

Forced to teach: Teachers  
negotiating their personal and  
professional identities when  
addressing forced marriage in the  
classroom.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AM	Arranged Marriage
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DV	Domestic Violence
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECJ	European Courts of Justice
EdD	Doctorate in Education
EEA	European Economic Area
FBO	Faith-Based Organisations
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDA	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FM	Forced Marriage
FMU	Forced Marriage Unit
GBH	Grievous Bodily Harm
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HBV	Honour Based Violence
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRA	Human Rights Act 1998
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
LLM	Masters of Law
NAWP	Newham Asian Women's Project
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
PSHE	Personal and Social Health Education
SBS	Southall Black Sisters
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Doctorate in loving memory of my father, the belated Arif. W. Khan and my frail but strong-willed mother, Masuda Khan who taught me the greatest lesson of all, the value of education.

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## **ABSTRACT:**

On 16<sup>th</sup> June 2014, legislation came into force in the UK criminalising the practice of forced marriage. This signified a growing concern regarding this practice involving British citizens. In its policy document for front-line services entitled 'Multi-agency Statutory Guidelines: Handling cases of forced marriage' (2009 & 2014), the government indicated that schools should play a role in the detection and prevention of forced marriage. This study investigates the perceptions and experiences of teachers based in a South London secondary school on addressing in the classroom the topic of FM. The study focuses on qualitative research involving a sample of eight semi-structured interviews with teachers, five semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, and six classroom observations. This study is conceptualised and theorised within a feminist post-structural framework. The study draws upon intersectionality to capture how teachers negotiate their professional and personal identities that they constructed as gendered, racial, religious and cultural subjectivities. A Foucauldian approach to thematic and identity analysis is employed to explore the perception of dominant discourses surrounding FM through its construction as a South Asian, Muslim problem. The key findings were threefold: firstly, teachers constructed FM as a racial and gendered issue; secondly, teachers constructed their identities as professional and personal, with the aim of becoming the 'good teacher' which they associated with professionalism; and thirdly, some teachers revealed that their personal and professional identities were challenged when implementing FM policy. This study unpacks how teachers resist and reproduce gendered and racial discourses to construct FM. These findings support the literature reviewed, in that teachers perform multiple identities which are shaped by three discourses; neutrality, professionalism and political correctness, which are underpinned by emotions. Some teachers suppressed their personal identities to allow their professional identities to prevail. All participants agreed that FM should appear on the national curriculum and, preferably, should be delivered by an external expert, such as the FMU. This study contributes to existing literature surrounding teachers' identities and emotions. The study highlights how FM should be defined through policy as a human rights abuse and exposes inadequate FM training for qualified teachers.



## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 The Study**

This study focuses upon teachers' experiences of drawing from varying practices and discourses relating to addressing forced marriage (FM) in the classroom. The study will contextualise power dynamics of FM government policy, the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 and the HM government, Multi-Agency Practice Guidelines (2014), and the practices of an educational institution on FM awareness. Links between the social milieu of the school and gendered, racial, cultural and religious subjectivities of the teachers' practice in implementing government policy on FM will be explored. This study will conceptualise how teachers construct FM, how they position themselves when addressing FM in the classroom and to what extent, if at all, their personal and professional identities are negotiated or compromised. This study is informed by a feminist post-structural framework and aims to understand the multiple constructions of teachers' identities and knowledge.

### **1.2 The Contested Concept of Forced Marriage**

The concept of arranged marriage (AM) and FM are often confused. Arranged marriages are when parents or family members choose whom their children will marry, and full consent is given by the bride and groom to the marriage. A forced marriage is when one or both parties to the marriage do not consent.

The Home Office originally defined forced marriage as:

“where one or both parties are coerced into a marriage against their will and under duress.”

(HM government multi-agency statutory guidance, 2009, p.8).

This definition suggests that the absence of consent and presence of pressure makes the marriage forced.

Following the criminalisation of FM (discussed in section 1.4), the definition of FM was revised to supplement the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014):

“A forced marriage is where one or both people do not (or in cases of people with learning disabilities, cannot) consent to the marriage and pressure or abuse is used.”

(HM government multi-agency statutory guidance, 2014, p.8).

The government changed the FM definition to make it more accessible to younger persons and fit into the ambiance of the Act. However, the essence of the definition remained the same as the original definition, in that the two main elements constituting FM are still a lack of consent and the application of pressure.

Chantler (2014b) questions the FM definition and explores the complexities of consent and coercion, and blurs the distinction between arranged and forced marriage.

“...slippage between arranged and forced marriage occurs when an arranged marriage happens at the level of social expectation.”

(Chantler, 2014b, p.5).

Chantler (2014b) suggested that if marriage is presented as arranged, but there is no choice, it is forced. The government's definition of FM appears more ridged, leaving no room for discussion of situations where parents seem to be giving their child a choice in a marriage proposal, but the child interprets the situation differently. The child's sense of loyalty and respect for their parents might mean that they choose to waive their right and reluctantly agree to the marriage proposal. In this situation the parent has not applied any pressure on their child. Chantler 2014(b) would argue that this is where the blurring between FM and AM occurs. However, under the government's definition this situation would not be perceived as forced, because the child has consented and no pressure has been applied.

### **1.3 Background to the Study**

The government appears to have constructed teachers' roles as ethical gate-keepers, and possibly views them as best positioned to tackle social issues with young

persons, such as bullying, drug-use and FM. Therefore, the importance of this research study is to focus on teachers' perspectives of being constructed within this role, and how their personal and professional identities may be negotiated as a result of being put in this position.

The government announced that schools need to take responsibility for being detection and prevention points for FM, and incorporated this into their guidance.

"These practice guidelines should be used by all front-line professionals and volunteers within agencies that are responsible for safeguarding children and young people from abuse...It [the guidance] covers.....raising awareness and developing prevention programmes through outreach work."

(HM government multi-agency practice guidelines, 2014, p. 7-8).

This unfair pressure was placed on schools, especially when schools were reluctant to protect their pupils, because they feared a backlash from parents and accusations of racism (Siddiqui, 2003; Chantler and Gangoli, 2011). Schools avoided other general actions, such as displaying posters on FM, as this may have resulted in upsetting the community.

However, communication with the South Asian community became complicated with the issues surrounding terrorism and other stereotypical views of South Asians being backward, sexist and generally intolerant (Chantler, Gangoli and Hester, 2009; Abbas and Awan, 2015).

Communication is an important factor in understanding ideas, concepts and practices. Whilst conducting the necessary research for this study it appeared that the body of literature (especially Brah, 1996; Spivak, 1999; Wilson, 2007; Chantler, 2012; Saha, 2012) about FM constructed people within categories to homogenise their practices and behaviours, without problematising the creation of these generic categories. For example, often references were made to 'Eastern' and 'Western' societies, or people grouped by religion such as 'Muslims' or by geographical positioning, such as 'European' and 'South Asian' or nationality- 'British', but these terms and categories were not defined or unpacked. It appeared that the literature relied upon and assumed that the reader had existing knowledge of such terms. This

study struggled with these terms being used with ease and without being problematised, for example, who is a Muslim? Are all Muslims the same? Which particular Muslims are being referenced? This study does not view Muslims as a homogenous category and, therefore, such a description is an over simplification of Islam and promotes discrimination through a lack of diversity and differentiation. Similarly, the use of Eastern and Western societies are unproblematised in the literature and the legacy of racism and artificial geographical borders are unacknowledged. However, for the purposes of this study, the terms used in the literature, such as 'Muslims', 'East' and 'West' will be replicated, yet it is acknowledged that these terms are not homogenous and are problematic.

The East-West divide is more than just geographical. Cultural differences between East and West encompasses ideas about rights and marriage. Chantler and Gangoli (2011) suggested that the Eastern world values honour over consent and is concerned with the community collectively as opposed to the individual's rights. Brah (1996) argued that the South Asian community (the Eastern world) consider culture and tradition as part of the embodiment of marriage. The pressure to integrate these values when choosing a life partner has raised concerns as to whether the marriage is forced.

Following the First and Second World Wars, the UK required assistance in rebuilding the country, both structurally and economically. However, due to a lack of internal resources, the UK resorted to assembling a labour force from abroad. In the 1950s, opportunities were given to nationals of the former British Colonies, in particular people from the African and the Indian sub-continent, to migrate to the UK and become part of this labour force.

This migrant labour force continued to maintain links with their families abroad, and maximised their opportunity for social mobility. The custom of arranged marriages (AM) continued to flourish and has led to there being a continuous flow of spouses and fiancé(e)s, especially from the Indian sub-continent. An explanation offered by Phillips (2007) for AM suggests that there was a lack of integration by the migrant labour force into British society, and that AM ensured partners and children were not lost to any other ethnic groups. Arranged marriages are typical in South Asia and amongst some African populations along with the aristocratic society.

Foucault (1980a) illustrated the complex relationship between power and the government as:

“...power, hence analysis...extend beyond the limits of the State...The State is superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks.”

(Foucault, 1980a, p. 122).

This could be translated as aristocratic society and the sovereign as being power networks, that force the government to overlook FM practices within these institutions.

The government seems to have taken an ‘assimilationist’ approach to the black and minority ethnic (BME) communities that entered the UK in the 1950s and 1960s (Siddiqui, 2000). The 1960s saw the introduction of a liberal neo-colonial multicultural policy (the Race Relations Act 1968); however, this still overlooked racism and domestic violence issues. Brah (1996) described how in the 1980s cracks and divisions appeared between multiculturalism and anti-racism. Ali (1992) supported this view and depicted it as:

“...multiculturalism depoliticised race by treating minorities as the target of social policy rather than actors in the democratic system.”

(Ali, 1992, p. 103).

Black feminist groups, such as the Southall Black Sisters (SBS), condemned government legislation (Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007) on FM as failing both women and the BME, because cultural groups were given priority over gender (Okin, 1999). New Labour liberalism in 1997 revitalised multiculturalism by increasing its sensitivity to gender issues, and relaunching it as ‘mature multiculturalism’. The events of 9/11, 7/7 and the declaration on the ‘war on terror’ (or ‘war on Muslims’) resulted in a government policy u-turn on cultural tolerance through the creation of the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) and the introduction of the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 (discussed further in section 1.4). However, to avoid negative genres, this concept was repackaged as social integration or mature multiculturalism.

The expanding UK immigration borders fuelled austerity towards BME and this became more specific and targeted to issues surrounding culture and religion, in

particular Islam and South Asians. These modern-day tensions have created concerns relating to religious identity, Islamophobia and western imperialism (Phillips, 2007; Gill and Anitha, 2011; Thiara, Condon and Schrottler, 2011). Chantler (2012) described how migrant communities were accused of segregation, terrorism and importing barbaric practices. An issue that has emerged which encompasses these tensions and challenges is the concept of social integration and FM. In an attempt to restructure cultural identities away from these negative religious discourses, Saha (2012) introduced the concept of 'Asianness'. This appeared to retain the notion of a separate identity, but to run parallel to the discourses of Britishness that holds a positive image, for example the concept of 'the best of British'.

The next section will outline how the government appears to frame and tackle FM.

#### **1.4 Development of Government Policy on Forced Marriage**

To provide a backdrop to this study, a brief historical account of government policy towards the growing BME community is recounted. This assists with understanding how the UK reached this stage, where a study such as this is even contemplated.

The government had a responsibility to integrate and protect the economic and refugee migrants that entered the UK in the 1950s. Therefore the 'colour blindness' approach to oppose racism and preserve traditions and cultures was adopted. This concept then fed into multiculturalism in the 1960s (Wadia and Allwood, 2012). Tensions existed between multiculturalism and feminism, as multiculturalism prioritised cultural and ethnic rights over gender (Okin, 1999).

When the Labour government was last in office (1997-2010), the Home Secretary at the time, David Blunkett (2001-2004), discouraged British Asians from going abroad to marry and stated:

“...arranged marriages should involve partners from Britain and not the Indian subcontinent.”

(Burrell, 2002).

David Blunkett's statement violated the liberal principle of tolerance, embracing multiculturalism and social inclusion. Gill and Mitra-Kahn (2012) captured this violation and described this move by the Labour government as:

“...a desire to ‘modernise’ minority communities, which was in turn based on a concept of cultural othering.”

(Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2012, p. 109).

In 1998, there was a noticeable socio-political shift, led by the then junior Home Office Minister, Mike O’ Brien, from ‘colour blindness’ to ‘moral blindness’ and from ‘multiculturalism’ to ‘mature multiculturalism’, in a possible attempt to coach BME to conform to acceptable norms.

“Multicultural sensitivity is no excuse...for moral blindness.”

(O’Brien, 1999, p.1).

The cracks and flaws of multiculturalism began to emerge in society (Okin, 1999; Thiara, 2003; Phillips, 2005; Ertürk, 2007; Wilson, 2007; Patel, 2013). Multiculturalism promoted unity between cultures, but not within cultures themselves. Siddiqui (2000) helped contextualise mature multiculturalism by framing it within a human rights setting. By applying the lens of human rights, this automatically incorporated prohibition of degrading and ill-treatment (Article 3) and the right to marry (Article 12) under the Human Rights Act (1998). Siddiqui (2000) argued that this concept empowered BME women as it recognises illiberal cultural practices where women experience violence or FM, and places the onus on the government to protect. Siddiqui (2013) introduced the human rights lens to the multi-faith argument to promote ‘mature multi-faithism’. Here religious practices are observed, without women’s rights being compromised.

British multiculturalism has been described as problematic as it is “sleepwalking towards segregation” (Phillips, 2005, p. 9), with the casualties being young South Asian men, who:

“emerged in policy discourse as ‘a symbol’ of multiculturalism’s

‘failures’ and as an increasing threat to wider society.”

(Alexander, 2004, p. 536).

By the end of the 1990s and early 2000s, Islamophobia (Archer, 2003b; Osler, 2003; Abbas, 2011; Bowen, 2014) emerged, following political and media (Hall, 1999; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012) focused events. It was high profile cases such as Dr Humayra Abedin (Abedin, 2008) and Shafiea Ahmed (Ahmed, 2003), along with the 9/11 (11<sup>th</sup> Sep 2001) and 7/7 (7<sup>th</sup> July 2005) bombings, and more recently the ‘Arab spring’ (Manhire, 2012), Rochdale paedophile ring 2012 (Carter, 2012; Orr, 2012), the execution of Fusilier Lee Rigby (Rigby, 2013), the attack on Westminster and the Manchester bombing in 2017, that brought Muslims and Islamic practices to the forefront of Western politics. The focus became negative norms and so-called practices and behaviours associated with Islam, such as terrorism (Hellyer, 2007) and FM. The media (Hall, 1999; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012) has highlighted several cases in the past 17 years relating to FM and honour-based violence (HBV). These individual events publicised in the media (Versi, 2016, 2017) caused a “moral panic” (Cohen, 1972; Anitha and Gill, 2015, p. 1125), and compelled the government to act.

Following the revelations of these high profile cases, the government needed to appear visibly active in ‘doing something’ to tackle and stop the ‘monstrosity’ of FM and HBV (Chantler, 2012). The government’s first response was to create the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU). The FMU was launched as a joint initiative between the Home Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2005. The FMU is dedicated to preventing British nationals being forced into marriage overseas.

The FMU’s first recommendation was to advocate for the implementation of the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007. The aim of the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 is to provide civil remedies for those confronted with a FM and survivors of FM. The Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 allows judges to issue protection orders to prevent FM and facilitate victims to return from abroad, as issued in the case of Abedin (2008). In September 2015, the Guardian quoted the Ministry of Justice in confirming that 861 orders under this Act were issued to date. Following the death of Nadia Menaz, the media reported (Osborne 2015) on the inadequacies of this Act to protect her, as Nadia had been granted an order five months before her death (Wilson, 2007; Siddiqui, 2008; Chantler, 2012).



In 2008, the government released a consultation paper (Hester, Chantler and Gangoli, 2008), relating to raising the age limit for foreign spouses to enter the UK from 18 to 21 to help curb FM. This could be perceived as the government sidestepping the cultural intervention debate, but becoming entwined with the immigration control dispute. Phillips and Dustin (2004) provided a historic mapping of the proposed legislation at the time (the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007) relating to FM and immigration in depth, and how previous laws (such as the primary purpose rule 1983 to 87 (para 277, repealed) within the Immigration Rules) were racist, and raising the age limit was discriminatory against ethnic minorities. Phillips and Dustin (2004) discussed how legislation on FM (the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007) is not empowering to women, but is driven by the state's need to police South Asian communities. This increase in age limit was reversed in 2011, following the decision in the Court of Appeal's case of Quila (2011). The increase in age was held to be discriminatory.

Following the defeat in the Court of Appeal in the case of Quila (2011), the government still had to appear to be addressing the FM problem. Ministers became more focused on addressing FM, as opposed to it being a by-product of an immigration initiative.

The Home Secretary at the time, Theresa May, stated FM was:

“an appalling practice...and criminalising it would send a strong message that it will not be tolerated.”

(BBC news, 2012, p.1).

David Cameron said:

“Forced marriage is abhorrent and is little more than slavery.  
To force anyone into marriage against their will is simply wrong  
and that is why we have taken decisive action to make it illegal.”

(Travis, 2012, p.2).

The comments of May and Cameron (above) appear to be made as justification for the imminent decision to criminalise FM and to prepare the public for the forthcoming Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014).

Recognising that FM is a serious concern, the government commissioned the National Centre for Social Research to conduct research on FM. The findings were published in the report 'Forced Marriage: Prevalence and Service Response' (Kazimirski, Keogh, Kumari, Smith, Gowland, Purdon and Khanum, 2009). The report identified that front-line services such as social services and schools could do more to help detect and prevent FM. Following the report, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, in 2009, released a 104-page policy document for front-line services entitled: HM government 'Multi-agency practice guidelines: Handling cases of forced marriage'. These guidelines were revised in 2014 following the criminalisation of FM. The government, in these guidelines, made it clear that schools, colleges and universities need to be detection and prevention points for FM.

The UK government's action plan on Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) and FM (2011, 2014) suggested, that "colleges can play a vital role" (2011, p. 8) in prevention, as victims disclose VAWG and FM to tutors (Freeman and Klein, 2013).

At an international level, laws relating to FM are governed by the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1981) (CEDAW). This convention mirrors the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of (1948). In relation to women and marriage the CEDAW stated:

"States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

(b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;"

(CEDAW, 1981, Article 16(1)(b)).

The UK is a State Party as per the above definition and is bound by the CEDAW. However, the government does not appear to refer to Article 16(1)(b) CEDAW (1981) in FM policy debates. It is approximately 33 years later that measures are taken to incorporate Article 16(1)(b) CEDAW (1981) into UK domestic law with the introduction of the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014).

Haynes (2014) identified how Christian Faith-Based Organisations (FBO) at the UN are over-represented, whilst Muslim FBO at the UN are under-represented. This adds to the debate on whether the appropriate knowledge is available to legislators when creating laws on FM intervention. Haynes (2014) highlighted how religious representation in international organisations (the UN) is disproportional. Unfortunately, it is this elite group that has identified and framed FM as a South Asian and Muslim problem (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011).

Gill and Mitra-Kahn (2012) were more explicit in their views of the inappropriateness of the British legislature proposing FM policies.

“The Labour government’s initiatives on FM were based on the binary opposition of civilised, white, mainstream British society versus illiberal, uncivilised and deviant minority communities.”

(Gill and Mitra-Kahn 2012, p. 118).

Gill and Mitra-Kahn (2012) highlighted how the starting point for the government on conceptualising ideas on FM appears to be based upon discourses of whiteness, thereby positioning the government in opposition to non-white societies needing correction (Wilson 2007).

Spivak’s (1988) statement bluntly and succinctly, yet effectively, captured the discourses surrounding racial and gender inequalities within the FM policy context:

“White men are saving brown women from brown men.”

(Spivak, 1988, p. 296).

Spivak’s (1988) conceptualisation of FM appears to make reference to historic events, such as the colonial era.

The practice of FM became a criminal offence on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2014, under Part 10 of the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014). Anitha and Gill (2015) suggested that, despite the atrocities associated with FM, survivors are reluctant to report issues. The implications of reporting a relative who then may be prosecuted

may create further barriers and drive the practice underground. The arguments surrounding the criminalisation of FM have been debated for many years. Wilson (2007) first argued against FM criminalisation and was supported by Clarke and Richards (2008) and Chantler (2012). Wilson (2007) argued that laws, such as the Offences Against the Persons Act (1861), exist within the current legal framework to tackle FM, which relates to kidnapping, assault, rape and abduction, without the need for more legislation. Despite the years of opposition to criminalising FM, the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014) at part 10 made FM a criminal offence. At the time of writing this chapter, two years after the criminalisation legislation came into force, only one prosecution (Wright, 2016) has taken place under part 10 of the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014) relating to FM.

It is important to acknowledge that the UK is part of the United Nations and is still part of the European Union though Brexit talks are underway. Therefore, laws such as the CEDAW (1981) and the European Convention on Human Rights (1951) (ECHR) are binding and override national laws, such as the Human Rights Act (1998), Equality Act (2010), Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act (2007) and the Anti-social Behaviour Crime and Policing Act (2014). This does raise the question as to whether further legislation on FM is necessary.

The government has problematized FM as an issue arising as a result of multiculturalism (Siddiqui, 2000; Chantler et al., 2009). By framing FM as a cultural or traditional mechanism, the government appears to be exonerated from implications of ignorance and lack of intervention, allowing for confusion between structural violence and cultural difference (Siddiqui, 2000; Chantler et al., 2009). However, the neo-liberal concepts of multiculturalism and later the shift to no excuse for 'moral blindness' (O'Brien, 1999) led to the government (ironically) having no choice but to play a visibly active role in addressing and preventing FM. Gangoli, Razak and McCarry (2006) explained how, in 2003, the government reconceptualised FM as a form of domestic violence.

Siddiqui (2008) and Patel (2013) suggested that the preferred choice is to view FM through a mature multicultural lens, and tackle FM as a human rights intervention. Early intervention is also on the government agenda, hence making educational institutions responsible for detecting and preventing FM.

Gill and Anitha (2009a; 2011) suggested that tighter immigration policies, for example the changes made to the age limit in the House of Commons Paper 395 (the Immigration Rules), made by the Labour government, were underpinned by the government conceptualising 'other cultures' as responsible for FM. Gill and Mitra-Kahn (2012) further argued that the Labour government's immigration policy on FM cloaked the concept of cultural othering, through suggesting that the introduction of these immigration policies were modernising minority communities.

The government has produced several documents and laws relating to FM. The most recent are: the Multi-agency practice guidelines: Handling cases of Forced Marriage (2014); The Right to Choose Multi-agency statutory guidance for dealing with forced marriage (2014) and the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014). The statutory guidance is 28 pages long whilst the practice guidelines extend to 100 pages. The pressure that these documents place on professionals is intense.

"[professionals] need to be aware of the "one chance" rule. That is, their staff may only have one chance to speak to a potential victim and thus their staff may only have one chance to save a life."

(HM government multi-agency practice guidance,  
2014, p.16).

This pressure is unreasonable for teachers as table 1 (below) demonstrates. The majority of FM take place between the age group 18-21, when young people are no longer in compulsory education or protected by safeguarding duties.

In the next section, the statistics surrounding FM over the last four years are interpreted.

### **1.5 The Statistics**

Statistics are one form of data used to understand discourses relating to FM. Having sight of the FM statistics provides an understanding to the foundation upon which government discourses surrounding FM are based. The data in the table below has been gathered by the annual reports published by the FMU (a government agent) on FM.

*Table 1. The number of cases that the FMU gave advice or support to from 2012-2016 on FM (Source: Forced Marriage Unit; Foreign & Commonwealth Office)*

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>TOTAL FM CASES in UK</b>	<b>Percentage South Asian</b>	<b>Percentage Female Cases</b>	<b>Largest Age Range</b>
2012	1485	66%	82%	18-21 = 30%
2013	1302	63.4%	82%	18-21= 33%
2014	1262	53.2%	79%	18-21= 17%
2015	1220	57%	80%	18-21= 20%
2016	1428	57%	80%	18-21= 20%

The annual statistics on FM means that there are benchmarks (Kirschner and Davis, 2003; Fouad, Grus, Hatcher, Kaslow, Hutchings, Madson and Crossman, 2009) against which to measure the success or failure of FM policies (Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007) and the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014). However, statistics may not accurately reflect the number of FM incidents, as many incidents may go unreported. Schools may choose not to retain data on FM issues, so they can disassociate themselves with violence and “avoid a prominent reputation as an institution with an FM problem” (Harber, 2004, p. 48).

South Asian refers to persons of Pakistan, Indian and Bangladeshi origin. In the last four years the number of FMs has steadily decreased by 265 cases from 1485 in 2012 to 1220 in 2015. However, the number of FM cases reported increased by 208 in 2016 from 2015. In 2016, 1428 cases were reported, representing the highest figure in four years, just below the number in 2012 of 1485. This increase could be attributed to the criminalisation of FM. However, at the time of writing this chapter, and since the criminalisation of FM in June 2014, only one case (Wright, 2016) has been prosecuted through the criminal courts. These statistics show that the majority of cases involve females. This is reflected in the positioning of FM within the political arena of VAWG. However, many male FM cases are under reported. Hester et al. (2008) suggested that the under reporting of male cases can be attributed to the shame surrounding male victims of gender-based violence, and the lack of understanding of its existence. This was also highlighted in the data (by Ania in section 5.4). Therefore, these figures may not be an accurate reflection. The majority of potential FM victims are aged between 18 and 21. These individuals are classified as adults and not subject to safeguarding. Young adults are not subject to

compulsory education, training or an apprenticeship after the age of 18. Hence schools and colleges are suitable for raising FM awareness but not necessarily in detecting and preventing FM.

### **1.6 Rationale for Undertaking the Study**

This study is informed by, and builds upon, my Masters of law degree (LLM in legal practice) research (Khan, 2011). With my background as an immigration solicitor and senior law lecturer who heads the immigration module, I decided to explore the United Kingdom's intervention in the arena of immigration control, foreign spouses and marriage for my Master's research (Khan, 2011). The UK government promoted this change as their efforts to address the escalating problem of FM, by establishing a link between age and the ability to resist FM. My Master's thesis (Khan, 2011) critically analysed government policy, the House of Commons Paper 395 (the Immigration Rules), to determine whether age is indeed linked to FM, or whether FM was merely a diversion for reducing migration to the UK.

For this study, I wanted to continue with the theme of FM, yet explore this from another angle, this time leading with my academic lens and insight. As I had investigated FM from an overseas perspective in my Masters (Khan, 2011), I now wanted to deconstruct perspectives of FM in the UK and combine this with academic research. This emphasis appeared timely, as once again the UK government was focusing on FM and introducing criminal sanctions for perpetrators of FM. This also included highlighting FM as a growing problem and promoting awareness around the issue. Through the literature review, discussed in chapter two, I was able to determine a gap that needed attention (see section 2.5, penultimate paragraph). This related to considering the implications on teachers' professional and personal identities when implementing FM policy in the classroom (see sections 2.2 and 2.3).

### **1.7 Study Aims**

The overarching question created for this research was:

“What are the experiences of teachers in a secondary school when addressing in the classroom the issue of forced marriage?”

To complement and support this question, and in order to achieve the objectives for the research, the following sub-questions were posed:

1. What discourse(s) do teachers draw upon, reject and negotiate when addressing in the classroom the issue of forced marriage?
2. How do teachers negotiate the intersection of their personal and professional identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom?

### **1.8 Contribution to Knowledge**

The research is informed by a feminist post-structural framework, with the aim of contributing knowledge and understanding of teachers' perceptions of addressing the issue of FM in the classroom and whether discourses are reproduced or rejected. The discourses upon which FM has been sustained by the media (BBC News, 2003 and 2012), is through associating FM with South Asian communities (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011) mainly targeting Muslim females (FMU statistical data, 2014). This makes the research an original empirical contribution, to an under-researched area. The research aims to contribute fresh insights to the wider current policy debate on schools being front-line detection and prevention points for FM, and the impact on teachers' identities when addressing FM in the classroom.

### **1.9 The Study Methodology**

During my Masters research I had gathered data through qualitative methods, namely semi-structured interviews with survivors of FM. I quickly learnt the significance of this invaluable tool and my place as an interpretive researcher. I was able to capture rich data that incorporated the views, emotions and experiences of women that had undergone this experience. This method allowed the survivors to speak freely about this sensitive topic without the barriers of qualifying their experiences. Having successfully used semi-structured interviews to gather data on FM for both my Masters research (Khan, 2011) and the pilot study to this research in 2014, I thought it was appropriate to use the same approach for this research study with teachers and stakeholders. As the research explored FM being addressed in classrooms, it seemed fitting to include observations to the method of collecting data. This aided in triangulating the data to strengthen and re-inforce perspectives. Both qualitative



methods were informed by a feminist post-structural framework (see chapter three) that this research is framed within.

### **1.9.1 The Emergence of Emotions**

Understanding emotions can be a minefield. There is a huge body of literature on teachers' emotions (Nias, 1989; Hargreaves, 1994; Zembylas, 2003a). This study did not intend on drawing upon emotions to understand the data or answer the research questions. However, the participants gave passionate accounts of their experiences which included emotions such as fear, anxiety and anger. These emotional accounts provided meaning to the participants' experiences. As this study is informed by a feminist post-structural framework, which focuses upon subjective experiences, the participants' strong emotional voice could not be ignored. Therefore, part of the literature review meant reviewing literature about teachers' emotions and their understanding of a good teacher. Emotions provided another layer of understanding when processing the data.

### **1.10 Structure of the Thesis**

To assist with navigation through this thesis, this section provides a synopsis of each chapter. This thesis is divided into eight chapters.

This Introductory chapter contextualises the study and explains how consideration will be given to the power dynamics of government policy and the practice of an educational institution on FM awareness. An historic account through policy and legislation of how FM has been tackled in the UK is discussed, within the wider context of the problematic definitions surrounding consent and the issue of [in]tolerance. The rationale for undertaking the study is explained with reference to previous research carried out, which became the foundation for the aims of this study.

Chapter two reviews the literature in this area relating to teachers' identities, teachers' professionalism (and emotions) and how government policies on social justice issues, such as FM, shape and position teachers' identities. The dominant themes and ideas that emerge through the literature review are mapped. Then the key concepts and theories are synthesised. This process is informed by a feminist post-structural framework. The literature review located gaps within the phenomenon of teachers'

identities and social justice government policies, to help construct the research questions.

Chapter three explores the methodological consideration for this study. This includes discussion on the methods, sample and the choice of data analysis to compliment the qualitative interpretive paradigm within which this research is set. The strengths and limitations of the study, along with the ethical dilemmas, are considered in this chapter. This chapter also sets out the framework for this study and the tools of analysis. This study is informed by a feminist post-structural framework. Teachers' identities will be investigated through the lens of intersectionality and how gendered, racial (Yuval-Davis, 2006), cultural and religious trajectories intersect with one another and contribute to experiences of privileges and oppression. This will assist in determining whether teachers are negotiating their identities. Foucault's (1979) understanding of knowledge, power relations and surveillance will be considered as a foundation for discussion in chapters four to seven.

Chapter four is the first of four chapters that present the findings and discussion of this study. Chapter four analyses the data obtained from the observations of the teaching sessions on FM, to highlight how teachers' gendered and racialised discourses of FM are produced or rejected in the classroom. In this chapter, I explore the wider social context in which teachers' experiences and beliefs are integrated into their teaching practice of addressing FM in the classroom, and if this causes tension within the teachers' self or identities.

Chapter five relates to the data collected from the interviews with the teachers. An emic approach is taken to examine how teachers construct, shift and maintain their personal identities when implementing government policy on FM. Teachers construct their personal identities as intersecting categories of gender, race, culture and religion.

Chapter six examines the data gathered from the interviews with the stakeholders. This chapter investigates how teachers conceptualise their identities in a professional setting and how their personal identities shape classroom practices. Teachers' professionalism and professional identities in the implementation of policy against FM in schools is explored. This chapter investigates how teachers strive to perform as the good professional in the implementation of policy against FM. This leads to an in-

depth discussion about teachers' discourses of professionalism and teachers' emotions.

Chapter seven examines and focuses on the findings and discussion surrounding the implementation of FM awareness in the classroom. The government has specified that educational providers have a role to play in detecting and preventing FM. This section will investigate why the government has constructed this role for educational institutions, and the teachers' responses to this positioning. Stakeholders in the FM debate are interviewed and their opinions and experiences captured to form an insight into the construction of government policy on FM and how this shapes and influences FM teaching in the classroom.

Chapter eight concludes by providing a brief overview of the findings and draws upon the key arguments. This chapter revisits the research question to derive conclusions from the data and positions them within wider discourses and debates. Implications from the findings are discussed, along with the limitations. I reflect upon how this study has impacted on my professional practice and identities. Recommendations are made for practice and the opportunity for further directed research is also identified.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The literature review for this research study took on a journey of its own. This was an ongoing process that was revisited several times. This study did not aim to encompass the forced marriage (FM) debate in terms of the cultural practice and the intricacies of consent. The link with FM relates to the government's challenge in raising awareness on social issues and their choice to construct the role of teachers to undertake such a task.

Hence the focus of the research is to explore teachers' perceptions of being positioned in this role. Therefore, teachers' identities are heavily embedded within this study. There is a wide range of literature that covers teachers' identities. However, this study is particularly interested in how social justice policies imposed by the government shapes teachers' identities. A review of the literature revealed a vast range of literature and studies on teachers' identities shaped by emotions (e.g. Nias, 1989; Hargreaves, 1998 and 2000a; Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; O'Connor, 2008), and some literature relating to teachers' identities shaped by educational reform and policy, such as additional assessments (Kelchtermans, 2005; Darby, 2008).

However, this study concentrates on teachers' identities that are influenced by the government's FM policy that has emerged through social milieus that teachers are now forced to address within the classroom. It was a struggle to unearth literature that considered or debated teachers' identities constructed by government policy not directly related to educational reform.

Academic web search engines were employed to search broad terms such as 'teachers' identities'. Trawling through the list of references from the literature identified through the search, further revealed popular literature that was frequently referenced. Some of the influential concepts discussed dated back to 1989. The flurry of literature around teachers' identities appeared to be between 1989 and 2011 and this set the parameters for the literature review.

The three dominant discourses that emerged through the literature review related to teachers' personal identities, teachers' professional identities and professionalism.

Also embedded within each discourse was the notion of emotions. This transpired as knowledge that was known. To contextualise this study, the literature surrounding FM was reviewed. The literature strongly associated FM with South Asian, Muslim, women.

*Table 2. Search strategy adopted*

KEY WORD	HITS WITH GOOGLE	HITS WITH GOOGLE SCHOLAR	HITS WITH UNIVERSITY'S METCAT
FORCED MARRIAGE	17,400,000	2,279,000	36,980
TEACHERS IDENTITIES	2,700,000	1,428,000	36,720
FORCED MARRIAGE POLICY	16,300,000	1,275,000	4,760
TEACHERS PERSONAL IDENTITIES	7,310,000	1,110,000	16,200
TEACHERS PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES	4,300,000	730,000	12,834
TEACHING ABOUT FORCED MARRIAGE	2,700,000	712,000	1,432
FORCED MARRIAGE POLICY AND TEACHERS IDENTITIES	3,800,000	180,000	330

Table 2 above provides details of the search strategy that was used in the initial stages of the study in 2013. As the research progressed, further searches of the literature took place at regular intervals within the study in order to identify later references. Three search engines were used, Google, Google Scholar and MetCat. Google generated overall information including newspaper articles and awareness materials. This search engine provided the most hits. Google Scholar provided a narrower category of academic literature and MetCat is the London Metropolitan University's on-line catalogue of resources across UK universities and some

worldwide universities. This latter search engine provided the most concentrated research hits. Later in the study I also started searching for literature on the site 'Academia'.

When searching the keyword 'forced marriage' the table demonstrates that this created a higher number of hits across the search engines, and it was 36,980 with METCAT. To narrow the search I combined the keywords, such as 'forced marriage policy' and 'teachers' identity'. This reduced the number of hits significantly, for example in METCAT the number of hits were 330. However, this was somewhat misleading as the search was still identifying the words as singular and not combined. When I specified that all the combination of the words must appear in the search (teachers+identities+forced marriage) the results came back as zero, not found. This indicated the uniqueness of this study and the lack of literature and research in this area.

This chapter will now proceed to examine these themes further.

## **2.2 Teachers' Personal Identities and Emotions**

The literature review revealed Nias's (1989) study as a key foundation upon which other studies relating to the understanding of teachers' emotions, personal and professional identities are developed. Nias's (1989) study was located in an English primary school in the 1980s. This study contributed to distinguishing the elements of personal and professional identities, yet recognising the importance of personal identity when constructing teachers' professional identity. Nias's (1989) study noted how teachers require a sense of belonging. This relates to the emotional investment that the teachers make in the classroom and with the children. This assists in the construction of the teachers' professional identity. Often this sense of belonging did not emerge until over ten years of teaching had been achieved. As Nias explained:

"...it matters to teachers themselves, as well as to their pupils, who and what they are. Their self-image is more important to them as practitioners than is the case in occupations where the person can easily be separated from the craft."

(Nias, 1989, p. 202-203).

Nias (1989) explored the levels of commitment that teachers had to their roles which were offset against the demands of the job and caring for the children. The commitment levels between teachers' performance and motivation became the core contribution of Nias's (1989) study. Nias (1989) also recognised that self-image was constructed from self-evaluation to create personal identities. Hence this challenges their self-image and influenced teachers' personal identities. The final attribute to Nias's (1989) study was to investigate the polarised, yet spontaneous need to 'care and nurture' in contrast to 'controlling' situations. Nias concluded that:

“...teachers' inevitable inability to fully satisfy their own consciences and their wider audiences leaves them feeling simultaneously under pressure, guilty and inadequate.”

(Nias, 1989, p.193).

In Nias's (1996) further work, it was argued that:

“teachers' emotions are rooted in cognition...one cannot separate feeling from perception, affectivity from judgement...nor separate from social and cultural forces which help to form them and which are in turn shaped by them....so the unique sense of self which every teacher has is socially grounded.”

(Nias, 1996, p. 294).

This insight demonstrates how Nias (1996) recognised emotions as having evolved through educational reform and changes in teaching practices through historical, social and political milieus.

Hargreaves's (1994) study built upon Nias (1989) and specifically investigated the intersection of the length of a teacher's career with the development of their professional identities, which also contributes to emotional understanding. Hargreaves (1994) visited 15 schools and collected data from 42 teachers according to their career stages; young, mid-career and late career. Teachers were asked to compare their own reactions to the other set of colleagues. This study emphasised emotions based on age reactions to policy change, as opposed to working conditions.

In further work, Hargreaves (1998) investigated emotions, which was then built upon by Zembylas's (2003a) work. Hargreaves (1998) suggested:

“Teachers are passionate beings...charged with positive emotions.”

(Hargreaves, 1998, p. 835).

Hargreaves (1998) interviewed 32 secondary school teachers in Canada in relation to their emotional responses to policy reform. Hargreaves (1998) rebutted the feminist standpoint that female teachers withhold anger emotions from others and internalise them, as opposed to men. Hargreaves (1998) explained that:

“..there seemed to be no great emotional differences between male and female teachers...teaching often gender-atypical in their attitudes and actions...”

(Hargreaves, 1998, p. 842).

Hargreaves (1998) concluded that teaching is an emotional practice. Therefore, policymakers should acknowledge and even honour this by praising achievements and incorporating an emotional dimension into teaching practices. Another conclusion drawn by Hargreaves (1998) was that policymakers should be mindful of emotions when developing and expecting teachers to implement reforms.

Zembylas (2003a) argued that emotions are central to the construction of teachers' identities. Zembylas (2003a) applied a post-structural Foucauldian lens to emotions and viewed the concept as discursive practices which were privileged and paramount to power relations.

“The place of emotion in teacher identity formation plays a central role in the circuits of power that constitutes some teacher-selves while denying others. The critical understanding of these processes of discipline and domination in teaching is crucial, if we are to promote the possibility of creating new forms of teacher-selves.”

(Zembylas, 2005, p. 936).

Hence identities are contextualised as continually becoming and embedded within power relationships, ideology and culture. Zembylas (2003a) advocated for teacher training to assist them in developing and embracing their emotional identity as part of their multiple identities. The notion of being a ‘good’ and ‘proper’ teacher was a



common theme in the literature (Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2005), for which the presence of emotions was imperative within the teacher's identity. A challenge to this notion of a proper teacher was presented in the form of vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 1993; Bullough, 2005; Lasky, 2005) and its status not as an emotion, but as a mood.

The next section considers the second theme that emerged though the literature - teachers' professional identities.

### **2.3 Teachers' Professional Identities and Emotions**

A number of studies have been conducted on the formation and shaping of teachers' identities. This section will highlight the findings of some of these studies. However, this section will commence by first establishing what is meant by teachers' professional identities.

Wenger (1998) offered a five-dimensional explanation of teachers' professional identities. This consists of identities as: 1. a negotiated experience; 2. community membership; 3. a learning trajectory; 4. a nexus of multi-membership; and 5. the relationship between the local and global. These characteristics are reconceptualised within the influence of social, cultural and political milieus.

“there is a profound connection between identity and practice. Developing a practice requires the formation of a community whose members can engage with one another and thus acknowledge each other as participants.”

(Wenger, 1998, p.149).

Sachs (2001) built upon this and suggested teachers' professional identities to be:

“...a set of attributes that are imposed upon the teaching profession either by outsiders or members of the teaching fraternity itself. It provides a shared set of attributes, values and so on, so that [this] enable[s] the differentiation of one group from another. From this perspective it is an exclusive rather than inclusive ideal and is conservative rather than radical in its intent.”

(Sachs, 2001, p. 153).

Sachs (2001) accepted the fluidity of teachers' professional identities and that they are constantly being negotiated and are shifting. Sachs (2001) attempted to refine professional identities, suggesting it should be an activist identity that incorporates transformation and resistance towards inequalities.

In further work, Sachs (2003) suggested that understanding teachers' professional identities requires contextualising three elements; managerial practice, own performance and the performance of students. O'Connor (2008) built upon this and reflected on how performance discourses deny the ethical care in teaching that promotes the personal caring and emotional aspects of teaching.

Beijaard (1995) built upon Nias's (1989) study. Beijaard's (1995) study was conducted in the Netherlands with 28 secondary school teachers. Beijaard (1995) argued that professional identities are established through the subject area within which the teacher is linked, and the status of the subject within the school. Another influencing factor is the interplay between the teachers and their students and the general school milieu. Beijaard (1995) suggested that teachers see themselves as professionals:

“...when they have a good relationship with pupils and when they function well in the school organisation.”

(Beijaard, 1995, p. 292).

This optimistic perception assists in teachers' confidence building, motivation and construction of their professional self. Beijaard, Verloop and Vermunt (2000) described knowledge as the subject matter expertise that teachers hold. Beijaard et al. (2000) also acknowledged the increasing professional identity challenges that teachers are experiencing in constructing knowledge based upon moral, social and emotional dilemmas. This includes addressing multicultural issues. In later work, Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) accepted that despite accountability measures, teachers' identities require freedom of choice to develop teachers' orientations (beliefs, self-perception and values), and professionalism (knowledge, practice and understanding). Beijaard et al. (2004) also built upon Nias' (1989) work by accepting that professional identities of the self are interwoven with the personal-self experiences of teachers, which lends itself to multiple selves and sub-identities relating to different contexts and relationships.

Cooper and Olson's (1996) Canadian study acknowledged the intersection between personal and professional identities, as established by Nias (1989) and Beijgaard (1995). However, Cooper and Olson (1996) further argued, and introduced, the concept of the 'multiple-selves' of teachers. This consists of the continuous processes of (re)construction and shaping the meaning of being a teacher through the influences of historical, cultural and social events.

"Identity formation is an ongoing process that involves the interpretation and reinterpretation of our experiences as we live through them - suggesting that focusing on transactive relationships rather than linear models might provide a deeper understanding of the multiple 'Is' of teaching identity....teachers' identity is continually being informed, formed and reformed as individuals develop over time and through interaction with others...they are creating their world whilst also being shaped by it."

(Cooper and Olson, 1996, p. 80-83).

Kelchtermans' (1993) study was conducted in a Belgian primary school which encapsulated the working lives of ten teachers. Kelchtermans (1993) reported two emerging dominant discourses: job stability ultimately leading to job satisfaction and vulnerability from external factors such as the media and the reporting of issues (Versi, 2016 and 2017), inspectors and parents. Kelchtermans' (1993) study also concluded that the construction of professional identities includes five elements that are fluid over time. These comprise of: teachers' descriptions of their career (self-image); their achievements either self-specified or viewed by others (self-esteem); teachers' retention of interest in the job (job motivation); the job descriptions (task perception); and the teachers' long-term vision (future perspectives). Kelchtermans (2005) also acknowledged the presence of emotions in teachers' professional identities.

"Emotions are understood as experiences that result from teachers' embeddedness in and interactions with their professional environment."

(Kelchtermans, 2005, p. 996).

However, Kelchtermans (2005) recognised the ethical nature of the teacher/student relationship which restricts teachers' total autonomy and control over situations.

“Teaching implies an ethical relationship of responsibility in which one engages oneself as a person. This commitment cannot be properly conceptualized as just an instrumental, intentional or technical relationship.”

(Kelchtermans, 2005, p. 996).

Educational reform policies will draw out teachers’ emotions, whether negative or positive through the dynamic relationship between government power and teacher resistance (Hargreaves, 1994; Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2005).

Zembylas’ (2005) subject, and study, known as ‘Catherine’ revolved around an American teacher over a period of three years. Using a feminist post-structural approach with the emphasis on the Foucauldian lens of power and practice, Zembylas (2005) explored how emotions influenced Catherine’s professional identity, through emotional labour and emotional rules in teaching. Zembylas (2005) concluded that emotional rules were fluid. Zembylas (2005) observed that Catherine constructed her own emotional control and internalised her emotions. However, through resistance to policies and practices, teachers became vulnerable (Hargreaves, 2005; Lasky, 2005) and exposed to managing emotions that may lead to teachers being positioned in vulnerable situations with their students. Nevertheless, this emotional anguish assisted in broadening teachers’ personal experiences and ability to construct knowledge. The study found that emotional expression was constructed through internal emotions and emotional rules.

Lasky’s (2005) work concentrated on secondary school teachers. This study used mixed methods of surveys and interviews with four teachers to view emotion through a cultural lens, to determine how teachers constructed their professional selves. Lasky (2005) defined professional identities as:

“How teachers define themselves to themselves and to others.”

(Lasky, 2005, p. 901).

Lasky (2005) concluded that government reforms clashed with teachers’ morals. This resulted in teachers altering their behaviour that may make them feel exposed and vulnerable towards their students.

“...professional vulnerability suggests that teachers in this study experienced inefficacious vulnerability due to a disjuncture between their professional identity and beliefs and reform mandates, whilst they simultaneously struggle to maintain willing and open vulnerability with their students.”

(Lasky, 2005, p. 904).

Lasky (2005) argued the importance of a good relationship between teacher and student, which Lasky (2005) then triangulated with the curriculum to form teachers' professional identities. A good relationship also included the ability of the teacher to blend and merge personal and professional identities to interact fully with the students. Although this exposed both identities to vulnerability, Lasky (2005) found that teachers gained self-worth and personal satisfaction from their profession by merging both identities. The threat to this harmony appears to be government policy to streamline practices and eliminate the individualism that provided the personal touch. This sparked research into teachers' subjectivity beyond teaching practices and in the realms of pastoral care.

Along with the responsibility of policing, discussions centre on how teachers, to some extent, are expected to play the role of counsellors too. Morgan (2007) in her study examined the part that education plays in the life of domestic abuse survivors. She found that teachers were identified, in a recurring theme, as “most often the source of encouragement and advice” (Morgan, 2007, p. 249). This suggests that despite Horsman's (2006) findings of how the teachers perceived their responsibilities, students were receiving the non-academic support that they needed from teachers.

Morgan (2007) highlighted that the survivors of domestic abuse saw education as a means of facilitating their goal of becoming a 'good parent' through being a 'good role model' for their children. Hence the notion of performing 'good' featured in the lives of the students as well as the teachers. Therefore, the discourse of 'goodness' through the good teacher and good professional, via practicing neutrality in the classroom, continues to serve a wider purpose of positive reinforcement. This stems from the teachers' construction of what amounts to a 'good teacher'. More research is required in this area, from a feminist post-structural perspective, to uncover and examine the impact on teachers of implementing FM policy and retaining their position of the 'good teacher', neutrality and managing their emotions.

In O'Connor's (2008) qualitative interpretive study, semi-structured interviews were used to explore three teachers' caring behaviour. O'Connor (2008) defined caring as:

“...those actions and reflections that result from a teacher's desire to motivate, help or inspire their students.”

(O'Connor, 2008, p. 117).

O'Connor (2008) found that three types of caring behaviour emerged from this study; performative - motivating students; professional - managing relationships; and philosophical/humanistic - adhering to a personal code of ethics.

O'Connor (2008) concluded that teachers' experience of caring encapsulates two concepts; first the requirement to maintain a positive relationship with students; and second to be comfortable about their own beliefs of a teacher's role. However, O'Connor also recognised that teachers' roles are constructed for them by society, hence restricting their subjectivity to the pastoral role.

“Professional identities are viewed as the means by which individual teachers negotiate and reflect on the socially situated aspects of their role.”

(O'Connor, 2008, p. 118).

O'Connor (2008) endorsed Zembylas' (2003a) views that emotions are embedded within teachers' identities and is part of their professional development. This supports Foucault's (1980a) notion of identities being fluid and evolving in both a social and economic context to construct and enhance knowledge.

“[teacher identities] require the connection of emotion with self-knowledge.”

(Zembylas, 2003a, p. 213).

“Teachers use their identities to guide and shape their professional and emotional decisions.”

(O'Connor, 2008, p. 125).

Hence pastoral care for the students is also required to enhance the teacher's reputation as a good educator and compliment teachers' professional identities.

Trust and accountability are factors that influence teachers' professional identities. Other studies (Czerniawski, 2011) have demonstrated how trust and accountability in teaching (via external agencies such as the government and parents) are factors that influence teachers' professional identities, both in the UK and abroad. In a never-ending policy changing environment and move towards parents' inclusion within the learning process, this has created doubt and uncertainty. This affects trust and accountability within these relationships (policy-maker/parents and teachers), hence causing teachers' professional identities to shift to comply with the ongoing pressures and requirements.

These situations sometimes suppress teachers' agency and so are met with resistance (Sannino, 2010). Sannino (2010) illustrated how teachers' resistance can become self-initiated through allowing teachers to express their conflicts and contradictions. Policy implementation is a complex task as it incorporates more than just the law, but also the intersecting identities of the teachers involved in the implementation process. Robinson and McMillan (2006) concluded that by allowing teachers the space to perform research, this outlet allows for reflection and enquiry. Therefore, teachers are more likely to reproduce policy and maintain the 'good teacher' role as part of their professional identities. Similar findings emerged from the study conducted by Murray, Czerniawski and Barber (2011), where junior teachers appeared to construct their professional identities based upon their expert knowledge and experience, whereas senior teachers valued the opportunity to research and develop scholarship as part of their shifting professional identities.

The literature review suggests that emotions play a significant part in shaping teachers' personal and professional identities. The notion of being a good teacher is attributed to teachers engaging with their personal emotions and identities (Nias 1989). However, professional identities are constructed by society, and emotionally ruled and controlled by the institution (Zembylas 2005).

The next section explores professionalism that relates to power relationships between teachers' and the institutions, based upon knowledge, autonomy and responsibility (Furlong, Whitty, Whiting, Miles and Barton, 2000a).

## 2.4 Professionalism

Sachs (2001) highlighted the struggle amongst academics to compose an agreed definition of professionalism. Her contribution is to suggest two discourses that govern the concept of professionalism, democratic and managerial, which Sachs (2001) argued shapes the professional identity of teachers. Democratic is described as the self-emerging professional influences that arise from within the teacher, whereas managerial is imposed through policies, authorities and demonstrating effectiveness. Managerial discourses assume management as a problem-solving mechanism (Sachs, 2001). Democratic professionalism promotes transparency and focuses on teachers working alongside parents and communities, promoting transformative professionalism. Transformative professionalism is the civil responsibility for its members, in this case teachers, and external interested bodies to actively promote progression, policy change, flexibility, inclusivity, self-regulation, and a partnership of knowledge building, whilst maintaining public ethical codes and practices (Sachs, 2003).

“The core of democratic professionalism is an emphasis on collaborative, cooperative action between teachers and other educational stakeholders.”

(Sachs, 2001, p. 153).

Preceding academics (Clarke and Newman, 1997; Furlong et al., 2000a) have related professionalism to power relationships, between teachers and organisations and bureaucrats such as union leaders, in the development of ideologies and policies.

“The three concepts of knowledge, autonomy and responsibility central to a traditional notion of professionalism, are often seen as interrelated.”

(Furlong et al., 2000a, p. 5).

Furlong et al. (2000a) asserted that knowledge and skills influence professionalism. Thus, new knowledge can reconstruct and shape teacher professionalism with new generations of teachers. However, autonomy is required for teachers to make their own decisions which must be done responsibly.

Similarly, Hargreaves (2000b) highlighted teachers' professionalism as evolving through four historical stages; 1, the pre-professional age, where teaching was



managerially onerous, but technically less onerous, and only required teachers to teach what they were told to by management; 2, the age of the autonomous professional, which allowed teachers to take control over teaching and learning strategies granting pedagogical freedom; 3, the age of the collegial profession, which introduced cultural and common purpose to respond to changes and reform; and 4, the post professional age, whereby resistance is built to curb de-professionalisation and reconstruct teachers' professionalism.

Hargreaves' (2000b) postmodern professionalism follows two discourses. Firstly, social inclusion which protects and enhances teachers' professionalism through professional bodies (Ofsted) established to shield teachers' integrity and credibility. Secondly, the opposite view of multiple demands that crush teachers' stamina and edges towards de-professionalisation. This is an interesting perception whereby professionalism is considered to be a 'double-edged sword'. On the one hand it protects teachers so that they remain robust, yet it is used against teachers as a controlling mechanism.

O'Connor (2008) recognised that professionalism overrides both teachers' personal and professional identities.

"Market-driven managerial discourses that led to introduction of teacher standards have created a performative culture which emphasises accountability and the public demonstration of professional attributes above teachers' ethical and emotional qualities."

(O'Connor, 2008, p. 119).

O'Connor (2008) argued that teachers' emotions are under-recognised in educational policies, whereas Zembylas (2005) outlined how educational institutions employ their power through hierarchical positioning to impose restrictions on teachers' emotions under the pretence of professionalism.

"The emotional rules developed in schools and legitimated through the exercise of power...are used to govern teachers by putting limits on their emotional expressions in order to normalize them...[hence] resisting the forms of selfhood they are enjoined to adopt...to draw and extend boundaries

around themselves [hence responding to] institutional demands that they be docile and disciplined.”

(Zembylas, 2005, p. 123).

Lasky (2005) also recognised such control and explained how teachers perceived this:

“Teachers believed...that their professionalism was being systematically eroded by the current reform context.”

(Lasky, 2005, p. 913).

Tichenor and Tichenor (2005) conducted their study in four elementary schools using focus groups. This study assumed the position that professionalism related to specific teacher behaviour such as appearance, punctuality, high standard of language and good relations with colleagues. These were polarised into three categories: attitude, behaviour and communication (Kramer, 2003, cited in Tichenor and Tichenor, 2005). Tichenor and Tichenor (2005) also drew upon Sockett's (1993) work which identified five elements of teachers' professionalism. These were: character, such as patience and courage; commitment and improvement, such as adapting to change; subject knowledge, which required a solid understanding of the materials; pedagogical knowledge, a good grasp of teaching techniques; and obligations and relationships beyond the classroom, which included good relationships with parents, colleagues and the public.

Tichenor and Tichenor (2005) used these five aspects for the basis of their research study. These findings added to Sockett's (1993) understanding of the five aspects. For example, to character, Tichenor and Tichenor's (2005) study added teacher's setting and achieving their own goals, taking pride in their work, and having good morals and ethics. To commitment and improvement, the concepts of reflection and evaluation were included. To subject knowledge, their findings added possessing the content of knowledge. To pedagogical, it was student-centred learning and finally to obligations beyond the classroom, it was being involved in developing and changing policies, as well as effective communication with stakeholders. Tichenor and Tichenor (2005) concluded that stakeholders had high expectations of teachers, along with teachers having high expectations for themselves and other teachers.

Hilferty (2008) drew upon a Foucauldian lens to examine power discourses that are embedded within professionalism. Hilferty (2008) identified three levels: power-in-action, which positions power as an active force, such as executive boards which can implement change through organisational practices; power-in-intent, that recognises that power resides in intentions of goals, not dominance but to challenge reform; and power-in-structure, which relates to community gatekeepers and stakeholders who seek to influence teaching and learning processes.

Evans (2011) argued that the perception of professionalism is 'lop-sided', and considers professionalism as teachers' behaviour as opposed to teachers' intellectuality. Evans (2011) accepted that professionalism is also socially constructed and interwoven with standards, ethics and the quality of service defined and measured by government agencies who assert power and influence. However, Evans (2011) viewed professionalism as embroiled within teachers' behaviour, attitude and intellect. Teachers' behaviour relates to acknowledging work processes attached to productivity and achievement. Teachers' attitude constitutes self-perception, motivation and morale. Finally, a teacher's intellect refers to their knowledge and understanding, with the ability to rationalise and analyse.

Evans' (2011) rationale for describing professionalism as lop-sided relates to its focus on teachers' actions rather than their thought processes (attitude). This study concluded by accepting that professionalism is continually being re-shaped by multiple influences such as government policy. Evans (2011) noted:

"The key to better understanding how professionalisms may be shaped by reform or policy initiatives lies in understanding how individuals develop professionally.....professionalism...involves...emotional ownership of their practice, on the part of teachers."

(Evans, 2011, p. 864).

The literature review has revealed that the dominant discourse surrounding teachers' professionalism is improving the quality of service and standard of teaching (Hargreaves, 1994; Sachs, 2001; Tichenor and Tichenor, 2005; Demirkasimoğlu, 2010), measurable and benchmarked by the connotation of a good teacher (Hargreaves, 1994; Zembylas, 2003a; Kelchtermans, 2005; O'Connor, 2008). Within a political arena, professionalism constitutes control over public sector professionals

(Sockett, 1993; Hoyle, 2001, cited in Tichenor and Tichenor, 2005). Political and social changes are responsible for shifting meaning used to construct teachers' professionalism, hence providing it with multiple dimensions.

Teachers' emotion is a strong discourse that has emerged through the literature review. Emotions attracts an entire body of literature of its own, which is outside the scope of this study, as the focus of this literature review is teachers' identities.

## **2.5 Discourse Surrounding Forced Marriages and South Asian Women**

Whilst the intention of this study was not to engage with the FM debate, it was considered necessary, as part of the literature review, to understand the discourses surrounding FM and South Asian women. This can then provide a useful context for the study. It is important to comprehend, by reference to the literature, how FM and South Asian women are perceived by teachers, society, the UK media (Hall, 1999; BBC, 2012) and institutions (the government and schools).

Brah (1996) and Spivak (1999) have written extensively about the portrayal of South Asian women in society. Brah (1996) and Spivak (1999) have argued that many cultures that are associated with the Indian sub-continent appear to privilege 'collective rights' or 'tradition' over 'Western-style' 'individual rights'. As a consequence, Wilson (2007) suggested that in many Western societies, women with a South Asian cultural background and history are often said to be both 'passive' and 'oppressed' and, as a result, in need of both 'correction' and 'protection' from the UK government and laws. Spivak (1999), Hall (2000) and later Bhabha (2012) claimed that, rather than helping to right wrongs, instead this notion of 'correction and protection' promotes 'white supremacy' via a positioning of the 'white' view on race and ideology as both privileged and superior to that of cultures of marriage that derive from the Indian sub-continent. In other words, 'whiteness' is associated with 'Britishness' and derived values are judged by many white British as superior to any other. This, in turn, has encouraged laws and policies under successive British governments to pursue the concept of the superior 'white race' and has also governed ideas about marriage in 'non-white' societies (Carby, 1982; Brown, 2006). Archer (2003b) suggested that Muslim girls be forced into an arranged marriage were wasting their potential future. Brah (1996) and Spivak (1999) suggested that these girls are trapped between the restrictive 'Muslim culture' and the liberal western culture. The literature problematised FM by highlighting forced marriage as an issue

strongly associated with girls of South Asian heritage from the Islamic faith (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011).

Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality to encapsulate the multiple discrimination trajectories encountered by BME women, such as race, gender and class. Crenshaw (1991) evaluated white feminist middle class perspectives and raised awareness of experiences of black women. Subsequently intersectionality has developed to embrace all strands of diversity, by drawing upon the minority cultures as opposed to just the majority cultures (Knudsen, 2006).

“It is intersectional sensibility that should be the central theoretical and political objective of anti-racism and feminism.”

(Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1243).

Intersectionality embraces gendered and racial trajectories, by rejecting a single axis framework such as multiculturalism and feminism. Instead intersectionality offers a complete framework that encompasses feminism, anti-race theories and recognises all strands of diversity. The operationalisation of intersectionality has been open to a variety of interpretations and controversy (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Acker, 2006). To interpret intersectionality, Yuval-Davis (2006) coined two frameworks. Firstly, there is the ‘additive framework’ or the ‘etic approach’ (Holvino, 2010) which focuses on each social inequality separately. Each stigmatising characteristic multiplies the individual’s oppressive identity. Intersectionality through an etic approach assumes a hierarchical construction of identities, such as female first, Asian second and working class third. Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) described the limitations of the etic approach as pre-determined and static, lacking demographic, social and economic context.

The second framework is the ‘constitutive framework’; this is collective of all social experiences, and considers these as combined and mutually entangled (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) defined this as an ‘emic approach’, which recognises that:

“...intersectional analysis of diversity should be sensitive to the

particularities of the specific place, time and people under study.”

(Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012, p. 181).

Therefore, the construction of discourse surrounding the subjectivities of South Asian women and the perception of FM will evolve through collective experiences and time. This is illustrated by Saha (2012) who argued a shift away from the concepts of ‘Whiteness’ and ‘Britishness’. Saha (2012) discussed the emergence and formations of new identities of South Asians, following the terrorist bombing in America on 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001, which was described as ‘Asianness’ in response to Islamophobia.

To assist teachers to interpret and implement the FM policy, the government produced the multi-agency guidelines. This interactive online session allows the user to walk through a realistic scenario tailored to their profession.

A review of the literature was an ongoing process throughout this study; the final stages of the review indicated that there have been discussions and debates around the success, but mainly failure of criminalising FM (Sabbe, Temmerman, Brems and Leye, 2014). Yet no discussions have been found around the implementation of the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014) and the policing required by prominent community institutions, for example schools and the effects that this policing has on teachers.

## **2.6 Summary**

Categorically, the literature demonstrates a link between teachers’ construction of the self, personal experiences and the performance in their professional roles (Nias, 1989; Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996; Acker, 1999; O’Connor, 2008). This suggests that teachers’ identities incorporate emotions, personal and professional dimensions, which are inseparable and intertwined.

“Teachers often possess a strong personal commitment towards their profession, and teachers’ emotions guide the formation of their identities....and an individual’s professional philosophy is mediated by their personal belief system.”

(O’Connor, 2008, p. 118).

The discourses surrounding a 'good teacher' suggest that emotions lie at the heart of this connotation (Hargreaves, 1994; Zembylas, 2003a; Kelchtermans 2005; O'Connor, 2008). Bearing this in mind, when implementing change, the government needs to have regard to teachers' emotions, and failure to do so may have adverse consequences as outlined by Darby (2008). Darby (2008) highlighted how teachers respond to a lack of support when implementing policy, and how this impacts on their well-being.

"Teachers play a key role in implementing such reform in the classroom. If a teacher does not support the reform or if the reform challenges the teacher's professional purpose, the reform may not be carried out as intended at the classroom level.

(Darby, 2008, p. 1161).

"When administrators use accountability measures of legislation such as No Child Left Behind to blame teachers or make them fearful and apprehensive, some teachers get angry and dig in their heels whilst others just give up in frustration."

(Darby, 2008, p. 1171).

These quotes capture how teachers display negative emotions when challenged with demanding blanket policies, which could lead to resistance to and rejection of the implementation of the policy.

Having explored the dominant discourses, the review of the literature revealed gaps in the literature of areas that were under-researched. This helped in formulating the questions for this research in areas that were still unknown. Namely, how do teachers react to addressing social justice issues in the classroom that are not connected to academia or educational reform, and that are not performance related? Does such a task have implications for teachers' personal and professional identities? These questions shaped and positioned the research, which are further defined in chapter three.

The next chapter outlines the methodology adopted within this study, along with the ethical issues and limitations. Also considered is the theoretical framework and paradigms within which this study is embedded.

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the mechanisms of the research methodology adopted for this study and the theory that underpins it. This includes discussion on the qualitative methods of data collection and the rationale. This chapter commences by outlining the research questions and the methodological approach. An explanation is then provided of the approach to the fieldwork, the data analysis and the theoretical framework. This chapter concludes by describing the main strengths and limitations of the methodology.

This study is informed by a feminist post-structural framework and intersectionality. Following this framework, qualitative empirical data were gathered. This included an observation of a teacher training session on forced marriage (FM), observations of teachers delivering sessions on FM in the classroom, and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and teachers. Feminist post-structural research lends itself to qualitative methods shaped by a feminist post-structural framework, politics and ethics that are substantiated in women's experiences. Rich data of subjective personal experience can be captured through one-to-one interviews, where the participant is given an opportunity to recount their story (Oakley, 1981). The observations helped triangulate the data set (Taylor, Kermode and Roberts, 2007), by providing a foundation upon which to build a deeper layer of knowledge and understanding of the data collected in the interviews.

### **3.2 Research Question**

Empirical research is driven by research questions and needs to demonstrate a good fit between the questions and the method adopted (Punch, 2014). The focus of the research needs to be articulated into a clear and manageable research question (Miles, Huberman, Saldana, 2013; Punch, 2014). Green (2008) suggests:

“In order to be sufficient, systematic, clearly defined and specific,  
a social research question must, first and foremost be researchable.”

(Green, 2008, p. 47).



The literature review revealed a number of researchable questions. The next task consisted of narrowing the scope of the research by creating an overarching research question, supported by narrower sub-questions to direct and focus the research (Agee, 2009).

The overarching question created for this research was:

“What are the experiences of teachers in a secondary school when addressing in the classroom the issue of forced marriage?”

To complement and support this question, and in order to achieve the objectives for the research, the following sub-questions were posed:

3. What discourse(s) do teachers draw upon, reject and negotiate when addressing in the classroom the issue of forced marriage?
4. How do teachers negotiate the intersection of their personal and professional identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom?

### **3.3 Why a Feminist Post-Structural Framework Works for this Study**

The notion of liberal feminism is associated with political and social inequalities and consumed with achieving equality by abolishing barriers, such as educational barriers for women, whilst accepting and supporting differences. Initially, feminist theory considered gendered inequalities. However, subsequent waves and strands of feminism, such as black and lesbian feminism, have been extended to address other marginalised groups based upon race, sexuality and class (Davis, 2008). Hence feminist post-structuralism is a fitting framework within which to analyse the concept of forced marriage (FM), teachers' identities and experiences of addressing FM. This is because the idea of FM is riddled with inequalities. First and foremost, FM restricts the social aspect of the right to marriage. From a political perspective, this is a breach of a fundamental human right under article 12 of the HRA 1998 and CEDAW 1981, article 16(1)(b) (see chapter one for further discussion). Feminist post-structuralism from a theoretical perspective, gives a voice to marginalised people, based on their gender and race (black feminism) and focuses on their personal experiences. FM has been constructed within the UK context as a racial and religious issue. The discourses upon which FM has been used, abused and sustained by the media (Hall, 1999; BBC

News, 2003, 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016, 2017), is through associating FM with South Asian communities (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011) with the main target group being Muslim females (source: FMU annual report 2014). I reject FM as a racial issue, and I do not accept FM as an exclusively Muslim problem. I construct FM as a gender issue, hence choosing to draw upon a feminist post-structural framework, to highlight the gendered inequalities within FM.

My work is informed by Hughes and Cohen (2010) who claimed that teachers are gendered and racial subjects, defined and moulded by their experiences. Individuals are complex with multiple identities and dimensions, influenced by their upbringing and particular settings (Hughes and Cohen, 2010). A feminist post-structural framework allows for these layers to be peeled back and explored. For example, what is understood by culture, especially by the non-white English participants in this study? The inclusion of culture is rare in identifying oneself. This option does not exist in form-filling exercises whereby individual are limited to simply being identified through a tick box process, Asian or white British. A convoluted option with a fusion of cultures is not available. This study considers the social construction of teachers' identities and how culture too is negotiated in the same way as gender, race and religion.

Following the ice-breaker questions, the first question asked to the participants, at interview, as part of this research was "can you tell me a bit about yourself?" The purpose of this open question was to provide a platform for the teachers to introduce their multiple identities and how they constructed themselves. This revealed how teachers perceive themselves and the factors that influence them, such as ethnicity and religion, which provided meaning to how their experiences were shaped. The teachers' racialised and gendered responses were then considered within a post-structural feminist framework to give meaning to the data.

This study explores the legal and cultural expectations that teachers are embroiled within when addressing FM. As teachers' identities are focused upon in this study, teachers are positioned as an excluded group within the political arena and educational institutional setting. This is because teachers are often excluded from consultation and discussions on the policies that they are expected to execute. This exclusion from policymaking was demonstrated by Michael Gove, whilst he held the position of Secretary of State for Education (2010-2014), when he introduced

unpopular reforms to the GCSE examinations. This illustrated the gap between policymaking and the implementation of policies. This gap could and should be bridged by teachers through consultation not by marginalising their voices. This study provides a voice to teachers and focuses on their personal experiences.

Foucault (1979) highlighted how the modern state has moved away from enforcing its authority physically to enforcing it psychologically to create a self-governing society. He argued that surveillance is being used in modern institutions as a key instrument to control and govern the people. He claimed that awareness of being observed stifles individuality and creates conformity. People end up thinking that acting and behaving are the same, for the fear of being caught out or punished. Foucault (1979) described this as 'dynamic normalisation' and asserted that the dynamic normalisation is fundamentally undemocratic as it eradicates freewill and independent thinking and is creates a society of robots. Normalising power makes individuals, by their own will, do what society wants through a process of reproducing discourse that becomes dominant and the accepted norm. Foucault (1979) argued that it is often hard to see power in action and how our actions are being influenced, with relational forces influencing people's thoughts, feelings and actions. These concepts are explored further and applied to the findings (in chapters 4 to 7) to make sense of how teachers' emotions and practices are influenced when addressing FM in the classroom.

Foucault (1979) claimed that it is a mechanism of power which regulates the behaviour of individuals within a social context through using technologies of discipline, such as how space or time are organised, and those factors impact on people's activity and behaviour. In his subsequent work Foucault (1980a) introduced the technologies of the self. This relates to resistance of powerful social forces through awareness raising, critical thinking, and individuals determining their own values and agency. In his earlier work, Foucault (1972) defined discourse as "a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation" (Foucault, 1972, p. 117). He explained that these are determined through specific regulations and structures which are meaningful within a specific time, space and social setting. Therefore, Foucault (1972) perceived discourse as a method by which individuals govern others (technologies of discipline) and also the self (technologies of the self). How teachers demonstrate agency through resisting or reproducing dominant discourses is investigated in chapter five.

Foucault (1980a) has been heavily criticised (Ramazanoglu, 1993) for not addressing gender in his writing. Hence applying a Foucauldian lens alone to this study would only provide a general discussion around power and knowledge which ignores a fundamental concept that is core to this study, relating to gender and race. However, Foucault's (1980a) views on power, agency, resistance and change are useful when determining whether subjects (teachers) reproduce and align their behaviour with certain discourses (relating to FM) or resist them. Foucault (1980a) considered power as a discipline area through discourse, and within that paradigm there is room for agency and change. This illustrates the fluidity of identities that evolves through time, social and historical events and experiences (change). Therefore, it is appropriate to combine a feminist post-structural framework with an emphasis on a Foucauldian lens to provide a complete framework for this study.

Feminist post-structuralists (for example Weedon, 1997; Osgood, 2010) perceived discourses as an institutional way of talking about certain ideas and concepts, such as the neutral professional. Within a feminist post-structural framework, discourses are not considered neutral and come with subjectivities (Weedon, 1997) which can be gendered or racialised. Weedon (1997) claimed that:

“Discourses exist both in written and oral forms and in social practices of everyday life. They inhere in the very physical layout of our institutions....To be effective, they require activation through the agency of the individuals whom they constitute and govern in particular ways as embodied subjects.”

(Weedon, 1997, p. 108)

According to Weedon (1997) subject positioning signifies how individuals identify themselves and their place in society. Weedon (1997) conceptualised this as “the relationship between language, social institutions and individual consciousness” (Weedon, 1997, p. 15). In chapter six, I explore discourses surrounding professionalism, and the institutionalised way of talking about the ‘good teacher’ within the context of implementing FM policy.

A feminist post-structural framework focuses upon the transitory and delicate state of the constructions and relationships between talk and social institutions. This study considers these relationships through dominant discourses. This is pivotal to this study as it appreciates the shifting and evolving discourses established through talk

relating to teachers' identities and the implementation of FM policy. The post structural element of this study allows for the generation of new meaning and new layers to the data.

This study adopts the definition of discourse as an institutional way of talking about certain ideas and concepts (Weedon, 1997; Osgood, 2010). The construction of discourses by teachers, society and the state play an important role in this study. Initially, discourses are identified to investigate how teachers' subjective positioning and identities (gendered and racialised) influence their implementation of FM policy, discussed in chapters four and five. Then discourses constructed by institutions to regulate FM policy and counter discourses (Osgood 2010) that emerge through the data are explored in chapter six. Finally, the assumed neutrality of discourses is also explored and challenged in chapters six and seven.

### **3.3.1 Feminist Post-Structural Ontology**

The ontological perspective of a theory considers what counts as truth. Feminist post-structural ontology rejects objectivity, validity and a single definitive truth (Stanley and Wise, 2002). Hence positive notions of truth obtained through objective methods such as tick-box questionnaires are dismissed. Feminist post-structuralism embraces multiple truths with the unquestionable acceptance of all the individual's experiences as the truth, upon which knowledge is formed. This study is informed by a feminist post-structural ontological perspective and is not claiming to seek or determine a truth or the truth. It is for that reason this study is informed by a feminist post-structural framework and deliberates how subjects' (teachers') views are regulated by wider discourses relating to whiteness, gender, a multi-cultural society and equality.

### **3.3.2 Feminist Post-Structural Epistemology**

A theory's epistemology concerns itself with what is regarded as knowledge. Feminist post-structural epistemology claims that personal and political knowledge is guided and based upon individual experiences (Oakley, 1981; Stanley and Wise, 2002; Hughes and Cohen, 2010). This study is occupied with capturing experiences that are formulated through the individual's gendered, racial, religious and cultural experiences, from which the individual constructs knowledge. These experiences do not have to be justified or critiqued. All experiences are important and well-founded. This study accepts such experiences to be informative and legitimate forms

of knowledge. However, it is recognised that such claims are contested by positivists who believe in the objectivity of truth and reality, independent of the individuals' experiences (Giddens, 2013). A positivist researcher is governed by the notion that the universe is constant and unaffected by laws and rules of causation and occurrences (Giddens, 2013).

The purpose of this study is to investigate and explore teachers' experiences of addressing FM in the classroom. To determine how policies shape and form teachers' identities, it was necessary to extrapolate teachers' experiences. This concurs with a feminist post-structural framework of gathering experiences upon which knowledge is generated, in this context, on FM policies, which influences the shifting and shaping of teachers' identities.

Therefore, as a feminist post-structural researcher, it is important to understand the experiences of individual teachers, and comprehend the connection between the knowledge created by the government and that of teachers, which teachers have to put into practice. This process requires an understanding of the purpose of the policy, how teachers interpret policy and their experiences of working with the FM policy that is created by policymakers. These issues are explored and unpacked through the Foucauldian concept of power and agency.

These experiences are shaped by the participants' individuality, professionalism, background, culture, religion and gender that results in constructing knowledge and truths about the world and 'self' (Foucault 1980b). This study ascertains how teachers perceive and construct the truth on how they view FM. Foucault (1980b) claimed that there is no absolute objective truth, but instead truths are discourses accepted by society as meaningful. As society is fluid, these discourses will evolve.

Despite Foucault (1980b) being criticised for ignoring gender in his own work, he offers an alternative view of control over women through the control of sexuality and bodies (Ramazanoglu, 1993). As FM can occur to curb sexual behaviour and choices, it is appropriate to apply a Foucauldian lens to this study.

### **3.4 Looking at Language**

Post-structural feminists (Foucault, 1980b; Butler, 2011; Deleuze and Guattari, 2014) claim that language plays an important part in enhancing the understanding of

knowledge and truths constructed. Foucault (1980b) claimed that no one exists outside language, hence knowledge and truth are made the moment speech occurs, are there is no absolute truth. Foucault (1979) considered discourses to be formed through social structures and experiences to provide meaning. This study constructs meaning, hence knowledge, from the discourses created, reproduced and rejected by the teachers in their interviews and classroom observations in relation to addressing FM.

Foucault (2002) described statements that are similar in context as discourses, whose claims carry meaning and amount to knowledge. To explore discourse in a Foucauldian manner is to understand the function of statements. Foucault (2002) presented discourse as:

“Practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.”

(Foucault, 2002, p. 54).

This proposes that symbolic systems convey meanings along with language to produce discourses. Burr (2003) built upon this by suggesting that social structures commonly accepted by society influence views and develop discourses. Burr (2003) recommended that discourses are best presented by deconstructing social structures and practices:

“taking them apart and showing how they work.”

(Burr, 2003, p. 18).

This study understands discourses to be the central core ideas, concepts or practices that regulate individuals and shape subjectivities (Weedon, 1997; Osgood, 2010). For the purpose of this study, themes are re-occurring topics, patterns and codes that emerge from the data upon which the thematic analysis for this study is based. The link between themes and discourses is illustrated in Section 3.14.

### 3.5 Feminist Post-Structural Methodology and the Rationale for this Methodological Approach

This research is informed by a feminist post-structural framework that coincides with my epistemological belief system of multiple truths constructed by subjective experiences. This study allowed for qualitative data collection, through semi-structured interviews with teachers who address FM in the classroom and stakeholders that have a vested interest in FM policies (the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 and the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014) (Weaver and Olson, 2006). This provides rich, descriptive, explanatory data which unlocks multiple truths through different perceptions and experiences of the participants by giving them a voice (Hughes and Cohen, 2010). The sample represents two groups who provide expertise from different viewpoints. These are stakeholders who comment on the ideology and creation of government policy, and teachers who discuss the implementation and interpretation of policy in a practical setting; the classroom.

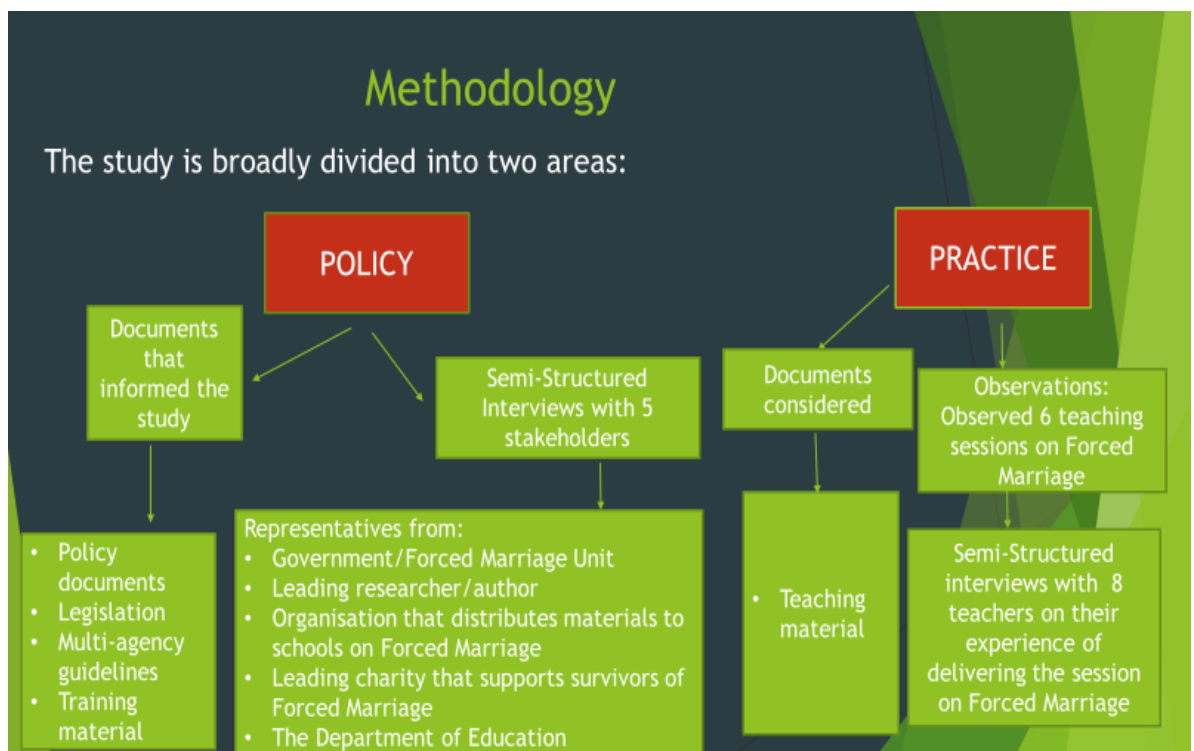


Figure 1. Methodology



A summary of the methodology adopted for this study is illustrated above in figure 1 (also see section 3.7 and 3.11 for details). This study investigated the implications of implementing FM policy. Therefore, it was necessary to understand FM policy and its background, along with how, in practice, FM policy is implemented. The first heading 'policy' has two columns, the documents used to inform the study and how data were collected relating to policy. Under the heading 'policy', the first column relates to documents reviewed as background research to understanding FM policy, such as legislation (the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 and the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014) and guidance (Multi-Agency practice guidelines: Handling cases of forced marriage 2014 Multi-Agency statutory guidance for dealing with forced marriage 2014) about FM. Having grasped the essence of the FM policy through the documents, I was in a better position to collect data through semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders who played a part in shaping FM policy. Through reviewing the FM policy documents, I noted how FM was framed in policy. I then addressed this framing of FM by policies with the stakeholders. This is represented by the second column under policy. The second heading is 'practice' which also has two columns. The first column relates to the materials that I considered to understand how the teachers approached and delivered the FM session in the classroom. The material consisted of a collection of the slides that were presented to the class and varied according to the students' age range. The second column under 'practice' represents the data that I collected in relation to the implementation of FM policies. This consisted of observing teachers delivering a session on FM and interviewing the teachers following the session.

As this research is based upon peoples' experiences of teaching FM, it is necessary for the method of data collection to allow individuals to express themselves in their own way. Structured interviews or surveys do not provide sufficient flexibility; the chosen method needs to incorporate narratives and a strategy for discovering new ground. Discussion on FM is a complex and sensitive subject. Hence semi-structured interviews are an appropriate method of data collection, as they allow sufficient in-depth information to be gathered and for explanations to be provided for clarity. Interviews can be adapted to meet the researcher's needs through re-examining and further probing responses to enhance answers (Bell, 2010). Also tone and expressions can be recorded that cannot be gathered and understood through questionnaires. Interviews allow for empirical data to be generated through the natural course of a conversation (Bell, 2010). This complements the feminist post-structural framework of qualitative, in-depth, narrative data collection.

Information gathered through interviews is subjective, actual views and rich insights into peoples' lives, experiences, opinions, attitudes and feelings (May, 2011). Semi-structured interviews are not rigid and allow the participant to provide a narrative and answer questions on their own terms (Gilbert, 2008). Semi-structured interviews allow for some standardised questions, which assists with comparability at the data analysis stage. In a one-to-one interview, each individual is heard and their voice does not fall into the shadow of a dominant speaker, which can happen within a focus group. Interviews provide the opportunity for the researcher and participant to build up a rapport, which could result in individuals divulging more information than in a focus group or survey (Oakley, 1981). Disengagement within the interview is not conducive to the traditional aim of establishing rapport (Oakley, 1981; May, 2011).

During the interviews for this study, I built up a rapport with the teachers (see discussion below on power hierarchies). This resulted in two participants admitting to me that they had divulged more information than they had originally planned (Holloway and Jefferson, 2013; Outer, Handley and Price, 2013). May (2011) described reciprocal dialogue between the researcher and participant suggesting that:

“...engagement is a valued aspect of the feminist research process.”

(May, 2011, p. 135).

Therefore, the interviews played an important part in the data collection process.

Observations of classroom teaching on FM were also used as a method for collecting data. Observation involves studying behaviour in natural settings (Gilbert, 2008) and aims to uncover and analyse the foundations of social culture and life (Silverman, 2011), by allowing thick description to manifest (MacLure, 2003a). This research sought to challenge the context of a 'natural setting' and the concept of natural and to whom. Being forced to marry is not natural and against Recommendation no. 21, UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1981). Being required to teach a sensitive topic, which may not naturally belong in the classroom, may also be perceived as an unnatural process. Thus, by introducing topics such as FM into the classroom, alongside conventional subjects like maths and English, the discourse of a 'natural setting' is unsettled and blurred.

Observations, along with interviews, develop an understanding of the culture, shared experiences and an insight into why things are done in a specific way (Bell, 2010). Whyte (1955) commented on how sitting and listening can provide answers to questions that one would not have thought to ask in an interview situation. Therefore the observations complemented the interviews in this research.

Stacey (1988), Gordon (2003), Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) and Albon and Rosen (2014) have questioned if feminist ethnography is appropriate as it creates inequality in the researcher/participant relationship. Stacey suggested that:

“.....[ethnography] represents an intervention into a system of relationship that the researcher is far freer than the researched to leave.”

(Stacey, 1988, p. 21).

To address this concern the consent form (Appendix 4) stated that the interviewee could withdraw from participating in the study at any time.

It can be argued that observations, within a feminist post-structural framework, are both appropriate and invaluable to research. Observations allow subjective experiences to be collected through working in first-hand, in close proximity with the participant in their activity and environment.

### **3.6 The Case Study Institution**

The statistics released by the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) in their 2014 annual report stated that the majority of FMs occur between the ages of 11-24, peaking around the 14-18 age group. On this basis, I used my knowledge of the local area and the OFSTED reports to identify this South London secondary school ('the Institution') for the research fieldwork. The pupils' ages range from 11 to 19. The students from year 7 through to year 11 are only girls. In 2012 the institution introduced a mixed gender sixth-form with an emphasis on business and enterprise. The ratio of girls to boys in the sixth-form was 8:1. The total number of students, at the time (2015) of the fieldwork was 1167. The ethnic composition of the students in this institution is 50% South Asian, 30% Black, 10% White, and 10% other. According to the figures released by the FMU for 2014, FM affects 79% of females and 53% of the South Asian community. Thus this secondary school perfectly fitted the profile of potential

students that may fall victim to a FM. Therefore, dealing with a FM situation was a reality for the teachers. Hence the teachers in this secondary school were working with pupils identified by the FMU as a vulnerable category. Unfortunately, I was restricted in my choice of institutions within which to conduct my research. This is because only a very few schools address FM in the classroom. The FMU have suggested that this is because institutions do not want to draw attention to themselves or be tarnished with a reputation of having a problem with FM.

The headteacher of this institution is pro-active and it is commendable how the initiative has been taken to ensure that current issues which affect young people are addressed at the school. The headteacher informed me that there had been campaigners and charities that had delivered talks to the pupils on drugs, bullying, FGM, terrorism and FM. In November 2014, the headteacher appointed Rani (pseudonym) as the new head of PSHE and requested that one of her first tasks was to arrange a talk on FM. Rani arranged for the regular timetable to be set aside for one day, for all the year groups, and for the FMU to come in and talk to the students about FM in assembly. Rani now wanted to arrange a follow-up session on FM for students within their tutor group classes. Due to timetabling constraints, pending GCSE choices and summer exams, the session on FM was slotted into form time at the start of the day which lasts approximately 30 minutes.

The institution has 236 staff members which comprises teaching staff, teaching assistances and administrative staff. The ratio of female teachers to male teachers is 12:1. The ethnic composition of the teachers is opposite to that of the students, in that it is 10% South Asian, 15% Black, 70% White, and 5% other. The classes have approximately 23 students in each class.

### **3.7 Data Collection Methods**

The purpose of collecting data is to address the aims of the study, using methods aligned with the theoretical and methodological framework already identified. I determined that this was best achieved by data collection through the following methods:

1. Observing the FMU delivering a training session on FM awareness to teachers. This mainly consisted of head of year teachers and the head of PSHE. This presentation provided me with the raw materials, and a grasp of

what the government wanted the teachers to do and the support that they were offering.

2. Observing six teachers delivering a session on FM in the classroom. This was important as it allowed me to witness, first-hand, the position that the teachers had adopted in delivering the session. I was also able to understand better the lens that the teachers applied to the issue of FM and the discourses they accepted/rejected surrounding FM.
3. Semi-structured interviews were a useful tool in gathering information from the teachers regarding their experience of addressing FM in the classroom. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with five stakeholders that had a vested interest in policy relating to FM (details in tables 3 and 4 below).

### **3.8 Data Triangulation**

The teacher observations and the semi-structured interviews with the teachers permitted me to blend and integrate the data. I was able to cross-reference the data to provide clarification, reinforce points and connect missing information. I drew upon the strengths of both research tools and hence triangulated the data (Taylor et al., 2007), in order to access and correlate what was 'said' in the interview and 'done' in the classroom. This enabled me to examine if there were any discrepancies between the teachers' views and their practices. I did this through constant comparison of the teachers' observations with their own interview, along with comparing all the observations and interviews across the board with both teachers and stakeholders.

### **3.9 Preliminary Investigation and the Pilot Study**

The purpose of the pilot study was to carry out a small-scale research project, to identify whether the components of the study fitted together in practice, as set out in the research proposal. The pilot research was restricted to testing one research instrument, the semi-structured interview, and I concentrated on interviewing three teachers. The participants were identified through snowballing and networking techniques. An invitation letter along with the consent form and British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011) guidelines 2011 were emailed to all identified potential participants. One of these teachers was interviewed at home and agreed to act as the 'gate-keeper' (Gilbert, 2008; May, 2011; Punch, 2014), enlisting two of her

colleagues. Arrangements were made for their interviews to be held at the college. All interviews were approximately one hour long and were audio-recorded.

This pilot study successfully demonstrated that the research components identified for this study, such as the methodology, theoretical framework and research instruments, were aligned with the research questions. The questions trialled for the pilot were appropriate. They drew out valuable data and the questions were robust in challenging the dominant discourses. Using semi-structured interviews for exploring teachers' experiences and perceptions on FM was found to be an effective approach and the interviews proved to be a useful tool in navigating through the participants' narration.

### **3.10 Negotiating Access to the Institution**

Despite only a few institutions addressing FM (as discussed above), I was fortunate in that the first institution that I contacted agreed to be the setting for my fieldwork. I approached this particular institution because of its locality, familiarity and student composition. The institution was local to my home as I which was important because I would have to visit the institution on a number of occasions and I has considerable family commitments. As I was a former student at the institution, I hoped that this association would persuade the headteacher to agree to the institution taking part in the study. Indeed, this was a relevant factor, as the headteacher and two other teachers stated that they agreed to participate because I was a former student. As one said: "I saw the email and I thought, why not, anything to help an ex-student."

I was aware that the institution was a girls' school with a majority ethnic minority student composition. This composition correlated with the potential profile of FM victims (discussed above); therefore, I anticipated that the institution would have experienced FM with the students, and my assumptions were correct. This is discussed further in chapter four (the Findings and Discussion).

I contacted the headteacher at the institution, by email, in January 2012 and introduced myself and my research. I was provisionally told by this person that the college could potentially take part in my research and that I should contact them again nearer the time that I was ready to conduct the research. I emailed the institution again in August 2014 to request a meeting with the headteacher to arrange access to the institution and discuss how to approach the teaching staff and secure their

participation in my research. Due to unforeseen circumstances at the school, it was not possible not meet the headteacher until December 2014. At this time, I was informed that, in November 2014, the FMU had attended the college and delivered a talk on FM to the students. However, follow-up sessions in class had not yet been arranged, but the headteacher was keen for this to take place, along with FM training for teachers. Hence the timing of my fieldwork coincided with the sessions on FM that were about to be timetabled.

I also learnt that the current head of PSHE had recently been appointed. This person was to contact me about timetabling the sessions and the headteacher confirmed that eight teachers had already volunteered to be interviewed for this research.

I was contacted in February 2015, the FM classes were scheduled for March 2015 and a list of teachers I could observe and who had agreed to be interviewed was provided. The headteacher suggested that (the implications of this are discussed in the Limitations section 3.17.2) I made contact with the potential participant teachers directly through email. Although volunteers had already expressed an interest in my research, it was important that the teachers participated in the research of their own free will (Osgood, 2010). If the teachers felt obliged to participate, this could have resulted in the teachers becoming 'hostile' participants (Gilbert, 2008) with a lack of enthusiasm and willingness to co-operate with the research. To ensure free will, I emailed the identified teachers a letter of invitation (Appendix 2), setting out the details of my study, the consent form (Appendix 4) confirming that consent could be withdrawn at any stage, and the BERA guidelines (2011) that the study adhere to.

Feminist scholars (Oakley, 1981; Archer, 2003a) advocate for openness and sharing information with the respondent to build a rapport. When introducing the research, an appropriate level of information was disclosed so as not to mislead or influence the research (Mercer, 2006). However, the consent must be informed to build a trusting relationship and engage with the participants respectfully (Osgood, 2010). One of the ways that I built trust with the teachers was by revealing that I was a former student, and how my education had progressed since studying at the institution. I also built trust by being honest and open.

### **3.11 Sample of Teachers**

This study sought to explore the ways and extent to which teachers negotiate their

personal and professional identities when addressing FM. As part of a feminist post-structural framework, this study was not seeking an equally diverse, balanced and representative sample. All data collected were qualitative, subjective experiences and a valuable contribution to the research. However, the strands of diversity that were important for this study were culture, gender, ethnicity and religion (explained further in section 3.14.5) and this was taken into account in the selection of the sample.

There was cognisance of the fact that this research topic is closely associated with South Asian culture (see Chantler et al., 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011) and therefore one of the participants was a female South Asian teacher, chosen to ensure that multiple identities, through intersectionality of ethnicity, gender and professionalism could be explored (Mirza, 1992; Spivak, 1993; Brah, 1996; Osler, 2003). Other teachers interviewed were from different ethnicities and religions and, whilst for pragmatic reasons, a large number was not possible, the resultant sample was illuminative of the population (see Table 3).

*Table 3. Sample of teacher participants (using pseudonyms)*

<b>TUTOR</b>	<b>GENDER</b>	<b>ETHNICITY</b>	<b>RELIGION</b>	<b>OBSERVED</b>	<b>INTERVIEWED</b>
Rani	Female	South Asian - Indian	Sikh	Yes	Yes
Diya	Female	South Asian - Indian	Sikh	Yes	Yes
Liz	Female	Mixed-race European/Caribbean	Christian-Anglican	Yes	Yes
Tess	Female	White - Canadian	Atheist	No	Yes
Marina	Female	European - Cypriot	Christian-Catholic	Yes	Yes
Ania	Female	European - Polish	Christian-Catholic	Yes	Yes
Penny	Female	White – British	Christian-Church of England	No	Yes
Ed	Male	White – British	Christian-Church of England	Yes	Yes

Table 3 identifies the teachers (using pseudonyms) who participated in the study. Reflected in the table are the teachers' intersecting identities of ethnicity, religion and gender, which the teachers acknowledged and constructed as their personal



identities. The table also specifies whether the data collected from the teachers was via an interview, observing them in the classroom or both.

### **3.11.1 Observation of a Training Session on FM for Teachers**

In February 2015, Rani arranged for the FMU to attend the college to deliver training on FM to the head-of-year teachers. I observed this half-day session. The purpose of this training was to raise awareness of FM; understand why FM happens; for teachers to be able to detect and pre-empt a FM situation; understand the legal remedies; be able to seek the appropriate assistance to support a potential victim of FM. Due to timetable schedules, the training was not available to all staff. It was targeted towards staff members who would have to deal with potential cases of FM. However, teachers did not receive training on how to deliver a session on FM to students in the classroom. Instead Rani adapted the FMU presentation and disseminated the slides to the teachers to deliver to their groups according to student ages.

### **3.11.2 Observations of the Teachers**

I observed six teachers delivering a session on FM to their tutor group in morning form time, from 8.25am to 8.55am. This time period was also shared with teachers disseminating notices and general information on school business.

Although the research has a clear observational purpose, the observations were unstructured and open-ended. This allowed me to “immerse [myself] into the activity” (May, 2011, p. 148), and for the focus to emerge that can be drawn out and discussed in the interviews (Bell, 2010). To eliminate any misinterpretation, a debriefing took place after the observation, when time permitted (Bell, 2010; May, 2011; Albon and Rosen, 2014). I adopted an overt presence, so that the teacher being observed was aware of my intentions. The teachers introduced me to their class and explained that I would be observing the session. The observation process focused on the teachers, and so student participation did not need to be meticulously recorded.

The teachers played a five-minute video clip of a survivor (Sanghera, 2009) of an FM, outlining her story. This was followed by a discussion emanating from the video clip and was combined with a PowerPoint slide presentation. The slides were tailored to the students’ year group. The year 7 to 9 groups had agree and disagree statements about FM, whilst the older students were engaged with more facts and discussion

surrounding FM, such as the distinction between arranged marriage (AM) and FM. None of the teachers finished the session within the allotted time, and all the teachers promised a follow up class, that never materialised. I did contact the teachers about the follow up sessions. Their response was that they did not have time in the teaching schedule to revisit the topic.

### **3.11.3 Individual Semi-Structured Interviews with the Teachers**

Using face-to-face semi-structured interviews, I interviewed the six teachers that I had observed and then another further two teachers. These two teachers did not want to be observed, but were happy to be interviewed. The interviews took place after the observations and were approximately 45 minutes in length. I prepared an interview schedule (Appendix 6) which was divided into themes to help guide the interview. The schedule incorporated the following broad themes: background; addressing FM; government intervention; the school; and concluding questions. The schedule was varied slightly when I interviewed Rani, the head of PSHE. Her interview incorporated more questions about producing the teaching materials for the sessions. The interview schedule was designed to be flexible and allow discourses to emerge, based upon the assumption that people draw upon an array of discourses that shape subjectivities.

In summary, the method used to collect the research data was aligned to a feminist post-structural framework. The data were collected through an observation of a teacher training session on the topic, followed by observations of teachers delivering classes on FM to pupils, and finally semi-structured interviews (narratives) with teachers who taught on FM. Feminists, such as Oakley (1981), have concluded that interviews breakdown the barriers between the researcher and the researched allowing the researcher to get closer to the subjective viewpoint expressed. Interviews also pose issues around hierarchical and power relationships. This includes interviewing the opposite gender and asking questions that place the participant in a position of subservience or inferiority (Al-Makhamreh and Lewando-Hundt, 2008; Bryman, 2012). I discuss power hierarchies relating to this study later in section 3.12).

### **3.11.4 Semi-Structured Interviews with the Policy-Stakeholders**

I identified organisations and individuals that would have a vested interest in policy relating to FM. I had made a number of contacts through attending conferences and

roadshows on FM. I contacted the individuals by email and arranged interviews.

The following five stakeholders were identified and were aware of this proposed study. I interviewed (using a semi-structured format) the following people regarding their political and social perception and contribution to current policy relating to FM:

1. An independent researcher who had been commissioned by the Home Office to publish her findings on FM. She has published numerous journal articles on FM and is a leading authority on the subject.
2. A representative of the Forced Marriage Unit. This Unit was set up in 2005 as a joint venture by the Home Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. This Unit is the driving force that initiates change in policy relating to FM.
3. One of the founders of a charity that produces the government approved official materials on FM for distribution in schools and provides training. This charity works closely with the Forced Marriage Unit.
4. The director of a women's project who is involved in consultations on government policy decisions relating to domestic violence and FM. This organisation often holds opposing views to the government, the FMU and the charity mentioned at point 3 that is supportive of government policy on FM.
5. I contacted the Department of Education. Although interviews were refused, written responses to some pre-prepared questions were provided via email.

Originally, I had contacted Southall Black Sisters for an interview, but I did not receive a response. I therefore contacted another women's charity who are active in the area of FM. I also contacted the shadow MP for preventing violence against women and girls. I emailed her twice through her constituency surgery and received an automated response. I chased this up a month later and arranged an interview for January 2015. However, two days before the interview, I received an email cancelling the appointment without the option to re-schedule. The forthcoming election was cited as the reason for the cancellation. As an alternative, I was able to gain email responses to some questions from the Department of Education, and I also interviewed a representative from a government associated charity on FM.

*Table 4. Stakeholders interviewed (using pseudonyms)*

<b>STAKEHOLDER</b>	<b>ORGANISATION</b>	<b>GENDER</b>	<b>ETHNICITY</b>	<b>RELIGION</b>
Hina	Leading Researcher/ Author	Female	Asian - Muslim	Muslim
Ben	Forced Marriage Unit	Male	Black - African	Christian
Priya	Charity affiliated with the FMU	Female	South Asian - Indian	Hindu
Kiran	Women's project in opposition to the FMU	Female	South Asian - Canadian	Sikh
Lee	Department of Education	Male	White - British	Christian (C of E)

Table 4 identifies the stakeholders (using pseudonyms) who were interviewed as part of this study. The table reflects how the stakeholders categorised their ethnicity, religion and gender identities. The table also includes the organisation with whom the stakeholders are associated. This study recognises that the views expressed in this study are those of the individual, and may not necessarily represent that of the organisation. However, these stakeholders were chosen to participate in this study because of their affiliation with their organisation in which they were employed at management level.

### **3.11.5 Additional Data**

In addition to the interviews with the stakeholders and the teachers from the institution chosen for this study, I conducted two further interviews in January 2015 with university lecturers who also lectured on FM. The purpose of these interviews was twofold; firstly, as backup, because I was not sure if I could secure eight interviews in my chosen institution; and secondly, I considered including a chapter in my thesis relating to university tutors addressing FM in the classroom. This is because the government also wants universities to assist in the detection and prevention of FM. However, I did not want to dilute the focus by broadening the scope of this study; although the interviews provided some useful contextual insights and the opportunity to prepare for the main interviews with the eight teachers from the institution, I have not presented the data from these interviews.

### **3.12 Power Hierarchies during Interviewing**

Feminist post-structuralism is not just limited to the method of collecting data, which is the use of interviews for this study, but also features throughout the interviewing process. Feminists (Oakley, 2003; Osgood, 2010) have claimed the importance of building trust and maintaining an equal relationship during the interview. This eliminates the formation of power hierarchies (Foucault, 1980a) between the researcher and the participants.

As a first-time researcher, I felt like an outsider to this process. I took some comfort in the safe space created by the topic being researched when interviewing the stakeholders. I felt close enough to the topic to understand it from a South Asian Muslim woman's perspective and be immersed in the topic. However, as I personally have not experienced FM within my circle of friends or family, I was able to keep the study in context. I was not emotionally clouded by the topic, nor did I find it difficult to explore. The main similarity I shared with the teachers that I interviewed was my familiarity with the institution and the student composition, having been an ex-student. I tried to mirror the participants as much as I could by drawing upon our similarities to maintain equality within the interviewing relationship. My own multiple identities beyond being a Muslim lecturer (Osler, 2003) transpired during the fieldwork. I drew upon my identities as a South Asian, married, Muslim, woman, mother, academic, doctoral student and solicitor where appropriate to match the participants' identities. For example, I would talk about my children with the other mothers who participated, or about extended family involvement with the other South Asian participants who understood the cultural significance. However, on occasions this equal relationship was difficult to maintain, and my position shifted throughout the research and even during the course of the interviews. This relationship was particularly strenuous where the participant and I had less in common, for example where the participant was a white, single, childless man. The option for repositioning was available by reverting and highlighting any similarities, such as being academics or in the case of the stakeholders, sharing an interest in the FM topic and being socially associated with having 'knowledge' on FM and the law. This all contributed to my position as an 'insider' (Mercer, 2006). In half of the observations, the teachers included me in the session, as an authoritative figure, by consulting and clarifying facts with me, within the session.

Mostly, it was my gender that positioned me as an insider with the female teachers. The male teacher created 'space' (Puwar, 2004) between himself and me both physically, by sitting further away from me during his interview than the female teachers, and limiting the personal information he revealed. I was able to reposition myself as an insider with Ed (pseudonym) by disclosing personal information (Oakley, 1981) that encouraged Ed to open up and divulge further personal experiences.

However, at times I considered myself as an 'outsider', through unfamiliarity with the current teachers, the current politics and dynamics of the institution. Also, the teachers' experiences and their association with the topic of FM were unknown to me. I possessed a status set which moved across various boundaries (Mercer, 2006). The headteacher's email and my letter of invitation avoided a situation where I was deemed as being "a [wo]man without a history" (Schulz, 1971, p. 34 cited by Mercer, 2006, p. 8). Hence, this struck some similarities with the participant teachers which led them to feel a connection with me, and agree to participate in the study. During the interviews, two participants stated that they agreed to take part in this research because I was a former student.

Post-structural feminists (Foucault, 1980a; Weedon, 1997) have argued that the power relationship depends on whether the researcher is researching up or down the hierarchy. This research was conducted in parallel. Therefore, the power relationship between the teachers and I fluctuated. When addressing the teachers as an ex-student and waiting for teachers to volunteer, I was in a vulnerable position, thus less powerful in the relationship. However, during the course of the interviews, when the teachers were revealing their experiences, I became dominant in the power relationship, as personal accounts were being extracted without me divulging any personal information (Osgood, 2010). I readdressed this imbalance by reconceptualising and disclosing information about myself to assist the teachers in feeling comfortable about divulging their experiences, whilst building trust, as advocated by feminists (Oakley, 1981; Archer, 2003a) and empowering the teachers (McDowell, 2001). As a feminist post-structural researcher, I must:

"ensure that the respondents do not feel uncomfortable, intimidated or disempowered."

(Osgood, 2010, p. 22).

Despite my best efforts, it was difficult to avoid power dynamics in the interviews (as discussed in chapter 5). However, I felt that I successfully put the participants at ease by repositioning myself to mirror them.

Cater and Little (2007) described the importance of epistemology as it influences methodology, the implementation of methods and determines the researcher's relationship with their audience. Brah (2012) explained how during an interview with a 15-year old white female, race became an issue. Brah (2012) was framed and 'othered' within her own research by the participant's discourse relating to the participant's description of South Asian people. This led Brah (2012) to think, "she means people like me" (Brah, 2012, p. 9). My own position and thoughts, during this research study, did mirror that of Brah's (2012). At one point, in three of the interviews with the teachers, my race became the focus. Three white teachers (Marina, Penny and Ania) did state that they had, at some point, also perceived FM as a South Asian, Muslim problem. Therefore, I shared Brah's (2012) sense of association with, and being framed within, the topic being researched. This is because discourses frame FM within the South Asian, female, Muslim community, and I am a South Asian, Muslim, female addressing FM. I wondered if the teachers thought that the reason why I held an interest in this topic was because it affected me on a personal level, whereby my friends, family or I had endured an FM. Or that my family and I were involved in forcing marriage upon others and supported the practice of FM. As a South Asian woman within a white context, I felt that I was constructed as an ambassador of representing a particular cultural group as well as being othered. These three white teachers also commented that I knew more about FM than them, possibly hinting at my ethnic background. Their conclusion on how my knowledge of FM was constructed was not based upon my qualifications as a solicitor or researcher in this topic, but because I was a South Asian Muslim woman. I felt that I was positioned by the teachers as different and inferior, and from a group that should know about these issues that was nothing to do with them, the white population.

### **3.13 Recording Field Notes**

I learnt from my pilot study the benefits of keeping a research diary. This useful tool helped me to facilitate my thoughts (Watt, 2007). Where possible, the interviews following the observations were spread out, in order to create space and time to analyse the data, reflect and revise the questions where appropriate (Green, 2008;

Holloway and Jefferson, 2013). This also provided the opportunity to develop questions for the interview from the observation.

I took handwritten notes during both the observations and interviews, despite both being audio recorded, to keep an accurate note. I paid particular attention to recording non-verbal gestures (May, 2011), as eighty per cent of communication is non-verbal and visible in the form of body language (Miller, 2005). The other option would have been to use a video recorder. However, using a camera lens to capture observations can be problematic, whereby the researcher is positioned as an outsider and the camera as a threat (Albon and Rosen, 2014), which may reduce the disclosure of information and sharing of experiences by the participants.

The recordings were self-transcribed to enhance confidentiality and deepen the understanding of the data and voices. Despite my focus being on the context of what was said, rather than the manner in which it was said, for the sake of completeness, I still transcribed verbatim all that was articulated, such as the 'ums', 'ers', 'like', 'you knows' and repetition. I then checked each transcript against the audio recording to ensure that the account was accurate. I then read through the transcript several times, adding memos to reflect my thoughts on the interview and to highlight particular points. Non-verbal gestures along with laughs and signs were recorded within square brackets [ ]. Pauses were identified by a collection of full-stops [.....]. The number of full-stops reflected the length of the silence/pause, the greater the number of full-stops, the longer the pause. Bold text denoted words that were emphasised.

### **3.14 Data Analysis**

This section explains how the data were managed, the analysis process undertaken and how the data addressed the research questions.

To recap, the data were collected through two methods from three separate sources. The first source consisted of observations, whereby six teachers were observed in the classroom delivering a session on forced marriage (FM). The second form of data collection was semi-structured interviews with eight teachers (this included the six teachers observed and two more teachers). All the teachers had delivered a session on FM to pupils; the pupils' age ranged from 11 to 18 depending on the class. The final source of data collection was semi-structured interviews with five stakeholders that had a vested interest in the area of FM policy.



Having accumulated a vast volume of data consisting of observational and interview transcripts, lesson plans, FMU statistics and field-notes, I was then challenged with the task of transforming the raw materials into meaningful data. The first step was to devise a systematic structure to make the data manageable and practical to work with. Punch (2014) described the process as:

“Methods for the analysis of data need to be systematic, disciplined and able to be seen (transparent) and described.”

(Punch, 2014, p. 169).

Using a Foucauldian lens and drawing upon discourses has not meant that I have used Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) to make sense of the data. FDA is a form of discourse analysis focusing on power relationships in society as expressed through language and practices. FDA looks at what happens when language is used in communication attempts to identify specific features of language used and structures. It sees language as rule governed. Who says what, then how it is said is identified. FDA is less interested in the contents of statements and more interested in finding the pre-conditions that made the statements possible in the first place. However, this study is focused on the statements made by the participants and their intersecting identities that influence their voices and experiences. Therefore, this study used thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to make sense of the data. Thematic analysis is a flexible method of identifying and analysing a patterned meaning within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis works well with qualitative data as the process provides an understanding of experiences through layers of meaning.

In this study, thematic analysis was used to ascertain how the teachers were telling their story and then the analysis located the data within a social and cultural context as part of the feminist post-structural framework. Thematic analysis was also used to interpret the re-occurring themes and to address the research questions. I was able to become an active researcher using thematic analysis by engaging with the data to identify emerging themes and make sense of them through my own position, discipline and reflection.

The thematic analysis model illustrated by Braun and Clarke (2006) of data reduction, data display and drawing conclusions, formed the basis of this research analysis. I

adapted these stages using my own approach. The data analysis followed a five-step process which was repeated for each data source in this study:

Step 1 – data familiarisation through self-transcribing, then reading and re-reading the transcripts. I immersed myself in the data and actively thought about what was going on in the participants' stories and how the account made sense. I recorded initial ideas.

Step 2 – constant comparison of the data with other data within the same source and then across the other two sources. This enabled data similarities and differences to be identified and coded, which led to emerging themes (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The codes were labels that captured something interesting in the data. I explored the later data items through the lens of the earlier data. This was a fluid and organic process which required going through the data several times and building upon codes previously identified.

Step 3 – the codes were organised into themes, shared ideas, concepts and meanings that emerged through the data. The codes were clustered within a central concept. This process went beyond the obvious themes and used time and reflection to allow deeper themes to unfold and emerge.

Step 4 - refining and defining the themes, in order to marry the empirical data with the feminist post-structural framework to formulate fresh discussion to the existing body of knowledge on teachers' negotiating their identity. This was achieved through identifying a central organising concept as part of the richness of the theme, which became the central core. Within a wider context, these central core concepts are what feminist post-structuralists (Weedon, 1997; Osgood, 2010) would constitute as dominant discourses.

Step 5 – telling the participants' stories using examples and quotes to contextualise the information and applying the data to answer the research questions (referred to as drawing conclusions by Miles and Huberman, 1994).

In chapter six, discourses surrounding professionalism are explored. This is not discourse analysis in the strict sense, yet it is embedded within the Foucauldian paradigm about institutionalised ways of constructing professionalism. Once the

themes that emerge through the data are identified, the central core concept is established to determine the dominant discourses.

The way in which these steps, outlined above, were applied to each source is now described.

### **3.14.1 Analysing the Observations of Teachers**

Having transcribed the observations, I read and re-read each observation transcript. I also re-watched the five minute video that was played in each observation. I did not have an observation schedule, as I wanted to capture what emerged through the observations, as opposed to being pre-occupied with specifics. I was also aware that the observations would vary slightly, due to the age group of the pupils. For pupils in year 7 and 8 (aged 11-13), the video was followed by true/false statements to test their understanding of the information, whereas for pupils in years 9-12 (aged 13-17), the video was followed by a discussion/debate surrounding the issues of FM.

I then manually sifted through the transcripts and carried out thematic analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994), whereby I constantly compared the observations to one another, but also to the teacher's own interview. This allowed descriptive themes to emerge (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The cross-cutting theme was FM, from which several sub-themes emerged such as arranged marriage.

The next stage was to code the data by grouping and labelling the emerging patterns (Osgood, 2010; May, 2011). For example, anger, fear and anxiety were labelled as emotions. In the observations I was particularly interested in the teachers' pedagogical practice of addressing FM in the classroom, and whether the teachers diverged from the set session and introduced personal experiences. This also helped me understand if the teachers' theoretical and personal views about FM were reflected in their teaching practice.

I did not enlist the assistance of qualitative data analysis software such as NVivo (Microsoft windows data analysis programme). This software programme requires the manual attachment of codes that are identified from the data and then are grouped by the researcher into charts and matrices. They are especially helpful when there is a very large amount of data collected over many 'cases'. I had in-depth data through transcripts and observations from a relatively small number of individuals which I was

anxious not to fracture too finely at an early stage of coding, and hence lose the essence of their 'stories'. Also, as a first-time researcher, I was excited and wanted to experience the identification of patterns and codes first-hand by immersing myself in the transcripts and fieldnotes without requirement to store them in a programme.

Thematic analysis was useful in that it provided a flexible and accessible approach to the data, whereby I could quickly identify responses that represented the same or similar words and concepts as the research question from within the data. For example the observations constructed the notion of being professional and addressing personal experiences in the classroom. These data contributed to drawing conclusions for both research questions (see section 3.2). Little theoretical or technical knowledge was required for this approach. However, with the thematic approach, the first attempt at the data analysis resulted in a descriptive rhetorical presentation of the data, without applying any conceptual and theoretical analysis. These data were revisited to engage with conceptual analysis informed by a feminist post-structural framework.

#### **3.14.2 Analysing the Interviews with Teachers**

Once again I read and re-read the transcripts of the interviews with the teachers. I also re-read my interview schedule (see Appendix 6). I constantly compared the interview transcripts to one another and to the observations for the same teacher. I was particularly looking for contradictions and affirmations of the teachers' pedagogical practices and their views when considering FM discourses. The teachers' pedagogical practices on FM involved closely following the information provided by the FMU through the pre-prepared slides. I applied thematic analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) to the interviews as well, to identify the basic descriptive themes, which I then went on to develop in the findings chapters.

I then developed the descriptive themes into a more conceptual and theoretical perspective, based upon the literature review and related this back to the research questions. These perspectives will be discussed in the following four chapters.

#### **3.14.3 Analysing the Interviews with Stakeholders**

The data analysis of this source was similar to that of the interview with teachers. I also re-read my interview schedules, which varied slightly for each stakeholder

according to their expertise (see Appendix 5, which is the template interview schedule for this category). To complete the data analysis process the stakeholders' interview transcripts were compared to that of the teachers.

The following summarises and demonstrates the analysis process. As illustrated above, the first stage was to transcribe, read and re-read all the data. Through constant comparison of the data (stage 2), themes such as arranged marriages, parental control and tradition emerged. These all related to consent. Hence these themes were coded as consent. This was a descriptive analysis of the data. The next stage (3) was to conceptualise and theorise consent.

#### **3.14.4 Documents that Informed this Study**

In preparation for the interviews, observations and generally to inform this study, it was important that I understood the background of FM policy. Therefore, I reviewed relevant key policy documents, ranging from international and national policy documents including Acts of Parliament, White and Green Papers to related publications listed below. The participating institution's policy on addressing FM and relevant localised policies also formed part of the background reading (Wetherell et al., 2001). The documents were:

- Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007
- Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014
- Multi-Agency practice guidelines: Handling cases of forced marriage 2014
- Multi-Agency statutory guidance for dealing with forced marriage 2014
- Charity lesson plans for schools and colleges
- The institution's teaching material power-point slides
- FMU annual reports for 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016
- UN Convention on Eliminating all Forms of Discrimination against Women 1929
- House of Commons' Standard Notes on FM
- The participating secondary school's policy on FM
- FMU e-learning resources

These documents provided an understanding of how the government framed FM and the message that they wanted articulated by the schools to young people. The

contribution made by reviewing these documents meant that I was able to discuss this framing and message with the teachers and stakeholders during their interviews.

The final stage of the analysis linked the data to the research questions. The data collected and the themes identified, such as personal and professional identities professionalism and emotions are explored in chapters four to seven and linked to the literature that was reviewed in chapter two.

### **3.14.5 Intersectionality**

Initially, I was not intending to apply intersectionality to analyse teachers' identities. Having accepted that identities are multi-layered (Cooper and Olson, 1996), I had decided to limit the strands of diversity for identity analysis to gender and race. This reflected how the majority of teachers interviewed were women and from diverse ethnicities (European, South Asian, African, Canadian). However, other strands of diversity emerged (see chapter 5) through the data which could not be ignored, and are therefore included in this study.

Culture can be complex and problematic in terms of the factors included to define culture and how it is interpreted, hence my reluctance to include it as part of exploring identities. However, the overwhelming importance teachers gave to culture as part of their identities could not be ignored. Originally, I thought that culture would be linked to, and therefore covered by, ethnicity. Thus, for the purpose of this study, culture will not incorporate simply national culture, but instead the amalgamation of different influences, including country of origin, immigration, subsequent country of residence and even professional culture.

Once again, I tried to avoid focusing on religion because of its complexities of different sects, factions and scholarly interpretations. However, due to the teachers' strong sense of association with their religion as part of their identities, this category could not be dismissed. For the purposes of this study, religion reflects the 'world religions' (Haynes, 2008) as described by the participants.

The study explored gendered experiences, along with sexuality which emerged within the fieldwork. Added to this the concept of embodiment was relevant (Foucault, 1990; Braidotti, 1994), with the final strand of diversity being that of ethnicity. As this study focused upon four strands of diversity, an appropriate framework was required to

understand the relationships and links between these categories and how these categories affect teachers' identities, hence intersectionality has been employed.

My personal identities as an Asian, female, Muslim, mother and professional describe me as a meaningful whole. This construction of [my]self is interdependent and mutually constitutive (Crenshaw 1991) upon my experiences based upon my gender, ethnicity, religion and professional culture. I do not consider my identities as competing. Hence this study is adopting the constitutive, emic approach (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012) to intersectionality, and rejects the etic approach (Holvino, 2010) of marginalised positions as a competing hierarchy of categories (Knudsen, 2006).

Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) stated that the emic approach should be sensitive to specific places and time. This coincides with the Foucauldian ideology that society is fluid and evolves through the passage of time. This study has drawn upon the emic framework using Foucault's (1980b) approach to determine how teachers' multiple identities shift and (re)position over time. Also considered through a feminist post-structural framework are specific experiences of teachers through their multiple identities and diverse strands relating to gender, race, culture and religion.

Initially I drew upon my own multiple identities, and I partially pre-constructed teachers' identities based upon race and gender. However, this study recognised the categories that emerged in the field as also important to the participants (i.e. religion and culture). Identities are transient and at times and, as highlighted in the emic approach, some strands are more prevalent than others, or can be privileged or disadvantaged (Holvino, 2010; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012).

Tsouroufli (2016) conducted a study of Greek women negotiating their gender and cultural identities in an academic professional setting. Tsouroufli (2016) described how Greek women have historically been considered as both heroic (privileged) and sacrificing (disadvantaged). The study concluded that, despite the passage of time, Greek women continue to position themselves in this manner.

Chapter five demonstrates the intersection between gender, race, religion and culture, and how they are implicated in teachers' positioning in connection to teachers' discourses relating to FM. The operation of these different strands of diversity in the complex nexus of power, privilege and disadvantages (Holvino, 2010; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012) is also explored.

### **3.15 Study's Robustness**

This study rejects individuals as objective and neutral subjects, and follows the hermeneutic argument that bias is the precondition of all enquiries (Gadamer, 2008). Although teachers are expected to, and may have their own best intentions to remain unbiased, professional and politically correct, it would be naïve to accept that this is actually possible. Feminism claims that no one is neutral (Hughes and Cohen, 2010), as we all base our knowledge and understanding upon our own subjective experiences and biases, and that all experiences are equally valid (Hammersley, 1992).

This study involved the participants in the thesis write-up stage by offering to send them the transcripts of the interviews and observations, to ensure accuracy and for their comments. This inclusion demonstrated how the study engaged with a feminist post-structural framework, although it is recognised that this inclusive approach is not exclusive to a feminist post-structural framework. However, the participants declined, stating time restraints as their reason for refusal. They indicated, though, that they were happy that my transcripts would be accurate, as I had used two digital recording devices, in case one failed, along with handwritten notes. I contacted the participants again by email, to explain that I had almost completed a draft of the thesis, and that I was happy to share a copy with the participants to read and comment on before submission. Four of the twelve participants responded by email to say that they would not be able to read the thesis, due to a heavy workload. The remaining eight participants did not respond at all.

### **3.16 Ethical Issues**

Ethical issues are embedded throughout the research process and represent the values negotiated between the researcher and the community being researched (May, 2011). In this section I consider the importance of ensuring and preserving privacy, confidentiality, data protection, anonymity, consent, the researcher's personal dilemmas and codes of conduct relevant to the research such as BERA (2011) guidance.

By collecting participants' views, the researcher is entrusted with information of a personal and sensitive nature. This is heightened when the topic is also sensitive, such as FM. Personal identification details are protected through laws such as the



Data Protection Act 1998. The researcher has a moral duty to ensure privacy and allow the participant to control the disclosure of their information into the public domain (Punch, 2014). Privacy also includes ensuring that the interviews are conducted in a safe, private and comfortable space. The researcher cannot assume that their interpretation of safe, private and comfortable will be shared by the participants. Therefore, the participants chose the interview location (McDowell, 2001) for this study. The interviews were scheduled according to the participants' convenience, to show my appreciation of their participation in this research (Bell, 2010).

Respecting privacy includes maintaining confidentiality (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012; Punch, 2014). In this study, a guarantee was given that information received would not be disclosed to anyone else, such as authority figures. The headteacher was informed that the data collected would not be released to their institution. Instilling confidence in the participants and the institution, that the sole purpose of collecting these data was for a doctoral research was important.

Prior to interviewing, I explained that the responses that I recorded would be anonymised, to ensure confidentiality for the participants and to facilitate open and honest responses. If I were to have shared the information with the institution, I would have to have informed the participants of this and it could have affected or compromised their responses and my research. As it was a small number of teachers that I interviewed, this could have made them identifiable and thereby breach confidentiality.

The interviews were conducted in a safe, private and comfortable environment chosen by the teacher and stakeholders (McDowell, 2001; Bell, 2010). All interviews were audio-recorded with consent and consent forms (Appendix 4) were signed accordingly. Ensuring data security is important for preserving confidentiality (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012; Punch, 2014). The recordings and the data were stored on a computer and USB, and both were password protected. To further preserve confidentiality, the identities of the participants were concealed and anonymised. The participants' identities are further protected by using pseudonyms.

Consent is essential at each stage. To ensure that this is clear and ongoing, consent was obtained in writing from the teachers participating before commencing the research and verbally expressed throughout the research process. Emphasis was

placed on 'free will' being ongoing, and that the participants could withdraw their consent at any stage (Gilbert, 2008; Bell, 2010; Osgood, 2010; Punch, 2014).

Feminists (Maynard, 1994; Lynch, 1999; Francis, 2003) believe that communication of research findings to the participants is important as an opportunity to reflect, learn and be empowered by the research findings. However, this approach can be problematic (McDowell, 2001; Hughes, 2003), resulting in time delays and re-writing sections. Reporting the 'voice' (MacLure, 2003a; Osgood, 2010; Albon and Rosen, 2014) of participants can be challenging, with the responsibility to represent the information in the way it was intended. What is required is to "understand as much as possible as well as possible" (Rhedding-Jones, 2005, p. 88). The researcher may have problems in understanding the participants' experiences accurately and thus presenting them correctly. This can be address by being clear on the information and empathising with the participants. Therefore, reporting back and asking the participant to approve or check a draft may be beneficial. This was attempted in the study though, as described above, the participants did not take up the offer to read their transcripts or the draft thesis, citing work commitments as their constraint.

The research adheres to the London Metropolitan University research code of conduct guidelines and the BERA (2011) guidelines. Discussing sensitive issues like FM may lead to some participants using this as an opportunity to unload or as therapy (Osgood, 2010). Hence, confidentiality may prove challenging for the researcher when criminality or harm is disclosed, possibly resulting in confidentiality being compromised (Mercer, 2006; Punch, 2014). Stacey (1988) raised concerns relating to how "research subjects are at risk of exploitation, betrayal and abandonment by the researcher" (Stacey, 1988, p. 21). My solution to this was to prepare a hand-out listing details of support services such as counselling, forced marriage organisations/charities and refuges. Practical advice setting out how and to whom to report (the FMU or police) was incorporated. I hoped that this information would empower the participants and encourage self-reporting of any incidents.

When describing ethical decisions, May (2011) stated:

"They are concerned with what is right or just, in the interests of not only the project, its sponsors or workers, but also others who are the participants in the research."

(May, 2011, p. 59).

This emphasises that ethical considerations are applicable to all components of the research.

Having successfully negotiated access, I was made aware of the complexities of the gate-keeper's position and the involvement of other related power relationships (Foucault, 1980a; Punch, 2014). For example, access would be subject to ethical clearance and the relevant consents being obtained (e.g. from parents/ teachers/ board of governors). However, the headteacher concluded that as I was observing the teachers and not the students, the consent of parents for my presence in the classroom was not required.

### **3.17 Strengths and Limitations**

In this section I consider the strengths and limitations of both the methodology and my personal experience.

#### **3.17.1 Strengths**

I was aware from the outset that only a limited number of schools and teachers addressed FM in the classroom. Therefore, any data collected would be limited and from a pre-determined sample. On this basis, my original research design was based upon a conservative sample whereby three teachers would be observed and six teachers would be interviewed. However, I saw the potential to extend the interviews to incorporate perspectives from sources that have influenced the policy on FM (the stakeholders). I was careful to identify individuals to interview who were accessible. Therefore, I chose to interview persons whom I had already made contact with through conferences and who had also contributed to the debate on FM. I was fortunate that my interviews with the stakeholders covered perspectives from a variety of standpoints. I was also able to double the number of observations with teachers that I had initially thought that I could secure, from three to six. I also managed to interview eight teachers which added to and enriched my data collection.

The research design of observing the teachers, then interviewing them afterwards proved effective. I allowed sufficient time between the observations and interviews in order to reflect on and review the observation and prepare for the interview. This enabled me to build upon the data already gathered and clarify any issues that arose

from the observations. However, I could not leave too much time to lapse between the two stages as this could have caused the teachers to have difficulties recalling information and may have resulted in knowledge being lost or compromised (Outer et al., 2013).

Being on maternity leave meant that I had the flexibility to attend all the observations scheduled, and that I could spend a lot of time preparing, tuning and refining my interview questions. I was happy with the open-ended nature of the questions that promoted discussion, despite the focussed and directed questioning approach (Bell, 2010). In hindsight I could have reduced some of the questions that were more peripheral. For example, the reason why teachers thought other schools did not address FM. However, I did eliminate repetition in questions and I did tailor the interview to the individual, incorporating the knowledge I gathered during the observations.

### **3.17.2 Limitations**

The study has some practical, theoretical and personal limitations. Practically, I would have liked to have observed all eight of the teachers that I interviewed, but I could not due to timetable clashes whereby two classes were running concurrently, and I was already observing one class. Also, some teachers did not want to be observed.

To some extent the headteacher controlled the sample by requesting volunteers. I was not privy to the information that she had revealed about me or my research. I was only given the email addresses of the teachers that had subsequently volunteered. Therefore, I was conscious that my letter of invitation (Appendix 2) should inform the potential participant about both myself and my research in detail. Had I been able to send out my letter of invitation to all the teachers, the profile of the volunteers may have varied. However, from a feminist post-structural perspective, every experience is a rich source of data. Nevertheless, this research sought to gather data on how gender, religion and ethnicity informed how the topic of FM is addressed in the classroom. Originally, the volunteers were all female. I raised this with Rani, who then contacted the twenty-three PSHE teachers again and one of the two male PSHE teachers, Ed, agreed to be observed and interviewed.

The burden of mandatory curricular responsibilities took precedence over the method of how to address FM in the classroom. Originally the headteacher and the head of

PSHE wanted the topic discussed in set PSHE classes scheduled for an hour. However, due to a lack of time to fit such a session into the timetable, this resulted in the topic being discussed during the 30-minute tutor form time. The reduced time factor increased the pressure on the teachers delivering the sessions. This is discussed further in chapter six.

I wanted my interviews to be semi-structured, to allow the teachers freedom to express themselves in their own way (Oakley, 1981). However, Rani warned me that one-hour interviews might be too long for the teachers being interviewed, as these interviews would take place in their own personal time, and a lengthy interview may put them off. The headteacher had also enquired about the length of the interviews as this would impact on teachers requiring cover for classes and the financial cost of this needed to be factored. On this basis, I agreed to keep the interviews to approximately 45 minutes. This meant that to some extent my interviews took on a more structured format, which may have resulted in the teachers' voices being fragmented. I tackled this problem by asking a totally open-ended question to conclude the interviews: "Is there anything else that you would like to mention relating to my study?" This question engages with a feminist post-structural framework as it offered the teachers an opportunity to voice any concerns and to share experiences.

Using a Foucauldian lens somewhat limited the discussion on social power. However, had a Bourdieuan lens been used, this would have led to the introduction of Habitus, and the interplay between capital and the field of social and cultural space. This would have expanded discussions on the construction of teachers' identities from a social prospective. On the other hand, since Bourdieu's (1977) theory concentrates on social class relations and side-lines other forms of diversity research such as religion, gender and ethnicity, which would not have concurred with the focus of the study.

When starting this doctorate, I was mindful of my boundaries from a personal perspective, such as I am a first-time, lone researcher. My personal limitations included my family commitments and full-time employment. I was also sensitive to the research being heavily associated with South Asian, Muslim communities, of which I too am a member. I was concerned about being viewed as possibly exploring new knowledge that could be harmful to my culture, ethnicity, gender and religion and I did not want to cause offence to my community who were aware of my study.

I discovered first-hand how messy research can be. I encountered difficult issues that I was able to resolve as I foresaw and planned for such challenges in preparation for my pilot study. This equipped me for potential issues that may arise during this study. One hurdle was finding stakeholders to interview. Another hurdle was dealing with the disappointment of cancelled appointments, or no responses to the invitation letters.

### **3.18 Summary**

A feminist post-structural framework sat well with the qualitative methodology employed. The research design was focused around the research question outlined in section 3.2. Applying post-structuralism to research can be challenging. Post-structuralists take a deconstructive approach to discourses by problematizing, troubling and critiquing ideas. This upheaval creates uncertainty and disorder. This research draws upon moral and political ideas informed by a feminist post-structural theoretical framework with an emphasis on a Foucauldian lens to assist with the deconstruction.

This research makes an empirical original contribution as it aims to focus on teachers' perception of addressing the issue of FM in the classroom, and their challenge in negotiating their personal and professional identities. Furthermore the ethnographical method of extrapolating information uniquely problematizes how teachers construct their personal and professional identities on the issue of FM, and whether this leads to assertions of 'do what I say, not what I do or think' (Schweizer, 2005).

This section has also articulated the study's theoretical framework in which the aims of the study were to explore and investigate, and to reveal findings related to teacher's identities and perceptions of contextualising FM in the classroom.

Foucault's (2002) tool-box invites researchers to the exciting opportunity to employ instruments to conceptualise theories. However, this unstructured freedom has been criticised for it resulting in vague and confusing research (Graham, 2005). However, Foucault's (2002) position that no discourse is superior or hierarchical to one another does not sit well with feminist post-structural concepts of the truth and patriarchy (Ramazanoglu, 1993). To illustrate the usefulness of these tools, it is imperative that this study applies a Foucauldian lens to the feminist post-structural framework. The relationship between Foucault's (2002) tools of power, the subject, knowledge and

the State are used to understand and unsettle discourses surrounding FM in the classroom.

By employing thematic and identity analysis, the study accepts that the meaning is never permanent. Everything is open to interpretation and negotiation. Intersectionality is deployed as an analytical tool to investigate the social aspect of personal and professionalism through race, religion, culture and gender.

In the next four chapters, I present the findings and provide a discussion with regards to addressing the research questions of this study. In chapter four, I explore and present the teachers' gendered and racialised discourses of FM that emerged from the classroom observations.

## **CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION -**

### **The Classroom Observations**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter is the first of the four findings and discussion chapters. This introductory chapter to the findings and discussion commences by revisiting the data collected through the classroom observations. I will explore the teachers' gendered and racialised discourses of FM that were constructed by the teachers when addressing FM in the classroom.

#### **4.2 Putting the Observations into Context**

I was timetabled to observe six teachers addressing FM with their tutorial groups. This session followed a full school assembly on FM that was held for half a day and was delivered by the FMU. The focus and message that the FMU were conveying was that it is now a criminal offence to force someone into a marriage, following legislation introduced in the UK on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2014. The headteacher thought that such an issue was important to address in school, and so the curricular timetable was collapsed for the day, and each year group attended the assembly. The classroom sessions that I observed took place four months after the assembly, within the tutor groups.

#### **4.3 The Teaching Materials for the Classroom Sessions**

The session materials were compiled by Rani (teacher and head of PSHE at the educational institution) from the information that the FMU provided. She tailored the materials to reflect the age range of the students. The general format of these 30 minute sessions was that a short five minute video was played followed by a PowerPoint presentation.

##### **4.3.1 The Video**

The video shared the FM experience of Jasvinder Sanghera (Sanghera, 2009), who was forced into a marriage as a teenager. Jasvinder is a Sikh, Indian woman, who was brought up in Yorkshire. The video detailed her FM and also gave graphic details of how her sister committed suicide after also being forced into a marriage. Jasvinder



founded the charity Karma Nirvana which provides help and advice to victims and potential victims of FM.

#### **4.3.2 The PowerPoint Presentations**

The generic message in the PowerPoints was that FM is illegal. The sessions sign-posted the help and assistance that is available to prevent FM.

Following the video, the students were asked how they felt after watching the video. The younger students, aged between 11 and 14, were then engaged with a true or false answer session, based upon the information given in the video. However, the older students, aged between 15 and 18, entered into a discussion about why FM occurs and these students were given more facts and statistics. All sessions concluded with the message that FM is now a criminal offence with a penalty carrying up to seven years imprisonment.

#### **4.4 Challenges with the Classroom Session**

The aim of the session was to present this heavily emotionally charged issue of FM in a rational and neutral way, by focusing upon its illegality. This should have meant that the dominant discourses surrounding FM being a South Asian problem (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011) were eluded, hence preserving the teachers' position as a neutral professional (Jensen, 2008). The importance of the teachers remaining neutral was paramount for two reasons. Firstly, because the student composition in the institution represented ninety percent of the ethnic minority, mainly South Asians. Therefore, by not remaining neutral would suggest to the non-Asian students that the session was not applicable to them. This may mean that the South Asian students felt targeted and uncomfortable. The second reason for the teachers remaining neutral was in order to resist the dominant discourse of FM being a South Asian problem. This potential division was identified by Rani.

"It [FM] has been portrayed as generic. I do feel that the Asian girls feel like we are talking to them. That's difficult because you don't want to [suggest] that this could almost happen to you. The white girls are sitting there and the black girls are sitting there [as if] they don't have anything to worry about, coz it's not going to happen to them." (Rani).

The above quote illustrates how Rani was conscious that the material should not reproduce the gendered and racialised dominant discourses of FM being a South Asian and female problem (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011). Rani recognised that by reproducing the dominant discourses this may result in isolation for the Asian female students and sustain racial inequalities between her Asian and non-Asian female students. Therefore, her approach was to maintain a neutral position by delivering the material in a neutral way. Her neutral position allowed her to resist the dominant discourses and instead use the session as an opportunity to focus and explore FM as a form of abuse.

Furthermore, Rani recognised that she too might be framed within this discourse because of her gender and racial identities when she said: "...maybe they think it [FM] could happen in my life." Rani was aware of how her students may have possibly framed her as a potential victim of FM because of her racial, gendered and cultural subjectivities (Brah 1996). Therefore, Rani may have felt a stronger desire to resist and reject these dominant discourses and use her own subjectivities as an example to dispel these myths.

Unfortunately for the teachers, they were starting the session from a disadvantaged position, by trying to rebut a discourse that they reproduced as soon as the session started. Although FM was presented as a legal issue (a criminal offence), the fact that the material (video) was reliant upon a South Asian family's story, reinforced the dominant discourses surrounding FM as a South Asian problem. Choosing a Sikh family to represent an FM situation sent out a powerful message with the subtext that FM does not happen in white communities.

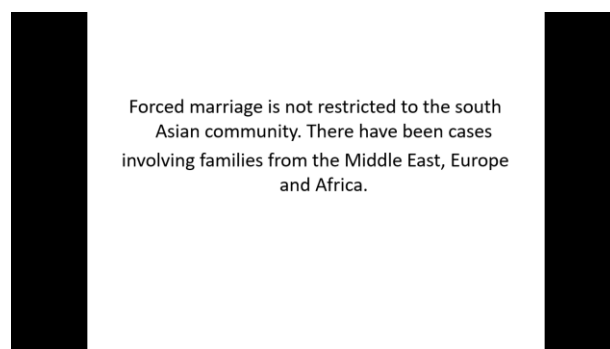
Only one teacher, Diya, recognised that playing Jasvinder's video (Sanghera, 2009) would reproduce the dominant discourse that she was trying to resist. Therefore, Diya went to extraordinary lengths to dispel this dominant discourse.

"I think I must have gone through 4-5 hours of video clips and I filtered it down to those few.... what I wanted them to understand, it is not predominately an Asian problem, it is not just an...African...an African cultural problem. It's actually a worldwide problem....I deliberately showed that first clip. Because I wanted to break the mould, because, do you know, the only thing I probably

would say I was cautious of, if you kept showing Asian movie clips...like clips, then they are gonna go, it only happens in Asians. That's why I wanted the diversity, there was one from the Jewish community, she was from America, she was white. You know, there was one that was Sikh, I'm a Sikh, you know, there was to be another one, which was about a Muslim family. So it happens in various families." (Diya).

Diya made the effort to expand the materials for the FM session to reflect the message that the government had intended, which was not to reproduce the dominant discourse of FM being a South Asian problem. Therefore, by playing the video of the non-Asian FM example first, Diya was exercising her agency to resist the dominant discourse of FM being a South Asian problem. However, the FMU appeared to reproduce this discourse by choosing Jasvinder's story as the forefront of their FM awareness campaign.

The visual impact of having Jasvinder's story as the main teaching tool to address FM was compelling and clearly supported the dominant discourse that FM is a South Asian problem. This obvious visual connection was silenced and contradicted by the teachers verbally resisting this discourse by stating the government's message on FM, that this practice is not limited to one particular religion or culture. Below is a PowerPoint slide that was displayed during the session to rebut the dominant discourse of FM being a South Asian problem.



*Figure 2. PowerPoint slide from the classroom observations*

The slide attempted to suggest that FM is a global concern. However, the continents were fragmented, with America and Australia not even mentioned. The South Asian sub-continent was distinguished from the rest of the continents. The statement may

have been more effective and powerful if it simply acknowledged that 'FM happens all over the world'.

These visual and verbal contradicting messages were accepted by the students. It would appear more out of respect not to undermine the teacher. However, one teacher, Ed, and one student in Rani's class were not comfortable with this conflicting information, and did confront this obvious discrepancy. Some of the teachers attempted to deliver the biased information in a neutral way and remain the neutral professional (Jensen, 2008). However, as gendered and racialised subjects (Nagar, Lawson, McDowell and Hanson, 2002), two teachers, namely Ed and Ania, struggled with this neutral position.

Teacher Ed took the opportunity to address the inconsistency, by verbally altering the message stated on the PowerPoint slide that followed the video. This modified message represented Ed's gendered and racialised beliefs that were aligned with his pedagogical practice. In the classroom session, Ed verbally inserted information that was not on the PowerPoint slides, illustrated below in square brackets.

"Forced marriage is not restricted to the South Asian community [although that is where the majority of it is]."

(Extract from observation of Ed's class).

When asked why he inserted the section in his address to the students [above in square brackets], Ed replied:

"I looked it up and it was 85 or 82%. I looked it up. I saw it...I looked it up. Because I thought I'd better read through this stuff first, and somewhere in some on the resources, maybe the handout, the guidance it said, and you know, I thought 85% is a significant...so I, yeah... I don't know, do you think that I am prejudiced?" (Ed).

Ed became defensive of his classroom practice and conscious that his actions may lead him to be labelled as a racist (Chantler et al., 2009; Siddiqui, 2013). Ed had subtly reproduced the dominant discourse relating FM to culture. However, in doing so he also allowed his gendered and racialised subjectivities to be reflected in the message that steered away from the neutral professional and the government's

message of FM being illegal. Ed deliberately chose to make FM a cultural and racialised issue by distinguishing his own culture from such practice of FM. His positioning coincided with discourses surrounding racial inequalities and perceptions of FM as a barbaric Eastern society practice (Brah, 1996; Chantler 2012), whereby Asian women are constructed as gendered and racialised subjects framed within the normalisation of victimhood and oppression (Razack, 2004; Fernandez, 2009). Razack (2004) and Fernandez (2009) suggested that Asian women's freedom and agency are being denied by Asian men.

Furthermore, religion is introduced into the equation "...as the key site of oppression and violence [for women]" (Fernandez, 2009, p. 277). Meeto and Mirza (2007) argued how Christianity and secularism are privileged over Islam and tradition, narrowing and rebutting the concept of multiculturalism. During the interview, Ed associated FM with Muslims by mentioning "Allah" (The Arabic word to describe God in Islam). When explaining how he first came across FM, Ed replied:

"In schools, you hear about...someone who is leaving school and straight away is going to get married, and that's it. And sometimes think that...in schools they come to [school's name] more, and sometimes to try to understand low motivation, in school some people talk about offering support to Allah as one of the reasons, and occasionally, although I'm not sure I have experienced it personally very much. Yeah, I don't think, I don't think I have heard of people disappearing from school very often. I can think of one or two occasions where I might have heard of that happening. [It is] working in this school in the last 9 years that I first heard about it." (Ed).

The statement suggests a link with Islam and FM. However, Ed does not explicitly make this connection. Nevertheless, this does coincide with his practice in the classroom of reproducing dominant discourses on FM of this being a South Asian Muslim problem. Ed's overcomplicated construction of FM overlooked the simplistic framing of FM as gender inequality (Chantler et al., 2009; Siddiqui, 2013).

Once the video had ended, the teachers were challenged with starting the student-centred session in a tense atmosphere. This was quickly defused by the teachers asking the students how they felt. A range of emotions was displayed which included anger, sadness, shock and even empathy with the parents. The students' emotional agency visibly affected the teachers' position, whereby the neutrality of the teacher

became difficult to maintain as empathising with the students prevailed. Departing from the neutral teacher position supported the suggestion that this enhances student learning and promotes the good teacher (Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2005). The opposing view from Lasky (2005) and Bullough (2005) positions teachers' emotions as a form of vulnerability.

Another teacher, Ania, also departed from the materials to maintain her authority on the conflicting verbal and visual messages. She did this by revealing her lack of knowledge on FM, hence, not endorsing the dominant discourses. Ania managed the session by tapping into the students' knowledge and allowing the students to lead the session. This approach shielded Ania's possible vulnerability whilst encouraging student-led learning.

"There is a difference between arranged and forced marriage, ok. So an arrange marriage is where it's been chosen. So you have had an arranged marriage, where there is consent. Whereas...I don't know, does anybody, you don't have to say, it's fine, but does anybody know, like, anybody, like, friends of the family or maybe family who has been in an arranged marriage?

(Extract from observation of Ania's class).

[Most of the class put their hand up].

Ania effectively deflected the conflicting messages and remained the neutral teacher (Jensen 2008) by neither resisting nor reproducing the dominant FM discourse. Instead, she redirected the source of knowledge on FM and AM onto the students. In doing so, Ania did not compromise her gendered or racialised identities nor did she position FM as a gendered or racialised issue.

Only one student challenged the verbal and visual contradiction. Rani was the teacher who dealt with this student. Rani had to uphold the government's message and remain neutral. When asked by a student if FM occurs the most in the Asian community, Rani sidestepped the question, and tried to reject the stereotype. Her response was:

"Well, you might...research has shown...that there is more prevalence in certain cultures and religions, but not that it only happens in Asian families. Erm...so it's not restricted, like it says to the South Asian community, there

have been many cases from families in Middle East, Europe and Africa. So basically a massive part of the world.”

(Extract from observation of Rani's class).

Rani explained in interview how she foresaw that question and was dreading it being asked. Rani felt uncomfortable exercising her agency and resisting the discourses that she knew were supported by statistics (see Section 1.5).

Discourses surrounding FM are racialised, gendered, and faith-based, because FM is associated with South Asian Muslim women, but not all women. This has huge implications for women who are not South Asian or Muslim as they are not seen to fall victim to an FM. Despite gender being the main factor that fuels FM, (80 percent of females across communities, FMU Statistical Data Department, 2016), gender has not been identified in the literature as a dominant discourse. When the issue of FM is discussed, it is of women from the South Asian communities being oppressed, as opposed to gender inequalities and this exists across all communities and nations. Women are being raped, suffer violence and are forced into marriage in all countries, whether they are white, black or South Asian. FM is about women's rights. However, whenever FM is mentioned in the data, it is usually contextualised as a race and faith-based issue. Diya challenged this perception, as described in the next section.

#### **4.5 Forced Marriage Discourses in the Classroom**

This research set out to unsettle and dispute the dominant discourses surrounding FM which were previously believed, namely that such practices only occurred in the South Asian, Muslim community, and this was the position that teachers reproduced in the classroom. The research revealed that the teachers did not construct FM as a particular faith-based, gendered and racialised issue when addressing it in the classroom. The teachers strived to remain neutral, which carried the ambience of discourses surrounding political correctness. Although in the classroom the teachers attempted not to construct FM as a Muslim issue, the interviews discussed in the next chapter demonstrate how the teachers positioned themselves differently, revealing a conflict between personal opinions and professional classroom practices.

Hence the discourses that emerged through addressing FM in the classroom centred on the teachers' positioning themselves in the realms of political correctness, and at

times reproducing racial inequalities which dominate the discussion in chapters six and seven.

These racial and gendered discourses are troubling as they do not distinguish key components of identity that form the self. For example, what is Muslim culture? A Muslim is a person from the Islamic faith. A Muslim living in India would be influenced by the Indian culture, whereas a Muslim living in Denmark would be influenced by Danish culture. I would argue that Muslim culture does not exist which fuels the confusion around identities and knowledge. It would appear that the FMU have tried effortlessly to distinguish between forced and arranged marriages. Chantler (2014b) argued that Muslim girls will be coerced into marriage that culture disguises as arranged. Archer (2003b) discussed Muslim girls as weak, and any potential of them achieving academically was wasted through the threat of them being forced into a marriage. In essence, Muslim women have no agency. Constructing such discourse creates obstacles to promoting any productive practices that are striving to eradicate FM. The construction of Muslim women in the literature contributes and supports theoretical discourse in the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003, 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017) about Muslim women in a British multicultural society, as problematic, weak, with no agency (Wilson, 2007).

The literature review (chapter two) demonstrates how dominant discourses surrounding FM are constituted by four inter-related socio-political ideas and practices of religion (Islam), gender (women), ethnicity (South Asian) and culture (Eastern society). The following quotes from the interviews demonstrate how some of the teachers rejected these dominant discourses in the classroom, but were not always comfortable doing so.

For example, although Marina personally reproduced the dominant discourses on FM, she felt the need to challenge and reconceptualise these dominant discourses in the classroom. Marina relied heavily on the pre-prepared PowerPoint slides to ensure that the dominant discourses were not reproduced in the classroom in order to remain the neutral teacher (Jenson, 2008).

“Also, obviously at the back of my mind, FM is linked very strongly to certain cultures. Yeah, when you hear about it in the news, it’s usually Indian or Pakistani, or you know, whatever, Bangladeshi or...and so, I, as a white European, delivering that, that is always somewhere in the back of my



mind.....Yeah, I think it's definitely the Asian Indian communities that seem to be...but perhaps that's my own bias or my own understanding of, you know the cultures...that still have forced marriage as a practice... Because it's the assumptions I make, so if I'm making those assumptions, you know, I'm sure, a lot of other people are making, the same assumptions." (Marina).

Despite supporting the dominant discourses surrounding FM, Marina felt uncomfortable accepting and reproducing them in the classroom. An obstacle to Marina exercising her agency was her racial identity and the possibility of her being branded a racist (Chantler et al., 2009; Siddiqui, 2013). In the classroom Marina suppressed her gendered and racialised identities and views on FM. Marina relied heavily on the pre-prepared PowerPoint slides and focused on the message that FM was now illegal. This approach allowed her to position herself as the neutral teacher (Jenson, 2008).

Marina appeared to reflect Archer's (2003b) views of some teachers stereo-typing Muslim girls as 'wasted academic potentials', through gendered and racialised (faith-based) discourses.

During the interview, Diya maintained her position of rejecting the dominant discourses.

"We are not putting down someone's culture, we're...disagreeing, quite strongly, against people's actions. And I think its actions, it's not culture, its actions. It's wrong...if you kill somebody, it's wrong. No one says it's a taboo to talk about murder, so why should it be taboo to talk about FM? (Diya).

Diya resisted and troubled these dominant discourses on FM and felt that FM did not relate to religion or culture. She reconstructed the issue as a gendered human rights violation, echoing academics such as Chantler et al. (2009) and Siddiqui (2013).

"I think forced marriage, be it from any community, any culture, any age, I find it unethical, it's illegal. It strips us of our most basic human rights. I think. I don't disagree with arranged marriages, because I know of a lot of arranged marriages that are highly successful. But when someone is forced against their will, you know like, we are going to kill ourselves if you don't marry someone, you know, the whole honour of the family, or you know, you are

going to get married to that person that is going to save our business. You know, and there is no regard, for what happens to that child or woman, once she leaves the home. She is no longer their responsibility. It's like, you know, she's sold." (Diya).

However, previously, Diya described feeling personally challenged (when looking for non-Asian video clips) in trying to uphold her beliefs due to the lack of evidence available to support her opinions. Diya also relented a little by suggesting that FM is not as prominent in other religions and cultures as it is within the South Asian communities. Hence, she personally supported the gendered and racialised discourses.

"I think it is just as bad [FM in non-Asian communities] as...I don't think it is just as bad, I suppose, but you can't compare the two." (Diya).

Diya's mixed feelings demonstrate the problematic gendered and racialised implications for teachers when attempting to implement FM policy. However, Diya maintained her position on rejecting the dominant discourses. She positioned herself within the Asian and African communities to show her solidarity in rejecting the discourses that centre around FM originating and being dominant in these racial groups.

"It might predominately happen more in the Asian and African communities, but it isn't just our problem." (Diya).

Diya appears to be drawing upon the discourse of race to defend her racial identity by problematising FM within all races.

Rani's gendered and racialised discourses on FM came through during her interview. Her opinion that there are a lot of Asian girls in the school who are the most vulnerable to FM, was again reproducing the gendered and racialised discourses surrounding FM and subtly echoed Archer's (2003b) position about Muslim girls.

"I definitely think it's appropriate, it's happening to children that age, so therefore they should know about it...and it is more prevalent in Asian communities and we have a lot of Asian students here. So it's important to get these things across." (Rani).

In this quote, Rani starts by framing FM in the context of age to justify FM discussions with the students. However, she then repositions her concerns and conceptualises them as a South Asian, race issue. In comparison to her earlier quotes (see section 4.4) this quote demonstrates how Rani is struggling to maintain a neutral position.

This position was construed by Puwar (2004) as a 'burden of representation', where individuals have the pressure of representing the image and capabilities of a group. For Rani, she felt that she had a duty to correct this tainted image about Islam and South Asian, despite her older sister being forced into a marriage, which has a devastating effect on her family. During the interview Rani framed her response as an ethical action so as not to mislead the students. She explained that the representative from the FMU, Ben, also suggested that revealing that information may be damaging.

“...That it happened more in the Asian community, and I kinda said, yeah the research has shown that, but it can happen to anyone....he [Ben] did show us a slide that showed the breakdown in the different communities, Pakistani Bangladeshi, and he [said] this is something that you would never show the kids, because it is just saying that it happens in Asian families.” (Rani).

This also illustrated how Rani struggled to maintain the position of a neutral teacher. She was privy to knowledge that she deliberately suppressed in order to resist the FM dominant discourses surrounding culture, race and religion. Rani exercised her agency, power and position in the classroom to reconstruct the dominant discourses surrounding FM away from South Asian, Muslim communities. Archer (2003b) highlighted how the expression 'Asian' in Britain is essentially connected to 'Muslims' (Islam). Hence British society constructs knowledge about the Asian culture and Islamic beliefs as entwined and interchangeable. Through addressing FM in the classroom, teachers have the enormous and onerous task of untangling this misconception and reconstructing Asian and Muslim as two separate entities. When discussing the impact of FM on the Asian community, Rani related FM to Muslims and other issues, namely terrorism.

“I feel like that, especially the Muslims, at the moment, I feel...they have a lot to deal with. There are so many issues on their plate that they quite possibly

feel like that's another thing. That's another thing that they are not liked for. Another thing for people not to like us." (Ania).

Ania highlighted the negative social perceptions and discourses surrounding the Muslim community. It is often because of these perceptions that the legislators are influenced to produce laws and policies to correct minority groups. The teachers then have the task of implementing such policies whilst challenging, rebutting and reconstructing these negative perceptions and dominant discourses.

Liz held similar views on FM to Marina and accepted the dominant discourses on FM. In the classroom Liz positioned herself as the neutral teacher. However, she was challenged by her lack of knowledge and threat of students holding more knowledge on the topic than her. The following extract is how Liz introduced the topic to the class.

"Ok. So, we are going to talk about, you know what can cause FM? Where those ideas can come from? And then squash some stereotypes as well. Alright. So, just to begin with there is not a religion, that endorses or allows or promotes FM. Ok. Because FM is a form of abuse. Abuse is not part of any culture. Ok, whether the victim's family is Muslim, Christian, Hindu whatever, FM is not, never, written that it is ok...and there is no religious text that is going to promote harm to anyone."

(Extract from observation of Liz's class session).

During the session, Liz resisted the dominant discourses surrounding FM and she framed FM as a form of abuse, independent of cultures and religions. At the beginning of the interview, Liz maintained this position of being a neutral teacher whose role was to dispel stereotypes.

"I didn't feel that I was giving the children any false information. They were very factual, there was no opinion in there, and I felt comfortable delivering fact. It's easy to deliver fact." (Liz).

Despite this confident opening, Liz admitted in the interview that she found it difficult to reject the dominant racialised and faith-based discourses, and she did relate FM to Islam and South Asian traditional practices.

“I’m not an expert on delivering this. So then sometimes it’s hard to quash the stereotypes. I don’t know if you noticed in the beginning when we were talking about arranged marriages, and some of those pupils will have experiences of that in their family in tradition and so for me to say, that’s not always the case, they could very well have say actually, yeah it is. Because the boy over there, he said this happens often. To me...I am supposed to say as a teacher, not all the time, but actually, he probably knows more than me....the fact that we have a huge Asian community in school, that could also affect my ideas on it...It feels bad, because if a child asks me what other cultures might well do this, I would feel like I can’t really answer. I feel like I am always asking the children to...in all aspects, turn stereotypes on their head and I don’t feel like I am always able to do that myself, because of a lack of knowledge.” (Liz).

Liz explained how, along with her lack of knowledge on the topic, her own racialised prejudice influenced her beliefs, distancing her from the position of a neutral teacher (Jensen, 2008). Therefore, to implement FM policy, Liz had to suppress her gendered and racialised subjectivities.

#### **4.6 Summary**

The gendered and racialised discourses on FM are produced through the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003, 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017). The data demonstrated that these discourses are not always resisted or challenged due to a lack of knowledge on FM and the fear of repercussions. This is discussed further in chapter six. Reproducing these discourses may cause harm to the marginalised groups of students. The teachers expressed how they were restricted by the classroom environment and the guidelines that they were given. They did not have any space to resist these discourses or indeed any training or support to challenge these discourses. The teachers in the classroom tackled the gendered and racialised discourses by maintaining political correctness and positioning themselves as the neutral teacher (Jenson, 2008), supported by the information that FM was now illegal. However, outside of the classroom the teachers’ position shifted and they did construct FM as a gendered, racial and faith-based problem centred on South Asian Muslim women. This demonstrated how teachers are challenged when attempting to perform neutral knowledge. The reality is that teachers are subjective agents with their own beliefs and knowledge influenced by their own gendered, racial, religious

and cultural experiences that intersect to construct their knowledge and position on FM.

In the next chapter I explore teachers' intersecting identities of gender, race, religion and cultural subjectivities which influence their perception and approach to addressing FM in the classroom. I also examine how the discourse of the 'good teacher' may conflict with discourses of political correctness.

## **CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION -**

### **Teachers' Intersecting Identities of Culture, Race, Religion and Gender**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter determines how teachers construct themselves and their own identities when addressing FM. An emic approach (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012) to intersectionality is adopted to understand the emerging strands of diversity that the teachers consider as prevalent in their identities when addressing FM in a classroom context. Hence, in this chapter, I engage with intersectionality to draw together the strands of diversity that the teachers consider as significant when constructing their own identities, which are implicated in the way that they perceive and approach FM in classrooms. This chapter examines how these strands of diversity; ethnicity, culture, gender and religion, impact on teachers' identities and social construction that influences their position on FM in the classroom. Foucault (1991) suggested that individuals are moulded by their multiple identities and experiences:

“...These practices...are not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in the culture and which are proposed, suggested, and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group.”

(Foucault, 1991, p. 11).

Archer (2003b) built upon Foucault (1991) and argued that ethnicity, culture and religion are not homogeneous, yet influence one another and are closely aligned.

In the following sections, I will consider the prevalent identities that emerged for five teachers from the institution within which I conducted the research, when they addressed the issue of FM.

#### **5.2 Rani**

Rani is one of the teachers that I interviewed at the institution. She is the head of the PSHE at the institution, and had co-ordinated the FM classes and teaching materials. Rani is a 31-year-old, British, lesbian Sikh, with an Indian heritage.

Through Rani's interview it emerged that her cultural (South Asian) and gender/sexual (homosexual) orientation became her prevalent identities when she addressed FM in the classroom. She explained how her sister was forced into a marriage and therefore she was very aware of such practices in her family and culture (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011). However, being a lesbian, Rani felt that this shielded her from the pressures of a traditional marriage to a man from her cast and religion.

"But I mean, myself, I did have expectations on me, [laugh] but they have kinda gone out of the window. Because, I don't know, I have lived my life in a different way from how my parents wanted me to. I'm gay and they have kinda realised that to some extent, so they know I am not going to have a traditional, the way that they might have expected, marriage to a Jat/Sikh Indian guy [laugh]. So that's the...my cultural background. I guess." (Rani).

Rani's mindset demonstrated how she was possibly naïve to how her multiple identities of race, being South Asian, and sexuality, i.e. homosexual, posed a greater risk of being subjected to an FM, as constructed by dominant discourses (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011). However, it was during her preparations for the FM session that she became aware of how a number of FM victims were homosexual and were forced into marriage in an effort to suppress their sexual orientation and preserve the family's honour. The implementation of the policy, through delivering lessons on FM, made Rani more aware of the threats and dangers that sexual minorities face with regards to relationships and FM.

"...and finding out all the information, that's highlighted to me, things like I didn't really consider before, like people who were LGBT that's one of the reasons the parents force them into marriage...I don't know. All those kind of things, like the LGBT and the disabilities would not have come into my head instantly..." (Rani).

This demonstrated how Rani was growing as a teacher and her knowledge was expanding. She applied a different lens to FM, by relating it to LGBT, and viewed it within an alternative perspective. Rani was aware of problems surrounding LGBT and FM as separate issues, but not as a combination.



She explained that, at first, she was concerned that her students may construct her as a potential FM victim due to her South Asian culture. However, since considering the profile of a potential FM victim, she felt her homosexual identity would become a greater threat to her being associated and positioned as an FM victim by the students.

“...being LGBT carries its own burdens. People make assumptions that can be really out there and offensive. Now being on the FM radar is another stigma on top of everything else.” (Rani).

Rani was concerned that by highlighting homosexuality as a reason for FM, her own homosexual identity (that the students were aware of) would become prominent in the classroom setting. Rani feared that the students might construct her homosexuality as a destructive identity, resulting in her losing the students' respect, her authority in the classroom and rapport with the students. Butler (2011) suggested that multiple, socially constructed, pre-determined sexualities and genders exist amongst marginalised groups that she introduces as performative gender theory. Butler (2011) claimed that gender identity is a product of performed behaviours and actions. This adverse exposure to Rani's sexuality added another level of fear to her battle of acceptance of being a lesbian within the educational arena. Jackson (2007) discussed how homosexuality is constructed as being a threat to society, and homosexual teachers are considered contenders for contaminating the safe space that the school can offer. For Rani the experiences of delivering the FM session were two-fold. Firstly, it was the responsibility of implementing FM policy in the school, as an LGBT teacher. She was not entirely comfortable with implementing FM policy. Secondly, through this process, she became conscious and aware that her students may construct her within the discourse as a potential victim, initially because of her South Asian identity, and now because of another contributing layer of her identity, that of being homosexual.

Furthermore, through Rani intersecting her cultural and homosexual identities, strong emotions (Zembylas, 2005) emerged, mainly sadness and vulnerability (Hargreaves, 2000a; Lasky, 2005). From the experiences of delivering and implementing FM policy, Rani became more aware about issues relating to her homosexual identity. She expressed being upset by the fact that her homosexual identity, which she tried to embrace and promote within a “normalised gaze” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 25), was connected to FM discourses. Rani already felt ostracised and positioned as an outsider by her Indian community. Rani discussed how her homosexual characteristic

excluded her from fully being part of her culture, tradition and religion, as that privilege was reserved for heterosexuals. Yet ironically, Rani felt that her students could still construct her within the constraints of the South Asian culture regardless of her sexual orientation.

“...I don’t know, I mean, maybe they [students] do, maybe they think it could happen in my life...” (Rani).

Rani harboured uncertainty about how she was perceived by her students. Rani’s intersecting identities that were prevalent at the time of addressing FM in the classroom were related to her South Asian culture and homosexual orientation.

### **5.3 Tess**

Also, on the PSHE teaching team is Tess. Tess is a 31-year-old, white Canadian-born, lesbian. Tess grew up in the Bahamas. Her mother is a Jehovah’s Witness and her father a “militant agnostic”. Tess does not associate herself with any religion or culture, and instead focuses her identity mainly around her sexual orientation, which was prevalent when she addressed the issue of FM.

“...and my mum, obviously wants me to get married and have 2.5 kids and a white picket fence, and the fact that I’m a lesbian doesn’t really make her very happy. We don’t really talk. She stopped asking me questions about boys when I was about 19. We never had an honest conversation about anything, we just kinda tiptoe about the issue. She knows, that I know, she knows...and I know, that she knows, that I know, but we literally don’t talk about it. It’s the big elephant in the room.” (Tess).

For both Rani and Tess, discourses surrounding their sexual orientation dominated their identity that they proudly revealed and positioned above their other characteristics. Historically, homosexuality has been a taboo subject in the UK, and disclosure of homosexual orientations has been discouraged and suppressed. Foucault (2002) discussed the concept of the passage of time and the fluidity of historical change. Likewise, discussions around homosexual identities has evolved from a taboo subject in the UK to openly expressed and discussed in many, but not all, situations. Rani and Tess embraced this opportunity to highlight their homosexual

identities as a prominent feature, which perhaps 40 years ago would have been difficult.

Embedded within the layers of the multiple identities (Cooper and Olson, 1996) were emotional discourses displayed by the teachers. These emotions emanated from teachers having to implement government policy and abide by political correctness (explored in chapter six). Tess expressed intense and extreme feelings across the emotional spectrum.

Tess is passionate about being a lesbian and that passion transpires in her homosexual identity through the ability to be free and who she wants. This freedom clashed with the concept of FM, hence she expressed anger and frustration towards those who practised FM. Tess describes her frustration when she was bound by political correctness and professionalism, hence unable to behave towards the father of a potential FM victim in the way she desired.

“...What I really want to do is turn around and smack her dad in the face and say, do you wanna know why your daughter is failing her GCSEs? It’s because you are putting her in a difficult position, wake up, and I can’t... and it is so frustrating. So frustrating.” (Tess).

This appeared to demonstrate how Tess struggled to negotiate emotional closeness by managing professional boundaries (O’Connor, 2008, p.126). However, Tess confidently stated that her identities were not compromised when specifically asked the question, ‘did you feel that your identities were compromised?’ However, in her interview, Tess expressed feelings of compromise and suppression when not specifically asked about her identities, but for example how she would react to sending her own message to students. Hence, when asked what message should be given to the students, Tess’s response was emotional, suppressed, shaped and confined by professionalism:

“Well...if I was queen of the world, the message would have been ‘sod your parents live your own life’... you know [laugh]...run away, do what you have to do, I don’t care, just get out of there. That’s, that would have been my message, but obviously that is incredibly dangerous, and not entirely productive.....I can sit there and say off the record, my personal opinion guys, here’s what I think, because this is my background, and this is my attitude

towards it, I can say that, especially to my form. I wouldn't say that to everybody, but my form would be like, sure miss, yeah cool, thanks. But as a professional, as a teacher, I don't think there is anything else....I could do, anything else I can say..... I struggle myself, because I get so, emotionally invested in things. I struggle not to, to let it, kinda eat me up if I feel like I haven't done everything that I can possibly do, because I can't fight an entire war by myself." (Tess).

This passionate statement by Tess is bursting with emotions, mainly anger and fear. Further unpacking of the statement reveals Tess's urge to defy authority and exercise her agency in order to promote freedom through independence. She accredits this thought process to her own multiple identities. However, another layer of this statement introduces the element of fear of sharing her thoughts generally, as she perceives that this compromises her professionalism. In addition, Tess acknowledges that resisting authority is futile. Through restraining her emotions and agency, Tess is negotiating and partially suppressing her identities (homosexuality) and what they stand for (freedom of expression). Hargreaves (1998) and Zembylas (2003a) argued that emotions are at the epicentre of the teacher's role, hence identity. Similar, as Tess demonstrated, and Zembylas (2003a) captured in research in teaching in conflict zones, emotions such as fear are implicated in the construction of teachers' identities and teachers' responses to policy implementation.

In the literature review (chapter two), O'Connor (2008) described how caring for students can lead to hurt, disappointment, anger and feeling powerless. Earlier studies (Hargreaves, 2000a; Lasky, 2005) considered the display of emotions as illustrating teacher vulnerability. This notion of vulnerability became apparent within the data. The data suggested that all the female teachers struggled with their emotions, some more (Tess) than others (Penny). This small sample demonstrated the link between emotions and vulnerability expressed by the teachers, which supported the literature (Hargreaves 2000a; Lasky, 2005). The exception to these findings of vulnerability was the male teacher, Ed. He expressed little or no emotions and presented as a strong, confident identity and persona.

#### **5.4 Ania**

Ania is one of the female teachers at the institution who I observed and interviewed. She is of Polish origin and moved to the UK from Poland with her family when she

was 11. Ania is a 29-year-old Catholic, who married two years ago and does not have children. During the FM session and the interview, Ania's ethnicity and religion featured as her prevailing intersecting identities.

Francis (2003) cited in Flintoff et al. (2008) discussed the sexed body as problematic within feminism. Through separating gender from sex, the focus becomes how men and women are socially constructed as opposed to biologically constructed. Hence the construction of what is masculine and feminine is constructed by self, others and society. Applying this connotation to ethnicity, it is arguable that the racial body is problematic within racism and multi-culturalism. This is because by separating racism from multiculturalism, the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017) and legislators are able to dictate socially acceptable cultural practices, as opposed to minority ethnic groups highlighting practices of racial inequalities and discrimination.

“By highlighting the differences within groups the basis for mobilising around shared characteristics of a group become more problematic.”

(Flintoff et al., 2008, p. 80).

Ania questions her own race, and distanced herself from her ethnic community. She condemns the Polish community and diaspora as spoilt and discredits her roots for creating a racial body, whereby racism prevails over multiculturalism.

“They [my parents] are both Polish, they both emigrated here in the early 80s. I only really had one long term boyfriend in secondary school, and he was actually a Muslim. I did only have one comment from my grandma, at one point, which was, “it's ok, you are young, you will find a nice white man to settle down with one day”. Which I found entirely offensive at the time [laugh] and now even. But apart from that, I was always...like my parents never...I think my dad was actually leaning on that side as well. Which I think is more to do with the fact that Polish are...I don't think intentionally racist, I would say ignorant would be more the point because they simply don't have that in Poland. They don't have a very mixed culture in general. It's getting better and they were very closed off back then, because it was before the EU, before everybody started all the free movement...and they are quite...yeah...I have

never seen myself as Polish for these reasons. Because I feel that I am actually British in terms of mixing cultures and stuff like that..." (Ania).

Ania highlights two issues in her comments. Firstly, she illustrates how her Polish family constructs race and religion within a moral hierarchy whereby whiteness and Christianity are superior to South Asian races and Islam. This form of hierarchical positioning often produces negative stereotypes and discourses of non-whiteness and prejudice (Brah and Phoenix, 2004; Wilson, 2007). Secondly, Ania demonstrates how she has reconstructed her ethnic identity over a period of time and space (relocation of countries) from Polish-European to British, which she feels is more accepting of multi-culture and faiths, than her Polish European roots. Ania uses racial tolerance as her racial marker to construct her racial identity.

In the classroom and during her interview, when discussing FM, Ania continues to intersect her religious and ethnic identities. However, her Britishness, tolerance and understanding of multiculturalism appears to fade, as her inability to understand and discuss FM overwhelms her. Her approach is to become transparent and confront her fear of the unknown by expressing that she does not know what the difference between FM and Arranged Marriage (AM) is, nor does she know how it is possible for a man to be forced into a marriage. Ania's approach was unusual as the teaching materials were explicit in how to approach FM and thorough with explanations, definitions and the message focused on this being a criminal offence. Ania apparently struggled to use the materials. This demonstrates that FM policy is not a straightforward linear process. The implementation of policy will always be problematic because teachers are human beings with multiple identities.

Ania's struggle to use the materials in the most effective way could potentially be contributing to her intersecting position of her identities relating to religion and ethnicity. Hence the data suggest that FM policy is a complex issue; Ania had the information but she still struggled to deliver it. The emotions that Ania expressed, the experiences that she shared, illustrate that the process is complex. The data have highlighted issues relating to teachers' identities and understanding the information in the process of implementing FM policy.

Ania positions herself in a similar moral hierarchy as her grandmother by dismissing FM as a practice she cannot relate to, understand or engage in a conversation about. She references her faith and ethnic up-bringing as an obstacle to understanding the

FM process, hence she struggles to understand the FM teaching materials. Ania's religious and ethnic intersecting identities prevail. Her automatic coping mechanism appears to be to shut down and handed over to the South Asian Muslim students in the class to explain, justify and discuss FM as part of their faith and race. Hence subconsciously Ania is reproducing the dominant discourses surrounding FM as a South Asian Muslim problem (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011).

## 5.5 Diya

Duff and Uchida (1997) described teachers' identity as co-constructed, negotiated and constantly transforming. Duff and Uchida (1997) further conceptualised how identities can be assigned (through the eyes of others) or claimed (self-constructed). Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson (2005) built upon Duff and Uchida's (1997) views and described how identity is shaped by three key components; identity as multiple, shifting and in conflict; identity as central to social, cultural and political contexts; and identity as constructed, maintained and negotiated via discourses. These shaping characteristics are visible in how Diya constructed her identities. Diya is a 44-year-old, Sikh, mother with an Indian heritage. Diya's prevalent intersecting identities, which she discusses generally and which come through when she addresses FM, are her Indian culture and South Asian ethnicity.

Cultural identity comes from social interaction (Giddens, 1991). Diya eloquently describes this as:

“...There are [governing] laws in every [country]...it's like, [when] in Rome do what the Romans do.” (Diya).

Diya made several statements about her culture that indicate that this is her most influential identity.

“I studied both here in the UK and in India...from a young age, I had quite an open upbringing, an open-minded upbringing. However, when I returned to the UK, to continue my studies, there was quite a change in the way we were treated in the United Kingdom to the way we were treated back home, being raised back home. And I think it was more to do with, what would people... say. You know, people were more conscious about the neighbours and

relatives etc. But my parents were quite open minded for...their generation of Asian parents. I think they were quite strict in the sense that they wanted me to marry someone who was Asian, and they didn't mind if they were Sikh or Hindu...When I was at university I met my husband who is of Caribbean descent...and when I approached my parents, my mum in particular was the one to completely disown me for eight years...They were just always about what will the neighbours say...kind of...you know...it's quite a traditional way of them to think, or you know, stereotypically, you know, what they would say." (Diya).

Diya defended her identities through the eyes of others and reclaimed her cultural identity as Indian (Duff and Uchida, 1997). Diya's experiences illustrate how she intersects her cultural identity with racial divisions. Diya demonstrates concerns about how she is positioned by others who construct her identity as non-Indian, and refers to the fluidity of society.

"...because I have married out of my community, people might think that I am not a proper Indian person...We are living in an extremely cosmopolitan society. I think if you look around and count heads, of non, you know...if you look in this area...it's literally...you hardly, you don't see many Caucasian, British people around. And, you know, we have adopted, Britain has adopted the curry as their national dish. You know, and we have... it's so cosmopolitan you walk into every field in this country, any employment field in this country, it is such a huge mix of people. You know, you go out, you have such a multi-national cuisine, you go out abroad, you know, you are travelling, the world has become smaller and people are more aware of things...considering I'm Indian and married a non-Indian, and done everything that people go, "ah, how did your parents react to that?" Kinda thing...I get that all the time." (Diya).

Similarly, when addressing FM in the classroom, Diya's prevailing and intersecting identities are her culture and ethnicity. She diverted from the teaching materials to demonstrate that FM did occur in other cultures and races and spent a lot of time researching and presenting this information. However, ultimately, Diya concluded by sharing experiences of her cousins being forced in a FM. She explained that she did not want South Asian races to be stereotyped as dominant in FM practices, yet she chose to disclose several family examples of FM, following the hand-picked videos that she painfully searched for to destigmatise FM. By introducing the family



examples, Diya personalised the session, which may have assisted with making the students more receptive to the session, but it also became counterproductive by reproducing the dominant discourses surrounding FM as a South Asian issue (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011).

## 5.6 Ed

The obvious difference between Ed and the rest of the teachers was indeed one of the prevailing identities that Ed highlighted himself, his gender. Ed is one of only two male PSHE teachers. He was the only male willing to participate in this study. Teaching is a female dominated profession; however, men are able to position themselves within a feminine occupation by constructing masculine traits to reclaim roles as compatible with masculinity (McDonald, 2013). Ed confirms this:

"I have got use to the thing with girls, coz I have taught here for quite a long time. There are some things that I don't teach them. For example...sex education...I think you have to be careful, but if you are saying no one who isn't a woman or from a culture or community where that happens...unless you are them you can't talk about it. I think that is a very dangerous road to go down. You know, so someone who is not Jew should never talk about the Holocaust..." (Ed).

Whilst recognising that some topics may be gendered and racialised, Ed does not consider his gender or race an obstacle to addressing FM. Ed resists the notion that such issues should only be addressed by teachers whose identities match that of the topic being discussed. He attempts to neutralise the gendered and racial inequalities by advocating professionalism. The other identity that Ed intersected with his gender is race.

"Both my parents are vicars so we were quite mobile. I ended up in a school in Kennington, which was a complete contrast to my school in Birmingham, where there was no multi-culturalism. The school in Kennington was 95% black kids, you know, Afro-Caribbean, so it was quite a culture shock for me. I spent a year there, then I went to [name of school] just up the hill from here. So I have been shaped quite a lot by my experience of growing up in London and understanding how it is different from growing up in other parts of the

country...And I, again I have learnt a lot from being here, I have lots...a lot with Asian children, so it has helped me understand and get over my stereotypes and ignorance. So I am more aware of the different culture.” (Ed).

Ed presents himself as a cosmopolitan, multicultural man, and explains how his exposure to multicultural educational institutions has influenced his identity. Multiculturalism can be considered as a positive aspect of society through its social fusion of various cultures. However, Okin (1999) illustrated how such concepts, when considered and applied independently, can be discriminatory.

According to Okin (1999) the intention of multiculturalism was to offer minority groups the prospect of preserving their culture from becoming extinct. Instead neo-liberal society used this concept to assimilate minority cultures into observing western culture (Brah, 1996). Nevertheless, as Ed demonstrated, and Hargreaves (1998) observed in research in dominant white school settings, teachers make special efforts to introduce awareness of multicultural diversity and dimensions to their teaching.

Chapter four illustrates how teachers constructed gendered and racialised discourses of FM when addressing FM in the classroom. Ed’s prevalent identities mirrored those discourses, making race and gender at the forefront of the classroom discussions on FM. Chapter four (section 4.4) illustrates how Ed deliberately highlights FM as a South Asian (race) problem, even though FM was not constructed in the slides as being associated with any particular race, culture or faith. The focus should have been on FM occurring in all cultures, races and faiths and the fact that it is a criminal offence.

During the classroom discussions, Ed focuses on gender as being a major factor in FM. He specifically focuses upon the idea of females being promiscuous as a contributing factor to FM, as this relates to reputation and honour, rather than relating promiscuity to boys and their behaviour and reputation. When speaking about controlling unwanted behaviour he chooses to highlight female promiscuity as an example as opposed to smoking as unwanted behaviours.

“...So the next one is controlling unwanted behaviour. For example, the idea that you might be being promiscuous, that means that you might be going out with lots of boys.”

(Extract from observation of Ed’s class).

Ed spent more time than his female counterparts discussing gender as a prevailing characteristic of FM. He distances himself from the FM concept and positions his own male gender and white race as superior hence shielding him from FM practices. His discussion has the essence of the heroic white male saving the inferior South Asian females in society.

“Forced marriage is not restricted to the South Asian community, although that is where the majority of it is...It's a question of which traditions and cultures are good to keep or which ones are harmful.”

(Extract from observation of Ed's class).

The discussion comes across as being ambiguous and mirrors the position he already holds as the white male teacher among an all-female student setting with the majority being from the ethnic minority races, especially South Asian. Ed does not address gender as an issue of FM or women's rights. Instead he pathologises women. He describes females as being promiscuous. Ed presents FM as women's fault, because a reason for FM is female promiscuity. Hence in his view women need to be educated to save themselves from issues surrounding FM. Ed constructs FM as a problem for women from a particular different group, mainly South Asian, and also for women who have sexual freedom. Young people need to be spoken to about women's rights, especially in a girls' school, where the audience is all female, like Ed's class. However, Ed did not maximise this opportunity and instead used this platform to undermine women and point out females' socially constructed shortcomings.

Ed's position can be considered condescending towards the Asian female students, in the classroom, which is governed by his display of white superiority. Ed was the only male teacher in the data collected, and his identity as a white superior man dominated the discussion around FM in the classroom.

### **5.7 Teachers' Display of Emotions and Agency in the Classroom**

The data demonstrate that although the teachers in this study have been influenced by dominant discourses on FM, they have not been expected to teach FM in one particular way. Teachers bring their own experiences and knowledge, formulated from all types of sources, such as upbringing and their idea of being professional.

Foucault's (1980a) concept of power, agency and change are prevalent in the data. The data demonstrate how teachers align and reproduce policy discourses relating to FM, but also their inner struggles, contradictions and positionings towards the same discourses.

The data reflect O'Connor's (2008) three lenses of caring behaviour: performative, motivating students; professional, managing relationships; and philosophical/humanistic, adhering to a personal code of ethics. Teachers in the study compared their role to actors performing on stage (the classroom), before an audience (the students). Penny displayed this behaviour, which O'Connor (2008) described as performative.

"I feel like my cultural identity...when you are a teacher, you are an actor and it doesn't really matter what my cultural background was, because it could really interfere with my professionalism in the classroom and when dealing with an issue like this...because, my up-bringing, my background shouldn't stop me or change the way that I teach all the different cultural and different backgrounds that we have here." (Penny).

Penny describes how she uses her agency to position herself as a neutral teacher which she believes helps her maintain her professionalism. Dillabough (1999) also described teachers' connotations of a rational and instrumental actor as an identity-framing device. In contrast, Diya did not see herself as a performer. She expressed love for her students. O'Connor (2008) explained this behaviour as humanistic, following a personal code of ethics.

"You can't but help care for your kids, otherwise you should not be in the profession anyway. I love them like my own." (Diya).

Diya presents powerful emotional discourses of love, mothering and nurturing. She normalises these feminine traits within the structure of the teaching profession. This supports the dominant discourse of teaching being a feminine profession (McDonald 2013). Hargreaves (1998) also identified love as an emotional discourse that teachers use to describe their feeling towards their students.

Rani felt the need to remain professional and managed relationships by limiting the exposure of her personal life and experiences with the students. Rani described how

this meant that she could retain a degree of control relating to the information available to the students, thus imposing constraints on how the students constructed and assigned her identity (through the eyes of others, Duff and Uchida, 1997).

Despite Diya being vocal about her connections to her Indian culture, her actions demonstrated how she performed a white identity. Whiteness in a pervasive context is not about bearing white skin. Many people who 'do' whiteness are black or Asian, but perform white identity. This process consists of non-white individuals partially or entirely departing from their culture and taking on white characteristics, cultures and traditions. Amongst Asians, those who perform white identities are commonly called 'coconuts' (Alam and Husband, 2006), in reference to them being brown on the outside (skin) and white on the inside (heart and mind). I was often called this and excluded from Asian groups of girls at high school. The context in which FM and the teaching of FM takes place is positioned in the context of white identity. Regardless of the teachers' culture, in order to address FM in the context prescribed by the government and upon which the materials are based, the teachers had to perform a white identity. The materials were produced with a white ideology of conforming, assimilation, less tolerance of ethnic minority practices, and the need for the government to save the ethnic minority from themselves (Spivak, 1988; Chantler et al., 2009; Gagoomal, 2009). Therefore, white identity is constructed as a powerful structure (Butler, 2011), underpinned by government policies and the notion of control and surveillance which was demonstrated in the classroom by the teachers when they addressed FM.

If the government imposes subtle expectations and dominant discourses upon teachers to aspire to or align with a white identity, then the implementation of FM policy will be problematic. This can contradict this notion of multiculturalism, if teachers are expected to hide and manage certain parts of their identities. This will create multicultural, faith and race closets, whereby religious people hide their faith, in fear of being humiliated, for example, as a result of Islamophobia.

Certain identities are more prevalent than others at different points of individuals' lives and professional trajectories (Tsouroufli, 2012). The fluidity of time and space is captured in Foucault (1990) and in feminist work (e.g. Butler, 2011) which defines the temporality and specificity of identities. Upon accepting that identity and knowledge are fluid (Foucault, 1979), the opportunity to shift and reposition identities is available. The process that enables the shift is usually triggered by additional information

becoming available through training and experiences. Teachers are positioned as the primary resource in teaching and awareness. This study found that teachers are positioning and re-positioning themselves as they are constructing and re-constructing their own knowledge of FM within both micro and macro social structures.

## **5.8 Summary**

This chapter has explored how identity politics are implicated in the process of implementing FM policy, not just for the recipients, the students, but also for the teacher who delivers the FM policy message. It was necessary to adopt an intersectionality approach and consider teachers' intersecting identities to illustrate how identity politics are implicated in the implementation of FM policy. Along with being professionals, teachers have identities, which are informed by their background and ideas that positions them and influences how they implement FM policy in the classroom.

The teachers' role is focussed upon the child's best interest being paramount and safeguarding duties exceeding any individual embodiment of self-negotiation or challenges of identity. The professional identity becomes immersed within safeguarding, school politics and the government's message. These dominant discourses shape how FM is addressed in the classroom, and the subliminal messages enriched with society's views and individual cultural beliefs are suppressed and silenced. The pressure to achieve political correctness and to adopt dominant discourses is overwhelming, leaving teachers with little room for subjective views or the ability to reject these dominant discourses. In addition, this constant pressure on teachers to perform, impacts on teachers' health, well-being (discussed in chapter six) and emotions. Consequently, this has implications for the success of implementing the FM policy if teachers are not performing effectively due to stress and fear.

Understanding the multiple identities of teachers is a complex task. The emic approach was adopted to explore and concentrate on the intersecting identities that emerged in the field. These strands of diversity transpired as ethnicity, gender, religion and culture. However, these factors are not pre-requisites or exclusive factors that determine teachers' personal identities. These factors just happen to be the

dominant factors that emerged from the data, at this point in time, when addressing FM in the classroom.

This study has explored the outcomes of implementing the FM policy in the classroom of a school at a micro political level. This study brings together intersectionality and an emic approach, by not using set categories, but instead concentrating on the identities that emerge through the fieldwork. These identities related to culture, faith, gender and race. Implementation of FM policies has its difficulties, as teachers are their own emotional and political entities influenced by their multiple identities. Unless all these issues are addressed, through training and a safe space, the implementation of FM will always be problematic.

In the next chapter the concept of political correctness, emotions and racial inequalities are explored further, within the context of the teachers' professional identity and professionalism when implementing FM policy in the classroom.

## **CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION -**

### **Teachers' Discourses of Professionalism and Professional Identities in the Implementation of Forced Marriage Policies**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter investigates teacher professionalism and professional identities in the implementation of forced marriage (FM) policies in schools. How teachers strive to perform the 'good professional' in the implementation of policies against FM is critically discussed. This leads to an in-depth discussion about the three discourses that emerge from the teachers' understanding of professionalism, which are neutrality, political correctness and emotions. There is an overarching discourse relating to racial inequalities in terms of how subjects are regulated. The study explores how teachers' position themselves, and what types of identities the teachers want to develop when addressing FM in the classroom. Also investigated is how policies and surveillance operate as a disciplinary mechanism to regulate subjects-the teachers (Foucault, 2002). The data considered in this chapter are the observations of the FM teaching sessions and all the interviews with the teachers and stakeholders.

#### **6.2 Teachers' Construction of Professionalism**

During the interviews with the teachers and stakeholders, the notion of professionalism was a recurring theme. Professionalism was used to justify teachers' suitability for addressing FM in the classroom, along with the daily, independent, exposure that teachers have towards students away from family pressures. Three dominant discourses emerged from the data that defined what professionalism meant to all those who were interviewed. These discourses were, neutrality, political correctness and suppressing emotions.

##### **6.2.1 Neutrality**

Chapter five illustrated that teachers have multiple and shifting identities of gender, ethnicity, culture and religion. This study accepts that no identities are permanent but indeed fluid and under constant construction and development with reference to the world. However, for the purposes of this study, personal identities is the distinctive term used for categorising and understanding identities of race, gender, culture and



religion, which teachers have highlighted through talk. These personal identities shift as a result of teachers' experiences of teaching and implementation of FM policy.

The interaction between teachers' personal life and work produces experiences amongst a variety of daily socio-cultural and work-based political milieu. The formation of personal and professional identities contributes to the individuals' whole identity. However, social and political factors can influence components of individuals' identities (Nias, 1989; Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996; Acker, 1999; O'Connor, 2008), creating tension and prompting an individual to re-negotiate and reconstruct their identities to position themselves as neutral (Baxter, 2008; Hughes and Cohen, 2010). Policy discourses might be responsible for influencing how teachers operate and what identities they choose to shift, change or maintain.

The findings of this study illustrate that the discourse of neutrality and the neutral-self emerged throughout the data. The teachers' constructed their identities and positioned themselves as neutral subjects, through discussion and talk (Weedon, 1997), and hence were best placed to address FM issues with young people. The teachers strategically, intentionally and consciously, used their agency to position themselves as neutral. Teachers choose to take this position to protect themselves due to fear of repercussions of failing to implement FM policy and the wider expectation for them to remain politically correct, within a multicultural society and to maintain impartiality. This created a struggle within teachers' professional identities as agents of neutrality, and their intersecting gendered, racial, religious and cultural identities. Despite teachers having chosen to remain neutral and maintain this position, neutrality was not the position maintained by all the teachers all the time. Teachers took different position; sometimes they were neutral, or indicated in their interviews that a good professional is someone who is neutral, yet they did not maintain neutrality. The analysis of talk embedded within the feminist post-structural framework assisted in illustrating these contradictions that the teachers experienced. Rani demonstrated two incidents where she was presented with the challenge of remaining neutral whilst maintaining her personal intersecting identities.

During the interview, Rani reproduced the argument put forward by Chantler (2012) that AM (Arranged Marriage) is often FM in disguise. Rani vocalised the universal blurriness between FM and AM that is reflected in debates, when speaking about her sister's marriage. Rani explains that her sister's marriage felt as though she had a choice, but in reality, she did not. Nevertheless, during the FM session Rani displays

professionalism by maintaining a clear distinction between FM and AM in the classroom.

“...there is a massive distinction between forced and arranged marriage.”

(Extract from observation of Rani's class).

In the classroom Rani tried to present a neutral-self, a rational-self, through providing a clear-cut distinction between FM and AM. But her personal identities and reflection on the personal, her sister's experience, gave a different picture. This demonstrated Rani's multiple positions and multiple identities. Professionally she clearly came across as a rational teacher, and able to differentiate between FM and AM in the classroom. However, her experiences illustrated something completely different. It appeared from Rani's experiences of FM that her position was not neutral. However, the rational teacher within Rani led her to reposition herself as neutral. Some teachers try to present themselves as neutral but also rational. Alternatively, maybe Rani was simply just not comfortable sharing her family experiences in class.

In the second incident, Rani moved away from neutrality and allowed her cultural and racial identities to influence her neutral position. During the training, Rani received information from the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) which she felt would be detrimental to reveal to the students. This information was the statistics that the FMU hold on the ethnic background of the callers who call in for advice. The statistics showed that the majority of the callers were from a South Asian background. Rani made the conscious decision to conceal this information (Olssen, 2005). Her explanation for doing this was twofold; firstly, she wished to avoid some of the Asian girls feeling ashamed that FM was happening the most in their community, and secondly, she wanted to avoid highlighting the Asian students to their peers as potential victims.

“it would single the Asian girls out. I would make them feel...I think some girls would feel slightly ashamed of that is happening within their communities and I would never want them to feel...I would never want that to come across in that way. So I would not show them that slide.” (Rani).

Rani struggled with this stereotypical notion of FM, and the racist construction of FM as a South Asian problem, or exclusively Muslim problem. This is how FM has been constructed in the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012;

Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017), how it has been treated in policy implementation and in the law. It is not seen or promoted as a gender issue or a human rights issue. Rani was trying to find a counter discourse to FM as a South Asian problem. It would appear that the government has not made efforts to find data or promote data to change perceptions about other populations or other groups. For example, in the teachers' training materials there was no mention of marriages in the British aristocratic society being forced or with coercive control. The government may be perceived as displaying mixed messages (HM Government's strategy, 2016-2020) by initially presenting FM as domestic violence (DV), then suggesting a strategy of cultural change for unacceptable cultural behaviour. If FM is presented as DV then this crosses all cultures and no particular culture should be singled out.

The dominant FM discourse remains as non-white communities being problematic because of their ideas and practices. Brah (1996) and Spivak (1999) described how white women's perceptions of South Asian gendered practices results in white women considering South Asian women as "passive" (Brah, 1996, p. 69). It could be argued that this sweeping statement does not apply to all white women, and that this discourse derives from a lack of understanding, awareness and sometimes the unwillingness to learn about other cultures. This possible reluctance to grasp other cultures could emerge from the fear of the unknown. Wilson (2007) argued that being white British is a strong cultural and privileged position. This argument was evident in the Colonial period, and maybe explains the views still held by some white British people.

Similarly, gypsies are heavily criticised (Gedalof, 2007) for their traditional families, whereby they marry young and have lots of children. To some people the gypsy lifestyle maybe more acceptable than the white, non-traditional families who have children outside of wedlock and with different partners. White women's practices and behaviours are acceptable, yet practices that gypsy and Muslim women engage in are deemed as oppressed and such women have no future (Brah, 1996; Spivak, 1999; Chantler, 2014a).

Teachers in this study are struggling with who they are, what they believe, and also the position that they have within society. Teachers operate in a prevalent white British society in which the other (Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004), the South Asian Muslim community, has been constructed as problematic. Rani was expected to deliver information or to raise awareness on the issue of FM through highlighting the

dominant discourses of FM as a South Asian Muslim problem. She was expected to implement policy within a society which has constructed her own community as problematic, dangerous, or even as detrimental to the wider British society. All these communities are seen as a threat to freedom that Britishness preserves (Wilson, 2007). Discourses of Britishness promote the notion that British women are freer and more emancipated than women of other cultures, in particular South Asian women. Britishness disassociates itself from other cultures and traditions, yet still sustains a contradiction by adopting the South Asian curry as its national dish.

One reading of the data could be that Rani's actions demonstrated a form of resistance and agency (Foucault, 1980b) against the FM dominant discourses. Rani is influenced by wider discourses of predominantly white British society, in which FM has been constructed exclusively as a South Asian, Muslim problem.

Edwards, Coffield, Steer and Gregson (2007) stressed how conflicts develop between teachers' own personal and professional values as a result of institutional and government demands for change. This is what leads to teachers accumulating multiple identities. Different individuals from different (and similar) backgrounds will have different experiences, thus varying knowledge (Foucault, 1991). Nias (1989) captured this as:

“the uniqueness of the individual, the specificity of context and the primacy of the person.”

(Nias, 1989, p.16).

Although the participants in this study claimed that they did not change their identities, the experiences they shared through talk clearly demonstrated that they did negotiate and shift their identities. Participants were very keen to show that they did not have any difficulties or problems with their identities. However, when dealing with difficult circumstances, the teachers struggled to maintain neutrality and their personal identities.

Marina practiced neutrality by limiting her input in the classroom session. She did not respond, reinforce or validate answers provided by the students. Instead she asked the rest of the class for their opinion on the answer. Marina contributed very little and appears to distance herself from the topic. However, academically speaking, it could be argued that she was facilitating a student-led session.

Marina (M): OK, judging by the sound of the discussion, you have lots to say and lots of thoughts about what forced marriage is. Anyone want to tell me what they think FM is? Student 1.

Student 1: I think FM is when you force someone to get married to another person.

M: That's right, it is? Student 2.

Student 2: It's basically when you have, you have, like, no say in it or whatever. People usually think that forced married and arranged marriage is the same thing. But, coz we had an assembly on it before, arranged marriage is something you can have a say in it, if you do want...it's just like your parents...if you are not finding the right person, like, say you are 34 and your parents want you to get married, and you haven't found 'the one' [other students laugh] your mum and dad will find 'the one', and say 'ok, do you like him? Do you want to marry him'? And stuff. But forced marriage is where, it doesn't have to be your parents, it can be any...anyway...if your parents find someone and say 'ok you are marrying, and this is when, this is the address' ...so you have, like, no say in it, and if you say you don't want to, they just say you are going to get married.

M: Is that a good definition?

[All Students in class] Yes.

Student 3: FM is when you...sometimes get married at a young age. You get married at 13 and no one cares about it.

M: You can get married at 13? You are forced to get married at 13. You think that this happens in this country?

[All Students] No.

Student 4: It's illegal.

M: What does the law say? What do people think the law says? Then we will find out exactly what the law says.

Student 4: The law says you are not allowed to have FM, it is illegal. In other countries the law doesn't say anything. Over here they say it's really bad, coz of the mental impact.

M: Ok, let have a look at this clip (turn the lights off at the back please).

(Extract from observation of Marina's FM class session).

When the students answered “no” to Marina’s question about getting married at 13 in the UK, it appeared that Marina was too afraid to challenge the students; it was as though she was holding back. This may be because she was building up suspense for the video clip that in her opinion was sufficient to address, and answer, the questions that had been raised. An alternative view would be that Marina was uncomfortable entering into the FM discussion and felt safer relying on the video clip (Sanghera, 2009).

During the interview, Marina revealed that she did feel that she was contradicting her personal beliefs by discussing FM in the method prescribed by the teaching materials. Hence Marina was negotiating her intersecting identities to remain neutral.

“....that is why I was asking them...putting it more to them, what they knew about forced marriage, what their thoughts about forced marriage are. Also, obviously at the back of my mind, FM is, linked very strongly to certain cultures. Yeah, when you hear about it in the news, it’s usually Indian or Pakistani, or you know, whatever, Bangladeshi or...and so, I as a, as a white European Catholic, delivering that, that is always somewhere in the back of my mind...It’s something that they [the students, maybe thinking], why is she there [delivering a FM session]? That plays on your mind a little bit, why is she in the front of the class telling us this? (Marina).

This demonstrates that Marina was trying to remain neutral in the classroom, when in fact she has strong beliefs about FM which were relevant to her personal positioning as a white Catholic teacher. Marina illustrates the tensions between preserving her professional-self as neutral and her intersecting faith and culture. Marina’s challenge was to manage her personal identities and maintain neutrality. Marina positioned herself as neutral out of fear of the implications and consequences of implementing FM policies. Some teachers try to present themselves as neutral but also rational. This was a challenging task, as this research takes the position that no one is neutral. There is no neutrality; individuals come with gendered, racial, religious and cultural identities and ideas (Weedon, 1997; Baxter, 2008). This affects the implementation of FM policy. Personal experiences shape and construct the good teacher, notwithstanding the position that even the most unbiased teachers will have been constructed within a stereotypical ideal by others.

### **6.2.2 Political Correctness**

There is a body of research that looks at different notions of professionalism, different theoretical perspectives, and sometimes defines professionalism as a set of skills (Giddens, 1991). In the medical profession, doctors are assessed on professional skills, such as communication and ethical issues. In this research study, professionalism was not seen as a set of skills. A different perspective emerged. This study approached the notion of professionalism as constructed through talk, discursive work and knowledge. The teachers constructed professionalism as incorporating political correctness, emotions and neutrality.

Giddens (1991) argued that professionalism embodies core social components required for the well-being of society which are preserved by professionals. Furlong et al. (2000a) built upon Foucault's (2002) tools of historical events and time periods, to describe professionalism as a concept that embodies skills, knowledge and values of teachers, and maps teachers on a spectrum of professionalism which evolves through space and time.

The interviews with the teachers revealed that rooted within the discourse of professionalism was an overriding sense of duty to act in a manner that was politically correct. The political correctness in this situation related to teachers following and implementing government policy on FM.

By legislating on FM issues, the government is setting a publicly acceptable benchmark for methods of addressing FM and the surrounding terminology that should be used. This creates a politically correct framework for FM discussions. Foucault (1979) argued that subjects are regulated through disciplinary mechanisms. Therefore, by positioning FM within the discourse of political correctness and professionalism, the government could gain the power of regulation, surveillance, discipline and punishment over subjects, the teachers. Ofsted, the regulating body for educational institutions, monitors and records, through surveillance (classroom observations and reviewing documents), the achievements of the institution and teachers against set benchmarks and standards. The results are published through grading and league tables. Teachers feel accountable for their institution's position in the league tables. Hence this practice is associated with discourses surrounding effectiveness and productivity (Sachs, 2001). Should institutions fall below the benchmark, then disciplinary mechanisms are put into effect whereby sanctions and

special measures are imposed on the institutions that affect and reflect on the teachers' and institutions' performance. This demonstrates how teachers are influenced by what Foucault (1977b) referred to as a "normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish" (Foucault, 1977b, p. 184-5). This gaze anonymously engages teachers in a disciplinary practice of promoting FM awareness.

On a macro-level, the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017) has played a significant part in influencing what have become the dominant discourses surrounding FM, namely that FM is a South Asian, Muslim, problem. The government may have used the power of these discourses to influence policy implementation on FM, and control the whole experience (Weedon, 1997) of the training, delivery and knowledge about FM that is disseminated in schools on a micro-level.

Diya demonstrated how her training, delivery and knowledge for the FM session was affected by the dominant discourse of FM, which was incorporated into the FM materials. In the classroom session, Diya demonstrated the racial and cultural conflict that she encountered when trying to remain politically correct about the dominant discourse constructing FM as a racial (South Asian) problem. During the session she highlighted a PowerPoint slide with the top 25 worst offending countries for practicing FM. Diya emphasised that there were a lot of non-South Asian countries on the list, and many more non-South Asian countries that practices FM but were just not in the top 25 countries.

"The 25 worse countries for child marriage are on the board. And you can see, actually that is it not just concentrated in Asians. It happens in a lot of other places. There is probably a lot of other places that it happens. That are not...because they are not on the top 25 list, have not come up there. It doesn't mean it doesn't happen. I know it does happen in the Chinese culture, and it has happened in the past, it's happened in the Japanese culture...it tends to fall along more of the lines of family traditions, honour, ok..."

(Extract from observation of Diya's FM class).

Whilst delivering the materials, Diya was cautious and conscious of the image that was being portrayed of FM victims, which supported the FM dominant discourse on



race. She deliberately used her own knowledge to reconstruct the image on FM relating to race, by widening the cultures that practice FM. Diya constructed FM as a form of abuse, not a cultural or race issue. However, she chose not to share her views with the class, either in an attempt to remain neutral or because she felt uncomfortable expressing her personal views. Hence, the alternative Diya resorted to was to expand the list of cultures and countries that practiced FM.

“I think forced marriage, be it from any community, any culture, any age, I find it unethical, it's illegal. It strips us of our most basic human rights.” (Diya).

Diya highlighted the lack of training on FM and racism. The lack of understanding of FM and the emphasis on culture and religion rather than gender has fuelled the dominant discourses on FM. Diya was struggling to reject the stereotype. If FM was promoted as an issue of violence against women, the availability and accessibility of training and materials would be considerable. Diya struggled with the lack of materials and to find a counter-discourse against FM as a South Asian problem.

During the classroom session when a video clip was being played on FM, Diya came over to me and admitted how difficult she found it to find a clip where the victim is not Asian.

“[Whilst the video clip was playing Diya Whispers to TK] it's really hard to find a clip where the victim is not Asian.”

(Extract from observation of Diya's FM class).

Diya drew attention to the lack of information available on FM which did not present the FM as a South Asian problem. Diya did not feel that the materials that she had were appropriate for the session. As a South Asian woman, Diya was uncomfortable with the materials, because she did not believe FM was exclusively a South Asian problem. For Diya, wider discourses of race in which the issue of FM has been constructed in the UK became an obstacle. This created difficulties for her to find materials and a language to discuss FM in the session. A platform to discuss FM as an abuse issue and critical language to discuss it in this way was missing. Diya had a very strong position on FM as a gender and human rights issue. Due to a lack of awareness on FM, appropriate materials were not available to support Diya's position.

In the context of FM, it is the non-white, Asian, and Muslim communities that are constructed as problematic (Brah, 1996; Abbas, 2011). There is a perception that FM is only a problem relating to Muslim communities (view expressed by Marina, Liz and Ania). Their practices are seen as not emancipated, but as oppressive for women (Wilson, 2007). Diya was struggling to find a counter-discourse against this dominant discourse of FM as a South Asian problem. She wanted to be a good professional, regardless of her culture and race. It appeared that the teachers want to be seen as neutral professionals, hence they were scared and careful about taking a position. The consensus from the teachers was that if the teachers did not deliver the FM session in the method prescribed, there would be repercussions. This highlighted how implementing FM policy is another form of government surveillance or a disciplinary mechanism.

All the teachers interviewed agreed that the way forward would be to introduce FM to the national curriculum to ensure coherency and consistency to imparting knowledge on FM in the classroom. The curriculum is an important document that structures student learning and teaching processes. It contextualises the overall knowledge to be imparted to students as a foundation upon which to build their own experiences. The role of the teachers is to impartially support the syllabus on the curriculum (Davies, 2006).

Some teachers (Penny, Ed and Ania) expressed concerns that the policy approach swung from one extreme to another. Although FM has not been part on the national curriculum if, as a result of policy, it were to be embedded in the national curriculum, with an inappropriate 'one size fits all' approach, this could be problematic. This may result in fuelling further discrimination and misunderstandings of minority communities (Davies, 1990). Both Ania and Ed raised concerns that frequently addressing FM may have an adverse effect.

"But no, certainly not as a whole school thing...no, no... I guess if you did it every year, with your students, they might switch off and become desensitised to it perhaps." (Ania).

Introducing FM awareness to the national curriculum would be a further demonstration of top-down government policy operating as an instrument of power, measurable through the numbers of FM cases that are detected and prevented.

These practices would be under the surveillance (Foucault, 1979) of the local authority safeguarding officer.

Teachers do not have the right to influence how schools should be run. However, these binaries can be repositioned by reconstructing the relations of power in education (Davies, 1990). This study provided the teachers with the opportunity to find their voice and talk about their experiences of implementing FM policy and the effects that this has on their identity.

Teachers draw upon neutrality and political correctness discourses in an attempt to establish successful and positive professional identities. Individuals have a need to construct positive identities to create a sense of belonging within an organisation (Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004). This is to avoid being positioned as worthless or a troublemaker within an organisation, which could have implications for their careers, everyday life, professional lives and future (Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2011).

When asked if parents were consulted about the topic of FM being addressed with their children, Rani was definite that this was not necessary, as this was an important safeguarding issue, as opposed to information on sex education. By positioning FM within the realms of safeguarding, the government has justified removing the right from parents to opt-out of their children attending the FM session. This illustrates the power that the government possibly has to control, through regulation (safeguarding policies), the knowledge regarding FM that is released to students. This demonstrates how the government has the power to regulate knowledge and the learning process to make non-academic topics mandatory regardless of their sensitivity, biases and parents' wishes.

The phrase 'professional' carries its own burden as highlighted by Jackson (2010). Teachers are expected to behave in an impartial manner, and act professionally regardless of their personal beliefs that, in part, shape their identity. These views were echoed by Ed and Penny during their interviews.

“...you got to be careful not to influence what they are thinking because all political parties are valid. That's part of being a professional.....But at the end of the day, you are a professional, trained to do things in a certain way, with a body of knowledge at your disposal.” (Ed).

“You would hope that any bias would be left at the door. We are all professionals we all have to teach different subjects. Part of our role is to leave things like that in the staff room.” (Penny).

These two quotes illustrate an alternative unproblematic position adopted by two British, white teachers, Ed and Penny. The other teachers, such as Diya and Marina, had very strong views, hence they struggled to take a neutral, rational position. However, Ed and Penny held an alternative position. They had no qualms about presenting themselves as unbiased and neutral. Ed rejected personal knowledge in favour of the body of knowledge available. Both Ed and Penny did not struggle with their emotions, nor did they show any resistance to the dominant discourse surrounding FM. Ed and Penny maintained the British approach of not defying policy, and embraced their privileged position of correcting a troubled and problematic community.

A good teacher, from a feminist post-structural prospective, would support subjective teaching and sharing personal experiences as argued by Nias (1989), Hargreaves and Goodson (1996), Acker (1999) and O'Connor (2008). However, sharing experiences conflicts with the discourses of neutrality and political correctness. This implies that one could either be a good teacher by sharing personal experiences or practice professionalism by positioning themselves as neutral and politically correct.

In this study, Ed was glad not to share his personal beliefs around FM. He embraced the notion of polarising personal and professional views. This provides a contrasting view to a powerless individual unable to express his personal beliefs. Instead Ed appears powerful in the process, as he chooses not to engage his personal-self and can retain his privacy. In his opinion, by de-personalising the issue, discussions on sensitive topics became manageable, particularly where culture, tradition and racism are involved.

On the other hand, Diya was more comfortable uniting her personal and professional identities. She demonstrates this by openly conveying her personal experiences and knowledge through discussing, in class, the circumstances of her friend and cousin being forced into a marriage. During the interview she explained that by making personal references, this made it easier for the students to relate to sensitive issues.

Hamilton (2007) argued that teachers' multiple identities are entwined with their professional identity. The responses in the interviews mirrored this assumption. When asked if teachers were appropriately placed to address the issue of FM with young persons, the united view was 'yes', because they are professionals.

"I think it should be with us, you know, we are teachers. We don't let our opinions get in the way of our values, and we just give them knowledge and information." (Rani).

Despite the challenges discussed in this chapter, all the teachers were still of the opinion that they should be responsible for delivering information on FM. The reasons for this related to their neutral positioning in the students' lives, whereby the teachers are positioned independently from the students' families and their peers. In addition, teachers are in close, daily contact with their students. Hence, they are in a better position to observe, monitor and carry out overall surveillance of changes in the students' behaviour.

### **6.2.3 Suppressing Emotions**

Nias (1989) suggested that embedded within teachers' professionalism is a combination of their emotions, personal dedication to the students and moral purpose towards education. Some of the teachers in this study expressed nurturing and caring emotions towards the students. These emotions were positive and protective. Tess was particularly vocal about her clashes with parents as she felt that they held different levels of emotional manipulative power over their children. Tess condemned this power hierarchy and controlling behaviour that parents practiced. She described an uncomfortable situation with a father of a potential FM victim at a parents' evening. She felt frustrated and angry towards the parent during a conversation with him about the future of his daughter. Tess explained that she restrained herself from expressing her emotions to maintain professionalism, which made her feel powerless.

Teachers expressing such emotions reinforces the debate on whether teachers are best placed to deliver information on FM and police young people and their families in respect to FM. The government, as part of their mature multiculturalism/assimilation, may be perceived as having stolen power from religious leaders and communities and transferring this power to schools.

“The government had to muscle in and take control of the situation. The media was covering so many FM stories, it was getting worrying. That’s why we as teachers have to raise awareness on FM, even if it’s not our area or compulsory. It can’t be left to communities and families because they will be biased and are part of the problem.” (Diya).

A possible reason for the government transferring this power to schools to address FM in the classroom emerges from the necessity to promote multiculturalism and awareness within both national and local spaces. The connection between power and knowledge can be analysed in the context of legitimised knowledge of teachers, parents and the discursive practices promoted by the government, and indeed, who should have the power to educate. This raises concerns, as the dominant discourses surrounding FM have highlighted inequalities of gender, ethnicity, culture and religion, which are reproduced through certain educational practices (Darder, 1991; Gay, 2010).

Tess and some of the other teachers raised concerns about the lack of autonomy that they had. They felt that the heads of department had too much control. The teachers were struggling with policy implementation because they had very little autonomy and control over the FM policy implementation process.

“And I don’t want that pressure, kinda shame and guilt from anyone upstairs either. I don’t want anyone higher up, turning around and saying, well you didn’t do your job, that’s why that kid has been packed off to Pakistan, because you didn’t notice something. Like, coz is that, is that in my job description? It is my fault if the parents...[decide to force their kid in to a marriage][laugh] you know what I mean. So it’s...it’s a responsibility that I take very seriously.” (Tess).

Tess wanted to maintain the notion of the good teacher, yet she was struggling with policy and her emotions (anger and being upset) and the fear of repercussions. Teachers employ different strategies to maintain the notion of professionalism through the neutral-self and political correctness in order to construct the good teacher.

Kelchtermans (1993) highlighted teachers’ sense of vulnerability when their professional identity and moral integrity is challenged by policy, parents and

inspectors. Sutton (2000) endorsed Kelchtermans (1993) view, and argued that teachers experience a range of emotions triggered through their emotional investment as teachers. If trust and respect erode from external agencies, such as parents and the government, the emotions become negative, such as anger, sadness and frustration. Teachers often feel powerless, threatened and questioned by others, such as parents and management (Kelchtermans, 1993). Nias (1996) provided a rationale which may explain Tess's emotional state:

“Teachers feel - often passionately - about their pupils, about their professional skill, about their colleagues and the structures of schooling, about their pupils, about their dealings with other significant adults such as parents and inspectors, about the actual or likely effect of educational policies upon pupils and themselves.”

(Nias, 1996, p. 293).

In interview, Diya and Rani revealed how neutrality and political correctness hindered their emotional-self and personal knowledge on challenging the FMU materials. They feared being labelled unprofessional and felt unable to share experiences that could inform policymaking. Ultimately teachers want to develop, establish and maintain the notion of being a good teacher. The detrimental consequence of this missed opportunity could affect valuable knowledge and policy development on FM, from minority ethnic and gendered group representing experiences over time.

Nias (1989) explained how through engaging with their personal experiences, teachers enrich their identities. Strong personal experiences and emotions are valuable in shaping and constructing the teachers' self-identity. Diya expressed the importance of sharing personal experiences and felt that the students related to the information better, which enhances the teaching and learning experience.

“...I think making some form of personal references makes it easier...” (Diya).

Strong emotions, such as anger, fear and disappointment were articulated by the teachers reflecting the demands of their job and restraints of government policy. Marina and Ed expressed how additional government pressure could make them leave the teaching profession as they feared the repercussions of not detecting FM. Hargreaves (1998) explained how high expectations on teachers results in adverse effects on their identity through sacrificing their emotions. The teachers were mindful

of their emotions and managed them carefully in order to avoid being seen as politically incorrect or not neutral, because of the potential repercussions. Managing emotions may be beneficial in the workplace to promote the good, neutral and rational professional; however, this may have detrimental effects on the individual's health and well-being.

Cooper and Oslon (1996) also highlighted in their study, how emotional and personal identities can be suppressed to elevate a professional identity which:

“entails suppressing personal voice in favour of an objective and distanced voice.”

(Cooper and Oslon, 1996, p. 87).

The topic of FM held its own emotional burden for teachers as a sensitive issue. This coupled with the consequences of ineffectively implementing government policy became an emotional rollercoaster for teachers, which resulted in them suppressing their emotions. A feminist post-structural framework encourages personal experiences in the development of knowledge between the powerless and empowered (Harding, 1986). Suppressing teachers' personal intersecting and emotional identities, is equivalent to dividing and reducing the embodiment of the teachers' identity as a whole (Elbaz, 1983). Both Rani and Marina were non-emotional in the classroom. However, when talking in their personal interview, they were very emotional. This highlighted their struggles with neutrality.

### **6.3 Summary**

This chapter concludes the presentation and analysis of data for this study, which has also been discussed through the previous three chapters. The analysis has revealed that teachers perceived racial and gendered discourses as dominant in FM. Discussions unearthed that teachers' construct their personal identities through gender, race, religion and culture. The data analysis has shown how important identities constructed through gender, race, religion and culture are to teachers, and how this construction of personal identities is embedded within their teaching practices. Also highlighted were different discourses of professionalism, such as political correctness, neutrality and emotions, which have implications on teaching practices and teachers' well-being. The concluding chapter to this study will discuss



the wider implications, by contextualising the findings of this empirical study in relation to other studies.

The next chapter investigates stakeholders' perceptions of teachers and educational institutions' roles of implementing FM policy within a feminist post-structural framework.

## **CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION - Government Policy**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter is the final of four findings' chapters. In this chapter I examine three emerging themes from the data collected from the interviews with the stakeholders. The first theme relates to establishing how forced marriage (FM) is constructed by stakeholders. This assists in understanding FM within the context of professionalism. The second theme is associated with stakeholders' perceptions of teachers' roles when addressing FM. The final theme incorporates stakeholders' perceptions of schools' roles as institutions when addressing FM. The discussions will be informed by a feminist post-structural framework and related to Foucault's (1990) concepts of hierarchical power relationships between the State and institutions. This study recognises that claims made in this study by participants may not represent the views of the organisation with which they are associated.

### **7.2 Stakeholders' Construction of FM**

In chapter four it was determined that teachers' perceptions of FM were based upon racialised and gendered discourses, specifically South Asian females, which reflects the literature reviewed (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011) and the statistics in chapter one. Only one teacher, Diya, framed FM as a violation of human rights. This section explores how stakeholders construct FM.

#### **7.2.1 Who are the FM Victims? Understanding the Statistics**

The statistics surrounding FM for the past four years were presented in chapter one. Ben from the FMU claimed that FM is most prevalent amongst South Asian Muslim females. Ben offered an explanation for the figures and related them to the overall UK population. He suggested that FM is an inherited problem, cultivated and sustained by ethnic Muslim migrants to European countries, as opposed to British, or even European born Muslims. Ben explained that the FMU received calls from over 74 countries in 2015, mostly from South Asian countries, and suggested that this is due to a larger South Asian diaspora in the UK. He reiterated that the FMU's message

is that FM occurs all over the world; however he recognised that the statistics as reported do not reflect this.

“...we have a larger South Asian diaspora in the UK. Hence you are going to get a larger number of reports. But it happens in other communities as well as in other cultures...we totally agree and we articulate those messages when we deliver outreach....it is what it is...we say it is happening in other places, it's just not being reported as much as it is within South Asian countries.” (Ben).

Ben still did not make the connection that the other countries that he mentioned, Turkey and Morocco, are still majority Muslim countries, and half of Turkey is in Asia. Furthermore, Ben fails to recognise that white, non-Muslim, native European aristocrat societies have commonly practiced FM and AM for centuries. These aristocratic FM are not reported, hence are not reflected in the figures. This leads onto a discussion on how accurate these figures are, and thus the reliability of any discourses that emerge from these statistics. This also raises concerns to the power that the policymakers hold and the possibility that the statistics could be manipulated to highlight FM within a certain community to cloak the State's intervention to correct that community (Wilson, 2007).

Hina emphasised that the South Asian community is larger in the UK than the African community, hence it followed that FM will appear more prominent in the Asian community. Hina warned how the figures on FM may not be an accurate reflection of the issue within communities due to the lack of reporting in some non-Asian communities.

“...Well, I think that it just re-enforces the idea that this is a South Asian problem. It needs to be understood much more widely. To some extent that's understandable, because the South Asian communities are the largest communities compared to the African or middle-Eastern or wherever else, so you know, it's not surprising that a lot of stuff is around South Asian women. Just because that seems to be the majority grouping, we still need to be aware of the sort of issues that are happening elsewhere.” (Hina).

Hina highlighted how a non-Asian survivor of an FM that she interviewed, described how she fell into the shadows of the dominant discourses on FM, because FM is

presented as being a South Asian women's issue (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011). This Afro-Caribbean victim felt that her story was not being heard, and somehow had got buried under the issues about South Asian women, usually connected to 'honour'. Hina made the point that these negative and unhelpful discourses surrounding FM render other experiences invisible.

"I think the way that we approach it and because that there has been so much insistence from certain quarters, that FM is solely to do with honour, I think that's what is making other women's and men's experiences invisible in the process. In the wider context...I recently read a UNICEF report which said that Niger had the highest prevalence of FM. Now that is not in people's imaginations, when they are thinking about FM. I think it is clear that it is a global thing. It doesn't just happen in particular countries. It's more wide-spread than that." (Hina).

Hina challenged the dominant discourses surrounding FM by referring to a report she came across. This was a UNICEF (2015) report highlighting Niger as having the highest prevalence of FM, via early and child marriage, due to poverty. Also 700 million women were married before the age of 18, and a third of them before the age of 15 (UNICEF, 2015).

Hina positioned FM as a global issue, hence a gender issue, a women's rights issue as opposed to a South Asian, Muslim issue. The prevalent, dominant discourses are that FM is perceived and constructed as a Muslim or South Asian problem, and something that has to be resolved within the communities. Certain communities require intervention and surveillance, otherwise they are problematic for the State, that is the UK. This is discussed in more detail in the conclusion chapter. When implying and constructing FM discourses as a gender issue it becomes much more relevant to everyone within the UK and beyond. Through encompassing all women, the focus becomes resolving problems in the life of women and empowering women of all nations, races, classes, faith, cultures and sexualities. On the other hand, if FM is an issue that only affects certain communities, such as the South Asian community, then members of these communities are seen as problematic, and in need of correction. These themes coupled with discourses surrounding terrorism, fuel further hatred, anger and isolation for South Asian communities and Muslims.

### **7.2.2 How the FMU Construct FM**

There have been debates around whether the FMU is necessary (Chantler, 2012). Kiran positioned the FMU as tokenistic and not capable of challenging the legislators on FMU policy, or highlighting FM for what it is, that is gender-based violence.

“I’m not sure what the FMU do? They cannot influence policy unless they have got a critical framework in which they are working, in order to influence policy. I’m not sure that they are critical enough in terms of the work that they are doing. I have never heard from the FMU, for example, any discussion around gender violence. I have never seen them frame forced marriage as an issue of gender violence, only race or culture...what we are talking about is a state of inequality and powerlessness that victims may have.” (Kiran).

Hina and Kiran commented on how the FMU is the government's cloak for expressing racist and gender inequality sentiments, and is the protection against accusations of prejudice, whereby negative views on marginalised groups can be reasonably justified. Racism has been described as evolving as opposed to disappearing, and has, for instance, taken on the new form of Islamophobia (Siddiqui, 2013; Abbas and Awan, 2015).

Ben relayed the message regarding what appears to be the position that the FMU takes on FM, which is that it is not tolerated in the UK.

“...a lot of these children may lead different lives. So some people may have a completely different life in school, with their friends in public, and when they get home and the door is shut it's a completely different world, country, completely different language. They need to understand that in the UK, as a country as a whole, we do not tolerate some of the practices that families may propel to them, such as I am your father and I am allowed to force you into marriage.” (Ben).

Without explicitly mentioning which culture, Ben appeared to be describing a scenario where he has positioned FM within a non-white cultural setting. These ethnic minority communities are portrayed as other cultures that have migrated to the UK and imported their practices, hence failing to openly integrate into British multicultural society. Disappointingly, Ben appears to have constructed FM as a cultural issue as

opposed to a domestic violence (DV) issue. DV crosses all boundaries of faith, race, culture and gender. Through (re)constructing FM as a DV issue, the inclusion of incidents from the white and European communities will overtake incidents from those of the ethnic minority communities. The statistics in chapter one, table 1, would look very different if FM was constructed as DV. However, due to cultural expectations of the obedient and submissive wife, DV is under reported in non-white communities, so in any event the DV figures amongst white Europeans would appear higher.

Ben described how the FMU has the backing of two large government departments, the Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office. He explained how this support enables the FMU to “inform and push through policy” (Ben) based upon the knowledge and experiences that they have gathered. The power and influence that the FMU appears to have over the government in implementing policy raises concerns and trust issues about the impartiality of policies, and the dangers of a small group of people shaping national policy.

Ben explained how the FMU may have influenced legislation on the criminalisation of FM, despite the outcome of the consultation on the policy being almost equal. The decision to criminalise FM has been controversial and debates surrounding these measures are inconclusive as to whether criminalisation will help victims of FM or complicate matters further with the added burden of knowing that a family member may face imprisonment.

Ben described how the FMU disassociates FM with religion. The potential victims who call the FMU are not asked to confirm their religion. Apparently, according to Ben, the FMU presumes that no religion advocates forced marriage. However, countries are associated with a dominant practicing religion. Therefore, by default the religion of a country where FM takes place becomes associated with FM. For example, a potential victim being forced into a marriage from the Bangladeshi community will draw speculation that the person is Muslim. This is because the dominant religion associated with Bangladesh and Bangladeshi people is Islam. Ben suggested that everyone needs to know about FM, hence the position that the FMU takes on discussing FM with young people through schools as part of the PSHE classes. This blanket approach to teaching is to ensure that both potential victims and friends that could assist are equally informed. The suggestion was that FM teaching should be first delivered to students in academic year 6-7 (aged 10-11 years old) as part of the wider context of health and relationships.

It appears that the FMU has been both influential in creating FM discourses, and then has played a role in rebutting these too, which sends out an unclear and blurred message to teachers on the issue.

### **7.2.3 How Stakeholders Construct FM**

FM is still positioned as a cultural practice, in particular in South Asian communities (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011), despite the FMU appearing to disassociate FM from cultural and religious practices. Priya framed FM within culture, and described how there has been a shift within the family dynamics of the pressure applied for FM.

“I think it’s changed where it’s not just parents putting pressure on, it’s often brothers and male cousins putting pressure on, that’s the change that I have seen...Male extended involvement I’m seeing more now than ever before... where communities, have felt a need to look inwards, as they felt that the West was trying to portray them as terrorists. Or tried to integrate and found it difficult. I can see a link where parents and family have become more radicalised as a result.” (Priya).

Priya highlighted the change in gender and relationship links between the victim and the perpetrator. Traditionally the pressure has come from mothers who are seen as the gatekeepers to the family’s honour (Siddiqui, 2005; Chantler, 2012). Priya explained how this has become detrimental to Asian society through media portrayal (Versi, 2016 and 2017) leading to a negative effect on communities looking for guidance through extreme measures. Priya recognised that the government has a role to play, but rebutted the stereotypes and dominant discourses.

“...through policy, through legislation, to ensuring that there are successful prosecutions, look at the whole immigration issue, I do think that the government has a role in this. It doesn’t just affect one religious group. It crosses many different boundaries.... But not just the Muslim community at all. I think anything where a community is named and shamed because of people trying to put it down as a religious activity, which it isn’t, it’s cultural. I think people get very defensive and very upset about it from those

communities. And often it can incite racial hatred that you have to be very careful about when we are discussing it.” (Priya).

Priya rejected FM as an Islamic problem and positions FM within discourses surrounding South Asian communities (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011) constructed by the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017).

Chapter four highlighted how Diya and Rani resisted and questioned dominant discourses on FM relating to religion or culture. Diya reconstructed FM as a gendered human rights violation (Chantler et al., 2009; Siddiqui, 2013). From the stakeholders’ perspective, it appeared that Kiran and Hina considered the government to have adopted a narrow and unhelpful view of FM. They too position FM within the framework of gendered violence, and advocate for a general awareness of domestic violence to be incorporated into school lessons, which includes FM.

“I think that is where State should be supporting front-line services, early intervention and prevention work, that is where there is a huge gap. I think, you know, curriculum on early intervention and prevention should be mandatory. I think we should be discussing domestic violence, I don’t think it should specifically be forced marriage. I don’t see a need for that.” (Kiran).

Hina held similar views to Kiran on the focus that the government attached to FM, and how the government has unnecessarily categorised this as an individual concern.

“DV is not a crime. Do you know what I mean? So it’s GBH or assault or whatever it is. But it’s not a specific crime. So, I think that is what is puzzling, so why single out FM, when you don’t even have DV yet? It’s a question to ask.” (Hina).

Kiran and Hina steered away from the cultural and religious focus on FM and highlighted it for what it really is, that is gender inequality of basic human rights and violence against women. As suggested by Chantler et al. (2009) and Siddiqui (2013), this fundamental concept appears to have been overlooked by legislators, or possibly ignored to facilitate manipulation and control of particular communities.



In Kiran's opinion the media is responsible for creating negative discourses relating to Muslims, through constructing the South Asian communities, as problematic, a threat to society, risky and in need of surveillance and intervention. By specifically targeting the South Asian community in this way, this has led to the criminalising of these communities, literally, whereby legislation has been passed to this effect, such as the criminalisation of FM. This has been criticised (e.g. by Spivak, 1999; Chantler, 2012) as racism through the back door and as fuelling Islamophobia. The government has reacted to this media pressure (Versi, 2016 and 2017), resulting in the analysing of communities and behaviours that has led to legislation to control behaviours of certain communities.

"I think after 9/11 it became politically correct for the media to really, in a way exercise their biases against communities anyway and these types of issues, so if we are talking about forced marriage particularly, here, they are very easy issues, that the media and politicians, especially the Conservative politicians can use, because they don't really understand what the issues are. They can use these types of issues to target specific communities. To look at the conduct of communities to look at how communities treat women. So I think that these types of policy by government have other purposes. It's not really linked to a women's rights framework or an agenda. It's linked more to politics of colonialism and imperialism. So it's linked more to targeting specific communities. It's back door racism almost. So you target specific communities. And in a way criminalise communities. I think government in particular is interested in targeting Bangladeshi, Pakistani communities. So communities where there is a majority Muslim population. I think that is linked more to their foreign policy initiative than it is linked to any human rights framework." (Kiran).

Kiran made an interesting observation, whereby she rejected the government's intentions to curb FM as a human rights equality issue, and instead Kiran linked FM policy to foreign policy, colonialism and imperialism. Her analogy of the policy is very fitting of the countries associated with FM, that is Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. Also applicable is the divide, rule and conquer theory (Viswanathan, 2014). Britain colonised India, acquiring it as part of the British Empire, and imposed upon India its laws and policies. It then divided India up in 1947, creating Pakistan and East Pakistan (known since 1971 as Bangladesh). Kiran suggested that UK policy on FM is replicating this model now within the UK for people who originate from these

colonised countries. Furthermore, the laws, such as the numerous Anti-terrorism Acts, are supporting the media (Versi, 2016 and 2017) by fuelling Islamophobia. In the last 17 years, since 9/11, there have been eight Terrorism Acts passed in the UK. Islamophobia is also encouraged by constructing FM as a Muslim problem (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011), and causing divisions between British native communities and migrant South Asian communities, by positioning FM in one community and not the other. However, if FM was constructed as an inequality issue, it would not be targeting any one particular community, and it would instead cross the boundaries of all races, faiths, nationalities and genders. This would encourage all communities to work together and eradicate FM. However, division creates weakness and hatred between communities which may give legislators greater control and power over communities. Foucault (1990) argued that power is the aptitude to produce transformations in society or in the behaviour of individuals in order to interfere with them. Power presupposes freedom, and controls reactions by intimidation and proposing force for defiance.

“Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society.”

(Foucault, 1990, p. 93).

With FM policy it could be argued that the government is manipulating non-Asian communities to influence the South Asian communities' behaviour, in order to influence change. For example, the government encourages reporting potential FM and unusual behaviour as suspicious acts of terrorism, both targeted at the South Asian, in particular Muslim, communities. This form of policing empowers individual agency over the South Asian community, and punishes the South Asian society for disobedience by imposing criminal sanctions of imprisonment.

The language used by the Multi-agency statutory guidance (2014) on FM and Ben from the FMU indicated that it carries the 'scent' of a government institution (MacLure, 2003a, p. 82) and was created to comply with the legislation, as opposed to protecting the well-being of potential FM victims. The guidance attributes its existence in support/compliance of criminalising FM. Therefore, the government's privileged voice (MacLure, 2003a, p. 86) provides authority for the guidance. Post-structural feminists

(McNay, 1992; Weedon, 1997) have argued that the language of the guidance assumes a pre-disposition of masculine expression featured through words demonstrating power (“not tolerate” “honour” “izzat”), dismissive reasoning (“whatever reasons”) and objectivity (“all forms of violence”). This shift in focus from protection to prevention is captured by the language of the Multi-agency statutory guidance (2014), which portrays an all-inclusive, all-encompassing heroic form of prevention similar to the British State’s approach to “colonial roots” and saving people from oppression (Wilson, 2007, p. 25).

The media’s (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017) treatment of survivors of FM has become:

“...portrayed as passive victim-subjects awaiting rescue by the British State.”

(Harding, 2000, cited in Gill and Anitha, 2009b, p. 179).

Razack (2004) highlighted how the government deflected attention by using the smokescreen of the events of 9/11 to subject Muslim men to surveillance, stigmatisation and control. These discourses are reproduced to control FM perpetrators. Spivak (1999) and Wilson’s (2007) visual imagery portrayed the government’s position as the white saviour knight of the West, duty bound to fend off the dark barbaric Muslim man. The government escaped being branded racist by introducing surveillance and control through criminalising practices.

Discourses on FM can be reconstructed by realigning the language and terminology used. Priya highlighted the importance of language and how this can empower individuals or hinder progress. One of the concerns raised by Priya was terminology and labelling. The police first referred to ‘honour killing’ in the case of Yones (2007) when the murder took place in 2002. Priya felt that part of raising awareness was also correcting misguided terminology. She specifically asked me to refer to Yones’s (2007) case, and those similar in nature as ‘dishonour killings’, as there was no honour in abuse and murder. Siddiqui (2005) argued that the use of honour legitimises murder and violence in the name of honour. The concept of honour in white British society is positioned as a positive aspect yet, when positioned within BME communities, honour holds negative and violent connotations (Gill and Anitha, 2011). These different strands of diversity operate in the complex nexus of power,

privilege and disadvantages (Holvino, 2010; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012; Tsouroufli, 2016), as discussed in chapter three, that ultimately underpins the notion of racial inequalities.

Ben and Hina highlighted consent as a discourse central to understanding FM. Ben described his understanding of consent as 'black and white'. This definitive approach to FM and knowledge construction in this area is based upon his African, Christian background as a man living in the UK and working for the FMU. In contrast, Hina considered consent as a grey area, and she constructs her knowledge and truths surrounding FM based upon her experiences of academic debate and her background as a female Asian scholar, prominent in FM research. This research considered the data from both participants as equally important in forming knowledge and truths relating to FM.

From a black feminist perspective, the inequalities that relate to consent transpire from gendered and racial inequality, whereby an ethnic woman's right to consent to a marriage is suppressed through parental control and tradition. This is identified through the data and constructed in the literature review (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011), see chapter two. As this study is informed by a feminist post-structural framework, it is also necessary to conceptualise the wider discourses in operation in the wider society. Chantler and Gangoli, (2011) described consent as conceptualising an important part of marriage in the Western world.

This section has explored how stakeholders constructed FM. The findings appear to demonstrate that Ben and Priya positioned FM as a criminal act against British society, and constructed FM within a South Asian cultural setting. Yet, confusingly, Ben was also adamant that FM is not a religious, Muslim, problem. In contrast, Kiran and Hina constructed FM as gender inequalities of basic human rights and violence against women. They rejected FM as a cultural (South Asian) and religious (Muslim) issue, and suggested this negative image is a media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012; Versi, 2016 and 2017) portrayal of FM.

The next section considers the government's expectations of teachers disseminating policy information on FM.

### **7.3 Stakeholders' Perception of Teachers' Roles in Implementing Policy Against FM**

As part of the data collected, I had the pleasure of interviewing Hina, a renowned author and researcher on FM, but also a college lecturer on FM. She was able to provide an insight on the government's perception of teachers' roles on FM as she had been working closely on advising the government on FM issues and policies. She also shared her views on the teacher's role of implementing FM policy from her stakeholder's role, as an established researcher in this field.

Hina was highly critical of UK legislation on FM and has worked on major pieces of research in this area. Hina contributed to a report that concluded that age was not a deciding factor in FM and that applying a blanket approach to immigration control would breach human rights and not prevent or deter FM. The government chose to ignore the finding and recommendations in this report and continued to frame FM as an immigration problem and positioned it within marriage migration. The age limit to enter the UK as a non-EEA spouse was raised in November 2008 from 18 to 21. Chillingly the report was suppressed and only came to light when an immigration barrister, Colin Yeo, made a Freedom of Information request to the Home Office, requesting that the report be released into the public domain. By suppressing the report, the government demonstrated the power (Foucault, 1980b) it has to press ahead with policies that are not in the public's interest, but that work towards the government's possible agenda of privileged cultural assimilation (Siddiqui, 2000).

The case of Quila (2011) (discussed in section 1.3) challenged the new age limit in the European Courts of Justice (ECJ) on the basis of discrimination and won. The arguments made in the case of Quila (2011) included descriptions of the law being insane, unethical and endorsing double standards Quila (2011). The law was reversed in 2011.

Hina viewed FM through intersectionality and explained how this allowed her the opportunity to introduce other factors. She predominately used her personal identity to achieve this. She used her South Asian culture as a framework to build upon and advance to other intersections, like DV in minority communities and unequal power relationships. However, Hina harboured concerns that sexist and racist messages may emerge from intersecting gender-based violence and ethnicity. This method of

intersecting identities, worryingly, continues to represent FM as a part of culture, rather than along a spectrum of gender-based violence.

Hina described how she facilitated FM workshops for schools and applied Freire's concept of theatre and role play. Hina explained how this effective method was both successful and welcomed by the students and teachers. The students were aged between 14-16 years old, and this interactive approach allowed the young people to engage and make their own connections. Likewise, an outside agency addressing FM reduced the pressure and burden on teachers to attempt discussing an issue that they lacked knowledge about and were uncomfortable tackling.

Hina explained the feedback received on the workshops was positive and confirmed that teachers preferred such methods involving outside agencies as facilitators in raising awareness of FM. Hina also highlighted the teachers' lack of awareness of FM guidance and policy that I also captured through the teachers I interviewed (see chapter five).

"...it was really good and the training they had was really valued because there was a survivor of FM involved in that training. She told her own story as well. As she is quite public about it, she was taken to Pakistan when she was 13 and forced into marriage there. So, 13 is an age, where it should ring alarm bells for professionals, teachers, because they are going to be in the frontline. They will notice stuff, you know, should be noticing stuff. But they don't, according to the evaluations. They liked the...programme because it was an outside agency with expertise coming in. They did not feel that they had in-house expertise to actually be aware of what they should be looking out for. Many teachers I don't think knew about the multi-agency guidance, the statutory guidelines." (Hina).

Hina highlighted how the feminist approach of sharing life stories and experiences is a powerful and effective teaching and learning tool for addressing FM. Hina clearly held an expectation from teachers to possess the ability to detect a potential FM candidate in their early teens, purely because of the exposure teachers have to children at this age. Her frustration and doubt of teachers' actual admission of awareness and their ability to detect potential victims was evident from her positioning of teachers. Hina first constructed teachers as gatekeepers of knowledge and detection on FM by suggesting in her quote above that they "will notice". Hina then

repositioned teachers' roles to observers "should be noticing". Hina concluded by positioning teachers as oblivious "but don't notice according to the evaluations."

Hina also commented on the teachers feeling uncomfortable about addressing an unfamiliar subject when they did not view themselves as holding the appropriate knowledge, hence welcoming an external body to lead. This echoed the views of Marina, Liz and Ania, three non-Asian teachers that I observed and interviewed for this study. They too were concerned about their lack of knowledge on FM and consequences of their failure to detect it amongst their pupils.

Five of the teachers I interviewed had not heard of the Multi-agency guidelines (2014), and the other three only came to hear of it as a result of this research study. To assist teachers in detecting and preventing FM, the government (FMU) has created on-line materials (discussed in the literature review). Ironically, none of the teachers that I interviewed, nor Hina and Kiran, had seen the e-learning training resources. The teachers were not even aware of the e-learning resources, despite the materials being aimed at and produced for them.

Despite this successful workshop, positive feedback from teachers and students, the government refused to support Hina's workshops. This demonstrated the challenges teachers have in securing funding, and the unaccountable power and control (Foucault, 1990) that the government has in supporting and opposing projects, even when the concept is popular amongst the educational institution and beneficiaries (students). The government appeared to be positioning teachers within the boundaries of professionalism, yet influencing the teaching pedagogy to suit their own agenda.

Ben explained how the FMU's focus is to raise FM awareness in schools. This initiative, taken on by Hina, was an ideal outreach opportunity for the FMU to collaborate with and expand upon. Hina is an authoritative figure, who has immersed herself in the world of research on FM, yet her extensive knowledge and experience of cases involving FM has been ignored by the government.

### **7.3.1 The Charities: Is it my Job or Yours?**

In contrast to Hina's and Ben's views, Kiran advocated against teachers addressing FM in schools and gave two reasons for her views. She considered teachers too

engaged with other matters to adequately address FM. She also cited teachers' lack of knowledge and training on FM and DV as a reason. Kiran highlighted how DV and sexual harassment are evolving and the difficulties that teachers have in keeping up with new issues, such as grooming, sexting (sending sexually explicit mobile text messages and pictures) and the vulnerability that young people have generally in terms of internet exposure.

Kiran explained the dangers of schools addressing FM that she had come across in practice, whereby FM and DV were confused and distorted and presented as the same issue. Kiran presented her charity as offering a complete package of knowledge, advice and support on FM. This allowed self-identification to take place which she described as very critical to the empowerment process.

In chapter five, teachers described the pressures of teaching and the impact of making teachers prevention and detection points for FM. Kiran recognised these pressures and echoed the concerns raised by teachers. This created a shift towards the teachers' personal identity and revealed their emotional-self (Zembylas, 2003b).

“So teachers are very vocal about how they can refer to our organisation. Not so much about what they can do to take the problem on, because teachers have a lot on their plate. We know from the work that we do around domestic violence and safeguarding that a lot of the indicators of domestic violence are missed in the schools. So to expect teachers to know this is what this problem looks like, these are the indicators and this is what I am going to do, it's a lot on...in terms of teacher responsibility. I think you can have a much more effective response through collaborate working with organisations like ours.”  
(Kiran).

Kiran described the teachers' role as evolving, and having to shoulder new and further responsibility, as imposed by the government. The government is, in effect, taking responsibility away from society in general to communities and individuals, hence the adverts to report suspicious neighbours. In FM cases, the government has shifted the responsibility to teachers and other professionals (doctors and social workers). This has encouraged a new role to emerge whereby teachers have the dual role of policing through having the responsibility to detect FM. Teachers in this study have resented this role, for it raises ethical and professional concerns (see chapter six). However, overwhelmingly, teachers described how, with such roles, comes pressure and stress



which clearly impacts on their health, well-being and the emotional self. Teachers are under pressure to play a role, which they never agreed to, which is clearly cast upon them without their consent. These negative emotions make them reject this new academic identity, of part teacher/part detective. This discourse of teachers' responsibility and why FM has become teachers' responsibility to detect is discussed in chapter six.

Domestic Violence is a sensitive issue and tackling DV may take an emotional toll. The literature presented an inconclusive view of how this forms part of teachers' responsibility and their academic identity, if at all. Horsman (2006) discussed the effects of violence on women and their attempts to enter education. Horsman (2006) also explored the perception teachers have of their own role, and their expectations and assumptions about the requirements of good educational practice. "But I'm not a therapist" (Horsman, 2006, p. 178) was the response that Horsman (2006) encountered from the teachers, when she spoke to teachers about violence affecting learning. Here, the teachers' responsibility discourse revealed a clear distinction in attitudes towards the work of a therapist and a teacher relating to the aftermath of violence. The perception was that emotions should not be dealt with in the classroom but in a therapy session, thus there is no need for teachers to learn counselling skills. In contrast, Lines (2007) disagreed with Horsman's (2006) findings, and argued that the teacher's role consisted of responsibilities akin to a counsellor to support students, and create a safe learning environment (discussed further in section 7.4.2).

Kiran and Hina opposed the government's policy of singling out FM as an individual matter. Kiran viewed FM as part of a package consisting of other issues surrounding gendered violence that have evolved with the fluidity and passage of time (Foucault, 2002) such as sexting.

Kiran described the programme that her charity has in place to assist schools in addressing FM for students aged 8-11. The programme is all inclusive of gendered violence and FM without isolating the issues. Kiran's aim is to reconstruct FM as a problem about violence, not a particular ethnic group or religion. Her views were that the message on FM would be far more effective if FM was discussed as part of a programme about violence and the rights of women, reflecting FM as a gender issue.

Kiran and Priya had different views about how FM should be discussed and tackled in different programmes, but also about what position the government should take.

Kiran firmly believed that teachers cannot remain impartial when delivering information on FM in the classroom. She contributed this to media (Versi, 2016 and 2017) influences and dominant discourses of prejudices against certain communities, which result in policies being presented in a similar way. For example, FM is presented as a South Asian and Muslim problem. The teachers will have to expose this, which will then resonate in the classroom teaching. To combat this image, FM has to be presented as an equality issue.

Priya held opposing views to Kiran; in her opinion schools should address FM supported by charities like hers. Her rationale for this blanket approach captures not only potential victims of an FM but also friends of potential FM victims. Hence everyone is educated regarding the signs of an FM even though it might not affect a student directly, thereby providing another form of detection. Priya explained that most teachers are comfortable to work alongside her charity to address FM. Her charity also produces information packs and posters for schools approved by the FMU. Priya's approach, which the teachers were more comfortable with, was to focus on constructing FM as a criminal offence, and not to specifically view the issue as gender inequalities or violence. Hence Priya's views were opposite to those of Kiran.

Hina also addressed the discourses around the reluctance of teachers to intervene, which is illustrated in the response by Ed (see section 4.4).

"I think up until now, teachers, like other professionals, have viewed forced marriage as a purely cultural issue, therefore...they don't want to be seen as racist basically and intervening in people's lives, because apparently to be called racist is far worse than to protect someone." (Hina).

Hina acknowledged the growing pressures on teachers in their ever-expanding role. These concerns were also highlighted by the teachers in chapter six. Hina described how preventing terrorism is now included within the parameters of the teachers' role. She questioned the practicalities of monitoring students in the era of the internet and social media, and the breach of privacy and ethics this entails. Ben dismissed these pressures and stated that teachers are professionals and it is part of their job. He related teachers' duty to safeguard children to professionalism, which is explored in section 7.4.1. However, in contrast to Hina's views, the government has expressed how moral blindness is no excuse to avoid intervention (O'Brien, 1999, p. 1 - see section 1.3).

The next section explores the overarching responsibility of the educational institutions in interpreting and delivering FM policy.

#### **7.4 Stakeholders' Perception of Schools' Roles as Institutions in Implementing Policy Against FM**

The government has specified (HM Government Multi-agency Statutory Guidance for dealing with FM, 2014) that educational providers have a role to play in detecting and preventing FM. This section investigates why the government had constructed this role for schools and colleges, and the teachers' responses to this positioning. Lee considered the government's justification for the intervention on the issue of FM by education providers by pointing out that there is a need:

“...to recognise that family may be the driving force behind forced marriage, so cannot rely on it being addressed in the home....The government believes that schools are best placed to identify their pupils' needs and make suitable provision in the curriculum, and does not believe that it should be compulsory for all schools to cover this particular issue.” (Lee).

Lee explained that the government placed the responsibility for addressing FM with the teachers. This allowed the government to control and dictate the message and image of how FM should be perceived. Hina suggested a method of government intervention that was aligned to their policy of prevention and detection of FM. Ironically, this was the successful programme that Hina led and the government refused to fund. Hina described how the interactive student role has a great impact on the students' ability to absorb and retain information, in contrast to a short session in PSHE, which the teacher is under pressure to deliver.

Safeguarding discourses provide a safety-net used by teachers when discussing how FM should be tackled in the classroom. This discourse is explored further in the next section and compared to the government's perception on safeguarding.

##### **7.4.1 Safeguarding**

Ben suggests that the FMU frames FM within the realms of safeguarding to distance the concept of FM from religion and culture. Crenshaw (1991) recognised such policy difficulties:

“In the context of violence against women, this elision of difference in identity politics is problematic, fundamentally because the violence that many women experience is often shaped by other dimensions of their identities, such as race and class.”

(Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1242).

The stakeholders interviewed suggested that the FMU had framed FM within safeguarding responsibilities for schools, to decrease their fears of intervening in FM situations and justify this as being part of the teachers' role. Ben's perception was that teachers' moral responsibility, as part of their professional responsibility, entailed safeguarding a child at risk, regardless of the teachers' personal views on FM. He suggested that the government's role should be directive, not instructive, in order to assist schools with tackling FM, which he perceived as a child protection matter.

Kiran discussed the pitfalls of considering FM from a safeguarding point of view. She was adamant that this should be reconceptualised and presented as a DV issue. Kiran explained that safeguarding and DV were entwined, and households where DV exists, are likely to have a child present. She urged that the government should acknowledge this link. She explained that often in safeguarding issues the focus is on adults and the voices of young people are suppressed.

When asked how FM should be addressed in schools, the response from a representative of the Department of Education was:

“...they [the schools] need to safeguard pupils from this as from any other form of abuse – identifying girls at risk and taking appropriate action. This is addressed in statutory safeguarding guidance for schools, *Keeping Children Safe in Education*, which was updated in April 2014, and is also covered in the good practice guidelines updated in summer 2014.” (Lee).

Lee echoed the comments made by Ben, whereby FM was positioned as a safeguarding issue, which is understandable, given that they were both government employees.

#### **7.4.2 Whose Space is Safe?**

All the teachers interviewed in this study agreed that schools are a safe space to explore and discuss matters relating to FM. However, what amounted to a safe space became a contentious issue amongst the stakeholders. Kiran did not consider schools to be a safe space to discuss FM, whereas Ben and Priya did believe that schools were a safe space.

The issue of what is a safe space is complex. In particular what does this mean to young people? Safe spaces are reserved for discussion about sensitive topics. The key components can be narrowed down to a place which offers confidential discussion and information or workshops around FM. All participants interviewed drew upon the discourse of safe space. The suggestion was that the children need a safe space to discuss the issue of FM. Hargreaves (1998) argued that teachers were eager to ensure that a safe, secure and caring environment was created for the students.

Okin (1999) presented the home as being the setting of culture and practices. It is home where cultures are preserved and transferred to young persons. During the interviews, home was quickly ruled out as the safe place to address concepts relating to FM. However, there was some contention as to what amounted to safe space and where this safe space existed. Not all participants agreed that it was at school. Hina believed that a community infra-structure was required as a safe space for young persons to discuss issues like FM. However, as community centres and other organisations are having their funding cut, it follows that these safe spaces are decreasing and diverting matters back to schools.

Kiran believed it is charities like hers that create safe space, as there are trained workers and no expectations from peers or colleagues to behave in a particular manner. She explained how students perceive school as a place to be 'cool', not a place to share home life experiences. It may be naïve of the government to expect young people to open up and speak about personal issues in an environment where they see the same teachers and peers every day and their 'business' will be 'out there' with a greater risk of exposure.

Ben, Lee and some of the stakeholders have suggested that schools are safe spaces to discuss FM. However, Kiran argued, that to some extent, the government itself has

contaminated this safe space by imposing upon schools and teachers the role of policing and detecting FM. Therefore, the school is no longer an impartial place. It may also be naïve of the government to assume that by providing the information to young people on FM at school, in a short classroom session, will resolve the FM issue.

Finally, the next section focuses on the future of dealing with FM awareness.

## **7.5 The Way Forward with Tackling FM**

All the stakeholders and teachers interviewed agreed that the way forward would be to incorporate FM into the national curriculum. This would not necessarily be by itself but as part of a wider range of gender-based violence issues. Priya encouraged FM to be discussed in the national curriculum alongside FGM.

“I think FM should be part of the national curriculum. Kids should know about FGM and domestic abuse as well. It should be an area they learn about and know what they can and can't do. Know what their rights are in case they encounter it.... We have book readings and we give out books, we also have the lesson plans. It is not just confined to PSHE, it's also looked at in religious education” (Priya).

Priya's charity adopted a holistic approach to FM, by incorporating a freedom song, book exchanges and lesson plans about FM. Surprisingly Priya supported FM being discussed as part of religious studies, especially since this defeated the purpose that the FMU were adamant to resist, that is associating FM with religion.

Kiran expanded on Priya's views and was particular about the importance of the context, discourses and knowledge being shared in the classroom on FM. Kiran felt that the government were addressing peripheral issues such as the age criteria, when the root causes of the problem, that is gendered inequalities, gendered violence and patriarchy, were being neglected and overlooked.

“The reason why you are not addressing the FM issue is because by looking at the age criteria, you are not looking at the root problem. The root problem is women's inequality, being patriarchy, as an institution, not just what's practised in, let's say, in a country like Pakistan, but here in this country. So

you have to look at violence against women, in terms of what causes violence against women in order to address the problem of violence against women. So by looking at it as a forced marriage problem, you are not addressing the forced marriage problem, because you are taking it out of context, and then you have applied a criteria to it which is age. That's not really addressing the problem, so that's why I don't believe that you can address any issue around gender violence by introducing these types of policies." (Kiran).

Patriarchy has affected all women irrespective of their gender, class, race, ethnicity and sexuality, in different ways. Until FM is constructed as a gender issue, and grounded historically, politically and socially, the battle against FM is unlikely to be won. Kiran was clear that the way forward is for discourses surrounding FM to be deconstructed from a cultural concept centred on age, and reconstructed as a gender inequality issue.

Ben perceived the way forward with addressing FM was twofold. Firstly, FM should be embedded within safeguarding issues, so all professionals working with children are aware of how to deal with FM cases. Secondly, families should reconstruct their ideology surrounding marriage. This would encourage open discussions amongst family members, and the recognition of healthy traditions like arranged marriages (AM), with a distinction made between these and FM.

"FM is a safeguarding issue, it's a child protection issue, a public protection issue...and each individual body has their role to play, in overall safeguarding that individual.... So unfortunately, it might be, yes, it is using a sledge hammer, but you know what, if it's for the long-term protection and safeguarding of that child, then those are the approaches we need to do...Families need to realise that there is a conversation to be had. There are traditions that families like to keep, that I respect from the background that I come from. At the same time acknowledging that arranged marriages is the way forward, individuals should be able to choose who they want to be with, and to uphold those traditions and practices, not forced marriage. So families understand why the law has been introduced, and amend their ways appropriately and then give these young people the opportunity to choose the people they want to be with." (Ben).

Ben constructed FM as a safeguarding issue and safeguarding issues arise as a result of forms of abuse. However, Ben appeared to overlook that in colleges and universities the safeguarding responsibilities are less stringent as students are over 16 or 18 respectively. Ben suggested reconstructing the knowledge and understanding of potential FM victims' families. His vision of guiding families back onto the path of tradition and suggesting some practices as acceptable, such as an AM could be perceived as controlling non-British traditions.

Hina was much more sceptical about the way forward for FM awareness. She considered reconceptualising the approach towards FM. Hina suggested that a practical starting point was to reconstruct the relationship between parent and child. This entailed reviewing how a parent and child communicate, and removing hierarchical barriers and controlling behaviours. This allowed more understanding and discussion-based conversations, with marriage as the focal point, not tradition, respect or honour.

Hina supported Kiran's cause for more charity funding not policy. In Hina's opinion the government has crossed the boundary with excessive power and control through policy intervention, yet failed to counter austerity measures. Hina also suggested repositioning discourses surrounding FM by conceptualising it as part of a marriage and relationship session. This assisted with repositioning negative discourses around FM to focus on the real issue of gender inequalities as opposed to its cultural connotations.

Hina explained that as an academic, she felt very sensitive and aware of how she might have been perceived, or her ideas misinterpreted. She was aware of the assumptions that people might have made about her, because she is an Asian woman. Sometimes young people, parents and others will make assumptions about teachers. It might be because a particular teacher has a certain faith, hence she is perceived as having certain religious values. The discussion in section 5.4 demonstrated how identities can be assigned (through the eyes of others) or claimed (self-constructed) (Duff and Uchida, 1997). This illustrates how one is perceived, because of one's, gender, class and ethnicity. An Asian teacher might be perceived as prejudiced, because she might consider it appropriate for a girl to marry without her consent being obtained, because of her Islamic faith. These unhealthy perceptions have implications for both teaching and how the issue of FM are



perceived. More importantly it defines how relationships are constructed and choices around disclosure of personal information and experiences are made.

This imposed a further challenge to the already complex issue of FM. In section 7.4.2 the complexities of determining a safe space to discuss FM was explored. However, young people have difficulties in discussing these issues as they are personal, social, linked to relationships, and a number of emotions that they experience within the family, British society and beyond. The additional challenge of finding the right teacher to disclose personal issues further complicates matters for the students, but also highlights the prejudices that teachers experience in their everyday lives. This may simply relate to their ethnicity, or a hijab (head-scarf) that they might wear or the accent that they might have. These are further issues around FM and the disclosure of FM which are extremely sensitive. In chapter six, the discussions around the neutral professional are drawn to a conclusion by acknowledging that personal experiences shape and construct the professional teacher. This is notwithstanding the position that even the most unbiased teachers' image will have been constructed within a stereotypical ideal by others.

Hina used herself as a role model to demonstrate the dominant discourses surrounding FM (South Asian, female and Muslim) and dispersed the stereotypes through her teaching. Hina worked from the students' perspective, recognising that the concept of FM may be alien to some students and she tried to relate FM to their experiences.

However, Hina recognised that some academics are uncomfortable about addressing FM in the classroom, and would prefer external bodies to deliver the FM sessions. This way both the teachers and students are learning simultaneously. A similar pattern emerged through the data collected with the teachers, which was explored in chapter six. Penny was slightly uncomfortable delivering the FM session, but felt a sense of accomplishment through learning with the students.

The recognition of stereotypes are important in the implementation of policy, to ensure that information is transmitted and received in the manner that it is intended without distortion. This means acknowledging that the distortion may be from the recipient (student) as opposed to from the messenger (teacher). Stereotypical assumptions will be made about teachers. A young person might want to talk about FM, but they might not want to talk to this teacher because she is white (race related issues) and will not

understand, or to that teacher who wears a hijab because she is a strict Muslim (religious related issues). However, until such prejudices and stereotypes that exist within the British multicultural society are resolved, progression to curb FM will be lengthy and onerous.

## **7.6 Summary**

Honour crimes and FM are associated with Islamic identities (Meetoo and Mirza, 2007). Post 9/11, we are living in a climate of Islamophobia and anti-Muslimism (Abbas, 2007; Gill and Brah, 2014). Issues such as FM are in danger of being hijacked by racists (Siddiqui, 2003). What is required is the reconceptualisation of culture from a hierarchical power to equal societies. This would assist in aligning the government's and teachers' discourses on FM and may reduce the impact of teachers' repositioning their identities as a result of policy implementation.

Tensions between education and dealing with policy demands exist for teachers on a daily basis. Expanding teachers' responsibilities to detection and prevention points for FM is just another burden for teachers' academic identity. Teachers struggle to have their voice heard in this process of producing and transforming policy and pedagogy practices of detecting and preventing FM. The study revealed that this lack of consultation in shaping FM policy does cause teachers to shift and negotiate their personal and professional identities, whereby teachers' personal identities are suppressed and professionalism (political correctness) prevails. An effective solution would be for the government to utilise teachers' knowledge and teaching practices on FM to align their discourses on FM issues and reproduce agreed methods of preventing and detecting FM. This system of consultation and inclusion would be aligned to a feminist post-structural framework which welcomes the contribution and experiences of minority groups, in this case BME women teachers, to the FM detection and prevention process. This would also re-address the imbalanced views currently dominated by middle-aged, European, white male parliamentarians on FM policy.

Furthermore, until stereotypical expectations of professionals by young people are managed, this too will hinder the progression of facilitating the disclosure of FM to certain teachers, based upon their gender, ethnicity, religious, sexuality or culture. Valuing people (O'Toole, 2007) and involving teachers and students in the policy-making process promotes a better understanding of the statutory requirements and

optimizes the success of the policy being implemented. This also creates a better relationship between the teachers, students and the government.

Ball (1994), MacLure (2003b) and Foucault (1980a) argued that ultimately power, knowledge, truth and subjectivity are interlinked through discourse. This chapter has demonstrated the workings of power at a micro-politics level to help facilitate social justice and change. The consultation of management at a localised level can both empower and transform the educational institution, by redistributing autonomy and valuing relationships (Foucault, 1977b; Ball, 1994; Benjamin, 2002; O'Toole, 2007).

This chapter has examined the impact of making teachers prevention and detection points for FM, and whether schools are best placed to address FM in the classroom. The next chapter draws together the conclusions reached by this study, discusses the limitations and identifies opportunities for further research.

## **CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS**

### **8.1 Introduction**

This final chapter concludes by summarising the findings in relation to the research questions, addressing the limitations, making recommendations and suggesting directions for further research studies in relation to teachers' identities when implementing forced marriage policy. It also considers the effect the thesis has had on the professional practice and identity of its author.

This research set out to investigate teachers' experiences of addressing FM in the classroom, and whether teachers had to negotiate their personal and professional identities when addressing this culturally constructed and sensitive issue.

There were three main themes that emerged when FM was addressed in the classroom by the teachers. Firstly, there was the construction of FM by teachers as a racial and gendered issue. Secondly, there were the intersecting identities of the teachers which they constructed as professional and personal (cultural, religious, racial and gendered). The teachers in this study strived to become the 'good teacher' which they associated with professionalism. The teachers constructed professionalism around discourses of political correctness, neutrality and emotions. The third theme relates to the implications of these identities in the implementation of FM policy. For some teachers, the negotiation of the personal and the professional was a challenging issue. This final chapter contextualises the findings of this study within wider discourses of policy and other studies.

### **8.2 Revisiting the Research Questions**

In order to conclude, it is necessary to revisit the research questions. The overarching question created for this research was:

"What are the experiences of teachers in a secondary school when addressing in the classroom the issue of forced marriage?"

To complement and support this question, and in order to achieve the objectives for the research, the following sub-questions were posed:

1. What discourse(s) do teachers draw upon, reject and negotiate when addressing in the classroom the issue of forced marriage?
2. How do teachers negotiate the intersection of their personal and professional identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom?

The findings that emerged from the data support the view that teachers have multiple professional and personal (racial, gendered, cultural and religious) identities that shift with the introduction of new tasks and responsibilities. This study has highlighted that the teachers were struggling with the introduction of the FM policy. The introduction of the FM legislation (Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act, 2014), for which many teachers were not consulted, has posed new tasks, new responsibilities, and has created challenges, professionally, personally and emotionally for teachers. Policy implementation is never a straightforward process, and there will be resistance to change (Sannino, 2010). This study has illustrated how dominant discourses are reproduced, for example, FM being a South Asian, Muslim problem (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011). For this study, Foucault's (1980a) concept of power, knowledge and dominant discourses was utilised to understand the processes through which teachers position themselves in the implementation of FM policy. This provided a useful tool in recognising and understanding teachers' practices when they resisted and reproduced dominant discourses. Therefore, this study rejects the discourse of the neutral teacher (Baxter 2008; Hughes and Cohen 2010).

Some of the teachers in this study felt uncomfortable when they were asked to teach about FM. They considered that their intersecting personal identities were being challenged, as they did believe that FM was religiously and culturally based. Nevertheless, they had to remain neutral and politically correct in their delivery of the FM session. Other teachers resisted the racial and gendered dominant discourses of FM, and tried to present FM as a human rights violation. The remaining teachers were unsure of how to approach the FM issue and decided to remain 'politically correct' by focusing on the fact that FM is now a criminal offence.

The findings of this study demonstrated how teachers' multiple and emotional identities influenced how teachers delivered and implemented FM policy. In particular, teachers drew upon their racial and gendered identities that transpired through

discourses of professionalism and political correctness. The discourse of political correctness emerged throughout the data strongly. This was underpinned by fear from the teachers of being labelled racist and sexist, and constructed as politically incorrect, unprofessional and a bad teacher. Chantler et al. (2009) and Siddiqui (2013) reported similar findings in their FM and HBV studies. In this way the study illuminated the experiences of the teachers when tackling in the classroom the issue of forced marriage, it identified the discourses that were drawn upon and rejected and it showed how teachers negotiate the intersection of their personal and professional identities. Thus, it fully addressed the main and the sub-questions.

### **8.3 Contextualising the Findings**

It is known from existing literature (e.g. Nias, 1989; Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996; Zembylas, 2003a) that teachers have different and multiple personal and professional identities. These identities have implications for how teachers deliver their teaching on issues relating to FM.

This study focused on teachers' identities through the lens of implementing FM policy. This context emerged from a new legal framework which criminalised FM. This study also highlights interesting issues about how policy brings to the forefront dominant discourses that are reproduced, relating to FM being a South Asian problem. The government's opacity on the FM issue is conflicting and contradictory, and provides the government with a double-edged sword. The government is able to correct and monitor the South Asian, in particular Muslim, communities whilst criminalising FM and, at the same time, appearing to address the issue (Chantler, 2012; Siddiqui, 2013).

Saha (2012) observed how FM and Honour Based Violence (HBV) are constructed as intertwined, barbaric South Asian cultural practices (Chantler, 2012), by both the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012) and Western society (Wilson, 2007). Through legislation, the government has attempted to frame FM and HBV as violations of human rights (Eshareturi, Lyle and Morgan, 2015). However, the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, delivered a speech at the Munich security conference setting out his view on radicalisation, Islamic extremism and justifying the introduction of criminalising FM:

“....equally unacceptable views or practices come from someone who isn't white; we've been too cautious frankly - frankly, even fearful - to stand up to them. The failure, for instance, of some to confront the horrors of forced marriage...”

(Cameron, 2011).

This suggests that FM and HBV are a non-white cultural and race problem. The government's blurry and inconsistent positioning on FM becomes problematic by creating confusion for teachers in how to manage the implementation of FM policy, which became apparent in this study. Should it be based on race and culture, or breaches of human rights? In this study the teachers were split on the issue. Despite the government directing that FM awareness needs to be addressed in schools, the implementation of policy and strategies for doing this are not transparent.

As a result of the government singling out practices and creating legislation to curb FM, teachers have been drawn into the implementation process. The government is making teachers responsible for policing young people. This places teachers under surveillance and makes them accountable for the government's policy implementation strategies and the outcome. However, this study illustrates that teachers are not equipped with the tools to address cultural practices, nor are they given the safe space within the schools, where teachers can explore their ideas, perform their identities, or express and perform different identities. This supports the view that policy implementation is not a straightforward process. Teachers need a sense of belonging within the process for their own self-confidence, self-esteem and well-being (Nias, 1989; Hargreaves, 1994; Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2005; Alam and Husband, 2006). Providing a safe platform for teachers curbs their anxieties and fear of repercussions. Hence this reduces the chances of teachers rejecting and resisting policy implementation. Whilst Islamophobia and discourses surrounding 'Asianness' (Saha, 2012) remain the focus of government policy, teachers will be defaulted into the process of policy implementation and surveillance that targets specific cultural groups from school age.

Throughout this study, it has emerged that certain ideas and discourses of FM being gendered and racial are reproduced. Arguably, the government uses its power through policies to change public attitudes, but also to police certain communities. The move to criminalise FM has intensified debates on the alienation of the South Asian communities. The FM criminalisation law appears to be aimed at controlling the

Muslim communities whose ideologies around marriage, relationships, tradition and consent are perceived as a threat to white British Society (Shariff, 2012). This intervention, correctness and assimilation approach by white societies has featured throughout colonisation (Wilson, 2007) and has subtly filtered into UK policy through immigration border policing (Sabbe et al., 2014) and now internal policing of policies by educational institutions and teachers. The data illustrate concerns that teachers had about taking on this task of policing FM in schools and the repercussions of failing to detect and prevent FM.

From a feminist post-structural perspective, it became apparent how some gendered, racial and cultural practices have been misunderstood and considered to be oppressive, when in fact they provide agency to some women. For example, for some women to preserve honour enhances a woman's worth, and does not limit agency as perceived by the government (Enright, 2009). By wearing the hijab (head scarf) and jilbab (long cloak) Muslim women feel liberated from being victims of fashion created by the media (Spivak, 1988; Brah and Phoenix, 2004, Versi, 2016 and 2017). Confusing FM with honour is a common portrayal, often fuelled by the media (Hall, 1999; BBC News, 2003 and 2012; Carter, 2012; Hundal, 2012). This can become the root of misunderstandings and misguided policies in response to the rise in 'moral panic' (Cohen, 1972), and hence constructing the South Asian communities as problematic and in need of correction. European law such as the ECHR (1951) and CEDAW (1981) relating to violence against women and FM has unmasked and disempowered masculinity, and identifies opportunities for addressing inequalities on a global level (Archer, 2003b). By universally framing FM as abuse, without singling it out, it has sent out a powerful united message across the boundaries of race, gender, culture and faiths.

Levitas (2005) observed and highlighted a shift in British government policy from equality to an opportunistic society with an equal chance of success. Shariff (2012) described this approach towards cultural-neutrality as 'muscular liberalism' to replace the previous approach of 'passive tolerance' through multiculturalism, which has become a threat to British values (Cumper and Lewis, 2011). Multiculturalism with its inclusiveness has unfortunately been interpreted as a reason for the government not to intervene in cultural matters, when in fact these are basic breaches of human rights, not cultural issues (Eshareturi, Lyle and Morgan, 2014). This is illustrated in chapter one, when high profiled FM cases, such as Shafiea Ahmed's (Ahmed, 2003), are mentioned. In this case the police, as law and policy enforcement officers, refused to



assist and sent Ahmed (2003) back home after she reported threats from her family to kill her. Eshareturi et al. (2014) described how the police lack the tools to deal with cultural matters that have an underlying patriarchal assumption that HBV is an acceptable pretext of multiculturalism.

The media (Versi, 2016 and 2017) has tended to construct everything connected to Asianness (Saha, 2012) as problematic, hence fuelling Islamophobia. In the attempt to claw back these assumptions, the government is portraying itself as firm on cultural practices and has responded to FM as a problem that needs to be eradicated through criminalisation. Sabbe et al. (2014) suggested that the focus became the “well-being [of women] and respecting women’s agency, [through] effectively embedding protection in a broader policy” (Sabbe et al., 2014, p. 185). Instead, UK policies have supported violations of human rights such as Article 8, the right to a private and family life, by raising the age limit for non-UK spouses. The effects of criminalising FM appear to be that fewer potential victims and survivors are coming forward, as they do not want family members to be prosecuted, and hence driving the practice underground (Sabbe et al., 2014). Therefore, the pressure on teachers has increased to implement awareness of, and police, FM policy without any consideration given to the implications on the teachers’ well-being.

Siddiqui (2013) advocated for a move towards multi-faithism from multiculturalism as a constructive approach towards acceptance and a better understanding of differences. An opposing view (Eshareturi et al., 2015) suggests that this shift is worrying as it will reduce funding and support for minority communities stating integration and social cohesion as a justification. This adds to the existing problem whereby cultural barriers are already being experienced by South Asian users of white service providers where there is a lack of understanding in cultures (Sabbe et al., 2014).

In the research institution the ratio of non-white students to white students was approximately 4:1, at the time of this study. Siwatu’s (2007) study of learning and teaching approaches with ethnic minority students discussed culturally responsive teaching and pedagogy. This technique requires teachers to facilitate learning and teaching through the students’ knowledge, experience and examples. Siwatu (2007) concluded that this method of teaching was effective, as it preserved the students’ cultural identity and gave teachers confidence to address unfamiliar culturally sensitive topics. This made the students feel at ease and promoted individuality, as

opposed to portraying ethnic minority cultures negatively, and as requiring intervention and correction by white British society. This approach addressed the teachers' task of policing policies for non-white cultures, by introducing the element of inclusion for both teachers and students. Teachers in the UK who are teaching an increasing number of non-white students would benefit from the culturally responsive approach, especially when addressing topics such as FM. However, in order to facilitate such an approach, some teachers may require training and programmes to increase their cultural awareness, but also a platform through which to vent their thoughts, concerns and anxieties in a safe environment. This is explored further in the next section.

#### **8.4 Reflection on Professional Practice and My Identity**

This study has been an emotional rollercoaster. I have to some extent reflected on this journey as an 'insider/outsider' in the methodology chapter (section 3.12 and 3.17.2). I would now like to reflect on this study as a professional and how this has, and will affect my teaching practice. Through this study I have realised how I have suppressed many of my identities to conform to a standardised way of teaching and to remain politically correct and neutral. I did not involve my identities and share my experiences within my teaching practice. I sometimes felt it was a burden being a female, South Asian, Muslim lecturer, and that I was disadvantaged because of my race, religion and gender.

I recall the day of the 7/7 bombing, when I thought everyone was looking at me and blaming me for the events of that day and, somehow, I was responsible for that because I was a 'Muslim'. I had only been employed by the University for three months and I was due to start teaching two months later in September 2004. Following those events and islamophobia featuring regularly in the media (Versi 2016 and 2017), I took the position, similar to two of the teachers in this study (Penny and Rani), that my personal identities should not appear in the classroom. I refrained from identifying with my South Asian, Muslim background and sharing my personal experiences. Although my non-white ethnicity and gender are obvious, I feared the response from students if I dwelled upon my religion or drew from my ethnic experiences. I felt that I was presenting myself as inferior to my male, white, Christian counter-parts if I embraced my multiple identities. Often, I taught classes consisting of all-male students. With an all-male student audience, I would suppress my gendered experiences and traits, often wearing trousers, to avoid intimidation and

confrontation. I had built up these gender and racial inequalities within myself. Upon reflection I was presenting myself as a neutral and politically correct lecturer who did not openly display emotions.

I work in a space that is predominately white and male. I felt that I had to down play my obvious racial and gendered identities to fit into the environment in which I worked, to maintain equality with my peers. Similarly, I minimised my identities in the classroom to ensure political correctness. This position was in paradox to the feminist post-structural researcher that I am, and whom I had internalised and suppressed. This study helped me to make peace with my identities, and reconstruct my perception of myself so that I can own my identities with pride.

Following this study, I have become more open and comfortable with my racial, gendered and religious identities. During this study, I could relate to the feeling and experiences of the participating teachers. As an outsider I could see how by remaining neutral in the classroom this was affecting the teachers' emotional well-being and to some extent their teaching.

Previously, I felt that my gender, race and religion became my dominant identities, and my other identities of being a qualified solicitor, senior law lecturer and doctoral student were ignored. I have learnt that my experiences of being a South Asian, Muslim woman has affected my professional practice positively and I have been a role model to students with a similar background to mine. I reconceptualised my gendered, racial and religious identities as privileges, and allowed them to emerge. I noticed a difference in my teaching practice and pastoral care that has benefited the students. I am more relaxed and emotionally free.

I intend on embracing and embedding my multiple identities as part of my professional practice. I aim to draw upon these identities in the classroom by encompassing the students' experiences, as well as my own, into the session. In this way the classroom becomes a fluid platform to conceptualise ideas and share knowledge based upon experiences, within a safe space, and without the hierarchy of the conventional teacher-student relationship. Similarly, I will embrace my multiple identities when interacting with my colleagues, and offer my knowledge, understanding and experiences based upon my multiple identities.

## **8.5 The Study's Limitations and Strengths**

### **8.5.1 Limitations**

This study involved a small sample of teachers and stakeholders. The focus of this study was such that it did not lend itself to include the experiences of parents and students. Had young people been involved in the study, they could have commented on, or shared their perceptions and ideas about, South Asian and/or white teachers addressing FM. In this study, six teachers were interviewed; this made it difficult to generalise and present claims about new and emerging discourses.

### **8.5.2 Strengths**

This study contributes to the existing body of work around teachers' identities, emotions, policy implementation and wider issues surrounding multiculturalism and gender issues. This study has widened the parameters of these issues by positioning teachers as subjects with agency when implementing FM policy.

This study was conducted within a field where there are no previous studies or data, as the concept surrounding FM awareness in schools is new. The research was conducted after the introduction of a new legal framework criminalising FM. There is an increasing body of literature on the multiple identities of teachers (Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996) and how these identities shift with the introduction of new tasks and responsibilities (Sannino, 2010). This study captured the implications for teachers' identities when bestowed with the task of implementing FM policy, which is a timely, yet under-researched area.

My interpretation of the data illustrated that teachers are not neutral subjects and that teachers intersecting racial, gendered, religious and cultural identities do transmit through their emotions when implementing FM policy in the classroom. Hence this study has contributed a new dimension to the existing body of literature on teachers' identities and emotions. The teachers in this study experienced a range of emotions from anxiety and fear of repercussions, to excitement and embracing challenges when asked to teach on the issue of FM. Emotions are embodied within the teaching and learning process (Zembylas, 2005; Mikuska, 2017). Both Tsouroufli (2012) and Mikuska (2017) have described how being 'othered' in academic research and teaching, either through gender or race, impacted on their emotional wellbeing.

## **8.6 Directions for Further Research**

Further research would provide interesting findings and insights that can inform policy implementation and policy development. Such research could explore safe space for teachers, to inform policy and how teachers can be involved in developing policy. A safe space provides teachers with a platform to express their concerns and emotions in relation to policy implementation, especially where the policies are based upon cultural, racial or gendered discourses such as FM. At the moment it would appear that the government is making teachers responsible for detecting and preventing FM, without consultation, and penalising the teachers for not implementing the policy as required by the government.

Undertaking future research with a larger sample would enable a more diverse population to be included, and allow comparison across teachers of different ethnic groups and religions, as well as encompassing different strands of teachers' diversities, such as race, culture, gender and religion.

Furthermore, interviews with parents would provide them with the opportunity to comment on the FM awareness programmes that the schools are delivering to their children. This could also incorporate how parents and students feel about their culture being openly discussed in the classroom and possibly stereotyped. Another interesting research point would be to explore the identities of South Asian students' belonging to both a South Asian community and being British Asian. This could concentrate on their ability to negotiate/participate in both cultural systems and explore the burden of the dual status of the British Asian, when challenged with racism and Islamophobia on the one hand, and assimilation into British society on the other hand.

An alternative route to enhance this study would be to source three or four schools to participate in similar research in different areas of the country, to provide a different cultural mix of students and teachers. All of these angles can provide other dimensions to this study and possibly unearth new discourses about teachers' perceptions, and perceptions of teachers' when implementing FM policy.

Further research is required to establish if FM policies and communities should be policed by teachers, as that is what appears to be happening.

## **8.7 Recommendations**

The findings highlighted four areas that require attention. Firstly, clarity in the conceptualisation of FM by the government. Secondly, the recognition of teachers' emotions within policymaking and policy implementation. Thirdly, support for teachers by way of training, and finally, teachers being involved in the policymaking process on how FM policy should be implemented. To address these areas, it would be important to consider the following recommendations:

1. It would be helpful if the government could be clearer that FM is a form of abuse and a human rights issue.

A definition eliminates any doubts as to FM being associated with a particular religion, gender, race or cultural practice. Once FM is presented as a violation of human rights, the onus on political correctness becomes less significant, and the FM policy less onerous on teachers to implement.

2. The threat of penal action for teachers and institutions who fail to detect or prevent FM should be removed.

Forced marriage policy implementation whereby teachers are punished for non-detection and prevention of FM needs to be reconstructed from a disciplinary mechanism for teachers, to a human rights awareness campaign for students (discussed in section 6.2.2).

3. The government should offer training and support to qualified teachers that together fulfil three main requirements:
  - a. The training needs to incorporate teachers as individuals, acknowledging, supporting and embracing the fact that teachers have multiple identities.
  - b. Training should be provided on tackling sensitive topics that teachers may come across in the classroom such as FM, FGM and HIV. These transferable skills can be adapted to handle pastoral subjects such as health, relationships and FM within that topic area.
  - c. The training should create an opportunity for teachers to discuss their struggles and emotions. The teachers need an outlet to channel their

negative emotions that have surfaced through the implementation of the FM policy.

Topics such as FM should be incorporated into teacher training programmes. Teacher training on FM currently appears to be inadequate and, in the absence of a safe space for teachers to raise concerns, this may be detrimental to their well-being. The training could incorporate the opportunity for teachers to explore issues surrounding their own identities, to express their emotions and to discuss contradictory ideas and discourses without judgement being passed on their professionalism.

4. Teachers should be consulted on how and when FM could be incorporated into teaching or the national curriculum, along with the content of the FM materials and the delivery method that teachers would feel comfortable using (discussed in section 6.2.2).

## **8.8 Postscript**

As this study was drawing to a close, three issues of interest and relevance to this thesis have been publicised. The first was an announcement made by the FMU (Busby and Perraudin, 2019) that it would be charging victims of FM to repatriate them to the UK, following their FM abroad. This controversial move was justified by the FMU as necessary to recoup taxpayer's money as it estimated that the cost of assisting FM victims to return to the UK was £800. In 2016, 82 FM victims were repatriated to the UK (Busby and Perraudin, 2019). This decision was vigorously challenged by the charity, Southall Black Sisters, who have commented (Morgan-Bentley, 2019) on how paying for protection is wrong, and that this should be a fundamental right and not a source for making profit. This supports this study's findings that FM should be defined as a human rights abuse.

The second announcement was also made by the FMU (FMU Statistical Data Department, 2017) on their statistics for 2017. The number of FM cases reported to them had declined by 19 percent from 2016. However, it is unclear whether there had been an actual decline in the number or if cases were just not being reported to avoid criminal prosecution. The figures also showed that there had been a 100 percent increase of FM victims from a Somali background. Since 2012, FM victims from an Indian background had held third position for the number of reported cases after Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively. By 2017, India had fallen to fourth place

behind Somalia. This now challenges the discourses that FM is a South Asian issue, as Somalia is in Africa. However, three out of the four top countries recorded by the FMU are still South Asian countries. Also, those from a Somali background are more likely than not to be Muslims. Therefore, discourses surrounding FM being a Muslim problem (Puwar and Raghuram, 2003; Chantler et al., 2009; Enright, 2009; Gill and Anitha, 2009b; Ijaz and Abbas, 2010; Gill and Anitha, 2011) are still dominant.

Thirdly, it has been reported (Parveen, 2018) that a Yorkshire school has promoted the use of a spoon to prevent FM. As part of raising awareness of FM, the school had suggested that potential victims of FM should place a spoon in their underwear to trigger metal detectors at the airport and alert the authorities. This demonstrates that teachers are using their agency and initiative in the classroom when addressing the problem, and are promoting practical methods of preventing FM.

In conclusion, it is evident that FM is a current and concerning issue. This thesis presents an innovative and timely study which offers insight into the impact on teachers' identities when implementing FM policy, and provides a foundation for other similar studies.



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### **Appendix 1: Letter of Invitation for Stakeholders**

**Qualitative research:** 'Forced to teach: Teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.'

I am a doctoral student writing to invite you to partake in a research study about 'teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.' This study is part of a research Doctorate in Education coordinated by the Institute for Policy Studies in Education (IPSE), based at London Metropolitan University. An aim of this project is to undertake a critical analysis of policy and how forced marriage is viewed on a national (Government) and local (school/college) level. I am asking for your participation in order to raise awareness of the political policy perception of addressing forced marriage in the classroom. This is in addition to you contributing your own experiences and perception of addressing forced marriage with young persons. The study will contribute to the wider current policy debate on schools being front-line detection and prevention points for forced marriage.

I would like to conduct interviews (about 1 hour) between November 2014 - August 2015. The interviews will take place at a location of your choice and at a time convenient to you. The interviews will be audio-recorded. Your participation is of course voluntary and you can withdraw your responses at any stage of the research study. You will be given a consent form prior to the interview.

Your contribution will be confidential, and your responses will be anonymised as far as possible. All the data will be stored in locked or password protected files.

The study has been given ethical approval by London Metropolitan University's Ethics Committee. For more information and to arrange an interview, please email Tehmina Khan at [tehminka.khan@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:tehminka.khan@londonmet.ac.uk) or call me on 07956 802063.

I hope that you will be able to participate in this research study.

Best wishes,

Ms Tehmina Khan  
Senior Law Lecturer  
Faculty of Business and Law  
London Metropolitan University

Details of Supervisor at IPSE:  
Prof. Jayne Osgood  
[j.osgood@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:j.osgood@londonmet.ac.uk)  
Senior Research Fellow  
IPSE  
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities  
London Metropolitan University



## **Appendix 2: Letter of Invitation for Teachers**

**Qualitative research:** 'Forced to teach: Teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.'

I am a doctoral student writing to invite you to partake in a research study about 'teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.' This study is part of a research Doctorate in Education coordinated by the Institute for Policy Studies in Education (IPSE), based at London Metropolitan University. I am asking you for your participation in order to raise awareness of teacher's experiences and perception of addressing this topic, perceived to be sensitive, in the classroom. The study will contribute to the wider current policy debate on schools being front-line detection and prevention points for forced marriage.

I would like to conduct interviews (about 1 hour) between November 2014 - August 2015. The interviews will take place at a location of your choice and at a time convenient to you. The interviews will be audio-recorded. Your participation is of course voluntary and you can withdraw your responses at any stage of the research study. You will be given a consent form prior to the interview.

Your contribution will be confidential, and neither the school nor individuals will be named in subsequent reports or literature. All responses will be anonymised. All the data will be stored in locked or password protected files.

The study has been given ethical approval by London Metropolitan University's Ethics Committee. For more information and to arrange an interview, please email Tehmina Khan at [tehmina.khan@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:tehmina.khan@londonmet.ac.uk) or call me on 07956 802063.

I hope that you will be able to participate in this research study.

Best wishes,

Ms Tehmina Khan  
Senior Law Lecturer  
Faculty of Business and Law  
London Metropolitan University

Details of Supervisor at IPSE:  
Prof. Jayne Osgood  
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Senior Research Fellow  
IPSE  
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities  
London Metropolitan University

**Appendix 3: Consent Form for Observations**



**Qualitative research:** 'Forced to teach: Teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.'

**OBSERVATION CONSENT FORM**

I understand that:

- The aim of this project is to gather information on teacher's perception and experiences of addressing forced marriage in the classroom.
- My participation in this study will be in the form of an observation, whereby I will be watched delivering a session on forced marriage to pupils. I understand that this observation will be audio-recorded.
- My participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from participation at any time.
- The information gathered from me will be anonymous (no one will be able to identify which responses I have given).
- The data collected may be used for publication in subsequent reports, journal articles and any other literature.

I agree to take part in this study, and I accept that the information gathered from me will be used in academic and other literature to raise awareness about teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Appendix 4: Consent Form for Interviews**



**Qualitative research:** 'Forced to teach: Teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.'

#### **INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM**

I understand that:

- The aim of this project is to gather information on teacher's perception and experiences of addressing forced marriage in the classroom.
- My participation in this study will be in an interview, which will be audio-recorded and last about 45-60 mins.
- My participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from participation at any time.
- The information gathered from me will be anonymous (no one will be able to identify which responses I have given).
- The data collected may be used for publication in subsequent reports, journal articles and any other literature.

I agree to take part in this study, and I accept that the information gathered from me will be used in academic and other literature to raise awareness about teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix 5: Research Schedule for Stakeholders**



### **Interview Questions for XXXX**

#### **Title**

Forced to teach: Teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.

#### **Aims**

This study will be set within a feminist post-structural framework. The aim of the research is to focus on forced marriage from the teacher's perspective, making this research an empirical original contribution, to an under researched area. The research aims to contribute knowledge and understanding to the wider current policy debate on schools being front-line detection and prevention points for forced marriage.

#### **Relevant research questions for this interview**

- To examine how government policies influence how the issue of forced marriage is addressed in schools and sixth-form colleges.
- To consider how training material is put together, how training is delivered to teachers.

This entails undertaking a critical analysis of policy and how forced marriage is viewed on a national (Government) and local (school/college) level.

I am asking for your participation in order to raise awareness of the political policy perception of addressing this topic, perceived to be sensitive, in the classroom.

#### **Research schedule for a face-to-face interview**

Reminder:

- Participation in this study will be in an interview which will be audio-recorded and last about 1 hour.
- Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that you can withdraw from participation at any time.
- The information gathered from me will be anonymous as far as possible.
- The data collected may be used for publication in subsequent reports, journal articles and any other literature.
- Following BERA and University ethical codes
- Safe storage of data etc.

#### **Background (of person being interviewed)**

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

#### **Prompts**



- Tell me about your childhood? Family values? About your parents and the community in which you grew up?
- Tell me about your family life, growing up and so on...
- Were there any expectations for you to follow a particular pathway in life? E.g. relationships and so on
- Can you tell me about your home life now as an adult? Do you have a partner? Children?
- What expectations do you have for them?
- What is your ethnic and cultural background?
- Tell me about your career?
- What are your responsibilities at work?

### **Addressing forced marriage**

2. When and how did you first come across the concept of forced marriage?
3. What does forced marriage mean to you?

#### **Prompts**

- Points to emphasise or distinguish or explain, i.e consent, arranged?
4. What knowledge relating to forced marriage did you bring to your role at XXX?
  5. Have your thoughts/opinions on forced marriage changed over time?
  6. Have you/your organisation informed policy relating to forced marriage in any way?
  7. Why do you think forced marriage has attracted so much attention in policy and media?

### **Government intervention**

8. How should the topic of forced marriage be discussed with young people?

#### **Prompt**

- Home, school, community, religious congregation?
  - Why pros and cons for each?
9. Do you think the government has a role to play in addressing the issue of forced marriage through policy/legislation?
  10. Do you think that the government is fully informed on forced marriage to be able to make policies on the issue?
  11. Has addressing forced marriage impacted upon certain communities, e.g. Muslims, Asian community? In what way? Can you provide specific examples?
  12. Do you agree with the ways in which forced marriage has been addressed in policy, for example through criminalisation and other legislation?
  13. How do you think forced marriage should be addressed in UK schools, if at all?

14. Is the government's attention on forced marriage justified? Do you think that there are intended and unintended consequences to the policy focus on forced marriage, e.g. immigration control?
15. Do you think forced marriage is a generic issue across all communities? Have particular communities been specifically targeted? What are the implications?

**Prompt** Prince Charles? Gypsy or Irish communities?

### **Forced marriage addressed in schools**

16. Should teachers be addressing forced marriage in the classroom?
17. What message/information does the government want schools to convey to pupils about forced marriage?
18. What message do you think should to be conveyed to pupils in relation to forced marriage?
19. Would you have any concerns about certain teachers addressing forced marriage with pupils?

**Prompt**

- Knowledge of the issue, religious background, their ethnic origin or gender.
20. Do you think that some teachers feel more comfortable than others addressing the issue of forced marriage in the classroom? Why is that?
  21. Why do you think that the majority of schools do not incorporate information on forced marriage into their curriculum?
  22. Does XXX agree with the government's mission that schools, colleges and Universities should be detection and prevention points for forced marriage?
  23. Do you think that the topic of forced marriage should be mandatory in schools?
  24. Has XXX been involved in preparing the e-learning material for professions and or the 2014 Multi-agency guidelines?
  25. Was XXX consulted by the FMU or have any input before the Multi-agency guidelines or e-learning materials were produced?
  26. Since the introduction of legislation criminalising forced marriage in June 2014 and the duty imposed on schools to report absent students following extended holiday periods, has there been a significant change in the number of forced marriage reported in the last 6 months?
  27. The Government recommended guidance suggests not to mediate between the young person and parent(s)/family members. What does NAWP think of this?

**Prompt:** Does this not cause further isolation for the parent(s) and fuel the situation of the parent(s) feeling that they are losing their child to Western

society as opposed to opening a dialogue of understanding? Does this not also cause friction between teachers and parents?

**Concluding questions**

28. Where do you see the future of forced marriage in policy terms?

29. What would your hopes be for the way that forced marriage is addressed?

30. Any questions for me?

31. Repeat Thesis title. Anything they want to mention that I may not have addressed?

**End Note**

- Name
- Age
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- Relationship status

**THANK YOU!**

**Memos/Reminders:**

## **Appendix 6: Research Schedule for Teachers**



### **Interview Guide for use with XXX Teacher**

#### **Title**

Forced to teach: Teachers negotiating their professional and personal identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom.

#### **Aims**

This study will be set within a feminist post-structural framework. The aim of the research is to focus on forced marriage from the teacher's perspective, making this research an empirical original contribution, to an under researched area. The research aims to contribute knowledge and understanding to the wider current policy debate on schools being front-line detection and prevention points for forced marriage.

#### **Research questions**

- 1 To consider how different teachers, specifically in terms of their religion, gender and ethnicity, approach the topic of forced marriage in classroom contexts;
- 2 To explore how teachers negotiate the intersection of their personal and professional identities when addressing forced marriage in the classroom;
- 3 To determine what discourse(s) teachers' draw upon, reject and negotiate when addressing the issue of forced marriage in the classroom;
- 4 To examine whether and in what ways government policy influences how the issue of forced marriage is addressed in a secondary school.

#### **Research schedule**

Reminder:

- Participation in this study will be in an interview which will be audio-recorded and last about 45-60 mins.
- Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that you can withdraw from participation at any time.
- The information gathered from me will be anonymous as far as possible.
- The data collected may be used for publication in subsequent reports, journal articles and any other literature.
- Following BERA and University ethical codes
- Safe storage of data etc.

Start by asking some questions about you, and you can ask me questions too.

#### **Background**

- 5 Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

### **Prompts**

- Where did you grow up?
- Tell me about your parents?
- Have you always lived in the UK (London)?
- Do you have siblings? Are they married? How are they expected to find partners to marry?
- Are you married? How did you meet your spouse?
- How would you encourage your child to meet their partner?
- What is your ethnic and cultural background?
  
- Tell me about your career?
- What are your responsibilities at school?
- What subjects do you teach?

### **Addressing forced marriage**

- 6 When did you first come across the concept of forced marriage?
- 7 What does forced marriage mean to you?
- 8 [For co-ordinator, the headteacher asked you to incorporate the topic of FM into the PSHE curriculum, how did you feel about that?]
- 9 How do you feel that your session on forced marriage went with the students [date]?
  - a. Questions/Issues from observation?
- 10 How did you feel when you were asked to deliver a session on FM?
- 11 Generally, what are your experiences of addressing forced marriage with pupils?

Prompt: If a student disclosed information relating to FM would you feel comfortable dealing with that?
- 12 What message/information does the school want you to convey to pupils about forced marriage?
- 13 What message do you think needs to be conveyed to pupils in relation to forced marriage?
- 14 What knowledge relating to FM did you bring to your role?
- 15 Have your thoughts/opinions on FM changed over time?
- 16 Why do you think FM has attracted so much attention in policy and media?

### **Government intervention**

- 17 The government wants teachers to be the detection and prevent points for forced marriage, how do you feel about that?

- 18 Do you think the government has a role to play in addressing the issue of forced marriage through policy/legislation?
  - 19 Has addressing forced marriage impacted upon certain communities, e.g. Muslims, Asian community? Or is it a generic problem across communities? In what way? Can you provide specific examples?
  - 20 Do you agree with the ways in which forced marriage has been addressed in policy, for example through criminalisation and other legislation?
  - 21 Do you see FM as a topic within its own right or a safeguarding issue?
  - 22 Are you aware of the Multi-agency guidelines produced by the government in June 2014? If so, did you find it helpful?
  - 23 Are you aware of the e-learning resource produced by the FMU to assist front-line services in understanding and advising on FM? What is your opinion of this material?
  - 24 Do you feel challenged by the training materials that the government have issued as guidance on addressing forced marriage in the classroom?
  - 25 How did you prepare the session plan for the FM session?
- Prompt:** consult policy guidance; discuss with other teachers?
- 26 [FOR co-ordinator are you aware of the lesson plans on FM available from the Freedom charity?]
  - 27 Where do you think the topic of forced marriage is best placed to discuss with young people?

**Prompt**

- Home, school, community, religious congregation?

**School**

- 28 Tell me a bit about the school's ethos?

**Prompts**

- Type of school faith/Grammar/Academy?
  - Student composition?
  - Teacher/student diversity?
  - Age group of teachers and pupils?
- 29 How does addressing forced marriage fit in with the rest of the school curriculum?
  - 30 Can you describe your relationship with your colleagues? For example, would you have any concerns about certain colleagues addressing forced marriage with pupils?

**Prompt**

- What happens if a teacher is off sick, who covers a forced marriage session?
- 31 Do you think that forced marriage should be a mandatory topic on school and college even university curriculums?
- 32 Why do you think that the majority of schools do not incorporate information on forced marriage into their curriculum?
- 33 Who do you think should deliver training on forced marriage, teachers or external bodies?
- 34 Has addressing forced marriage compromised your relationship with the students or their parents?

**Concluding questions**

- 35 What would your hopes be for the way that forced marriage is addressed?

Questions for me?

Repeat thesis title - anything like to add that I have not addressed?

**End Note**

- Name
- Age
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- Relationship status

**THANK YOU!**

**Memos/Reminders:**