (with battering defined as a beating that is sufficiently severe to cause injury or death). Brown adds that men who beat their wives are not viewed as being 'abnormal' or 'deviant' but behaving in a manner that is culturally expected; with acts such as shoving and pushing regarded as 'normal' or 'acceptable' or 'just', whereas strangling and stabbing are 'unjust'. This normalisation of acts such as shoving and pushing, which are forms of domestic violence, may make it difficult to challenge and confront abusive behaviour.

The World Report on Violence and Health (Krug et al, 2002) examined 48 population-based surveys from around the world (undertaken in the period 1982 to 1999). They also concluded that there were at least two forms of partner violence. One was severe and escalating violence characterised by multiple forms of abuse, terrorisation and threats, increasingly possessive and controlling behaviour. The other involved a more moderate form of violence, where frustration and anger occasionally erupt into physical aggression. Whilst some researchers distinguish mild from severe violence, information and data is rarely gathered 'on which acts were experienced as hurtful, threatening, or wrong' by women themselves (Hagemann-White, 2001, p.740).

The move away from the earlier terms like 'beating' and 'battering' to 'domestic violence' and more recently to 'domestic abuse' and 'intimate partner violence' has been driven by recognition that an emphasis on physical assault fails to encompass the range of forms of abuse (Sackett and Saunders, 1999). Currently, in the UK, 'domestic abuse' is the preferred term among practitioners as it is seen to include emotional, financial, physical, sexual, and verbal abuse. This allows for the fact that abuse may never, or rarely, involve physical violence, but some perpetrators control and diminish

their partner over years. Research, therefore, needs to ask not just about acts of violence but also about the use of a variety of other control tactics in the relationship (Johnson, 2006). The use of control is explored further in Section 3.3.1.

The terms 'spouse abuse', 'wife beating', and marital violence' have all been critiqued since they presume a marriage relationship. 'Intimate partner violence' has been adopted by many in the research community to distinguish it from the wider term 'family violence' and because it is a more accurate naming than 'domestic'. The connection with marriage was linked to the assertion that 'the social institutions of marriage and family are special contexts that may promote, maintain, and even support men's use of physical force against women' (Bograd, 1988, p.12). The new namings also allow for recognition of violence in same-sex relationships (Waldner-Haugrud et al, 1997). Having said this, 'spouse abuse' and 'wife battering' can still be found in literature from the United States, but are rarely used in UK research or practice (Harne and Radford, 2008).

'Domestic violence' is probably the most common term, including in previous and current Westminster policies and government definitions, to cover violence by any household and family members.

In 2012, the UK Government definition of domestic violence was broadened to include those aged 16 – 17 and wording changed to reflect coercive control. The definition is:

> any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, or threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been, intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality.

Kelly and Westmarland (2014) argue that this definition has a number of problems; not least that it conflates intimate partner violence and family violence. They also add that the 2012 definition lowers the importance of the

form of violence experienced by minority women as the 2005 expanded definition, which includes issues of concern to black and minority women communities such as so called honour based violence, female genital mutilation and forced marriage, moved from the main text to a footnote.

The violence and abuse can encompass, but is not limited to:

- '**physical** abuse' - hitting, kicking, slapping, punching, and other types of contact that can result in physical injury to the victim such as throwing objects;
- '**sexual** abuse' - any situation in which consent is not given, and/or intimidation or force is used to obtain participation in sexual activity;
- '**emotional or psychological** abuse' - humiliating and controlling the victim, preventing contact with friends and family, and claiming the children will be removed if anyone is told about the violence, threats and intimidation, stalking and surveillance;
- '**verbal** abuse' - ridiculing, criticising, ignoring, disrespecting; and,
- '**financial** abuse' (also known as economic abuse) - depriving money or refusing to pay bills, stealing the victim's money, requiring accounting for every penny spent.

For the purpose of this research, the term 'domestic violence' will be used as the core concept, although reference to other terms will be made when they are used by authors. The rationale for using domestic violence is that it is currently the most widely used and recognised in literature and in practice, and within the general UK population, with whom the research will be undertaken (see also Hester, 2004). It is understood as encompassing all of the above behaviours. In addition, the 'perpetrator' will be referred to as being male and the 'victim' of domestic violence as female. The rationale here is that the research seeks to investigate attitudes toward domestic violence amongst South Asian men, so the most common pattern will be used as the framing for the questions.

3.3 Emotional and psychological abuse

Domestic violence may, and often does, include a range of abusive behaviours, not all of which are, in themselves, inherently 'violent'. Emotional, financial, and verbal abuse have received less attention (Johnson and Sigler, 2000), as research has tended to focus on physical and sexual violence. However, in recent literature, there has been increasing attention paid to emotional and psychological abuse.

Bancroft (2002) claims that even when emotional and psychological abuse is used without physical violence, the effects of the abuse on women are similar, and just as effective at controlling their partner. Women, for example, can be controlled through fear and anticipation (Dobash and Dobash, 1998). To counteract this, women are often expected to anticipate men's needs, 'interpret their moods, and understand even that which remains unarticulated' (Dobash and Dobash, 1998, p.147). As a result, some women become attuned to men's 'moods' and anticipated 'needs', but this can be difficult as the benchmark moves with the abusers changing demands (Dobash and Dobash, 1998).

It is worth noting, however, that there is no agreed definition. One reason is that the 'focus on *physical* violence is too narrow' and that the definition should be widened to 'encompass the range of tactics and harms referred to as psychological or emotional abuse' (Stark, 2007, p.85), especially 'control'.

> Control is comprised of structural forms of deprivation, exploitation, and command that compel obedience indirectly by monopolizing vital resources, dictating preferred choices, microregulating a partner's behaviour, limiting her options, and depriving her of support needed to exercise independent judgement (Stark, 2007, p.229).

Stark (2007) points out that man's use of control tactics help to explain why women become 'entrapped in relationships where abuse is ongoing' even

when they 'experience infrequent, minor, or even no assaults' (p.106). The use of control is explored next.

3.3.1 The use of control

Domestic violence can be inflicted without the use of physical violence, through the use of coercive control. O'Neil and Nadeau (1999) define control as a means to obtain and keep power: 'it involves regulating and restraining others and having individuals or situations under one's command' (p.102). Working with victims, Stark (2007) found that what marked control was 'not who decides, but who decides who decides; who decides what, whether, and how delegated decisions are monitored; and the consequences of making 'mistakes'' (p.230). Stark (2007) and Johnson (2008) both explore the relationship between violence and control but they differ in the use of violence in the definition of 'coercive control'. Johnson is inclined not to use violence and argues that 'control can be coercive without the presence of violence' (2008, p.91).

Johnson (2008, p.6) identifies four types of domestic violence, these are:

- 'intimate terrorism' - one individual is violent and controlling but his or her partner is not;
- 'mutual violent control' - both partners are violent and controlling;
- 'violent resistance' - an individual is violent but not controlling and his or her partner is an intimate terrorist (both violent and controlling);
- 'situational couple violence' - an individual is violent but neither partner is both violent and controlling.

According to Johnson (2008) 'intimate terrorism' is what most researchers and people identify as 'domestic violence' and this is what has attracted the most media and policy attention. In exploring the nature of coercive control, Johnson highlights some complexities and motivations suggesting control is not always motivated by the need to gain or resist control. Instead, it could sometimes be due to anger or frustration; matter of self-image, or a bid to

gain attention. He points to a number of non-violent control tactics such as threats and intimidation; monitoring, i.e. knowing and wanting to know where their partner is when they are not together; undermining their partners will to resist violence and other punishment, including restricting their partner's access to resources needed for effective resistance.

3.4. Measuring domestic violence

Prevalence refers to the proportion of the population, which has experienced domestic violence within a given time frame: the most usual measures being last twelve months and ever. In many surveys, as with the British Crime Survey (BCS), both time frames are used (Walby and Allen, 2004).

Measuring domestic violence and making prevalence comparisons between countries is problematic, not least because of variations in definitions and methodological approach: the type and number of questions asked, who is asked, how and where; and how the survey is framed (crime, health or safety). As a result: 'although everyone purports to be measuring the same phenomenon, the picture that emerges from population data differs dramatically' (Stark, 2007, p.85). The use of gender-neutral victimisation surveys produce different findings from that of shelter-based studies (Hagemann-White, 2001), and unsurprisingly, refuge samples also report higher prevalence levels of domestic violence (Walby and Myhill, 2001). There are also significant differences in generic national crime surveys that 'try to ensure that more assaults against women would be reported to the survey' (Walby and Myhill, 2001, p.503), and those that focus solely on violence against women and/or domestic violence, with the latter producing higher rates of domestic violence.

Another consideration is the context in which the abusive behaviour took place especially when abusive behaviour can be 'ongoing rather than episodic' and that the 'effects are cumulative rather than incident-specific', and that the 'harm it causes are more readily explained by these factors than by its severity' (Stark, 2007, p.12). In a similar vein, the: 'frequency of

behavioural acts may be less salient than the constant presence of a threat' (Hagemann White, 2001, p.741). Contextual variations, such as how long the issue has been on the public agenda, and how willing participants are to disclose add further complexity to the methodological challenges. This raises the question over accuracy, as the true extent of domestic violence is unknown, as repeated continuing abuse is not: 'encoded in memory as a series of discrete incidents that are tallied by number and kind and can be reported with any accuracy for 12 months in retrospect' (Hagemann-White, 2001). A major problem in surveys, as a result, is underreporting (Smith, 1994).

3.4.1 British Crime Survey (now Crime Survey England and Wales)

The British Crime Survey (BCS) is an annual 'victimisation' survey and respondents are asked about many types of crimes including domestic abuse. It is the recognised source of regular data in England and Wales to measure the prevalence of domestic abuse. The sample is of the population aged 16 or over living in private households in England and Wales, using the Postcode Address File (PAF) as the sampling frame. However, as the sample design is made up of private households in England and Wales, this: 'excludes those in temporary accommodation or in hostels or who are homeless', both groups which may be more likely to have recent experiences of violence (Walby and Myhill, 2001).

There are two types of methodology in the BCS; since 1982, the main annual face-to-face BCS, which asks about all types of crimes including domestic abuse, and the self-completion element where respondents read and answer questions via computer. The first self-completion module on domestic abuse was in 1995 (1996 BCS), which recognised that the way in which interviews were being conducted might affect the disclosure of domestic abuse. Subsequent self-completion modules in the BCS, up until 2001, include: sexual victimisation (1998 and 2000 BCS) and stalking (1998 BCS) (Walby and Allen, 2004). From 2001, the BCS has included a computerised self-completion module on 'interpersonal violence' designed to measure the

extent of domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking (Walby and Myhill, 2001). Respondents are asked about both lifetime victimisation (since aged 16) and victimisation in the last 12 months.

The BCS is the only regular and national representative survey in England and Wales to collect data on the prevalence of domestic violence. Although there are other surveys on the extent of domestic violence in England and Wales, including small-scale surveys, these are mainly in particular localities, and/or of particular groups (Macey, 1999a; Gangoli et al, 2006). However, over the decades, the BCS has been revised and undergone a number of changes to methodology as well as to the scope and terminology of domestic abuse. Domestic abuse in the recent BCS is defined as sexual and non-sexual abuse carried out by a partner or family member. Questions about sexual assault or stalking carried out by anyone are also asked (Office for National Statistics, 2013a).

The BCS has a number of other weaknesses including that it conflates partner and family abuse; it measures 'incidents' of domestic abuse which negates that violence is often not a single 'event' and that the 'effects are cumulative rather than incident-specific' (Stark, 2007, p.12), and 'more than one act could have occurred in the same event, so these may not all constitute separate 'incidents'' (Walby and Allen, 2004, p.21). The problem with the 'act-based' measures is that if a partner has committed either one single 'act' or several violent 'acts' they are both classed as being 'violent' (Dobash and Dobash, 2004). The issue is that it: 'makes it nearly impossible to consider the context, wider consequences and intentions associated with violent acts or the meanings and consequences of such acts for victims and for perpetrators' (p.330). In addition, where the respondent had experienced an incident (whether one or more) they were asked detailed questions about the incident that they considered to be the worst.

Furthermore, the survey is an adapted version of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Straus, 1979 and 1990). A key critique of the CTS is that it is one dimensional, focusing 'solely on violent *behaviour*, while ignoring the

consequences of the behaviour, the social context in which the behaviour took place, and other aspects of the violence that give it much of its meaning' (Smith, 1994, p.114). It also has a limited set of violent behavioural acts (Romkens, 1997). Another criticism, often from feminist researchers, is that this instrument finds that 'about the same percentage of women as men assault their partners' (Straus, 2007, p.193). However, the gendered nature of violence is not taken into consideration as no distinction is made between the violence by a man and that of a woman: 'the scale itself treats a slap, a push, or a shove by a man as equivalent to the same acts by a woman and fails to measure the damage or consequences of those acts' (Johnson, 1998, p.27). Dobash and Dobash (2004) add that: 'critics note that the meaning of certain 'acts' in the CTS is highly variable and the outcome of specific acts' is impossible to discern from the 'act' itself' (p.329). They give the example of how throwing a lamp at a partner is different to throwing a pillow and how the intention or threat to hit a partner is different to actually hitting a partner. Linked to the last point is that there is no distinction between offensive and defensive violence (Romkens, 1997).

3.4.2 Findings from the British Crime Survey

In the 2001 BCS, the results from this new methodology found that 4 per cent of women and 2 per cent of men (of a sample of 22,463 women and men aged 16 to 59 years) were subjected to domestic violence (non sexual domestic threats or force) in the previous 12 months in England and Wales. In addition, 13 per cent were subject to some form of interpersonal violence (non-sexual domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking) in the last 12 months and 45 per cent of women had experienced at least one incident of sexual assault or stalking in their lifetime, and domestic violence (abuse, threats or force) since the age of 16 (Walby and Allen, 2004).

A decade later, the results from the 2010/2011 BCS show that around 4 per cent of men had experienced some form of partner abuse, equivalent to about 600,000 male victims, and 6 per cent of women had experienced partner abuse in the last year, equivalent to around 900,000 female victims.

In addition, 30 per cent of women had experienced domestic abuse since the age of 16, equivalent to an estimated 4.8 million female victims of domestic abuse between the ages of 16 and 59 (Home Office, 2012). The most recent results from 2011/2012 show that 5 per cent of men and 7.3 per cent of women aged 16 to 59 reported having experienced domestic abuse (includes non-physical abuse, threats, force, sexual assault or stalking carried out by a current or former partner or other family member) in the past year (Office for National Statistics, 2013a). There is no data available on forced marriage and honour based violence.

The BCS shows that there has been an increase in the proportion of men and women reporting domestic abuse. However, the BCS, as with other studies, depending on the question asked, for example any incident of domestic violence, shows that most perpetrators are male and that the majority of victims are female (Harne and Radford, 2000; Hunnicutt, 2009). This is often referred to as 'asymmetrical'. Theories that women are as violent as men have come to be termed as 'symmetrical' (Johnson, 2006). However, many researchers note that it is the approach to measurement which results in the 'gender symmetry' since frequency; severity and impact are excluded (Dobash and Dobash, 2004), although the BCS in recent years has included these. Dobash and Dobash (2004) using a convenience sample, explore whether men and women are equally likely to perpetrate violence in an intimate relationship. Undertaking interviews with 95 couples in which men and women report separately on their own violence and upon that of their partner, they find that: 'intimate partner violence is primarily an asymmetrical problem of men's violence against women, and women's violence does not equate to men's in terms of frequency, severity, consequences and the victim's sense of safety and wellbeing' (p.324). For example, the violence inflicted by women upon men was less frequent and less severe and when women were violent it was often associated with self-defence and/or retaliation against a male partner.

3.5 Explanatory frameworks

There are competing theories explaining domestic violence. This section provides an overview of the most widely used.

In the 1970s, when feminists raised the profile of domestic violence, there were two leading perspectives, which provided explanations on why men were violent toward women. The psychological perspective, which suggested that domestic violence was individualised abnormal behaviour rooted in the personality traits and mental characteristics of the perpetrator (Steinmetz, 1977; Straus and Gelles, 1990). Whereas, the sociologist perspective claimed that domestic violence was attributable to external factors in the perpetrator's environment such as the breakdown of family functioning, external stresses such as unemployment or (sub)cultural norms (Goode, 1971; O'Leary, 1988).

Over the last forty years, perspectives to understanding domestic violence have expanded to include general systems theory, resource theory, exchange or social control theory, and subculture of violence theory (Jasinski, 2001). Other explanations and theories include biological, gender-role socialisation, and relational. Biological perspectives tend to explain domestic violence by examining the link between testosterone and aggression (Greene, 1999). A gender-role socialization perspective explains men's violence as a response to threats to their masculine gender identity from women, and fear of becoming feminine or emasculated (O'Neill and Nadeau, 1999). A relational perspective using family systems theory focusses upon the social and relational contexts and the patterns of interaction that recur within relationships (Anderson and Schlossberg, 1999).

Social learning theorists study factors such as: 'the presence of violence in individuals' families of origin or how battered women presumably learn to be helpless when they perceive lack of control over their environment' (Bograd, 1988, p.17). Similarly, social-psychological theories tend to view domestic violence as learnt behaviour through exposure to violence, in the home and

in the person's environment (Prospero, 2006). A number of domestic violence studies have linked exposure to violence in one's childhood, either directly or indirectly through observation, to violence in adulthood (Hotalling and Sugarman, 1986; Rosenbaum and O'Leary, 1981). Goode (1971), used resource theory, claiming that the more resources that an individual can claim, such as social and economic, the more force he or she will exert. There has also been evidence that supports the relationship between socio-economic factors, such as unemployment, financial difficulties and domestic violence.

Feminists engagement with explanations began with an observation that non-feminist perspectives often excuse the perpetrator and place the blame on the woman. According to Hunnicutt (2009): 'the theories commonly evoked to explain violence against women either are gender blind or minimize gender as an explanatory factor' (p.556).

Bograd (cited in Jasinski, 2001) points to four major dimensions that distinguish feminist perspectives:

1) the explanatory utility of the constructs of gender and power;
2) the analysis of the family as a historically situated social institution;
3) the crucial importance of understanding and validating women's experiences;
4) employing scholarship *for* women (1988, p.13 –14).

Despite the expansion of feminist approaches and perspectives over the last couple of decades, this framework, for the most part, still applies, albeit with a far more differentiated research landscape.

However, whilst feminists are united on the major common dimensions of feminist perspectives on domestic violence; the constructs of gender and power, given the wide variety of feminist philosophies, there is no unified feminist perspective on domestic violence (Bograd, 1988). Patriarchy was, and is still, often cited by many feminist theorists, as one factor to explain

why men are violent toward women (Hearn, 1998, p.36; Hunnicutt, 2009, p.566). This is evidenced by Yick and Oomen-Early (2008), who reviewed journal articles on domestic violence and Asians in five journals[1] during a 16 year period (1990 – 2005) identifying 60 articles. Only 13 (21.7%) of the articles were guided by theoretical frameworks, of which 6 used feminist or patriarchy theory.

The concept of patriarchy has been used by feminist researchers as an 'umbrella' term for describing men's systematic domination of women (Pease, 2000). Millet (1972) was one of the first feminists to use the term to describe the unequal power relations between women and men. Walby (1989) defined patriarchy as: 'a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women' (p.214). According to Marin and Russo (1999) to understand gendered violence dynamics, patriarchal values need to be considered first, including how patriarchal values 'become institutionalised and communicated' (p.35). They also illustrate a list of patriarchal values related to domestic violence that they believe have become institutionalised in laws and cultural practices. This includes: men to have power over women; the male head to be in charge of the household and hold all power and make decisions; masculinity to be defined by powerful characteristics such as control and domination; femininity to be defined by weakness, passivity, dependence, powerlessness, and submissiveness; women and female sexuality pose a threat to male power and therefore need to be controlled; and sexual harassment, rape, physical violence are legitimate and effective means to enforce male entitlements and to control women (p.20).

Hunnicutt's recent definition of patriarchy overcomes some of the earlier critiques that it was universalising and had no sense of change over time: 'social arrangements that privilege males, where men as a group dominate women as a group, both structurally and ideologically – hierarchical

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[1] The five journals were: Journal of Family Violence; the Journal of Interpersonal Violence; Trauma, Violence and Abuse; Violence Against Women; and Violence and Victims.

arrangements that manifest in varieties across history and social space' (2009, p.557). In more recent scholarship; Connell in *Gender and Power* (1987) and *Masculinities* (1995) integrated the concepts of patriarchy and masculinity into an overarching theory of gender relations. Demetriou (2001) argues that patriarchy is not simply a question of men dominating women but is a: 'complex structure of gender relations in which the interrelation between different forms of masculinity and femininity plays a central role' (p.343).

Gender and masculinity, which is the theoretical framework for this research, was explored in the previous Chapter with the 'theorising masculinity' section (2.1.1). An assessment of the previous literature revealed that control and violence by a man against a wife or partner is constructed around gender with both men and women conforming and complying with masculinity and femininity. Section 3.8 explores the situations or dimensions of when control and violence is used to conform and comply with masculinity and femininity.

3.6 Relevance of domestic violence to the South Asian communities and South Asian men

There are no specific large-scale national surveys on the extent of domestic violence in the South Asian community in the UK. Where data is available, it is often labelled under the umbrella term of 'black and ethnic minority', and as the South Asian community is not one homogenous group, a break down is needed to understand domestic violence by socio-demographic variables such as ethnicity and religion. It is important to understand about domestic violence in the South Asian community in the UK as men's abusive behaviour varies among cultures and those that abuse 'rely heavily on the forms of abuse that are most acceptable among men of their background' (Bancroft, 2002, p.163). This section therefore examines what is known about the present domestic violence literature in South Asian communities.

Findings from the BCS are the most representative due to sample size but they are not broken down by ethnicity (i.e. Indian, Pakistani and/or Bangladeshi). For the 1996 BCS certain ethnic minority groups were over-

sampled to enable reliable analysis by ethnic group. These include people who describe themselves as Black-Caribbean, Black-African, or Black Other (together termed 'Black'); and Indian, Pakistani, or Bangladeshi (together termed 'Asian'). The findings showed that amongst women aged 16 - 59 risks of domestic violence do not differ significantly by ethnic origin: about 4 per cent of all ethnic groups said they had been victims in the last year (3.9% Indian and 4.3% Bangladeshi/Pakistani) (Mirrlees-Black, 1999). The 2001 BCS shows little variation in interpersonal violence by ethnicity with 4.1 per cent of Asian women having experienced domestic violence (Walby and Allen, 2004).

There are, however, a limited number of UK qualitative research studies undertaken with South Asian women to examine their experience of domestic violence (for example, Rai and Thiara, 1997; Gill, 2004). The common theme emerging from the literature is: 'the impact of cultural practices on the lives of South Asian female victims of domestic violence, particularly the role of honour on women's ability to disclose violence' (Latif, 2010, p.29). The fear of bringing disgrace and shame to their 'family honour' is also a deterrent for South Asian women leaving an abusive relationship (Dasgupta and Warrier, 1996). Gill (2004) found that shame was central to whether South Asian women stayed or left their partner. 'Saving face' and ensuring family unity were cited as reasons for staying in an abusive relationship and as a result of: 'pressure from inside and outside her community, she may feel she has to deny the abuse to protect herself from being excluded, to maintain the image of a successful marriage, or to minimise significant risk because of the lack of legal and social support' (op cit, p.477). As a result, women who leave their husbands are often isolated, having to endure social exclusion and little protection from their families (Guru, 2009). Many women also hesitated to 'seek divorce for lack of economic resources, fear of being ostracised, lack of knowledge of the law on divorce, and fear of losing custody of their children' (Schuler et al, 2008, p.335). Divorce or the threat of a divorce can, in extreme cases, also make a woman the target of an honour killing (Dasgupta, 2007).

Whilst some argue that accounts from men and male perpetrators have not received due attention, researchers have begun to address the absence of men's voices in domestic violence research to further the understanding of the relationship between masculinity and domestic violence (Peralta et al, 2010). To date, however, the intersections (Crenshaw, 1991) between gender and ethnicity/race are under-theorised and studied: South Asian men or ethnic minority men are seldom the subjects of research on domestic violence including as perpetrators, where 'men' or 'perpetrators' are often represented as a homogenous group.

To my knowledge, only two studies, both using qualitative methodology, have been undertaken with South Asian men in the UK on domestic violence; North West England (Bradford) and North East England (Newcastle, Sunderland and South Tyneside). The study among Pakistani Muslim men in Bradford examined violence in the public and private sphere and explored the relationship between this and ideas of culture and religion (Macey, 1999a). Macey found that some men used religion to justify violence against women whereas women were using it as a source of strength and to negotiate the cultural and religious requirements which men try to impose on them. The other study examined forced marriages and domestic violence within South Asian communities in Newcastle, Sunderland and South Tyneside (Gangoli et al, 2006). More specifically, the experiences, hopes and perceptions of marriage among South Asian women and men, and the experiences of domestic violence in arranged, forced and love marriages are examined. Only the men's accounts are presented here. The study found that of the 16 married men in the sample, 13 men defined their marriages as arranged; one said it had been an introduction, one had a love marriage and one defined his marriage as forced. Among 13 of the men, expectations and perceptions of marriage were varied but the general assumption had been that they would have an arranged marriage. In addition, 6 Muslim single men (5 Bengali and one of Pakistani origin) aged between 21 and 28, all expected to be married with some intervention from their parents. There was also a general preference for marrying a woman based in the UK, rather than from the country of origin.

The prevalence of domestic violence in South Asia is reported to be relatively high. For example, a study by Mehta and Gopalakrishnan (2007) found that one in every two women in South Asia faced violence in her home, in Bangladesh, 47 per cent of women; in India, 20 per cent of married women have experienced domestic violence from the age of 15; and in Pakistan, 80 per cent of women are subjected to physical violence at home. The World Health Organisation (WHO) Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women (2005) undertook interviews with women in Bangladesh. The proportion of women who had ever suffered physical violence by a male partner was 42 per cent (p.6); the proportion who had ever experienced sexual violence was 50 per cent (p.6); 19 per cent had also experienced severe physical violence and 22 per cent moderate physical violence only (p.7). Data from an Indian study of interpersonal violence found that among men the proportion who think a person should not stay married to a violent spouse rose steadily from 33 per cent in 1992 to 78 per cent in 2007. There was an increase in the proportion of men who disagree that a wife should obey her husband (from 13% to 17%) and the fraction of men who had sole control over household decision making fell from 54 per cent in 1992 to 34 per cent in 2007 (Simister and Mehta, 2010). Jenson (2003) also found that women in South Asia display a heightened vulnerability to domestic violence because nearly 70 per cent are married while they are young, with lower educational levels, and this is combined with early childbearing and the lack of decision-making power in the household (cited in Panchanadeswaran and Koverola, 2005). The findings here present a complex picture with a relatively high propensity to, and prevalence of, domestic violence but equally changing attitudes toward shared decision making and leaving an abusive relationship.

International studies undertaken on domestic violence have also tended to examine South Asian women's experiences following migration to the United States (see for example, Dasgupta and Warrier, 1996; Kallivayalil, 2010). Limited also is the research in South Asian countries on domestic violence (Pinnewala, 2008), which is mostly country specific, such as the work done in

India (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2004; Panchanadeswaran and Koverola, 2005) and Bangladesh (Bennett and Manderson, 2003; Schuler et al, 2008; Hadi, 2005).

An extensive literature review revealed that only three international studies have been undertaken solely with South Asian men; two in Pakistan and one in Canada. The main findings of the three studies are presented here.

Bhanot and Senn (2007) undertook a study in Canada to examine attitudes toward violence against women in men of South Asian ancestry to identify if acculturation and gender role attitudes are important factors. The authors found that attitudes toward wife beating were primarily related to their gender role attitudes and that acculturation in and of itself does not have an effect. The study undertaken by Fikree et al (2005) on the attitudes of 176 Pakistani men toward domestic violence in Karachi, Pakistan, found that nearly all men (94.9%) reported perpetrating some type of verbal abuse and 49.4 per cent reported perpetrating physical abuse during their marital life. The most common triggers men reported using for verbal abuse were related to children (71.6%), money (71.0%) and the wife's attitude (i.e. not listening/obeying her husband's wishes, being disrespectful to mother in law/father in law or going out to visit friends without permission). Almost half of the men (46.0%) thought that husbands had a right to hit their wives. The final study examined the beliefs and attitudes of men toward intimate partner violence in Pakistan and showed that the construct of 'ideal wife' inculcated among men corresponds with Foucault's notion of 'docile bodies', which are subjected to control, discipline, and violent punishment (Zakar et al, 2013). The concept of the 'ideal wife' means her total submission to, and sacrifice for, her husband and family. The data suggest that most of the men wished that their wives should behave like an 'ideal wife' and if they failed to conform were willing to apply various disciplinary tools, including coercion and violence. The data also showed that men's beliefs and attitudes were influenced by the combined effect of patriarchal culture and patriarchal interpretations of religious teachings about gender relations. By projecting and considering women as 'weak, emotional and short-sighted', men tended

to find a justification for monitoring, 'guiding', and controlling women's behaviours and actions.

The evidence from the above literature suggests that South Asian men leaving their 'home' country to live and/or work in their 'host' country may carry and apply negative or traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence. These views may be heightened with the absence of, and only recent laws on domestic violence. For example, in Pakistan, the Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) law came into force in 2012. In India, the Domestic Violence Act of 2005 provides victims of abuse with a practical remedy through prosecution and a new law was passed with the aim of more effectively protecting women from sexual violence in March 2013. Finally, in Bangladesh, the government passed the Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act in 2010.

It is also important to understand further the attitudes of South Asian men toward domestic violence in South Asian countries including the context and prevalence of domestic violence. As the sample here will be South Asian men in the UK and some may be (recent) migrants from their 'home' country i.e. Bangladesh, India and Pakistan to their 'host' country i.e. UK, this research will explore whether they bring with them liberal or traditional attitudes or both, and whether their attitudes change when moving from 'home' to 'host' country.

3.7 Justifications of domestic violence

In this section, studies undertaken solely with men, to explore when domestic violence is justified as well as by, which groups of men, are examined. This, and the next section, provide context, informed the design of the research instruments and interpretation of the results.

There is now a body of knowledge on men's and women's attitudes toward domestic violence, including whether domestic violence is ever justified. Three main findings emerge: firstly, most studies report similar findings with

moderate to high levels of domestic violence; secondly, moderate levels of justification across samples of men from the general population and perpetrators; thirdly, whilst it is 'not easy to know in any specific encounter what the real motives of the perpetrator might be' (Johnson, 2008, p.13), a woman not adhering to the role of a 'wife' and 'mother' is the most commonly found reason or justification (Dobash and Dobash, 1980). In short, the reason why men are violent toward their partner is 'for not being a good wife' (Ptacek cited in Yllo and Bograd, 1988). The use of and justification for domestic violence is centred on fixed and restricted gender roles, what Connell terms as 'emphasized femininity': conforming to gender roles and a certain type of femininity.

Many of these studies have been undertaken by Haj-Yahia, who has also drawn on the scales to be discussed in Chapter Four. Steinmetz and Haj-Yahia (2006), in a study of Ultra-Orthodox Jewish men from Israel, found that between 8 per cent and 13.6 per cent of the men strongly agreed, agreed or partially agreed that a husband can beat his wife under certain circumstances. Ozcakir et al (2008) undertook a study to explore Turkish men's attitudes: 29 per cent had beaten their wives and 58.5 per cent had yelled, shouted, or used abusive language at least once during their marriage. In a study predicting beliefs about wife beating among engaged Arab men in Israel, Haj-Yahia (1997) reported that the men were more likely to justify domestic violence the more masculine the sex role stereotypes, the more traditional and negative their attitudes toward women, and the more non-egalitarian and patriarchal their expectation of marriage. In a study of Palestinian men from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Haj-Yahia (1998) found that between 21 to 71 per cent of men justified domestic violence under a range of circumstances including: challenging the husband's manhood, disobeying the husband, failing to meet the husband's expectations and refusing to have sex with the husband. Furthermore, 28 per cent strongly agreed or agreed that 'sometimes it is OK for a man to beat his wife'. Haj-Yahia (2003) in a study of Arab men from Israel using a self-completion questionnaire argues that justifications for violence against wives were, if the wife is perceived as 'sexually unfaithful', 'challenging her husband's

manhood', or 'insulting her husband in front of his friends'. Finally, a study among Zambian and Kenyan men (Lawoko, 2008), found the most common reasons that justified domestic violence were associated with issues of: 'challenging a husband's authority and women's transgression from normative domestic roles. The motivation for wife beating of a refusal to have sex, although significant, was less common' (Lawoko, 2008, p.1069).

Socio-demographic variables such as age, educational attainment, occupation status, rural or urban residency and income were also examined in these studies to determine whether groups of men were more likely to justify domestic violence. In a study of Ultra-Orthodox Jewish men from Israel, men with lower levels of education, more patriarchal beliefs about family life and more traditional and negative their attitudes toward women, the greater their tendency to approve of domestic violence (Steinmetz and Haj-Yahia, 2006). Lower age, rural residency, and lack of an education were significant predicators of tolerant attitudes toward wife beating among Kenyan and Zambian men (Lawoko, 2008). Ozcakir (2008) states that socio-demographic variables such as age, socio-economic class, marital status, and race are shown in research findings of studies with large and/or representative samples to be correlated with domestic violence. Patriarchal or traditional views were also cited as a strong predicator of negative attitudes toward domestic violence (for example, Haj-Yahia, 1997).

A review of the literature with known perpetrators also shows that men justify violence toward a female partner (Edin et al, 2008) and take minimal responsibility for their violence (Mullaney, 2007). The justifications provided are similar. This is illustrated below through some of the key literature from non-attitudinal studies with perpetrators. In a UK study in West Yorkshire with 60 men who have been violent to women they knew, Hearn (1998) found that when men account for violence they construct a rationale for it. The justifications offered include: not obeying the man; arguing back; not having food ready on time; not caring adequately for the children or home; questioning the man about money or girlfriends; going somewhere without

the man's permission; refusing the man sex; and the man suspecting the woman of infidelity.

As well as justifying violence, men often excuse and/or minimise the violence but is justification of violence against a partner or wife the same as excusing it? According to Hearn (1998), justification is the acceptance of responsibility but not the blame, and tends to have: 'a more *conscious* focus and is constructed mainly as a *response* to something else in the present or recent past' (p.126). Ptacek (1988) defines excuses as 'those accounts in which the abuser denies full responsibility for his actions', whereas justifications are 'those accounts in which the batterer may accept some responsibility but denies or trivialises the wrongness of his violence' (Ptacek, 1988, cited in Hearn, 1998, p.107-108).

Anderson and Umberson (2001) following 33 in-depth interviews with men recruited through the Family Violence Diversion Network (which provides an educational domestic program) state that they: 'excuse, rationalise, justify and minimise their violence against female partners' (p.361). In the *Violent Men Study*, Dobash and Dobash (1998) ascertained that men often 'forgot' their violence or offered only abbreviated, vague descriptions of what happened. In addition, they made their partner responsible by focussing on the actions of the woman that deemed the violence justifiable. For example, men said that 'they don't understand what women want or that women's attempts to curtail their 'freedoms', use of money, or consumption of alcohol are out-of-bounds and warrant being put down' (Dobash and Dobash, 1998, p.155). Men also 'never report more of their own violence than is reported by their female partner' and that 'men and women tend to agree more about the women's violence than about the men's violence' (Dobash and Dobash, 2004, p.336; see also Greenbelt, 1983). Reitz (1999) who interviewed nine perpetrators found that: 'without exception, all participants reported that their incidents of violence took place when they judged their partner was doing something bad or wrong' (p.153), they assumed the role of punishing or correcting their partner through physical violence and verbal abuse. Another

way in which men try to minimise their violence is by using the word 'just' (Harne and Radford, 2000).

3.8 Explanation of power and control and justification of domestic violence

The previous section examined *when* domestic violence is considered to be justified. This section explores *why* domestic violence is seen to be justified.

> For many men, being in control is an essential part of what it is to be a man (Pease, 2010, p.96)

Studies undertaken with both men from the general population and perpetrators who are abusive toward their partner have shown that the most influential explanation cross culturally has been man's power to sustain dominance over women. An assessment of the previous literature revealed several situations or dimensions when control and violence is used by a man against a wife or partner. These are: regarding women's domestic work; the sense of right to punish, and the legitimacy of violence as a punishment or to maintain power and control; and the importance of maintaining power to demonstrate masculinity. The latter refers to a lack or loss of power and societal expectations.

The situation that has received less attention or where there is limited literature is in relation to migrant men. Men may also resort to violence when they move from their 'home' to 'host' country; being unable to recapture the masculine privileges that they enjoyed. All are constructed around gender with both men and women conforming and complying with notions of masculinity and femininity, and men's power over women is expressed in the domestic sphere (Kimmel, 2001). Connell (1987; 2005) uses the term 'cathexis', which concerns dynamics within intimate, emotional and personal relationships, including marriage (Giddens, 2006), to explain where the site of power relations between masculinities and femininities form a gender order. These five situations or dimensions are explored here.

Firstly, control and violence is used against a wife or partner in order to enforce a certain type of femininity (Anderson, 2009) related to domesticity (Bancroft, 2002; see also Dobash and Dobash, 1998). This is the most commonly used explanation or justification. Stark (2007) found that women's activities in and around the home were a major source of interpersonal conflict as well as the major object of male control. One tactic was to regulate a partner's behaviour to conform with stereotypical gender roles, through micromanaging every of her actions. Some men saw themselves as enforcers of norms to ensure that their partner behaves or adheres to their perception of a good 'wife' and 'mother', and that: 'women comply with these mandates because they recognise that they are held accountable for the performance of femininity and because their resistance leads to punishment' (Anderson, 2009, p.1447-1448).

Another situation or dimension is highlighted in the *Violence Against Wives* (1979) and the *Violent Men Study* (1996), which shows that arguments and confrontations began about everyday things including the importance to men of maintaining or exercising their power and authority (Dobash and Dobash, 1984, p.272-274; Dobash and Dobash, 1992, p.4). This is because they do not believe that women have the same right as them to: 'argue, negotiate or debate. Instead, women are viewed as being a nuisance and a threat to male authority, and violence against women is often used to silence what women say, to reassert male authority' (Dobash and Dobash, 1998, p.153). Some men also feel that they do not need to account to a female partner as this challenges their rightful position (Mulleney, 2007).

Thirdly, as men's power over women is rooted in men's sense of masculinity (Dobash and Dobash, 1998), a man might exert power and control defensively if he perceives that there is a threat to his masculinity (O'Neil and Nadeau, 1999). This is in order to adhere to the stereotype or societal image of what it means to be a man or masculine, and to avoid ridicule and maintain 'his position as 'a man among men'' (Brown, cited in Counts et al, 1999, p.14). The justification of abusive behaviour toward their partner is a way of: 'maintaining their power and not losing face in front of others in the

community' (Choi and Ting, 2008, p.837). This is especially pertinent to South Asian communities as the importance placed on the community and its approval lies in the result of the strength of public shaming (Johnson and Johnson, 2001).

Some men may also exert control over women when they perceive a lack or loss of power (Finkelhor, 1983) or insecurity (see Simister and Mehta, 2010) especially as gender roles are being challenged or the traditional notions of masculinity are being transformed or eroded, due to new and revised laws, 'increasing political opportunities for women' (Stark, 2007 cited in Anderson, 2009, p.1450), and social and economic changes. Men's position in the house (and society) and their role as the 'breadwinner' may be threatened. Being a breadwinner is associated with hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995), and the 'expectation is that as the breadwinner, the man therefore becomes the head of the household' regardless of background, education, and experience (Crossley and Pease, 2009, p.122; Donaldson and Howson, 2009). It is also 'the key element in the levels of respect and authority accorded men in both the household and the community' (Crossley and Pease, 2009, p.122). However, as more women attain higher levels of education (than men) and enter employment, often seeking employment out of necessity as the man is not able to provide for the family independently (Mogford, 2011), men's inability to fulfil the role of economic provider, especially when the level of their partner's education and income is higher, may mean that women are more likely to suffer from, or have an increased risk of, domestic violence (Hunnicutt, 2009; Donaldson and Howson, 2009; Crossley and Pease, 2009). Women's economic empowerment therefore has both benefits and limits in protecting them from violence (Wang et al, 2009; Mogford, 2011). These changes have been summarised as a 'crisis in masculinity'. Edin et al (2008) argue: 'men nowadays were understood to be more insecure in their roles and more dependent on women, often feeling lost and uncertain about what women in fact want and expect from them as men' (p.236).

Finally, a South Asian man may be advantaged by his gender but disadvantaged or marginalised because of his race/ethnicity. Hegemonic masculinity generates not only external but also internal hegemony, that is, hegemony over other masculinities (Demetriou, 2001). Connell refers to hegemony over other masculinities as 'subordinated masculinities' which means having less power or authority than somebody else in the group i.e. South Asian men in a group of men. 'Marginalisation' is used to describe the relationships between the masculinities in dominant and subordinated classes or ethnic groups. Therefore, South Asian men who are unable to adhere to hegemonic masculinity may be further threatened by emasculation (Messerschmidt, 1999 cited in Peralta et al, 2010, p.399) and use violence against a partner 'to maintain their advantage in the most disadvantaged situations, as well as migrant men who may enact dominant expressions of masculinity in the home, as a consequence of their devalued status in the economy' (Pease, 2009, p.80). A study of domestic violence in the Nepali American community, Ranjeet and Purkayastha (2007) found that men that had recently migrated were often unable to recapture the masculine privileges that they enjoyed in their home country. They argue that: 'some men resort to violence out of habit and others may do it to reaffirm their masculinity. That is, some Nepali American men feel they need to establish and maintain their patriarchal power in the household by violating and subjugating their spouses' (p.44). Donaldson and Howson (2009) also argue that migrant men may respond by trying even harder to live and act like 'real men' in the face of difficulties, uncertainties and discrimination. This suggests that there may be a difference in attitudes between UK born South Asian men, and recent and settled migrants.

3.9 Conclusions

This and the previous Chapter have provided a literature review on the themes and questions the research addresses; attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

This Chapter highlighted that there is little agreement about the: 'the actual incidence, prevalence, duration, or dynamics' of domestic violence (Stark, 2007, p.85). Considerations and complexities around measuring domestic violence include: the severity of violence; whether it is a single incident or repeated. However, as surveys are often aimed at discrete events and domestic violence is usually a series of events, the result is that: 'enquiries as to domestic violence within a survey usually miss important features of the pattern of domestic violence: its onset, frequency, repetition, variation, periods of respite, and possible desistance' (Walby and Myhill, 2001, p.517).

The prevalence and justification of domestic violence was also examined. It emerged that most studies report similar findings with moderate to high levels of domestic violence and secondly, moderate levels of justification across samples of men from the general population and perpetrators, with no discernable differences between the two groups in terms of where they deem violence justified. Gender was also explicit in attitudinal surveys and studies with perpetrators: expecting women to conform to a certain type of femininity that is centred on what Connell terms as 'emphasized femininity', and by exerting power and control and violence over women, men are performing masculinity.

3.9.1 A knowledge gap

The examination of research conducted in this and the previous Chapter highlights gaps in the knowledge base. Although the studies have provided research and explanations of South Asian women's position in society and justification of domestic violence, few studies have attempted to investigate the attitudes of South Asian men. The aim of this study is to address these gaps. Highlighted below are some of the issues that will be addressed, which have been previously neglected.

First, there is an absence of literature on South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Ozcakir et al (2008) confirms this by stating that: 'most of the international published literature regarding domestic

violence involves studies of women; there are few published studies that examine male attitudes on this matter' (p.632). An extensive review of the literature revealed only a handful of studies, and as the previous studies focussed on domestic violence, no international and national study has been undertaken examining South Asian men's attitudes toward women. The only two studies undertaken in the UK provide a helpful understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence in the South Asian community (Macey, 1999a and Gangoli et al, 2006). However, there are a number of limitations regarding the scope or under-explored themes; the methodology; and lack of theoretical perspective to explain the design of the research instrument and the findings.

Secondly, the methodology in previous studies has been limited. The five studies undertaken to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence either undertook quantitative or qualitative research. For example, the two UK studies used qualitative methods. The rationale for a mixed methods approach and research methodology is discussed in Chapter Four. The uniqueness of the current research study, in terms of the target population and the use of mixed research methods (quantitative and qualitative), is illustrated by Yick and Oomen-Early (2008) who undertook a systematic review of published research[2] on domestic violence in Asian communities in specialist academic peer-reviewed journals over a 16 year period (1990 to 2005). They found 60 articles of which only three used mixed research methods; 19 used the general community as their sampling frame; and, 31 focused on specific Asian subgroups in Asia (i.e. India, China, Korea) and four on Asians living in other countries (i.e. Canada, Australia). They conclude that there is: 'a scarcity of empirical studies that explore domestic violence in Asian communities, even amongst the most widely circulated scholarly journals dedicated to domestic violence' (p.1019).

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[2] The five journals were: Journal of Family Violence; the Journal of Interpersonal Violence; Trauma, Violence and Abuse; Violence Against Women; and Violence and Victims.

Thirdly, little attention has been paid to the scope and segmented differences 'within the broad race/ethnic categories' (Fontes, 1998 cited in Malley-Morrison and Hines, 2007, p.948), including South Asian men. Studies which have addressed issues of identity among the Indian and Pakistani (and other subcontinent) ethnic backgrounds have 'predominantly considered young men at the level of 'Asian' identity glossing over linguistic, religious and cultural differences' (Archer, 2001, p.81). This study will therefore explore differences and similarities in the South Asian community, as there may be differences in regards to the use of violence against women (Staples, 1999 cited in Nash, 2005), by socio-demographics such as age, ethnic origin, and religion to avoid treating South Asian communities as one homogenous group. Two of the five studies undertaken on South Asian men's attitudes toward domestic violence only examined Pakistani men; some studies looked solely at unmarried men or married men; none of the studies examined men born both in the UK and outside it. The scope of this research will, therefore, be both wider and more in-depth.

Fourthly, whilst theories of masculinity have been drawn on to explain men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence, there is a noticeable absence of intersectional approaches and how masculinity *and* ethnicity/race influence and explain men's attitudes (see also Hibbins and Pease, 2009). Alexander (2000) confirms this and claims that 'Black masculinities have been largely ignored empirically and underdeveloped theoretically' (p.235).

In summary, this literature review indicates gaps in knowledge that the current study aims to fill. The next Chapter will outline the mixed method approach for the research, including the design of the research instruments drawing on the literature review.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This Chapter sets out the methodology used in this research. The previous two literature review chapters focussed on attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Chapter Two examined which female behaviour is deemed unacceptable and is controlled by men as well as how power and control through culture, religion, forced marriage and honour is applied and exercised over South Asian women. Chapter Three provided debates on defining and measuring domestic violence, as well as the prevalence and justification of domestic violence among the South Asian community both within and outside the UK. The latter revealed that gender was relevant in attitudinal surveys and studies with men and perpetrators. This research aims to address under-explored themes such as culture, religion and honour and gaps in the knowledge base, as relatively little is known about South Asian men's attitudes.

Section 4.1 addresses the theoretical frameworks and Section 4.2 the epistemological framework and methodological approach. Section 4.3 discusses feminist research. Section 4.4 outlines the research questions, and discusses the methods employed for the research and the rationale for the selection of those methods. The first stage of the research is examined in Section 4.5, which includes the construction of the survey instrument, plus the steps taken to draft the items, and reliability and validity of the research instrument; the recruitment of participants; as well as the data organisation and preparation. Section 4.6 then discusses the second stage of the research, undertaking semi structured in-depth interviews; the construction of the research instrument; structure of the interviews including ethical considerations; and transcription and analysis. Section 4.7 examines the intersection of ethnicity/race and gender and the considerations in undertaking research with South Asian men. A reflection on the research process is provided in Section 4.8. Finally, the research limitations are outlined in Section 4.9.

4.1 Theoretical frameworks

The theoretical frameworks drawn on in this research are 'standpoint epistemology' (Hawkesworth, 2006) and 'intersectionality' (Crenshaw, 1991) (for more detail see Chapter Four). In addition, contemporary gender theory, the concepts of gender order and gender regimes (Connell, 1987) and hegemonic masculinity are used to frame South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

Gender is a key analytical concept to explore and understand attitudes toward women and domestic violence. This section explores masculinity, a category of gender, which is a social and changing construct generally understood to be the characteristics, behaviours and actions associated with being a man, and how power and control through masculinity is often exercised over women. More detail is provided next. However, in Chapter Three, power and control, as well as justification and explanation of power and control, were examined.

4.1.1 Theorising masculinity

> Power is generally associated with masculinity, and violence against women is a means by which men express their power and masculinity. The production and content of gender ideologies reflect the interests of the powerful, and power to sustain inequalities between men and women (Baobaid, 2006, p.161).

In the 1970's, a number of feminist theorists made the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' (Connell, 2009). 'Sex was the biological fact, the difference between the male and the female human animal. Gender was the social fact, the difference between masculine and feminine roles, or men's and women's personalities' (Connell, 2009, p.57). Connell (1995) summaries the identified problems in sex role theory, in that it has very little to say about race and ethnicity and ignores how gay men fit into the dichotomy of male and female. Sex role theory also failed to acknowledge and grasp the complexities of

power relationships both between and within genders (Demetriou, 2001). Connell addresses these shortcomings in a new theoretical framework of gender: 'being a man or a woman … is not a pre-determined state. It is a *becoming,* a condition actively under construction' (2009, p.05) and is 'something that is embodied' (Connell, 2002). How people 'do' gender is socially constructed through gender socialisation and the process of socialisation can continue into adulthood (Connell 2009), including a mixture of positive and negative reinforcement where 'nonconformity or deviance would lead to negative sanctions' (Connell, 2009, p.95).

There is a consensus amongst gender and masculinity theorists (see for example, Kauffman, 1994; Manderson and Bennett, 2003) that gender, or the definition of what it means to be a man or a woman, is constantly changing and evolving, and that there is no single form of masculinity or femininity. Gender is not a 'fixed set of social norms that are passively internalised and enacted' but as something that is 'constantly produced and reproduced in social practice' (Demetriou, 2001, p.340). What it is to be a male or female or masculine or feminine is not rooted in the biological but the social and cultural. In other words, members of society will determine and define what being male and female is: 'community of masculinity or femininity practice will therefore construct a communal ideal typical version of masculinity and femininity, which will represent what men and women are supposed to be like in that community' (Paechter, 2007, p.12). Moller (2007) makes the interesting point that there must be conditions or circumstances under which masculinities can change, and that: 'if masculinities are malleable, at least to some extent, then it becomes less necessary to live with those articulations of masculinity that are damaging' (p.264).

Connell (1995) argues that there are different expressions of masculinity and femininity, and these are ordered in a gender hierarchy. At the top of the gender hierarchy is what is termed 'hegemonic masculinity' which is dominant over all other masculinities and femininities. Hegemonic masculinity is: 'the means by which a dominated group in society is persuaded to ignore, minimize and even willingly collude in its oppression. Hegemonic masculinity

is an ideal, a style, a set of practices of dominance, which coalesce around an idealized type of masculinity' (Osella and Osella, 2006, p.49). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) in their re-examination of the concept, argue that its formulation 'embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men' (p.832). If this is the case, where are South Asian men in the UK on the gender hierarchy?

If masculinity is not fixed, then there can be many forms of and ways of enacting masculinity: it can be modified by race, ethnicity, social-economic class and sexual orientation. However, these are all located within conventional assumptions and stereotypes about what it means to be a man and the highest standard or most honoured is a white, heterosexual (closely connected to the institution of marriage), and middle class male. If gender ordering reveals that the highest form of masculinity is hegemonic masculinity, one can, potentially at least, also assert that the lowest must be the opposite. This would be a non White, homosexual, working class, non able bodied male from a non western country. Therefore, it could be argued that migrant South Asian men must be low down, but not as low as those born in the UK, on the hierarchal scale of masculinity in what Connell (1995) terms as 'marginalised masculinities' or 'subordinated masculinities'. The latter is seen to refer to non White men living in the west and gay men.

Masculinity theorists concur that most men are unable to adhere to the normative framework of hegemonic masculinity: it is not a reality but a cultural ideal (Tarrant, 2008) and actively reproduced (Osella and Osella, 2006). For many men, masculinity is a style of manhood that they are complicit in upholding (Tarrant, 2008). It: 'comes in many forms and packages and these multiple masculinities are informed, limited, and modified by race, ethnicity, class background, sexual orientation, and personal predictions' (see Pease, 2000, p.10). This is further complicated as masculinities are: 'challenged, problematic, variable, changing, shifting, fluid, fractured, contextualised, contested, complicated, plural, different, diverse,

heterogeneous, self-constructing and always emerging' (Donaldson and Howson, 2009, p.215). Although most men cannot embody hegemonic masculinity, many benefit from it, particularly in relation to their power and control over women.

Paechter (2007) adds 'that every community of masculinity and femininity practice is different: while we can find commonalities between groups, there will be subtle and not so subtle variations. Research into these communities, therefore has to be detailed and small-scale, with generalizations developed from the bringing together and comparing of different studies' (p.154). How South Asian men define being a man and masculinity is explored in this study drawing on the findings from the original research data (see Chapter Eight).

4.2 Epistemological framework and methodology

Epistemology is the 'theory of knowledge' or how the social world or reality is understood; standpoint epistemology (Hawkesworth, 2006) contends that a standpoint is where the understanding of reality is formed, and that knowledge is socially and culturally constructed. The validation of knowledge is influenced by the standpoint of the individual or a group, and that understanding the perspectives of marginalised and/or less privileged individuals/groups can help create more objective accounts of the world 'because of their social locations' as they are 'engaged in activities that differ from others who are not similarly situated' (Naples, 2003, p.76). They are said to be: 'epistemologically privileged in that they have more direct access to accurate knowledge about the conditions of their subordination' (Hill Collins, 1991 cited in Griffen, 1996). Patricia Hill Collins calls for an: ''afrocentric' feminist standpoint epistemology which looks at the intersection of race, class, and gender, thereby shaping their experiences, viewpoint and perceptions' (cited in Hesse-Biber, Leavy and Vaiser, 2004, p.17). Membership of social groups affects people's standpoints, for example, within the framework of hegemonic masculinity, South Asian men simultaneously occupying positions of dominance (gender) and marginality or subordination (race/ethnicity).

The term 'intersectionality' was first coined by Kimberle Crenshaw in the 1980s and has been defined as: 'a theory to analyse how social and cultural categories intertwine' (Knudsen, 2006, p.61). The word intersectionality means that 'one line cuts through another line, and can be used about streets crossing each other' (Knudsen, 2006, p.61). More specifically, the term refers to: 'the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power' (Davis, 2008, p.68). Intersectionality focuses on marginalised or less privileged positions and can be used to investigate differences within social categories. The social categories of migration and religion are rarely included in intersectional approaches. It is important to locate these social categories in particular community contexts (Naples, 2003) since they may be relevant to attitudes toward women and domestic violence among South Asian men.

Applying standpoint epistemology and intersectionality asserts that South Asian men's knowledge is based on their lived experience and that their gender, race/ethnicity, culture and religion, and migration status may influence their knowledge, coupled with their experiences of discrimination and racism from dominant men who exhibit hegemonic masculinity. It is worth pointing out that the concept of 'ethnicity' is contested and complex as there is no agreed definition and it is often used interchangeably with concepts such as 'race' and 'ethnicity' (Yick and Berthold, 2005). Generally, 'ethnicity' refers to a: 'collectivity or community that is assumed to share common cultural practices and history' (Phoenix and Husain, 2007, p.04).

4.3 Feminist research

I also came to this research as a feminist and therefore I considered that I was 'doing feminist research' (Dobash and Dobash 1979, 1983, 1988): that feminist ideas and understandings informed the research process; from drafting the research instruments, to undertaking the fieldwork, and analysing and interpreting the findings. However, what constitutes feminist research has been debated and contested for decades (Maynard, 1994). Many concur

that 'there is no single 'feminist way' to do research' (Reinharz, 1992, p.243) or there is 'no one particular model or definition of feminist research' (Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996, p.92). At minimum, feminist research focusses on, and takes into account, gender (Skinner, Hester, and Malos, 2005; Beetham and Demetraides, 2007): 'understanding and articulating the ways in which women are oppressed by men has constituted the backbone of feminist research' (Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996, p.92; see also Kelly, 1988 cited in Yllo and Bograd). Harding (1987) argues that in a feminist standpoint:

> Knowledge is supposed to be based on experience, and the reason the feminist claims can turn out to be scientifically preferable is that they originate in, and are tested against, a more complete and less distorting kind of social experience. Women's experiences, informed by feminist theory, provide a potential grounding for more complete and less distorted knowledge claims than do men's (p.184).

Historically, some argued that feminist research should be research on women (Stanley and Wise, 1993) and that 'the product of feminist research should be directly used by women in order to formulate policies and provisions necessary for feminist activities' (Stanley and Wise, 1983, p.18-19). Feminist research, particularly how qualitative methods and reducing power dynamics and hierarchy came to be seen as synonymous with feminist research, is examined in Section 4.4.1 and 4.7 of this Chapter. However, as Peters et al (2008) point out, men remain a significant part of women's lives as fathers, sons, brothers, friends, and partners, and they can act as advocates for women in their conversations. They also argue that men, as with women, experience oppression as, although many benefit from hegemonic masculinity, most men cannot embody it and experience others exerting power over them. Nonetheless, 'the inclusion of men as subject/object of feminist research remains both problematic and controversial' (Campbell, 2003, p.285).

In the last few decades there has been an expansion of research and studies undertaken on gender to include the subject of men and masculinities

(Connell, 2002; Pease 2002; Connell, Hearn and Kimmel, 2005), and by the mid 1990s there was said to be a boom (Newton, (2002); Kelly et al (1994) argue that 'one of the strongest arguments made for 'men's studies' has been that feminist research has neglected the study of men and masculinity, and that these areas can be studied more effectively by men' (p.33). The studies on men and masculinities created a separate space for men so that issues and concerns regarding men could be addressed, and fell either into the men's studies or critical men's studies (CSM) group. Hearn (2004) makes the distinction between men's studies and critical studies on men, and argues that 'the reference to 'critical' in CSM centrally concerns questions of power, gendered power' (p.51). CMS arose from 'a number of critiques – primarily from feminism … and from men's responses, particularly men's pro-feminist responses, to feminism and debates on gender relations. CSM thus refers to that range of studies that critically address men in the context of gendered power relations' (Hearn, 2004, p.50). Similarly, Robinson (2002) points out that one of the basic differences in the aim between women's and men's studies is the issue of power, whereby 'women's studies aims to empower women, masculinity studies must come to terms with the fact that masculinity already equates with power' (p.152-153).

Whilst some of the studies on men and masculinity have been undertaken from a feminist perspective and have been supportive of feminism, some feminists despite welcoming their emergence have highlighted their limitations or concerns. For example, Robinson's (2003) concerns regarding the work produced by male masculinity theorists are that:

> male theorists often make 'token reference to feminism' rather than substantive critical engagement; that feminism is often falsely homogenised and referred to in a sweeping way without referring to the work of the individual feminist authors or citing the work of those responsible; where these male masculinity theorists did use feminist theory they often did so in a very selective manner and restricted their engagement to a couple of feminists from a 'particular perspective'; and that 'only feminists and types of feminists which were seen to be

sympathetic to men's issues and problems were generally acknowledged' (p.130-131 cited in McCarry, 2007, p.407).

Others are more supportive, for example, Hearn is said to be a supporter of 'wider feminist projects of not only women's emancipation but men changing other men toward feminist ends' (Edwards, 2006, p.58). To this end, his work focuses on men's violence against women (Hearn, 1998). Brod (1987) also argues that men's studies complemented women's studies and that the two are on par.

Whilst feminist research can also be used to analyse the attitudes and experiences of men as well as masculinities, there is a knowledge gap in the way in which female researchers, from a feminist perspective, have undertaken interviewing with men. There is even less discussion on the dynamics of gender and ethnicity/race in the interview process with men, as well as the possibilities, that feminist research can bring, to the study of attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Moreover, an examination of the literature also reveals that much of the literature on men's studies and CSM focuses on men interviewing men (see Hearn, 2013). This study joins a more recent knowledge base, that of feminist research with men.

The next section outlines the research questions, and discusses the methods employed for the research and the rationale for the selection of those methods

4.4 Research questions

A mixed method approach was used for the research. Self-completion questionnaires formed the first stage and were completed by South Asian men:

- to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward women and to explore differences among them;

- to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward domestic violence and to explore differences among them;

- to explore what South Asian men consider as unacceptable female behaviour;

- to examine whether South Asian men justify the use of violence against a wife or partner, and if so, under what circumstances;

- to explore whether and which socio-demographics are associated with South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

This data was complimented by a more in-depth exploration through semi structured interviews with South Asian men which set out:

- to examine the themes and concepts that help to explain South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence, including how South Asian men define masculinity;

- to explore what South Asian men consider as unacceptable female behaviour;

- to examine whether South Asian men justify the use of violence against a wife or partner, and if so, under what circumstances;

- to explore differences within South Asian men's attitudes toward women.

The next two sections provide the rationale for a mixed methods approach and the research methodology.

4.4.1 The rationale for a mixed methods approach

The reasons for using a mixed method approach are many: it increases the chances of establishing trustworthy results (Oakley, 2000); expresses commitment to thoroughness (Reinharz, 1992), and is a 'wish to know more about topics' (Alexander et al, 2008, p.127). A researcher is also 'able to illuminate previously unexamined or misunderstood experiences' and 'increase the likelihood of obtaining scientific credibility and research utility' (Reinharz, 1992, p.197). Furthermore, there is the increased chance of

'understanding what they are studying, and that they will be able to persuade others of the veracity of their findings. Multiple methods work to enhance understanding both by adding layers of information and by using one type of data to validate or refine another' (Reinharz, 1992, p.201). Semi-structured interviews can be used to validate findings from questionnaires (Bryman, 2006).

However, quantitative and qualitative research is different on three dimensions: firstly, ontology (different ways of constructing reality); secondly, epistemology (different forms of knowledge of that reality or theory of knowledge) (Rose, 2001); and thirdly, methodology (particular ways of knowing that reality). The term 'positivism' or 'logical positivism' (the latter is commonly referred to as 'logical empiricism) are usually synonymous or associated with quantitative research methods. Here the assumption is that (social) reality is external to the individual and has an independent and objective existence. In contrast, qualitative research has been associated with a humanist research tradition such as interpretivism with the assumption that reality is socially constructed.

The two approaches are also said to have different purposes and are often viewed as providing 'hard' and 'soft' as well as 'macro' and 'micro' level perspectives. Quantitative research entails adopting a numerical approach to data collection and analysis, and often involves large-scale empirical samples of the population drawn from a wide geographical area. In contrast, qualitative research provides a micro-level perspective 'based on case studies or data collected from individuals or groups. Here the emphasis is on smaller-scale studies exploring the meaning that events and situations have for participants' (Clarke, 2001, p.34). A qualitative researcher takes an 'insiders' point of view and their role involves personal involvement and empathetic understanding. An advantage of qualitative research is that 'interviewing offers researchers access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher' (Reinharz, 1992, p.19). The disadvantage of quantitative research is the lack of richness in the meanings and explanations given by the respondents

(Bograd, 1988) and the approach has been seen as 'implicitly or explicitly defensive of the (masculinist) status quo' (Oakley, 2006, p.239). It is also associated with being driven by prior theory or 'deductive', where the aim is to hypothesis-test. Qualitative research, on the other hand, is 'inductive', in that theory emerges from the research.

Qualitative methods have also come to be seen as synonymous with feminist research as they have the potential to explore the meanings of experience and seek to make visible the needs and experiences of women (Oakley, 2006). In contrast, quantitative research is seen to 'distance women's experiences and result in a silencing of women's own voices' (Jayaratne and Stewart, 2006, p.267). Qualitative research has often been favoured by feminist standpoint theorists because 'they allow women to be 'experts' about their own experiences and to 'correct' the researcher whose questions are on the wrong track' (Rose, 2001, p.7). This is particularly pertinent as oppressed groups are epistemologically privileged in that they have 'more direct access to accurate knowledge about the conditions of their subordination' (Hill Collins, 1991 cited in Griffin, 1996, p.180).

The quest for thoroughness and an enhanced understanding of South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence was the reason for choosing both quantitative and qualitative methods. In addition, all five studies referred to in the 'rationale for employing this research methodology' section above and Appendix 1 either undertook quantitative or qualitative research and to my knowledge there are only a few studies undertaken on attitudes toward women and domestic violence, which have used both quantitative and qualitative research methods (see study by Romkens, 1997). These have been undertaken with a non South Asian sample. As none of the five studies undertook both quantitative and qualitative research, a multi-method approach was also chosen. Quantitative methods captured what men's attitudes are toward women and domestic violence as well as what is associated with difference in attitudes. Qualitative methods were suited to capturing the meaning and experiences of South Asian men, and were used to provide a number of possible explanations for the quantitative results.

Based on limitations and the gaps of existing literature, to avoid a skewed sample, as well as to examine differences among South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence it was also important to add diversity. Diversity was particularly important as ethnic minority groups are often combined into the same category. However, there may be significant differences. For example, Bhopal (1997) found that in general, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and those that practice Islam hold onto more rigid gender roles compared to Indians and Hindus and Sikhs. South Asian men were, therefore, approached in a range of locations to obtain a sample of men by age, ethnicity, religious affiliation and country of birth.

4.4.2 The rationale for employing this research methodology

All modes of data collection - face-to-face interviews, telephone interviewing, and administered methods (postal and internet questionnaire with no interviewer or supervised self-completion with interviewer) - were considered for the quantitative element of the study. Consideration in choosing a mode of data collection also included the time and resources available; minimising data collection costs, maximising contact rate, maximising co-operation rate, and maximising completeness. The potential sensitive nature of the quantitative element of the study was also a key consideration as it may put other people, especially women, who may be present at the time of the interview, at risk.

As no sampling frame of the South Asian community, which the sample could be drawn from, exists in the UK (in the form of telephone numbers or postal addresses), this limited the number of options such as undertaking telephone interviews. The South Asian community are also a hard to reach and minority population. Other considerations included going to predominantly South Asian neighbourhoods and posting a self-completion questionnaire with a self-addressed envelope or creating an online internet webpage with a link to the questionnaire. The latter presented a number of challenges, namely how to get electronic participation from an already hard to reach and minority

population. One of the major drawbacks of a postal and internet self-completion questionnaire, as with other methods, is the lack of control over data collection. There is no control over who actually answers the questions and the order in which questions are read and answered. It is also difficult to ascertain whether the respondent can read or understand English. Reminders may also need to be sent to increase the co-operation rate. Participants who receive a questionnaire through the post may be reluctant to complete it for they may feel uncomfortable or feel that it is inappropriate to provide sensitive and confidential information (especially for someone they have never met) without concrete assurances of confidentiality. They may feel unsure or not trust the way in which the information provided will be used and about anonymity. The response rate for a postal survey depends on a number of factors, including 'the subject matter of the survey, the target population under survey, the recipients' perception of its value, and the ease of completion of the questionnaire' (Simmons, 2001, p.87). Whilst the advantages noted with respect to postal surveys are namely the costs are lower than other methods and it allows the participants to fill in the questionnaire at a time convenient to them, the issues listed above, as well as the potential sensitive issue of domestic violence, meant that this was not a feasible option.

The research methodology used in other studies was also examined but in undertaking the literature review, despite the large volume of domestic violence literature, studies on attitudes toward women and domestic violence in the South Asian community, in both the UK and internationally, are rare (see Chapter Three). The research to draw upon is therefore limited, and to my knowledge, only five studies have been undertaken solely with South Asian men on attitudes toward women and domestic violence; three are international studies (conducted in Canada and Pakistan), and two in the UK, North West England (Bradford) and North East England (Newcastle, Sunderland and South Tyneside). The latter study undertook research on men, women and young people but as this is only the second study undertaken in the UK on South Asian men and domestic violence, it has been included here. See Appendix 1 for a methodological outline of the five

studies as well as their limitations in research design and the sample, which will be addressed in the design of this research study (Bhanot and Senn, 2007; Fikree et al, 2005; Zakar et al, 2013; Macey, 1999a; and Gangoli et al, 2006). The findings were presented in the literature review, Chapter Two and Three. The strengths and limitations of the research methodology of the five studies were examined to provide insight into how to access and get South Asian men to participate as well as in research on a potentially sensitive topic. The examination of methodology revealed very little, although the literature confirmed the lengths that a researcher must go to in order to reach the target population. A convenience or purposive sample was used for all five studies.

Given the limited literature, let alone exploration of methodology, on researching South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence and some of the weaknesses of other modes of data collection, a convenience sampling method was chosen and South Asian men were approached in public spaces to complete a supervised self-completion research instrument. This method of approaching South Asian men in public spaces was chosen as it would enable control over who is present at the time of completing the questionnaire; only men on their own were approached, and I could 'explain the study, answer questions, and designate a respondent' (Fowler: 2002, p.73). The response rate tends to be like those to personal interview studies and higher than a telephone interview, and postal and internet survey (Fowler, 2002). This method also provides more flexibility than some of the other modes, in that it was possible to select a combination of locations to maximise diversity across age groups, socio-economic status, religious affiliation and country of birth. In addition, it would allow for observations during the fieldwork, and in turn enrich and provide a greater understanding of the research topic and findings. Finally, this method enabled inclusion of men that had recently arrived in to the UK.

The last two sections (4.4.1 and 4.4.2) provided a discussion on why a mixed method approach and convenience sampling method were adopted. The next section outlines the survey stage of the research.

4.5 Survey stage of the research

This section examines the first stage of the research, which includes the construction of the survey instrument, including the steps taken to draft the items, and reliability and validity of the research instrument; the recruitment of participants; as well as the data organisation and preparation. Firstly, the survey research questions are presented.

The core research question was to explore and identify South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The aim and objectives were:

- to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward women and to explore differences among them;
- to explore what South Asian men consider as unacceptable female behaviour;
- to examine South Asian men's attitudes toward domestic violence and to explore differences among them;
- to examine whether South Asian men justify the use of violence against a wife or partner, and if so, under what circumstances;
- to explore whether and which socio-demographics are associated with South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

4.5.1 Construction of the survey instrument

In the field of attitudes toward women and domestic violence there are many well-established scales. However, a comprehensive and critical review of pre-existing established instruments revealed that most are out-dated, with some developed 20 or more years ago, and none are sensitive to the specifics of South Asian communities. Having a culturally sensitive research instrument is essential if data is to be reliable and valid (Rubin and Babbie, 2010). Plus, a culturally insensitive research instrument may 'offend participants; dissuade them from participating in your study or in future

studies, and lead to results that they perceive as harmful to their communities' (Rubin and Babbie, 2010, p.118).

The development of the research instrument consisted of four stages and echoes the approach taken by Yick (1997). The **first** stage involved examining and reviewing existing literature and research instruments on attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The **second** stage drew on this material to create a draft instrument which was then submitted for comment to a group of five experts on domestic violence in the South Asian community. The **third** stage was pilot-testing the research instrument with the same population; South Asian men in London and South East England (Kent; a county in South East England). Finally, the **fourth** stage drew on the pilot to produce the final instrument (see Appendix 2). The four stages are outlined further below.

First stage: reviewing existing instruments

The first stage of reviewing existing literature and research instruments involved three processes: first items were drawn from past research instruments on attitudes toward women and domestic violence; second, additional items were generated based on the literature review. Finally, other items were created to address gaps on the cultural and religious items.

A comprehensive and systematic review of the literature revealed several research instruments that measure attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The instruments include attitudinal items using a Likert scale on attitudes toward domestic violence, gender role beliefs, incidence of domestic violence, and attitudes toward women (Spence and Helmreich, 1978; Bem, 1974; Straus, 1979, 1990; Burt, 1980; Saunders, Lynch, Grayson, and Linz, 1987; Hudson and Murphy, 1990; Smith, 1990; Shepard and Campbell, 1992; Yick, 1997; Pulerwitz, Gortmaker, and DeJong, 2000a; Yoshioka and Dinoia, 2000). Details of the research instruments that were examined are provided below:

Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) (Spence and Helmreich, 1972). The scale consists of 55 items exploring the rights and roles of women in society. The AWS has also been created with 25 and 15 items, which were published in 1973 and 1978, respectively.

Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974) to measure and characterise individuals as masculine, feminine or androgynous.

Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Straus, 1979, 1990). The CTS is divided into three subscales of reasoning, verbal aggression, and physical aggression (the weakness and limitations are discussed in Chapter Three).

Sex-Role Stereotyping (SRS) (Burt, 1980) to measure sex role stereotypes, sexual conservatism, acceptance of interpersonal violence, adversarial sex beliefs, and acceptance of rape myths.

Inventory of Beliefs About Wife Beating (IBWB) (Saunders, Lynch, Grayson, and Linz, 1987). The scale consists of 41 items arranged in five subscales: wife beating is justified, wives gain from beatings, help should be given, offender should be punished and offender is responsible.

Sexual Attitude Scale (SAS) (Hudson and Murphy, 1990) to measure sexual behaviour.

Familial Patriarchal Beliefs (FPB) (Smith, 1990) to measure attitudes and beliefs considered supportive of a patriarchal family structure.

Abusive Behaviour Inventory (ABI) (Shepard and Campbell, 1992). The instrument consists of 30 items using a five point Likert scale to measure the frequency of abusive behaviours during a six month period.

The Perceptions of and Attitudes toward Domestic Violence Questionnaire – Revised (PADV–R) (Yick, 1997). The instrument was designed for use with an Asian American population and includes the following four categories:

definitions of domestic violence, attitudes toward the use of domestic violence, views about causes of domestic violence, and beliefs about the justifications warranting the use of domestic violence.

Sexual Relationship Power Scale (SRPS) (Pulerwitz, Gortmaker, and DeJong, 2000a) to measure gender power in relationships and to investigate the role of relationship power in sexual decision making and HIV risk. The SRPS contains two subscales that address dimensions of relationship power: relationship control and decision making dominance.

Revised Attitudes toward Wife Abuse Scale (RAWA) (Yoshioka and Dinoia, 2000). The 14 item instrument measures attitudes toward marital violence and was developed by combining the Attitudes Toward Wife Abuse Scale (Briere, 1987) and the Likelihood of Battering Scale (Briere, 1987).

Having identified existing research instruments, a list of potential items to address the research questions, whilst being sensitive to South Asian men in the UK, was created. Procter (2001) supports the approach that in practice 'one usually starts with too many statements, so as to be able to select a subset of the best' (p.109). To enable the reduction, items were assessed on how essential they were to meet the objectives of the research (Green, 2008). The research instruments were also assessed for their suitability on an additional number of criteria including: the theoretical perspective; rigour and reliability; the research sample; and language and wording. Each is explored further below.

As the pre-existing research instruments have not been developed and tested with South Asian men and the South Asian community, all the items were evaluated to establish relevance to the research questions and to South Asian men in the UK. This involved adapting existing items.

For example, a review of the literature on attitudes toward women and domestic violence revealed that it was important to add an item on sexual relations before marriage. An item was therefore added to explore whether in

fact the South Asian community still hold the attitude that sexual relations before marriage are unacceptable, and whether this applies to just South Asian women or also South Asian men. The Sexual Attitude Scale (Hudson and Murphy, 1990) and Sex-Role Stereotyping (Burt, 1980) both included an item on sex before marriage. The items have been added below respectively:

'I think sex should be reserved for marriage'

'I have no respect for a woman who engages in sexual relations before marriage'

The first item was evaluated but it did not assess attitudes toward women and secondly it did not distinguish between men and women. This is important because of the theme of control of female sexuality and autonomy (Siddiqui, 2003). The second item could be interpreted as ambiguous and specifically the word 'engages' may be misunderstood by South Asian men especially among men whose first language might not be English. The decision was therefore to reject the first item and adapt the second item by simplifying the language. The item in the pilot and final research instrument was adapted to:

'I have no respect for women that have sexual relations before marriage'.

Secondly, an assessment of the rigour and reliability of the research instruments revealed that some scales were not robust. The Cronbach's alpha value is a measure of internal consistency or how closely related a set of items are as a group and internal consistency is usually measured with Cronbach's alpha and ranges between zero and one; the Cronbach's alpha needs to be at least 0.7 to have acceptable internal validity.

Saunders et al (1987) undertook an assessment of the reliability and validity of the five subscales in the *Inventory of Beliefs About Wife Beating (IBWB)* Scale and reported that they were constructed with acceptable internal validity. Similarly, they state that the 15-item Attitudes Toward Women Scale

(AWS) showed a reliability coefficient of 0.89 in a sample of US college students. The Cronbach's alpha is 0.84 for the Sexual Relationship Power Scale (SRPS) (Pulerwitz et al, 2000b). However, the subscales of the research instruments closest to this research study sample with South Asian men in the UK were not robust. The PADV-R (Yick, 1997) were 'well below what is deemed acceptable' (Clark, 2007) and one of the subscales (perceived lack of alternatives) in the RAWA (Yoshioka and Dinoia, 2000) is also unacceptable as the Cronbach alpha is 0.66 and is therefore below 0.7 needed for acceptable internal validity (Yoshioka and Dinoia, 2000).

Thirdly, the research sample used to develop the items of the pre-existing research instruments was also examined. Although the items showed reliability and validity they have not been developed and tested with the South Asian community and the items may not therefore be relevant and sensitive to South Asian men in the UK. The items in the PADV-R (Yick, 1997) and RAWA (Yoshioka and Dinoia, 2000) research instrument were designed to specifically measure the perceptions and attitudes toward Asian Americans. However, there are many differences, including cultural and religious, amongst the Asian and South Asian community, and between the Asian communities in America and the UK.

Fourthly, the language and the wording of the items were assessed; this review revealed that many were out of date, given the high visibility of domestic violence in the media and policy over the last two decades. The items were therefore modified to reflect more contemporary language and contexts i.e. items such as *wife* were modified to *partner* or *woman.* The words 'beating', 'battering' and 'battered' were used in the items in the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (Saunders et al, 1987), where 'beating' is used to mean repeated hitting intended to inflict pain. These earlier terms are not used in contemporary language for they have been replaced with terms such as 'hitting' or 'violence'.

Some items were ambiguous and difficult to understand – for example, what is meant by 'intellectual leadership of a community'?

'The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men'.

Finally, the item below is 24 words long, whereas the general advice is to keep questions or statements as short as possible (Dillmann, 2000) with a maximum number of 20 words per sentence (Oppenheim, 1992).

'Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men'.

This critical assessment of established instruments revealed that many items could not be simply taken from existing scales; there was a clear gap in items and research instruments sensitive to the South Asian community. 'Sometimes we can borrow or adapt questionnaires from other researchers, but there still remains the task of making quite sure that these 'work' with our population and will yield the data we require' (Oppenheim, 1992, p.47). There was also a concern with consistency in the language and tone of the items if they were selected from a range of research instruments. A similar approach was undertaken by Haj-Yahia (2003) who adapted original versions of research instruments to examine beliefs about wife beating among Arab men because of the cultural differences between western societies where the research instruments were developed and Arab societies where the research instrument was to be administered. New items were therefore required, generated based on the literature review (see Chapter Two and Three).

Developing new items

Developing items, specific to the cultural and religious features of the South Asian community was considered next. Issues that emerged from the literature on women in South Asian communities and findings from the Forced Marriage Unit and partner agencies list a number of reasons that lead some families to force their children into marriage (HM Government, 2009) including controlling sexuality (including perceived promiscuity) and unwanted behaviour (see Chapter Two). The literature on attitudes toward

women includes a spectrum of issues from sexual relations, clothes, alcohol, education, divorce, and living away from home.

From a thorough review of the literature on domestic violence (see Chapter Three) and existing research instruments, it was clear that many of the items focus on definition, experience of, incidence, and nature/causes of domestic violence and were not applicable to the research aims and objectives. Therefore other sources from literature based on samples of men from the general population and perpetrators were examined and informed the development of new items. These included the Duluth Model (which is also commonly known as the 'power and control wheel') and the Muslim wheel of domestic violence (Alkahteeb, n.d.). The latter conveys some of the ways that religion can be distorted to justify domestic violence. The Freedom Programme was also consulted (Craven, 2008). Craven (2008) explores the social and cultural beliefs held by perpetrators. She highlights eight 'rules' on how an abuser expects women to behave and how he expects that he should be allowed to behave, some of these include: women doing exactly as they are told by men; women never answering back, offering an opinion or making our own decisions; women staying at home; women believing and accepting all the excuses he gives her for his violence; women being responsible for all childcare; and women providing services, sex on demand, and acting as an unpaid servant (p.89).

Five components of domestic violence were addressed in the research instrument: physical, sexual, emotional or psychological, verbal and financial abuse, including coercive control and decision-making. The complexity revealed in the literature review of measuring domestic violence was taken into consideration when drafting the items (see Chapter Three). Below are the items in the survey instrument that cover all forms of domestic violence.

Physical: *'South Asian men should not be allowed to hit their wife or partner'.*

Sexual: *'A certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a South Asian wife or partner refuses to have sex'.*

Emotional and psychological: *'Trying to put a South Asian wife or partner down in front of others by calling her unpleasant names is not acceptable'.*

Verbal: *'If a South Asian woman does not obey her husband it is acceptable for him to shout at her'.*

Financial: *'South Asian men should refuse to give more money for the household budget when their wife or partner requests it'.*

A review of the literature also revealed that men often justify violence against their partner or wife under certain circumstances. Two items were therefore added:

'*South Asian men should not be allowed to hit their wife or partner*'

'It is okay for a South Asian man to hit his wife or partner when they think she has done something wrong'

Items under Section 4 of the final research instrument builds on these two items and examines in more detail whether it is ever justified to hit a wife or partner under certain circumstances.

Creating the draft instrument, through evaluation of the existing scales and the literature review on attitudes toward women and domestic violence in South Asian communities, was further supplemented by my own personal knowledge of the South Asian community, as a South Asian woman in the UK. I was able to interpret and draw out some of the significant issues from existing literature which may have otherwise been overlooked. For example, a new item on living away from home was added as living away from the parental home before marriage is often viewed as unacceptable. The wording 'before marriage' is significant because after marriage living away is seen as acceptable because the daughter in most, if not all, incidences moves to live with her in-laws either permanently or for a period of time. An item on going

to bars and nightclubs was also added as social freedom is usually limited and they are viewed as inappropriate places for women.

'It is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married'.

'I have no respect for women that go to bars and nightclubs'.

Furthermore, an insight into the language used by the South Asian community and knowledge of the level of English spoken by South Asian men in the UK, and how English may not be their first language, helped in drafting the items.

Second stage: consulting experts on domestic violence in the South Asian community

Critical feedback was sought on the draft instrument from a panel of five experts working in the field of violence against South Asian women, who were asked to review the completeness and appropriateness, including the relevance and wording of the items. Minor suggestions were made as most commented on the thoroughness of the questions. Revisions were made based on the comments received.

One suggestion was adding an item around in-laws/extended family, irrespective of whether or not a South Asian couple live with the husband's family. The rationale for adding the item was the influence and impact of the extended family network. However, whilst very interesting and relevant to the topic of domestic violence in the South Asian community, the issue of in-laws/extended family was outside the scope of the research taking it into the realms of the wider term 'family violence', which covers violence by any household and family member. Another suggestion included exploring the circumstances in which it is acceptable for a woman to say no to sex with her husband i.e. if she is sick, if the children are unwell, or because she does not want to. Once again, whilst very interesting, in order to explore whether

South Asian men made the distinction between when a certain amount of pressure to have sex is acceptable, the item would either have had to be adapted and turned in to an open question or a series of specific items. This level of detail would also need to be applied to the other items, which was not feasible because of the impact on the length of the research instrument. The interview guide, however, includes a question on whether violence against a wife or partner is ever justified, including sexual violence. Whether men made a distinction between when a certain amount of pressure to have sex is acceptable is also unpacked and explored here. The question is:

'I now want to ask you about certain kinds of actions, and whether you can tell me about a situation where this might be justified: putting pressure on a wife/partner to have sex'.

The item in the pilot and final survey research instrument is:

'A certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a South Asian wife or partner refuses to have sex'.

Third stage: piloting

Piloting the instrument, when the effectiveness of the research instrument is determined (Bulmer, 2004), and the approach to sampling was essential given that new items had been formulated and no similar study had been identified. There was also the added complexity of a South Asian woman undertaking research with South Asian men on a sensitive issue which needed to be tested.

The pilot research instrument included 86 items, in six sections, of which two were open ended questions. Each section is outlined below.

1. **Attitudes toward women and South Asian women** [28 items]

This section covered a number of behaviours and explores whether South Asian men prescribe to traditional or egalitarian attitudes toward women. Horley (2000) argues that some men have rigid ideas about the roles of men and women i.e. men make the rules and women obey them.

2. **Attitudes toward domestic violence** [11 items]

This section covered a range of forms of domestic violence and explores whether South Asian men ascribe to traditional or egalitarian attitudes toward domestic violence.

3. **Who has the final say?** [8 items]

As men generally have more power in relationships than women, this section explores whether men make all decisions or whether women are involved in the decision-making process. It also explores whether South Asian men ascribe to traditional or egalitarian attitudes toward women. A South Asian man that has egalitarian attitudes is more likely to believe that decisions should be made jointly than a man who has traditional attitudes. It picks up on Stark's (2007) argument that 'what marks control is not who decides, but who decides who decides; who decides what, whether, and how delegated decisions are monitored; and the consequences of making 'mistakes'' (p.230).

4. **Is domestic violence a problem in the South Asian community?** [2 items]

This section explores whether South Asian men think that domestic violence is a problem in the South Asian community, and whether it is more prevalent than in other communities.

5. **Is violence against a partner or wife ever justified?** [17 items, which is split into 4 parts]

This section is split into four parts; the first two parts explore whether South Asian men think that domestic violence is ever justified, and, if so, under which circumstances, connected to ideas on gender. The third and fourth explore the reasons or rationale for using violence against a partner or wife and whether the reasons given are the same or different as those documented for White men in the UK.

6. **Demographics** [20 items]

Participant demographics on: age, religion, ethnic origin, education level, occupation, income, country of birth, marital status, and if applicable, details of the participants current and or last partner.

The decision to place demographic items at the end of the questionnaire rather than at the beginning was made in order to avoid negative reactions to personal information impacting on how South Asian men answered the questions and whether they participated (Oppenhiem, 1992).

The objectives of the piloting included deciding on the wording, clarity, and comprehensibility of each of the items, this was significant as for some South Asian men English is not their first language (see also Rubin and Babbie, 2010); assessing the scales (use of a four or five point scale); exploring whether answers to the open questions could be adapted to forced choice questions; checking the routing of the questions; assessing the length of the instrument; and testing the appropriateness of the instrument's structure, order and presentation. The sampling procedures, specifically the feasibility of conducting the study with the South Asian community and the willingness of the participants approached, in public spaces, to participate were also tested, along with procedures for my safety.

The pilot took place in March and April 2011. The decision to focus on predominantly South Asian neighbourhoods and ask South Asian men in public spaces, including South Asian employers and employees, to take part in the research was tested during the pilot stage. Thirty South Asian men in London and Kent were asked to participate in the pilot; five were friends, two were employees at the same workplace, and 23 were approached in public spaces, including mainly employers or employees in retail (i.e. food and mobile) shops and restaurants. With the latter group, predominately South Asian high streets and shopping areas were selected. All 30 agreed to initially take part in the study. However, after explaining the purpose of the research and the length of the questionnaire, five declined because they had to seek their employer's permission or they were too busy (two agreed to take part at a more convenient time). The response rate for the pilot was therefore 83 per cent. Of the 25 who agreed to take part, 23 fully completed the questionnaire, and of the remaining two, one left out part five on whether domestic violence is ever justified, and the other did not fill in the back sheets of the questionnaire – as it was double-sided.

Once they had completed the questionnaire they were asked whether they understood the questions and what they understood the questions to mean. Participants were also asked whether there were issues or additional questions that should be covered. Most of the respondents commented on the thoroughness of the survey, but some had helpful comments and suggestions, which were used to adapt the instrument. On the whole, participants welcomed the research. Surprisingly, many offered to forward and/or distribute the questionnaire to family and friends and to provide further help in any follow up work[3]. Some spent up to an hour sharing their thoughts and views on the issue of attitudes toward women and domestic violence in the South Asian community.

The data from the pilot was entered into SPSS and analysed to identify trends and any anomalies.

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[3] This offer was not taken up.

The feasibility of the recruitment and sampling approach were confirmed by the pilot, and final ethics approval was sought and given by the University Ethics Committee. Ethics approval was sought both before and after the pilot as there were concerns regarding my safety and the feasibility of the research methodology.

Fourth stage: the final research instrument

The responses of the participants from the pilot raised a number of issues that resulted in a number of adaptations. Most important here was the need to shorten the instrument. Each item was therefore assessed on relevance. For example, a set of questions were asked about 'women' and then 'South Asian women' – as there was no discernable difference in responses some items were deleted. The responses to the open ended questions in section four added little to overall responses, and since they took more time to complete, these too were cut. Some of the demographic questions drawn from other research instruments were also dropped. The demographic section of the questionnaire was detailed enough to gather the information required, but not too lengthy as to limit the response rate.

Analysing the responses from the pilot also provided an opportunity to reflect on the content, structure and sequence of the items to ensure easy navigation from one section to the next and grouping items together (Simmons, 2001). The routing of the items on whether 'violence against a wife or partner is ever justified' were adapted as on a couple of occasions although participants had entered there are 'no circumstances' either ignored or did not understand the instructions and went on to answer whether they thought it is justified to use force or violence against a wife/partner – when, in fact, they should have gone to the next question. Interestingly, some of the responses contradicted their original answer; they had chosen that violence against a wife or partner is not justified and then ticked under which circumstances violence was justified. There was also confusion over the reverse items and some participants noted that they had to read the question

more than once. No changes were made here as reverse coding or proposing values not only in one but different directions (Oppenheim, 1992) and asking items in a variety of ways was introduced to avoid response fatigue and South Asian men having to take extra care and thought in thinking about and answering the questions to reduce social desirability. In addition, there was confusion over some of the items for those who had been in the UK for (only) a couple of years and were thus unfamiliar with certain terms such as 'nagging' and 'talking back'. Where appropriate, the wording was revised, but in the main since most participants understood the meaning the wording was largely unchanged.

Finally, all of Simmons' (2001) suggestions regarding drafting questions had been taken into account: whether respondents have the knowledge to answer the questions; 'whether the questions are relevant to them; and whether they wish to reveal the information' (p.94; see also Peterson, 2000).

The number of items was reduced from 86 in the pilot to 64 in the final research instrument. The steps taken to test the draft final research instrument for reliability and validity before being finalised and administered in the fieldwork are set out next.

4.5.2 Reliability and validity of the research instrument

Reliability and validity are two important elements in the evaluation of a research instrument. Reliability is the extent to which a measurement gives results that are consistent, and validity is the degree to which a study accurately measures what it is supposed to measure. However, a measure that is reliable does not mean that it is not necessarily valid (De Vaus, 2002a).

When using Likert-type scales, as in this research instrument, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient should be used to calculate and report internal consistency reliability, and the item total correlation for validity or whether the scale is unidimensional. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency, that

is, how closely related a set of items are as a group. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient ranges in value from 0 to 1 and for a reliable scale, the alpha coefficient needs to be at least 0.70 (De Vaus, 2002b). The closer alpha coefficient is to 1.0 the greater the internal consistency of the items in the scale. Furthermore, if the alpha coefficient is at least 0.70 then factor analysis is appropriate. A scale can have any number of dimensions in it. A unidimensional scale is where each item measures one or the same underlying concept. For example, all the items in Section 1 of the research instrument are measuring attitudes toward women. A valid Likert scale should be unidimensional and the item total coefficients provide evidence for the unidimensionality of the scale. Items that do not correlate with the rest of the items many not belong to the scale and may be tapping into a different concept (De Vaus, 2002a). A small item-correlation provides evidence that the item is not measuring the same construct measured by the other items included in the scale or research instrument. An item total coefficient needs to be at least 0.2 or 0.3 to remain in the scale.

Cronbach's alpha coefficient was used to determine the reliability of three subscales or three sections of the research instrument (section 1: 'attitudes toward women', 2: 'attitudes toward domestic violence' and 4: 'justification of violence against a wife or partner'). The item total correlation was also used on the three subscales to test for validity. For all three subscales, the Cronbach's alpha and the item total correlation confirm that the subscales are reliable and valid. Items under section 3 and 5 were constructed for descriptive analysis, and are not Likert scales and therefore not suitable for Cronbach's Alpha.

From 65, 64 items (as '*South Asian men and women should be equally responsible for planning their household finances*' was the only item with an item total correlation of less than 0.2) were included in the final research instrument. See Appendix 3 for how the research instrument was tested for reliability and validity and Appendix 4 for the final version of the research instrument.

In addition, as the alpha coefficient is at least 0.70 for all three subscales, factor analysis is appropriate and can be used for establishing internal validity of the research instrument in order to assure the homogeneity of the items. Appendix 5 shows how factor analysis was used in scale development and validation of the three subscales and helped in establishing the internal structure of the research instrument. The findings from factor analysis are also presented in Chapter Six.

4.5.3 Process of recruiting participants

Participants were approached in the following locations:

- public places – high streets and shopping areas; Green Street (East London), Broadway Southall (West London) and Wembley (Northwest London);
- Canary Wharf (a concentrated business banking area with a number of large companies);
- religious worship sites (temples and mosques);
- Asian dating and clubbing nights;
- near and around London Metropolitan University;
- outside the Indian and Pakistan Embassies, and,
- South Asian events that fell within the fieldwork period i.e. Asian mela held in Dartford and Hayes.

Men were approached in retail shops and public spaces shown above and an explanation was given about the research including the purpose. It was also clearly communicated that participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any stage. Questions were then asked to establish if they fitted the eligibility criteria.

The inclusion criteria were: males aged 18 years of age or older who identified themselves as South Asian[4] (Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan) and

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[4] Or whose ethnic origin is Bangladesh, India, Pakistan or ancestry is South Asian.

living in the UK at the time of the fieldwork. Participants also had to be able to understand and read English. The decision for the latter criteria was based on the sensitive nature of the questions and the self-completion requirement.

If men fitted the criteria, they were handed the information sheet which provided further information about the research, including on confidentiality. Once they had read through the information sheet, they were asked if they would be willing to take part. If agreeable, a self completion questionnaire was handed to them. Bulmer (2001) emphasises the importance of informed consent and calls it the: 'linchpin of ethical behaviour in research' (p.49). He argues that participants who are invited to participate in research should be 'free to choose to take part or refuse, having been given the fullest information concerning the nature and purpose of the research, including any risks to which they personally would be exposed, the arrangements for maintaining the confidentiality of the data, and so on' (p.49). Ensuring confidentiality and anonymity when undertaking research on domestic violence in South Asian communities is particularly important as 'cultural values of 'saving face', and not shaming their families and maintaining private, personal matters within the confines of the family are paramount' (Hall, 2002 cited in Yick and Berthold, 2005, p.672). The information sheet assured respondents of anonymity and confidentiality. Once they agreed to take part, participants were assured for the second time of anonymity and confidentiality. No names were written on the questionnaires, making it impossible to link a response to a specific individual.

The fieldwork took place over a three month period from mid July to mid October 2011. Two hundred and eight South Asian men in London and Kent agreed to participate in the study and completed the questionnaire. As the focus of the research is on South Asian men and this is defined by men's ethnic origin, of that sample 28 were removed. This was because the participant had not completed the question on ethnic origin; or misunderstood as the participant's ethnic origin was not India, Bangladesh, or Pakistan. The final sample is therefore 190.

The next section describes the data preparation and analysis process.

4.5.4 Data preparation and analysis

The data from the 190 completed questionnaires by South Asian men was collected, coded and inputted into SPSS Data Analysis System (SPSS v19.0), and used to undertake statistical analysis to investigate South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence (see Chapter Five and Six).

A number of independent and dependent variables were included in the final research instrument.

The five groups of independent variables which also form five sections are:

- Attitudes toward women and gender roles
- Attitudes toward domestic violence
- Decision making
- Whether violence is ever justified
- Responses to domestic violence

The ten dependent variables and are coded in the following way:

Age, religion or belief, religiosity, the strength of religious affiliation, ethnic origin, country of birth, number of years in the UK, occupation, educational attainment and marital status. An attempt to establish enough categories to cover the variety of content was made but where appropriate and for completeness 'other' was also added to the dependent variable. There is evidence in the literature review that these demographic variables may be related to South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

a) Age

Age categories were not provided in the research instrument, they were later coded as: (1) 18 – 22, (2) 23 – 27, (3) 28 – 32, (4) 33 – 37, (5) 38 – 42, (6) 43 - 47, (7) 48 – 52, (8) 53 – 57, (9) 58+

b) Religion or belief

Although the three main South Asian religions are Muslim, Hindu and Sikh, South Asians may also be Christian or belong to other minority religions (Ballard, 1994). These categories were coded as: (1) Hindu, (2) Muslim, (3) Sikh, (4) no religion, (5) other.

c) Religiosity

The extent to which the participants regarded themselves to be religious was coded as: (1) not at all religious, (2) somewhat religious, (3) religious, (4) very religious.

d) Strength of religious affiliation

The extent to which the participant's religion influences the way they choose to act in their everyday life was coded as: (1) not at all, (2) somewhat, (3) a lot.

e) Ethnic origin

The sample was selected on the basis of ethnic origin. Therefore, it was expected that the ethnic origin of South Asian men would be Indian, Bangladeshi or Pakistani. However, as with the other variables, the option of 'other' was also given, plus, the men may have misunderstood the question. These men were not included in the final analysis as the focus of the analysis and research is on men from India, Bangladesh or Pakistan.

Ethnic origin was coded as: (1) Indian, (2) Bangladeshi, (3) Pakistani, (4) Other.

f) Country of birth

Country of birth was coded as: (1) UK, (2) India, (3) Bangladesh, (4) Pakistan, (5) Other.

g) Number of years lived in the UK, if not born in the UK

The question concerning the number of years lived in the UK was left open-ended and following an analysis of the distribution later coded as: (1) 1 year, (2) 2, (3) 3, (4) 4, (5) 5, (6) 6 – 10, (7) 11+

h) Job title/occupation

Job title/occupation was an open-ended question and later coded using the Labour Force Survey Standard Occupation Classification (SOC) as:

(1) Managers, directors and senior officials, (2) Professional occupations (3) Associate and technical occupations, (4) Administrative and secretarial occupations, (5) Skilled trades occupation, (6) Caring, leisure and other service occupations, (7) Sales and customer service occupations, (8), Process, plant and machine operatives, (9) Elementary occupations, (10) Student, (11) Employed (unknown), (12) Other (retired, unemployed).

i) Educational attainment

The question on education attainment was coded as: (1) less than high school, (2) high school (GCSE's or equivalent), (3) Sixth form/college (A-levels or equivalent), (4) Bachelors degree (BA, BSc), (5) Masters (MA, MSc), (6) Doctorate (PhD), (7) Other.

j) Marital status

Marital status was coded as: (1) single/never married, (2) in a relationship (not living together), (3) in a relationship (living together), (4) married, (5) widowed, (6) divorced/separated.

Chapter Five presents characteristics of the 190 South Asian men who participated in the research using the above ten dependent variables, and to explore attitudes toward women and domestic violence, the five groups of independent variables were applied.

Chapter Six presents more complex statistical analysis using chi-square tests to investigate if there is a relationship between the demographic and independent variables. The above demographic variables were recoded (see below). Factor analysis is undertaken to identify which set of items or variables belong to particular factors, and the factors provide a general understanding of the dimensions that exist in the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence (SAATWDV) data.

Chi-square tests were chosen as the most appropriate statistical analysis, to test relationships between the independent and dependent variables, as all the independent and dependent variables are categorical. To perform chi-square tests all the scales of the independent and dependent codes were recoded.

As Chapter Five revealed that the attitudes of South Asian men are not homogenous and could be categorised as liberal or egalitarian, both liberal and traditional, and traditional, the five point scales for the independent variables (section 1 and 2) were recoded to create three more meaningful categories. Strongly agree (1) and agree (2) was recoded as liberal (1); neither agree nor disagree (3) was recoded as both liberal and traditional (2); and disagree (4) and strongly disagree (5) was recoded as traditional (3) into SPSS for fuller analysis. Where applicable, items were reversed. Section 4 on 'whether it is ever justified for men to use violence against a wife or

partner' were also reversed and recoded from: 'Never' as (1) liberal, 'Not sure' as (2) not sure, and 'always, sometimes and occasionally' as (3) traditional.

In addition, following an examination of the descriptive frequencies taking into account cell counts, the dependent variables were truncated so that no cell count is less than 5 and to create more meaningful categories. The base numbers remained the same for all the dependent variables with the exception of religion; men that reported having no religion and a religion other than Hindu, Islam and Sikh were removed from the sample. This reduced the base number from 189 to 175. A description of the recorded dependent variables to undertake chi-squares is also provided below.

Age is coded as 1= 18 to 27, 2= 28 to 37, 3= 38 to 47, and 4= 48 and over.

Alternatively: 1 = [(1) 18 – 22, (2) 23 – 27], 2= [(3) 28 – 32, (4) 33 – 37], 3= [(5) 38 – 42, (6) 43 – 47], 4= [(7) 48 – 52, (8) 53 – 57, (9) 58+]

Religion or belief is coded as 1= Hindu, 2= Islam and 3= Sikh.

This remains the same but those that reported no religion or a religion other than Hindu, Islam and Sikh were removed from the sample.

Extent of religiousness is coded as 1= not religious and 2= religious.

Alternatively: 1= [(1) not at all religious], 2= [(2) somewhat religious, (3) religious, (4) very religious]

Extent that religion influences everyday life is coded as 1= no influence and 2= influential

Alternatively: 1= [(1) not at all], 2= [(2) somewhat, (3) a lot]

Ethnic origin is coded as 1= Indian and 2= Bangladesh and Pakistan.

This remains the same. Participants are selected on this basis.

Country of birth is coded as 1= UK born and 2= non-UK born.

Alternatively: 1= [(1) UK], 2= [(2) Indian, (3) Bangladesh, (4) Pakistan, (5) Other]

The number of years lived in the UK is coded as 1= 1 to 2, 2= 3 to 5, 3= 6 to 10, and 4= 11 over years.

Alternatively: 1= [(1) 1 year, (2) 2], 2= [(3) 3, (4) 4, (5) 5], 3= [(6) 6 – 10], 4= [(7) 11+]

Occupation is coded as 1= Managers, directors and senior officials, and professional occupations, and 2= Other occupations (including students and unemployed).

Alternatively: 1= [(1) Managers, directors and senior officials, (2) Professional occupations] 2= [(3) Associate and technical occupations, (4) Administrative and secretarial occupations, (5) Skilled trades occupation, (6) Caring, leisure and other service occupations, (7) Sales and customer service occupations, (8), Process, plant and machine operatives, (9) Elementary occupations, (10) Student, (11) Employed (unknown), (12) Other (i.e. unemployed)].

Educational attainment is coded as 1= less than a Bachelors Degree and 2= Bachelors Degree and higher.

Alternatively: 1= [(1) less than high school, (2) high school (GCSE's or equivalent), (3) Sixth form/college (A-levels or equivalent)], 2= [(4) Bachelors degree (BA, BSc), (5) Masters (MA, MSc), (6) Doctorate (PhD), (7) Other]

<u>Marital status</u> is coded as 1= not in a relationship and 2= in a relationship.

> Alternatively: 1= [(1) single/never married], 2= [(2) in a relationship (not living together), (3) in a relationship (living together), (4) married], 1= [(5) widowed, (6) divorced/separated]

In undertaking the chi-square test, the conventional level of $p < 0.05$ is used as a cut off point, and only significant differences are reported in Chapter Six and Appendix 6.

The next section discusses the second phase of data collection, which builds on and compliments the first stage.

4.6 Interviews

This section includes the research methodology and undertaking semi structured in-depth interviews; the construction of the research instrument; structure of the interviews including ethical considerations; and transcription and analysis.

4.6.1 The sample

A convenience and network or snowball sampling method was used to build the interview sample of men aged 18 years of age or older who identified them as South Asian[5] (Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan) and living in the UK at the time of the fieldwork. This method is used to obtain a sample when there is no adequate list to use as a sampling frame, especially to obtain samples of numerically small samples such as people from ethnic minority groups (Arber, 2001). Snowballing is a method: 'where a few appropriate individuals are located and then asked for the names and addresses of others who might also fit the sampling requirements' (Oppenheim, 1992, p.43). Using this method, friends and work colleagues were asked to identify South Asian men that may be willing to participate in the interviews.

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[5] Or whose ethnic origin is Bangladesh, India, Pakistan or ancestry is South Asian.

The survey revealed differences amongst South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Therefore to include a diversity of respondents, South Asian men were chosen across a number of demographics, this included age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, religious affiliation, country of birth, occupation, educational attainment and marital status (see Table 4.2). To achieve this, several selection approaches and locations were used to select the participants. However, a convenience sampling method tends to reduce the control a researcher has over the composition of the sample.

To add impartiality, the final sample included five South Asian men who were twice removed (i.e. friends of friends) who I had never met before and had no prior knowledge of their attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Plus, two men that participated in the survey. Their contact details had been taken as they were willing and had agreed to provide further support. Finally, two men were approached and recruited from the same public spaces as where the survey was undertaken. These were in predominately South Asian public spaces such as retail shops, the Indian and Pakistan Embassy, and South Asian events that fell within the fieldwork period.

4.6.2 Type of interview

There are three types of interviews with varying degrees of structure: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Structured are best suited for self-completion interviews with pre-coded options and unstructured are used to explore in depth a particular subject where there is limited knowledge and literature available. As the objective was to understand the participant's point of view rather than make generalisations, semi-structured interviews were chosen. The flexibility in this type of interview also allows participants to talk in detail and depth around a particular theme or aspect, and talk openly with little direction so that the meaning behind their attitudes could be revealed. This involves the interviewer listening carefully and limiting contributions to the interaction (Roulston, DeMarrais, and Lewis, 2007). The flexibility also

means that the interview can be adapted to the level of comprehension and articulacy of the respondent (Fielding and Thomas, 2001, p.124).

Semi–structured interviews also allow for the opportunity to probe answers, where the researcher wants the participant to explain, or build on, their responses. This can add meaning and depth to the data gathered. The rule of thumb is to probe: 'whenever you judge that the respondent's statement is ambiguous' (Fielding and Thomas, 2001, p.129). This was important as the literature revealed that research undertaken with men on the theme of domestic violence might reveal that men minimise, justify, excuse violence against women (Anderson and Umberson, 2001). Therefore, in the interviews an attempt was made to probe and get beneath the surface of the responses that South Asian men provided in order to obtain a more nuanced meaning or interpretation of their attitudes.

4.6.3 Construction of the interview guide

The areas for discussion within the instrument guide were generated from the literature review, the identified gaps in the survey findings, and piloting of the research instrument. The development of the interview guide consisted of four stages, with each allowing more refinement. The first stage involved examining and reviewing existing literature and research instruments related to attitudes toward women and domestic violence in light of the aims and objectives of the research. The themes that emerged from the literature review were: masculinity and gender; tradition, culture, and religion; and honour; and assimilation and acculturation. The second stage compared these themes with initial analysis from the survey to create the draft instrument. For example, it was important to explore the spectrum of actions and behaviours of South Asian women (both before and after marriage), and how and why attitudes changed. The survey analysis revealed three distinct groups of men; liberal or egalitarian, both liberal and traditional, and traditional. It was important to explore what determines which group men fall in to and do circumstances dictate whether men are both liberal and traditional? Other areas that required more depth were in

relationships/families, decision making and the justification of violence among South Asian men. The third stage was piloting with South Asian men in London and Kent. Finally, the fourth stage drew on the findings from the pilot study to revise the instrument.

The draft and final interview guide has three sections (see Appendix 7). The three sections were:

1. South Asian men's attitudes toward women

The questions explored the role and status of women across a range of behaviour, including a description of an independent and traditional South Asian woman; the role and behaviour of men and how masculinity is performed among South Asian men.

2. South Asian men's attitudes toward domestic violence

Here men's understanding of domestic violence and their perception of the prevalence in the South Asian community were explored, including decision making and whether violence is ever justified against a wife or partner; and responses to domestic violence.

3. Understanding attitudes

This section explored the factors that might influence attitudes, including honour, tradition, and culture. The interview closed with some final questions on how they experienced participation in the research, if there was anything that they will think about afterwards and if there was anything else that they would like to share.

4.6.4 Piloting

The primary aim of the pilot was to assess whether the interview guide 'worked', including a South Asian woman interviewing South Asian men on a sensitive issue.

During the pilot interviews, the research instrument was used as a guide. At the outset there was awareness that the topic of the research on attitudes toward women and domestic violence among South Asian men might be contentious and that intersection with religion may raise, for some participants, strongly held views. Some of the men may also be aware of stereotypes of South Asian men as being more patriarchal/traditional. Each of these elements could result in discomfort or unease. I endeavoured at all times to listen respectfully and invited participants to explain why they held the opinions that they did. In addition, notes on the wording, clarity, and understanding of each of the questions were taken. The phrasing of questions, how the respondents interpreted the meaning of the question was also tested. Participants were also asked at the end of the interview what, if any, other questions they thought should be asked.

The draft research instrument was piloted in July 2012. The interviews took on average 60 minutes and were conducted with three participants; a friend, a neighbour and a friend of a friend (I had never met or spoken to the latter two participants). The three South Asian men were chosen to add diversity across a number of socio-demographics. The men differed on the basis of occupation, level of education, religious affiliation, and country of birth. Two of the three men were not born in the UK and the other in the UK. Two of the men identified their religion as Sikh and the other as Hindu. Whilst all the men had some education, the level of education differed. Other similarities included that all the men were in their 30s and their ethnic origin was Indian. The characteristics of the three participants are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of the pilot participants

South Asian man	Age	Occupation	Level of education	Religious affiliation	Ethnic origin	Country of birth
1.	37	Planning manager	Sixth Form	Sikh	Indian	UK born
2.	35	IT manager	Bachelors Degree	Hindu	Indian	Non-UK born
3.	34	Civil servant	Masters Degree	Sikh	Indian	Non-UK born

Only minor suggestions on how to amend the research instrument were offered, so minimal revisions were needed in the final version (see Appendix 7).

4.6.5 Making contact for the interview

As several selection approaches and locations were used to recruit the participants, there was a slight variation in how contact was made to arrange a suitable date and time to conduct the interview. Email addresses, mobile numbers and text messages were obtained to arrange a suitable date and time to conduct the interview. The interviews were conducted whenever and wherever it was most convenient for each respondent. For the men's convenience the interviews were conducted during the week and the weekend, and at different times of the day. The interviews were all conducted in an open public space. Either the men or I suggested a meeting place, which mostly involved a coffee shop, but as I was new to most of the areas in London and Kent, I relied on their suggestion. Seating, to ensure confidentiality, was selected by keeping as far away as possible from other people.

4.6.6 Ethical considerations

Ethics approval was sought both before and after the pilot of the survey as the University raised concerns regarding my safety and the feasibility of the research methodology. The feasibility of the recruitment and sampling approach were confirmed by the pilot, and final ethics approval was given by the University Ethics Committee.

The survey pilot had provided support for the overall methodological approach as all 30 participants approached agreed to take part. Although, after explaining the purpose of the research and the length of the questionnaire, five declined because they had to seek their employer's permission or they were too busy. To ensure my safety, participants were only approached in secure public places in and around London and Kent (for locations see Section 4.5.3) and in busy areas and times.

Ethics approval was also required and given by the University Ethics Committee to undertake the interviews. This included providing information on how participants would be recruited, and when and where the research would be conducted. Additional questions on minimising risk to participants; giving participants the opportunity to decline to take part in and to withdraw from the research at any stage; and ensuring complete anonymity were addressed in the information sheet and the consent form (see Appendix 8 and 9).

The ethics approval also included ensuring my safety. This was important as I would be interviewing men in public previously unknown to me and discussing a sensitive topic. Whilst being happy in gaining agreement for participation, precautions were put in place as there was a small possibility, that whilst 'the respondent's motives are non threatening' (Lee, 1997, p.555) that they will remain unthreatening throughout the interview.

Whilst the interviews were conducted in unfamiliar surroundings, I felt safe undertaking the interviews as they were conducted in public spaces and

precautions were put in place. In addition, having previously conducted the survey fieldwork and interview pilot, and receiving a positive response, I felt that the safety protocol had been tested and was appropriate. Potential harms included verbal aggression and/or physical violence. A number of precautions were put in place including establishing confidence with participants, assessing possible danger, giving absolute discretion for participants and me to withdraw from the interview, and letting a friend know what time and location the interview was taking place, and having my mobile turned on at all times and within reach.

Lee (1997), who undertook research exploring men and women's experiences and perceptions of workplace bullying, sexism, and sexual harassment, argues that women who are interviewing men are at an increased risk of harm.

> While the possibility for trouble is, of course, present for both male and female interviewers interviewing either women or men, I would argue that the risk is currently of heightened concern to women who interview men, given evidence of the frequency of men's sexual violence against women and the ability that men have (whether intentional or unintentional) of making women fear attack (p.555).

Lee (1997) also adds that female researchers interviewing men are placed in a no-win situation.

> For if they feared that something might happen and were wrong, our worries are characterised as an overreaction; yet if we do not recognise the potential for trouble in a situation and trouble does occur, we will, of course, be blamed for failing to take precautions (p.557).

For reflections on undertaking the survey and interview research process see Section 4.8.

4.6.7 Who took part?

The interviews took place in August 2012 with nine South Asian men. The men were chosen to add diversity across a number of socio-demographics (see Table 4.2).

The ages of the nine men ranged from 25 to 46 years old; three men were in their 20s, four in their 30s, and two men in their 40s. The men also worked in a number of different occupations from customer services to a dental surgeon and actuary. All the men had some level of education; two had qualifications below degree level and the other seven either a degree or masters. There was an even spread among religious affiliation; three men were Hindu, three were Muslim and the other three were Sikh. Four men were married and the remaining men were single. Most of the men's ethnic origin was Indian, followed by Pakistani, and then Bangladeshi. Finally, four men were born in the UK and five were born outside the UK. Table 4.2 summarises their socio-demographic profiles.

Table 4.2 Characteristics of the final sample of participants

South Asian man	Age	Occupation	Level of education	Religious affiliation	Marital status[6]	Ethnic origin	Country of birth
1.	32	Customer services (train)	High School	Hindu	M	Indian	Non-UK
2.	46	Barrister	Masters	Sikh	M	Indian	UK
3.	27	Assistant financial controller	Masters	Sikh	S	Indian	Non-UK
4.	32	Dental Surgeon	Degree	Sikh	S	Indian	UK
5.	26	Project engineer	Degree	Hindu	M	Indian	Non-UK
6.	33	Actuary	Masters	Hindu	S	Indian	UK
7.	35	Barrister	Masters	Muslim	S	Pakistani	Non-UK
8.	42	Development professional	Masters	Muslim	M	Pakistani	Non-UK
9.	25	Housing officer	Sixth form/ college	Muslim	S	Bangladeshi	UK

4.6.8 Process of interviewing

The interview guide was used as a framework, allowing additional questions for clarification. Fielding and Thomas's (2001) two principles informed the interview process. These include: 'first, the questioning should be as open-ended as possible. Secondly, the questioning techniques should encourage respondents to be able to communicate their underlying attitudes, beliefs, and values' (p.126).

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[6] M denotes married and S denotes single

Each interview took on average one hour with the shortest being 40 minutes in duration and the longest taking 74 minutes. The variation was dictated by the amount of time available as all of the respondents were in full time employment and some had childcare and family commitments. As well as by the amount the respondent was able to expand and discuss the topics.

Before the commencement of the interview, a four step consent procedure was undertaken. Firstly, each participant was given an information sheet to read (see Appendix 8) and provided with the opportunity to ask questions. Once they had read through the information sheet and asked questions, they were handed the consent form to fill in, which asks whether they would agree to the interview being tape recorded, which all nine men agreed to. Each participant completed a consent form (see Appendix 9) giving their permission for the material they provided to be used for the research, subject to their confidentiality being protected. Thirdly, the participant was asked to fill in a self-completion form identical to the one used in the survey asking a set of standardised, closed demographical questions on: age, religion, to what extent the participant regarded themselves to be religious, ethnic origin, country of birth, occupation, education level, and marital status. Having the men fill in this information initially aided specific questions and in probing. For example, with prior knowledge of whether the man was married, questions relating to him and his partner could be asked. Finally, the participants were reminded that there were three sections to the interview and the contents of the information sheet were reiterated. The latter included that the interviews were recorded for transcription purposes only, and that no-one else would have access to and listen to their interview and that their anonymity would be protected.

The digital recorder was then switched on and depending on the location either left it on the table or in my hand. Although there was a slight uneasiness at the beginning, none of the men were hesitant in discussing the topics once the interview started. At the end of the interview, the recorder was switched off and participants were thanked for their participation. They

were also asked if there was anything that they would like to share (now that the tape recorder was off) and if they had any questions. The participants were given a final reassurance of the confidentiality and anonymity of the interview.

4.6.9 Transcription

The interviews were transcribed and analysed over a ten month period from September 2012 to June 2013. A research notebook was kept to record general observations, reactions, behaviours, and comments. This was used to reflect back on the fieldwork.

All nine interviews were audio recorded and this allowed me to listen to the interviews repeatedly, and to reduce the mishearing and misinterpretation of words. The transcription took far longer than envisaged. This was affected by background noise, as most of the interviews were conducted in coffee shops which also played music in the background; and the use or choice of words, fluency of words, and accent as English was a second language for some of the men. Fluency and having English as a second language required more care not to mishear and misinterpret the words.

Verbatim transcription was undertaken as it became apparent that a single word could change the meaning of a sentence or the thread of a conversation. For example, mishearing or not hearing the word 'not' in a sentence and 'ir' and un' at the beginning of a word could mean the difference between a South Asian man having liberal or traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Another reason was that dominance and power can be reflected and reinforced in men's ability to name and use language (Kelly, 1988; Spender, 1985). Therefore it was important to record every word spoken, including the transcription of the pauses, silence and laughter and to reflect on both what was said and what was not. The issue of dominance and power in undertaking the interviews with men is discussed in Section 4.7 and 4.8.

Laws (1990), who also interviewed men, examined her ability to understand what the men were saying.

> There are two kinds of understanding involved here, an understanding as a woman, what you might call 'getting the message' … and also an understanding *with* the men, of what their words meant to them. The difficultly was that I had in a sense to overcome my hearing of 'the message' in order to understand in any other way – to 'make sense' of what they said (p.217).

The advantage of verbatim transcription is that no data is lost and that this 'will help guide your analysis and probably reveal themes you had not thought of' (Fielding and Thomas, 2008, p.257). On the other hand, the disadvantage is that it is a time consuming process. Reducing errors required repeated listening. Whilst maximum care and attention produced a transcript that was as close as possible to what was said in the interview, limitations remain. On occasion the recordings were inaudible or drowned out by background noise. As words were recorded verbatim, in transcribing the interviews, repetition, poorly structured sentences and slang were not redrafted or omitted into good or standard English. Finally, symbols were used to indicate short and long pause, emphasis of speech, and laughter.

4.6.10 Analysis of interview data

A total of hundred and nine pages of text were transcribed from nine interviews. Given the small number, the interviews were coded manually, using a paper method.

Bryman and Burgess's (1994) four stage analysis of qualitative data - process, reduction, explanation and theory - was used as a guide. Firstly, in an attempt to process the data and to draw out salient themes from each interview without losing the depth of the data collected, the transcripts were read and listened to a number of times over a prolonged period. The selection or reduction of data into themes was the next stage in analysing the

data. Unfortunately, space does not allow an exhaustive presentation of all the themes and sub-themes in the qualitative analysis chapter. In order to provide focus and direction and to explore the stated aims and objectives of the research, selection and hierarchical grading of the themes was undertaken. This approach is supported by Fielding (2008), who argues that 'deciding what to code in an interview transcript or field note is a question of deciding what is or isn't important and is usually guided by the purpose of the study' (p.335). The final two stages of analysing the data provides an explanation or interpretation and connecting the transcripts to the theoretical perspective of the research.

The interpretation of data was facilitated through the use of themes. Other descriptions used by researchers in the management of qualitative data are codes, categories and labels. Coding qualitative data is advantageous for it provides researchers 'with analytic tools for handling masses of raw data', and the opportunity to 'identify, develop, and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of theory' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.13). Whereby, coding 'refers to the ongoing process of assigning conceptual labels to different segments of data in order to identify themes, patterns, processes and relationships' (Hodkinson, 2008, p.87). However, there has been some criticism of this approach.

> That the coding can result in a loss of the richness and depth potentially offered by qualitative data. This is because, as soon as the coding process goes beyond the 'initial' or 'open' phase, slices of data are effectively extracted from their place within the original narrative of which they were a part and are treated, out of context, as instances of a particular category (Hodkinson, 2008, p.95).

Identifying themes and sub themes involved reading through in turn the transcripts line by line and manually marking/highlighting what I considered important to the understanding of the research and the interpretation of the research questions. The first level of analysis for coding was looking for broad themes, which involved comparing and contrasting similar material.

Many of the broad themes discovered in each of the transcripts reflected the questions in the research instrument, as it was divided into three sections, and the aims and objectives of the research. At the second level, to create sub themes, I tried to identify relationships by searching for patterns of commonality and difference within the transcripts. Fielding (2008) also suggests thinking about 'whether similar categories can be grouped together into a more general category or do some categories need to be subdivided' (p.347). Grouping themes and sub themes together makes the process more manageable and the themes have 'analytical power because they have the potential to explain and predict' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.133). The process of comparing and contrasting material is important to the analytical process and the challenge 'is the identification of thematically similar segments, both within and between interviews' (Fielding and Thomas, 2008, p.259). The broad themes reflected similarities, whereas the sub-themes reflected a variation in accounts across the interviews. Once the themes and sub themes had been identified, selected text was drawn out and patterns were linked to the theoretical literature to make sense of the transcripts. The analysis of the interview data is presented in Chapter Seven and Eight.

4.7 Undertaking research as a South Asian woman

This and the next section provide a discussion and reflection on the intersection of ethnicity/race and gender in conducting research as a South Asian woman with South Asian men.

The participants came from a variety of backgrounds with different experiences and upbringings. I was similar to all of them in terms of a shared South Asian origin, and similar to some with respect to socio-demographics such as spoken language (Punjabi), religion, and age. These layers of similarity allowed for connection with the participants as I was seen as an 'insider' but my religion, gender and age would have both advantages and disadvantages.

I questioned whether I was the right person to conduct the research. Would someone older, and/or male and/or from a different ethnic origin (an 'outsider') be better placed? Arguments have been made for the advantage and disadvantage of 'matching' researchers and participants. For example, an outsider may be given exaggerated views in one direction in an effort to give socially desirable answers (Rubin and Babbie, 2010), and also be 'viewed with suspicion and seen as a threat in that they may disturb and affect the pattern of harmony that exists in the community' (Bhopal, 1995, p.157). An insider, on the other hand, may be more likely to 'blend in' and get data which is reliable as it captures 'the truth' (Phoenix, 1994). However, I might not be perceived as neutral and encounter the problem of making assumptions from similar (cultural and religious) experiences and upbringing (in a South Asian culture and community) and taking for granted or assuming understanding of their attitudes, and as a result misinterpret some of their accounts. Bhopal (1997) provides this caution against such presumptions.

> When the researcher and the researched operate from shared realities, there may be the tendency to take too much for granted. Researchers may overlook certain aspects of participant's realities, because of presumed familiarity with those realities'. Familiarity with the phenomena under study therefore risks blindness to certain details that may be important (p.38).

Rubin and Babbie (2010) add that 'an Asian or White female interviewer may provoke boastful responses from an Asian man' and 'a White man interviewing an Asian man will ensure confidentiality, objectivity, and impartiality, but there may be a lack of the cultural appreciation and sensitivity so important for handling sensitive cultural data' (p.119).

The importance of a woman interviewing a man has been recognised previously in ethnic minority research (Rana et al, 1998) but not on a sensitive topic such as domestic violence. To my knowledge only a handful of the studies on Asian and South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence identified in the literature review chapter have been

undertaken by female researchers, and there is even more limited methodological discussion on what effect a South Asian female researcher may have on the research process.

One study that has explored the importance of 'matching' gender and ethnicity between the researcher and the participant is by Archer (2001), who used a critical feminist approach to explore young Muslim men's construction of racialised, gendered identities. Discussion groups were conducted with 24 young British Muslim boys and girls aged 14 to 15 years. Two different interviewers were used to help examine the intersection of participants' 'race' and gender with the researchers. Half of the groups were conducted by a White, British female researcher, and the other half by a British-Pakistani female researcher. Archer (2001) found that there were more silences in the White interviewer's group (compared to the Asian), and interpreted this to mean that the participants may have used silence to actively resist by refusing the access of specific information. The female pupils also 'constructed their reluctance to talk with an Asian man in terms of their 'known' experiences and his potential to exercise patriarchal power in their 'real' lives' (p.114). The study concluded an Asian woman as the 'ideal' interviewer for their 'understanding', whereas, both male and female respondents 'constructed male interviewers as more powerful than female interviewers: White men through their potential racism and Asian men in terms of their 'insider' power to judge and admonish' (p.127).

I was aware from the start that as a woman firstly, it may be difficult to get men to participate and secondly, to engage in the discussion. I questioned whether as a woman I would be able achieve this and establish rapport. I had mentally prepared myself to encounter some 'resistance' from the men, especially after having read the literature on feminist research and women interviewing men, which is heavily biased toward interviewing perpetrators. Techniques were therefore prepared to handle opposition and get full(er) participation. A technique devised by Cavanagh and Lewis (1996) which is somewhere between probing and confrontation (but avoids outright confrontation) to encourage full participation was applied. They argued that it

'can be used to explore sensitive issues with reluctant respondents. It can be a technique for exploring and developing answers beyond the 'yes-no-depends' responses' (p.101). This technique would be ideal for getting beneath the surface to explore men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The techniques included questioning a man's logic; rephrasing his statement as a question; and 'when a man makes a statement that he thinks is a 'taken-for-granted' fact, it could be a simple 'what makes you say that?'' (p.101). These techniques were complimented with other probes where appropriate and necessary and kept as neutral as possible. These included asking questions such as 'what else?', 'what other reasons', 'please tell me more about that', and using sounds such as 'um hm and mm' followed by a silence (Fielding and Thomas, 2008, p.251).

To resist and disrupt participation, power dynamics can be played out through the use of a number of techniques in interviews. Other techniques can include: withholding information and not answering questions; trying to take over the interview and asking the researcher questions; undermining the researcher by questioning why they are undertaking the research, and remarking on the way in which the female interviewer is dressed and behaves. Interviewing men is sometimes regarded as problematic not least because the 'hierarchal power relations between men and women tend to disadvantage women throughout the research process' (Beetham and Demetraides, 2007, p.200). Therefore, whilst as a South Asian woman interviewing men, the men were in a position of relative power and I was in the less powerful social group, I did not feel and neither was I made to feel less powerful (see Section 4.8).

The question of who holds power and how power should be held in interviews has been debated. Oakley (1981) rejects the conventional idea that a researcher should retain complete control over the interview process. Although Bhopal (1995) contends that both the researcher and researched have power and that the relationship is a continuum: the researched are not just passive and the researcher can be both powerful and powerless. Maynard (2006) offers that to limit the hierarchy between the researcher and

the interviewee requires building rapport, not treating the participant as a source of data with the research becoming a means of sharing information. These principles and insights become more problematic when women conduct research on men (Lee, 1997). As with Laws (1990), I found there was 'the lack of a literature to refer to in evaluating my own experiences with the work' (p.216). Feminists such as Oakley (1981) have written about power dynamics and interviewing women but there is a noticeable absence of a feminist perspective on and literature on female researchers conducting interviews with men.

4.8 Reflections on undertaking the survey and interview research process

During the fieldwork, a journal was kept in which the thoughts or emotions that I experienced were recorded. The rationale and benefit was so that I could 'more accurately reflect the nature of the research process' and that by not writing down emotional experiences as a researcher, 'then we have not truly reflected the process of inquiry' (Campbell, 2002, p.26). I draw on this here.

The concerns and assumptions I had before I undertook the survey were alleviated as I faced none of the imagined issues or difficulties. The vast majority of men were willing to participate; the handful that declined to participate gave no reason. At no point did I feel uncomfortable and/or intimidated, and none tried to assert themselves or were hostile either before or after they filled in the questionnaire. The majority wished me luck in my research.

After reading through the information sheet and agreeing to take part in the research many asked what my and/or my parents' ethnic origin was, or more specifically, which country my parents and I were from. My ethnicity, as a South Asian woman, was clearly visible and may have affected their decision to participate. On most occasions the exchange went no further – as I did not want this to affect the answers to the questionnaire. Some men asked what

exactly I was studying (i.e. which discipline). Although it was never communicated, I felt through my knowledge and experience of being South Asian that as education is viewed as being important many agreed to take part to support me in my education. Some of the participants, for example, told me about a family member or a relative studying for a masters or PhD. A few of the younger men also talked about their experience of undertaking fieldwork for either their degree or masters. It is clear from this that my insider status was a point of connection and may have facilitated access to South Asian men.

The interviews followed in the same vein as I encountered no issues or difficulties with conducting interviews with men. I never felt intimidated. The men never tried to maintain control and negotiate power, talk over me, or be hostile or confrontational either before or after the interview. Neither did they disregard and try to lower the significance of the research by saying at any point that it was unnecessary and pointless, and irrelevant to the South Asian community. The men interviewed appeared to talk freely and openly, and only on one occasion did a man chose to pass (not answer) a question; this was a question on whether violence is ever justified against a wife or partner.

However, there were times during the interview when I felt uncomfortable. These moments were when laughter was used when I thought a serious issue was being discussed. Interestingly, laughter was used mostly by men when answering questions around whether violence against a wife or partner is ever justified and when a man might hit a wife or partner. During the analysis of the interviews, I interpreted the laughter as a sign of nervousness rather than playing down the significance of what was being said.

> I think there are people like that who hit their missus for not doing the housework or (-) not doing the cooking whatsoever (-) that is the wrong thing. If (-) you cannot hit someone like that. Is it? [laughs] [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

No <u>way</u> that is [laughs] (-) that is not what one should do to be honest there could be many reasons why they aren't having sex in their relationship it is totally up to them and it is not like a common or you can say it is (-) like it creates love between a relationship but it is not a daily necessity of life [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

They might get angry and lose control (-) they might think that those things should be done and they haven't done them well. They may be angry with themselves [laughs] because they made a bad choice in a wife [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

Being very friendly with other men [laughs] (-) that is one thing that I would stop (-) nothing else besides that. I think she is quite good, she knows what she has to do [laughs] [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

I think if someone has lost it [laughs] then they might hit their wife or partner [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

There were also times during the interviews when I disagreed with what was being said especially around attitudes toward women, and particularly when no rationale was provided and the information was contradictory. On occasion, I used some of the techniques outlined above and questioned the man's logic. I tried to limit my emotional responses and maintained a balance between trying to get beneath the surface to really understand what was being said (for an example, see Section 7.3 in Chapter Seven).

Bhopal (1995) argues that 'questions concerning personal experiences, perceptions and interpretations enter into the data, and it is important for the re-searcher to identify and understand the relationship between the personal agenda and the re-search agenda' (p.161). I found myself at times locating myself in the men's descriptions of South Asian women and recalling what I had experienced and witnessed within the South Asian community. I had

grown up in a South Asian household and community and I had also attended religious events, weddings, social gatherings, and had been regularly to the gurdwara. Stanley and Wise (1983) argue that the researcher's experiences are an: 'integral part of the research and should therefore be described as such. The kind of person that we are, and how we experience the research, all have a crucial impact on what we see, what we do, how we interpret and construct what is going on' (p.50). For example, I asked men to describe an independent and traditional South Asian woman and based on their definitions I wondered what I would be described as. General questions were asked about actions and behaviours of South Asian women and I thought 'would my actions and behaviours be deemed to be acceptable'. A question was also asked regarding clothing and I pondered whether I would be judged for the clothes that I wore for the interview. Prior to the interviews I had given some thought on what to wear but many of the interviews were conducted after work/in the evening and I was wearing office work clothes. I was aware that my appearance may affect the men's perception of me. For example, wearing a skirt or dress may be seen negatively as skin is being shown and wearing jeans as too casual (see also Harne, 2005; and Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996). Research undertaken by Archer (2001) who examined the role of the researchers and the interaction of 'race' and gender between an Asian and White interviewer and British male and female Muslim participants found that the Asian researcher was confronted on her western style of clothes.

At times I was pleasantly surprised by men's responses to the questions. For example, I was surprised how many men talked about equality, especially when answering questions around attitudes toward women. I had an expectation, which can be difficult to set aside (Maynard, 2002), based on my own personal experience having worked full-time in a government department on gender equality issues. Men's responses to how they found doing the interview were also illuminating. There was overwhelming support for the research but more importantly and noticeably men had never discussed these issues before and commented on how good it felt to do so and how they found it really interesting.

It is good, it is good. It is good to talk about it because there are not many people that talk about it. Very good [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

I suppose its opened up (-) there are quite a lot of questions in there that I had not thought about before so (-) maybe I will think about them in the future [laughs] [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

I mean I think it makes you think (-) its makes you think (-) its sort of puts your mind sort of (-) makes you think about issues that you wouldn't normally [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

I have never talked about this in detail with anyone else before so it was quite interesting to sort of (-) find out what I think about it really, I never had to answer any questions like this before so it was quite good for me to know what I think of it [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

The limited opportunities for these men to discuss the themes before may explain why some were unable to expand on their responses. Equally, I wondered if they felt self conscious since issues around gender are often not questioned or thought about.

Two other respondents towards the end of the interview commented on how the research is much needed to highlight the issues facing South Asian communities.

I think we need to start breaking it down because if there is a variation in the incidence of domestic violence and it begins to correlate to certain pockets of the South Asian community, we need to identify them. Then we need to get people from those pockets to start

speaking out more. We are not all necessarily moving forward at the same speed so we need get other people to catch up, however that is to be done. But good research will inform that so I am glad that you are doing this work if I may so. I am happy to participate in it anyway that I can [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

I think (-) it's <u>good</u> (-) it was kind of source of (-) rethinking about different things (-) culture, religion and women (-) domestic violence, and particularly living in a particular South Asian group in the United Kingdom society. It was quite interesting (-) one can you know reflect upon these things. I look forward to (-) your writing of your thesis and I would really appreciate it if you would share and it would you know at the same time (-) it is <u>unique</u> and not a lot has been done on these topics and that would be something very good; this research can contribute to the plight of South Asian women and it could be used by different development organisations to design different projects or programs to the upliftment of South Asian women (-) good material for a forthcoming researcher at the same time [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Finally, there appeared to be a general consensus that the questions were open, balanced and non-steering and that the interviews were conducted in a friendly and comfortable manner. At the outset of the interviews and throughout, I tried to ensure that the interview atmosphere was a balance between professional and friendly. One respondent when asked how he felt at the end of the interview replied:

Confused [laughs] they are quite tough questions. I don't really know the context in which (-) they are very open questions and very non steering questions. They don't give much to (-) give you an idea of what you should say not even what area you are expecting to comment on and so they were very open and I prefer questions that are a little more narrower [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

4.9 Research limitations

As with any piece of research, there are limitations in the methodology and the samples.

Although this empirical research provides knowledge on a population that has not been investigated in the past with regard to attitudes toward women and domestic violence, there are some limitations.

First, a study is said to be reliable if 'similar results would be obtained by others using the same questions and the same sampling criteria' (Simmons, 2001, p.90). However, the difficultly in reaching the research population, as the study was conducted among a convenience sample in London and South East England (Kent) rather than among a random probability sample across Britain, does not therefore represent South Asian men. However, consideration was given to ensure that many variables were taken into account to ensure a diverse sample as far as possible.

As the participants for the study were drawn from London and South East England (Kent), this may be another limitation. Generally, the research is likely to be indicative of South Asian men's attitudes of that geographical area. There may be, for example, differences in the attitudes of South Asian men by region, and urban and rural areas or in less densely South Asian communities in England and Britain.

A third limitation is participant or response bias. Fielding and Thomas (2001) identify that bias may occur if the participant is not used to 'putting their feelings into words', or 'fear *being shown up*', or 'avoid describing aspects of behaviour or attitudes that are not consistent with their preferred self-image' (p.126-127) and that of the South Asian community. They also add that over-politeness and participants giving answers which they anticipate that the researcher may want to hear are common problems. Although I as the researcher had 'a moral obligation to accept it in the form given, whether or not it depends with our fears or hopes, whether or not we approve or

disapprove' (Riesman and Benney, 2004, p.17). The interviewed men, including some as migrants, may also have felt intimidated or insecure in relation to my privileged position as the researcher, and this may have led to a participant or response bias. This applies particularly to new immigrants who 'may come into the research context already frightened, disempowered, feeling helpless, and isolated' (Yick and Berthold, 2005, p.671).

A related issue, which is discussed in Section 4.7 of this Chapter, is whether as a South Asian female, therefore my gender, age, and/or ethnic origin affected the participant or response bias. Would someone older, and/or male, and/or from a different ethnic origin (an 'outsider') have been better placed to undertake the research and fieldwork? Arguments have been made for the advantage and disadvantage of 'matching' researchers and participants.

Another limitation is the use of the research methods. The self-completion questionnaire used closed questions, and the participants were not presented with open questions that would enable them to present their attitudes toward women and domestic violence in their own words. Although an attempt was made based on the results of the pilot studies but this proved not to be very effective as it increased the length of the questionnaire. However, the interviews undertaken helped to capture some of the detail lost with using self-completion questionnaires.

Finally, the survey instrument was not translated into the main South Asian languages; Urdu, Hindi, and/or Punjabi. Whilst doing so may have resulted in more diversity i.e. South Asian men who are not able to understand English may be older, less educated, and/or have spent a limited amount of time in the UK; the South Asian community speak a diverse range of languages. To translate three self-completion questionnaires and conduct interviews would have been logistically very difficult and impossible for me to learn and speak three South Asian languages, although I am fluent in Punjabi. Inconsistencies with the questionnaires would also need to be investigated to ensure the accuracy of the translation.

This Chapter set out how both the survey and interviews were conducted. Chapter Five and Six draws on the findings from the self completion questionnaires, while a presentation of the findings from the interviews is presented in Chapters Seven and Eight.

CHAPTER FIVE: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS ON MEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND DOMSTIC VIOLENCE

The literature review chapters showed that little attention has been paid to South Asian men's attitudes toward women or domestic violence. Previous research reports South Asian girls and women's behaviour is often controlled and monitored to ensure appropriate behaviour (see Chapter Two). It also reports moderate levels of and justification for domestic violence, correlating with expectations of women and men conforming to notions of femininity and masculinity (see Chapter Three).

This Chapter will present the characteristics of the 190 South Asian men who participated in the research in Section 5.1. This is followed by a reprise of the research questions which apply both to this and the next Chapter in Section 5.2. Descriptive statistics and interpretation are presented to explore attitudes toward women and domestic violence (Section 5.3 to 5.9): including whether, which, and when female behaviour and actions are considered unacceptable, and whether violence against a partner or wife is ever justified. The analysis is split into seven sections: attitudes toward women; gender roles; decision making; comparison between attitudes toward South Asian women and women in general; attitudes toward domestic violence; whether domestic violence is ever justified; and responses to domestic violence.

The findings show that the majority of South Asian men held liberal attitudes toward both women and domestic violence. However, more detailed analysis revealed that these attitudes were not homogenous and the men fell into three distinct groups: liberal or egalitarian; both liberal and traditional; or traditional. This Chapter builds on these findings with a more complex statistical analysis using the chi-square statistical test and factor analysis.

5.1 Who took part in the survey?

The largest proportion of participants were young, married, Hindu and Muslim men born outside the UK. Most were educated to degree level or above and worked in professional occupations as managers, directors and senior officials. As all the proportions are not presented here for each demographic, they do not add up to 100 per cent (see Appendix 10 for the tables with the full breakdown).

Participants were South Asian men aged 18 years old and over, the mean age was 34 years with the youngest 18 years old, and the oldest 76. When the age data was grouped into five year bands, the age group with the greatest number of South Asian men was 28 – 32 years old (n= 54, 28.7%) followed by 23 – 27 years old (n= 36, 19.1%).

The most common ethnic origin was Indian (n= 125, 65.8%), followed by Pakistani (n= 58, 30.5%), while seven participants reported that their ethnic origin was from Bangladesh (3.7%). Approximately a quarter of the sample were born in the UK (n= 56, 29.5%). Unsurprisingly, of those born outside the UK, the largest proportion were born in India (n= 70, 36.8%), followed by Pakistan (n= 45, 23.7%), and four participants were born in Bangladesh.

In terms of residency in the UK, the sample was made up of recent, second and third generation migrants. Just under half had been in the UK for five or less years (45.9%). The mean length of years in the UK was 7.19. The shortest length of time in the UK was 1 year and the longest was 51 years.

The majority of South Asian men identified with a religion or belief: Hindu (n= 75, 39.7%), followed by Islam (n= 68, 36.0%) were the most common followed by Sikh (n= 32, 16.9%). There is a strong relationship between religion and ethnic origin as the ethnic origin of all 32 (100%) Sikh men and 73 out of the 75 (97.3%) Hindu men in the sample were Indian. In addition, according to the 2001 Census, 98 per cent of Pakistanis in England were Muslim (those who stated their religion) (Communities and Local

Government, 2009a), and 92 per cent of Bangladeshis classify themselves as Muslim (Communities and Local Government, 2009b). The ethnic origin of most Muslim men in the sample was Pakistani and Bangladeshi (89.7%, n= 61) and the other seven were Indian. Participants were asked to what extent they considered themselves to be religious. A minority (27 participants, 14.2%) recorded not being religious at all, whereas the majority (163 participants, 85.8%) indicated some level of religiosity (somewhat – 37.4%, religious – 38.9%, and very religious – 9.5%). They were also asked to what extent their religion influenced the way they chose to act in their everyday life. One in four (45 participants, 24.1%) reported not at all, whereas 143 participants (76%) reported that religion influenced the way they chose to act in their everyday life 'somewhat' (41.2%) or 'a lot' (34.8%). Religion plays a significant part in the lives of many South Asian men (see also Bhopal, 1997). While less than one in ten (9.5%) reported being 'very religious', a larger proportion said that religion is a significant influence on their everyday actions (76%).

Regarding marital status, the majority of the men were married (n= 104, 56.2%), with just over a third single/never married (n= 65 or 35.1%). This was a highly educated group: 69 (37.3%) had a BA and 61 (33.0%) had an MA. One in four (n= 48, 25.9%) had qualifications that were less than a BA. Participant's job title was coded using the Standard Occupation Classification 2010 (SOC). The majority were in Profession Occupations (n= 47, 28.0%), followed by Managers, Directors and Senior Officials (n= 39, 23.2%). The two occupational groups combined to form half of the sample at 51.2 per cent.

The literature review suggested that the strength of religious affiliation and migration/country of birth might correlate with negative attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Therefore, a closer examination was undertaken to explore differences among South Asian men by the two demographic variables. A large proportion (85.8%, n= 163) of South Asian men considered themselves to be religious to some extent. Who are these men? As a large proportion of men considered themselves to be religious it was difficult to identify any differences by age, education, occupation, and

country of birth, ethnic origin, and religion. Interestingly, all 32 men who identified their religion or belief as 'Sikh' considered themselves to be religious to some extent. Similarly, 63 out of the 68 (92.6%) Muslim men considered themselves to be religious to some extent. However, 17 out of the 75 (22.7%) Hindu men did not consider themselves to be religious at all.

A large proportion (70.5%) of South Asian men were born outside the UK. Who are these men? Accumulatively, three-fifths (61.1%) of the sample who were born outside of the UK were aged from 18 to 32. Just over a third (35.3%) were aged 28 to 32 years old. The second largest group was men aged 23 to 27 years old (17.2%) and men aged from 18 to 22 years old made up 8.6 per cent of the sample. Six in ten (59.8%) were from an Indian ethnic origin and 37.6 per cent were from a Pakistani ethnic origin. In addition, 40.2 per cent of those born outside the UK identified their religion or belief as Hindu and 42.7 per cent as Islam. Therefore, the largest proportion in this sample of South Asian men born outside the UK, living in the UK, is young Hindu and Muslim men from India.

Every effort was made to ensure a diverse sample of South Asian men through the selection of different locations (see Chapter Four). Whilst the sample is skewed toward certain demographics, these are in fact representative of the male South Asian population in the UK. Nearly half of the participants were young. A study by Runnymede (2010), which examined the ethnic minority population of England and Wales found that most ethnic groups had younger age profiles than the majority White British population; less than one fifth aged 50 and over and fewer than one in ten aged 65 and over. Findings based on the 2010 Labour Force Survey also show that 21 per cent of the working age ethnic minority population are less than 25 years old compared with 19 per cent for the White population (Department for Work and Pensions, n.d.). The distribution of South Asian ethnic groups in the British population and the sample is also identical; Indian was the largest followed by Pakistani and then Bangladeshi (Office for National Statistics, n.d.). The proportion of the British population and sample that is UK born is also similar. Dustmann, Frattini, and Theodoropoulos (2010) undertook a

study on ethnicity and second generation immigrants in Britain and found that in 2009 just over one third (36.5%) of ethnic minority individuals were UK-born. In this sample, slightly less - approximately a quarter - were UK-born. Conversely, the 2011 Census data shows that the first, third and sixth largest group of residents born outside the UK were Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi born respectively (Office for National Statistics, 2012b). Just over half of non-UK born residents arrived between 2001 and 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2013b); in this sample just under half had been in the UK for five or less years (45.9%).

Almost three quarters of participants (72.5%) were educated to degree level or above, reflecting the high value placed by the South Asian community on education. This is supported by the 2011 Census data that shows that over half (52%) of Indians (classified as foreign nationals) were qualified at level 4+ (degree level or above) (Office for National Statistics, 2013c). The link between education and employment is made by Clark and Drinkwater (2007), who, on examining the labour market performance of Britain's ethnic minorities, found that an investment in education for ethnic minorities provided a high return in employment terms. Nearly all the participants were in employment or education (studying) and just over half (51.2%) were in Profession Occupations or Managers, Directors and Senior Officials. However, the complexity of socio-economic classification for South Asian men became clear. Retail shops were targeted on the assumption that most of the men working there would have lower educational qualifications and socio-economic status. However, many of the men owned/managed their shop/business, which, when using the Standard Occupation Code, coded them under 'Managers, Directors and Senior Officials'.

In addition, many of the South Asian men working in retail shops as an employee or owner were educated to Bachelors degree or higher. Self-employment is often a feature of South Asian migration, with many men born outside the UK choosing to work for themselves. Simpson et al (2006) found that Pakistani and Indian men were the most likely to be self employed, and in higher proportions than White men (Anwar, 1998). Self-employment rates

have remained largely unchanged for Pakistani and Bangladeshi men, and was highly concentrated in certain sectors such as retail, restaurants/takeaways and taxi-driving: 'this may reflect greater discrimination faced by these groups in the paid labour market, their religion, patterns of geographical location, the occupations of their parents and the types of self-employment they undertake' (Clark and Drinkwater, 2007, p.03). Similarly, according to the UK National Statistics, 60 per cent of Bangladeshi-origin men are employed in the distribution, hotel and restaurant industry (Kibria, 2007). Whilst the higher levels of qualification are notable, the socio-economic classification system is currently suited to revealing the contours of how migration, employment and ethnicity intersect.

Before presenting the descriptive statistics from the survey the research questions are presented.

5.2 Survey research questions

The core research question was to explore and identify South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The aim and objectives were:

1: What are South Asian men's attitudes toward women? What behaviours are viewed as acceptable and unacceptable for women?

What factors are associated with differences in attitudes toward women? Which 'types' of South Asian men have negative attitudes toward South Asian women?

2: What are South Asian men's attitudes toward domestic violence? Which behaviours are viewed as acceptable and unacceptable for women? Who should have the final say regarding decision making?

What factors are associated with differences in attitudes toward domestic violence? Which 'types' of South Asian men have negative attitudes toward domestic violence?

3: Do South Asian men justify the use of violence against a wife or partner? If so, under what circumstances do they justify violence?

What factors are associated with differences in justifying violence? Which 'types' of South Asian men justify the use of force or violence?

4: What action would South Asian men take against domestic violence?

In the sections that follow (5.3 to 5.9) descriptive statistics are presented to address these questions. The sub questions on factors influencing attitudes are analysed in the next Chapter.

5.3 Attitudes toward South Asian women

This section explores whether behaviours such as having sexual relations before marriage, divorcing a husband, drinking alcohol and living away from the parental home are viewed as acceptable or not for women (see Appendix 4 for the survey instrument).

South Asian men were most likely to strongly agree or agree (90%) with the statement '*South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men*'. This is perhaps not surprising as South Asian parents place a great emphasis on education, which in Britain is compulsory up to the age of 16. A lower proportion (56.6%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married*'. This finding is perhaps not unexpected considering that South Asian women may leave their parents' home to attend university and seek employment. Nonetheless, around a fifth (21.2%) neither agreed nor disagreed and just over a fifth (22.3%) disagreed or strongly disagreed. It could be suggested that whilst men support women having an education,

close to half would prefer that they choose a university that is within commuting distance. There was also a general acceptance (strongly agreed or agreed) that South Asian women could divorce their husbands (66.1%). This is indicative of the general trend toward divorce becoming more acceptable in South Asian communities. In addition, three-fifths (60.3%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian women should be 'free to wear what they like at all times*'. Nearly one in five (19.6%) neither agreed nor disagreed and a further 20.1 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed (see Table 5.1). Again, we see differences here; with a minority supporting traditional and cultural norms often associated with South Asian communities.

A larger proportion of the sample held more traditional attitudes toward going to bars and nightclubs, sexual relations before marriage, and drinking alcohol. Just over half (52.3%) of participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that '*I have no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs*'. However, a quarter (24.9%) of men strongly agreed or agreed with this statement and 22.8 per cent neither agreed nor disagreed. Just under half (49.5%) strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement that '*I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage*'. Whilst attitudes are changing there is still some support for traditional norms of sexual conduct, namely the loss of virginity before marriage. Over two-fifths (43%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol*' but nearly two-fifths (38.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed. Disagreement might be linked to strict prohibition within some religions i.e. Islam and Sikhism (see Table 5.1).

The proportion of men that neither agreed nor disagreed across the different range of actions and behaviours was fairly consistent at around a fifth (20%). The only exception was in relation to education, where only 4.2 per cent neither agreed nor disagreed that South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Attitudes toward South Asian women

	SA	A	N	D	SD
I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage [n= 190]*	16.8	11.6	<u>22.1</u>**	21.1	**28.4****
It is acceptable for a South Asian woman to divorce her husband [n= 189]	**35.4**	<u>30.7</u>	18.0	7.4	8.5
South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times [n= 189]	**30.7**	<u>29.6</u>	19.6	13.8	6.3
It is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol [n= 186]	18.3	<u>24.7</u>	18.3	12.4	**26.3**
I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs [n= 189]	10.6	14.3	<u>22.8</u>	19.0	**33.3**
South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men [n= 190]	**77.9**	<u>12.1</u>	4.2	2.6	3.2
It is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married [n= 189]	**30.7**	<u>25.9</u>	21.2	10.1	12.2

Strongly agree (SA); Agree (A); Neither agree or disagree (N); Disagree (D); Strongly disagree (SD)

* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement

** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest

The findings in Table 5.1 show that the majority of participants leaned toward having liberal attitudes toward women, across a range of actions and

behaviours which the literature review suggested are regarded as unacceptable in South Asian communities for South Asian women.

5.3.1 Culture, tradition and religion

Two items in section 1 of the research instrument explored culture, tradition and religion in relation to attitudes toward women (see Table 5.2).

Just over two-fifths of the sample (40.6%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian culture and tradition teaches men that they are more important in the family than women*'. Just over a fifth of the sample (20.9%) neither agreed nor disagreed (see Table 5.2). This seems to suggest that similar proportions of men are aware that South Asian tradition and culture perpetuates gender inequality and differences in the treatment of women and girls in the family. This is not supported by the previous literature. Miller (1999) argues that one reason for preferential treatment is that girls are brought up in a culture where boys are favoured and their needs are put first. They are also not given the same level of responsibilities and have free time available to pursue their own interests and activities. South Asian women also grow up in households where the majority of the domestic work and care is undertaken by the female members of the household; mother, wife or sisters (Bhopal, 1997).

Over four–fifths of participants (81.6%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*my religion teaches people that women and men are equal*'. There is strong support that religion teaches equality between men and women (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Culture, tradition and religion and gender equality

	SA	A	N	D	SD
South Asian culture and tradition teaches men that they are more important in the family than women [n= 187]*	12.8	**27.8****	<u>20.9</u>**	19.8	18.7
My religion teaches people that women and men are equal [n= 185]	**63.8**	<u>17.8</u>	13.5	1.1	3.8
Strongly agree (SA); Agree (A); Neither agree or disagree (N); Disagree (D); Strongly Disagree (SD).					
* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement					
** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.					

The findings show that this group of men saw culture and tradition rather than religion as linked to the preferential treatment of men. It raises the question of whether men that are religious and whose religion influences the way they chose to act in their everyday life may not be as traditional as they are represented (see the next Chapter for more discussion).

5.4 Attitudes toward gender roles

This section reports on the items in the survey addressing gender roles, specifically whether South Asian women should perform duties related to fixed and restricted gender expectations. The questions cover domestic labour/housework, the upbringing of children, and the balance between work outside the home and children (see Appendix 4).

Just over half of men (51.6%) strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning*', with a quarter (25.3%) of men strongly agreeing or agreeing,

adopting a traditional view that these are 'womanly' or 'wifely' duties. A slightly higher proportion (55.4%) strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian men should have greater say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up*'. These findings suggest that participants were to some degree open to taking part in household duties and in the upbringing of children. However, it is unknown what the level of contribution is and whether it is equal. On the final item, a third of the men (32.6%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian women should put their children and family before their career*', but slightly more (36.4%) strongly disagreed or disagreed with 30.9 per cent neither agreeing nor disagreeing (see Table 5.3). This is a mixed response and there is evidence to suggest that for some men children and family may not be compatible with a career for women.

The proportion of men that neither agreed nor disagreed across the three items was fairly consistent at just under a third (30%) (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Attitudes toward gender roles

	SA	A	N	D	SD
South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning [n= 186]*	11.3	14.0	<u>23.1</u>**	**30.1****	21.5
South Asian men should have <u>greater</u> say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up [n= 184]	4.3	10.9	<u>29.3</u>	25.5	**29.9**
South Asian women should put their children and family before their career [n= 181]	8.8	<u>23.8</u>	**30.9**	21.5	14.9

Strongly agree (SA); Agree (A); Neither agree or disagree (N); Disagree (D); Strongly disagree (SD)

* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement

** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.

The findings show that the majority of participants did not support fixed gender roles and held a more egalitarian view of gender responsibilities.

5.5 Comparison between attitudes toward South Asian women and women and South Asian men

Some of the survey items (see Appendix 4) were constructed to establish whether participants made distinctions between South Asian men and South Asian women in relation to attitudes toward sexual relations before marriage, and between South Asian women and women, more generally.

Table 5.4 reveals that 41.5 per cent of South Asian men strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian men should not have sexual relations before*

marriage' and 48.4 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed that '*I have no respect for women who have sexual relations before marriage*'. This seems to indicate that there is not a double standard in regards to sexual relations before marriage – in that a similar proportion views sexual relations before marriage as unacceptable for men and women.

This sample of men made very little distinction between South Asian women and women across all the items: sexual relations before marriage, clothes worn, drinking alcohol, going to bars and nightclubs, and housework. The proportion of men that strongly agreed or agreed to women doing these things was only slightly higher for South Asian women. For example, in regards to being free to choose which clothes to wear, 62.8 per cent of men strongly agreed or agreed that '*women should be free to wear what they like at all times*' compared with 60.3 per cent with respect to South Asian women. Just under half of the men (44.5%) believed that '*it is acceptable for women to drink alcohol*' compared with 43 per cent for South Asian women (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Comparison between attitudes toward South Asian men and South Asian women, and South Asian women and women

	SA	A	N	D	SD
1. South Asian men should not have sexual relations before marriage [n= 188]*	25.0**	16.5	**28.7****	14.9	14.9
2.a I have <u>no</u> respect for women who have sexual relations before marriage [n= 190]	14.7	12.6	<u>24.2</u>	20.5	**27.9**
b. I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage [n= 190]	16.8	11.6	<u>22.1</u>	21.1	**28.4**
3.a Women should be free to wear what they like at all times [n= 188]	**33.0**	<u>29.8</u>	22.3	8.0	6.9
b. South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times [n= 189]	**30.7**	<u>29.6</u>	19.6	13.8	6.3
4.a It is acceptable for women to drink alcohol [n= 189]	18.0	**26.5**	19.0	13.8	<u>22.8</u>
b. It is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol [n= 186]	18.3	<u>24.7</u>	18.3	12.4	**26.3**

Strongly agree (SA); Agree (A); Neither agree or disagree (N); Disagree (D); Strongly disagree (SD)

* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement

** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.

Table 5.4: Comparison between attitudes toward South Asian men and South Asian women, and South Asian women and women

	SA	A	N	D	SD
5.a I have <u>no</u> respect for women that go to bars and nightclubs [n= 190]	9.5	12.1	<u>23.2</u>	22.1	**33.2**
b. I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs [n= 189]	10.6	14.3	<u>22.8</u>	19.0	**33.3**
6.a Women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning [n= 187]	10.2	13.4	<u>25.1</u>	**31.6**	19.8
b. South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning [n= 186]	11.3	14.0	<u>23.1</u>	**30.1**	21.5
Strongly agree (SA); Agree (A); Neither agree or disagree (N); Disagree (D); Strongly disagree (SD) * Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement ** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.					

The findings here were unexpected. Previous research has not yet examined such distinctions. In designing the survey an assumption was made that there would be more of a difference in attitudes, drawing on the findings in the literature review on expectations of South Asian femininity. Ethnicity/race do not appear to be as important. Whether behaviours are considered acceptable seems to apply to all women, and men. This raises the interesting conundrum of whether constructs of acceptable South Asian femininity in much research, by reiterating stereotypical notions of South Asian women, are reproducing stereotypes.

5.6 Decision making

Both the literature on South Asian women and on domestic violence makes strong references to the issue of control. Reflecting this, one section of the survey was devoted to attitudes on decision making (see Appendix 4). These will, in the next Chapter be analysed for any correlations with attitudes toward domestic violence.

Over four-fifths agreed that '*how the household income is spent*' (84.7%); '*how often they have sex*' (88.8%); '*how to bring up/care for the children*' (86.1%) should be joint decisions. A lower proportion thought this on '*how, when and who should do the cleaning, cooking etc (housework)*' (71.1%). Here just under a quarter (24.1%) of participants indicated that the final decision on '*how, when and who should do the cleaning, cooking etc (housework)*' should rest with the South Asian wife or partner. This suggests that around a quarter of this sample of men believe in traditional gendered roles and that housework is a female domain (see Table 5.5).

Where questions were framed with respect to South Asian wife/female partner, most men agreed that she should make the final decision: 58.6 per cent in relation to '*the clothes that she wears*'; 62.6 per cent in regards to '*following her religion*'; and 46.8 per cent on '*whether she works outside the home*'. However, a similar proportion thought that she working outside the home should be a joint decision (44.6%). The reason for a joint decision on paid employment could be on how much the amount of joint/combined household income is and whether the cost of living can be sustained on one income. It may also be connected with whether having a family and children are compatible with a career. The proportion was lower for '*how much time she spends at home*' (37.9%); as over half (53.3%) thought this should be jointly agreed. This could be linked to both men and women combining and juggling work and family life (see Table 5.5). Issues around decision-making are explored in the interviews and the findings are presented in Chapter Seven.

Interestingly, over a third (36%) thought that the final decision regarding the clothes that she wears should be a joint decision between the South Asian wife and husband. This may suggest that these men may have a decision or some control over what a woman wears, which may be related to whether clothes worn are deemed appropriate. This is consistent with the findings under the 'attitudes toward women' section above, where almost a fifth (19.6%) of men neither agreed nor disagreed that '*South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times*' and a further fifth (20.1%) disagreed or strongly disagreed (see Table 5.1). This issue is also picked up in the interviews.

A small minority (3.7% to 9.0%) of men indicated that the final decision regarding any of the above items should be made by a South Asian man (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Who should make the decisions?

	South Asian wife/ female partner	South Asian husband/ male partner	Joint decision (between wife and husband)	Someone else (i.e. mother-in-law)
How the household income is spent [n= 189]*	6.3	9.0**	**84.7****	0.0
How often they have sex [n= 187]	3.7	6.4	**88.8**	1.1
How to bring up/care for the children [n= 187]	7.5	4.8	**86.1**	1.6
How, when and who should do the cleaning, cooking etc (housework) [n= 187]	24.1	3.7	**71.1**	1.1
The clothes that she wears [n= 186]	**58.6**	3.8	36.0	1.6
Whether she works outside the home i.e. in paid employment [n= 186]	**46.8**	6.5	44.6	2.2
How much time she spends at home [n= 182]	37.9	6.0	**53.3**	2.7
How she follows her religion [n= 182]	**62.6**	4.9	30.2	2.2
* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement ** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.				

Whilst the majority of participants supported joint decision-making, some of the findings suggest traditional attitudes toward gender and femininity.

Particularly interesting were the attitudes in relation to housework, clothes worn, and how much time women spend at home.

The next sections explore attitudes toward domestic violence.

5.7 Attitudes toward domestic violence

The majority of South Asian men in the sample did not condone domestic violence (see Table 5.6): 87.2 per cent strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian men should not be allowed to hit their wife or partner*'; 75.9 per cent strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian men should refuse to give more money for the household budget when their wife or partner requests it*'; 70.4 per cent strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*if a South Asian woman does not obey her husband it is acceptable for him to shout at her*' (see Table 5.6).

However, as with the previous section, a small proportion of men held traditional attitudes with examples of and endorsement of male privilege. For example, whilst over four-fifths (83.6%) disagreed that '*it is okay for a South Asian man to hit his wife or partner when he thinks she has done something wrong*', around a tenth (9.1%) of men strongly agreed or agreed. An equal proportion (9.1%) of men also strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian women should not challenge their husbands or partners decisions*'. An additional 16 per cent of men neither disagreed nor agreed with this statement.

The exception to this pattern of responses is that just under half (45.8%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that '*it is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household*'. Just under a third (29.4%) strongly agreed or agreed, and a further quarter (24.6%) neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement.

There was also some evidence of sexual entitlement: 'being 'the wife' means being sexually available to her husband and having to comply with his sexual

demands' (Boonzaier, 2008, p.199). Whilst, just over two-thirds (61%) strongly disagreed and disagreed that '*South Asian women should not refuse to have sex with their husband or partner*', around a quarter (21.9%) of the sample neither agreed nor disagreed and another 17.1 per cent strongly agreed and agreed. In addition, just over a quarter (25.3%) neither agreed nor disagreed that '*a certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a South Asian wife or partner refuses to have sex*'.

A third (32.3%) of men agreed and strongly agreed that '*South Asian men should always know where their wife or partner is when they are not together*' (see Table 5.6). This proportion could be interpreted as concern for the safety of their wife or partner and/or if logistical arrangements need to be made. Equally, it might be control of the social mobility of their wife or partner outside the domestic sphere.

Once again, with the exception of a few items, the proportion of men that neither agreed nor disagreed across the items were fairly consistent (20% to 25%) (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Attitudes toward domestic violence

	SA	A	N	D	SD
It is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household [n= 187]*	7.5	21.9	<u>24.6</u>**	**27.8****	18.2
South Asian men should refuse to give <u>more</u> money for the household budget when their wife or partner requests it [n= 187]	1.1	5.9	17.1	<u>29.4</u>	**46.5**
South Asian women should not be allowed to make any major decisions regarding the household (including their children) [n=187]	3.2	5.3	13.9	<u>26.2</u>	**51.3**
South Asian women should <u>not</u> challenge their husbands or partners decisions [n=187]	3.2	5.9	16.0	<u>34.2</u>	**40.6**
If a South Asian woman does not obey her husband it is acceptable for him to shout at her [n= 186]	1.1	9.7	18.8	<u>28.5</u>	**41.9**
South Asian men should always know where their wife or partner is when they are not together [n= 186]	10.2	<u>22.6</u>	**24.2**	20.4	<u>22.6</u>
Trying to put a South Asian wife or partner down in front of others by calling her unpleasant names is <u>not</u> acceptable [n= 184]	**65.8**	<u>12.0</u>	7.6	5.4	9.2

Strongly agree (SA); Agree (A); Neither agree or disagree (N); Disagree (D); Strongly disagree (SD)

* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement

** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.

Table 5.6: Attitudes toward domestic violence

	SA	A	N	D	SD
South Asian men should <u>not</u> be allowed to hit their wife or partner [n= 189]	**76.6**	<u>10.6</u>	5.8	1.6	5.3
It is okay for a South Asian man to hit his wife or partner when they think she has done something wrong [n= 188]	6.4	2.7	7.4	<u>17.6</u>	**66.0**
South Asian women should <u>not</u> refuse to have sex with their husband or partner [n= 187]	8.0	9.1	<u>21.9</u>	21.4	**39.6**
A certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a South Asian wife or partner refuses to have sex [n= 186]	2.7	7.5	<u>25.3</u>	19.9	**44.6**

Strongly agree (SA); Agree (A); Neither agree or disagree (N); Disagree (D); Strongly disagree (SD)

* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement

** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.

As with the findings from the previous section on attitudes toward women, gender roles, and decision making, the majority of men have liberal attitudes toward women and support joint decision making. Taking the reversing of items into account, a smaller proportion of men held both liberal and traditional or traditional attitudes. This was also evidenced with respect to items on head of the household, knowing where their wife or partner is when not together, refusing to have sex, and applying a certain amount of pressure if a wife or partner refuses to have sex.

5.8 Can men using violence against a wife or partner ever be justified

This section explores responses to questions on whether participants thought violence against a wife or partner was justified (see Appendix 4). The questions were constructed from findings that suggested when a woman does not conform to femininity these are circumstances which justify violence (see Chapter Three).

The majority of participants did not support any justification for violence toward a partner or wife; the highest percentage for when violence is never justified was for '*unwilling to have sex when he wants to*' (74.6%) and the lowest was for '*having sex with another man*' (58.2%) (see Table 5.7).

'*Having sex with another man*' was the condition in which more thought it was 'always' justified to hit a partner or wife (19.6%). A further 14.1 per cent were not sure. Just under one in ten men (8.7%) also thought that violence was 'always' justified when '*being in the company of other men*'. Panchanadeswaran and Koverola (2005) in their research with women in India found that sexual jealousy and men's strong sense of ownership over women was the most common trigger for domestic violence. Another related reason could be that sexual relations outside marriage are forbidden in all three religions (Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism) and the majority of men reported some level of religiosity – although this may not always be practiced (see Table 5.7).

A minority of South Asian men indicated that violence was 'sometimes' justified when a wife or partner was '*neglecting/not looking after the children properly*' (12.6%), '*answering or talking back*' (12.4%), '*being irresponsible with money*' (11.8%), and '*neglecting the housework (i.e. cleaning and cooking)*' (11.8%). Whereas, it was 'occasionally' justified when '*not doing what she was told*' (14.5%), '*wearing inappropriate clothes*' (13.6%), and '*spending too much time outside the home*' (12%). Around a quarter (23.9%; 6.5% + 3.8% + 13.6%) of the sample reported it was always, sometimes or occasionally justified to use violence against a wife or partner when '*wearing*

inappropriate clothes' and 23.1% (1.1% + 7.5% + 14.5%) when '*not doing what she was told*' (see Table 5.7). Under one in five (16.2%) were in agreement that violence was always, sometime and occasionally justified when '*unwilling to have sex when he wants to*'.

Table 5.7: Is violence against a wife or partner ever justifiable

	A	S	O	N	NS
Unwilling to have sex when he wants to [n= 185]*	2.2	7.0	7.0	**74.6****	9.2****
Nagging too much [n= 182]	2.2	7.1	8.8	**73.1**	8.8
Going outside the home unaccompanied [n= 186]	3.2	7.0	8.6	**73.1**	8.1
Not following her religion [n= 185]	3.8	8.1	6.5	**73.0**	8.6
Neglecting the housework (i.e. cleaning and cooking) [n= 187]	3.7	11.8	9.1	**72.7**	2.7
Answering or talking back [n= 185]	3.2	12.4	9.7	**70.3**	4.3
Wearing inappropriate clothes [n= 184]	6.5	3.8	13.6	**67.9**	8.2
Not doing what she was told [n= 186]	1.1	7.5	14.5	**67.7**	9.1
Spending too much time outside the home [n= 184]	3.8	9.8	12.0	**67.4**	7.1

Always (A); Sometimes (S); Occasionally (O); Never (N); Not Sure (NS)

* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement

** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.

Table 5.7: Is violence against a wife or partner ever justifiable

	A	S	O	N	NS
Being irresponsible with money [n= 186]	6.5	<u>11.8</u>	8.1	**66.1**	7.5
Being in the company of other men [n= 184]	8.7	7.1	7.6	**65.8**	<u>10.9</u>
Being disrespectful to his family members [n= 183]	4.9	8.2	10.4	**63.9**	<u>12.6</u>
Neglecting/not looking after the children properly [n= 183]	5.5	<u>12.6</u>	8.2	**63.4**	10.4
Having sex with another man [n= 184]	<u>19.6</u>	6.0	2.2	**58.2**	14.1
Always (A); Sometimes (S); Occasionally (O); Never (N); Not Sure (NS) * Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement ** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.					

Once again a complex picture emerges as most men do not justify violence but a minority do, and this varies across the items. The findings suggest that any one or more of the above circumstances could be used by a minority of men as a justification to use violence against a wife or partner. As Bancroft (2002) argues that those that abuse 'rely heavily on the forms of abuse that are most acceptable among men of their background' (p.163), it could be that when participants justified violence (see Table 5.7), these forms of violence were most acceptable among men in South Asian communities. On this basis, the four main justifications are related to family and in relation to contact with men or actual and imagined sexual contact.

5.9 Responses to domestic violence

Research shows that South Asian women face additional obstacles in leaving abusive relationships compared to White women (see Rai and Thiara, 1997; Schuler et al 2008). A question asked how likely respondents were to take action to support female family members. The majority of the men (86.5%) were very likely or fairly likely to take some form of action (see Table 5.8). This is encouraging and suggests that men do not believe that domestic violence is a private issue.

Table 5.8: The likelihood of taking action to support a female family member experiencing domestic violence from a partner

	Very likely	Fairly likely	Fairly unlikely	Very unlikely
How likely is it that you would take some form of action? [n= 185]	**54.1****	<u>32.4</u>**	7.6	5.9
** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.				

This was followed by a question on what actions they were most likely to take, from a list of 14 items including an open-ended item which allowed participants to write in an alternative answer. Respondents were asked to tick two boxes from a range of options which included: no action; speaking to his or her friends, speaking to his or her family; speaking to a religious leader; or calling the police.

Presented below (see Table 5.9) are the four most selected items for men's choice of action to take if they knew or suspected that a female family member was experiencing domestic violence from her partner. Men were asked to tick two boxes but as a number ticked more than two boxes (eight) these participants were removed from the sample whereas those that selected one box were included. All the participants with the exception of one

answered the question and the sample is made up of those that selected one or two boxes (base reduced from 190 to 181).

The findings presented a mixed picture with men taking action both inside and outside their community. Respondents were most likely to speak to the woman and offer help/support or advice (39.8%) followed by talking to the partner/abuser and asking him to stop (37.0%). Both these findings are interesting and suggest direct intervention. A proportion also selected seeking help from outside their immediate family, friends and community: this included going either to the police (18.8%) or seeking professional advice/call a helpline (18.8%) (see Table 5.9). Whilst a minority, just under a fifth were willing to take family matters into a more public setting, it is a matter of conjecture whether any of these men would (or even have) taken such actions.

Table 5.9: Action that respondents take if a female family member is experiencing domestic violence from a partner

Action that would be taken	Proportion
Speak to the woman and offer to help/offer support/offer advice	39.8
Talk to the partner/abuser and ask him to stop	37.0
Seek professional advice/call a help line	18.8
Call the police	18.8 Base: 181

The next question explored where a South Asian woman who was experiencing domestic violence should seek help from. Thirteen items were offered including an open-ended item (which allowed participants to write in an alterative answer) (see Appendix 4). A range of options were provided which included: no action; his or her friends; his or her family; a religious leader; a doctor or nurse; or the police.

Presented below (see Table 5.10) are the four most selected items. Men were asked to tick two boxes but as a number ticked more than two boxes (fourteen) these participants were removed from the sample whereas those that selected one box were included. All the participants answered the question and the sample is made up of those that selected one or two boxes (base reduced from 190 to 176).

The most common response was that a South Asian woman experiencing domestic violence should seek help from a specialist domestic violence service/helpline (39.2%) closely followed by her family (36.9%). Men also cited the police (34.7%) followed by her friends (15.9%) and his family (15.9%). Once again there was a mixed response with seeking help both inside and outside her family and community.

Table 5.10: Sources a South Asian woman should seek help from if experiencing domestic violence from her partner

Sources of help to be sought	Proportion
A specialist domestic violence service/helpline	39.2
Her family	36.9
Police	34.7
His family	15.9
Her friend(s)	15.9 Base: 176

Previous research shows that women may be reluctant to seek help outside of their family and community because of the fear of being deported or losing her children (see Dasgupta and Warrier, 1996; Schuler et al, 2008). Roy (2012) found that:

Inviting law enforcement into the home is deemed especially shameful. South Asian women who have sought help from the police assert that they are blamed harshly by family members for bringing detrimental attention to their home and family. With any law enforcement intervention, family members become worried about spiteful social repercussions demonstrated in statements such as "what will the neighbors think of us now?" "What will the community members think when they hear that there were police at our home?" "How could you shame our family by bringing police to our home?" (p.1111).

'Saving face' and the primacy of the family unit are important community norms and as a result, many South Asian women deny the abuse and stay in an abusive relationship to protect themselves from exclusion, and her children and family from being ostracised. In addition, the onus is often placed on the woman to prevent abusive behaviour by changing and adapting her actions and behaviour towards her partner (Haj-Yahia, 2002). In other words, the woman is often blamed or is seen as being at fault, and thus the 'ones who have to look for a solution to their problem' (Thapar-Bjorkert and Morgan, 2010, p.47).

The findings presented show that the majority said that they would take action and supported women seeking help. These findings challenge perceptions that South Asian women should remain in an abusive relationship and also offer interesting possibilities for mobilising support – rather than exclusion – in families and communities.

5.10 Conclusion

The majority of South Asian men held liberal attitudes toward women and domestic violence: there was in this research general acceptance of behaviours and actions such as divorcing a husband and living away from home. Men in the sample were not expecting women to conform to femininity as, for example, women were not expected to do all the household tasks.

There was also support for shared decision making on issues such as household income and how to bring up/care for the children. In addition, most men did not condone or justify domestic violence.

More detailed analysis revealed that the attitudes in this sample of South Asian men are not homogenous. Three distinct groups were identified. Taking reverse items into account, it emerged that in each section of the survey, the proportions who agreed or strongly agreed, neither agreed or disagreed, or disagreed and strongly disagreed, were fairly consistent albeit fluctuating on some of the items. These three groups have been categorised as liberal or egalitarian, both liberal and traditional, and traditional. Taking all the findings from the sections of the survey into account, the largest group was liberal men (on average around 60 - 70% of the sample), followed by the both liberal and traditional group (on average around 20 - 30% of the sample), and finally the traditional group (on average around 15 - 20% of the sample). A South Asian man who has liberal attitudes toward women and domestic violence would think that women have control over their own lives in both the public and private sphere and violence against a wife or partner is never justified. A South Asian man who has traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence may believe that women should not have control over their own lives in the public and private sphere and that violence is sometimes justified. The group which had both liberal and traditional attitudes were more difficult to summarise as their response were mixed and not consistent.

In trying to explore attitudes toward women and domestic violence, in the main, there was no one item that was clearly acceptable or unacceptable. The only exception may be the item where 90 per cent of South Asian men strongly agreed and agreed with '*South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men*'. The three most frequent justifications of violence against a wife or partner cited by the interviewees was '*having sex with another man*', '*neglecting/not looking after the children properly*', and '*being disrespectful to his family members*'. Bancroft (2002) argues that 'each woman who is involved with an abusive or controlling man has to deal with

his unique blend of tactics and attitudes' (p.77), and that this is influenced by the man's particular culture and background.

This raises the question of what is associated with differences in attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The examination of gender in Chapter Two as with the findings here show that gender is not fixed, and that there is not one single form of masculinity. This, along with factor analysis, which combines a number of inter-related items into a 'factor' which can help to see how the items are related, is explored in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: ADVANCED STATISTICAL ANALYSES ON DIFFERENCES IN MEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The last Chapter revealed that the majority of participants had liberal attitudes toward women and domestic violence, and a typology was presented of three distinct groups: liberal or egalitarian, both liberal and traditional, and traditional. A review of the literature also showed that men who hold and maintain traditional attitudes toward women were more likely to control the behaviour and action of women and commit and justify domestic violence. Demographic variables such as age, educational attainment, occupation status, as well as rural or urban residency were also found in previous studies to correlate with traditional attitudes (see Chapter Three).

The aim in this Chapter is to investigate if there is a relationship between the demographic and independent variables through chi-square tests, and if there are, which variables help to explain differences in attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Given the findings in the previous Chapter, this is an exploration of what correlates with liberal and traditional attitudes (see Section 6.1 to 6.4). The findings reveal that three main demographic variables: religion; ethnic origin; and country of birth, explain South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence or the distinction between liberal and traditional attitudes.

Factor analysis has been conducted to identify which set of items or variables belong to particular factors, and the factors can provide an understanding of the dimensions that exist in the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence (SAATWDV) data (see Section 6.5).

The demographic variables were discussed in Chapter Four (in Section 4.5.4) and are: age, religion or belief, religiosity, the strength of religious affiliation, ethnic origin, country of birth, occupation, educational attainment and marital status. The independent variables are: attitudes toward women;

gender roles; attitudes toward domestic violence; and whether violence against a wife or partner is ever justified. In regards to the presentation of the chi-square tables, following the typology the Likert scale for the first three independent variables were recoded liberal, both liberal and traditional, and traditional. The latter independent variable was recoded from always, sometimes, and occasionally to traditional, never as liberal, and not sure remained the same as not sure. Data is presented when the demographic variable is significant at the $p<0.00$ level and $p<0.05$ level but tables are only presented at the $p<0.00$ level.

6.1 Attitudes toward women

Presented here are chi-square tests to examine if any significant differences exist between all seven of the items under the scale 'attitudes toward women' and all ten demographic variables.

- I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage
- It is acceptable for a South Asian woman to divorce her husband
- South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times
- It is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol
- I have no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs
- South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men
- It is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married

6.1.1 I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage

The demographic variables significant at the $p<0.05$ level were age, country of birth, and strength of religious affiliation.

Age: 50.0 per cent of men aged 48 and over strongly agreed or agreed that '*I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage*' compared with 37.0 per cent of men aged 18 - 27; 20.2 per cent aged 28 - 37, and 19.2 per cent aged 38 - 47.

This may be reflective of or be connected to generational differences. The second largest group were those aged 18 - 27, who are also most likely to be non-UK born (see Chapter Five) and country of birth is significant with this statement.

Country of birth: 66.1 per cent of men born in the UK strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage*' compared with 43.6 per cent of men born outside the UK. Just over a third (34.2%) of men born outside the UK agreed with the statement compared with 16.1 per cent born in the UK.

Here non-UK born men have more traditional views than UK born men, which may be reflective of more liberal societal attitudes toward sexual relations in the UK. Although, over two-fifths (43.6%) of men born outside the UK also strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement.

Strength of religious affiliation: 66.7 per cent of men whose religion did not influence the way that they act in their everyday life disagreed or strongly disagreed that '*I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage*' compared with 44.4 per cent of men where religion did influence the way that they act in their everyday life.

For men whose religion did not influence the way that they act in their everyday life disagreed that they have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage. However, over two-fifths (44.4%) of men whose religion did influence the way that they act in their everyday life

also strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement. This finding suggests that whilst religion influences it may not determine attitudes toward sexual relations before marriage.

For all three demographics, whilst a larger proportion of men who are 'older', born outside the UK, and whose daily actions are influenced by religion say they have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage, there is also a proportion of younger, UK born, whose daily actions are not influenced by religion that also hold this opinion.

The demographic variables significant at the p<0.000 level were religion and ethnic origin.

Men whose religion was Hindu and Sikh had more liberal views than men whose religion was Islam (chi-square = 28.186, d.f = 4, p<0.000) and men whose ethnic origin was Indian had more liberal views than men whose ethnic origin is Bangladeshi and Pakistani (chi-square = 18.033, d.f = 2, p<0.000) (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2).

Table 6.1: The relationship between religion and attitudes toward sexual relations before marriage

Item	Religion	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Hindu			28.186	4	0.000
	Liberal	49	65.3			
	Both	16	21.3			
	Traditional	10	13.3			
	Islam					
	Liberal	18	26.5			
	Both	18	26.5			
	Traditional	32	47.1			
	Sikh					
	Liberal	18	56.2			
	Both	3	9.4			
	Traditional	11	34.4			

Table 6.2: The relationship between ethnic origin and attitudes toward sexual relations before marriage

Item	Ethnic origin	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Indian					
	Liberal	75	60.0	18.033	2	0.000
	Both	25	20.0			
	Traditional	25	20.0			
	Bangladeshi and Pakistani					
	Liberal	19	29.2			
	Both	17	26.2			
	Traditional	29	44.6			

6.1.2 It is acceptable for a South Asian woman to divorce her husband

The demographic variable significant at the p<0.05 level was job title/occupation. There were no demographic variables significant at the p<0.00 level.

> Job title: 76.5 per cent of men in managerial and professional occupations strongly agreed or agreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to divorce her husband*' compared to 57.9 per cent of men in non managerial and professional occupations.

Socio-economic status appears to be related to liberal attitudes toward the acceptance of divorce.

6.1.3 South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times

There were no demographic variables significant at the p<0.05 level but religion and ethnic origin were highly significant at the p<0.00 level.

As can be seen from Table 6.3, more men whose religion was Hindu and Sikh had liberal views than men whose religion is Islam regarding the freedom to choose clothes. This was highly significant (chi-square = 34.334, d.f = 4, p<0.000).

Table 6.3: The relationship between religion and attitudes toward freedom to choose clothes

Item	Religion	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Hindu			34.334	4	0.000
	Liberal	56	75.7			
	Both	12	16.2			
	Traditional	6	8.1			
	Islam					
	Liberal	26	38.2			
	Both	13	19.1			
	Traditional	29	42.6			
	Sikh					
	Liberal	21	65.6			
	Both	9	28.1			
	Traditional	2	6.2			

Table 6.4 shows that more men whose ethnic origin was Indian have liberal views than men whose ethnic origin is Bangladeshi and Pakistani regarding the freedom to choose clothes. This was highly significant (chi-square = 25.358, d.f = 2, p<0.000).

As religion, especially Islam, is associated with attitudes toward freedom to choose clothes, this finding may be related to the relationship between clothes and religion i.e. whether a hijab (a Muslim headdress) is worn. This is often an assertion of religious identity.

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Table 6.4: The relationship between ethnic origin and attitudes toward freedom to choose clothes

Item	Ethnic origin	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Indian					
	Liberal	87	70.2	25.358	2	0.000
	Both	25	20.2			
	Traditional	12	9.7			
	Bangladeshi and Pakistani					
	Liberal	27	41.5			
	Both	12	18.5			
	Traditional	26	40.0			

6.1.4 It is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol

The demographic variables significant at the p<0.05 level were age, extent of religiosity and strength of religiosity.

Age: 52.2 per cent of men aged 48 and over strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol*' compared to 51.9 per cent aged 18 – 27; 33.3 per cent aged 28 – 37 and 19.2 per cent aged 38 – 47 years old.

'Older' men's unacceptance of drinking alcohol may be reflective of generational differences as drinking becomes more acceptable among the second and third generation of British South Asians. However, as with the item on sexual relations before marriage, the second largest group were those aged 18 - 27.

Extent of religiosity: 63.0 per cent of men who did not regard themselves as religious strongly agreed or agreed that '*it is acceptable*

for South Asian women to drink alcohol' compared to 39.6 per cent of men that labelled themselves as religious.

Strength of religiosity: 64.4 per cent of men who said that religion did not influence the way that they choose to act in their everyday life strongly agreed or agreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol*' compared to 36.7 per cent of men who said that religion did influence their everyday life.

As alcohol is strictly prohibited within some religions i.e. Islam and Sikhism, this is perhaps not surprising. However, there is evidence to suggest that for some men religion is not synonymous with drinking alcohol. Therefore, whilst religion may influence, it does not determine attitudes toward drinking alcohol.

The demographic variables significant at the $p < 0.000$ level were religion and ethnic origin.

More men whose religion was Hindu and Sikh had more liberal views than men whose religion is Islam regarding the acceptability of drinking alcohol (see Table 6.5). This was highly significant (chi-square = 49.722, d.f = 4, $p < 0.000$).

Table 6.5: The relationship between religion and attitudes toward drinking alcohol

Item	Religion	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Hindu					
	Liberal	47	62.7.	49.722	4	0.000
	Both	11	14.7			
	Traditional	17	22.7			
	Islam					
	Liberal	7	10.9			
	Both	10	15.6			
	Traditional	47	73.4			
	Sikh					
	Liberal	15	46.9			
	Both	9	28.1			
	Traditional	8	25.0			

Table 6.6 shows more men whose ethnic origin was Indian had liberal views than men whose ethnic origin is Bangladeshi and Pakistani regarding the acceptability of drinking alcohol. This was highly significant (chi-square = 44.835, d.f = 2, p<0.000).

Table 6.6: The relationship between ethnic origin and attitudes toward drinking alcohol

Item	Ethnic origin	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Indian			44.835	2	0.000
	Liberal	72	58.1			
	Both	24	19.4			
	Traditional	28	22.6			
	Bangladeshi and Pakistani					
	Liberal	8	12.9			
	Both	10	16.1			
	Traditional	44	71.0			

6.1.5 I have no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs

The demographic variables significant at the p<0.05 level were age, extent of religiosity, strength of religiosity, and country of birth.

Age: Younger men; 38.3 per cent of men aged 28 to 37 and 31.9 per cent of men aged 18 to 27 strongly agreed and agreed that '*I have no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs*' compared to older men; 10.6 per cent of men aged 38 to 47 and 19.1 per cent of men aged 48 and over.

A larger proportion of 'younger' men agreed that they had '*no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs*'. Similarly, a large proportion of 'young' men disagreed with women engaging in sexual relations before marriage and drinking alcohol.

Extent of religiosity: 74.1 per cent of men who regarded themselves as not being religious strongly disagreed and disagreed that '*I have no*

respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs' compared to 48.8 per cent of men who regarded themselves as religious.

Strength of religiosity: 75.6 per cent of men who said that religion does not influence the way that they choose to act in their everyday life strongly disagreed and disagreed that '*I have no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs*' compared to 45.8 per cent of men who said that religion influences their everyday life.

Whilst the extent and strength of religiosity is associated with disapproval of women going to bars and nightclubs, there is still a majority of men who regard themselves as being religious and whose religion influences their actions in everyday life that disagree with the statement. Once again, whilst religion may influence it may not determine attitudes toward South Asian women going to bars and nightclubs.

Country of birth: 87 per cent of non-UK born men strongly agreed and agreed that '*I have no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs*' compared to 13 per cent of UK born men.

The difference in attitudes between UK and non-UK born men may be due to acceptance and normalisation of women going to bars and nightclubs in the UK.

The demographic variables significant at the p<0.000 level were religion and ethnic origin.

Table 6.7 shows that more men whose religion was Hindu and Sikh had liberal views than men whose religion were Islam regarding going to bars and nightclubs. This was highly significant (chi square = 34.932, d.f = 4, p<0.000).

Table 6.7: The relationship between religion and attitudes toward going to bars and nightclubs

Item	Religion	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Hindu					
	Liberal	51	68.0	34.932	4	0.000
	Both	18	24.0			
	Traditional	6	8.0			
	Islam					
	Liberal	20	29.9			
	Both	13	19.4			
	Traditional	34	50.7			
	Sikh					
	Liberal	18	56.2			
	Both	7	21.9			
	Traditional	7	21.9			

As can be seen from Table 6.8, more men whose ethnic origin was Indian have liberal views than men whose ethnic origin is Bangladeshi and Pakistani regarding going to bars and nightclubs. This was highly significant (chi-square = 35.828, d.f = 2, p<0.000).

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Table 6.8: The relationship between ethnic origin and attitudes toward going to bars and nightclubs

Item	Ethnic origin	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Indian			35.828	2	0.000
	Liberal	78	62.9			
	Both	32	25.8			
	Traditional	14	11.3			
	Bangladeshi and Pakistani					
	Liberal	21	32.3			
	Both	11	16.9			
	Traditional	33	50.8			

6.1.6 South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men

The demographic variable significant at the p<0.05 level was educational attainment. None of the demographic variables were significant at the p<0.000 level. Two cells also had counts less than 5.

> Educational attainment: 74.7 per cent of men that strongly agreed and agreed that '*South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men*' had a degree or higher compared to 25.3 per cent of men that had qualifications less than a degree.

This may be connected to 'highly' educated men themselves witnessing women attend higher education as well as seeing the value and rewards of an education for both men and women.

6.1.7 It is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married

None of the demographic variables were significant at the p<0.000 level. However, the demographic variables significant at the p<0.05 level were religion, extent of religiosity, strength of religiosity, ethnic origin, educational attainment and marital status.

Religion: 35.8 per cent of Islamic men strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married*' compared to 18.8 per cent of Sikh men and 14.7 per cent of Hindu men.

Extent of religiosity: 81.5 per cent of men who regarded themselves as not being religious strongly agreed or agreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married*' compared to 52.5 per cent of men who regarded themselves as religious.

Strength of religiosity: 73.3 per cent of men who said that religion does not influence the way that they choose to act in their everyday life strongly agreed or agreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married*' compared to 52.5 per cent of men who said that religion influences their everyday life.

Religion, including its strength, may be linked to perceptions of moral behaviour as living away from home and from parental guidance may be perceived as encouraging or leading to unreligious behaviour.

Ethnic origin: 34.4 per cent of men whose ethnic origin is from Pakistan and Bangladesh strongly disagreed or disagree that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents'*

home before they are married' compared with 16.0 per cent of men whose ethnic origin is Indian.

Here Pakistani and Bangladeshi women may seek educational and employment opportunities nearer to their home than Indian women.

Educational attainment: 63.5 per cent of men who have a degree or higher strongly agree and agree that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married*' compared to 38.3 per cent of men who have less than a degree.

This may be connected to 'highly' educated men having left their parental home to attend higher education and associated this with their own experiences and opportunities.

Marital status: 64.3 per cent of men who are in a relationship strongly agree or agree that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married*' compared to 45.8 per cent of men who are not in a relationship.

Men who are in a relationship/married are also those that are 'middle aged' and this group also were more likely to have liberal attitudes across all seven items. As shown with the previous items, 'younger' men were associated with more traditional attitudes across many of the variables.

In summary, for all seven items, religion, which is also highly correlated with ethnic origin and the strength of religious affiliation, was highly significant. The findings also show that younger and older men and being born outside the UK impacts South Asian men's attitudes toward women. The interviews will explore these themes in more depth. At this point it is worth noting that there is some support for both acculturation and cultural beliefs being more fluid (see Chapter Two) than much work on South Asian communities to date suggests.

6.2 Gender roles

A chi-square test was performed to examine if any significant differences exist between the three items on gender roles in the scale 'attitudes toward women' and all ten demographic variables.

- South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning
- South Asian men should have greater say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up
- South Asian women should put their children and family before their career

6.2.1 South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning

The demographic variables significant at the $p<0.05$ level were age, extent of religiosity, strength of religiosity, country of birth and marital status.

> Age: 73.1 per cent of men aged 38 – 47 strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning*' compared to 46.2 per cent of men aged 18 – 27, 50.0 per cent aged 28 – 37, and 45.8 per cent aged 48 and over.

The 38 to 47 age group may be more likely to be in established and permanent relationship/married with possibly children and both partners working – and thus more likely to be sharing household responsibilities.

> Extent of religiosity: 66.7 per cent of men who regarded themselves as not being religious strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning*' compared to 49.1 per cent who regarded themselves as being religious.

Strength of religiosity: 68.9 per cent of men who said that religion did not influence the way that they choose to live their life strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning*' compared to 46.4 per cent of men who said that religion did influence their everyday life.

Here the extent and strength of religiosity may be more reflective of traditional gender and feminine roles.

Country of birth: 61.1 per cent of men who were born in the UK strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning*' compared to 45.2 per cent who were not born in the UK.

Country of birth may also be linked to traditional gender and feminine roles.

Marital status: 56.8 per cent of traditional men (those that strongly agreed or agreed) who are not in a relationship said that '*South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning*' compared to 43.2 per cent of traditional men that are in a relationship. Plus 56.0 per cent of men in a relationship disagreed that '*South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning*' compared with 48.6 per cent that are not in a relationship.

The demographic variables significant at the p<0.000 level were religion and ethnic origin.

Table 6.9 shows that more men whose religion was Hindu and Sikh had liberal views than men whose religion was Islam regarding the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning. This was highly significant (chi-square = 23.722, d.f = 4, p<0.000).

Table 6.9: The relationship between religion and attitudes toward household tasks such as cooking and cleaning

Item	Religion	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
	Hindu					
	Liberal	49	67.1	23.722	4	0.000
	Both	13	17.8			
	Traditional	11	15.1			
	Islam					
	Liberal	19	28.4			
	Both	20	29.9			
	Traditional	28	41.8			
	Sikh					
	Liberal	19	61.3			
	Both	6	19.4			
	Traditional	6	19.4			

As can be seen from Table 6.10, more men whose ethnic origin was Indian have liberal views than men whose ethnic origin is Bangladeshi and Pakistani regarding the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning. This was highly significant (chi-square = 20.015, d.f = 2, p<0.000).

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Table 6.10: The relationship between ethnic origin and attitudes toward household tasks such as cooking and cleaning

Item	Ethnic origin	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	p
	Indian					
	Liberal	77	63.1	20.015	2	0.000
	Both	24	19.7			
	Traditional	21	17.2			
	Bangladeshi and Pakistani					
	Liberal	19	29.7			
	Both	19	29.7			
	Traditional	26	40.6			

As with many of the items under the 'attitudes toward women' scale, there was a relationship between religion and ethnic origin and South Asian men's attitudes toward household tasks.

6.2.2 South Asian men should have greater say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up

None of the demographic variables were significant at the p<0.000 level. However, the demographic variables significant at the p<0.05 level were extent of religiosity, and marital status.

Extent of religiosity: 20.6 per cent of men who were not religious strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian men should have greater say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up'* compared to 79.4 per cent of men that regarded themselves as being religious.

Marital status: 66.7 per cent of men who were in a relationship strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian men should have greater say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up*' compared to 33.3 per cent of men who were not in a relationship.

The finding suggests that not being religious and being in a relationship are associated with more egalitarian attitudes.

6.2.3 South Asian women should put their children and family before their career

None of the demographic variables were significant at the $p<0.000$ level. However, the demographic variables significant at the $p<0.05$ level were religion, strength of religiosity, and ethnic origin.

Religion: 46.9 per cent of Muslim men agreed that '*South Asian women should put their children and family before their career*' compared to 36.7 per cent of Sikh men and 22.2 per cent of Hindu men.

Strength of religiosity: 86.2 per cent of men that strongly agreed or agreed whose religion influences the way that they choose to live their everyday life said that '*South Asian women should put their children and family before their career*' compared to 13.8 per cent of men that strongly disagreed or disagreed whose religion does not influence their everyday life.

Ethnic origin: 47.5 per cent of men whose ethnic origin is from Pakistan and Bangladesh strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian women should put their children and family before their career*' compared to 25.0 per cent of men whose ethnic origin is Indian.

Chapter Five revealed a mixed picture in response to this item, a third of the men (32.6%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian women should put*

their children and family before their career', but slightly more (36.4%) strongly disagreed or disagreed with 30.9 per cent neither agreeing nor disagreeing. The findings suggest that religion, the strength of religiosity, and ethnic origin is associated with more traditional attitudes. There is, particularly, a striking difference between men whose religion does and does not influence the way that they choose to live their everyday life.

6.3 Attitudes toward domestic violence

A chi-square test was performed to examine if any significant differences exist between the scale 'attitudes toward domestic violence' items and all ten demographic variables. All the items were tested but for eight of the eleven items the cell counts were too low (less than five) to produce valid findings. This is because most men disagreed or strongly disagreed, and the cell counts for strongly agreed or agreed were low. The three of the eleven items where there were variations were:

- It is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household
- South Asian women should not challenge their husbands or partners decisions
- South Asian women should not refuse to have sex with their husband or partner

6.3.1 It is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household

None of the demographic variables were significant at the $p<0.000$ level. However, the demographic variables significant at the $p<0.05$ level were religion and ethnic origin.

> Religion: 57.7 per cent of men that strongly agreed or agreed whose religion is Islam said that '*it is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household*' compared

to 26.9 per cent of Hindu men and 15.4 per cent of Sikh men. Three-fifths (60.3 per cent) of those that strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*it is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household*' were Hindu compared to 46.9 per cent of Sikh men and 29.9 per cent of Islamic men.

Ethnic origin: 53.7 per cent of men whose ethnic origin is Indian strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*it is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household*' compared to 31.2 per cent whose ethnic origin is Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The findings show that Muslim men and men from Pakistan and Bangladesh were more likely to hold traditional views supporting men as the head of the household.

6.3.2 South Asian women should not challenge their husbands or partners decisions

None of the demographic variables were significant at the $p < 0.000$ level. However, the demographic variable significant at the $p < 0.05$ level was ethnic origin.

Ethnic origin: 80.5 per cent of men whose ethnic origin is Indian strongly disagreed or disagreed that '*South Asian women should not challenge their husbands or partners decisions*' compared to 64.1 per cent of men whose ethnic origin is Pakistan and Bangladesh.

6.3.3 South Asian women should not refuse to have sex with their husband or partner

None of the demographic variables were significant at the $p < 0.000$ level. However, the demographic variable significant at the $p < 0.05$ level was country of birth.

Country of birth: 71.4 per cent of men that strongly agreed or agreed who were not born in the UK said that '*South Asian women should not refuse to have sex with their husband or partner*' compared to 28.6 per cent of men born in the UK.

This may be indicative of men's attitudes toward women and the prevalence of sexual violence in their 'home' country with only recent laws on domestic violence but the absence of criminalising rape within marriage. In contrast, in the UK there is awareness of legislation and a clear definition of sexual violence through pressure from NGOs and media publicity, including that rape within marriage is illegal.

6.4 Justification of violence toward a partner or wife

To examine if any significant differences exist between all fourteen of the items in 'justification of violence against a partner or wife' and all ten demographic variables, a chi-square test was performed. Only results where no cell count is less than 5 and the p value is less than 0.05 were presented. Only one demographic variable was significant at the p<0.000 level (this was country of birth i.e. UK born or non-UK born and the item '*being in the company of other men*') and eleven demographic variables were significant at the p<0.05 level. The tables reporting this analysis are ordered by the demographic variable and can be found in Appendix 6.

As with items shown in previous sections on attitudes toward women and domestic violence, ethnic origin and country of birth were significant. Men from Pakistan and Bangladesh were more likely than men from India to justify violence against a partner or wife when '*neglecting/not looking after the children properly*' and '*not following her religion*'. Men who were born outside the UK were more likely (than men born in the UK) to justify violence against a wife or partner with issues related to maintaining respect, honour and values; not being in the company of other men, and being disrespectful to his

family members. Being unwilling to have sex when he wants to was significant by country of birth and occupation.

Marital status was also significant with respect to a number of items. Men not in a relationship were more likely to justify violence against a wife or partner (than married men) when she is '*unwilling to have sex when he wants to*', '*wearing inappropriate clothes*', '*being in the company of other men*', and '*not following her religion*'. There is a correlation between age and marital status. For example, the sample data shows that 78.8 per cent of men aged 18 to 27 were not in a relationship and the proportion decreases with age; 5.6 per cent of those not in a relationship are aged from 38 to 47. This finding was interesting, as it appeared that men not in a relationship or never had a relationship (who are also 'younger') have more traditional attitudes toward women and when violence is justified. The majority of literature tends to examine married men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence; whereas the findings here suggest that younger and un-partnered men may be an important group to study and focus interventions on.

The next section presents findings and interpretation of factor analysis.

6.5 Factor analysis

In Chapter Four factor analysis was presented as appropriate to this study as the alpha coefficient is at least 0.70 for three of the scales ('attitudes toward women and gender roles'; 'attitudes toward domestic violence'; and 'justification of violence against a wife or partner'). As the alpha coefficient is at least 0.70, the items in each scale can also be said to belong together and are measuring/tapping into the same concept. For example, the 10 items in the 'attitudes toward women and gender roles' scale are measuring attitudes toward women and gender roles as the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient is .805. The 11 items in the 'attitudes toward domestic violence' scale are measuring attitudes toward domestic violence as the Cronbach's alpha is .798. The 14 items in the 'justification of violence against a wife or partner' scale are

measuring justification of violence against a wife or partner as the Cronbach's alpha coefficient is .900.

The main use of factor analysis is to identify a set of items (at the interval or ratio level) that belong to particular factors or components (De Vaus, 2002b) or the homogeneity of the items. The purpose of factor analysis here is to represent the 35 items (from the three scales) by identifying a smaller set of items that belong to particular factors (or dimensions). The attitudes of the participants will be examined with a view to selecting a subset of attitudes that might influence further responses, and the factor can provide an understanding of the dimensions that exist in the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence (SAATWDV) data.

However, before progressing with factor analysis, two conditions or tests, which provide a minimum standard should be considered. These are: the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity and Keiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) values. More specifically, the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity can be used to test the null hypothesis that all the (population) correlations between the variables are equal to zero. If the p-value is larger or equal to 0.05 then the null hypothesis can be accepted and factor analysis should not be considered. The KMO measure varies between 0 and 1, and values closer to 1 than 0 are better. An overall KMO value that is greater than 0.60 to 0.70 shows that factor analysis should be considered.

These two conditions or tests were carried out for the three scales (see Appendix 5). The p-value was less than 0.05 and the KMO value was greater than 0.70 for all three scales (0.808, 0.780, and 0.926 respectively). Once the conditions for factor analysis were met, the three steps in forming scales using factor analysis were followed. The steps are to select the variables to be analysed; to extract an initial set of factors; and to extract a final set of factors by 'rotation' (see Appendix 5). There is no set sample size for undertaking factor analysis, although, the consensus is that the sample size should be at least 100 and the larger the sample the more robust and reliable are the findings. The sample size for the research here is 190.

The factors from the three scales are presented here (see also Appendix 5). The next and final step is labelling the factors. As a factor is defined by the items or the (high loading) items 'belonging' to the factor on which they load, a label is given that characterises the factor as closely as possible to the content of the items. The seven factors from the three scales have been labelled based on an interpretation of the themes, construed by linking the different variables.

6.5.1 Factor analysis on attitudes toward women and gender roles

All 10 items from the 'attitudes toward women and gender roles' section were included in the factor analysis and rotated, which produced two factors.

Factor 1 has been characterised as 'traditional attitudes toward women and gender roles'. Here women are restricted in their movements and in their gender roles as mothers and housewives such as doing all the household tasks, and men are positioned as decision makers (see Table 6.11).

Table 6.11: Traditional attitudes toward women and gender roles

Traditional attitudes toward women and gender roles	Factor loading
No respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage	.814
No respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs	.670
South Asian women should do all the household tasks	.675
South Asian men should have greater say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up	.505
South Asian women should put their children and family before their career	.641

Factor 2 has been characterised as 'liberal attitudes toward women and gender roles' as the items refer to behaviours and actions that indicate freedoms women might have. For example, divorcing her husband, living away from home, and drinking alcohol (see Table 6.12).

Table 6.12: Liberal attitudes toward women and gender roles

Liberal attitudes toward women and gender roles	Factor loading
Acceptable for South Asian women to divorce her husband	.659
South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times	.641
South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men	.826
Acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married	.664
Acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol	.439

6.5.2 Factor analysis on attitudes toward domestic violence

All 11 items from the 'attitudes toward domestic violence' section were included in the factor analysis and rotated, which produced three factors.

Factor 1 has been labelled as 'power and control' as the items refer to non physical violence but other forms of gaining power and control over a woman such as financial abuse by being restrictive on money (see Table 6.13).

Table 6.13: Power and control

Power and control	Factor loading
Important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household	.702
South Asian men should refuse to give more money for the household budget when their wife or partner requests it	.525
South Asian women should not be allowed to make any major decisions regarding the household	.594
South Asian women should not challenge their husbands or partners decisions	.728
If a South Asian women does not obey her husband it is acceptable for him to shout at her	.606
South Asian men should always know where their wife or partner is when they are not together	.742

Factor 2 has been characterised as 'gaining compliance and entitlement' as the items refer to methods i.e. physical violence, and sexual violence and entitlement that could be used to ensure or gain compliance (see Table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Gaining compliance and entitlement

Gaining compliance and entitlement	Factor loading
It is okay for a South Asian man to hit his wife or partner when they think she has done something wrong	.716
South Asian women should not refuse to have sex with their husband or partner	.728
A certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a South Asian wife or partner refuses to have sex	.791

Factor 3 could be characterised as 'non abuse' as the two items refer to behaviour that is unacceptable. For example, physical or verbal abuse (see Table 6.15).

Table 6.15: Non abuse

Non abuse	Factor loading
Trying to put a South Asian wife or partner down in front of others by calling her unpleasant names is not unacceptable	.833
South Asian men should not be allowed to hit their wife or partner	.823

6.5.3 Factor analysis on justification of violence against a wife or partner

All 14 items from the 'justification of violence against a wife or partner' section were included in the factor analysis and rotated, which produced two factors.

Factor 1 has been characterised as 'justification of violence against a wife or partner not including contact with men' as all the items are associated with non contact with men (see Table 6.16).

Table 6.16: Justification of violence against a wife or partner not including contact with men

Justification of violence against a wife or partner not including contact with men	Factor loading
Nagging too much	.820
Answering or talking back	.833
Being irresponsible with money	.668
Unwilling to have sex when he wants to	.804
Neglecting/not looking after the children properly	.584
Neglecting the housework	.673
Wearing inappropriate clothes	.598
Going outside the home unaccompanied	.744
Not doing what she was told	.746
Spending too much time outside the home	.620
Not following her religion	.490
Being disrespectful to his family members	.357

Factor 2 has been labelled as 'contact with other men' and is a description as the two items make reference to other or another man. It could be interpreted as relating to, depending on whether men hold liberal or traditional attitudes, preventing the exploitation of men and/or the viewing of women as belonging to men. The items and the factor loadings can be found at Table 6.17.

Table 6.17: Contact with other men

Contact with other men	Factor loading
Having sex with another man	.852
Being in the company of other men	.755

The purpose of factor analysis is to explore and verify patterns by identifying sets of items that belong to particular factors (or dimensions). The attitudes of the participants were examined with a view to selecting a subset of attitudes from the 35 items that might influence further responses, as well as the

factors providing an understanding of the dimensions that exist in the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence (SAATWDV) data.

The seven factors extracted were: 'traditional attitudes toward women and gender roles'; 'liberal attitudes toward women and gender roles'; 'power and control'; 'gaining compliance and entitlement'; 'non abuse'; 'justification of violence against a wife or partner not including contact with men'; and 'justification of violence against a wife or partner including contact with men'.

The factor extraction may help to explore the findings in Chapter Five. For example, Chapter Five showed that most men do not justify violence, and that any one or more of the above circumstances could be used by a minority of men as a justification to use violence against a wife or partner. The factor analysis show that men may distinguish justifying violence against a wife or partner if it is in relation to contact with men. However, it is important to note that some of the items loaded on more than one factor, meaning that for these items there is a relationship between the two derived factors, this highlights, as with Chapter Five, the complexity around the interpretation of the findings on attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

6.6 Reflections

The analysis presented in this Chapter revealed that three main demographic variables help to explain South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence or the distinction between liberal and traditional attitudes. These were religion, ethnic origin, and country of birth with some influence of age and marital status. Muslim men born outside the UK, whose ethnic origin was Pakistani and Bangladeshi had more traditional attitudes across the scales: women, gender roles, domestic violence, and whether violence against a wife or partner is ever justified.

Religion and ethnicity are interlinked with almost all the Sikhs (100%) and Hindus (97.3%) in the sample being Indian and (89.7%) of Muslims were from Pakistan and Bangladesh. It is impossible to unpick whether religion or

ethnicity was the main driver for traditionalism in this study. Interestingly, just over three-quarters of men (76%) reported that religion influenced the way they chose to act in their everyday life somewhat or a lot (see Chapter Five) and over four-fifths of participants (81.6%) strongly agreed or agreed that '*my religion teaches people that women and men are equal*' (see Table 5.2). The issue and role or influence of religion in relation to attitudes toward women and domestic violence has added complexity to the discussion on, and raised new questions, including both about how to measure and how to interpret the results.

Age and marital status also showed a significant difference between liberal and traditional attitudes, with both young and older South Asian men and those who are unmarried/not in a relationship having more traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Therefore, 'younger' men, who are new migrants, and 'older' men, who are first generation migrants were shown to have more traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Chapter Five showed that a large proportion (70.5%) of South Asian men were born outside the UK and that three-fifths (61.1%) of the sample who were born outside of the UK were aged from 18 to 32. Nine-tenths (90.2%) of men not in a relationship were aged 18 to 37; of which 56.9 per cent of these men were aged 18 to 27. There is evidence here to suggest that age and acculturation may be linked and that age and the length of time in the UK may be a factor in the extent that a man changed and adapted. Crossley and Pease (2009) also found that age was a factor in the extent that a man changed and adapted, and that the older a man is when migrating the more difficult it is for him to adapt to changing environments. The liberal or egalitarian South Asian men as well as being Sikh and Hindu whose ethnic origin was Indian and UK born were aged in their thirties and forties and in a relationship/married as measured by the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence Scale (SAATWDVS).

These findings show that attitudes toward women and domestic violence are more complex and varied than previous research suggests. Whilst there are traditional attitudes, this applied to only a minority of South Asian men. This

is complicated by the limitations of attitudinal scales, as the narrow definition of items and the limitation in terms of contextual nuance can often make it difficult to offer an explanation behind the findings (see Chapter Three). The next two chapters based on nine interviews with South Asian men, selected on the basis of a number of socio-demographic variables identified here as being statistically significant, are explored to help understand and explain some of the differences and complexities between liberal and traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

CHAPTER SEVEN: UNDERSTANDING MEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

Previous research revealed that the South Asian community is regarded as a strong force in controlling female behaviour and reinforcing notions of femininity (Bhopal, 1997), and those that deviate from these roles can be ostracised by their family, neighbours and the community. Within this representation, parents and male members of the family are believed to regulate and influence young women to ensure they comply with the expected norms and behaviours. However, the previous two chapters reported on findings from the survey, finding predominantly liberal attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

In this and the next Chapter, the main issues identified in the literature review and survey are addressed in more depth to explore and understand 'why' South Asian men hold liberal or traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Based on semi-structured interviews with nine South Asian men, this Chapter focuses on their attitudes toward women and specifically attitudes toward education and employment (Section 7.2); living away from home, clothes, and going to bars and nightclubs (Section 7.3); relationships before marriage (Section 7.4); and Section 7.5 examines the difference between South Asian UK born and non-UK born South Asian women, and South Asian women and South Asian men (see Appendix 7 for the interview guide). Finally, a conclusion is provided in Section 7.6 that supports the quantitative findings already presented that in general South Asian men hold liberal attitudes. A more nuanced picture emerged, however, as the interviews revealed that men were still setting the parameters of appropriate behaviour for women, albeit within attitudes that had become more progressive. In addition, where behaviour was deemed to be unacceptable, this was often framed within concerns for the protection and well-being of women.

The nine South Asian men who participated in the interviews varied across the socio-demographics of the survey sample. The men's age ranged from 25 to 46 years old; two men had educational qualifications below BA level and the seven above; religious affiliation was evenly split between Hindu, Muslim and Sikh; four men were married and the other five single; six men had Indian ethnic origin followed by Pakistani (two) then Bangladeshi (one); four men were UK born and the remaining five non-UK born; and their occupations varied from Housing Officer to Barrister (for a full breakdown see Chapter Four).

Throughout the Chapter, quotes have been provided whereby (-) denotes a pause and three continuous dots (…) a break. To provide context, words that were stressed in the interviews have been underlined and [laughs] signifies where a man laughed. The demographic details of each interviewee are also added at the end of each quote.

7.1 Acculturation and its effects on attitudes toward women

The evidence from the literature review in Chapter Three suggested that South Asian men leaving their 'home' country to live and/or work in their 'host' country may carry and apply negative attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Chapter Six, through chi-square tests, also showed differences by country of birth (UK born and non-UK born) in South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

Some interviewees talked about how those in the South Asian community with traditional attitudes needed to assimilate and adjust and reconfigure parts of their 'home' to their 'host' culture. In doing so, the men made particular reference to first generation migrants who wanted to hold onto traditional and cultural values.

> If you chose to live in the west, if you chose to live in Great Britain you shouldn't expect your wife or your daughter or your sister to behave as if she lives in a different country. It is silly because you have chosen to

live here, that means that there has to be a degree of accommodation especially people of a younger generation who were bought up here and have ideas about appropriate dress will not necessarily be the same as a 50 or 60 year old men [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

The problem is that a certain (-) with our community the problem is that you have got to realise is that this (-) most of the Asian (-) Pakistani parents came in the 50s, 60s and the culture in Pakistan was very different to what it is now. But they spend the majority of their life in the UK but their perception of Pakistan is as it was in the 1970s and 1960s (-) and that is where the problem is because things have clearly gone (-) since then … My cousins in Pakistan don't want to get married to anybody, they will have a choice; they will not get married to someone who they think is not right for us. They are more open minded than they are here. I think the problem is that people have come with a certain perception and they just haven't moved on with the times [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The elder generation (-) they probably see it still as bit of a taboo and the people from back home are still used to the way they used to live back home; some of them are (-) I think that is still bit of an issue [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

That change is taking place, was also illustrated by what type of partner participants wanted or did marry.

A traditionally and an independent one [laughs] (-) a mixture of the two really (-) someone that is traditional but (-) not too traditional [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

I would say that she is between those two (-) she is not very traditional but she is not out and out independent either [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

I would say (-) a sort of not traditional sort of woman but outgoing can be a little bit independent and outgoing [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

Interviewees talked about wanting or having a partner that combined characteristics, values and behaviours synonymous with both 'home' and 'host' culture. Here the men were talking about, and shared the definition provided by Sam (2006) that contact with the 'host' society people from 'home' countries will gradually conform to the life of the 'host' people. However, as with Jackson (2007), acculturation is not a linear process but more fluid.

The themes covered in the survey with respect to expectations of, and attitudes toward, South Asian women are now explored in more detail.

7. 2 Education and employment

The survey results showed that 90 per cent of South Asian men strongly agreed and agreed that '*South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men*'. All nine interviewees were also in favour of South Asian women getting an education. Many made reference to a 'change' in women's education with more women becoming educated and the general observation that they were becoming better educated than men.

Women are getting more and more educated (-) I have seen in my family and community they have really good jobs like barristers and solicitors and doctors; I have a cousin who is a doctor (-) things that they probably would not do 10 or 15 years ago, so that is an improvement on what it was (-) they are sort of getting better and better, they are probably better than men these days at being

successful [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

Things are changing now (-) in recent days many of the young girls they are into their studies and they are going in to the universities [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Oh well women are a lot more educated than men, I believe so (-) I have seen many people, women are more interested in education, like my sister she has done her PhD [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

The last interviewee added that this was due to women not wanting to waste time because previous generations of women had been denied education.

Have seen that their mother or grandmother didn't study that much because the boy in the house had to work or had to study and this is why their study [the girls] was being stopped because of that. I think that plays an important role somewhere in their mind, that earlier we didn't get a chance so now we are getting a chance so why not grab it (-) I think the woman nowadays they are pretty much more committed towards their work and towards their career rather than anywhere else or any time before. I have seen women are pretty much progressive in their career they just want to do more and they don't want to waste any time be in study or work or anything [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

That the premium placed on education was unique to the South Asian community was argued by one respondent.

The premium that we put in education is a very healthy premium and it is very unique in some respects which is apparent in other communities as well but is so central to what drives South Asian

people and I respect that hugely [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

What is evident is not just that women should have the same opportunities as men, but a respect for the many women who have embraced this possibility. This is interesting as previous research suggests 'the South Asian cultural context is characterised by inequalities in male-female roles' (Hunjan and Towson, 2007) but instead education and employment is providing women with an equal status and men in this study are encouraging of this equality.

South Asian women being employed or entering employment was also supported by all the interviewees.

> I am a great believer in everyone working and a great believer in using the education you have got to maximise your work opportunities. I don't think it is a healthy sign for society to have family units in which women are largely economically dependent on men [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

> I don't see how marriage comes in to employment both before and after. Once your 16 or 18, you have the right or I think (-) I would expect someone to be following their education in employment whatever their marital status [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

> I think employment is (-) is something very vital for women <u>as well</u> [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

All believed that marriage was compatible with employment but views on the decision for women to return to employment after having a child or children were mixed. The survey findings had also shown a mixed response (see Chapter Five)

The interviewees all held liberal attitudes regarding the compatibility of employment, and marriage and family responsibilities/children. They either believed that employment and marriage was compatible or that employment was compatible with marriage but not with the care of children, as the mother is the best person to look after their children. The men who believed that employment was compatible with marriage but not with the care of children were asked whether finances would govern their decision regarding whether a woman should work. As expected, the response was 'no' [Int 4 and Int 5] and the man who believed that employment and marriage was compatible [Int 1] answered 'yes'.

> I think that (-) (-) women should be employed and that they should work but I think their (-) they also have (-) a role as (-) a wife and mother which may interfere in their work (-) it may sometimes to better for them to either not work or work part time so that is doesn't interfere with their (-) other responsibilities that they may have [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

When asked what he thought should be the priority and why, he replied:

> I think it depends on the individual circumstances (-) if somebody has to (-) bring in an income to support the family then obviously they should work (-) and if (-) that additional income for example isn't needed then (-) other responsibilities should take priority [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

The cost and lack of childcare was raised as a reason for why South Asian women do not return to employment. These are often the same reasons or obstacles given by non South Asian women. Cultural norms around motherhood and the role and pressure of the family were not raised by men (see Brah and Shaw, 1992). As family members often provide South Asian women with childcare, this could allow or give freedom of choice to the mother to return to employment.

It is extremely expensive these days to be able to maintain both a career and childcare having gone through the experience in my own family; I know how expensive it can be. Nonetheless, I think society should do everything it can to ensure that women don't drop out of the employment system once they start families. So I am a great believer in if you get an opportunity to be educated you should maximise that opportunity, if at all possible, avoid dropping out; attrition levels of certain professional levels are very high [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

There is no such thing as sort of childcare when it comes to Asian women; I think they have to do it themselves. I have come across very less Asian women who have childcare facilities unless they are professionals like barristers, solicitors etc. It is not a common thing for them to have childcare facilities so I think looking after children is sort of seen as their duty [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Whilst the division of labour in the household was gendered, in that most of the wives or partners of the men interviewed undertook the household duties along with childcare, four of the married men [Int 1, 2, 5 and 8] 'helped' their partners. Men not in a relationship also talked about sharing household and child caring responsibilities.

Everything we have to share even the household we have to share it (-) me myself I do it; I do ironing (-) I do washing (-) I hoover it is not a problem for me. I enjoy it, it is good for me because sometimes my wife is busy I do it I don't have a problem with that. I know sometimes people are like 'you are the woman' so you have to do it because I am a man (-) and I have to sit in front of the TV with my beer and you, the woman, who have to do all the ironing. That is completely wrong, come on (-) it is 2012 [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Whilst there was no sense of tension with men undertaking household duties and it is encouraging, men were still perceived to be the main providers with women carrying responsibility for the household including the caring of children.

Finally, one man talked about the importance of women being educated and in employment since financial resources would enable them to leave an abusive relationship, and perhaps more importantly it, in his view, acts as a break on men's behaviour.

> For a lot of people now with a more progressive sensibility can understand why it is vital that their daughters get the best education possible. If nothing else it gives them an insurance policy against vagrancy of life; a relationship which may fail. Being economically dependent on someone who might then use it to their advantage in a way to make their daughters life less pleasant, so I think it is really important. I think implicitly, people don't talk about it but people I think who have daughters, particularly more educated people who have daughters, see the real important value in making sure that their daughters are secure and the first stage of insuring that is by insuring that they get the best education possible because the prospect of getting good jobs are that more enhanced … I don't think it is a healthy sign for society to have family units in which women are largely economically dependent on men. I think it puts them in a very vulnerable position (-) if a man controls the money of the house because he is the only breadwinner and the house is in his name it gives him a sense of power over his wife or partner which he wouldn't otherwise have if she had some competing economic power as well … Otherwise if a man is allowed to believe that he has complete control over his wife because without him she would be desolate it allows him to act in a way which he may otherwise not act in, for example, being more dominant and more manipulative, he may be more pushy than he otherwise may be [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

7.3 Living away from home, clothes, and going to bars and nightclubs

South Asian women living away from home also produced a mixed response in the interviews as with the survey findings: 56.6 per cent of men strongly agreed and agreed that '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married'* and with just under half ambivalent or disagreeing.

There was positive and conditional support amongst interviewees for South Asian women living away from home for education and work. Three men were uncertain; all giving different reasons. One reason was related to family orientation over individualism as a higher value is generally given to the family than the individual (Venkataramani-Kothari, 2007) and typically young people live together with their parents both before and after marriage. Women living independently are viewed negatively; as being 'selfish' and putting their needs before that of their family (Bhopal, 1997).

> Some girls want to have their own independence but I think that is a bad thing because it is better to help out your parents and try to (-) work, save money and help their parents [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

The other reasons given were being protective of family members, social or religious reasons, and a negative evaluation of European lifestyles. This man referred to the negative perception and reflection that living away from home may create on the family as the cultural norm is living with the family.

> It is frowned upon by a lot of people but if it is necessary for (-) whatever reason then it is acceptable (-) for work, education (-) nothing else (-) Lot of people might think that (-) there is a reason why women are not living in their home why have they moved away. Normally in South Asian culture, the family lives together. If it is not for work or education then other people might assume that there has

been a problem and that is why they are not living there [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

Whilst another respondent talked about being protective in relation to his sisters, he wasn't against education for sisters and them living away from home, but the preference was for them to go to local universities.

I think to answer that question, my sisters didn't. It is not something that I would have been happy about (-) or my parents. You know, for example, if it were a situation where there was no choice, yes you can understand but you know they all went to local universities. It is not something that I would be very supportive of at all. For example, they all went to London universities; because there were universities that they could go to during the day and come back. I think it is just the environment, isn't it? It isn't that you do not trust them but (-) I think it is just maybe being over protective (-) over protective. I think it was more that they go during the day and they come back. I think it is just being over protective [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

A follow up question was asked to ascertain what he was being over protective about.

I think over protective about the environment that they find themselves. For example, you know, I mean maybe getting involved in drinking or that sort of stuff or abusing the freedom that you get all of a sudden at university. It happens (-) let alone with girls, it happens with Asian men as well. Because they have always been at home, and this and that and you know (-) there is lots of (-) (-) there are lots of things which you can do which can take you you know? (-) addictions because there is no one over looking you as such, is there? Whereas at least when you come home, you have to come home and got to come home in the right condition. So I think it is that [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

It is worth noting that he makes the reference to women as well as men and indirectly is referring to the avoidance of being exploited. However, the fact that this man used 'over protection' suggests awareness that his perceptions may not be entirely defensible.

Social and religious reasons and a negative perception of European lifestyles as a concern for South Asians were highlighted but it was also recognised that the situation is changing.

> I mean of course due to the (-) use or maybe misuse of social norms or religions reasons the South Asian woman (-) were quite restrained you know to go to the outside world, particularly the European countries to get education or employment or whatever. But now things are changing due to the communication (-) importance and the role of education. I mean now <u>many</u> of the youngsters are coming to the UK for studies, so things are changing in respect to education in almost all of the South Asian countries. However, there is another thing as well (-) the perception of the lifestyle of Europe back in the South Asian culture has also been a cause to resist women to go to the outside world for whatever reason [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The last two quotes both refer to either being protective or controlling female behaviour to curtail bad or inappropriate behaviour through limiting social movement and freedom i.e. not living away from home or attending a university within commuting distance. This is framed through the social competency and wisdom of men, as they are aware of potential dangers that a woman may encounter, and had a duty to be protective. The second quote supports previous research (see Chapter Three) that the behaviour and activities of young women are controlled and monitored as Britain is associated with moral corruption (Shaw, 1994) but that shifts were taking place in South Asian communities.

The issue of dress and the change in the type of clothes worn by South Asian women was raised.

> Maybe about 15-18 years ago, most of the Pakistani girls used to wear traditional clothes, even at school, but you don't see that happening at all. You know over time (-) things are changing. So my sisters, they wear trousers and they go to work and even some areas of Luton, for example, I have got sisters there and they wear trousers and Luton is quite backwards in terms of their thinking because of you know the parents are quite sort of strict (-) with the girls [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The findings in relation to attitudes toward dress were more equivocal. The discussions included reference to the need to show modesty and how this applied to all women and not just South Asian women.

> I think as a woman, regardless of where you are from you have still got to maintain that modesty in how you present yourself [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

> I think they should dress (-) modestly (-) but I don't think (-) your question almost implies that I should think of South Asian women differently to other women, but I don't [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

A follow up question was asked to determine the respondent's definition of modesty.

> In that they should be (-) I don't think they should dress wearing revealing clothes [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

Only one respondent talked about South Asian women dressing more modestly than women from other communities.

I think South Asian women in the main tend to dress more relatively conservatively to say a White woman in the UK [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

The interviewee was asked what he meant by conservative.

Less (-) wearing less (-) show less skin (-) whether it is longer skirts or trousers or tops especially on a night out. I cannot remember or I have not seen that many South Asian women wearing a really low skirt or a really short tops compared to (-) depends where you go (-) you see a lot of White women wear that kind of thing [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

The survey revealed that 60.3 per cent strongly agreed or agreed that '*South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times*' but 19.6 per cent of men neither agreed nor disagreed and a further two-fifths (20.1%) disagree and strongly disagree. In addition, 36 per cent thought that the final decision regarding the clothes that she wears should be a joint decision between the South Asian wife and husband. The findings here help to explain that this may be in relation to dressing modestly.

Some men also expressed negative attitudes toward women going to bars and nightclubs as they were not viewed as an acceptable place for women to be.

I think its a bad thing really to be honest for a woman to be in a club or drinking alcohol because (-) you get bad influence and then (-) that is where people change when going clubbing; sometimes when you are clubbing people are different (-) alcohol, drugs, what so ever. I think that is the bad thing to be in the bars to be honest [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Here, as with living away from home, what sat underneath these responses was the issue of avoiding potential dangers that a woman may encounter. Two married men [Int 1 and 5] talked about how whilst going to bars and nightclubs were okay, they expected their wives to conduct themselves appropriately and drink moderately.

> I am okay with that with them going as along as they conduct themselves well out there, fine (-) okay (-) for a married woman she should be going with me and nobody else [laughs] but if it's an office party then okay if she goes for that fine (-) but then for unmarried woman go and do what you like that is your life, I don't form opinions about other lady or any other girl who wants to go to the nightclub (-) if my wife goes there without telling me and things like that (-) that is a no [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

This man draws the distinction between his partner and other women's behaviour, and the behaviour of single and married woman. He argues that single women are free to behave as they wish but a married woman and his partner are to conduct themselves appropriately.

7.4 Relationships before marriage

The survey findings showed that a proportion of men held more traditional attitudes toward sexual relations before marriage. Just over half (50.5%) strongly agreed, agreed or neither agreed or disagreed with the statement that '*I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage*'.

Many of the interviewees however talked about relationships before marriage not affecting a South Asian woman's standing in society as 'things were changing'.

> Nowadays everyone has a boyfriend or girlfriend [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

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I think the younger generation under 30 are now by and large, whether it is openly done or more often covertly done, exercise their right to have relationships anyway [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

The fact that South Asian women have relationships before marriage, I think is starting to become <u>common</u> knowledge (-) throughout people that I know [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

Most also noted that women were choosing their own marriage partner without the support and/or assistance of their family and relatives.

I have <u>really</u> seen a lot of changes where especially in the Pakistani community people are really giving in to what their daughters want. I think it is the right thing to do (-) some think that they have got to listen to their parents but times are changing. Even parents have started to realise that this whole thing about arranged marriage is not the way forward … I think over time you know, maybe my parents say ten years ago would not have been so forthcoming but over time you know they have no issues at all. I think that is the common thing between Asian parents now, they rather do something where they can support the daughter rather than say for example, you know she just runs away or feels that [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

These days it is quite open (-) so dating is quite open and people are getting married to who they want to get married to (-) relationships are quite open [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

This change was widely recognised, alongside comments that the South Asian community is not homogenous. Some interviewees thought a

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'traditional' or 'conservative' family might object to a woman having a relationship before marriage.

> It really depends on the community I think we have to be really more honest and open about the different levels of conservatism in the South Asian community. It is not a homogenous society and we are beginning to see the signs of those differences now between certain communities and it is becoming more and more apparent and the difference is not strictly speaking to do with religion or caste or class its now to do with the level of awareness of families of the sort of issues which are now very much in the media and are circulated [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

> I don't think it is having any affect. I think traditionally and historically, I think it has had an affect it has not been approved of but I think time is changing and people are just accepting that that is the way people are living their lives … but some more traditional segments of society might feel that it is not what that they want or not what they accept so it would not sit favourably with the more traditional elements [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

Despite the fact that men were supportive of women having a relationship before marriage, as it allowed them to get to know their partner, some placed the condition that it should be with the view of marriage.

> That is pretty much fine, like for example if you go to uni and if you like someone and you decide to live the rest of your life with them but before that you want to judge the person to see how he or she is like [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

> Obviously people have to get to know each other before they get married so I wouldn't be totally against it (-) and that is the only time

when a relationship before marriage is acceptable [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

Fine it probably helps [laughs] to work out if you want to marry them so yeah [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

An interesting further caveat was that some interviewees did not equate having a relationship before marriage with sexual relations. A number of reasons were given which might help to explain why men may not agree with sexual relations before marriage.

I think this is (-) this is against the society and religion that I am coming from. I wouldn't like my children to have (-) boyfriend or girlfriend it should be (-) I think it's against <u>all</u> the religious teaching (-) and it's not in the best interest of children. I would like to secure their rights and their wellbeing [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

He added that it was for the protection or welfare of women and girls, although he made no distinction by gender in referring to children.

It's creating a lot of problems in this country, there are figures (-) a girl 8 or 9 years of age, we are seeing them being pregnant; it is against their health and not good for their social well being and for their psychological well being and for their family and not good for … them at all; it's affecting their education, its affecting their (-) health and their whole life [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Another respondent also invoked protection with an underlying implication that women were not capable of looking after themselves as they were open to being sexually exploited.

I wouldn't agree with it because I think it is <u>wrong</u> because it ought to be done properly. I also think sometimes there is naivety (-) er you don't really want people to exploit you or you know make you do certain things [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Interestingly, men did not cite reasons related to religious, cultural and/or societal expectations and pressures. Instead, protection and avoidance of exploitation, as with some of the other issues, was a feature in men's conversations. This framing is absent in the previous literature (see Chapter Two) where curtailing inappropriate behaviour is often discussed solely in relation to safe-guarding 'honour'.

7.5 Differences between UK born and non-UK born South Asian women, and South Asian women and South Asian men

This section highlights how South Asian women in the UK are not a homogenous group: men talked about the difference in the position of and attitudes toward UK born and non-UK born South Asian women. Women who entered the UK through marriage (marriage migration) or were part of the first wave of migration were seen to be uneducated, unemployed, unable to speak English, and less integrated into society.

Four of the nine men pointed to a 'variation' [Int 2 and 4] or a 'range' [Int 6 and 7] in the attainment level of education amongst South Asian women. The three distinct groups were: women who have no education; women who have basic education; and women who have advanced education, for example, a degree and/or a postgraduate qualification. Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities were referred to as the least educated [Int 6, 7 and 8].

South Asian women born in the UK and women coming from Pakistan as spouses or fiancés are two completely different categories (-) two completely different categories. The girls here know what their rights are, they have been to school, and they know what the cultural issues

are [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Macey (1999a) makes the connection between education, and culture and religion, and argues that 'young women, particularly those educated in Britain, are able to use both religion and culture to challenge patriarchal norms and achieve their own goals' (p.52) as women 'who are able to make a clear distinction between Qu'ranic teaching and that which has cultural roots but is transmitted as Islamic' (Macey, 1999b, p.859). The UK born and non-UK born uneducated women that the men refer to may be more unlikely to use religion and culture to empower themselves.

Three Muslim men talked about how South Asian women that had come to the UK through marriage had not integrated into British society because of language, and cultural and religious reasons. However, they all expressed the view that they should have access to the same rights and opportunities as women born in the UK.

> Traditionally in my culture [laughs] you would not see too many South Asian women from back home integrating into society, so that is a culture problem they need to sort of start mixing in to a sort of British culture. I am lucky to have both British and back home sort of culture so that is probably (-) like even my sister-in-law she is born back home, I think she could have done more to integrate in to society (-) earlier on (-) now she sort of works but she probably did it a bit late but it is better late than never [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

Variation in how South Asian women dressed was also noted; those who wore traditional South Asian clothes and those who wore modern or westernised clothes. Women who wore traditional clothes were seen as those that had migrated to the UK either through the first wave of migration in the 1970s, or subsequently through marriage.

You usually see the ladies that are born back home in the traditional dresses and I don't think that is anything bad really. Anyone should be able to dress the way that they want to dress. The women that are born here you see them a bit more westernised [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

Traditional South Asian clothes, especially those worn by women, have a cultural significance and meaning, and are often viewed as a 'marker' of, and closely linked to, the South Asian community. Three of the men talked about women wearing traditional clothes as a positive and that South Asian women look better in them.

I think Asian women look the best when they wear traditional Asian clothes, whether it is at weddings or functions or whatever. I think the way the dress is tailored or stuff and maybe that is how your body or figure that sort of stuff [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Men also talked about the differences in the treatment of South Asian women in the UK and in South Asian countries, with there being more gender equality in the UK. They referred to a number of issues that differentiated the position of women, including the clothes worn, equality in employment and education, and the support given for a domestic violence victim. There was evidence here of attributing more traditional attitudes toward 'home' countries.

South Asian women back in South Asia they were being dressed like (-) that they cannot wear jeans or cannot wear something else so that is why they were kept inside their homes but over here it doesn't play a role because women nowadays they wear whatever they want to wear … I have been hearing a lot like in India about women don't get equality compared to men; they don't let them work or study as well. Over here the women take control in their lives and they stand next to men and they do any jobs and they get equal opportunity anywhere

they go [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

I actually worked in Pakistan for two years and the manner in which women were treated there; you know I was quite disgusted. They were <u>not</u> respected for their views [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The lady should leave (-) call the police or whatever at least here it is good, that the police do take it seriously. What do you think? In India, the police would not come unless it is a really, really serious matter (-) where it involves dowry and things like that but even then the police may not come. And then back there the women might not raise her voice and again out here the women might think (-) why should I raise my voice but she tries to suppress it to some extent but not a lot [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

In regards to women living in the UK, unexpectedly both the survey and interviews revealed that men made very little distinction between South Asian women and women in general.

I certainly don't think any scripture should be set down for South Asian women that are different for any other women [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

When you are talking about South Asian women, I don't see (-) the difference between South Asian women and any other women [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

The interviews also revealed that whilst some of the men recognised the differential treatment between women and men in South Asian communities, none supported this, and two stated that there should be no difference [Int 4 and 8]. Prejudice and hypocrisy, alongside being protective, were cited as reasons for the differences, especially in relation to having a relationship

before marriage. Gangoli et al (2006) who, in examining forced marriages and domestic violence within South Asian communities in North England, similarly found gendered differences in expectations and experiences of marriage with parents more accepting of love marriages for a son than a daughter.

> Don't think that men are judged that way (-) because of (-) tradition, bias, prejudice things think that (-) they think that men are above the law (-) [laughs] not in the law but the (-) faith and belief those kind of laws, where men can do it and get away with it [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> It comes down to hypocrisy, that is what it comes down to but I think it's embedded in us (-) it's embedded in us and that is the way we are. I mean (-) also no one would talk about it in the community. It is not an issue but a <u>daughter</u> or sisters (-) 'oh, look what happened' that sort of thing you know (-) it is completely the opposite; that is my view [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

> Probably different to a woman (-) family wise definitely; family will be protective over their daughters and sisters rather than their brothers and sons so that will probably affect the woman, she (-) might get rushed or forced or sort of something like that to getting married to her partner [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

7.6 Conclusion

The previous literature (see Chapter Two) suggests that the behaviour of South Asian women is closely monitored by both male and female members of the family to curtail 'inappropriate' behaviour such as relationships before marriage and going to night clubs. This has been understood in terms of women's behaviour or conduct being closely related to the family reputation and 'honour', potentially limiting her marriage prospects and community

evaluations of the woman and her family. Whilst the interviews supported the survey findings that men generally had liberal attitudes toward women (see Chapter Five and Six), men's responses were complex and a more varied picture emerged. Men were still setting the parameters of appropriate behaviour but within attitudes that had become more progressive. Gender and gender relations are thus not static but evolving within the South Asian community in the UK.

There appeared to be a difference, albeit small, between the public and domestic or private sphere. The data show that most of the men supported women's participation in education and employment, and most welcomed or encouraged it. It was clear that women were capable of achieving and that many of the behaviours cited in the literature review as being unacceptable were in fact accepted by this group of men. For example, they had freedom in regards to their dress, and living away from home. However, alongside these liberal attitudes some men still expected women to perform a gendered and primary role in reproduction, mothering, and household responsibilities. This is supported by Anderson (2009) who argues that it is the domestic sphere rather than the pubic sphere where femininity, which women are held accountable, is enacted. There is evidence to suggest that this may be more acute for women who entered the UK through marriage (marriage migration) or the first wave of migration. Marriage was the main site within which men upheld these gendered norms.

Where behaviour was deemed to be unacceptable, this was often framed within concerns for the protection and well-being of women. This has not been a major theme in the previous literature on attitudes toward women (see Chapter Two). Noticeably, this arose when men talked as a father or brother and not in the context of a partner or wife. For example, one man who is a father talked about how education protects a daughter from financial dependence and destitution. Some men, who as a father or brother, were critical of sexual relations before marriage and living away from home for education and/or employment as it placed women in a vulnerable and exploitative position. The findings imply that different attitudes regarding

acceptable behaviour and dress may apply according to the role, and the relationship, of the men to the woman which survey and interview questions have yet to explore sufficiently.

The findings in this Chapter raise the question of protection versus control and prevention. The assumption by men of the role of protector may be contradictory for women as it places them potentially in a difficult situation.

> Both dependent on the mercy of men for protection (which is a position of powerlessness) and subject to their aggression. This is the paradox of protection: chivalry renders women powerless because accepting protection implies neediness and vulnerability; meanwhile, the threat of being victimized requires acquiescence to the protection men offer (Hunnicutt, 2009, p.565).

Whilst the interviewed men made reference to the need for a supervisory and guiding role, none made any explicit reference to monitoring or control of women (see Zakar et al, 2013). In addition, strikingly, none of the men questioned the behaviour of other men or that men's behaviour should be curtailed, if behaviour is to be adjusted, the woman and not the man should be the one to do so.

The interviews also revealed that whilst attitudes toward women were changing and becoming more liberal for many of the men living in the UK, cultural norms and practices of the 'home' country still had a presence. Men were seeking a balance and were in the middle of a web between the attitudes and culture of the 'home' and 'host' country, and were choosing to integrate into 'host' culture whilst maintaining parts of their 'home' culture. Previous research suggests that the second generation has grown up having been exposed to two cultures; and that this has caused conflict between the first and second generation (Ghuman, 1994). The findings here suggest that whilst there is a search for balance, there is no conflict apart from in what were designated more 'traditional' families. As a result, women and men are

involved in an ongoing negotiation about South Asian masculinity and femininity.

The next Chapter explores interviewed men's views on domestic violence.

CHAPTER EIGHT: UNDERSTANDING MEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND AN EXPLANATION FOR THEIR ATTITUDES

The last Chapter examined interviewed men's attitudes toward women. This Chapter is split into two sections. Findings from the survey revealed that the majority of South Asian men did not condone domestic violence or justify abusive behaviour toward a wife or partner (see Chapter Five and Six). The first section builds on this and explores men's attitudes toward domestic violence and includes: definition and prevalence of domestic violence (Section 8.1); justification of domestic violence (Section 8.2); and responses to domestic violence (Section 8.3). A conclusion to the first section is provided in Section 8.4. The second section of the Chapter explores what has influenced men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence (Section 8.5) revealing that a complex interplay of factors had influenced and shaped their attitudes.

8.1 Definition and prevalence of domestic violence

All the men were familiar with the concept and terminology of domestic violence, and all included physical force in their definition. Whilst some men also added 'intimidation', 'fear', 'control', 'coercion', 'force', and 'degrading' in the definition, there was little discussion around the complexity and dynamics of domestic violence, although, one man made an insightful observation.

> I just really feel that the person might be normal and nothing wrong and not into that sort of stuff but in a relationship I think they just behave really awful maybe because they feel that they can do what they want to do, I don't know (-) I really sense that. They might not be able to control their emotions or expressing, I don't know (-) they wouldn't behave in that way say outside, but in a relationship they are a complete different person [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The survey findings showed that men suggested that a South Asian woman experiencing domestic violence should seek outside help as well as from her family rather than keeping it a private issue (see Chapter Five). South Asian women often face additional obstacles in leaving an abusive relationship. Only one man talked about keeping domestic violence a private issue, and in the process reduced the issue to 'arguing'.

> Very bad, very bad because (-) a very, very bad thing because people are arguing. I think the best thing to do is to sit down and talk to each other and try to find a solution instead of arguing. Fighting (-) that is wrong, that is a wrong thing because nowadays there are lots of domestic violence problems and even they bring it in public because even if you have a domestic thing you keep it indoors, in your house. Personally, I think the best thing to do is to sit down with the person and just try to communicate (-) try to find out what is wrong and then get it sorted (-) stop arguing [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

There was a mixed response among the men on how common domestic violence is in the South Asian community. Most did not know [Int 2, 4, 6, 7, 8], three thought it was common or very common [1, 5, 9] and one thought it was not very common [3]. None, however, thought that domestic violence was more prevalent in the South Asian community than other communities.

One man talked about how the prevalence might be explained by the level of conservatism and women not conforming to men's expectations of South Asian femininity.

> I don't know whether it is more acute in South Asian community it is possible that it is because of the level of conservatism in that when women do not conform to a man's expectation to how she should behave, he will resolve to violence rather than discussion or negotiation as a first port of call [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

Another interviewee suggested that it may be less prevalent due to education.

> I don't think nowadays, it is not very common because if you ask about the generation getting married after like 2000 or most recent generation, I don't think this was left far far behind from where we came. It use to happen in the late or early 90's or late 80s (-) domestic violence is happening and stuff, but not nowadays that someone educated and someone well behaved person can do a ridiculous thing like this [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

A number of reasons for why a man may exert violence over a woman were given. Here one man cited features often associated with masculinity such as 'strength' or 'dominance' as well as wanting to be the 'boss'.

> Because of frustrations (-) problems in life (-) when you have a nagging wife. When a man might think that his life is not going as he wanted; maybe he wanted to earn more. Problems at work (-) travelling problems (-) frustrations everywhere and when he comes home he wants to be the boss, and he doesn't get to be the boss. And then one thing that a man has over a woman is his strength and that is where it comes out [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

A link between South Asian culture and domestic violence was made by one respondent who wondered whether domestic violence might be the result of having an arranged marriage. However, it appears from the dialogue that he conflates this with forced marriage.

> There are loads [laughs] because (-) all the Indian woman (-) they don't look happy [laughs]. Its true, its true most of them (-) because I have got lots of friends and they are not happy in their lives (-) they are not happy. I met a couple of them and some of these got all these

arranged marriages and they are not happy with them because you cannot force someone to marry. If you love someone then get married. No one can choose someone for you because nowadays (-) we still have this culture in India, I think but that is wrong, completely wrong. What happens at the end of arranged marriage, the person will not be happy because they don't know each other someone whatsoever and they have been chosen by their family (-) people are not happy [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Two men talked about how attitudes toward domestic violence had changed, and that certain actions such as slapping or hitting a wife or partner had become unacceptable.

I think maybe ten years ago if you asked me that question, I would have said 'yeah' but not now. I don't think so, never. I don't know (-) it's the (-) is the society, isn't it? That has changed, society has changed. You hear in the media that women have rights and that sort of thing [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

I think in the past it used to be. For example, like in the past in the 80s or 90s if the man thinks that the woman has dishonoured the man or the dignity of the house then yes the violence was being used. I have <u>heard</u> of it, I have not seen [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

Whilst all the men were aware of domestic violence, they were not that informed about it's 'dynamics' or presence in South Asian communities. Indeed many sought to argue it was a thing of the past.

8.2 Whether domestic violence is ever justified

A section of the survey probed whether domestic violence might ever be justified. This was explored in more depth in the interviews. Most of the men thought it was not a problem to shout at a wife or partner. Although, three talked about how it depended on the context.

> I think shouting is fair game [laughs] you can shout at someone if you are angry. I think shouting is fair enough. Yeah, I mean (-) shouting if (-) there has been an argument (-) shouting going on that to me would not necessarily ring bells of domestic violence. It depends on the context, I mean if you are shouting everyday you are going home and someone is shouting at someone else, it is intimidating then that is a different matter [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The survey had shown that the majority of participants believed in shared decision-making about '*how to bring up/care for the children*' (86.1%); and '*how, when and who should do the cleaning, cooking etc (housework)*' (71.1%). This was supported by the interviews as all interviewed men considered that decisions about household matters and childcare should be a mutual or joint decision.

> Everything we have to share even the household we have to share it (-) we don't have to set rules; today is my turn and tomorrow is yours (-) that is wrong because it is not like school here [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> I think you should have rules for everything and you both should decide what those rules are [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

> I think rules have to be set not only for the wife. But even she has to set some rules, that both have to follow and sharing work and all those

things. Those rules have to be set otherwise (-) who will do what. Who decides that? Like (-) do I say she does everything? No. Do I do everything? No. So some rules have to be set, like you do the cooking, I wash the dishes, you do the grocery shopping and I will handle the bags things. Those rules have to be set [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

It depends if the rules are <u>jointly</u> agreed (-) then (-) if both the husband and wife jointly agree the set of rules for the running of the house, then that is you know is fine, but if it is one person dictating to another person (-) it should be through an agreement not through one person saying how it should be done [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

Men also talked about how it was in the man's and the woman's interests to work together, and that violence and control were not part of healthy relationships.

You need to create understanding and you need to share the responsibilities and that is how you create a healthy relationship in your life … If you like create violence within a relationship it is not going to last long to be honest [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

I mean, I don't think you can justify stopping her doing anything that would be really controlling her and I don't think that is healthy for a relationship at all [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

On the other hand, most interviewed men provided examples where stopping a wife or partner from doing something might be justified.

I don't mind if my partner goes out for a drink with friends but there is a limit (-) you go out and there should be a certain time you have to be

home [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Three men talked about not looking after the children properly. They all gave a similar example, which spoke to the importance of women prioritising children's needs over their own. The examples also contend that women's activities in the public sphere detract from the duties within the private sphere or home (Anderson, 2009).The survey findings support this as 26.3 per cent of South Asian men thought that violence against a wife or partner was justified 'always', 'sometimes' and 'occasionally' when '*neglecting/not looking after the children properly*'. This was the second highest justification of violence against a wife or partner after '*having sex with another man*'.

> Someone might want to go somewhere and the other person might think it is not advisable … they might have other things to do at home and might not be facing up to their responsibilities (-) they might have cleaning to do and might have kids to look after [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

> It depends really. I think it can be justified depending what it is. I mean for example, say a wedding hen night and then she wants to go out and stay there until 2 or 3 at night and your kids are there. Then again it depends really; she is entitled to have her own life, just as you are [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

> If say she wants to go out with her friends on a Thursday night (-) and her friends are only free on that night but her husband is working and no one can take care of the children maybe then you can stop her going out with her friends as the child is more important [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

Interestingly, the men were aware of when a South Asian man might hit a wife or partner and gave a range of responses. In all of the men's accounts they cited behaviours 'associated with stereotypical female roles, such as

how women dress, cook, clean, socialize, care for their children, or perform sexually' (Stark, 2007, p.5). For the men, the failure to perform a particular femininity was associated with violence, and 'around the woman not doing certain things' (Hearn, 1998, p.126).

> When she don't cook the curry properly [laughs] I am joking (-) I think in Indian families that happens when the woman doesn't cook properly (-) and then you get all this hitting and slapping (-) I have never encounter all this so I don't how it works but I think there are people like that who hit their missus for not doing the housework or (-) not doing the cooking whatsoever (-) that is the wrong thing [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> If they are (-) <u>unfaithful</u> (-) might do it at anytime (-) might not like their dinner (-) might not think they cleaned up properly (-) not like how they ironed their shirt (-) didn't like what they said (-) they might have wanted to watch football instead of EastEnders. They might get angry and lose control (-) they might think that those things should be done and they haven't done them well [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

> It's (-) when he has expectations and he has told her you know, don't do this and that, and things continue, then he may hit … He thinks that by hitting her he could set her straight … If the man thinks that she is ruining the name of the family (-) in those circumstances (-) again, it is up to different people [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> About anything really (-) it just depends on the individual, doesn't it? I mean (-) certain men would just behave in (-) they would just hit their wife for anything; the food is not cooked properly or the kids [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The men also indirectly referred to dominance and the use of physical violence to reaffirm a man's position as superior to the women. Only one man explicitly discussed power and control, and he also presented an analysis that linked South Asian and other men.

> When they are not getting their way; when they want to punish them; when they want to exert their authority. I can imagine a number of scenarios in which not just South Asian man but men generally will want to use violence to get their way. I don't know where there is something peculiar about South Asian men that means they may are more likely to resort violence or when they do they do so for different reasons. I think violence is violence. When men use violence against women it is generally about power and exerting power and control and I don't think that South Asian man have any particular monopoly on that problem [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

A link between culture, tradition and religion and not hitting a wife or partner was made by several: culture and religion was seen to provide a moral compass which acted as a deterrent.

> I don't think you will hit someone or (-) be more confident with yourself because you will think twice before doing (-) but these people who do all these bad, bad things, they are not traditional they don't have any culture they behave like (-) European people. If you have culture (-) if you are traditional you will not do this kind of thing because you would be more educate compared to other people who have not grown up with all this culture and tradition, they behave badly because they don't know the meaning of the cultural thing [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> I think hitting (-) there should be zero tolerance of hitting their wives and partners. It is not allowed in our religion, it is there in the culture; it is the ugliest thing in our religion at the same time. They should be

trained and educated about their behaviour. They should be programmes like that (-) and of course they should be punished for that [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

This invocation of tradition as something which links violence is at odds with how it is discussed in much of the previous literature on South Asian communities (see Chapter Two).

Most respondents considered domestic violence against a partner or wife as wrong: a 'cowardly' or 'ridiculous' act. Here it does not support, but undermines their concepts of masculinity.

Most ridiculous thing that a man can do if a man is raising a hand on his wife he is the most coward person in his life because a woman doesn't need that to be honest. She doesn't need to be treated like that; she is not your property or a toy which you can mould or ask to behave in any way that I want to … It is the most ridiculous thing by hitting, you aren't getting any stronger but showing that you are weaker than her and you are just showing it to her that you cannot solve a dispute with a conversation and that is why you are raising your hand on her [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

He shouldn't hit the partner (-) I think that do happen but completely wrong because (-) women and men don't have the same courage and men take advantage because we are men and are more stronger so they cannot defend themselves and we can do whatever we want with them (-) hit them, slap them (-) that is bad because you take advantage of someone who doesn't have the same strength (-) like you (-) but I think (-) they have to stop doing this because it is completely bull shit. Hitting a woman is bad (-) hit a proper man, don't hit a woman, it is shame for a man to hit a woman (-) complete shame

(-) these men should be hanged [laughs] [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Interviewees referred to how men have more physical strength or physical dominance than women, which is a feature of masculinity, and how some men may use this to take advantage. The emphasis was on physical abuse, whereas the complexity and dynamics of domestic violence was not discussed (see Chapter Three).

8.3 Help-seeking

In the survey, men were asked if a South Asian woman was experiencing domestic violence from her partner where she should seek help from. A slightly different question was asked in the interviews, but the responses were identical with the exception of leaving the relationship and getting a divorce.

Interviewees were asked what should happen if men are regularly hitting or dominating. They put forward four options: leaving the relationship and possibly getting a divorce; going to the police; talking to family; and seeking help from support services.

> I think the best thing is for the woman to walk away or if she is married then divorce or (-) she should get assistance, go to the police and do a report because I mean you cannot get hit every day so if this is the situation [laughs] get the police and get him arrested [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> The wife needs to take it further to the <u>family</u> and discuss with them if they think that this can be solved. Then yes can discuss take it to the table and solve it and she need to explain to him that if going to behave in the same way as you have been doing in the past then eventually I am going to leave you, that is an easy solution. Even if she wants she could go to the police because it is a ridiculous thing to

do and she shouldn't be accepting it [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

I think the partner [the wife] should seek help and (-) contact someone to get help with that situation to try to resolve the problem and get (-) clearly the guy has got some kind of issue and get him some kind of counselling or whatever. She should evaluate whether she wants to stay in the relationship [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

These can be considered encouraging responses as abusive behaviour was deemed as unjustifiable and not to be kept a private issue as the options referred to seeking help from both within and outside the family and community.

8.4 Conclusion

Encouragingly, the interviewees concurred that attitudes toward domestic violence had changed, with abusive behaviour not being deemed acceptable. In the main, it was seen as 'wrong' and a 'cowardly' act, and if a man or partner is hitting and dominating, the interviewees were supportive of a woman leaving and/or seeking help. While all nine men were aware of domestic violence, few discussed its complexity. Not understanding the complexity and holding stereotypes of domestic violence, for example, one man maintained an educated man is not capable of committing domestic violence, means they may not pick up on these issues in their social networks (for a discussion on stereotypes, see Kelly, 1988 cited in Yllo and Bograd).

From the men's accounts, there was a strong sense of having and maintaining a harmonious relationship/marriage and the need for mutual understanding, joint decision making and sharing of responsibilities. Whilst men were supportive of non abusive relationships, their conversations around the justification of violence against a partner or wife did not always

support this. That said it appears that South Asian masculinity is evolving, an amalgamation of both liberal and traditional attitudes, with some men drawing on culture and others arguing that tensions in gender relations are not defined by this. Whilst there is more space for South Asian women in relationships, men were still defining the boundaries of acceptable female behaviour/femininity. Women had 'freedom' as long as they behaved within the parameters set or 'safety zones' (see also Stark, 2007). South Asian men talked about which behaviours were acceptable and unacceptable for women and/or their partner and what the limits or parameters are. Justifications for violence referred to gender norms and roles and performing a particular type of femininity (Anderson, 2009). As with the survey findings, no one set of behaviours or actions were unacceptable, it varied from man to man. There was the sense that men were able to exercise control and demonstrate masculinity over women not through violence as a means of enforcing power and control but 'men's control of women's definition of their situation and reality. This may include the woman's definition of how she dresses ... monitors her behaviour or potential behaviour, stops doing things that might bring an adverse reaction from the man' (Hearn, 1998, p.88). Although no man made direct reference to this, violence may be justified as a last resort.

Based on South Asian men's own accounts, the next section provides an explanation for, and examines what has influenced, their attitudes toward women and domestic violence. This is a unique insight into the attitudes of men as most often, as shown by previous research, a researcher interprets the data to reveal the explanation and influence behind the findings.

8.5 Explanation and influence of attitudes toward women and domestic violence

The survey findings revealed that three main demographic variables explain South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence, the distinction between liberal and traditional attitudes. The three main were religion, ethnic origin, country of birth/migration, as well as two other variables; age and marital status. Islamic men born outside the UK, whose

ethnic origin was Pakistani and Bangladeshi, had more traditional attitudes toward women and domestic violence. This section builds on these findings and based on interviewed men's accounts explores what has influenced their attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

8.5.1 South Asian men and South Asian masculinity

Chapter Two summarised some contemporary theories on gender and masculinity that suggest masculinities change and are rooted in social and cultural contexts. Within this an area that is under studied is South Asian masculinities. This section therefore draws on men's understanding of masculinity.

Interviewees framed their understanding in terms of hegemonic masculinity, and at no stage of the interview did they talk about or suggest that South Asian men were in a privileged group by gender but a subordinated or marginalised group by race/ethnicity. For example, there was no mention of South Asian men being disadvantaged or facing obstacles or discrimination. In fact for many it was their identity as a 'South Asian' that differentiated them from other men and gave them a sense not of inferiority, but superiority.

> There is a lot of difference because a South Asian man (-) (-) they are a hard worker (-) compared to (-) British people (-) because White people don't have any savings and just work and then spend all their money in bar, clubbing, alcohol or whatsoever compared to a (-) to a decent person (-) a South Asian person try to save the maximum that we can (-) we enjoy but the problem is we think forward; for the future (-) because that is how it is [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> Being South Asian for me it is a matter of <u>huge</u> pride and <u>huge</u> confidence because of the fact that I have been raised in a community that struggled very hard to establish itself against very difficult odds and I have seen how that community has been able to pull together to

protect itself in the first instance and then to make real progress both in the world of work and the world of education to give their children a real chance to succeed [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

Hard work and working hard was seen as the imprint of the South Asian identity and community, including achieving through education. Both values are components of masculinity, especially among working class men (Donaldson, 1991). The ethos of working hard resonated with many of the men.

It was considered to be very positive to be working and a lot of Punjabi people came with this ethic of hard work it was part of the imprint on Punjabi people that you work and that you must work hard and that means all hands to the deck and not just the father's hands … It seems to me that other parents irrespective of whether they come from professional classes or from less skilled classes as long as they come from a South Asian background generally speaking there is still a high premium placed on the education for boys and girls [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

My own personal views are that they are hard working compared to the other communities. More sort of going out, working, than some of the other communities (-) like the Black or White communities. They are willing to work longer hours and try to earn an income [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Another aspect of South Asian masculinity was the value placed on family/permanent relationships and the family unit. Some of the men contextualised this in relation to their upbringing.

I would say that other people don't bother because nowadays you see all these White people most of them are not married nowadays; they just live together as partners and then all the time they are always

fighting; arguing domestic problems and then they split after three or four months (-) that is not a good life. You cannot (-) be with someone three or four months and then split and have kids then split; that is a bad thing. I don't think we Indians don't do that when we stick with someone and we have kids we try to be like a family we don't have this intention to split in one year or leave kids whatsoever [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Normally in South Asian culture, the family lives together [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

It means I have a slightly different probably philosophy or upbringing or view on how to live my life and how to deal with other people and how <u>family</u> (-) how to deal to deal with family and how close to be with family [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

It means (-) I have got a sort of (-) a strong sense of family in my upbringing, in my youth and in my adult sort of life. I think family counts for a lot if you are South Asian [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

A sense of family and families living together may also help to explain why the survey and interview findings (see Chapter Five and Seven respectively) showed a mixed response to South Asian women living away from home. Where social norms as well as protection, rather than controlling/curtailing behaviour through limiting social movement and freedom, may explain the preference for both men and women not to live away from home.

At the same time, many of the men did not make any distinction between South Asian men and men in general.

The same as being what I described as being a man [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

I don't see any difference to be honest with you; I don't see any difference [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

I think it should be the same. When I said, I thought of myself you know as a South Asian man (-) means a man like any other man coming from either Europe or from Africa or Latin America [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

In addition, three of the men (without any prompt) stated that they made no distinction or saw very little difference between being a man and a woman. Where there was a difference, it was not related to social but biological or reproductive differences and physical strength.

I don't differentiate between being a man or a woman. I think they are more or less the same. It is just the biological difference (-) as a human being you know, I have needs, wishes and aspirations and it is the same you know for a woman as well [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Understanding that you are born a man does not mean you are born with any inherent advantage [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

The interviewed men's sense of self and masculinity was also constructed through commonly-held beliefs of what it means to be a 'man'. They used words such as 'provider', the 'breadwinner' as well as 'protector' and 'taking care of'. Nurturing and care taking characteristics and supporting families as with family may be a specific aspect of South Asian masculinity.

For me [laughs] (-) take responsibility (-) working hard (-) and keep a woman safe [laughs] [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

The one who takes the responsibility of the house and be very very supportive and caring towards his wife [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

Running a household; making important decisions (-) you know putting food on the table (-) doing the best for the family [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

What distinguished these South Asian men from most descriptions of hegemonic masculinity is that they talked about the societal rather than the individual expectations of masculinity. However, it was framed through being a 'breadwinner'. This is in line with Donaldson and Howson (2009) who argues that migrant men may be put in a difficult situation as there is strong pressure on them to be seen to be and actually to be the breadwinner.

That is what society says and that is what people have been telling us for years, that the man is the breadwinner of the home [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Some societies might expect you to be the breadwinner, might expect you to be (-) you to be aggressive and dominant and (-) but it depends being a breadwinner, being a (-) taking care of the family, very much provide protection and security [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

Yeah, as a South Asian man definitely I think that is the sort of (-) sort of stereotype sort of thing; where they are expected to be the breadwinner [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

An assessment of the previous literature revealed several situations or dimensions when control and violence is used by a man against a wife or partner (see Chapter Three), including the importance of maintaining power to demonstrate masculinity, which refers to a lack or loss of power and societal expectations. The interviewees here were not frustrated by the expectations of what it means to be a 'man' or 'real man' as none talked about whether men were able to meet the commonly-held expectations of masculinity or the pressure to be a provider or breadwinner. However, they did talk about societal or society's expectation of men to be a provider or breadwinner (they made no reference to ethnicity/race).

The men also did not make the link between the loss of status as head of the household and being the breadwinner. In fact, unprompted, two out of the four men in a partnership (all married) said that their partner earned more than them [1 and 5]. The partner of the other two men was equally qualified; one worked as a director within a university [2] and the other as a researcher/monitoring and evaluation manager [8]. These men may not hold traditional attitudes about gender, and the traditional notions of masculinity may be eroding, and 'as gender relations evolve' there may be 'a more equitable relationship between men and women' (Demetriou, 2001).

It was clear that the concept of the man or the male as the breadwinner had evolved due to socio-economic factors such as the cost of living on one person's wage or having one breadwinner was not sustainable for a good standard of living in the UK. The partner of all the men was in employment, and there was no sense that her earning an income was embarrassing or an indictment of a man's ability to provide for his family.

> It should not be one hand it should be two hands both of them have to participate because that is how life is because otherwise you will be struggling in life because if you think only the man has to work and earn the money and the woman is indoors that cannot be possible nowadays because life is too hard, it is too expensive [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

When men were asked what kind of man they thought a South Asian woman wanted to marry, their answers reflected commonly-held beliefs of what it meant to be a man: being 'successful', to have a 'good job' and 'money', and to be a provider and protector.

> An independent woman would not want to stay with their in-laws. So they would want someone who is staying away from their parents and who is earning a lot (-) somebody who has a good job [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> It will definitely vary. Nowadays they would like her husband to be (-) well educated, employed (-) I think these are the two things and of course, relatively rich [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

> I would imagine similar [laughs] similar to any woman (-) confident, successful men (-) preferably if they are affluent [laughs]. Someone who takes care of the woman (-) and treats her well and generally takes care of her and protects her and gives her security [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

One man used his daughters as a reference point.

> This is what I would hope for my daughters that they marry someone who is very educated has a profession that gives him a lot of satisfaction (-) someone who is a graduate, who has a career which is fulfilling and has some direction [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

This section provides an insight into South Asian men's account of South Asian masculinity, and explains how hegemonic masculinity, but also the stress on hard work, employment and education, chimes with South Asian values. South Asian men's definition of masculinity, shared many similarities with White men and hegemonic masculinity. The differences that the

interviewees refer to are White men's lack of hard work and values/morality. Highlighted also was how whilst most men had liberal attitudes toward women and supported joint decision-making and egalitarian relationships (as shown in Chapter Seven), alongside these liberal attitudes is an attachment to more traditional attitudes of what it means to be a man.

8.5.2 Tradition, culture, religion, and honour

Tradition, but mainly culture, was significant in men's accounts with regard to attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

Here, whilst some men linked tradition and culture to religion including celebrating festivals and going to the temple, many attributed it with providing both men and women with values and a moral compass. Patel (2013) also argues that for cultural and religious practices, religion is often masked by the demand for 'respect'. The previous section also attributed having values/morality to South Asian masculinity.

> Tradition and culture for me means having a set of values [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

> Is that yes there is respect in between a man and a wife and that what tradition means to me that you know what are your boundaries. For example, a tradition could be that you are not having a hundred relationships with anyone else. To me a tradition could be that … I know how to respect my parents and to take care of them and yes that is what the tradition means to me … you can say that it makes you a better human being as well. If one practices his culture and religion and tradition then yes he will obviously be a better person and understanding. For example, if I practice Sikhism, Sikhism teaches me how to be a very polite and very humble person [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

The values, the respect for the elders, to taking care of the children, if I am in a bus I should stand when there is a woman particularly. The woman is very much respected; so many thing and many good things [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Culture for these men was given or passed on by their parents.

It means everything because (-) because it makes us proud to be Indian (-) because that is our culture, that culture has been given by our parents so we have to keep it. We should be proud to be Indian [*Int 1: 32, customer services, high school, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

I would say what culture my parents have put in me has influenced my answers but not what other people have kept telling. Most of my family; my elders are women, so I have been told to respect them and so on, and I think that is where some of my answers would be coming from [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Yeah, because your parents (-) live in a culture and they tell you what (-) they bring you up with a certain sense of values [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

Is what my parents do; talk about and what happens within the family (-) it's really what you bring with you from Pakistan (-) whether it is clothes, whether its (-) behaviour, that sort of stuff. I think it is not something that (-) it's what you see around you; what you see your parents doing; what you see your extended family members doing, that sort of stuff [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Noticeably, the men struggled to define honour but they all defined it positively. Honour was related to having 'values', 'morals' and 'standards' such as showing and being respectful, and being 'humble', 'being tolerant and patient', and 'taking care of others'. In turn, being disrespectful was seen as being dishonourable.

> My own idiom is that honour is self respect; I think there is a place for honour in society, the place for honour in society is to act in a way if you can as a socially responsible individual who respects themselves and the people around them – that for me is an honourable way of behaving [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

> Honour to me is something (-) (-) it is difficult (-) I should respect people and I should get respected and (-) I should have a certain level of earning of course. I should not ask people to give me money and to beg and (-) and honour means to be patient, if somebody (-) does something to you, you should be tolerant and patient. Honour to get your kids very well educated into (-) bring them up whereby they can take part in the economic and social life. Helping and supporting the needy people [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

> To me personally (-) it probably means (-) to (-) sort of live a (-) I cannot say a honourable life [laughs] live sort of a humble, successful sort of life not too (-) being like (-) being independent and taking care of your family and (-) your friends and maybe (-) (-) maybe sort of (-) doing sort of what your parents tell you at a young age [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

Words such as dishonour and shame, which is often found in literature related to attitudes toward women in the South Asian community (see Chapter Two), were not used by any of the men. Many of the men struggled to explain how a woman could bring dishonour, where a definition was provided it was related to not behaving honourably. For example, being

disrespectful, breaking someone's trust and three of the men talked about a wife or husband cheating on their partner. These examples are probably not dissimilar from what White men would find unacceptable in a relationship.

> For me, only bad women have an extra marital affair [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Baker et al (1999) argue that a 'wife's adultery and a daughter's premarital sexual activity are the most extreme violations of patriarchal community norms in certain societies' (p.169). Interestingly, men attributed these qualities or behaviours to both men and women making no distinction between them. However, research shows that the same sanctions are not always applied to men if they transgress.

> The same things (-) by not being honest (-) by being violent and not being respectful to people [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

> I think a woman could bring dishonour the same way that a guy could bring dishonour by (-) showing a lack of integrity in their actions, being a criminal for example or morally being bankrupt but I don't see anything specific that a woman can compared to a man [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

Whilst none of the men associated honour or dishonour with South Asian women, they were aware of, and described, what behaviours the 'South Asian community' would describe as dishonourable for a South Asian woman. Here the men talked about, not their own attitudes, but those of an imagined South Asian society and community. This imagined society and community may suggest a disconnect between what they themselves believe as well as what they have seen and experienced around them and what they have heard from others in the community, including the media.

I don't define honour in cultural terms. I don't have any concept of (-) honour is defending your South Asian sub culture because you fear that in the eyes of other people anything that falls shorts of their expectations will be disgraceful to your family or dishonouring your family [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

I think there is a perception in the community that women can bring dishonour, this is something that I don't share; that women can bring dishonour by having relationships before marriage or having a divorce. But those arguments I don't share [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

Personally, I think (-) you can bring dishonour in many ways but I think the way society sees honour is (-) for South Asian women (-) one example is if she wants to marry a person of a different skin colour, for example an African-Caribbean person or Caucasian person, that will probably bring dishonour to the family. If she was to run away from home maybe without the parents consent while the community or the neighbours see, that will bring dishonour; but that is what society sees. It might be accepted in other cultures but not in South Asian cultures [*Int 9: 25, housing officer, college, Muslim, single, Bangladeshi, UK born*].

The discussion on honour created the strongest reaction among the men as three Muslim men [7, 8 and 9] were not pleased with the portrayal of the South Asian community in the media. For the men felt that whilst cases of honour based violence existed this was only a small segment or fraction of South Asian society. One man in particular talked about his dislike of the term dishonour and the need for the distinction between dishonour and disapproval.

I am not really in favour with this term dishonour at all, I don't really think that (-) really it is disapprove. Every society, every community, every neighbourhood may have certain standards (-) I don't think there

is any issue with dishonour at all. You read about it in the press, it is all rubbish at the end of the day. I don't know who gave this title honour and dishonour anyway. There is no such thing at all, it really is the author or the person who is writing the newspaper article saying that it is honour but there is nothing honourable about (-) it is not honour, it is obviously the parents not approving of certain things but what has that got to do with honour? [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Two men referred to their religion as influencing their attitudes toward women and domestic violence, and in the context of them respecting women and treating them equally.

You can say religion plays a very, very important part. In our religion like it's always been said that woman (-) it's like a woman plays a very important part in our life. My dad always tells me that there is a saying in our religion; that the woman is the one that gives birth to a king and the woman is the one who takes care of the king of and if she is the one doing everything and taking care of the king then why you say like bad (-) about a woman that is what our religion teaches us. Yes, religion has influenced my views [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

I think my religion tells me that domestic violence (-) it's in our culture we should be respectful to women that is why particularly the aged ones - we see them a little bit maybe physically weaker than the men. Respect comes from my religion as well; we should be respectful to women and be supportive to them [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

What emerges from this section is men's reference to and description of 'honour'. Men's responses and understanding of the concept rejected the assumption that 'honour' can be restored through control, violence or murder. Instead men were using the concept positively in relation to 'values', 'morals',

'standards', being respectful, and ascribed it to both men and women. This finding has been rarely portrayed in the previous literature. It challenges the homogeneity and stereotypes of men and of the 'South Asian community'. Instead there is a need to explore the heterogeneity and the differentiation between the context and motive behind 'honour'. It may be that those with liberal attitudes view 'honour' as a positive, whereas those with traditional attitudes may use it to justify power and control. There may also be an argument for differences before or after a girl gets married as 'family concerns about izzat end once a girl gets married' (Dale et al, 2002, p.958) but concerns may start with the husband and the new family after a girl gets married.

8.5.3 Family/upbringing and the role of female family members

Family and upbringing had a positive and strong presence in the men's conversations. Notions of equality between women and men were also evident.

> So my own views about these issues come from a number of different sources; one of course is my upbringing which is to do with the way I was raised by my parents and my mother's perspectives on things, very important [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

> Study and equality (-) equality (-) yes (-) in my career, in work, during study and even seen it in my home. For example, when I was a kid I use to say that regarding my sister why you giving this and that to her, so my dad used to say she is equal to you there is nothing less in you or more than her you are both equal so yes I would say that (-) yes from family [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

> Obviously the women that you know (-) the women I know would have influenced my views on women (-) family and religion would influence

views (-) family because the women in your family would have given you a view of what women are like and religious views would have sort of (-) religion would have guided you into thinking what was right and wrong [*Int 4: 32, dental surgeon, degree, Sikh, single, Indian, UK born*].

How my father treated my mother I would imagine that has had some kind of psychological effect. The way my (-) (-) the way my parents and people in my family and my relatives treat women probably has an effect [*Int 6: 33, actuary, masters, Hindu, single, Indian, UK born*].

That men talked particularly about female family members, especially their mother, playing an important and instrumental role in their attitudes toward other women is important to note. That these women, many of whom will be first generation migrants to the UK, had liberal attitudes and were not the stereotype of South Asian oppressed women is especially significant.

When we were kids, we used to go swimming with my mom, my dad and brothers to the public baths and my mom use to have a swimming costume and she was the <u>only</u> woman of her age that would go swimming and I was very proud that my mom would go to the swimming baths with her swimming costume on [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

The very first thing is family (-) for example you always have a woman in your family; a mother and if she supports you and if she try to make you a better person and a better human being then yes my mother has influenced my views [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

Men are no longer the breadwinners (-) not in my home; neither in my home here or back home in India [parents] [laughs]. It is not a problem for me because my father has been self employed for quite some time and my mother is employed. So my father's business fluctuates up

and down and it is my mother's salary that has kept the house going on throughout that time and my father's salary has given us the luxuries [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

Another man [Int 8] spent some time talking after the interview had finished about how due to his mother's effort and insistence his sister was the first girl to attend school in his village in Pakistan, and how the following year other families also started sending their daughters to school.

Connell (2009) argues that how people 'do' gender is socially constructed through gender socialisation and the process of socialisation can continue into adulthood, including a mixture of positive and negative reinforcements. The findings presented suggest that gender relations and South Asian men's attitudes toward women have become more egalitarian through the gender socialisation and reinforcement of strong female role models.

8.5.4 Education and interaction

Many men cited education as a factor that had influenced their views toward women and domestic violence, although they were unable to clearly articulate and make the link between education and attitudes toward women.

Similar to the previous section on 'family/upbringing and the role of female family members', going to university seemed to increase the men's interactions and friendships with women (as fellow students), and through socialisation and seeing women as equal in attainment.

> What I think is study. Study plays a vital part in it, it gives you a better understanding of a woman and it gives you a better chance of understanding any another person. For example, if you go to university you (-) sit and you play with your friends and you try to like understand it (-) until that point of time you will not get a proper

understanding of a woman [*Int 3: 27, financial controller, masters, Sikh, single, Indian, non-UK born*].

I think education plays an important part (-) education really plays an important part [*Int 7: 35, barrister, masters, Muslim, single, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

Basically, I come from a so called conservative culture and society but my views has been (-) I don't know why they are so maybe because I studied in a university [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

In the same way, men talked about how their environment, through exposure to other communities and who they interacted with, increased knowledge and awareness of gender equality.

My own interaction with the people within my own community in Southall so the girls that I grew up with at school and how I interacted with them and how they behaved. So therefore my understanding of gender was informed very much with my interaction with the girls at school and thereafter at university going into a different milieu and now interacting with more White indigenous people and seeing how White women and Black women define their (-) notion of gender [*Int 2: 46, barrister, masters, Sikh, married, Indian, UK born*].

I think exposure also counts a lot. If you are not educated, I see many people from South Asia, particularly men (-) if we were discussing things like this (-) their thinking has changed a lot and when they look at the society here (-) the good things about society [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The last man [8] also gave an example of how when he was studying in the Netherlands, he and others received an email from a girl from Indonesia

during the month of fasting, to break their fast and pray together. He talked about how boys and girls sat and prayed together and how this was 'an Islamic injunction back in his village or in his country'.

Based on men's accounts, it appears that gender relations and attitudes toward women have become more egalitarian through socialisation, and reinforcement and interaction with seeing women as equals. In other words, their argument appears to suggest that the more men receive positive affirmations regarding gender equality this made liberal or egalitarian attitudes toward women and domestic violence more possible.

8.5.5 Acculturation/assimilation

Five men who were not born in the UK (born either in India or Pakistan) were asked if their attitudes toward women and domestic violence had changed since moving to the UK. Noticeably absent from the discussions were men's difficulty with integrating or assimilating to British society. There was also no sense of conflict between their 'home' and 'host' culture and society. This may be connected to the existing liberal attitudes of the men who were born overseas, who said that their views had remained the same.

The two men below were also married overseas (India and Pakistan respectively) and to women from overseas.

> No (-) got the same views (-) being in the UK has not changed or influenced what I am telling right now, I had the same views as before [*Int 5: 26, engineer, degree, Hindu, married, Indian, non-UK born*].

> I think I had more or less the same views that women can and should work if they want to and they can participate in the social and economic life of the country [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The last man, who was born in Pakistan and who had moved to the UK about five years ago, also talked about the continuation of undertaking household duties.

> I had the kind of same views while I was back in Pakistan. For example, I wouldn't mind going to the kitchen and cooking for myself, which is contrary you know to another South Asian man, generally speaking [*Int 8: 42, development professional, masters, Muslim, married, Pakistani, non-UK born*].

The findings are different from previous literature (see Chapter Two), which show that men from overseas or non-UK born may have traditional attitudes toward women and that they may have to adapt to and embrace the beliefs and attitudes of the new country (Conway-Long, 2006), or finally, to adjust and reconfigure parts of each. Men holding liberal, and the attitudes of the 'host' culture and society, also question the concepts of acculturation/assimilation and the 'othering' of South Asian migrant men. Instead acculturation/assimilation is more complex and the current models to measure acculturation/assimilation may be too simplistic assuming homogeneity and the need for, and no change in men moving from their 'home' to host' country.

8.6 Conclusion

Of the interviews reported on in Section 8.5 of this Chapter, men rarely talked about one influence but a multitude of influences that had shaped their attitudes toward women and domestic violence. The influences revealed and concepts explored included: masculinity; tradition, culture and religion; family/upbringing and the role of the female family members; and education and interaction. I would also argue that the nine men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence were either liberal or both liberal and traditional.

It was evident that men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence were a complex interplay of factors constructed through gender socialisation from childhood as boys to adulthood as men, and in turn, their understanding of masculinity and femininity, and the role and status of women and gender equality. Their earliest experiences and values about partner relationships and femininity and masculinity were in their homes; the way in which their father treated their mother, and whether their sisters were encouraged to fulfil their potential. Bancroft (2002) also claims that the family in which children grow up have a strong influence, at least for their first few years, and how a person's understanding and socialisation takes place from a child to adulthood. Family was a strong influence, and female members of the family played a key influential role in the South Asian men's upbringing. Strong family and female role models play a significant role as they were a vehicle to challenge traditional cultural and societal gender norms. Religion and culture was also interlinked and intertwined in the men's conversation and was talked about positively in the context of them respecting women and treating them equally. This process of socialisation and an understanding of gender continued through interaction and exposure, which can be gained through education and/or employment, to reinforce positive and liberal attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

Whilst there is not one single form of masculinity, for South Asian men, masculinity was constructed in the commonly-held beliefs of what it means to be a man. For example, the men saw themselves as 'provider', 'protector', 'taking care of', and the 'breadwinner'. In addition, South Asian men did not feel disadvantaged, inferior or marginalised by other men, and neither did they talk about economic and/or educational disadvantage. Whilst there were commonalities of masculinity between South Asian men and other men, and that the same values, standards, morals, behaviours should apply to all people regardless of gender and ethnicity/race, the interviewed men also talked about variations (Paechter, 2007). The subtle differences were the sense of morals, values and hard work that run throughout the narratives of the men along with a sense of family.

Although the men talked about the social expectations of being a breadwinner, there was no sense of them feeling pressured to conform to forms of masculinity. At the same time, they recognised that tradition, prejudice and bias meant a South Asian man was able to 'get away with things', when a woman doing the same would face censure. The South Asian men in this study also did not perceive themselves as belonging to a group that has less power or authority than White men, and this applied to men born in the UK and outside the UK. They saw the shaping of their identity as the product of culture, and it was this that differentiated them from other men. For South Asian men, tradition, culture, and honour were about having values, standards, and morals. None made the associations between attitudes toward women and tradition, culture, honour and masculinity, which the previous literature suggests promoted negative attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Men also did not mention woman's responsibility to safeguard traditional values, honour or that a woman can gain (more) respect or honour if she behaves 'properly' or appropriately. Moreover, none of the men tried to justify control and/or violence in the name of religion, tradition, or the preservation of cultural values. Their talk was not informed by religious terms and phrases. Interestingly men appeared to struggle to define 'honour' and 'dishonour' as they attempted to provide a non-traditional version of it.

The next Chapter is the concluding Chapter to the thesis. The main findings of the research are summarised and discussed.

CHAPTER NINE: CHALLENGING PERCEPTIONS OF SOUTH ASIAN MEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The aim of this study was to investigate South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence, including whether violence is ever justified against a wife or partner. The methodology included both a survey and face-to-face interviews. In this final chapter, the findings and their implications are summarised and challenges for future research explored. The four sections cover: the significance of the research and its original contribution to knowledge (Section 9.1); key findings (Section 9.2); directions for future research (Section 9.3); and the implication of the findings (Section 9.4).

9.1 Significance of the research and its origin contribution to knowledge

The literature review established that South Asian men have been marginalised in previous research, which has generally documented why and how they came to Britain but had little to say beyond this. This is in contrast to recent media reporting which, in its coverage of forced marriage and honour based violence and high profile child sexual exploitation cases, presents an image of South Asian men as being especially traditional and patriarchal. This study is the first in the UK, and in the wider literature, that is dedicated to exploring South Asian men's attitudes to women and domestic violence using a multi-methodological approach. As such it offers a unique, detailed and rare snapshot of South Asian men's perspectives in the early 21st century, and makes a contribution to filling a significant knowledge gap.

Limitations of methodological approaches identified in the literature review were addressed in the design of the study. This included: developing a new survey instrument, tested for reliability and validity - the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence Scale (SAATWDVS); paying attention in recruitment and analysis to ethnic, religious, migration status and

cultural variations within the group 'South Asian men'; qualitative data which allowed for some of these variations to be examined in more detail; contributing to the limited methodological discussion on feminist research being undertaken on the subject of men, especially South Asian men, and in this case with a South Asian woman interviewing South Asian men.

The research also makes a contribution in the growing field of masculinity studies, and specifically with respect to what has been termed 'brown masculinities'. This is a noticeable absence: and the limited exploration of South Asian men's perspectives creates a vacuum for discussions of the most promising potential approaches for prevention work. Through South Asian men's responses, attitudes toward women and domestic violence were explored in relation to how masculinity *and* ethnicity/race and other social categories intersect. In the next section, the key findings from the research are summarised, and given the uniqueness of the study these are in themselves a contribution to knowledge.

9.2 Key findings

Most South Asian men had liberal attitudes toward women and domestic violence, including whether violence against a wife or partner is ever justified. Men were, on the whole, positive about South Asian women's achievements in the public sphere, including attendance at university, having professional careers and for younger women's higher educational and career aspirations. In the private sphere, findings also suggest there was more space for women in relationships than some previous studies have found (see Chapter Two). Men talked about the importance of having an egalitarian relationship, maintaining a harmonious relationship/marriage which encompassed mutual understanding, joint decision making and sharing of responsibilities. The foundation of these attitudes was less clear, with an interplay of: an increase in women's education; women's increased awareness of their rights; the acceptance of dual income families to achieve a desired standard of living; and an increase in South Asian women refusing to submit to the will of male family members and their husbands (see also, Bhopal, 1997).

Gender relations are not static, and these findings suggest they are evolving within South Asian communities living in the UK: men's attitudes were becoming, had become, more progressive. It could be argued that South Asian masculinity is in flux, not just for those born in the UK, but also for recent and less recent migrants. In terms of previous theories of change, this gives less support to concepts of culture and acculturation/assimilation and more to global changes in gender orders and gender relations, as reflected in recent contestations about violence, especially sexual violence, in several South Asian countries.

Contemporary gender theory highlights that different masculinities are produced in the same culture (Connell, 1995). Analysis of the variation in attitudes toward women and domestic violence in this sample of South Asian men produced three distinct groups: liberal; both liberal and traditional; and traditional. As the proportion of responses designated liberal or traditional was fairly consistent across the survey items (60 to 70% and 15 to 20% respectively), it was the middle group - both liberal and traditional - that created complexity in the data (20 to 30% of the sample). Here responses were not consistent, suggesting that the men themselves might be in flux. This variation within the sample is one of the most important findings of the study, showing clearly that South Asian men are not a homogenous group. The findings also raise the question of whether the focus of previous studies (and media portrayals) has been on the minority of traditional men, the more extreme elements of South Asian cultures.

Chi-square tests were undertaken to explore previously unexamined differences between men, and revealed statistically significant differences among those that had liberal and traditional attitudes by religion, ethnic origin, country of birth with some influence of age and marital status. Muslim men born outside the UK, whose ethnic origin was Pakistani and Bangladeshi, alongside younger and single men, were more likely to have traditional attitudes across the scales: women, gender roles and domestic violence. These differences were, however, complex. For example, more Hindus (and sometimes Sikhs) held liberal attitudes than Muslims. However,

Muslims appeared a more mixed group as the proportion of liberal, traditional, and both liberal and traditional were more similar among Muslims than among Hindus and Sikhs. This suggests that Muslim men in the study were more diverse with regard to their attitudes, and that perhaps there may be stronger fault lines in the Muslim community between men with liberal and traditional attitudes.

The interviews provided a unique insight into what influences South Asian men's liberal attitudes toward women and domestic violence. These were multiple and included: education; interaction/exposure; religion; culture, family/upbringing; and, interestingly, female role models. Positive messages about masculinity and femininity, including the role and status of women and gender equality, were noted by many interviewees throughout their lives: from childhood as boys through to adulthood as men. Their earliest experiences were as boys in their homes: here the positive influence of the way in which their father treated their mother with respect, and how their sisters were encouraged to fulfil their potential and the equal treatment and opportunities that they received were noted. Family, and especially female members of the family, were reported as positive and key influences, affirming equality between women and men. Religion and culture were interlinked and intertwined in the men's conversations and again most reported that this also encouraged them to respect women and treat them equally. This process of socialisation continued through adolescence and into adulthood, but here it was interactions with women gained through education and/or employment, which offered men opportunities to understand, see, and learn from women outside their families and discuss different ways of thinking. For example, that women are just as capable as men was demonstrated, through women they knew, gaining high educational attainment and senior roles within employment.

In addition to the spectrum of attitudes amongst the participants, a distinction between the public and domestic or private sphere emerged. Whilst most men supported women's social and economic empowerment, at the same time they believed that there were unacceptable behaviours. No one attitude

toward women and domestic violence was clearly acceptable or unacceptable, and there were many parameters or 'safety zones' (see Stark, 2007). Behaviour that was unacceptable was related to expected gender roles such as wearing revealing clothes, neglecting the children, and not cooking and cleaning the house. Marriage was the main site within which men upheld these gendered norms. In the private sphere, a greater proportion of men still wanted women to perform a traditional role with respect to household responsibilities, mothering and reproduction. There were many caveats. For example, the number of women going to bars and nightclubs has increased along with the acceptance of this behaviour but the new parameter was that they go with their husband or with female friends. In addition, whilst women can wear modern or western clothes, the clothes should be modest. However, the absolute of housework, as the female domain, was being eroded as men indicated their willingness to undertake household tasks. This more contextual data shows that the liberal and traditional jostle in South Asian men's views on women's place and behaviour in contemporary life. Most men in the sample also did not justify violence against a wife or partner, but a minority did, and the circumstances varied. The main justifications were related to family and to contact with men or actual and imagined sexual contact. Interestingly, the latter is often viewed as grounds for honour based violence (see Chapter Two).

A variation in the public and private sphere in relation to when control was enforced, and a difference between family and domestic violence were also revealed. The literature in Chapter Two showed that studies undertaken to investigate social and cultural aspects of South Asian girls and women's lives in Britain suggest that their behaviour is often controlled and monitored to ensure appropriate behaviour. The findings unpack this and show that, if control was enforced, who enforced the control in the relationship between the woman and man varied. This was linked to when and why control was used or the desired outcome. The use of control over unmarried women by a father or brother was seen to protect her from being exploited by other men. Here there was a sense that men should have a supervisory and guiding role. Some men, for example, were against sexual relations before marriage

and living away from home for education and/or employment as in their view it placed women in a vulnerable position. This was not evident in married men's conversations in regards to their wife or partner. The focus instead was with respect to household responsibilities, mothering and reproduction. This raises an interesting question. On the one hand, based on the accounts of women from previous literature, their actions and behaviour are said to be controlled. Whereas, on the other, based on the responses of men in this study, the use of control to curtail behaviour may not be the motive but protection and/or avoidance of exploitation. The difference in approach or attitudes may be linked to the identified typology (see Chapter Five), with liberal men choosing protection and traditional men applying control. Equally, it may be difficult in practice to distinguish between the two, especially if the argument for protection and/or avoidance of exploitation is used to legitimate control. This protection discourse is largely absent in the previous literature on attitudes toward women.

An honour based culture is often seen as a site for the production of masculinity, as well as an application of power and control exercised over women to enforce a specific and valued femininity. However, whilst aware of this notion, none of the interviewed men made the association between these concepts and attitudes toward women and domestic violence. Interestingly, the men also did not place responsibility on women to safeguard honour, nor state that a woman can gain (more) respect or honour if she behaves 'acceptably'. In addition, the men did not try to justify control and/or violence in the name of tradition, the preservation of culture, or religion: in fact they struggled to define 'honour' and 'dishonour' with their own value system. For most of the interviewed men, tradition, culture, religion, and honour were associated with morals and values, and seen positively and associated with gender equality and the empowerment of women.

Culture was discussed as where South Asian men derived their sense of identity and values from. Thus the importance of cultural norms and practices of the 'home' country may explain that whilst attitudes toward women and domestic violence were changing and becoming more liberal for many of the

men living in the UK, they still had a presence. Most were seeking a balance between what they considered the attitudes and culture of the 'home' and 'host' countries, choosing to integrate into 'host' culture whilst maintaining parts of their 'home' culture. Previous studies have reported that being positioned between a 'home' and 'host' culture can create tensions and conflicts especially inter-generational conflicts. As a consequence, to ensure that South Asian tradition and culture is not lost or diluted to western influences, control and violence has been used by some families and individuals. The interviewed men argued that this mainly applied to first generation migrants and traditional families, whereas the second and third generation are, and should be, combining and reconfiguring their 'home' and 'host' cultural values. That said the interviewed men made very little distinction between South Asian women and men and men in general. They made strong arguments that the same values, standards, morals, and behaviours applied to all people regardless of socio-demographics such as gender and ethnicity/race.

The examination of masculinity to date has ignored the masculinities of South Asian men. Whilst there is not one single form of masculinity and it is constantly changing and fluid, for South Asian men, masculinity was constructed in the commonly-held beliefs of what it means to be a man. Here there were strong commonalities between South Asian men and other men, men in this study argued that the same values, standards, morals, behaviours should apply to all people regardless of gender and ethnicity/race. However, the 'qualities'/'attributes' of a man most valued by South Asian men are not emphasised in the western ideal of hegemonic masculinity. Paechter (2007) argues that: 'every community of masculinity and femininity practice is different: while we can find commonalities between groups, there will be subtle and not so subtle variations' (p.154). South Asian masculinity was shaped by hard work, the importance of family, and the sense of morals and values: qualities which were seen to be rooted in culture. Some of these dimensions, especially the emphasis on morals and values, have not been foregrounded in the western definition and ideal of masculinity and hegemonic masculinity, suggesting that there is room for

extension and development in masculinity studies. In addition, South Asian men did not feel disadvantaged, inferior or marginalised by other men, and neither did they talk about economic and/or educational disadvantage. In other words, on the hierarchal scale of masculinities, the men did not see themselves as 'marginalised masculinities' or 'subordinated masculinities' (see Connell, 1995). This may be reflective of, and explained by, the high educational and employment status of South Asian men born in and outside the UK.

9.3 Directions for future research

This study is the first to seek to understand South Asian men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence in the UK, and to be undertaken by a South Asian woman. It has highlighted a clear need for more quantitative and qualitative research among South Asian men and raised several issues that require further exploration.

In this field, future researchers may wish to consider the following directions. A larger sample in both survey and in-depth interviews could explore whether ethnic origin, religion, socio-economic class, and country of birth account for and explain differences in men's attitudes, and to use the data to undertake further/multivariate statistical testing.

One of the important outcomes of the quantitative research was the formation of the South Asian Attitudes Toward Women and Domestic Violence Scale – SAATWDVS. This instrument was applied to a convenience sample of South Asian men living in London and South East England. Future researchers could explore replication in other areas of the UK, making regional comparison possible, between, for example, the West Midlands, West Yorkshire and North West England. Equally, it would be interesting to apply the research instrument to undertake research in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

The research discovered that, where female behaviour was deemed to be unacceptable, this was often framed within concerns for the protection and wellbeing of women. This arose when men talked as a father or brother and not in the context of a partner or husband, and implies that different attitudes may apply according to the role, and the relationship, of the men to the woman. This has not been a major theme in the previous literature on attitudes toward women. Further exploration is needed as to how this fits within dynamics and nuances of power and control. Different methodological approaches may be required due to the limitations of attitudinal research so that stereotypes of masculinity are not reproduced and contextual nuance is explored.

9.4 Implications of the findings

The background to the research is that very little is known about South Asian men's attitudes to women and violence: recent media stories about honour based violence, forced marriage and sexual exploitation tends to portray them as especially traditional and patriarchal. The key contribution of this study is to challenge such stereotypical and homogenising perspectives, since it shows through both survey and interview data that South Asian men are not only diverse, but that the majority hold liberal attitudes which are unlikely to be that dissimilar to their White counterparts. At the same time there were aspects of how South Asian men understood family, being a man and culture, which are not yet integrated into gender, masculinity and intersectionality studies. The positive findings offer an empirical grounding for efforts, which seek to tackle violence and control in South Asian women's lives, creating a space for discussions on approaches for preventive work in communities and providing a baseline to enable policy and practice to tailor interventions to better assist South Asian women.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Methodological outline of the five studies undertaken with South Asian men on attitudes toward women and domestic violence as well as their limitations in research design and the sample

The Canadian study was quantitative in nature with a relatively small sample of 100 South Asian men confined to university students to measure their acculturation, gender role attitudes and attitudes toward domestic violence (Bhanot and Senn, 2007). Participants completed the questionnaires individually or in a small group. They found that South Asian men's attitudes toward wife beating were primarily related to their beliefs about gender roles. The authors claim that it is important to include married men and a wide age variation into the sample as younger unmarried South Asian men may not have had relationship experience. However, attitudes toward women may not be formed by having had a previous relationship experience. My research will eliminate these shortcomings by maximising diversity through the inclusion of married men and wider age variations by selecting several different locations from which to approach the respondents.

The earlier Pakistan study was undertaken by Fikree et al (2005) to explore men's attitudes on wife abuse and examine predicators of physical abuse in a convenience sample of 176 married men (who were married for at least one year and lived with their wives during the preceding year). Participants were taken to a private place and interviewed (orally) with the average interview lasting 45 minutes; the interviews were undertaken by a group of interviewers over a one month period (July 1996). Whilst venues in the city were selected to ensure a selection from various socioeconomic groups, only three sites were identified. The venues included the vegetable market (largely a lower income group), the consulting clinic of a private hospital (largely a middle-income group) and the executive clinics of a private hospital (largely a high-income group). The findings from the Pakistani study show that ethnicity, religion, and culture influenced the way women were viewed and the degree of tolerance of abuse of women. It is worth noting that the sample chosen for their study is the majority population in the chosen country, whereas the research here examines the attitudes of a minority or marginalised population, or a hard to reach group. The research was also conducted by men on men and by a group of interviewers. Therefore this research will be undertaken in different conditions; a sole female researcher undertaking research on a minority or marginalised, hard to reach group. Similarly, to maximise diversity through the inclusion of different socio-economic groups, several different locations from which to approach the respondents will be chosen. However, the research sample will include the attitudes of South Asian men born in and outside of the UK, and both married and unmarried men.

The other Pakistan study (Zakar et al, 2013) examined the beliefs and attitudes of men toward intimate partner violence in Pakistan and how men's beliefs and attitudes toward partner violence are shaped by the life-long process of gender socialization, where the role of wife is projected as submissive and docile. Zakar et al (2013) argue that the data show that the construct of 'ideal wife' inculcated among men fits into Foucault's notion of

'docile bodies', which are subjected to control, discipline, and violent punishment. The study is based on qualitative research; eight in-depth interviews and four focus group discussions (with 6 to 7 participants in each) with married males selected from Lahore and Sialkot using a purposive sampling method. Respondents were recruited through help from the community-based female health workers in each locality and the fieldwork was conducted during an 8 week period in November and December 2008. The researchers found that about 40% (22 of 55) of the selected men for both in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions refused to participate in the study for various reasons. This research sample will include a wider range of men through the inclusion of ethnic origin as men from India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh and both married and unmarried men.

The UK study undertaken by a White woman examined violence in the public and private spheres in Bradford, and explored the relationship between this and ideas of culture and religion in a sub section of the South Asian community; Pakistani Muslim men (Macey, 1999a). The material used in the article was collected over a four year period using a variety of methods and data collection procedures. Methods included participant and non-participant observations at meetings, conferences, Islamic society events, lectures, seminars, focus groups and interviews. Data collection research was undertaken by students of Pakistani origin in diverse settings such as participants' homes, schools, domestic violence units, psychiatric hospitals and day centres, maternity hospitals, drug abuse centres, and on street corners. Interestingly, there were very little in the way of research findings and no examination of men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence. This research will provide an examination of men's attitudes toward women and domestic violence, and include a wider sample of men; men who identify their religion as Islam, Hindu or Sikh and their ethnic origin as from India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh.

The other UK study looks at marriages, domestic violence and experiences of forced marriages among Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian communities in North East England (Gangoli et al, 2006). The three international studies selected and the UK study by Macey (1999a) above selected only men as the sample. As to my knowledge, this is the only second study undertaken on South Asian men and domestic violence, it has been included here. More specifically, the research was undertaken with women and men who were married, divorced or separated were interviewed to elicit data on their experiences of marriage and a sample of men and women who had experienced forced, arranged and love marriages were interviewed in order to understand perceptions and experiences of marriage. Additionally, focus groups with young people (aged between 10 and 22 years) were conducted, to understand their views and expectations about marriage. The study took place over a period of 18 months (September 2005 to Feb 2006) and a multi-methods approach was used including surveys, telephone and face-to-face interviews, and focus groups. The sample was made up of 37 women and 32 men. The scope of this research will be wider than the subject of marriage (including domestic and forced marriage) and will focus on a spectrum of actions and behaviours of South Asian women and domestic violence.

APPENDIX 2: Pilot survey research instrument

Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of and justification for domestic violence

This study is seeking to explore South Asian men's attitudes toward women and their understanding of domestic violence.

Please go through the questionnaire and answer as may questions as possible following the instructions. There are no right or wrong answers, we are just interested in your views and you may leave out any questions which you do not wish to answer.

The questionnaire asks a number of questions about South Asian men and women this includes people from the countries - Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan.

1. I am interested in your views about what you think is acceptable behaviour for women and South Asian women. Please read the statements and answer how much you agree or disagree with whether the behaviour is considered acceptable or not.

There are five choices for you to choose from. Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

1= strongly agree 2 = agree 3 = neither agree or disagree **4= disagree 5 = strongly disagree**	
a) Men should not have sexual relations before marriage	1…2…3…4…5
b) South Asian men should not have sexual relations before marriage	1…2…3…4…5
c) I have <u>no</u> respect for women that have sexual relations before marriage	1…2…3…4…5
d) I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women that have sexual relations before marriage[7]	1…2…3…4…5
e) It is acceptable for a woman to divorce her husband	1…2…3…4…5
f) It is acceptable for a South Asian woman to divorce her husband	1…2…3…4…5
g) Women should be free to wear what they like at any time	1…2…3…4…5
h) South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at any time	1…2…3…4…5
i) It is acceptable for women to drink alcohol	1…2…3…4…5

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[7] Pilot the following question (also): South Asian women who have sex before marriage are dishonourable

j) It is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol   1...2...3...4...5

k) I have <u>no</u> respect for women that go to bars and nightclubs[8]   1...2...3...4...5

l) I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs   1...2...3...4...5

m) Women have just as much right to an education than men   1...2...3...4...5

n) South Asian women have just as much right to an education than South Asian men   1...2...3...4...5

o) It is acceptable for women to live away from their parent's home before they are married   1...2...3...4...5

p) It is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parent's home before they are married   1...2...3...4...5

q) Women should know how to do the housework including cooking <u>before</u> they are married   1...2...3...4...5

r) South Asian women should know how to do the housework including cooking <u>before</u> they are married   1...2...3...4...5

s) Men should share in household tasks such as cooking and cleaning   1...2...3...4...5

t) South Asian men should share in household tasks such as cooking and cleaning   1...2...3...4...5

u) Men should have greater say than women in how their children are brought up   1...2...3...4...5

v) South Asian men should have greater say than women in how their children are brought up   1...2...3...4...5

w) Women should put their children and family before their career   1...2...3...4...5

x) South Asian women should put their children and family before their career   1...2...3...4...5

y) Men and women should be equally responsible for planning their household finances   1...2...3...4...5

z) South Asian men and women should be equally responsible for planning their household finances   1...2...3...4...5

a1) South Asian culture and tradition teaches men that they are more dominant than women[9]   1...2...3...4...5

a2) All religions teach people that women and men are equal   1...2...3...4...5

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[8] Pilot the following question (also): women should not go to bars and nightclubs
[9] Pilot the following question (also): South Asian culture and tradition teaches equality between women and men

2. I am also interested in how much you agree or disagree with the following. Once again there are five choices for you to choose from. Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

1= strongly agree   2 = agree   3 = neither agree or disagree
4= disagree   5 = strongly disagree

a3) It is important for South Asian men to show South Asian women that they are the head of the household   1…2…3…4…5

a4) South Asian men should refuse to give more money for the household budget when a South Asian woman requests it   1…2…3…4…5

a5) South Asian women should not be allowed to make any decisions regarding the household (including the children)   1…2…3…4…5

a6) South Asian women should not challenge South Asian men's decisions   1…2…3…4…5

a7) If a South Asian women does not obey her husband it is acceptable for him to shout and/ or swear at her   1…2…3…4…5

a8) South Asian men should know where their partner/ wife is when they are not together[10]   1…2…3…4…5

a9) Trying to put a wife down in front of others by calling her unpleasant names is not acceptable   1…2…3…4…5

a10) South Asian men should not be allowed to hit their partner/ wife   1…2…3…4…5

a11) It is okay for a South Asian man to hit his partner/ wife when they think she has done something wrong   1…2…3…4…5

a12) South Asian women should not refuse to have sex with their husband   1…2…3…4…5

a13) A certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a wife refuses to have sex   1…2…3…4…5

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[10] Pilot the following question (also): South Asian women should only go to places approved of by their husband

3. This section asks when a decision is needed to be made who between a South Asian husband and a South Asian wife or couple should make the <u>final</u> decision on the following:

There are three choices for you to choose from. Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

1= the wife/ female partner 2= joint decision 3= the husband/ male partner	
a) How the household income is spent	1…2…3…
b) When they have sex	1…2…3…
c) How to bring up/ care for the children	1…2…3…
d) How and when to do the cleaning, cooking etc (housework)	1…2…3…
e) The clothes that she wears	1…2…3…
f) Whether she is in paid employment	1…2…3…
g) How much time she spends at home	1…2…3…
h) How she follows her religion	1…2…3…

4. I am interested in whether you think that domestic violence is a problem in the South Asian community.

Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

1= strongly agree 2 = agree 3 = neither agree or disagree 4= disagree 5 = strongly disagree	
a) Domestic violence/ the use of violence is a problem in the South Asian community.	1…2…3…4…5
b) The prevalence of domestic violence is greater in the South Asian community than other communities.	1…2…3…4…5

5. People have different opinions about whether it is justified to use violence against their partner [by a partner, I mean a girlfriend as well as a wife]. There are four parts to this question (i to iv).

i) Do you think there are circumstances when it is justified to use violence against their partner?[11]

Please circle the number (either 1 or 2) that best reflects your opinion.

1) There are no circumstances where violence against a wife/ partner is justified	**Please go to and answer section iii and iv**
2) There are some circumstances when it is alright to use force or violence against a wife/ partner	**Please go to and answer all the sections; ii, iii and iv**

ii) Please read the key sentence with the various circumstances listed below from a to n, inserted in the blank of the key. How much do you agree or disagree that it is justified to use violence against a partner under the following circumstances:

There are five choices for you to choose from. Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

1= strongly agree   2 = agree   3 = neither agree or disagree **4= disagree   5 = strongly disagree**

Key sentence:
[When she is] …..
         Insert with items below

a) Nagging too much   1…2…3…4…5

b) Answering back   1…2…3…4…5

c) Having sex with another man[12]   1…2…3…4…5

d) Being irresponsible with money   1…2…3…4…5

e) Unwilling to have sex when he wants to   1…2…3…4…5

f) Neglecting/ not looking after the children properly   1…2…3…4…5

g) Neglecting the housework (i.e. cleaning and cooking)   1…2…3…4…5

h) Wearing inappropriate clothes   1…2…3…4…5

i) Going outside the home unaccompanied   1…2…3…4…5

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[11] Pilot this question – answer question ii) regardless whether they answer there are no circumstances where violence against a wife/partner is justified
[12] Pilot the following question (also): Having an affair with another man.

j) Not doing what she was told   1…2…3…4…5

k) Not spending enough time at home   1…2…3…4…5

l) Being in the company of other men   1…2…3…4…5

m) Not following her religion   1…2…3…4…5

n) Being disrespectful to family members   1…2…3…4…5

iii. In your opinion, what do you think South Asian men are hoping to achieve by using force or violence against their [a] partner?

```
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
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iv. In your opinion, do you think the reasons given by South Asian men for using force or violence against their [a] partner is the same or different as White British men?

Please circle the number that best reflects your opinion.

1. the same

2. different   **Please fill in the box below and explain
                                       what you think the difference is**

If different, what do you think the difference is?

```
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
[                                                                    ]
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6. Participant profile

1. How old are you (in years)? _____

2. What is your religion? *Please circle*

a) Hindu
b) Muslim
c) Sikh
d) No religion
e) Other religion (please specify) _____

3. What is your ethnic origin? *Please circle*

a) Indian
b) Bangladeshi
c) Pakistani
d) Other (please specify) _____

4. To what extent do you consider yourself to be religious? *Please circle*

a) not at all religious
b) somewhat religious
c) religious
d) very religious

5. What is the highest level of your educational attainment? *Please circle*

a) Less than High School
b) High School (GCSE's or equivalent)
c) Sixth Form/ College (A-levels or equivalent)
d) Bachelors degree (BA, BSc)
e) Masters degree (MA, MSc)
f) Doctorate (PhD)
g) Other

6. What is your job title? _____

7. What is your annual income? _____ [to provide income brackets]

8. What is your country of birth? _____

9. If born abroad, how many years have you lived in the UK for? _____

10. What is your marital status? *Please circle*

a) single/ never married
b) living with someone (not married)
c) married
d) widowed
e) divorced
f) separated

[If chosen option 10b to 10f, please answer questions 11 to 14]

11. How old were you when you last got married? _____

12. Is your current or last marriage *Please circle*

a) arranged (i.e. your parents or family chose your partner)
b) not arranged (i.e. you chose your own partner)

13. How many years have you been with your current or last partner? _____

14. What is your current or last partner's?

a) Age: _____
b) Education level: _____
c) Occupation: _____
d) Income level: _____
e) Country of birth: _____

APPENDIX 3: Testing the reliability and validity of the draft final survey research instrument

The draft final research instrument (which is changes made after the pilot but before the final instrument) has six sections and consists of 65 items.

1. A 19 item likert-scale measuring attitudes toward women and gender roles
2. A 11 item likert-scale measuring attitudes toward domestic violence
3. Who should make the final decision? (8 items)
4. A 14 item likert-scale measuring whether it is justified for men to use violence against a wife or partner?
5. Taking action against domestic violence (3 items)
6. Demographics (10 items)

Participants responded to 19 items in the 'attitudes toward women and gender roles' scale. Before examining the responses to the individual items within the scale, 8 items that were included in the scale were removed; 2 were added to assess South Asian men's attitudes around tradition and culture, and religion, and 6 items were added to establish whether South Asian men made a distinction between South Asian men and South Asian women, and South Asian women and women more generally. These questions did not address issues related to attitudes toward women and gender roles and would have been misleading if presented with the attitudes toward women items. Therefore the final scale included 11 items.

'Attitudes toward women and gender roles'' scale

With all 11 items included in the 'attitudes toward women and gender roles' scale the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was .805, suggesting that the items have high internal consistency or the scale is reliable. However, the table below shows it could be increased to .815 if the last item on '*South Asian men and women should be equally responsible for planning their household finances*' was omitted. Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted column represents the scale's Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for internal consistency if the individual item is removed from the scale.

Table 1 shows the item total coefficient for '*South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men*' (.295) is borderline (as an item total coefficient needs to be at least 0.2 or 0.3 to remain in the scale) and the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient would decrease if the item was deleted. Item '*South Asian men and women should be equally responsible for planning their household finances*' (.105) is less than 0.2. The analysis was repeated by deleting just the item '*South Asian men and women should be equally responsible for planning their household finances*', the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was .815 and the item total coefficient for '*South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men*' remained borderline at (.284). The analysis was repeated without the above two items. Dropping the two items, the alpha coefficient increased to .817 and there was no item with an item total correlation of less than 0.3. Dropping

the item '*South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men*' made little difference to the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient (.815 oppose to .817). In addition, there is only a marginal difference between using 11 or 10 items (.805 oppose to .815 and all the 10 items have an item total coefficient greater than 0.2). Using 10 of the 11 items from the 'attitudes toward women and gender roles' scale would produce a reliable and valid likert scale. The eliminated item '*South Asian men and women should be equally responsible for planning their household finances*' may be addressing a different issue to the rest of the items and/ or it may be expressed that it was misunderstood by the participants.

Table 1: Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1. I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage	36.7829	48.263	.587	.776
2. I have no respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs	36.6286	50.534	.492	.787
3. South Asian women should do all the household tasks	36.7543	50.612	.542	.782
4. South Asian men should have greater say in how children are brought up	36.4343	53.557	.430	.793
5. South Asian women should put their children and family before career	37.0514	53.658	.391	.797
6. Acceptable for South Asian women to divorce	36.3714	52.074	.457	.791
7. South Asian women should be free to wear what they like	36.4857	51.562	.509	.785
8. Acceptable for South Asian women to drink	37.1657	47.461	.604	.774
9. South Asian women have same right to an education	35.5429	56.985	.295	.804
10. Acceptable for South Asian women to live away	36.5657	49.236	.598	.775
11. South Asian men and women should be equally responsible for finance	35.6457	60.104	.105	.815

The same steps were repeated for the 'attitudes toward domestic violence' scale (section 2) and the 'whether violence is justified against a wife or partner' scale (section 4) of the research instrument.

'*Attitudes toward domestic violence'* scale

The Cronbach's alpha for the 'attitudes toward domestic violence' scale with 11 items was .798. The item total coefficient revealed that item '*trying to put a South Asian wife or partner down in front of others by calling her unpleasant names is not acceptable*' was borderline at .267 (see Table 2 below). If the item was dropped the Cronbach's alpha coefficient would increase to .804. The analysis was repeated by dropping this item, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient increased to .802 but the item total coefficient for item '*South Asian men should not be allowed to hit their wife or partner*' was borderline at .221. This step was repeated again with the removal of the two items. The alpha coefficient increased to .808 and there was no item with an item total correlation of less than 0.3. There is a marginal difference between .798 with 11 items and .808 with 9 items plus the item total coefficient is greater than 0.2 for all 11 items. Using 11 of the 11 items from the 'attitudes toward domestic violence' scale would produce a reliable and valid likert scale.

Table 2: Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1. South Asian men show they are head of the household	40.4253	43.228	.502	.777
2. South Asian men refuse money for household budget	39.5460	45.590	.467	.782
3. South Asian women to make no major decisions in the home	39.5402	43.117	.601	.768
4. South Asian women should not challenge partners decisions	39.6667	42.987	.634	.765
5. South Asian women does not obey her husband then acceptable to shout	39.7184	44.573	.489	.779
6. South Asian men know where their partner is when not together	40.5115	44.055	.399	.789
7. South Asian men hit when partner done something wrong	39.3851	45.105	.396	.788
8. South Asian women should not refuse their partner sex	39.9368	42.349	.529	.774
9. Pressure is acceptable if South Asian women refuses sex	39.7644	44.193	.481	.779
10. Call South Asian women unpleasant names is not acceptable	39.4713	46.378	.267	.804
11. South Asian men should not be allowed to hit partner	39.1609	47.442	.314	.795

'Justification of violence against a wife or partner' scale

The Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .900 for the 'justification of violence against a wife or partner' scale with all 14 items and there were no items with an item total correlation of less than 0.2 or 0.3 (see Table 3 below). The items were recoded from 1= always; 2= sometimes; 3= occasionally; 4= never; and 5= not sure to an ordinal scale where: 1= always; 2= sometimes; 3= occasionally; 4= not sure to; and 5= never. Using all 14 items from the 'justification of violence against a wife or partner' scale would produce a reliable and valid likert scale.

Table 3: Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1. Cir: Nagging too much	48.0952	61.751	.515	.897
2. Cir: Answering or talking back	48.2440	60.473	.552	.895
3. Cir: Having sex with another man	48.4881	58.048	.408	.908
4. Cir: Being irresponsible with money	48.2857	57.882	.636	.892
5. Cir: Unwilling to have sex when he wants to	48.0595	63.386	.379	.901
6. Cir: Neglecting the children	48.2321	56.287	.786	.885
7. Cir: Neglect the housework	48.2381	59.464	.672	.891
8. Cir: Wearing inappropriate clothes	48.1726	58.000	.694	.889
9. Cir: Going outside unaccompanied	48.1250	60.242	.598	.893
10. Cir: Not doing what she was told	48.1488	61.097	.586	.894
11. Cir: Spending too much time outside the home	48.1845	58.630	.705	.889
12. Cir: Being in the company of other men	48.2321	57.676	.595	.894
13. Cir: Not following her religion	48.1310	58.570	.712	.889
14. Cir: being disrespect to his family members	48.1250	58.445	.659	.891

APPENDIX 4: Final survey research instrument

Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of and justification for domestic violence

This study is seeking to explore South Asian men's attitudes toward women and their understanding of domestic violence.

Please answer as many questions as possible following the instructions. There are no right or wrong answers, I am just interested in your views and you may leave out any questions which you do not wish to answer.

1. I am interested in your views about what <u>you</u> think is appropriate behaviour. Please read the statements below and <u>circle a number</u> according to how much you agree or disagree with each one.

There are five choices for you to choose from. Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

1= strongly agree   2 = agree   3 = neither agree or disagree 4= disagree   5 = strongly disagree

a) South Asian men should not have sexual relations before marriage   1…2…3…4…5

b) I have <u>no</u> respect for women who have sexual relations before marriage   1…2…3…4…5

c) I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage   1…2…3…4…5

d) It is acceptable for a South Asian woman to divorce her husband   1…2…3…4…5

e) Women should be free to wear what they like at all times   1…2…3…4…5

f) South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times   1…2…3…4…5

g) It is acceptable for women to drink alcohol   1…2…3…4…5

h) It is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol   1…2…3…4…5

i) I have <u>no</u> respect for women that go to bars and nightclubs   1…2…3…4…5

j) I have <u>no</u> respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs   1…2…3…4…5

k) South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men   1…2…3…4…5

l) It is acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parent's home before they are married   1…2…3…4…5

m) Women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning   1…2…3…4…5

n) South Asian women should do all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning   1…2…3…4…5

o) South Asian men should have <u>greater</u> say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up   1…2…3…4…5

p) South Asian women should put their children and family before their career   1…2…3…4…5

q) South Asian culture and tradition teaches men that they are more important in the family than women   1…2…3…4…5

r) My religion teaches people that women and men are equal   1…2…3…4…5

2. I am also interested in how much you agree or disagree with the following. Once again there are five possibilities for you to choose from. Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

a) It is important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household   1…2…3…4…5

b) South Asian men should refuse to give <u>more</u> money for the household budget when their wife or partner requests it   1…2…3…4…5

c) South Asian women should not be allowed to make any major decisions regarding the household (including their children)   1…2…3…4…5

d) South Asian women should <u>not</u> challenge their husbands or partners decisions   1…2…3…4…5

e) If a South Asian woman does not obey her husband it is acceptable for him to shout at her   1…2…3…4…5

f) South Asian men should always know where their wife or partner is when they are not together   1…2…3…4…5

1= strongly agree	2 = agree	3 = neither agree or disagree
4= disagree	5 = strongly disagree	

g) Trying to put a South Asian wife or partner down in front of others by calling her unpleasant names is <u>not</u> acceptable   1…2…3…4…5

h) South Asian men should <u>not</u> be allowed to hit their wife or partner   1…2…3…4…5

i) It is okay for a South Asian man to hit his wife or partner when he thinks she has done something wrong   1…2…3…4…5

j) South Asian women should <u>not</u> refuse to have sex with their husband or partner   1…2…3…4…5

k) A certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a South Asian wife or partner refuses to have sex   1…2…3…4…5

3. This section asks when a decision is needed to be made who should make the <u>final</u> decision on the following:

There are four choices for you to choose from. Please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

1= the South Asian wife/ female partner
2= the South Asian husband/ male partner
3= joint decision between South Asian wife and husband
4= someone else (i.e. mother- in- law)

a) How the household income is spent   1…2…3…4…

b) How often they have sex   1…2…3…4…

c) How to bring up/ care for the children   1…2…3…4…

d) How, when and who should do the cleaning, cooking etc (housework)   1…2…3…4…

e) The clothes that she wears   1…2…3…4…

f) Whether she works outside the home i.e. in paid employment   1…2…3…4…

g) How much time she spends at home   1…2…3…4…

h) How she follows her religion   1…2…3…4…

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4. There are different opinions about whether and when it is justified for men to use violence against a wife or partner. What do you think?

Please read the key sentence with the various circumstances listed below from. Again you have five options, please put a circle around the number that best reflects your opinion.

| 1 = always | 2 = sometimes | 3 = occasionally |
| 4 = never | 5 = not sure | |

Is it ever justified to use violence against a wife or partner when she is:

a) nagging too much   1…2…3…4…5

b) answering or talking back   1…2…3…4…5

c) having sex with another man   1…2…3…4…5

d) being irresponsible with money   1…2…3…4…5

e) unwilling to have sex when he wants to   1…2…3…4…5

f) neglecting/ not looking after the children properly   1…2…3…4…5

g) neglecting the housework (i.e. cleaning and cooking)   1…2…3…4…5

h) wearing inappropriate clothes   1…2…3…4…5

i) going outside the home unaccompanied   1…2…3…4…5

j) not doing what she was told   1…2…3…4…5

k) spending too much time outside the home   1…2…3…4…5

l) being in the company of other men   1…2…3…4…5

m) not following her religion   1…2…3…4…5

n) being disrespectful to his family members   1…2…3…4…5

5. If you knew or suspected that a female family member was experiencing domestic violence from her partner?

a) How likely is it that you would take some form of action?

Please tick one box only.

☐ Very likely

☐ Fairly likely

☐ Fairly unlikely

☐ Very unlikely

b) What actions would you be most likely to take?

Please tick two boxes only.

☐ None – it is a private issue

☐ None – I don't want to get involved

☐ Speak to the woman and offer to help/ offer support/ offer advice

☐ Talk to the partner/ abuser and ask him to stop

☐ Speak to his friend(s)

☐ Speak to her friend(s)

☐ Speak to his relative(s)

☐ Speak to her relative(s)

☐ Speak to my friends

☐ Speak to my family

☐ Speak to a religious leader

☐ Seek professional advice/call a help line

☐ Call the police

☐ Something else (please tell me) _____

c) If a South Asian woman is experiencing domestic violence from her partner, which of the following sources do you think she should seek help from?

Please tick two boxes only.

☐ None – it is a private issue

☐ His friend(s)

☐ Her friend(s)

☐ His relative(s)

☐ Her relative(s)

☐ His family

☐ Her family

☐ A religious leader

☐ A doctor or nurse

☐ A counsellor

☐ A specialist domestic violence service/ helpline

☐ Police

☐ Somewhere else (please tell me) _____

6. Participant profile

a) How old are you (in years)? _____

b) What is your religion or belief? *Please tick one box*

☐ Hindu
☐ Muslim
☐ Sikh
☐ No religion
☐ Other religion (please tell me) _____

c) To what extent do you consider yourself to be religious? *Please tick one box*

☐ Not at all religious
☐ Somewhat religious
☐ Religious
☐ Very religious

d) To what extent does your religion influence the way you chose to act in your everyday life? *Please tick one box*

☐ Not at all
☐ Somewhat
☐ A lot

e) What is your ethnic origin? *Please tick one box*

☐ Indian
☐ Bangladeshi
☐ Pakistani
☐ Other (please tell me) _____

f) What is your country of birth? *Please tick one box*

☐ UK
☐ India
☐ Bangladesh
☐ Pakistan
☐ Other (please tell me) _____

g) If not born in the UK, how many years have you lived in the UK for? _____

h) What is your job title? _____
    *Please write 'unemployed' if you are not working / in paid employment
    or 'student' if you are currently in education.*

i) What is the highest level of your educational attainment? *Please tick one box*

☐ Less than High School

☐ High School (GCSE's or equivalent)

☐ Sixth Form/ College (A-levels or equivalent)

☐ Bachelors degree (BA, BSc)

☐ Masters degree (MA, MSc)

☐ Doctorate (PhD)

☐ Other (please tell me) _____

j) What is your marital status? *Please tick one box*

☐ Single/ never married

☐ In a relationship (not living together)

☐ In a relationship (living together)

☐ Married

☐ Widowed

☐ Divorced/ separated

APPENDIX 5: The use of factor analysis in scale development, validation of the scales, and in establishing internal structure of the research instrument

Chapter Four and Six set out how factor analysis is appropriate as the alpha coefficient is at least 0.70 for all three scales ('attitudes toward women and gender roles'; 'attitudes toward domestic violence'; and 'justification of violence against a wife or partner').

However, before progressing with factor analysis two conditions or two tests which provide a minimum standard should be considered. The two conditions or tests are: the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity and Keiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) values. More specifically, the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity can be used to test the null hypothesis that all the (population) correlations between the variables are equal to zero. If the p-value is larger or equal to 0.05 then we should accept the null hypothesis and conclude that factor analysis should not be considered. The KMO measure varies between 0 and 1, and values closer to 1 than 0 are better. An overall KMO value that is greater than 0.60 to 0.70 shows that factor analysis should be considered.

These two conditions or tests are carried out for the three scales ('attitudes toward women and gender roles'; 'attitudes toward domestic violence'; and 'justification of violence against a wife or partner') and presented here.

Once the conditions for factor analysis are met, the three steps in forming scales using factor analysis are followed for the three scales. The steps are to select the variables to be analysed; to extract an initial set of factors; and to extract a final set of factors by 'rotation'.

'Attitudes toward women and gender roles' scale

All ten items considered to belong to the 'attitudes toward women and gender roles' scale were used for the factor analysis procedure.

Table 1 shows that the Bartlett's sphericity is significant (p-value is 0.000 less than 0.05) and the KMO values is greater than 0.60 to 0.70 (0.808) therefore we can reject the null hypothesis and accept the conditions are met and factor analysis is appropriate.

Table 1: KMO and Bartlett's Test

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.808
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	480.181
	Df	45
	Sig.	.000

The eigenvalue is one way of determining which factors to keep and the most common method is to extract only the components that have an eigenvalue

greater than 1. Principal Component (PC) as the factor extraction method was employed.

Table 2 shows that two factors have an eigenvalue greater than 1. This means that two factors are needed to summarise the ten items.

It also shows that the first 2 unrotated factors (PCs) account for 51.65% of the total variance; the first factor accounts for 37.73% of the variance and the second 13.91%. All the remaining factors are not significant.

Table 2: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.773	37.734	37.734	3.773	37.734	37.734	2.871	28.707	28.707
2	1.391	13.912	51.646	1.391	13.912	51.646	2.294	22.938	51.646
3	.949	9.492	61.138						
4	.843	8.429	69.567						
5	.723	7.232	76.799						
6	.575	5.748	82.547						
7	.559	5.589	88.136						
8	.457	4.567	92.703						
9	.384	3.835	96.538						
10	.346	3.462	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Communalities range from 0 to 1 and indicate the amount of variance in each variable that is accounted for by the extracted factors. A high number denotes the better the fit of that variable in the analysis (De Vaus, 2002b). Items with a low communality should be dropped. As shown in Table 3, all the communalities are fairly high; the lowest is 0.312.

Table 3: Communalities

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
SA women no sex	1.000	.674
SAW to bars & club	1.000	.470
SA know housework	1.000	.497
SA men greater say in kids	1.000	.312
SA women put family before career	1.000	.411
SAW Divorce Rev	1.000	.479
SAW Wear what like Rev	1.000	.493
SAW Drink Rev	1.000	.529
SAW Education Rev	1.000	.708
SAW LiveAway Rev	1.000	.591

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

In addition, 67% of the variance in '*I have no respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage*' is accounted for while 48% of the variance '*it is acceptable for a South Asian woman to divorce her husband*' (reverse coded) is accounted for. Furthermore, the 2 factors explain between 31% and 71% of the variance of each of the 10 items.

Table 4 shows the factor loadings on the two unrotated factors. Having extracted the two components, the next task is to identify which items belong to which factor. High loading items 'belong' to the factor on which they load. In order to say that the item belongs to the component, the factor loading should be at least 0.3 (De Vaus, 2002b).

As the factor loadings are all at least 0.3 we can confirm that the items belong to the first component but we can see that some of the items loads on more than one factor i.e. 'divorce', wear what like', 'education', and 'live away.

Therefore to arrive at a clearer picture to differentiate between the components rotation can and is applied.

Table 4: Component Matrix

Component Matrix[a]

	Component	
	1	2
SA women no sex	.708	-.416
SAW to bars & club	.618	-.298
SA know housework	.658	-.254
SA men greater say in kids	.544	-.124
SA women put family before career	.513	-.385
SAW Divorce Rev	.573	.389
SAW Wear what like Rev	.620	.329
SAW Drink Rev	.728	-.012
SAW Education Rev	.384	.749
SAW LiveAway Rev	.713	.286

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 2 components extracted.

Rotation is often used to identify the items that belong to which component. Therefore, factor rotation can be used to produce factors loadings that are large or greater in magnitude (i.e. closer to one) making them easier to interpret and assign labels. In addition, factors prior to rotation may not make sense i.e. variables relating to the same category may not be on the same factor.

The solution following the rotation is clearer (see Table 5), with some items belonging to component/ factor 1 and some belong to factor 2 (see Table 6 and 7 respectively). The items on each factor are shown in bold. However, some items are still loading on both factors i.e. '*it is acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol*'.

Table 5: Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

	Component	
	1	2
SA women no sex	**.814**	.108
SAW to bars & club	**.670**	.146
SA know housework	**.675**	.205
SA men greater say in kids	**.505**	.238
SA women put family before career	**.641**	.013
SAW Divorce Rev	.213	**.659**
SAW Wear what like Rev	.286	**.641**
SAW Drink Rev	.580	**.439**
SAW Education Rev	-.159	**.826**
SAW LiveAway Rev	.386	**.664**

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Table 6: Factor/ component 1

The items and the factor loadings are as follows:

Attitude toward women and gender roles	Factor loading
No respect for South Asian women who have sexual relations before marriage	.814
No respect for South Asian women that go to bars and nightclubs	.670
South Asian women should do all the household tasks	.675
South Asian men should have greater say than South Asian women in how their children are brought up	.505
South Asian women should put their children and family before their career	.641

Table 7: Factor/ component 2

The items and the factor loadings are as follows:

Attitude toward women and gender roles	Factor loading
Acceptable for South Asian women to divorce her husband	.659
South Asian women should be free to wear what they like at all times	.641
South Asian women have just as much right to an education as South Asian men	.826
Acceptable for South Asian women to live away from their parents' home before they are married	.664
Acceptable for South Asian women to drink alcohol	.439

'*Attitudes toward domestic violence*' scale

The same steps were repeated for the 'attitudes toward domestic violence' scale (section 2) of the research instrument.

All eleven items (were included as the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was more than 0.7 and item total coefficient was more than 0.2), which were considered to belong to the 'attitudes toward domestic violence' scale was used for factor analysis procedure.

Table 8 shows that the Bartlett's sphericity is significant (p-value is 0.000 less than 0.05) and the KMO values is greater than 0.60 to 0.70 (0.780) therefore we can reject the null hypothesis and accept the conditions are met and factor analysis is appropriate.

Table 8: KMO and Bartlett's Test

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.780
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	533.010
	Df	55
	Sig.	.000

Table 9 shows that three factors have an eigenvalue greater than 1. This means that three factors are needed to summarise the eleven items.

It also shows that the first 3 unrotated factors (PCs) account for 59% of the total variance; the first factor accounts for 34.75% of the variance.

Table 9: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.822	34.749	34.749	3.822	34.749	34.749	2.760	25.092	25.092
2	1.595	14.503	49.252	1.595	14.503	49.252	1.918	17.435	42.527
3	1.077	9.786	59.039	1.077	9.786	59.039	1.816	16.512	59.039
4	.887	8.065	67.104						
5	.725	6.589	73.693						
6	.653	5.933	79.626						
7	.603	5.479	85.105						
8	.551	5.013	90.118						
9	.419	3.812	93.930						
10	.370	3.364	97.294						
11	.298	2.706	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

The 3 factors explain between 41% and 70% of the variance of each of the 11 items (see Table 10).

Table 10: Communalities

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
SM show head of household	1.000	.541
SM refuse money for household	1.000	.407
SAW no decisions in home	1.000	.535
SAW not challenge decisions	1.000	.629
SAW obey her husband	1.000	.466
SAM where partner is	1.000	.629
Call SAW names Rev	1.000	.700
SAM not hit partner Rev	1.000	.693
SAM hit when done wrong	1.000	.562
SAW not refuse sex	1.000	.663
Pressure SAW if refuse sex	1.000	.670

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 11 shows the factor loadings on the three unrotated factors.

Table 11: Component Matrix

Component Matrix[a]

	Component		
	1	2	3
SM show head of household	.637	-.282	-.236
SM refuse money for household	.589	.159	-.188
SAW no decisions in home	.721	.078	-.095
SAW not challenge decisions	.763	-.077	-.201
SAW obey her husband	.597	.129	-.305
SAM where partner is	.551	-.453	-.346
SAM hit when done wrong	.510	.054	.548
SAW not refuse sex	.664	-.273	.384
Pressure SAW if refuse sex	.597	-.199	.524
Call SAWWifeNames Rev	.338	.765	-.016
SAMNotHitPartner Rev	.370	.744	.039

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 3 components extracted.

As the factor loadings are all at least 0.3 we can confirm that the items belong to the first component but we can see that some of the items loads on more than one factor i.e. 'call wife names' and 'not hit partner'.

Therefore to arrive at a clearer picture to differentiate between the components rotation can and is applied (see Table 12).

The solution below following the rotation is clearer, with items belonging to each one of the three components/ factors (see Table 13, 14 and 15 respectively). The items on each factor are shown in bold.

Table 12: Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

	Component		
	1	2	3
SM show head of household	**.702**	.209	-.068
SM refuse money for household	**.525**	.139	.336
SAW no decisions in home	**.594**	.303	.300
SAW not challenge decisions	**.728**	.268	.166
SAW obey her husband	**.606**	.054	.309
SAM where partner is	**.742**	.104	-.259
SAM hit when done wrong	.065	**.716**	.214
SAW not refuse sex	.362	**.728**	-.048
Pressure SAW if refuse sex	.210	**.791**	.002
Call SAWWifeNames Rev	.077	.030	**.833**
SAMNotHitPartner Rev	.075	.096	**.823**

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

Table 13: Factor/ component 1

The items and the factor loadings are as follows:

Attitude toward domestic violence	Factor loading
Important for South Asian men to show their wife or partner that they are the head of the household	.702
South Asian men should refuse to give more money for the household budget when their wife or partner requests it	.525
South Asian women should not be allowed to make any major decisions regarding the household	.594
South Asian women should not challenge their husbands or partners decisions	.728
If a South Asian women does not obey her husband it is acceptable for him to shout at her	.606
South Asian men should always know where their wife or partner is when they are not together	.742

Table 14: Factor/ component 2

The items and the factor loadings are as follows:

Attitude toward domestic violence	Factor loading
It is okay for a South Asian man to hit his wife or partner when they think she has done something wrong	.716
South Asian women should not refuse to have sex with their husband or partner	.728
A certain amount of pressure is acceptable if a South Asian wife or partner refuses to have sex	.791

Table 15: Factor/ component 3

The items and the factor loadings are as follows:

Attitude toward domestic violence	Factor loading
Trying to put a South Asian wife or partner down in front of others by calling her unpleasant names is not unacceptable	.833
South Asian men should not be allowed to hit their wife or partner	.823

'*Justification of violence against a wife or partner*' scale

Finally, the same steps were repeated for the 'justification of violence against a wife or partner' scale (section 4) of the research instrument. All 14 items were included in the factor analysis procedure.

Table 16 shows that the Bartlett's sphericity is significant (p-value is 0.000 less than 0.05) and the KMO values is greater than 0.60 to 0.70 (0.926) therefore we reject the null hypothesis and accept the conditions are met and factor analysis is appropriate.

Table 16: KMO and Bartlett's Test

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.926
	Approx. Chi-Square	1952.322
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Df	91
	Sig.	.000

Table 17 shows that two factors have an eigenvalue greater than 1. This means that two factors are needed to summarise the ten items.

It also shows that the first 2 unrotated factors (PCs) account for 71.13% of the total variance; the first factor accounts for 61.88% of the variance and the second 9.25%. All the remaining factors are not significant.

Table 17: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	8.664	61.883	61.883	8.664	61.883	61.883	5.569	39.777	39.777
2	1.294	9.246	71.128	1.294	9.246	71.128	4.389	31.351	71.128
3	.614	4.388	75.516						
4	.580	4.143	79.659						
5	.517	3.696	83.354						
6	.405	2.893	86.248						
7	.379	2.708	88.955						
8	.331	2.366	91.321						
9	.295	2.106	93.427						
10	.245	1.754	95.181						
11	.218	1.554	96.735						
12	.184	1.317	98.052						
13	.150	1.069	99.121						
14	.123	.879	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

The 2 factors explain between 65% and 76% of the variance of each of the 14 items (see Table 18).

Table 18: Communalities

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
CirNagRC	1.000	.731
CirSexOtherManRC	1.000	.726
CirAnswerBackRC	1.000	.717
CirIrrespMoneyRC	1.000	.707
CirUnwillSexRC	1.000	.673
CirNeglectKidsR	1.000	.729
CirNeglectHWorKRC	1.000	.662
CirInapropClothesRC	1.000	.685
CirOutUnaccompRC	1.000	.653
CirNotDoingToldRC	1.000	.753
CirNotAtHomeRC	1.000	.754
CirWithOtherMenRC	1.000	.665
CirNotFollowRelRC	1.000	.744
CirDisrRespectFamRC	1.000	.760

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

As the factor loadings are all at least 0.3 we can confirm that the items belong to the first component but we can see that some of the items load on

more than one factor i.e. 'sex with other men' and 'in company with other men' (see Table 19).

Table 19: Component Matrix

Component Matrix[a]

	Component	
	1	2
CirNagRC	.782	-.347
CirSexOtherManRC	.568	.635
CirAnswerBackRC	.735	-.421
CirIrrespMoneyRC	.840	-.044
CirUnwillSexRC	.717	-.398
CirNeglectKidsR	.848	.096
CirNeglectHWorKRC	.809	-.088
CirInapropClothesRC	.826	.048
CirOutUnaccompRC	.771	-.242
CirNotDoingToldRC	.856	-.146
CirNotAtHomeRC	.866	.061
CirWithOtherMenRC	.725	.374
CirNotFollowRelRC	.833	.223
CirDisrRespectFamRC	.787	.374

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 2 components extracted.

Therefore to arrive at a clearer picture to differentiate between the components rotation can and is applied (see Table 20).

The solution following the rotation is clearer, with some items belonging to component/ factor 1 and some belong to factor 2 (see Table 21 and 22 respectively). The items on each factor are shown in bold. However, many of the items are still loading on both factors.

Table 20: Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

	Component	
	1	2
CirNagRC	**.820**	.242
CirSexOtherManRC	.020	**.852**
CirAnswerBackRC	**.833**	.156
CirIrrespMoneyRC	**.668**	.511
CirUnwillSexRC	**.804**	.162
CirNeglectKidsR	**.584**	.623
CirNeglectHWorKRC	**.673**	.457
CirInapropClothesRC	**.598**	.572
CirOutUnaccompRC	**.744**	.315
CirNotDoingToldRC	**.746**	.443
CirNotAtHomeRC	**.620**	.608
CirWithOtherMenRC	.309	**.755**
CirNotFollowRelRC	**.490**	.710
CirDisrRespectFamRC	**.357**	.795

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Table 21: Factor/ component 1

The items and the factor loadings are as follows:

Justifying abusive behaviour towards a partner or wife	Factor loading
Nagging too much	.820
Answering or talking back	.833
Being irresponsible with money	.668
Unwilling to have sex when he wants to	.804
Neglecting/ not looking after the children properly	.584
Neglecting the housework	.673
Wearing inappropriate clothes	.598
Going outside the home unaccompanied	.744
Not doing what she was told	.746
Spending too much time outside the home	.620
Not following her religion	.490
Being disrespectful to his family members	.357

Table 22: Factor/ component 2

The items and the factor loadings are as follows:

Attitude toward domestic violence	Factor loading
Having sex with another man	.852
Being in the company of other men	.755

APPENDIX 6: Chi-square tests for differences in justifying violence towards a partner or wife

Ethnic origin

Table 1 shows that men whose ethnic origin is Indian have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when neglecting/ not looking after the children properly compared to men whose ethnic origin is Bangladeshi and Pakistani. Just fewer than three-quarters (69.7%) of liberal Indian men said that violence was not justified when neglecting/ not looking after the children properly compared with just over half (50.8%) of liberal Bangladeshi and Pakistani men.

Table 1: The relationship between ethnic origin and attitudes toward neglecting/ not looking after the children properly

Item	Ethnic origin	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Neglecting/ not looking after the children properly	**Indian** Liberal	85	69.7	6.313	2	0.043
	Not sure	11	9.0			
	Traditional	26	21.3			
	Bangladeshi and Pakistani					
	Liberal	31	50.8			
	Not sure	8	13.1			
	Traditional	22	36.1			

As can be seen from Table 2, the proportions show that men whose ethnic origin is Indian have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when not following her religion compared to men whose ethnic origin is Bangladeshi and Pakistani.

Table 2: The relationship between ethnic origin and attitudes toward not following her religion

Item	Ethnic origin	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Not following her religion	**Indian** Liberal	99	79.2	13.258	2	0.001
	Not sure	12	9.6			
	Traditional	14	11.2			
	Bangladeshi and Pakistani					
	Liberal	36	60.0			
	Not sure	4	6.7			
	Traditional	20	33.3			

Country of birth

Table 3 shows that men who are born in the UK have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when unwilling to have sex when he wants to compared to men who are not born in the UK. Nearly nine-tenths (87.5%) of liberal UK men said that violence was not justified when unwilling to have sex when he wants to compared with fewer than three-quarters of non-UK men (68.8%).

Table 3: The relationship between country of birth and attitudes toward unwilling to have sex when he wants to

Item	Country of birth	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Unwilling to have sex when he wants to	**UK** Liberal Not sure Traditional	49 2 5	87.5 3.6 8.9	7.202	2	0.027
	Non UK Liberal Not sure Traditional	77 14 21	68.8 12.5 18.8			

Men who are born in the UK have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when neglecting/ not looking after the children properly compared to men who are not born in the UK (see Table 4).

Table 4: The relationship between country of birth and attitudes toward neglecting/ not looking after the children properly

Item	Country of birth	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Neglecting/ not looking after the children properly	**UK** Liberal Not sure Traditional	43 6 6	78.2 10.9 10.9	10.766	2	0.005
	Non UK Liberal Not sure Traditional	61 13 38	54.5 11.6 33.9			

As can be seen from Table 5, the proportions show that men who are born in the UK have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when being in the company of other men compared to men who are not born in the UK. This is highly significant.

Table 5: The relationship between country of birth and attitudes toward being in the company of other men

Item	Country of birth	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Being in the company of other men	**UK** Liberal Not sure Traditional **Non UK** Liberal Not sure Traditional	47 2 6 62 16 35	85.5 3.6 10.9 54.9 14.2 31.0	15.260	2	0.000

Table 6 shows that men who are born in the UK have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when being disrespectful to his family members compared to men who are not born in the UK.

Table 6: The relationship between country of birth and attitudes toward being disrespectful to his family members

Item	Country of birth	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Being disrespect-ful to his family members	**UK** Liberal Not sure Traditional **Non UK** Liberal Not sure Traditional	43 5 6 63 15 34	79.6 9.3 11.1 56.2 13.4 30.4	9.236	2	0.010

Occupation

Men who are in managerial or professional occupations have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when unwilling to have sex when he wants to compared to men who are in other occupations (non managerial and professional) (see Table 7). Nearly a quarter (23.3%) of men in other occupations held traditional attitudes or in other words thought that violence was always, sometimes or occasionally justified when unwilling to have sex when he wants to compared to just over one in ten (10.5%) of men in managerial or professional occupations.

Table 7: The relationship between occupation and attitudes toward unwilling to have sex when he wants to

Item	Occupation	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Unwilling to have sex when he wants to	**Manager and Prof** Liberal Not sure Traditional	 72 5 9	 83.7 5.8 10.5	6.937	2	0.031
	Other occupations Liberal Not sure Traditional	 48 8 17	 65.8 11.0 23.3			

Marital status

As can be seen from Table 8, the proportions show that men in a relationship have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when unwilling to have sex when he wants to compared to men not in a relationship.

Table 8: The relationship between marital status and attitudes toward unwilling to have sex when he wants to

Item	Marital status	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Unwilling to have sex when he wants to	**Not in a relationship** Liberal Not sure Traditional	 44 12 16	 61.1 16.7 22.2	14.035	2	0.001
	In a relationship Liberal Not sure Traditional	 91 4 13	 84.3 3.7 12.0			

Table 9 shows that men in a relationship have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when wearing inappropriate clothes compared to men not in a relationship. Just over a third (33.8%) of men not in a relationship held traditional attitudes or in other words thought that violence was always, sometimes or occasionally justified when wearing inappropriate clothes.

***Table 9: The relationship between marital status and attitudes toward
wearing inappropriate clothes***

Item	Marital status	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Wearing inappropriate clothes	**Not in a relationship** Liberal	42	59.2	8.031	2	0.018
	Not sure	5	7.0			
	Traditional	24	33.8			
	In a relationship Liberal	83	76.9			
	Not sure	8	7.4			
	Traditional	17	15.7			

Men in a relationship have liberal views or believe that violence against a
wife or partner is never justified when going outside the home
unaccompanied compared to men not in a relationship. Just over a quarter
(28.2%) of men not in a relationship held traditional attitudes or said that it
was justified for men to use violence against a wife or partner 'always,
sometimes and occasionally' when going outside the home unaccompanied
(see Table 10).

***Table 10: The relationship between marital status and attitudes toward
going outside the home unaccompanied***

Item	Marital status	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Going outside the home unaccompanied	**Not in a relationship** Liberal	46	64.8	6.751	2	0.034
	Not sure	5	7.0			
	Traditional	20	28.2			
	In a relationship Liberal	87	79.1			
	Not sure	9	8.2			
	Traditional	14	12.7			

As can be seen from Table 11, the proportions show that men in a
relationship have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or
partner is never justified when being in the company of other men compared
to men not in a relationship. Just under a third (30.4%) of men not in a
relationship said that it was justified for men to use violence against a wife or
partner 'always, sometimes and occasionally' when going outside the home
unaccompanied.

Table 11: The relationship between marital status and attitudes toward being in the company of other men

Item	Marital status	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Being in the company of other men	**Not in a relationship** Liberal Not sure Traditional	45 3 21	65.2 4.3 30.4	7.497	2	0.024
	In a relationship Liberal Not sure Traditional	75 16 19	68.2 14.5 17.3			

Table 12 shows that men in a relationship have liberal views or believe that violence against a wife or partner is never justified when not following her religion compared to men not in a relationship. Just over a quarter (27.1%) of men not in a relationship said that it was justified for men to use violence against a wife or partner 'always, sometimes and occasionally' when not following her religion.

Table 12: The relationship between marital status and attitudes toward not following her religion

Item	Marital status	N	%	Chi-square	d.f	P
Not following her religion	**Not in a relationship** Liberal Not sure Traditional	44 7 19	62.9 10.0 27.1	7.463	2	0.024
	In a relationship Liberal Not sure Traditional	89 7 14	80.9 6.4 12.7			

APPENDIX 7: Final interview guide

Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of and justification for domestic violence

Introduction [to be read out to the participant]

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview.

As you will have read from the information sheet, this study is seeking to explore South Asian men's attitudes toward women and their understanding of domestic violence. By South Asian men, I mean a man whose ethnic origin is from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

I am interested in what you think - there are no right or wrong answers. If there are questions which you do not wish to answer you can just say this. I have asked your permission for the interview to be tape recorded. You can ask me to stop this, or the interview at any point.

There are three sections:

- Exploring your views on women and their roles
- Your understanding of domestic violence
- Why you think the things you do

At the start of the interview, I will also ask whether you are happy to fill out a sheet about your age, level of education and marital status etc.

Throughout the interview I am interested in your views with respect to South Asian women (by South Asian women, I mean a woman whose ethnic origin is from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh).

Section 1: Attitudes toward women

1. What are your views on South Asian women living in the UK?

   PROBES:
   - Education
   - Education affects how women are viewed/ perceived by community?
   - Employment before marriage
   - Living away from parents before marriage
   - Living away from parents affects how women are viewed/ perceived by community?
   - Having paid employment after marriage

   - Have your views changed? How and why? After marriage?

- [If born or lived outside the UK] is this different from what you thought when living in [insert name of country]?
- Why and how did your views change?

2. Do you have views on how South Asian women dress and behave?

   PROBES:
   - Hair, Make-up, Clothes
   - Going to bars and nightclubs
   - Drinking alcohol, Smoking

3. What are your views on <u>relationships</u> (by this I mean a boyfriend or girlfriend) before marriage?

   PROBES:
   - Sexual relationships?
   - Relationship affects how women are viewed and treated within the family?
   - How might this affect how women are viewed/ perceived by community?

4. How would you describe an **independent** South Asian woman?

   PROBE:
   - Independence

5. How would you describe a **traditional** South Asian woman?

   PROBE:
   - Traditional

6. What kind of woman do you want to/did you marry?

7. What does being a man mean to you?

   PROBES:
   - Being a South Asian man?
   - Breadwinner?
   - Earning more money than a woman or a/ your partner?

8. Do you have views on how South Asian men should dress and behave?

9. How would having a relationship before marriage affect a South Asian man's standing in the community?

10. What kind of man do South Asian women want to marry?

11. Do traditional ideas about gender create barriers between South Asian women and men?

Section 2: Attitudes toward domestic violence

1. What do you think domestic violence is?

2. How common do you think domestic violence is in South Asian communities?

3. I now want to ask you about certain kinds of actions, and whether you can tell me about a situation where this might be justified

   - Shouting at a wife/partner
   - Setting rules for a wife/partner about household matters and/or childcare
   - Stopping a wife/partner doing something she wants to do
   - Putting pressure on a wife/partner to have sex
   - Slapping a wife/partner
   - Hitting a wife/partner

4. When do you think a South Asian man might hit their wife or partner?

   PROBES:
   - Done something wrong?
   - Discipline/ teach her?
   - Nothing else works?

5. What should happen if men are regularly hitting and dominating their wife or partner?

   PROBES:
   - What should family do? What should agencies do? What should the woman do? What should the man do?

Section 3: Why you think as you do

1. What does tradition and culture mean to you?

2. Has **tradition/culture** influenced your previous answers to the questions about your attitudes toward South Asian women and domestic violence? Please tell me how and why

3. What does honour mean to you?

   PROBES:
   - How about dishonour?
   - How can a woman bring dishonour?
   - Is it connected to domestic violence? How?

4. Are there any other things which have had a big influence on your views?

   PROBES:

   - Religion? How? Why?
   - Family? Friends? Media? How? Why?
   - How about masculinity [by this I mean being a man/ male] / male privilege? How? Why?
   - How about gender roles? How? Why?

5. Is there anything else you think I need to know in order to understand why you think as you do?

6. I am interested in how you found doing this interview – how are you feeling now?

7. Have you said anything that surprised you or that you will think about more afterwards?

8. Are there any other questions you think I should have asked?

Thank you for taking time to participate in this study.

If you have any further questions or feel that you need some more information, please contact me or my supervisor on the details shown on the information sheet.

Participant profile

a) How old are you (in years)? _____

b) What is your religion or belief? *Please tick one box*

□ Hindu
□ Islam
□ Sikh
□ No religion
□ Other religion (please tell me) _____

c) To what extent do you consider yourself to be religious? *Please tick one box*

□ Not at all religious
□ Somewhat religious
□ Religious
□ Very religious

d) To what extent does your religion influence the way you choose to act in your everyday life? *Please tick one box*

□ Not at all
□ Somewhat
□ A lot

e) What is your ethnic origin? *Please tick one box*

□ Indian
□ Bangladeshi
□ Pakistani
□ Other (please tell me) _____

f) What is your country of birth? *Please tick one box*

□ UK
□ India
□ Bangladesh
□ Pakistan
□ Other (please tell me) _____

g) If not born in the UK, how many years have you lived in the UK for? _____

h) What is your job title? _____
    Please write 'unemployed' if you are not working / in paid employment or 'student' if you are currently in education.

i) What is the highest level of your educational attainment? *Please tick one box*

□ Less than High School
□ High School (GCSE's or equivalent)
□ Sixth Form/ College (A-levels or equivalent)
□ Bachelors degree (BA, BSc)
□ Masters degree (MA, MSc)
□ Doctorate (PhD)
□ Other (please tell me) _____

j) What is your marital status? *Please tick one box*

□ Single/ never married
□ In a relationship (not living together)
□ In a relationship (living together)
□ Married
□ Widowed
□ Divorced/ separated

[If chosen any option except single, please answer questions k to m]

k) Is your most recent/current marriage *Please circle*

    a) arranged (i.e. your parents or family chose your partner)
    b) not arranged (i.e. you chose your own partner)

l) How many years have you been with your current or last partner?
    _____

m) What is your current or last partner's?

    a) age: _____
    b) highest level of education attainment: _____
    c) job title: _____
       Please write 'unemployed or housewife' if she is not working / in paid employment.
    d) country of birth: _____

APPENDIX 8: Information sheet

Attitudes of South Asian men in the UK toward women and their understanding of and justification for domestic violence

Information sheet for participants (please keep this information)

You are being asked to take part in an important research study conducted by Harjinder Kaur (the researcher) – a PhD student at the Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit (CWASU) at London Metropolitan University. The information collected will be used for the purpose of Harjinder's research – a thesis written to gain the PhD and articles to be published more publicly.

What is the purpose of the study?

The study is seeking to explore South Asian men's attitudes toward women and their understanding of domestic violence.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected as a possible participant on the basis of your ethnic origin (Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan), and your age (18 years of age or older).

What will I have to do?

You will be asked to take part in an interview that includes questions on the research topic – women, men and domestic violence. The interview will take between 45 minutes to an hour. Your permission for whether you are happy for the interview to be audio tape recorded will be sought. You can still take part if you do not wish for the interview to be recorded.

Do I have to take part?

It is entirely up to you if you wish to take part. If you do decide to take part you can withdraw at any time without any consequences and you do not need to provide a reason to the researcher. If there are specific questions that you do not wish to answer, then you do not have to do so.

If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

It is very unlikely that taking part will cause you distress. However, some of the questions might raise sensitive issues for you which may result in some temporary emotional discomfort or unease.

Should you experience any such discomfort and you require advice or assistance, please contact the Respect helpline on 0845 122 8609.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

For you: you may find taking part makes you more aware of your own attitudes toward women and domestic violence.

For the wider society: there is very little data on South Asian men's knowledge of, and attitudes to, women and domestic violence. This study will fill that gap. The research findings will be used to inform interventions in South Asian communities so that they can be more effective.

Will I be identified?

No you will NOT be identified. All data collected will be anonymised. Whilst I need your signature on the consent form, your name will not be recorded anywhere in the research data.

After completion of the interview the researcher will transcribe the recording (or her notes if you choose not be recorded). This text will be identified only by a number and it will be uploaded into a computer software package (NVivo) with those of other participants. This database will be password protected and only accessible by the researcher and her supervisor. The data from all the interviews will be held on the researcher's computer – which is also password protected.

If any sections of what you say are used in future presentations/publications no information which might identify you will be used.

Who can I contact if I have more questions?

If you have any questions or concerns regarding the research and/or if you wish to obtain summary findings of the research you can contact the researcher directly or her supervisor, Professor Liz Kelly.

Harjinder Kaur (PhD student/ researcher) CWASU London Metropolitan University Ladbroke House 62-66 Highbury Grove London N5 2AD Tel: 0207 133 5014 Email: HAK0326@londonmet.ac.uk	Prof Liz Kelly (Roddick Chair on Violence against Women Director, CWASU) CWASU London Metropolitan University Ladbroke House 62-66 Highbury Grove London N5 2AD Tel: 0207 133 5014 Email: l.kelly@londonmet.ac.uk

Participant consent form

CONSENT STATEMENT

1. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the research at any time, without giving any reason.

2. I am aware of what my participation will involve.

3. The researcher has explained the small risk of potential discomfort involved in participation.

4. All questions that I have about the research have been satisfactorily answered.

5. I agree to the interview being tape- recorded

   Yes ☐   No ☐

I agree to participate.

Participant's signature: _____

Tick this box if you would like to receive a summary of the results by e-mail ☐

E-mail: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 10: Characteristics of the sample of South Asian men

	Number	Percentage
Age	[n=188]*	
18 – 22	18	9.6
23 – 27	36	<u>19.1</u>**
28 – 32	54	**28.7****
33 – 37	30	16.0
38 – 42	22	11.7
43 – 47	4	2.1
48 – 52	7	3.7
53 – 57	7	3.7
58 +	10	5.3
Religion	[n=189]	
Hindu	75	**39.7**
Islam	68	<u>36.0</u>
Sikh	32	16.9
No religion	6	3.2
Other	8	4.2
Ethnic origin	[n=190]	
India	125	**65.8**
Bangladesh	7	3.7
Pakistan	58	<u>30.5</u>
Country of birth	[n=190]	
UK	56	<u>29.5</u>
India	70	**36.8**
Bangladesh	2	1.1
Pakistan	45	23.7
Other	17	8.9
No. of years in the UK	[n=126]	
1	17	13.5
2	8	6.3
3	12	9.5
4	8	6.3
5	13	10.3
6 – 10	38	**30.2**
11 +	30	<u>23.8</u>

Base = 190
* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement
** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.

	Number	Percentage
Job title/ occupation	[n= 168]*	
Managers, Directors & Senior Officials	39	23.2**
Professional Occupations	47	**28.0****
Associate & Technical Occupations	19	11.3
Administrative & Secretarial Occupations	4	2.4
Skilled Trades Occupation	4	2.4
Caring, Leisure & Other Service Occupations	2	1.2
Sales & Customer Service Occupations	12	7.1
Process, Plant & Machine Operatives	2	1.2
Elementary Occupations	1	0.6
Student	21	12.5
Employed (unknown)	11	6.5
Other (retired, unemployed)	6	3.6
Level of education	[n= 185]	
Less than High School	5	2.7
High School (GCSE's or equivalent)	15	8.1
Sixth Form/ College (A-levels of equivalent)	28	15.1
Bachelors Degree	69	**37.3**
Masters Degree	61	33.0
Doctorate	4	2.2
Other	3	1.6
Marital status	[n=185]	
Single/ never married	65	35.1
In a relationship (not living together)	6	3.2
In a relationship (living together)	2	1.1
Married	104	**56.2**
Widowed	1	0.5
Divorced/ separated	7	3.8

No. of years in the UK for those not born in the UK (rounded up to the nearest whole year)
Base = 190
* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement
** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.

	Number	Percentage
To what extent do you consider yourself to be religious?	[n=190]*	
Not at all	27	14.2
Somewhat	71	<u>37.4</u>**
Religious	74	**38.9****
Very religious	18	9.5
To what extent does your religion influence the way you choose to act in your everyday life?	[n=187]	
Not at all	45	24.1
Somewhat	77	**41.2**
A lot	65	<u>34.8</u>

Base = 190

* Missing data is not consistent, so the base number for each question is presented in square brackets after each statement

** For presentation, the bold percentage presents the highest number and the underlined the second highest.