

Badzic Amila (2019)

There is no honour in killing.

An investigation into British media portrayals of honour killings in the UK
and how they reinforce Orientalist constructions of Muslims and the
East.

Master's Dissertation

University of Leeds

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ABSTRACT

Numerous studies have been concerned with the growing media bias against minority groups, most predominantly Muslims and Islamic culture. A growing number of media sources continue to push a narrative of Islamic threat, shaping the way in which Islam and Muslims are viewed. Honour killings are defined as a deviation of norms, whereby women are killed for bringing 'shame' upon the family. These extreme acts of violence perpetrated against women continue to be viewed through a cultural and religious lens. Employing a method of critical discourse analysis and drawing upon Orientalist, feminist and multiculturalist arguments, this study examines how the British tabloid media represent Muslim men and women's identities. Seeking to reveal how the media erase the identities of these women, instead problematising culture and religion as a way to portray these crimes. Therefore, it is worth considering how this phenomenon continues to reinforce negative and simplistic assumptions of Muslims and the Islamic faith.

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Chapter 1.0 Introduction

This study will examine the extent to which Orientalist discourses are evident in the representation of honour killings. This is done through a critical discourse analysis of 12 articles from three different British newspapers, derived from four well-known honour killing cases in the UK between 1999 and 2006. To begin, I will introduce the topic, focusing on the media's obsession with Muslims and how this links to honour killings. Then the main aims of the research will follow, concluding with an outline of the structure of this study.

1.2 Introduction to the Topic

In today's contemporary society, media sources have become a powerful way of transferring information and shaping public opinion. Consuming our everyday life, both with advantages and disadvantages 'the media' have had a fundamental impact on our world and understanding what is in it. Constantly reinforced by the media, Britain today has become preoccupied with the emergence of the perceived threat of Islam. Heightened by the September 11th attacks and the 2005 London bombings, articles conflating Islam and its culture with crime, violence, and terrorism continue to be produced (Kinder, and Iyengar, 1987). The ongoing misinformation and bias representations fed to the public about Islam continue to shape our understanding of the faith, putting Muslims at the centre of these negative portrayals. Hence there has been a growing interest in researching minority groups, especially Muslims, and their representation in the media (Bell, 1991). Despite the media's obsession with Islam, a limited amount of research has focused on the portrayal of honour killings in the British media and how these crimes serve to reinforce Orientalist narratives (Talwar and Ahmed, 2015). It is for this reason that I believe honour killings would make an interesting and revealing area of study.

Honour killings have nonetheless become a religious and cultural phenomenon, best understood as a crime centred around concepts of shame and honour. Taking place when females are thought to have brought 'shame' on their family, a male relative restores the honour lost by killing their female family member (Shier and Shor,

2016). Islam has been overwhelmingly portrayed as supportive of these crimes, disseminating ideas of Muslims and Eastern culture as inherently violent and oppressive (Reimers, 2007). Within this representation of honour killings, negative discourses of the Muslims as the 'other' have underpinned media narratives, in which an East versus West dichotomy is reinforced (Said, 1978). Nonetheless, honour killings cannot be viewed simply through a religious and cultural lens but have to be understood as a result of intersecting social factors, with women caught up in a combination of discourses (Vollp, 2002). Despite these issues, little has been said about the role of honour-based violence in perpetuating Orientalist discourses about Islam and the East. Accordingly, Edward Said's Orientalism (1978) will be used as a theoretical basis in order to understand the role of the media in constructing certain representations of Muslims using 4 cases of honour killings in the UK.

While more than 150 women are murdered by their partners every year in the UK, around 12 honour killings are reported to take place yearly (Metoo and Mirza, 2010). It is in this sense that violence against women is not confined to Muslim and Eastern communities. Yet, honour killings continue to be perceived by the British media as culturally and religiously specific (Hellgren and Hobson, 2008). Whilst I do acknowledge that certain cultures and religions have particular practices and traditions, why is it that this form of domestic violence becomes rooted in Islamic and Eastern culture (Van Eck, 2002). For this reason, this dissertation wishes to explore the contribution of the media in perpetuating negative assumptions of Islam and the East, and how the intersectionality of religion, culture, and gender shape how the media report honour-based murders. Accordingly, the research question for this study is as follows:

How does the British media's representation of honour killings in the UK reinforce Orientalist thinking about Islam and the East?

1.2 Aim of the Research

The overall aim of this research is to explore how the media represent honour killings and how this may reinforce Orientalist understandings of Islam and the East. This

study will be based on the analysis of 3 major British newspapers, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Mail*, and *The Telegraph*, in a period spanning over 10 years after the crime was committed. This will be done through close inspection of 4 major honour killing cases in Britain; Tulay Goren, Shafilea Ahmed, Heshu Yones and Banaz Mahmud. Accordingly, the data collected from these cases comprises of 12 articles. The research has employed critical discourse analysis as a method in order to understand the underlying Orientalist narratives that manifest themselves within the portrayal of honour killings (Fairclough, 1992).

The aim of this study is also to illuminate the implication of certain discourses, and how these events, individuals, cultures, and religions are depicted in the narratives centred around these murders (Reimers, 2007). Thereby contributing to understandings and knowledge production of Islamic and Eastern cultures. One central objective is to explore how gender, religion, and culture manifest themselves within the discourses used by the media to portray honour crimes and how these intersecting notions create power structures, hierarchies, and inequality towards certain faiths and cultures. Another aspect of this research will focus on how cultural and religious discourses are used to represent violence against women from the East (Vandello and Cohen, 2008).

It has to be acknowledged, however, that the purpose of this dissertation is not to explore the motivations surrounding the murder of these women. In this, I am not denying the violence perpetrated against these women, but rather I aim to analyse the language, discourse, and narratives used by the media to represent these crimes. Therefore, this research seeks to understand the narratives articulated within the reporting's of honour killings, and how intersections of culture, gender and religion are used to construct particular interpretations of these crimes. Beyond this, the impact of such representations, and the implications these reporting's have on the wider power structures that dictate Western understandings of the East and Islam, will also be explored (Phillips, 2006).

1.3 Structure of the Dissertation

Following the introduction, the literature review will focus on the literature on Orientalist constructions of Islam and the East. I will take the works of Edward Said (1978) as a central framework and deploy CDA for the analysis of honour killings. Taking the analysis further, academic literature focusing on gendered Orientalist discourses and feminist perspectives will be explored in order to understand how Muslim men and women are framed in the media. Focusing on a number of media sources, it will serve to highlight how the intersection of culture and religion is represented in terms of gender. This chapter will then conclude on a discussion of the scholars and researchers concerned with media representations of honour killings and how dominant discourses are used to portray them. Beyond this, the next chapter will then outline the methodological stance taken in this study and the methods used to explore the research question. I outline my use of critical discourse analysis as a means of data collection, my sampling methods, and the limitations of the research. Chapter four will then present the main findings of the study in the form of the four main themes found. Taking the analysis further, chapter 5 will explore the discussions surrounding feminism and multiculturalism in order to situate this research within wider debates. Finally, the concluding chapter will discuss the contribution of this study, its limitations and how this research could be taken further.

Chapter 2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will situate this study amongst the existing literature in order to create a theoretical basis for investigation.

Research Question

How does the British media's representation of honour killings in the UK reinforce Orientalist thinking about Islam and the East?

2.2 Understanding the Theoretical Underpinnings of *Orientalism*

Edward Said's influential work, *Orientalism* (1978), offers a foundational platform for understanding how the media can shape and influence our understandings of the Orient through the underlying hegemonic discourses that exist. According to Said, the Orient is best understood as individuals from the Eastern world, more specifically those from the Muslim community (Said, 1978). Said's work focuses on the power structures and hierarchies which drive the representation of the Orient. It is in Said's work that the perceived threat of Islam emerged as a dominant narrative, despite being written in 1978, long before the September 11th attacks. This fear has, in turn, underpinned the relationship between the media and its representation of Islam.

Reflecting upon the relationship between the East and the West, Said's work seeks to uncover the negative narratives which have become universally embedded within the knowledge production of the wider Eastern and Islamic world (Dabashi, 2008, p.20). It is clear that Said's work is dominated by the relationship between power and knowledge, which as he describes, is manifested within the form of Western superiority. Said unearths the power structures that have existed since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which characterise the hierarchal relationship whereby non-Western societies are established as inferior. In this way, these power structures maintain and reproduce negative understandings of the Orient through an ongoing production of knowledge (Kerboua, 2016, p.4). Through such narratives, the Orient is portrayed as the 'other', placed as existing outside of Western society. According to Said, notions of the Orient are occupied with representations of the irrational, backward, and barbaric 'other'. Whilst the portrayal of the West is exclusively shown to be forward-thinking, rational and civilised (Said, 1978). Indeed, it is through these negative narratives, combined with representations of the Orient, that effectively resonate in understandings of Islam and the East (Sayidd, 1997). The Orient continues to be viewed through constructions of Western knowledge, highlighting the power relations which underpin how the East and Islamic communities are viewed (Said, 1978). This functions as producing a systemic distinction between the East and West, thus establishes and maintains an ongoing

model of Western power and superiority. Indeed, depicting non-Western societies as inferior (Quijano, 2007).

An important development in relations between the East and West came in Said's later work, *Covering Islam* (1997). Here Said specifically reveals the bias representations and hidden assumptions which dominate media coverage of the East and Islam. Underpinned by Orientalist assumptions, Said's accounts suggest that even the most objective media outlets produce a combination of stereotypes and negative narratives of the Orient. Said's work serves to write back against the simplistic dichotomies which the media use to understand and present Islam and the East. He uncovers the central role the media has in determining our perceptions of the Orient and how these misconceptions are formed (Said, 1997). In this way, the media are seen to rely on such Orientalist tropes to reinforce a persistent image of the incompatibility of the East and West. Successfully constructing the Orient as the 'other'.

Some scholars, such as Ibn Warraq (2007), have indeed criticised Said's work for placing too much emphasis on the West, ignoring the voices of the Orient and the assumptions they may hold about the West. Expanding on this paradox, Wael Harraq's, *Restating Orientalism* also argues that the lack of voice given to peoples of the East maintains an exclusive European and Western way of thinking. Nevertheless, these critics have failed to provide a damaging critique of Said and his theoretical and empirical research. His work continues to highlight the Orientalist discourses used to represent Islam and Eastern parts of the world in the media. Looking at earlier instances of Orientalist media constructions, Said provides an example of the seizure of the US embassy in Iran 1979-1981. Here he identifies the Orientalist tropes which were used to inform the media representation of these events. Emphasising the religious identity of the Muslim students who held the Americans hostage, the media increasingly sought to connect their actions to wider Islamic values. Through this, the identity of Muslims was homogenised and their involvement in the hostage crisis sought to make Islam synonymous with violence (Racack, 2008). Western media sources successfully tied narratives of sympathy and innocence to portrayals of the Americans, whilst conceptualising the Iranian Muslims as threatening and barbaric. Through this, the media provoked a moral panic

about Islam and the East, emphasising the threat it holds to Western values, culture, and society (Shaheen, 2007). Not only do these media distortions elicit specific understandings of Muslims and Eastern society, but they also provide an effective measure against which Western society is also viewed (Bowen, 2015). Therefore, in order to claim superiority and power, the media present the East through Orientalist epistemologies which constitute contemporary knowledge of Islam and the East (Kerboua, 2016, p.9). Indeed, producing a hierarchy of power between the negative assumptions of Islam against the positive narratives of the West. Said's theories, therefore provide a theoretical basis for further analysis and discussion on the representation of honour killings in the media. Ultimately revealing how the media may frame these specific crimes through Orientalist narratives.

2.3 Representations of Muslim men and Islam in the Media

As a result of the hierarchies established by Said between the East and the West, there has been a history of Muslim men being presented as violent and threatening by Western media sources (Rana, 2011). Overwhelmingly in news outlets and sources Muslim male identities have become associated with violent, threatening and misogynistic behaviour (Reza, 2011). For example, the research of Moore et al. (2008) highlights the lack of normalised portrayals of Muslim men in the media. According to Moore et al., the coverage of Muslims in the British print news media has continually risen since 2000, indeed heightened by the September 11th attacks and the 2005 London bombings. Their research successfully demonstrates how Muslim identities have become conflated with narratives of threatening, problematic and demonizing behaviour. For example, visual analysis of the articles analysed found that 69% of images were mugshot photographs of Muslim men (Moore et al. (2007, p.22). Needless to say, such images bring with them several negative assumptions, thus supporting views of Muslim men as deviant and threatening (Sian et al., 2012). Indeed, these persistent images can also be said to amplify the threat Muslim men hold to Western society, falsely facilitating a type of Islamic moral panic and fear of Muslim men. Further research also showed an increase of reports which focused on religious and cultural differences between Islam and British/Western

culture. For example, several headlines read “Islam set to be top UK religion: mosques to beat churches” (Daily Star, 26th March, 2008), “UK Muslims to outnumber Christians” (The Express, 8th May, 2008) and “Muslims will soon outnumber traditional church goes” (Daily Telegraph, 25th March, 2008). Such headlines which conflate Islam against Christianity show an emerging pattern which serves to exclude Islam from traditional imageries of Britishness. This can be said to invoke ideas of an ‘us v them’ narrative, whereby Muslims are seen as the ‘other’ (Bonnett, 2004).

Reinforcing these views, Christopher Allen (2001) also illustrates the normative assumptions used by media sources to portray Muslim men. Often overcome with references to terrorism and violence, Muslim has become synonymous with ‘threat’. For example, he found that the press readily attributed the language used to describe Muslim men to extremism, fundamentalism, fear and villainise behaviour (Allen, 2001). Thus, portrayals of Muslim men as an enemy of the West remain largely still intact (Baker et al., 2013). It can be said that these ideologies used to construct Muslim men and Islam come to be representative of all Muslims, ignoring further complications of political, cultural and socioeconomic factors (Saeed, 2007). In turn, maintaining specific interpretations and the knowledge produced about Islam. Allen (2001) also revealed the spotlight placed on Muslim men in an example of a Daily Mail cartoon. “Stereotypical Muslim men stood outside houses of parliament holding placards saying death to Britain and America” (Allen, 2001, p.6). Below the article reads the word ‘parasite’. In this sense, the dichotomies between the East and West are maintained, reinforcing discourses of Islam v the West. The dehumanisation and threatening narrative used in the cartoon seeks to prompt concerns surrounding Muslim men, indeed “referring to all Muslims without differentiation” (Allen, 2001, p.6). Also echoed by Poole and Richardson (2006) their research found that Muslim sources tended to be quoted when they criticize their religion, thus sustaining negative assumptions of Islam. Similarly, underscoring these views, Billig et al. (2006, In Baker et al., 2013) examined press reporting’s on Muslims during a two-week period prior to the 1997, 2001 and 2005 general election in Britain. They found that there were little articles mentioning Muslims in 1997 and 2001, but a much greater proportion was found in 2005. Thus, suggesting the increasing politicisation of Islam as a topic of concern, predominantly after the 9/11

attacks. Indeed, maintaining the hegemonic structures which equate Muslim men with threat (Herland, 2017). Not only do these media portrayals of Muslim men work to present them in a negative light, but they also play a substantial role in determining our understanding of Islam (Ameli et al., 2007). Therefore, this study will seek to explore the issues raised regarding the representation of Muslim men and Islam by using the portrayal of honour killings in the media to investigate the discourses and narratives employed (Poole, 2002).

2.4 Representation of Muslim Women in the Media

In addition to the representation of Muslim men in the media, recent studies have been preoccupied in understanding how the media articulate a gendered Orientalist rhetoric against Muslim women (Volpp, 2000). In contrast to the demonization of Muslim men, media representations of Muslim women have become dominated by a universal image of victimisation, oppression and silence. More recently there has also been a preoccupation with policing the way in which Muslim women dress. Including the engagement of media debates surrounding the burqa and niqab, often where Islamic practices are scrutinised (Mazingh, 2016). Drawing upon multicultural feminist arguments, Chandra Mohanty (2007, p.375) suggests that Muslim women are universally depicted as a “homogenous oppressed group”. Her work goes onto suggest that non-Western women are positioned to exist outside of the white Western women, whereby assumptions of Muslim women continue to be reinforced. Here her work serves to highlight how the identity of the ‘veiled Muslim woman’ has become wholly defined by religion, ignoring all other aspects of identity and diversity (Mohanty, 2007). Consistent with this view is the study by Laura Ferracioli (2013) where she examines media reactions to the ban of the burqa in France. She found that newspapers continually linked the burqa to the oppression of Muslim women, drawing upon this universal assumption as a justification for the ban. Ferracioli (2013) also found that media sources continually suggested that the burqa and Western ‘liberal’ values were incompatible with one and other. Not only does this box all Muslim women into a single oppressed group, but it also effectively reinforces binary understandings of the East as backward and traditional, whilst depicting the West as liberal and forward-thinking (Ahmad, 2009). Indeed, by suggesting that women’s Islamic dress is inherently oppressive fails to acknowledge both the

diversity of Muslim women and the diversity of Islamic cultural and religious values across the globe (Terman, 2017). As a result, these media representations of Muslim women clearly indicate the underlying Orientalist 'us v them' frameworks which have further implications in shaping our understanding of Islam (Posetti, 2006).

Expanding on the submissive discourses used to portray Muslim women, some scholars also highlight the dominant media portrayals which suggest Muslim women need to be saved from their backward religion and/or culture. Consistent with these narratives is the study of Myra Macdonald (2006). Her feminist perspective unveils the problematic images and voices in media representations of Muslim women. For example, she explores the controversy of a short film *Submission*, which depicts a Muslim woman praying to God, asking why her religion allows domestic violence. Biased interpretations such as these can be said to fuel the assumption of Islam as inherently violent against women, constructing a narrative of oppression. Thus, facilitating suggestions rooted in the colonial discourses from the eighteenth and nineteenth century whereby Muslim women are portrayed as needing to be 'saved' from so-called aggressive religions and cultures (Macdonald, 2006). In turn, successfully allowing for hierarchal positions between the West and East to emerge and, be maintained (Abu- Lughod, 2002). These sensationalist portrayals of Muslim women, which serve to equate the veil with oppression have wider implications in "eclipsing Muslim women's own diversity of voice and self-definition" (MacDonald, 2006, p.7). Media fixation on Muslim women continues to problematise their religious practices as a source of concern. Also echoed by Helen Watson (1994, p.153) her research indicates that the veiled Muslim women have become a forefront image used to present the 'problems of Islam'. These simplistic media portrayals of Muslim women illustrate the lack of normalised and unbiased representations of Islam. Again, these representations ignore the voices of Muslim women and undermine the diversity of their identities (Mohanty, 2007). The misinformed narratives which are readily disseminated to audiences are indicative of wider themes surrounding the hierarchal positions of Western and non-Western women (Adibek, 2012). Accordingly, these Orientalist and feminist debates surrounding the representation of Muslim women are key for analysing the portrayal of honour killings in the British Media.

2.5 Representations of Honour Killings in the Media

As a result of the Orientalist modes of thinking that contribute to understandings of Islam and the East, the medias exclusively religious and cultural focus when reporting honour killings is evident. Even though there is much research on media representations of Islam, people have typically speared away from examining honour killings, which is a much more difficult issue to grapple with. Although limited, previous research conducted on this topic compares the extent to which reporting's on gender-based violence from Western and Eastern cultures is represented differently (Julios, 2015). Instances of this can be seen in a study conducted by Shier and Shor (2015), which compares the representation of crimes labelled as 'family murders' and those portrayed as 'honour killings.' Their research demonstrates the underlying Orientalist tropes used to construct Eastern and Islamic communities. Their study seemingly draws attention to the cultural and religious narratives which are commonly represented through the race and ethnicity of the perpetrator. Also captured in their study was the reporting of 'family murders', whereby women were also killed by their husbands, yet wider cultural and religious factors were ignored (Shier and Shor, 2015, p.2). Indeed, demonstrating that narratives of race, religion and culture were not invoked in the portrayal of 'family murders', whilst attributing Muslim and Eastern communities to their wider religious and cultural values in order to explain 'honour based' crimes (Dogan, 2014, p.58). In doing so, honour-based violence is detached from other acts of gender-based violence, thus imminently problematising culture and religion. Nonetheless, the different narratives used to construct these crimes is rooted in ideas of the uncivilised, barbaric and traditional 'other' (Rana, 2011). Inherently locking the understanding of these killings to the 'backward culture' of the East, whilst providing a platform to present the West as superior.

Critiquing the media's use of cultural and religious frameworks to represent honour killings also highlights the need to recognise that different experiences of honour-based violence. Complicated by, and mediated through, the intersection of systems of race, ethnicity, class, culture, and nationality, honour killings embody a diversity of

factors (Thaira and Gill, 2010, p.18). For example, the work of Gill and Brah (2013), found that the murder of Shafiea Ahmed was predominantly represented by the British media as a 'cultural clash'. They also went onto examine the link between honour-based crimes and religion in media portrayals. Their research revealed that "honour killings have become associated with the condemnation of Islam and the backward other" (Gill and Brah, 2013, p.4). These simplistic explanations commonly deployed by the media, fail to acknowledge wider social dynamics of family, class, and nationality, and thus falsely appropriate these crimes to Islam. Also underscored by Julios (2015), in his work *forced marriage and honour killings in Britain*, the importance of intersectionality is presented as having a central role in unravelling the structures of honour crimes. For example, he suggests that "the victims are seen to experience multiple disadvantages" (Julios, 2015, p.14) in the lead up to their murder. However, the ideologies expressed within media representations of honour killings continue to be racialized. Whereby portrayals of Muslim and Eastern cultures as 'backward' and 'barbaric' remain largely still intact (Gill and Brah, 2013). This can be said to continually perpetuate notions of the West as modern, free and liberal (Crenshaw, 1991, p.14). Ignoring wider issues of gender-based violence, and instead focusing on concerns of culture and religion, has further implications in neglecting the fundamental problem of violence against women. This is a clear indication that such representations fuel Orientalist assumptions of Muslim women as oppressed, and Muslim men as violent (Helba et al., 2015). As a result, this study offers a contribution to the understanding of honour killings by focusing on the Orientalist narratives used to portray these crimes.

In conclusion, it is important to use Said's theoretical framework in order to understand the medias portrayal of honour killings. It provides a key basis for exploring the cultural and religious themes used to define these crimes, indeed separating them from other forms of domestic violence. Thus, this research will incorporate the representation of both Muslim men and women, within a wider Orientalist narrative, to analyse the construction of these crimes. It is for this reason that this study will use the portrayal of honour killings to explore the Orientalist discourses deployed by the British media.

Chapter 3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study is based on the British media's representation of honour killings therefore an analysis of the language used within these portrayals is required. It is for this reason that the method known as critical discourse analysis (CDA), is deemed the most appropriate for this study. More specifically, this methodology is used to assess and understand the language used concerning wider social structures and ideologies. Accordingly, I will first discuss CDA and the benefits it has for this research. A discussion of sampling, data collection and analysis will then follow. Finally concluding with the limitations of this research in order to provide an extensive overview of the methodological approaches used in this study.

Research Question

How does the British media's representation of honour killings in the UK reinforce Orientalist thinking about Islam and the East?

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis aids in investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language, and the context in which they are used (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). It is most predominantly used to examine ideologies and power relations involved in certain discourses (Fairclough, 1995). CDA can be understood as an approach which focuses solely on the analysis of text and talk, therefore makes it a favourable approach for this study (Djik, 1995). In this study, it will be used as a tool to identify and uncover the political ideologies that manifest themselves within the language of certain texts, more specifically the underlying Orientalist frameworks offered by Edward Said (1978, 1997). Accordingly, this approach will be used to aid the media analysis of honour killings in order to identify how the language used reproduces and maintain certain ideologies of Muslims and the East (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). In addition to this, exploring the existing power

structures between the West and East that manifest themselves within the representation of Honour killings will be supported by CDA (Fairclough, 1995, p.132). Fairclough (1992, p.12) proposes that CDA is able to determine how language is able to shape relations of “power and ideologies and how this may affect social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge”. This requires a wider understanding of cultural and religious frameworks that are used to interpret honour-based crimes, which feature heavily in the media and institutional discourses (Demir and Zeydanlioglu, 2010). This study will, therefore, explore the construct of Muslims through a textual analysis in order to understand how Muslim men and women’s identities are represented through the realm of culture and religion. Thus, revealing how social institutions are able to transmit knowledge and maintain power through the integrative role of language (Billig, 2008). In addition to this, critical discourse analysis is able to challenge the assumption that media outlets are neutral. Therefore, highlighting the complex ways in which power structures and Orientalist narratives of minority groups are carefully negotiated and maintained through text (Djik, 1995). Ultimately this study aims to explore the role of language in reinforcing Orientalist narratives of Muslims and the East, through a textual analysis of 12 newspaper articles.

3.3 Sample

Initially, when first collecting my sample, I chose to focus on several (about 7) honour killing cases that had been reported in the UK. However, as I wanted to examine each case in more depth I limited my analysis to 4 high-profile cases. The next step of the data collection process began with identifying the most widely reported honour killing cases that took place in the UK. Due to the large under-reporting of these crimes, it quickly became evident which cases were high profile and my sampling frame became a list of 4 female victims over different periods (see figure 1 below).

Figure 1. ¹

Name of victim	Year of Death	Appendix
Tulay Goren	1999	A
Heshu Jones	2003	B

¹ Refer to appendix for a brief summary of each case

Shafilea Ahmed	2003	C
Banaz Mahmud	2006	D

Due to the nature of qualitative research, the chosen sample size allowed for me to conduct an extremely focused analysis of these 4-specific reporting's (Schriger, 2008). As a result, enough data was gained to sufficiently answer the main objectives and research question within the time frame of this study (Fugard and Potts, 2015, p.667). Additionally, the chosen sample offered several news platforms from which these cases had been reported. It was important to establish the particular honour killing cases I would use prior to identifying which newspaper articles were to be included for the analysis of this study. This was due to the vast amount of content produced through a more general search on 'honour killings in the UK' and allowed for a systematic approach to be employed (Zia, 2017).

The next step was to identify which particular British newspapers were to comprise part of my sample. For this, I used a purposive sampling technique, which was framed specifically by the research question at hand. In order to identify discursive patterns and discourses, I focused on 3 highly circulated British newspapers. This was made up of *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, and *The Telegraph*, all of which were amongst the top three most read newspapers in the UK (National Readership Survey, 2016). The newspapers were chosen to provide an in-depth reporting of events including a detailed representation of the victim and their families (Mason, 2004). In addition to this, the three newspapers were also chosen in order to offer a sample which was from different political viewpoints (Patterson et al, 2016, p.2). As a result, producing a more representative sample. Furthermore, compared to other newspapers, the chosen sample offers extensive coverage of each murder case. Thus, allowing for this study to explore the language used among the three newspapers, and providing a platform for substantial analysis on the representation of honour killings to take place (Patterson et al, 2016). Ultimately a number of 12 articles was identified for the final analysis, this derived from all three of the chosen newspapers, and all 4 of the individual cases. For this reason, an in-depth and comprehensive critical discourse analysis could take place (May, 2014).

3.4 Data Collection and Analysis

In order to collect the data, I went specifically to the newspapers that I identified prior to analysis and examined how these 4 cases had been covered. Due to the underreporting of these crimes, a timeframe of up to 10 years after the crime was committed, was used as part of the data collection (Savage, 2005). This produced more data for the study and meant a more recent analysis of media reports could be used. Additionally, due to the different time frames in which each case took place, the sampled articles were derived from different time periods., this will ultimately be considered when analysing the findings. CDA was then used to uncover the prominent themes which reoccurred within each reporting. These were then grouped into the 4 appropriate themes in order to effectively manage the large amount of data at hand (Flick, 2014, p.27). This vital part of the analysis process allowed me to become familiar with the data, and thus facilitated the exploration of the research question at hand.

3.5 Ethics

Despite this research being based on publicly available newspapers, full ethical approval was still needed. Therefore, this study has followed all the ERSC ethical guidelines and gained full ethical approval prior to the research taking place. No ethical concerns were raised for this research as no participants took part in this study (Drew et al., 2008).

3.6 Limitations

However, I am aware that this study does also yield some methodological limitations both in the form of sample size and time frame. The analysis of only 12 news pieces

could be considered as unsubstantial in offering an extensive portrayal of each case. It is important to acknowledge that there aren't that many of these killings, and that I only identified and examined a few of the high-profile cases. This meant they occurred in years spanning from 1999 to 2006. However, due to the nature of these crimes underreporting is often common, it is for this reason that these four cases were deemed the most appropriate. I am also aware that one of the cases occurred before 9/11 and three took place after 9/11, however I do not have enough cases to do a comparison amongst these. Ultimately, despite some of the limitations of this study, I will aim to produce a strong methodological foundation in order to answer the specific research question at hand.

Chapter 4.0 Findings and Analysis

In line with my research question, this chapter will present the main findings of this study in four sections:

- Othering of Muslims
- Questioning of belonging to the UK
- Problematising Islam
- Silencing of women

4.1 Othering of Muslims

The othering of Muslims and their culture was one of the most prominent discourses which emerged in the analysis of Honour Killings. In all three newspapers that were analysed, a clear distinction between the East and West was continually reinforced. The East was portrayed as traditional whilst the West was rendered as liberal. As a result, othering Eastern and Islamic culture, whilst portraying Western values as the 'norm' For example:

“Shafilea Ahmed, killed for trying to be normal, when the two worlds of Shafilea Ahmed collided it was bound to end badly” (The Daily Mail, 2012, August 3, para.4).

“The irreconcilable cultural differences between traditional Kurdish values and those of Western society” (The Telegraph, 2009, December 18, para.4.)

“A clash of cultures between Yones a refugee from Iraqi Kurdistan, where such murders are common” (The Telegraph, 2009, December 18, para. 6)

“Yones never adapted to life in Britain and the cultural tensions it placed so the family: he wanted his daughter to observe his interpretation of strict tradition, but she wanted a more liberal life” (The Guardian, 2003, September 30, para. 5).

“She was exposed to a lifestyle that was completely at odds with her upbringing” (The Daily Mail, 2009, December 18, para.3)

“she became caught between two cultures- attending a mixed comprehensive school but returning home to a strict and bullying Turkish father” (Daily Mail, 2009, December 18, para.9)

The language used here presents culture and religion as the sole indicator in the motivation of these crimes. Other factors which may have contributed to the understandings of why these killings took place were absent from the reporting's. Instead, the contrast of the strict and traditional culture of the East was presented against the liberal and forward-thinking culture of the West (Said, 1978). In line with *Orientalism*, the coverage of these killings relies on the depiction of Muslims and the East as backward and barbaric, a predominantly unfavourable portrayal which offers no further analysis of these crimes (Said, 1978). In the news articles the differences between the East and West were made clear, primarily reinforced by suggesting that 'such murders are common' practice in the East. The references made to culture and tradition illustrate the adoption of the media to portray these killings as essential to

Eastern values, rather than linking these cases to wider issues of oppression (Gill and Brah, 2014). Therefore, based upon the 'otherness' of the perpetrator, culture and religion were made central to the portrayal in these crimes. As a result, these binary narratives of the East and West employed by all three newspapers contributes to biased understandings of Muslims and Eastern culture, whereby notions of the 'other' are reproduced (Ameli et al., 2007). At other times these binaries were also employed, for example:

"She fell in love at 19, so her family killed her" (Daily Mail, 2007, June 12, p.1)

"She was kept away from Western influences" (Daily Mail, 2007, June 12, para.2)

"Mehmet insisted they maintain the culture and traditions of his homeland" (The Guardian, 2009, December 17, para. 6)

"Jailed for 25 years for the murder of their 17-year-old daughter who they considered too Western" (Daily Mail, 2012, August 3, para.1)

"Her parents felt her increasingly Western ways had brought shame on her family" (The Telegraph, 2012, May 22, para.1)

Characterized by the 'normality' of Western culture and the tradition of the East adds to existing evidence whereby Muslims are viewed as the 'other' (Abu-Lughood, 2002). These regular comparisons, again, successfully demonstrate the medias position in articulating an Orientalist discourse, in which culture is continually drawn upon to explain these crimes (Said, 1997). Indicated by this, is an underlying narrative which places us (the West) against them (the East), promoting a one-dimensional understanding of honour killings. All three newspapers relied on the association between honour killings and culture through highlighting the incompatibility of Western and Eastern 'values' (Bonett, 2004). Not only does this reproduce and maintain simplistic explanations of honour killings, but it also engages with themes of Muslim and the East as the 'other' by presenting 'their' culture as

inherently different to 'ours' (Shaheen, 2007). This could be said to be implicitly supporting a wider view of Western superiority.

4.2 Questioning of Belonging to the UK

A second prominent discourse that continually came up throughout the coverage of honour killings was the concept of belonging. In all 12 articles that were examined, the 'origins' of the victims and their families was continually mentioned. Exclusive references to when and how the individuals arrived in Britain almost always occurred amongst the articles. For example, *The Daily Mail* described how the father of Banaz was:

"Mr Suleimani, who left Kurdistan and entered Britain to claim political asylum in 2000" (Daily Mail, 2007, June 12, para. 5)

Captured in this article is the medias focus on narratives of belonging, seemingly drawing attention towards the perpetrator's nationality and his immigrant status. It also seems important to recognise that the description of Mr Suleimani's entry into Britain in this article was regarded as important information for the honour killing that took place. Thus, making belonging a central framework to these articles further implies a distinction between those who 'should' belong in the UK and those who 'shouldn't'. Instances where these narratives were also prominent can be seen in these examples:

"Her family, who had arrived in Britain when Banaz was 12" (The Daily Mail, 2013, December 7, para. 5).

"Tulay was smuggled into Britain from the predominantly Kurdish area of Elbistan, South Eastern Turkey" (The Guardian, 2009, December 17, para.6).

"Tulay was smuggled to Britain from Elbistan, Turkey in the back of a lorry in 1995" (The Daily Mail, 2009, December 18, para.12).

The depiction of belonging in these articles is indicative of a wider framework whereby minority groups are constructed as existing outside of Western society (Saeed, 2007). The underlying references made towards immigration and Eastern countries can be seen to imminently link these crimes to immigrant and minority groups. Perpetuating ideas surrounding immigration and belonging, one could speak of these articles as seeking to actively construct Muslims as both ‘foreigners’ and ‘outsiders’ to the UK and the West (Sian et al, 2010, p.229). Indeed, these narratives can be seen to dominate misconceptions about the threat of Islam and the East (Said, 1978). Furthermore, additional examples which drew upon the narrative of belonging can be seen in these articles:

“The family came to England in 1990s from rural turkey” (The Telegraph, 2009, December 18, para.1)

“Yones a refugee from Iraqi Kurdistan” (The Telegraph, 2009, December 18, para.)

“A former soldier who sought asylum in the UK with his wife and 5 daughters” (The Guardian, 2008, January 11, para.2)

The references made towards the victims and perpetrators’ immigration status illustrates the adoption of the media to exploit the threat of foreign and minority groups (Herland, 2017). Inextricably linking honour killings to these minority groups adds to the assumption that these crimes are explicitly carried out by Islamic and Eastern cultures. Therefore, deploying such narratives of belonging is evocative of common themes which construct Muslims simplistically and negatively, also reflecting the findings of other scholars (Said, 1978, Sian et al 2010, Reza, 2011). In addition to this, mention of race and ethnicity was also found in one *Daily Mail* example:

“He loved discos, sexy clothes and white girls” (Daily Mail, 2012, August 3, para.1).

Again, this narrative reflects Orientalist frameworks by exacerbating the distinction between the West and the East through the contrast of Asian ethnicities against white ones. This could also be seen to construct an image of British as white, whilst anything else is viewed as the 'other' (Sayyid, 1997). This also consolidates the findings of similar studies which highlight the simplistic and stereotypical views of the 'other' used to report honour killings (Shor and Shier, 2016). As a result, all of this could suggest that such communities do not belong in the UK.

4.3 Problematising Islam

A third discourse which dominated all three of the newspapers was the problematisation and vilification of Islam. Previous studies have identified media sources which regularly draw upon religious frameworks when reporting Muslim individuals (Imtoul, 2010). Here, honour killings were also imminently linked to Islam with explicit reference to Muslims being made, despite being a common practice in a number of different religions, cultures and countries (Dogan, 2014). The attention drawn towards religion and culture (as mentioned above), indicates an underlying assumption that links such violent and barbaric crimes to Islam and the wider Muslim community. The reporting's relied on religion to describe the victims and perpetrators, for example in these headlines:

The parents of a Muslim teenager suffocated her in front of one of their other daughters (The Telegraph, 2012, May 22, para. 1)

"The boyfriend of a married Muslim women allegedly murdered by her father" (Daily Mail, 2007, March 15, para.1).

Muslim father of girl, 16, who had a relationship outside her religion, subjected her to months of beatings before stabbing her repeatedly" (The Guardian, 2003, September 30, para.1).

The Muslim's body was shoved into a suitcase before being driven to the midlands and dumped" (The Telegraph, 2013, December 6, para.3)

The significant lack of attention given to other aspects of the victim identity, along with a focus on their muslimness, suggests a complete disregard for anything other than their religion (Mohanty, 2007). Reducing both the men and women's identities to their religion effectively ignores the diversity and differences amongst Islam and shows a rather one-dimensional understanding of Muslims (Sayidd, 1997). Additionally, a central religious narrative is used to explain and guide these articles, with a predominantly negative use of language to describe the events. The negative imagery given here, along with naming them as Muslim, serves to emphasise a violent and threatening rhetoric of Islam (Baker et al., 2013). The barbaric nature of these crimes is highlighted through language such as 'shoved into a suitcase', 'months of beatings', 'suffocated her in front of her daughters' and 'murdered by her father'. The narratives employed disseminate a violent and threatening narrative of Muslim men but also present Islam as inherently violent (Allen, 2001). In this way, it places Muslims at the centre of honour killings, making them an essential feature to Islam. Indeed, readily ignoring the wider societal issues which also play a significant role in motivating such crimes (Gill and Brah, 2014). Not only does this ignore the potential for further motivations, but also hinders the ability to fully understand why and how such crimes take place. Moreover, the negative language used to describe Muslims is also contrasted against Christianity in other examples:

"Yones, a Muslim, became disgusted and distressed by his daughter's relationship with an 18-year-old Christian A level student" (The Guardian, 2003, September 30, para.4).

"A Kurdish Muslim murdered his 16-year-old daughter because he disapproved of her Western way of life and Christian boyfriend" (The Telegraph, 2009, December 17, para.10)

These articles can be seen to directly contrast Muslim and Eastern identity against the West and Christianity. The binary discourses used encompass an underlying theme of 'us v them', perpetuating notions of the Western Christianity (Said, 1978).

This continues to make religion a central framework in the portrayal of these crimes (Poole, 2002). As a result, the media narratives conceptualising these crimes as Islamic has broader implications for understanding honour killings.

Upon further analysis, it was also found that one of the victims, Tulay Goren, was not in fact Muslim, but rather an Alevi, a minority religious sect². However, both the *Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph* referred to Tulay and her father Mehmet as a Muslim. For example:

“Mehmet Goren, the father of a 15-year-old Muslim school girl school girl Tulay Goren, has been convicted of her murder” (The Telegraph, 2009, December 17, para. 1)

“Muslim father gets life for murdering daughter who fell in love with the wrong man” (Daily Mail, 2009, December 18, para.1).

The complete disregard of her Alevi religion serves to highlight the deep-rooted bias and misrepresentation of Islam that are embedded amongst British media sources. The false interpretation and simplistic explanations of honour killings as a ‘Muslim crime’ becomes manifested within Orientalist and Eurocentric media discourses which assume religion as the only motivator for these murders (Julios, 2015). Problematising these crimes as religious therefore groups all Muslims into one homogenous group and hence represents these crimes through a single lens (shier and Shor, 2016). Therefore, the problematisation Islam in these articles can serve to justify and maintain Western superiority over the inferior ‘other’ (Said, 1978).

4.4 Silencing of Women

The final interpretative theme which emerged amongst the analysis was the silencing of women who were given very little voice in these articles. A gendered Orientalist discourse portraying Muslim women as silent, oppressed and traditional is articulated

² This was flagged up by my supervisor

amongst the three newspapers (Mohanty, 2007). In line with other research (Volpp, 2000; Mohanty, 2007; Terman, 2017) narratives surrounding the degree of Muslim women's suffering under oppressive patriarchal regimes, is regularly drawn upon within media representations of Islam. For example:

“Expected to fulfil the role of a subservient wife” (Daily Mail, 2013, December 17, para.3)

“Hanim said she was suspicious when she saw Mehmet's freshly laundered shirt, as he had never done the washing in more than 20 years of marriage” (The Telegraph, 2009, December 17, para.10).

“For the first time in his married life Mehmet had washed his own clothes” (Daily Mail, 2009, December 18, para.7)

Such discourses reinforce the position of women in Islam and highlight the silent and oppressive narrative that media outlets tend to portray (Mohanty, 2007, p347). These discourses serve to emphasise the backwardness and traditional ways of Eastern and Islamic cultures and their treatment of women. Here the language used portrays women's roles as almost exclusively mothers and wives, readily emphasising their patriarchal duties. This provides a platform to suggest that all Muslim women are subject to roles which are defined by their religious and cultural values. Not only does this exemplify the perception of Muslim women as oppressed, but these simplistic assumptions also serve to support the view of Eastern cultures as traditional, backward and patriarchal. Thus, accentuating the differences between Western and Eastern culture (Said, 1978). In turn, producing and maintaining Eurocentric imageries of a singular oppressed Muslim woman (Mohanty, 2007, p.334). Furthermore, in this construction of patriarchal roles, Muslim women appeared as both controlled and silenced by their male counterparts, for example:

“Because he was seen to have failed to control his women” (Daily Mail, 2007, June 12, para.6)

“The perverted code which dictates a woman cannot do as she chooses”
(Daily Mail, 2013, December 7, para.7)

“Within the close patriarchal Kurdish community, the Goren’s inhabited, women were seen as a property of their father, then their husbands who they must obey” (The Guardian, 2009, December 17, para.7)

“The girl’s mother broke a traditional code of silence to denounce her husband as a murderer” (Daily Mail, 2009, December 18, para.5)

The medias depiction of honour killings generally advocated the idea that all Muslim women are controlled by Muslim men and have little or no voice of their own. By focusing explicitly on these crimes as Islamic, the narratives amongst the articles fuel the assumption that all Muslim women need to be saved from such traditional and oppressive cultures and religions (Terman, 2017). In doing so, these cases of violence against women become part of a wider cultural narrative whereby Muslims and Islam are problematised, and violence and oppression become integral to Islamic and Eastern culture. By drawing upon these gendered Orientalist discourses, the victims of these crimes are represented solely through normative assumptions which effectively reduces their identity to ‘Muslim’ (Volpp, 2000). Emphasising the religious identity of these women, increasingly connects these actions to wider Islamic values, whilst also silencing the diversity of their identities. Ultimately, these media narratives offer an opportunity to define all Muslim women, and men, playing a crucial role in justifying the perceived threat of Islam (Shaheen 2007).

Chapter 5.0 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Indeed, there is a fine line between culture, religion and violence against women, and by no means do I present arguments which deny or take away from this violence against women. Rather, I wish to delve into the explicit association that is made between culture and religion, in these cases, and the debates surrounding gender. In order to make these links, I will go explore Susan Moller Okin’s work, and also to the

work of Mohanty and discuss the contribution my research makes to this line of research. Therefore, the findings of this research wish to contribute to debates within feminism and also between feminism and multiculturalism.

5.2 Multiculturalism and Feminism

In order to understand the representation of honour killings and how it links to debates surrounding the tensions of feminism and multiculturalism, I will examine how a discussion of Susan Moller Okin's work will help situate some of the findings of my research. Upon examining Okin's work, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (1999), the critical assumption that certain cultures and religions are inherently oppressive towards women and girls is evident, thus feeding into the eraser of women's identities. According to Okin, we should not accept the group rights of cultures which adhere to oppressive and misogynistic practices. Debates surrounding issues concerning feminism, multiculturalism, and liberalism continue to place blame on the so-called controlling and discriminatory religions and cultures which maintain patriarchal power structures. Through this, Okin's arguments feed into the findings of this study by basing the portrayal of these crimes through the negative representation of Islam and Eastern culture. By doing so, the identities of the female victims fail to be acknowledged and their individual experiences are neglected. This explicit focus on religion and culture, found both in Okin's work and the findings of this research, continues to have wider implications for the eraser of Muslim women, thus sustaining the perception of them as a homogenous oppressed group. Instead they are represented through the problematisation and demonization of Islam. Here religion becomes the central problem, thus taking away from the fundamental issue of violence against women and contributing to the gendered Orientalist discourses used to portray Muslim women.

It is through these gendered cultural and religious power structures, Okin argues, that women and girls are routinely violated and controlled by men. Here the interrelated relationship between gender and multiculturalism, that Okin puts forward in her argument, places both cultural and religious identities at the heart of understanding violence against women (Vollp, 2001). Indeed, the findings of this research fuel this debate by engaging with the marginalization of minority women

through grounding the role of culture and religion as a direct result of domestic violence. It is through such arguments that a complete disregard of the human identity of minority women takes place, systematically reducing their identities to a product of cultural and religious violence (Pal, 1993). In this way, Okin's arguments and the articles analysed, continue to suggest that all minority groups universally adhere to these practices and that all minority women are subject to such violence. As a result, the behaviour of a small proportion of Muslim men, which adhere to codes of honour-based violence, creates a basis from which all Muslim women's identities are viewed and understood (Said, 1978). This is problematic as it successfully constructs Muslim women through the actions of Muslim men. Not only do such arguments disregard the identity of minority women, but they also establish a conflation between Western culture and the minority groups which exist within it. For example, in one instance, Okin suggests that "many of the cultural minorities that claim group rights are more patriarchal than the surrounding cultures" (Okin, 1999, p.17). This is key, as Okin's feminist arguments and the findings of this study, nevertheless provide a narrative which contrasts Western culture against the patriarchal culture of the 'other'. What is interesting is that both Okin and the articles analysed continue to portray themselves as on the side of these women, presenting arguments which wish to call out such violence. However, their framework is instead dominated by an analysis grounded in simplistic Orientalist assumptions that continue to limit the definition of Muslim women. The identities of these women resonate in the understanding of Islam as barbaric, traditional and violent, their voices are not considered. Western feminism should be working with women on the margins of society in order to help stop such violence. Instead both Okin and the findings of this study contribute to simplistic assumptions of culture and religion, completely disregarding the women at the heart of this violence.

Often referring solely to the victims as 'Muslim women', all 4 themes found in this research linked directly to the problematisation of Islam, mentioning very little about the women. As a result, this research becomes increasingly relevant to Okin's arguments as both indelibly ignore the individual lived experiences of minority women. In turn failing to provide a sophisticated analysis of the domestic violence that takes place against women from minority groups. These articles can be seen as

a reflection of the privilege for those in power, failing to provide a sufficient narrative of Muslim women's voices (Kaufman, 2002). It is from both Okin's arguments and the findings of this research that confirm wider Eurocentric and Orientalist structures which form the underlying assumptions of Muslim women as a single identity. The failure to acknowledge the voices of minority women, and erasing their unique experience and lives, means the validity of such essentialist arguments and articles can be questioned (Reitman, 2005).

5.3 Third World Difference

However, an attempt to push beyond Okin's arguments and reveal a critical engagement with such theories that place culture and religion at the heart of female oppression is offered by focusing on Chandra Mohanty's, *Under Western Eyes* (2007). Mohanty situates her work in the suggestion that Western feminists group all third world women into a homogenous oppressed group, implicitly supporting the eraser of third world women and their lived experiences. It is both Okin's arguments and the findings of this research which can be seen to support a paradox that adds to the powerlessness of Muslim women. In condemning these acts of violence against women, both fail to provide a perspective that is inclusive of the female victims (Brooks, 2002). Dominated by an evident hierarchal system based upon binary understandings of Western women and 'third world women', the findings of this research also contribute to the research on Orientalism by presenting the role of religion and culture in domestic violence. In this sense, these women are stripped of a voice and failed to be given an individual identity. As a result, cases of honour killings are not conceptualised as a reflection of individual behaviour, instead both Muslim men and women are characterised by these actions (Sokoloff and Dupont, 2005). They are represented through the knowledge of others, further alienating and disadvantaging minority women, rather than helping them. Therefore, using the basis of Mohanty's arguments and the findings of this research helps to uncover how ethnocentric universalism is produced within the representation of honour killings

and how in the analysis of domestic violence of minority groups, power is exercised in discourse (Bhambra, 2010).

Accordingly, for Okin and other Western feminists to suggest that cultural and religious attributes are to blame for the violence perpetrated against women contributes to a larger production of Western superiority (Metoo and Mirza, 2010). Here the association of the West as being cultureless fuels Okin's dismissal of Western women in her analysis, rather making Eurocentric and Orientalist assumptions about the 'third world woman' (Mohanty, 2007). In doing so, Okin constructs minority and immigrant women as a single group based upon the sameness of their oppression, universally placing them into one category of analysis and taking away their unique identities (Landes, 2007). These assumptions hinder the ability to understand cultural diversity and the different experiences of each Muslim and Eastern woman (Said, 1978). In this context, neglecting the identity of these women effectively feeds into Orientalist constructions that privilege Western women, whilst referring to Eastern and Muslim women as structurally oppressed (Anthias, 2002). Indeed, a discussion of Mohanty's work within the realm of this study reveals that women cannot be understood under one label. Instead, women should be understood and theorized through a number of cultural, class, religious and racial contexts (Gill and Brah, 2014). It is these debates which continue to benefit the discussion of honour-based violence in order for more general term of violence against women to be employed. In this way, an effective solution must successfully reflect the intersecting identities of women's lives, representing the interest of all women (Lewis, 1998). Ultimately, considering the findings of this research and Okin's critique of multiculturalism, I suggest that the representation of honour killings must stop drawing attention to religion and culture in order give the female victims the representation and voice they deserve.

In conclusion, Western feminism must talk about the homogenisation of minority women and tackle issues of violence against these women in a more sophisticated manner. Instead the articles analysed take lead from Okin's arguments and represent the victims and their families through religion and culture. In their critique

of Islamic and Eastern culture, these women are not heard, their voices and identities are erased. Perhaps a focus on Mohanty's argument would endorse the unique lives and identities of all women, rather than neglecting them.

Chapter 6.0 Conclusion

The concluding chapter of this study will outline the main aims of the research, a summary of the key findings, the contribution this study had and finally some recommendations for future research.

6.1 Summary of the Study

This study set out to explore and examine the representation of honour killings in British media and how this may reinforce Orientalist thinking about Islam and the East. In order to do this, critical discourse analysis was used to identify the narratives used to portray Muslims in three major British newspapers. I began by theoretically placing this study within Edward Said's *Orientalism*, in order to understand the theoretical framework used to represent Islam and the East. I then explored the representation of Muslim men and women in the media, arguing that their portrayal is often biased and misinformed. Finally, I went onto outline the studies which highlighted the problematic portrayal of honour killings in the media. I set out to combine the literature along with my analysis of 4 high profile honour killing cases to explore the discursive patterns used in these examples.

I outlined my chosen form of qualitative methodology and why I deemed this method most appropriate. I employed the use of critical discourse analysis, using 12 cases from *The Daily Mail*, *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* to ensure diverse political viewpoints. I discussed and acknowledged the limitations of this research and how some of these were overcome. The findings of this research were then critically discussed alongside the literature in order to answer the research question at hand. A discussion of the tensions that exist between feminism and multiculturalism then situated this study within further scholarly literature and examined the controversies of such arguments. I set out to explore these tensions, arguing that a cultural and

religious analysis of these crimes continues to construct a one-dimensional understanding of Muslims and the East, implicitly supporting the eraser of monitory women. Therefore, offering an alternative portrayal of honour killings is crucial.

6.2 Summary of Key Findings

The research question for this study is as follows:

How does the British media's representation of honour killings in the UK reinforce Orientalist thinking about Islam and the East?

Othering of Muslims

All three newspapers represented Muslims and the East as the 'other', often contrasting their negative representation against a more positive Western one. A two worlds imagery was often employed alongside references to a clash of cultures. Their 'traditional' and 'backward' cultural and religious values were drawn attention to, suggesting that these crimes were, in fact, an integral part of Islamic and Eastern culture. Most predominantly in *The Daily Mail*, Western society was characterised as the norm, an indicator against which Eastern culture should be measured. Whereas the representation of the East was readily linked to 'strictness', 'tradition' and 'backwardness'. *The Guardian and the Telegraph* also depicted Muslims as the 'other' in which their culture and religion was suggested to be incompatible with the values and norms of the West. In all three newspapers, imageries which reflected binary oppositions and hierarchal power structures were used to associate Muslims with 'otherness'. For this reason, Western society was enhanced whilst Eastern one was portrayed as inferior. Honour killings were continually used as a way to highlight and emphasise the tensions that exist between Western and Eastern society. Through this, this study contributes to Said's Orientalist discourses by highlighting how the media are able to privilege those in power, whilst reinforcing negative assumptions of Islam. It is through these portrayals that our fundamental understanding of Islam is shaped. A battle between the West and East is continually waged through the langue discourse used by the media, controlling and reinforcing

the perceptions of Islam and the East. The media occupies a central position in articulating what is perceived to be the objective truth, it is through this that the Orient's voice is silenced. Successfully erasing Muslim identities and portraying them through the lens of the media.

Questioning of Belonging to the UK

The second discourse which emerged in the analysis was the questioning of belonging to the UK. All three newspapers engaged with narratives of belonging, whereby the origins of the victims and their families were continually mentioned. Their immigrant and refugee status were regularly drawn upon despite its irrelevance to the information regarding the crimes. Their entry into Britain was portrayed as being deviant, often highlighted that they came illegally. This similarly constructed Muslims as the 'other', as both outsiders and foreigners who don't belong in Britain. In this way, immigrant and minority groups were demonised and the threat these groups pose was legitimised. This was, in turn, again indicative of an 'us versus them' narrative, suggesting that these communities should exist outside of Western society, rather than within it. Additionally, race and ethnicity were also mentioned in the *Daily Mail* article, whereby the Asian ethnicity was made synonymous with Islam and deviance. These narratives illustrate wider political views about immigration and the significance of the topic in today's society. Highlighting the origins of the perpetrators and victims has wider implications for establishing clear distinctions between the West and East. It continually mobilizes immigrant imagery to extenuate the distinctions between minority groups and the surrounding culture. Embodying the relationship between power and knowledge which Said reinforces in his work.

Problematising Islam

The third finding which was evident amongst the analysis was the problematisation of Islam. Islam was considered a fundamental element in the motivation of these crimes, with religious and cultural values often being portrayed as threatening and deviant. All three newspapers associated Islam with murder and violence, whilst

then contrasting it to the liberal West and Christianity. The articles employed a binary way of thinking that linked Christianity with the West, whilst linking the East to Islam. This drew upon Orientalist discourses of Muslim men which were seen as threatening and violent, whilst constructing Muslim women as oppressed and victimised. The actions of the men who killed their daughters were indeed made out by all three newspapers to be a systematic religious and cultural problem, frequently constructing these crimes as an Islamic issue, rather than an individual one. Islam was frequently used to describe the individuals, and their religion was continually mentioned throughout the articles. Interestingly, both in *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph*, the victim and her family (Tulay Goren), were referred to as Muslims, when in fact they were part of a minority religious group, Alevi. This broad generalization serves to highlight the embedded assumption about honour killings and their link to Islam. Considering these critiques, the attempt to blur the lines between Muslims societies and grouping them all as one, disregards the identity and voice of Muslims. Rather, in these articles, religion and culture were regarded as an individual identity characteristic. These narratives not only define the Muslim identity, but they also fail to consider the wider social and political structures which exist within the daily struggle of women subject to this violence.

Silencing of Women

The final discourse which emerged in the findings was the silencing of women. All three articles drew upon the traditional roles which the victims and mothers took up, emphasising the patriarchal nature of Islamic and Eastern culture. Muslim women were made out to be collectively controlled and owned by their husbands and fathers. Particularly interesting is the eraser of these women's identities, who are given no voice. It riddles their identities down to their religion and culture and mobilizes their vulnerability in order to reflect a negative image of Islam. These findings offer a valuable opportunity in highlighting the evident paradox in the media's representation of honour killings. The certain lack of voice given to the female victims continues to participate in the disempowerment of Muslim women and the eraser of their individual identities. The clash of civilisation narratives defines the empowerment of Muslim women as a process grounded in the opposition of their

culture and religion. This continues to suggest that Muslim women cannot be both Muslim and empowered. Instead the representation of honour killings should be used to initiate a discussion on the diverse lives of Muslim women, rather than reinforcing a narrative of oppression.

Considering the 4 main discourses found, using the intersection of religion and culture as central tropes of honour killings continues to erase Muslim women, whilst demonizing Muslim men. Therefore, failing to directly engage with tackling the issue of violence against women.

6.3 Contributions of the Study

Ultimately, this study has answered the research question at hand. I have explored four cases of honour killings and how they are portrayed in the British media. I examined the discourses and language used in these reporting's and how this may impact the understandings of Muslims and the East. In turn, both contributing and developing the scholarly literature on the biased representations embedded in the British media's knowledge production of Islam and the East. This study draws attention to the media misrepresentation of minority groups, cultures, and religions and how these narratives construct the West as superior whilst engaging with the notions of inferiority of the East.

This study addressed the gap in the literature which fails to adequately acknowledge the representation of honour killings in the UK and how this may continue to reproduce and maintain the Orientalist frameworks, which Said (1978) identified in his work. Not only does this study contribute to Orientalist literature, but it was also able to place its findings within further feminist literature, engaging with ongoing debates surrounding multiculturalism, feminism, and liberalism.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Further research should employ a comparative case study approach in order to understand the extent to which the coverage of honour killings and domestic abuse cases may be similar and/ or different. This further avenue of inquiry would reveal the contrasting frameworks used to represent these cases and how the media may choose to label each act of femicide depending on the individuals involved. Additionally, interviews with participants into how the readership of these newspapers view these crimes, may also further support this analysis. Indeed, sampling a wider variety of newspapers and cases may also prove beneficial. By doing so, a greater representation of honour killings and their media portrayal could be gained.

Word count- 11,672

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Appendix

A- Tulay Goren	B- Heshu Yones	C- Shafilea Ahmed	D- Banaz Mahmud
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tulay was Killed in 1999 when she was 15 years old • Murdered by her father, Mehmet Goren, because of her relationship with an older man • Her father was found guilty of her murder 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heshu was killed in 2003 when she was 16 years old • Murdered by her father, Abdullah Yones, because of her relationship with a Christian classmate • Her father was found guilty of her murder 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shafilea was murdered in 2003 when she was 17 years old • Murdered by both her mother and father for 'shaming' the family • Both parents were charged with her murder 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Banaz was killed in 2006 when she was 20 years old • Murdered by her father and uncle for her relationship with a man they disapproved of • Her father and uncle were found guilty, with three other men, for her murder